Manti, Iowa: A frontier settlement in the lower Nishnabotna River Valley, 1846-1880

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and the
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of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
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by
Nancy K. Jaeckel
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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

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ABSTRACT

Anyone living in the extreme southwestern part of Iowa today frequently experiences a feeling of not being part of the state. The area south and west of Interstates 80 and 35 is rarely mentioned except in a peripheral way to the larger story of Iowa. This project attempts to partially rectify that omission by examining a specific area popularly known as Manti, and relating the events that occurred there between 1846 and 1880.

As the sesquicentennial anniversary of Iowa's statehood approaches, a renewed interest in the 1846 Mormon trek across Iowa has developed. While that story is relatively well known, what is less recognized even by the residents of Page and Fremont counties, is the story of a schismatic religious group that founded a settlement around a trails crossing for stage coaches.

This schismatic group is unique since it included some of the most faithful believers in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at that critical juncture. Most had joined the church in its infancy and had endured the hardships and persecutions at Kirtland, Ohio; Far West, Missouri; and Nauvoo, Illinois, as well as the gruelling exodus across Iowa. How and why they separated from the larger group of "believers" has never been accurately told,
nor has the story of their subsequent labors in the Manti area of southwestern Iowa ever been related.

Alpheus Cutler, a high-ranking church member, became the leader of a group of Saints who were either disfellowshipped or excommunicated from the Church. Others soon joined and Cutler had a following of forty families, comprising approximately 360 people. In 1852, this group settled in the lower East Nishnabotna River Valley of southwestern Iowa. There they founded a settlement, which they named Manti.

Both their settlement and their church thrived for a time, but the combined effect of heavy proselytizing by the followers of Joseph Smith, III, Cutler's death in 1864, the subsequent move by his remaining followers to west central Minnesota, the influx of Civil War veterans, and the platting of a new railroad town, finally proved to be too much for the settlement's survival.

Despite Manti's brief existence, from 1852 until 1878, it left an legacy still visible more than 125 years later. As a frontier settlement that never achieved its potential to become a town, Manti appeared to die. Evidence shows rather conclusively that instead, Manti underwent a metamorphosis and in a real sense became Shenandoah, Iowa.
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ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF WHAT MANTI'S MAINSTREET MAY HAVE LOOKED LIKE IN 1869

Source: Sketch used to paint the mural on the wall of the Shenandoah Historical Museum, Shenandoah, Iowa.
INTRODUCTION

Five years after Brigham Young began to gather the faithful Saints within the valley of the Great Salt Lake during 1847, another Mormon leader began to gather his followers into the Nishnabotna River Valley of southwestern Iowa. Of the approximately 10,000 Saints who gathered at the Missouri River before heading west, Alpheus Cutler was one of the least likely to vie for leadership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and yet he made a compelling case to some of the Saints. Cutler was an early convert to the church that had been founded by Joseph Smith in 1830. After experiencing the persecutions and the expulsions from Kirtland, Ohio and Far West, Missouri, he helped build Nauvoo, Illinois, and as a valued stone-mason, he was instrumental in building the temple at that site. He also had been a confidant of Joseph Smith and a member of the Council of Fifty, an advisory body that Smith formed to help him with political and civic matters. As one of the first to receive temple ordinances, he was also taught the principle of plural marriage and he practiced polygamy. Two of his daughters likewise became plural wives of Heber C. Kimball, a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles.¹

As members of one of the earliest companies to leave Nauvoo, Cutler and his family made the difficult trek across
Iowa to found and settle Winter Quarters on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River. While there, between August 1846 and the spring of 1848, he served as President of the Municipal High Council. After he had returned to the Iowa side of the Missouri River in 1848, after Winter Quarters was abandoned, the First Presidency called Cutler to be Bishop of the Big Grove Branch of the Mormon Church, and he was sustained in that position by the members of that branch then located on Silver Creek, approximately three miles northwest of present-day Malvern, Iowa. He served in that position until 1852, even though he had been excommunicated in 1851 after several members of this branch had also been either disfellowshipped or excommunicated.

It was during that time that Cutler became convinced he was to be Joseph Smith's successor. While in Nauvoo, Smith had chosen seven men and he made them totally responsible for all interaction between the Church and the Indians. As the last surviving member of that committee, Cutler believed the appointment gave him the right of succession after Smith. Cutler's excommunication was essentially the result of a power struggle between Cutler and Orson Hyde, President of the Kanesville (Council Bluffs) High Council. Although Brigham Young sustained Hyde's action of excommunicating Cutler, he remained sympathetic to Cutler and continued to encourage him to travel to Salt Lake City.
Cutler believed his position on the Council of Fifty gave him equal power to that held by Hyde on the High Council. Consequently, when Cutler felt that Hyde was acting in a high-handed manner, he refused to obey, asserting that Hyde did not have the authority to control him in that way.³

In 1852, Cutler sent an advance team to find a new location for the group. The chosen site was further south within the Nishnabotna River Valley where he and his followers founded Manti during the following year.⁴ The theocratic frontier settlement of Manti, as well as the larger surrounding area which was also referred to as Manti, left an imprint on the landscape that can still be discerned. Manti's legacy is much more subtle, however, than the larger community in Utah, partly because of differences in the valleys that sheltered the settlements and the villages that the respective groups founded. While the Great Salt Lake Valley encompassed desert land bordered by a relatively narrow band of good soil,⁵ a thousand miles from the settled states and surrounded by high mountains, the Nishnabotna Valley was located within an established state near where the settled area and the lightly inhabited frontier came into contact. In addition, this valley was near the slave state of Missouri, many of whose inhabitants were determined to see slavery spread into the adjoining region. The biggest difference, however, was the land
itself — a largely desert area which Young and his followers made bloom like a rose, and a lush prairie in which Cutler and his followers soon found themselves surrounded by non-Mormons.

Long before Mormons or, for that matter, any other white men came to this prairie, the Indians had named the river "Nishnabotna," meaning "a stream on which a canoe or boat may pass." The southern end of the valley where Cutler settled, was possibly unique in that there is no archeological evidence of any permanent or semi-permanent Indian settlement in either pre-historic or historic times. Additionally, while the Ioway Indians asserted ownership to the rest of Iowa, this part of the future state was claimed by Siouan-speaking relatives of the Ioway -- the Oto and Missouri affiliated tribes. Because both of these affiliated tribes were relatively small, other tribes also hunted in the area, especially the Sioux and the Sac and Fox of the Upper Mississippi Valley.

Eastern Iowa was part of the Mississippi River Valley discovered by Louis Joliet and Jacques Marquette in 1673, and ceded by France to Spain in 1762 to keep it from falling into British hands at the conclusion of the French and Indian War. Neither France nor Spain was able to create large permanent settlements in the area, relying instead on traders to develop relationships with the Native Americans.
to establish their respective claims over the land. Even after the celebrated 1804-1806 expedition by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark up the Missouri River, southwestern Iowa continued to be overlooked. Indian agencies and major fur trading posts were located on the west side of the Missouri River, but only a few small trading houses were established in the contiguous Iowa area.

One major event of the period had a significant effect on southwestern Iowa — the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois beginning in 1846. While passing through Iowa's southern tier of counties, the first companies of migrants carved a new road before angling northwest along an old Indian trail to the Missouri River, just south of present-day Council Bluffs. This road and the town that developed on the banks of the Missouri River became major departure points for the trip west because they were farther north and two hundred miles closer to the west coast than other established trails that traversed Missouri. Another trail developed across the entire southern tier of Iowa counties, passing through Manti. This trail began at Burlington, Iowa, passed through the county seat of each of the counties of the south tier to reach the Missouri at Eastport, opposite present-day Nebraska City, Nebraska, where a good crossing existed. Once across the Missouri River, overland emigrants faced only a short trip to join the Oregon Trail.
at the Platte River. At one time Fremont County and the Manti area were considered a "Gateway to the West," and the latter had the only cemetery in the vicinity. Many people buried their dead there, and some of the families stayed on and helped the settlement grow.

Just as Brigham Young heard about the Salt Lake Valley from trappers and traders before he set out for the area, Alpheus Cutler could have learned about the southern end of the Nishnabotna River Valley from members of the Mormon Battalion who eventually saw service in the Mexican War. Three of Cutler's followers had marched with the famous battalion as it traveled through the area a few miles west of where Manti developed. When their term of enlistment expired in 1848, most members traveled north through California, crossed eastward through the Sierra Nevadas, and eventually joined the larger Mormon community at Salt Lake. Upon discovering that their families had not yet headed west, some Battalion members returned to Kanesville.

The excellent soil of the lower Nishnabotna Valley [see Map 1] provided Cutler and his followers an inviting agricultural paradise, quite in contrast to the isolated, desert lands that Brigham Young sought. This difference may best explain why Young's followers made the desert bloom like a rose through their hard work and commitment to a shared vision, while Cutler saw membership in his church
THE NISHNABOTNA RIVER AND HER VALLEYS

dwindle as members decided to rejoin families in the west or join Joseph Smith III’s reorganized church, then headquartered at Plano, Illinois. If Cutler had lived just a few years longer he would have seen his settlement also wither and die when the railroad entered the valley and bypassed his site. Cutler’s followers did not undergo the privations and confront immense challenges that might have strengthened and united them. Instead, they were so intent on the imminent call to build the temple in Zion (Independence, Missouri) that they did not put down deep roots into the rich prairie ground that might have allowed them to survive the encroaching Gentile population and increasing state the political control of the area.

One of the biggest problems facing modern scholars who wish to research and write about the Manti area is how to define the area. Joseph V. Hickey recently published a book which makes this task much easier for researchers. While examining the Kansas ghost town of Thurman, Hickey wrestled with this same problem, how to refer to an area that had a high potential to develop into a successful town but never did. Hickey developed a set of criteria to help define the concept of a “settlement.” His criteria included the settling of an associated kinship group at a trail crossing; the establishment of one or more cabins that served as a hub for meetings and communication; the presence of a post
office; and the early establishment of a school which also served as a meeting place. Hickey's model also postulated the "three mile rule" that no member of the settlement would be more than three miles from a public institution such as the school or post office. Manti met all of these criteria except that instead of a limit of three miles from a public institution, citizens lived as far as four miles away.

Manti survived for only twenty-five years. Although Cutler's church still exists, its members are few. All that remains of the settlement today is the cemetery, Cutler's house, and a grove of trees. During its relatively short life, the settlement of Manti and its surrounding region would witness the westward migration of people toward the frontier, Southern secession and the Civil War, the arrival of a railroad, the creation of two nearby towns, and the modernization of southwestern Iowa agriculture. Manti also served as the formative place where three religions -- the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and the Cutlerites -- can meet and share their common heritage today.

Unlike Young's city of Salt Lake, Cutler's settlement of Manti never really became a town, remaining instead more a collection of widely scattered homes and businesses at a
cross-roads where stages stopped. As a result, the settlement that did develop has been largely overlooked except in a peripheral way by studies concerning the Cutlerite religion or the development of Shenandoah. An accounting of the settlement, surrounding region, early Cutlerite influences, and the evolution of a more heterogeneous society throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century is therefore long overdue for this understudied area of southwestern Iowa.
ENDNOTES


2Ibid., 12.

3Ibid., 24, 28, 31.

4Ibid., 51.


6William J. Petersen, Iowa: The Rivers of Her Valleys (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1941), 285.

7Virgil J. Vogel, Iowa Place Names of Indian Origin (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1983), 55.


12Voss, "Indian Land Cessions in Iowa," iii.


Although the Mormon exodus began from Nauvoo, Illinois in 1846, a final destination was yet unknown. However, Brigham Young did have some definite criteria in mind as to where he would finally create the new Zion in the Wilderness. First was the need for physical separation from the federal and state governments which had shown themselves unwilling or unable to protect church members. A second reason to seek isolation was removal from the larger Gentile population of "non-believers" who had repeatedly persecuted the Saints. Another primary consideration was to find a place that would let Mormons worship as they chose, thus preserving the church and its communal way of life.

If Alpheus Cutler had specific requirements for a new location when he left Silver Creek, Iowa they are now lost to the public records. Yet, based on an understanding of Cutler's recorded beliefs, it is possible to reconstruct some considerations he might have had. As a stone-mason charged with the responsibility of building the temple of Zion at Independence, Missouri, he would have desired to be nearby when the construction call finally came. Additionally, Cutler felt called to serve the Indians in Kansas since Joseph Smith had made him responsible for
taking the gospel to the Lamanites (Native Americans). The southern end of the Nishnabotna River Valley certainly met both of these conditions by placing Cutler near Independence and northeastern Kansas.

Where is this valley? What is its history? Who were its previous residents? What unique factors made it a welcomed refuge for Cutler and his followers? These are just some of the questions that need to be answered before the role of the Manti community can be discussed.

Deep in the interior of what would become the continental United States was a beautiful land of rolling hills and abundant water. Bounded on two sides by mighty rivers, the area would become Iowa. Long before the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo or Cutler's search for a new place to settle, the land was inhabited by various groups of Native Americans.

Relatively little information is known about the prehistoric groups that freely roamed the area. The first evidence of human inhabitants places the time at least 20,000 years ago during the "Paleo-Indian" or "Big-Game Hunting" period. Apparently these people only passed through southwestern Iowa, since the few recovered artifacts from this period have been surface finds. Actual physical remains of these people date back 12,000 years. During the Archaic Period, 8,500 to 1,000 years ago, Native Americans lived in the area on a more permanent basis. Small village
sites and bison kill sites have been excavated by archaeologists at a number of western Iowa locations.¹

Approximately 2,000 years ago, the area was populated by Woodland Culture people, part of the Hopewellian culture. Three characteristics distinguish these peoples from the area's earlier inhabitants -- their pottery, building of burial mounds, and the use of domesticated plants. Unfortunately, little is known about these people while they lived in western Iowa, even though it is believed that they were the most widely distributed culture in the area. It is known that the Woodland people domesticated plants in other areas where they lived, but there is little evidence to indicate that they did so in Iowa. This may be because of the abundance of wild plants and animals, or because of the marshy conditions of known sites in western Iowa. It also is known that they cultivated corn in nearby South Dakota fields. Excavation of burial mounds indicates that these people also participated in an extensive trade network since items as diverse as obsidian, copper, mica, and conch shells have been discovered, none of which are indigenous to the area.²

The next significant inhabitants of southwestern Iowa were members of the Nebraska Culture. These people were part of the Central Plains Tradition, but they were so different from the other groups as to merit a separate name.
As agriculturalists, the Nebraska Culture people lived in settled communities along the streams and bluffs of Mills County near the present town of Glenwood. Evidence indicates that they were established by about A.D. 900 and disappeared from the area before A.D. 1400. Why they disappeared is unknown, but the best guesses are changing climate, crop failure, or pressures from neighboring people. They probably did not disappear, but rather moved away or became incorporated with other Indian people, and thus lost their cultural identity. Experts believe that the remnants of the Nebraska Culture probably entered the historical period as Caddoan-speaking people, possibly as part of the Pawnee.3

Contemporaries of the Nebraska Culture at Glenwood were the Oneota. Some evidence exists of contact between these two groups, especially since they lived in adjacent areas. As a distinct part of the Middle Mississippian Culture, the Oneota developed by adapting to a prairie environment. These people were partially nomadic, which may help explain their survival in the area long after neighboring cultures had disappeared. However, their part-time cultivation of corn probably also contributed to their survival.4

Initially, the early Oneota seem to have lived a semi-sedentary life that allowed them to divide their time equally between hunting and agriculture. When the weather
changed dramatically in the early thirteenth century, the growing season was shortened significantly. The most likely explanation of the survival of these people was their ability to adapt to a primarily hunting culture in response to the changing climate.⁵

One of the unique characteristics of the Oneota Culture was their use of red pipestone, or Catlinite, found in southwestern Minnesota. To them, Catlinite was sacred. It was used to make pipes and was carried in medicine bundles.⁶ This proved to be one of the ways that anthropologists linked these prehistoric people to the historic people of this area, the Ioway.

For many years after the Europeans began to settle this continent, the indigenous people and the land of the interior remained unknown to them. Few Europeans had any reason to venture so far into the interior. Three factors finally compelled the French to expand their exploration of the continent’s vast interior. A water passage through the continent to the Pacific Ocean was perhaps most important, but the French also sought to obtain new territories for fur trade and Indian souls to convert.⁷

Indians told the Frenchmen about a great river in the interior of the country. Finally, in 1673, Louis Joseph, the Marquis of Montcalm, the governor of New France commissioned an exploring party to find this river that,
hopefully, would provide a way to the Pacific Ocean.
Although this was the primary purpose of the mission, it is
clear that converting Indians to Christianity was also a
factor since a Jesuit missionary accompanied the exploration
party. Louis Joliet served as the leader, Jacques Marquette
was the missionary, and five assistants accompanied the
expedition.8

As the Frenchmen moved south on the Illinois River and
then down the Mississippi River, they found a unique land
unlike anything they ever had seen. There were vast meadows
of grasslands that, from the very beginning, they called
“prairies.” The vastness of these grasslands gave the word
a new meaning since few trees blocked the view of the
distant horizon.9

Marquette and Joliet, while exploring and mapping the
Mississippi River for France, were the first white men to
see this interior land that later became Iowa. They did not
explore the entire length of the river, for once they were
sure that the Mississippi River emptied into the Gulf of
Mexico, they turned back to Green Bay, Wisconsin. Another
Frenchman, determined to claim all the land south and west
of the Great Lakes, would name this vast area and explore
the length of the great river. Robert Cavelier de La Salle
reached the Gulf of Mexico on April 9, 1682 and claimed all
the land west of the river for France, having already named
the area Louisiana in honor of King Louis XIV. Of the many Indian tribes that inhabited this new land named Louisiana, the Yankton Sioux had a word for sun, _ouee_, that some French promoters claimed was the French pronunciation of Louis without the first letter, an indication that God intended for the country to belong to Louis.\(^{10}\)

Even after La Salle explored the Mississippi River and claimed this vast area, the land west of the Mississippi River remained largely unexplored and uninhabited by the Europeans. Mapping of the interior was also a slow process. The vastness of the continent meant that reaching the interior would take time. The lack of permanent settlements by the French and Spaniards meant that a cartographer had to rely on information which passed through numerous hands, especially from some Indians and traders. As a result, Iowa was often featured erroneously on maps which showed mountain ranges, first on the west shore of the Mississippi River, and then on the east bank of the Des Moines River. These mountains really were hills and bluffs, no more than five hundred feet in height, but they seemed like mountains compared to the flat prairies. Only after American Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny explored the area in 1835 did accurate information become widely available about the region.\(^{11}\) Until then, Iowa remained an Indian haven.
All of Iowa, except the extreme southwest corner, was the domain of the Ioway Indians. Known by a variety of names such as "Ayooues," "Ayoes," "Ayoa," "Haynas," and "Aiouez," these Indians were apparently descended from the prehistoric Oneota. Because the Oneota Culture covered a large area of the Mississippi and Missouri river valleys in the modern states of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, it is believed that a number of linguistically-related tribes emerged from that culture. Although the connection to the Ioway has the strongest documentation, it is believed that the Winnebago, Missouri, and Otoe, as well as other nearby tribes, are also descended from the Oneota culture, and they are relatives of the Ioway. During the early historic period, the Ioway roamed over much of Iowa, but the Otoe-Missourias possessed a stronger claim to Southwest Iowa.12

The major river valley in southwestern Iowa is that of the Nishnabotna River. It is possible that the Otoes lived in this valley at some time, but by 1717 they moved to the west side of the Missouri River and settled on the Platte River. After that date they had no permanent village on the east side of the Missouri River, but did continue to hunt in the area. Over time, the Otoes hunted east of the Missouri River less and less because of the diminished supply of game and competition from other tribes.13
Since both of these tribes were relatively small, others also hunted in the area, especially the Sioux and the Sac and Foxes. Later, after Europeans settled on the East coast and began trading with the tribes, Indians became increasingly dependent on trade goods. By the late 1600s, extensive trade networks occasionally brought items such as glass beads, iron knives, and metal axes into the interior, some of those arriving by way of the Spanish Southwest. Without direct connections to the interior, the trade networks and personal contacts between white traders and the natives in the area required many transfers from one tribe to another. Once direct contact was made in the interior, trade goods moved west through the trade networks more easily and more quickly, but iron knives and metal axes remained scarce until the late 1600s.

Trade brought materials to Indians that made their life easier, but it also brought two problems that would have negative consequences -- an increasing dependence on whites, and a depletion of wildlife. Initially, only a few French traders traversed the area in search of furs and skins trapped by Indians, but others soon followed since Iowa's streams and woodlands were filled with wild game. This made the area a perfect hunting ground for the Indians and ripe for exploitation by the fur traders. For many years, however, Indians had no outlet for their furs until a
trading post was erected about 1690 near where the Wisconsin River empties into the Mississippi River. Each successive decade after that put new pressures on the populations of fur-bearing animals.

Although the French and Indian War was fought far from Iowa, it had a significant impact on the area. In 1762, France was losing the war and wanted to keep England from gaining control of the land west of the Mississippi River. To that end, France ceded the area to Spain. England’s defeat of France also created problems for existing fur trade patterns in Iowa. Although the land was held by Spain, Spanish traders were unable to compete with the new wave of British traders, and the latter began to take the lion’s share of Iowa furs. The Mississippi River remained the outlet until about 1800, when a trading post was established near the present city of Des Moines. Each year the agent accumulated enough furs to warrant the 200-mile trip down the Des Moines River, to where it emptied into the Mississippi River, in order to exchange the furs for a new supply of trade goods.

Iowa country was a hunter’s paradise. Beaver, otter, deer, elk, bear, buffalo and fox were abundant. So rich was the area that an estimate of annual worth of pelts gathered by the Ioways was $6,000. This was the harvest for just one year by one relatively small tribe. Other,
larger tribes such as the Sioux, Sac and Fox, and Oto-Missouri also hunted the area and could be expected to take even more furs and skins.

Although French traders came in contact with Indians of western Iowa in the early eighteenth century, attempts to establish the fur trade there were aimed principally at the more numerous Sioux in South Dakota and southern Minnesota. Western Iowa’s role continued to be that of a hunting ground for the various tribes. By 1737, the Sacs and Foxes forced the French to cease their operations with the Sioux. In 1743 construction plans for a fort near the present site of Fort Leavenworth were made. Named Fort de Cavagnial, the site was continuously inhabited from its completion until 1764. This provided a closer location than the Mississippi River where Missouri and Kansas Indians could bring their deer and bear skins and the Otoe and Ioway Indians brought eighty packages of beaver. Fort Madison, established in 1808 near the Mississippi River, was the first United States government trading post in Iowa. Other posts would follow, but they also were in the eastern part of Iowa, close to the Mississippi River.

White men apparently made frequent visits to the Indians along the Missouri River by 1800. When Meriwether Lewis and William Clark made their historic trip to the Pacific Ocean in 1804, they found a few white men already
living along the Missouri slope north of St. Charles, Missouri. \textsuperscript{26} They likewise encountered mobile traders along stretches of the Missouri River as far north as present-day South Dakota.

Lewis and Clark were among the first to report on the prospects for fur traders on the Upper Missouri River, but it was another man, Manuel Lisa, who developed the first trading links with the Indians there. Lisa was particularly adept at building positive relations with the Indians. Between 1807 and 1820, he probably had more influence over the Indians of western Iowa than any other white man. \textsuperscript{27} Lack of a trading post in western Iowa took most of the profits out of the area until a trading post was established at Bellevue, Nebraska. Trade with the Upper Missouri River Indians was primarily responsible for creation of this post, but the use of western Iowa as a hunting ground for at least five different tribes certainly did not hurt prospects for a valuable post to develop somewhere in the area. \textsuperscript{28} Ioway, Sioux, Otoe, Omaha, Sac, and Fox tribes all hunted in the vast territory of western Iowa. \textsuperscript{29}

Until recently, the exact date of the founding of Bellevue was unknown, but that it was founded by the Missouri Fur Company generally is agreed. \textsuperscript{30} This was Lisa's company, although he was dead by the time Bellevue began. Recent research has shown that Bellevue can be
directly linked to a trading post built in October 1822 by Joshua Pilcher, senior partner of the Missouri Fur Company. Soon the post was considered an important center not only for the fur trade, but also later for its missionary work, and for its role as an agency for several tribes.31

Although the modern image of a fur trader is a romanticized ideal of daring deeds and exciting adventure, the reality of a trader's life was filled with danger. French voyagers, so closely associated with the fur trade, probably contributed greatly to the romantic stereotype. Additionally, the French practice of taking Indian wives also romanticized the lifestyle.32 In reality the life of a fur trader was hard, frequently dangerous, and usually lonely. Although few fur traders lived to an advanced age, the great potential for profit attracted many men. The exchange relationship inherent in the trade gave both the Indians and the traders obligations toward each other that helped each to survive in a harsh and changing world.33

For many years, southwestern Iowa would be one of the farthest extensions of the fur trade. Other fingers eventually extended up the Missouri River and into the Rocky Mountains, but Southwest Iowa remained a prime trading area well into the mid-nineteenth century. There were several reasons for this, but perhaps most important was its habitat as a tall grass prairie [see Map 2]. Lt. Zebulon Pike,
TALLGRASS REGION
of the
CENTRAL UNITED STATES

Source: John Madson, Where the Sky Began: Land of the
Tallgrass Prairie (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company),
frontispiece.
after completing his exploration to the headwaters of the Mississippi River in 1805, stated in his official report that the "prairies [of Iowa] were incapable of being cultivated" and should be left to the Indians. Until at least the mid-1800s, most farmers considered any land not growing trees to be infertile.

But tall grass prairie had other attributes. A landscape that completely concealed a man on horseback from his traveling companions also concealed big game such as elk, deer, and bears, as well as many varieties of smaller game. Food for the body abounded in the tall grass prairies. In addition to meat, there were varieties of grain provided by wild seeds. In the trees along the many creeks that watered the prairies grew a variety of nuts, and the creeks provided abundant fish and water fowl.

Tall grass prairies also provided food for the soul through their beauty. Each season had its own unique beauty, but to the early explorers and fur traders, summer seemed to be the most beautiful. Henry Brackenridge traveled up the Missouri River in 1811 and described a view from the bluffs as gently rising hills that were "extremely beautiful." Botanist and President Emeritus of the State University, Thomas H. McBride, described the Iowa landscape as it was before statehood in an article first published in 1895. He described the summer prairie as richly colored
from the deepest green of the slough grass to the creamy spikes of green fringed orchids. Nowhere, except in the meadows of the Alps, could one find such a colorful landscape, but the Alps paled in comparison with Iowa because of the vastness of the prairie. Perhaps the most surprising observation of the traveler was the presence of large flocks of parrots that turned leafless trees into a rainbow of bright color. Today's common show of color frequently comes from dandelions and ragweed, two plants that were nonexistent in southwestern Iowa during the fur trading era. Settlers brought those plants, but not until the mid-1800s.37

For most travelers and settlers the tall grass prairie was a place of unparalleled beauty. Vast open space, intensely blue sky, and the brightly shining sun, created a backdrop for the delicate colors and fragile flowers, thus turning the landscape into a constantly changing work of art that even the greatest artist could only hope to imitate but never equal.38 John James Audubon noted a wide variety of birds, including sandhill cranes, parakeets, pelicans, and bald eagles.39 J. N. Nicollet recorded many different kinds of trees such as soft maple, black walnut, mulberry, various oaks, elms, ashes, and willows, as well as occasional red cedars and wild cherries. He also wrote that the most common ground covers were gooseberries, sumac, and
wild roses. It is no wonder that the state created in this area would be called Iowa, meaning "beautiful land." Precisely because of this gradually unfolding knowledge of the Midwestern prairie landscape, new pressures were directed by settlers and the government against Indian lands. By 1820, military outposts stretched from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi River, both to protect whites and to prevent them from illegally moving into Indian lands. To serve Iowa, there were two posts on the Mississippi River, one at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin and another at St. Louis, Missouri. Unfortunately, it was only a short time before the pioneers pushed west and they were impatient at the slow pace of the government acquisition of the best agricultural lands from Indian tribes.

For a short time it appeared that Iowa would be spared the conflict. Lt. Zebulon Pike's 1805 report, including his observations that the area was not fit for white settlement, initially left Iowa to the indigenous tribes with enough land left over to provide for displaced eastern Indians. In 1820, Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, after his trip across northern Iowa, reported that the area would never support more than a sparse population due to the nature of the prairie, the ruggedness of the hills, and the apparent shortage of surface water.
The first eastern Indians to move into Iowa were the Sac and Fox, whose previous range was located in northern Wisconsin. Initially they moved into Iowa to escape the French in the early 1700s, and to locate new hunting grounds. Although there is proof that during the early period of movement they settled in the interior of the state, when they came for new hunting grounds they tended to stay in the Mississippi River Valley on both sides of the river. From this base they followed the river to hunt in the state's interior. By 1830, all of the Sac and Fox were located in Iowa.

In 1825, a federal agreement was reached whereby the Ioway and the Sac and Fox tribes agreed to jointly occupy Iowa land until a more permanent arrangement could be reached. Boundary lines were drawn to separate the different tribes and a declaration of mutuality was defined between the Sac and the Fox and the Sioux who were located to the north and northwest. This did not solve the problems, however, since neither side could be expected to honor something so foreign to their cultures. To further complicate the situation, each tribe had to allow the others to hunt in their area if permission was requested. The terms of this agreement proved unacceptable to all parties involved, and turmoil continued among the tribes.
The first cession treaty affecting these nations occurred at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, in 1830. All of the tribes involved ceded their rights to the western part of the state so that the President could relocate eastern tribes. This is known as cession 151 [see Map 3]. At the same time the Sac and Fox also ceded a twenty mile-wide strip in northern Iowa from about Ft. Dodge to the Mississippi River just south of Decorah, known as cession 152. Another twenty mile strip just north of the Sac and Fox cession was ceded by the Sioux in cession 153. In return for the land each of the participating tribes received a ten year annuity of $3,000 to educate the children. An additional sum was set aside to purchase agricultural and household goods so that the nations could begin farming in the white man’s way.

White settlers did not gain any new lands from the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, only the promise of peace, but white perceptions about the area were beginning to change. Knowledge about the agricultural potential of Iowa land was now spreading and it was just a matter of time before whites would be standing on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River waiting for free entry into the region.

Forced to abandon his tribal home in Saukenuk, Illinois, Black Hawk, one of the chiefs of the Sac and Fox, went to war from frustration over losing his tribal home.
INDIAN LAND CESSIONS IN IOWA

INDIAN LAND CESSIONS IN IOWA

Although relatively few of his tribe followed him, he wreaked havoc for a period of time in the summer of 1831. Even though the majority of Sac and Fox did not participate in Black Hawk’s War, the entire tribe was forced to cede a fifty mile-wide strip of land west of the Mississippi River known as cession 175. All tribal members were removed by June first. In exchange, the tribe received a four hundred square mile reservation in the center of Iowa, equally divided on both sides of the Iowa River. In addition, the Sac and Foxes received an annuity of $30,000 for 30 years, and a yearly allowance of 40 kegs of tobacco and a like amount of salt, as well as the usual tools and implements. In 1837, the Sac and Fox were required to cede another tract adjoining cession 175, totalling more than one million acres. At its widest point the newly divided tract was only about twenty-five miles, making it virtually intolerable for the Indians.

Even before these cessions were surveyed, whites began moving into the new area. When the actual surveying began in 1837, 10,500 whites already had moved across the river. Word quickly spread about the high quality of Iowa land and the government accelerated its efforts to move Indians out of the way. Efforts were begun quickly to gain what is known as Keokuk Reserve. This was a 256,000 acre strip of
land known as cession 226. This treaty was concluded on September 28, 1836.\textsuperscript{56}

While the government dealt with the Sac and Fox tribes, an entirely different aspect of the Indian problem was being addressed. As part of the 1830 Treaty of Prairie du Chien, the President had the right to move other tribes into the vacated area in western Iowa, cession 151. With the Treaty of Chicago in 1833, the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattomies were to be moved into that area.\textsuperscript{57} This treaty was to clear those tribes out of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Initially these tribes were to be moved into western Missouri, but when that proved impossible, they were given the western Iowa land known as cession 265 [see Map 4].\textsuperscript{58} It was primarily the Pottawattomie that accepted this land [see Map 5].\textsuperscript{59}

Exacerbating the problem for these tribes was the fact that the state of Missouri was lobbying to annex some of these Indian lands along its northern border. In 1837, the Platte country, as this area was known, was annexed, again leaving the Indians without a home. This is what prompted the move into Iowa.\textsuperscript{60} By July 1837 the Pottawattomie were headed up the Missouri River, but they had no sooner arrived than talk about moving them again surfaced. It seems that the westward expansion in Iowa already was demanding government attention to quickly develop a means to provide
1850 IOWA BOUNDARIES INCLUDING THE 5,000,000,000 ACRES OF WESTERN IOWA GIVEN TO THE POTTAWATTOMIE

western land cheaply to settlers. In the meantime, the Pottawattomie continued to arrive on the banks of the Missouri River.

To care for them, a subagency was established at what later became Council Bluffs, Iowa. The majority of Indians settled in the immediate vicinity of the agency, but one-third of the group, led by Chief Big Foot, moved fifty miles south to the Nishnabotna River. Within this group were several bands, one led by Chief Wabonsa, who settled on Wabonsie Creek in Mills County, while another band of about 150, led by Shattie, settled near Sidney in Fremont County.

Problems for the Pottawattamie abounded and not just from whites. Other Indians were very unhappy about the arrangement. Of particular concern was the fact that much of the area was a common hunting ground for several tribes. The Otoe, in particular, felt that their principal supply of game was cut off by the movement of the Pottawattomies, and for a short time they considered moving to the east side of the Missouri River to protect their interests. This move was dissuaded by the Indian agents. Also, the Indians refused to settle down and become farmers and insisted on their right to preserve the lifestyle of their ancestors. This caused frequent clashes with white settlers, and demands for the complete removal of the tribes escalated.
The suggested solution was to move them southwest of the Missouri River.65

Between 1836 and 1838, the white population of Iowa quadrupled from 10,500 to 43,112. Continued clashes with the Indians and the growing white population over the highly desired soil forced the federal government to relocate these tribes by 1841. Very quickly the plan to move them south was dropped in favor of moving them north to an area between the Minnesota River and Iowa’s northern boundary. The plan developed two Indian territories, with the northern one reserved for the Sac and Fox, Winnebago, Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawattomie. To accomplish this the Sioux would give up five million acres of their land. The Sac and Fox refused to accept this land because of its alleged poor quality. They were, however, willing to sell part of their Iowa land.66

It was determined that a partial cession was inadequate and that all of the land must be acquired at one time.67 In October 1842, a new treaty ceded all of the remaining Sac and Fox lands to the federal government. They could remain on the western half of the cession for three years beginning October 11, 1842, but after that period would have to remove themselves completely from the area. The Indians were paid $800,000 at 5% interest, with $500 annually to each
principal chief, and $30,000 from each annual payment reserved for charitable work among the tribe.  

After ten years of negotiations, the federal government had acquired the majority of Iowa land. The largest tribes, the Ioway and the Sac and Fox, were finally removed from the territory forever. Only four small areas remained in Indian hands: the Pottawattomie in the west; the Winnebago on the Neutral Ground; and two small areas that extended into Minnesota belonging to the Sioux.  

In June 1846, the Pottawattomie, who were relocated to Iowa after the treaty of Chicago in 1833, were now forced to give up their Iowa claim. They were paid $850,000, of which $87,000 was used to purchase their new reservation in Kansas. In just fourteen years, the federal government gained control and ownership of almost all of Iowa, a feat replicated in few other areas of the country.  

The Indians were all but removed when another national problem developed in the state that would particularly affect southwestern Iowa -- slavery. By 1839, sufficient numbers of Blacks were in the territory to produce passage of a law regulating their entrance into the state. Each Black or mulatto who wished to enter the territory presented a certificate of freedom and posted a $500 bond guaranteeing good behavior. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had declared that lands north of Missouri and west of the Mississippi
River in the Louisiana Purchase, were to exclude slavery forever. With its close proximity to Missouri, Iowa obviously wanted some way of ensuring that Blacks entering the territory were free.72

Another factor was that Iowa settlers had come from all over, including from the South. Although many had not been slave owners, they considered the system acceptable, because it preserved a separation of races and enhanced the economy of their native region.73 In 1848, another group of people, dedicated to the abolition of slavery, would move into southwestern Iowa, thus setting the state for potential conflict that would not be completely resolved until after the Civil War.74

Some historians say that 1846 was a pivotal year for the entire United States, but it would certainly prove pivotal for Iowa Territory. When the year began it was a territory, and when the year ended it had become a state. The Indian problem was essentially resolved by year's end, but the slavery issue was only beginning and would contribute to further tensions. Likewise, during 1846, the Mormons began their long trek west from Nauvoo, Illinois by first crossing Iowa. These new migrants were destined to have a major impact on the southwestern tier of Iowa's counties and that impact would begin immediately.

2 Anderson, Western Iowa Prehistory, 25, 27; Alex, Exploring Iowa's Past, 122-125.

3 Alex, Exploring Iowa's Past, 140, 143; Anderson, Western Iowa Prehistory, 43, 49.


5 Alex, Exploring Iowa's Past, 147; McKusick, Men of Ancient Iowa, 144-145.

6 Alex, Exploring Iowa's Past, 145; Anderson, Western Iowa Prehistory, 68.


8 Ora Williams, "White Men Displace Red Men," Annals of Iowa 34 (1957), 44.

9 Ibid., 6-7.


11 Fox, "Iowa and Early Maps," 77-79.


15Anderson, "Iowa Ethnohistory," 1232-1233; Alex, Exploring Iowa's Past, 146.

16George Robeson, "Life Among the Fur Traders," Palimpsest 39 (February 1958), 93.

17George Robeson, "Fur Trade in Early Iowa," Palimpsest 39 (February 1958), 79.


19Robeson, "Fur Trade in Early Iowa," 80.

20Ibid., 82.

21Robeson, "Life Among the Fur Traders," 98.

22Robeson, "Fur Trade in Early Iowa," 83.


25Robeson, "Fur Trade," 83.

26William Petersen, "Iowa in the Louisiana Purchase," Palimpsest 35 (September 1954), 363; Van der Zee, "Episodes in Early History," 341.

27Robeson, "Fur Trade," 84-85.

28Van der Zee, "Episodes in Early History," 341.

29Ibid., 341.

30Robeson, "Life Among the Fur Traders," 94, 97.

Ibid., 94, 97.

Ibid., 102, 104.


Madson, Where the Sky Began, 15.


Sage, A History of Iowa, 3.


Bruce E. Mahan, "Explorations of Iowa," Palimpsest 7 (May 1926), 15.

44 Ibid., 61, 63.

45 Ibid., 64.


47 Royce, Indian Land Cessions, 726-727.


50 Ibid., 30.

51 Ibid., 34.

52 Ibid., 39-40.

53 Royce, Indian Land Cessions, 766-767.

54 Ibid., 46.

55 Ibid., 61.

56 Ibid., 30.


58 Ibid, 284, 287.

59 Ibid., 292-93.

60 Ibid., 294-95.

61 Jacob Van der Zee, "Episodes in the Early History of Western Iowa Country." Iowa Journal of History and Politics 11 (July 1913), 344.

62 John Todd, Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa (Des Moines: Historical Department of Iowa, 1906), 86-87.

63 Van der Zee, "Episodes in Early History," 313.

64 Voss, "Indian Land Cessions," 87.

65 Ibid., 89-92.
Ibid., 97.


Voss, “Indian Land Cessions,” iii.


Ibid., 73.

Todd, Early Settlement, 27.
When Brigham Young founded his theocratic state of Deseret in 1847, he was a thousand miles west of the nearest state in the United States. The original boundaries of Deseret were much larger than those of the modern state of Utah, but similar situations existed within eastern and midwestern states as their final boundaries were gradually settled. Such was the case for Iowa. In some ways Iowa had fewer problems than other states since the area is bounded by two major waterways, the Mississippi River on the east and the Missouri River on the west. But the northern and southern boundaries of Iowa were hotly contested, especially in the latter case where the slave state of Missouri abutted the free state of Iowa.

Known as the "Honey War," this dispute nearly caused the two states to come to blows, and it created a vexing problem that Congress could not easily resolve. Only intervention by the Supreme Court finally brought an end to the dispute.¹ Set in motion by a surveyor's error, the dispute lasted from 1808 to 1851, although it did not become serious until Iowa Territory was formally organized.² In 1808, the Osage Indians ceded land to the United States government, and the resulting treaty designated the future
northern boundary for Missouri. Because of the intervening
War of 1812, it was eight more years before the line was
actually surveyed. ³

In 1816, John C. Sullivan, accompanied by Pierre
Chouteau, a prominent businessman and fur trader in the
area, performed the survey. Sullivan started the task well,
but his effort ended in disgrace. Beginning where the
Kansas River emptied into the Missouri River, Sullivan drew
the line straight north, about one hundred miles, and then
he turned due east. His mistake was that once he turned due
east, he did not remember to make regular corrections on his
line due to true north and magnetic north being different.
The result was that the eastern-most end of the line was
several miles further north than the western-most end of the
line. ⁴ In addition, Sullivan failed to place permanent
boundary markers. He instead used piles of earth that
eroded within several years, and this left no visible means
to determine the boundary. ⁵ The problem with this line,
other than not being straight, was that Congress decreed
that all of the northern and southern boundaries of
individual states had to follow exact lines of latitude. ⁶
By not making corrections for the north, Sullivan created an
oblique line that did not follow a line of latitude as
required by law [see Map 6].
Since this area was not yet open to white settlement, there were no problems of major consequence for several years. In addition, because the map line was drawn straight, it was difficult to ascertain that there was a problem with it. In 1820, Congress passed an enabling act allowing the territory of Missouri to call a constitutional convention and apply for statehood. In so doing, one of the things that Missouri, and later Iowa, did was to set their state boundaries. Missouri’s northern boundary with the Osage Indians’ treaty and as surveyed by John Sullivan was the boundary that was followed. Again, this created no immediate problems. Statehood was granted to Missouri and people moved into the area.7

On June 3, 1834, the southern boundaries of Michigan Territory were defined as the northern boundary of Missouri which extended to the Missouri River. In 1836, Wisconsin Territory was created from the western part of Michigan Territory with the same southern boundary.8 Two years later, Iowa, a part of Wisconsin Territory, had enough inhabitants to become a territory in its own right. This was when the boundary problems became apparent.9

As people moved into the Iowa and Missouri border areas, they increasingly questioned which jurisdiction they were in, partly because of the growing animosity about slavery.10 Missouri was a slave state, which not only
AREA DISPUTED BY MISSOURI AND IOWA

Line CD The original Indian boundary known as Sullivan’s line, extended west to the Missouri River.

Line CE The parallel of latitude passing through the old northwest corner of the Indian boundary.

Line FG The parallel of latitude passing through the Des Moines Rapids in the Mississippi River.

Line AB The parallel of latitude passing through the rapids in the Des Moines River at the Great Bend.

allowed, but also encouraged slavery. Therefore, people who were against slavery preferred to be on the northern side of the Missouri boundary, and in Iowa's jurisdiction which disallowed slavery.

As additional settlers came into the area and had land surveyed to establish titles, it became clear that the actual boundary line was not the straight line depicted on maps. Rather, the east end of the line was two and one-half degrees north of the west end. Missouri was determined to keep all the land that it claimed. Iowa was just as determined to enforce its concept of the boundary.

Part of the problem, in addition to Sullivan's error, was that the original description of the boundary line was vague, referring only to rapids in the Des Moines River. Missouri insisted that the rapids in the Des Moines River were the ones to which the reference was made. The arrangement also would give Missouri more land, slightly over 2,000 square miles, as well as the 1,500 residents who lived in the disputed region. There was, however, a very well known rapids in the Mississippi River called the Des Moines Rapids. This was well known by the old timers in the area. Iowa believed that those were the rapids that were referred to in the original treaty with the Osage, since there was nothing famous attached to the rapids in the Des Moines River. This would give Iowa the disputed land.
Initially, the governor of Missouri and the territorial governor of Iowa tried to resolve this dispute, but neither side would concede. In applying for statehood, Iowa needed to have a defined southern boundary. It was clearly understood that the boundary used by Missouri for statehood was not a legal boundary since it was oblique instead of parallel to a line of latitude. Congress entered the debate and eventually three more boundary lines were drawn. The problem was caused by a rapids that each state defined differently. A fourth survey line by Joseph C. Brown would have given Missouri a strip of land approximately fourteen miles north of its present boundary. Iowa greatly disputed this and the two states continued to haggle.15

There was a time when both states called men to arms. Missourians even "invaded" southern Iowa, but fortunately cooler heads prevailed and the troops were called back before any blood was shed.16 The United States Supreme Court finally solved the problem in 1851. It was not until some time afterwards that both sides completely accepted the decreed boundary, which was basically the original Sullivan line boundary, corrected for its error in mistaking magnetic north for true north.17 Eventually, as a result of the Supreme Court decision, the boundary was marked with permanent iron pillars that had "Missouri" inscribed on one side and "Iowa" on the opposite side.18 The original
markers, mounds of earth, were gradually destroyed by wind and water erosion.¹⁹

The year 1846 proved to be a very important one for Iowa. On December 28, Iowa was granted statehood. Before that, another extremely significant event occurred. According to historian Bernard De Voto, 1846 was "a year of decision" for the United States in many ways. One of the events he refers to as contributing to that momentous year of decision was the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois.²⁰

Beginning in the early 1840s, Gentile neighbors surrounding Nauvoo became increasingly hostile toward the Mormons.²¹ When the Mormons had first arrived in 1839, they had been welcomed, and the governor of Illinois had given them an extremely generous charter which assured them virtual home rule.²² They thought that they had finally found a place to construct their holy community on earth. Their satisfaction and joy in this accomplishment came as a result of the years of persecution they had experienced since the founding of the church in 1830. Forced, first, to leave Vermont, Joseph Smith and his family moved to New York where the church was officially organized. Later persecution forced them to move to the Pennsylvania area, but persecution continued to follow. The infant church moved to Kirtland, Ohio in 1831, but members were again driven away by persecution.²³ By 1833, the Latter Day
Saints, commonly referred to as the Saints, had moved to Far West, Missouri by 1836, believing that there they would find the semi-isolation where they could live peacefully. Once again the persecutions followed and they were unable to stay. Missouri’s Governor Lillburn Boggs even put out an extermination order on all Mormons. At Haun’s Mill, seventeen people were killed and another twelve were severely wounded by the vigilantes. Fear that the mob would return forced the survivors to bury the dead in a well shaft.

Once again they set out to create a new community in the supposed safety of western Illinois. When they arrived at Commerce, Illinois, a sleepy river town on the Mississippi River that was little more than a swamp, Joseph Smith indicated that this was the place where they would settle. For many, the reaction to this announcement was surely dismay. Many of the people who had followed Smith had been forced twice to relinquish all they had accomplished, and now they looked at a swamp and were told this would be the chosen place.

True to their nature, as diligent, hard-working, faithful men and women, they followed the prophet and began to build their city. By draining the swamps, they salvaged the land and created a thriving community. By the end of 1846, the town had grown to approximately 20,000. It was the
largest community in Illinois and it was a major hub of business on the Mississippi River. The Saints had accomplished this in a mere seven years, and yet, as had happened previously in other places, their success angered their neighbors. Among some Gentiles, the conviction grew that the people who followed Joseph Smith were not really following a true religion, but rather were mindless sheep following a charlatan prophet. The feeling grew that if Joseph Smith was removed, the church would disintegrate and there would be no more problems with these Mormons.

Joseph and Hyrum Smith, as well as others involved in destroying the anti-Mormon press belonging to The Expositor, were summoned to Carthage, Illinois by Governor Thomas Ford for questioning about the matter. They were promised safe conduct and a fair trial by the governor. Early on June 25, 1844, Joseph and the others with him were arrested on the charge of inciting a riot. Moments later Joseph was also charged with treason. All were taken to the Carthage jail. As Joseph rode away from Nauvoo on June 24, he turned to his brother and said, "I am as a lamb going to slaughter." While he was held in the jail for questioning, a mob assembled on June 27, 1844, broke into the jail, murdering Joseph Smith, his brother Hiram, and seriously wounding John Taylor. Willard Richards also was there, but he escaped with only minor injuries. Unfortunately for the mob, the
death of Joseph Smith did not have the desired result of causing the Church's disintegration. The church, led by the Twelve Apostles after the death of Joseph Smith, continued as usual. Persecutions did increase, but the Saints were true to their faith and surprisingly did not seek revenge for the murder of their prophet.  

In August of 1844, all of the church authorities finally returned to Nauvoo after they were called home from missions following the prophet's martyrdom. At this time, a number of leading members of the church each felt that he should be Smith's successor. In early August, a church meeting was called whereby all of those jostling for the position of President of the church were given their opportunities to speak. Among those present was the prominent Mormon, Alpheus Cutler. Born in Plainfield, New Jersey on February 29, 1784, Cutler and his family were among the first people to join the church in New York in 1833. Jointly baptized on January 20, 1833, the family members were part of the Silver Creek Branch in western New York. They had been to Kirtland, Far West, and now resided in Nauvoo. By trade, Cutler was a stone mason, and he was the principal stone mason for building the temple at Nauvoo.  

As the day proceeded, each of the contenders was given an opportunity to speak. Many made eloquent speeches, but
when Brigham Young rose to speak, many believed that a miracle occurred. When Young rose, he did not appear as Brigham Young, although everyone in attendance clearly saw that it was Brigham Young. Neither did he speak with his normal voice. Those who were present insisted that when Brigham Young stood to argue why he should be the leader of the church, he appeared as Joseph Smith and spoke in the voice of the beloved prophet. For most, if not all, of those who were witnesses, this was the deciding factor that enabled Brigham Young to become Joseph Smith's successor.37

At this time, however, it was sustained that the Quorum of Twelve would lead the Church. Young, as President of the Twelve, became the primary leader.38 He knew, as did the other of the Twelve Apostles, that the days for the Saints were numbered in Nauvoo. Although they had exercised admirable restraint after the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, even when the murderers were acquitted of all charges, they continued to be hounded by the local Gentile population.39

Young and the other apostles formulated a plan for leaving Nauvoo at the appropriate time in the near future. Every family was encouraged to accumulate the necessary goods and food stuffs, as well as wagons and teams, so that they would be prepared for the exodus.40 For most, the only way to raise the necessary funds was through the sale
of their property. Unfortunately, few could obtain full value for their property because Gentiles realized that these people soon would be leaving and whatever was left behind would be available for the taking. This presented a great deal of hardship for the Latter-Day Saints as they tried to take care of daily needs, while simultaneously preparing for the exodus.\(^4\)

Amid these demanding concerns, a second, fevered activity was taking place -- completion of the temple. It also strained the very limited resources of the people, but a determination was made that, although they would leave the completed Temple behind, just as when they were forced to leave behind the temple in Kirtland and the temple building lot in Independence, they would complete the temple in Nauvoo.\(^2\)

Even before the temple was completed and before Joseph had been martyred, temple theology had been introduced. The hierarchy of the church had received their endowments\(^3\) as part of this temple theology, and among the first was Alpheus Cutler.\(^4\) While Joseph Smith's wife, Emma, denied it to her dying breath, as did her son, Joseph III, Joseph Smith had indeed claimed to have received a revelation instituting the practice of polygamy within the church.\(^5\)

Again, contrary to popular local belief, Alpheus Cutler did practice polygamy. In addition to his first wife, Lois,
Cutler had at least six other wives. All indications are that he took these wives while he was still in Nauvoo and was possibly sealed, a church term for eternal marriage, to several, if not all of them, in the temple. An additional argument for Cutler's support of plural marriage is that two of his daughters, Clarissa and Emily, were plural wives of Heber C. Kimball. This shows that Alpheus Cutler was certainly in the hierarchy of the church and that he accepted and practiced Joseph Smith's teachings on plural marriage.

Eventually the call came to leave Nauvoo. Young and the apostles hoped that they could wait until spring to assure better traveling conditions, as well as to extend the time for gathering and preparing as many Saints as possible. But Young led the first group of Saints out of Nauvoo on February 4, 1846. They crossed upon the ice of the Mississippi River and camped on the Iowa shore at a place called Sugar Creek. That night, in the harsh winter climate of cold and snow, nine babies were born to women who had left Nauvoo that day with the President of the church. In succeeding days, additional members crossed the river and came to camp at Sugar Creek or at other nearby locations.

The Church has long held that they had no real choice but to leave when they did. More recent scholarship seems to indicate that Young acted prematurely and that the mob
was not quite so insistent that they leave at that time, although evacuation of the Saints probably would have occurred before the anticipated late April or early May date anyway. Young saw the opportunity and took it to gather the Saints more firmly around him and it did accomplish his purpose.49

The actual movement from the camps on the Iowa side of the river did not begin until late February and early March. This was, perhaps, the worst time of all because the spring thaw made travel along the makeshift roads virtually impossible. And if the spring thaw was not enough to contend with, they faced endless days of unrelenting rain.50

Church members who diligently kept journals during this time clearly recorded these facts and were in agreement about the difficulties. It soon was apparent that even those members who accumulated relatively large amounts of supplies did not possess enough to see them through the ordeal. Sometimes, because of road conditions, lack of horses, and shortage of wagons, the people could not move more than a mile a day. They also discovered that their ground corn meal quickly molded in the dampness and became worthless. Because of the heavy rain everything was continuously soaked, and illness became rampant.51 A farmer who lived along the road, recorded in his journal that for the months of March and April, as they began
crossing the extreme southeast corner of Iowa, it was common to see anywhere from 80 to 100 wagons pass the farm on any given day, and this pattern continued for days on end. This was truly a movement of monumental proportions.

Travel was slow. Young initially was determined that at least part of the group would make it to the far west that year. Despite these obvious problems, he continued the directive and encouraged people toward the goal. To facilitate the mass movement of people in waves, he ordered the construction of permanent villages along the way. The first of these was at Garden Grove, Iowa.

The initial wagons to arrive stopped and cleared land, chopped timber for fences and shelters, and then moved onward. The next contingent prepared the ground for planting, felled additional lumber, did some initial planting, and then they too moved onward. The next group finished the planting, did some cultivating, and continued the processes begun by their predecessors. The idea was to build up these communities and the food supplies for those who would soon follow, especially for those who were poverty-stricken. For those whose health did not allow them to continue on the trail, they had a place to stay, a shelter, and food while they recovered. Then, once their health returned or they could gather more supplies, they moved on and rejoined the group. This became the pattern that was utilized in the
movement across Iowa and which would be duplicated later on the Great Plains.

Garden Grove quickly became essential to the migration because, by this time, the food supplies which were expected to see the Saints to the far west, were declining. Even before the initial groups reached Garden Grove, they had to gather additional food by a variety of means. Among the early groups that left Nauvoo was a brass band which visited communities and performed concerts in return for food. The supplies were then taken back and shared among the needy Saints. At various times, both because of the proximity to the border of Missouri and also because of the need for food, some of the more daring men risked crossing into Missouri to buy or work for provisions. This was extremely perilous because the governor of Missouri still had an extermination order out for any Mormon who was found within the borders of his state. Fortunately, there are no recorded instances in which any Mormon lost his life because of that order during the crossing of Iowa.

The next permanent community built by the Saints was Mt. Pisgah, approximately forty-five miles northeast of Garden Grove. While the latter continues as a community into the present time, nothing remains of the settlement at Mt. Pisgah today except the graveyard and a couple of
monuments commemorating the Saints who lived and died there.  

From Mt. Pisgah, the Saints continued to angle slightly northwest until they reached the parallel of modern Council Bluffs. They followed Indian trails into that area on the Missouri River. By this time it was late spring in 1846, and Young was still determined that at least one pioneer company would set out immediately for the far west. Various plans were put forth, and exploring parties were sent out to determine the feasibility of each plan. Young finally concluded that there would be no movement past the Missouri River during that year. There were simply too many Saints without adequate provisions, too many Saints without the adequate means to gather those provisions, and it was too late in the season to cross the plains and pass through the mountains before winter descended upon them.  

Young then negotiated with the Native Americans of the area, in particular the Otoes, who were across the river and slightly southwest of their main camp at Miller’s Hollow, just south of modern-day Council Bluffs. In addition to the Otoes, Young also negotiated with the Omahas who were northwest of the main camp. Young was a masterful negotiator and he played the two tribes against each other, trying to secure the best deal for the Saints. Indian needs were not totally neglected either because they were assured
that wherever Young set up his permanent camp, there would be improvements made, and when the Saints headed west, those improvements would remain behind as a payment for the use of the land.64 One must remember that at that time, all land on the west side of the Missouri River was guaranteed by treaty for Indian people, and whites had no legal rights there.

Brigham Young negotiated with the Omahas for a piece of property where modern-day Florence, Nebraska stands. On this piece of land, on the west side of the Missouri River, the Mormons platted and built the town of Winter Quarters [see Map 7].65 In reality, the shelters were little better than rude shanties, without windows, without doors, extremely small, and with only dirt floors. Some people were unable to manage even the luxury of a shanty in Winter Quarters. They dug caves in the bluffs so as to secure some shelter from the winter elements.66 Located on the side of a bluff, the new town was exposed to the winds and storms that came across the plains and caused a great deal of hardship and sickness, especially when combined with the poor diet and the already debilitated health of people residing there. According to church records, more than 600 people died during the winter of 1846-1847, among all the encampments on both sides of the Missouri River, and they were buried in Winter Quarters’ cemetery.67
KANESVILLE AND WINTER QUARTERS AREA 1846-1850

Alpheus Cutler was a key player at Winter Quarters for there he was designated as the President of the Municipal High Council, the governing body of the community. This was necessary because while the Quorum of Twelve Apostles governed the entire church, they could not oversee the day-to-day affairs of each individual community that spread out along the Missouri River. Its name, "Municipal High Council," clearly indicates that this was a theocratic community and that one body of government administered both the civil affairs of the community, as well as the church affairs which Cutler helped direct as its President.  

Cutler also was the founder of Cutler's Park, south of Winter Quarters. Here the Saints had settled prior to their move to Winter Quarters. During the harsh winter of 1846-1847, the Mormons endured at Miller's Hollow, Winter Quarters, and at all of the other smaller camp-sites containing the thousands of Saints who had made their way across Iowa from Nauvoo.  

As spring approached, Brigham Young was determined that as soon as possible, a pioneer company would set out for the far west. He always claimed that he did not know exactly where he was going or where he was going to take the Saints, but that the Lord would show him the correct place.  

Strong evidence indicates that Young already had decided on the Great Salt Lake Basin in modern Utah. It is known that
he had access to military journals and maps, such as those of John C. Frémont, and he was thoroughly familiar with the contents. So it is very probable that the Great Basin was already to be their destination, but whatever his reasons, he was not ready to announce to the main body of the church exactly where they were going.70

A pioneer company of 147 Saints set out during that spring on the perilous trip to Brigham Young’s undesignated spot in the western wilderness. Three women and two children joined what was otherwise an all-male pioneer company.71 Among those chosen to be part of that pioneer company was Alpheus Cutler, as was Heber C. Kimball.72 While Kimball did go west as part of the Pioneer Company, Cutler did not, though the reasons are not entirely clear.73 The most likely explanation concerns Cutler’s position as one of the seven leaders set apart by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, and his distinct responsibility to minister to the Native Americans. During that winter, Cutler had applied to Brigham Young to continue his work with the Indians, and possibly, at the last minute, Young gave him permission to remain behind.74

Another unclear aspect of the story is how Cutler convinced his daughters, Clarissa and Emily, to remain behind with him instead of going with their husband, Heber C. Kimball. While neither of them would have gone in the
Pioneer Company, Clarrisa and Emily surely would been among the first groups to follow the Pioneer Company. Cutler was able to convince them to stay behind with him.\textsuperscript{75}

One of the most touching stories to come out of the Pioneer Company’s leaving Winter Quarters is Heber C. Kimball’s farewell to his wives and sons. By the spring of 1846, both Emily and Clarissa had given birth to sons by Kimball. Abraham Alonzo was the elder boy and the son of Clarissa. Before Heber left, he took Abraham Alonzo, held him in his arms, and gave him a blessing that one day this boy would go to Utah, find his father, be an active church member, serve a mission for the church, and be instrumental in bringing his younger half-brother, Isaac, son of Emily, to Utah to know his father.\textsuperscript{76}

Since Kimball believed that his wives would be following soon; the blessing did not seem to have the weight and the importance that it would gain in later years. Since Cutler was able to convince both girls to remain behind, both Abraham and Isaac were raised by their grandfather, Cutler, at Manti, Iowa. As time progressed, this blessing, this prophecy, seemed less likely to be fulfilled.

In the meantime, Cutler received permission to go to eastern Kansas to explore the possibilities of a mission there. His report about economic possibilities was even more promising than anyone expected, but the Church still
did not give official permission for him to proceed with the economic plans Cutler had developed. He returned to the original campsite, now known as Kanesville, where Orson Hyde was left as the Presiding Elder over the Saints, to organize and facilitate the dispersal of additional companies at regular intervals. In 1848, Cutler was named as the Branch President, or ecclesiastical leader of the Silver Creek Branch of the church southeast of Kanesville. Cutler returned to Kansas, with his family, for a second mission where he apparently spent several years. Both of his daughters were buried in Kansas. Clarissa died of cholera and Emily died during childbirth, although her daughter survived. Both daughters had married members of Cutler's group since their polygamous marriages to Heber C. Kimball were not recognized by Iowa law. Clarissa married a man named Fletcher and Emily married a man named Pratt.

Orson Hyde, as the Presiding Elder over the Saints in the area, increasingly grew concerned about Cutler's manner of leadership. He sent people to investigate Cutler's group at Silver Creek and eventually had Cutler disfellowshipped in 1850 after getting a resolution passed at the April 1850 Iowa Conference. This resolution demanded that Cutler either move to the Salt Lake Valley or appear before the local High Council. Failure to comply would result in Cutler's disfellowship. Still believing that Hyde did not
have this authority over him, Cutler did neither and was
disfellowshipped that fall. Cutler accepted the
disfellowship, but he did appeal it to Brigham Young.79
Young apparently upheld the disfellowship, and Cutler
was excommunicated in 1851 on charges of heresy and failure
to obey the Utah church’s authority.80

Despite this turn of events, Cutler never felt that he
was out of the mainstream of the church. He believed that
he still had authority equal to Orson Hyde, and possibly to
that of Brigham Young. So while he did accept Brigham Young
as the chosen leader, he did not accept Hyde as having more
authority than he did in church affairs, nor as an influence
on how he should run his branch of the movement.81 Many of
the particular records are unavailable for research,
especially from Cutler’s point of view, but there is strong
indication that the excommunication of Cutler may have
partially resulted from a power play by Orson Hyde. Every
ordinance that Cutler had received in the church before his
excommunication was later restored to him by the First
Presidency.82

Confusion still remains as to whether or not Silver
Creek was the initial settlement that Cutler founded, or if
he had actually founded his first settlement near present-
day Malvern, Iowa. Part of the problem is that records
remain incomplete. Another factor is that the supposed
location near Malvern is quite close to the known location on Silver Creek, so it well could be that the two names represent the same place.

Very quickly Cutler decided that this was not the desired location. In 1852, he sent out a scouting party consisting of several of his followers from the Silver Creek Branch. Some of them had been excommunicated either at the same time as Cutler, or soon thereafter. Others simply joined Cutler of their own volition. Edmund Fisher and the others traveled primarily south, but slightly east of their location, at Silver Creek or Malvern. They chose a site on Walnut Creek near a knoll of shag-bark hickory trees [see Map 8]. Located in the extreme northwestern corner of Fisher Township on the boundary between Fremont and Page counties, the sizeable grove made it a highly desirable location since most of southwestern Iowa was open prairie, with very little timber except on the banks of rivers and streams. Adequate timber and good water were usually considered the most important criteria for any potential settler. Manti's site offered abundance in both areas. Soon after Fisher's party took up land, Cutler and the rest of the group joined them. Although it has long been claimed that Edmund Fisher bought the first land, no recorded deed has survived. However, the creek was renamed Fisher Creek in his honor, and when Fremont County was
FREMONT COUNTY 1853 BEFORE MANTI WAS FOUNDED

Source: George J. Briggs, "Fremont County Map, 1853," State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
formed and divided into townships, the township in which the settlement was located also was named after him.87

The name chosen for this new settlement was Manti, a designation that has no known meaning other than that it is a place name in the Book of Mormon. Within these pages, Manti is mentioned four times -- as a community, a hill, a land, and as a soldier's name.88 In Iowa the name would also have several applications -- as a grove of trees, a settlement, and an area of Fremont and Page Counties. This area includes Fisher, and parts of Walnut, Prairie, Riverton, and Locust Grove Townships in Fremont County, as well as part of Monroe and Grant Townships in Page County. Unless otherwise indicated, all usage of Manti will refer to this larger area.

On the frontier, settlements followed the "three mile rule" -- when population was sufficient, no one would have to travel more than three miles to reach a public institution such as a post office or school.89 At Manti it seems that a four mile rule constituted the area of settlement. Even before there was a post office, a school had been built in 1853 in a rudimentary log structure. For a short time the school also served as a church, and even after a separate church was built in 1854 or 1855, the school continued to be center of activity for the settlement. This is another of the criteria for determining
the existence of a settlement. In April of 1854, a post office was opened in the settlement of Manti, with Edmund Fisher named as its first postmaster. This institution is the only evidence to support the concept of a town, but in reality Manti never reached the full status of a town. Edmund Fisher was a farmer, postmaster, and half owner of a sawmill, who also donated the land for the cemetery, allegedly because it was his own daughter who was the first settlement member to die. However, cemetery records indicate that it was Anna Taylor who was the first to be buried there.

Immediately after Cutler brought his followers to Manti, he founded a new church. Although this was not his original intention, he simply believed that because of the authority that Joseph Smith had given to him, he had as much right to lead the church as did anyone else. And, he believed that he alone was keeping Smith’s church in its purest form. He never claimed to be prophet, seer, and revelator for all the followers of Smith. He did, however, claim to be the president of God’s Kingdom on Earth and the priesthood, which he saw as different and separate from the church, as well as being leader for this particular group of people. As Prophet, Seer, and Revelator for a church, Brigham Young did not accept Cutler’s belief in the separate Kingdom on Earth, just as he did not accept Cutler’s belief
that God had abandoned the church.\textsuperscript{95} Cutler differed from Young on this point since he believed that the expulsion from Nauvoo and the later destruction of the temple was proof that God had abandoned the church.\textsuperscript{96}

The best estimate of the number of people who followed Cutler was around forty families, plus other individuals and incomplete families who raised the approximate total to 400.\textsuperscript{97} Within the first few years, about half of the followers left Manti and Cutler's leadership. For some it was not over the question of leadership, but rather that their families had gone west with Brigham Young, and they decided that they wanted to rejoin family and friends. For others it was disillusionment, or at least a belated realization that Brigham Young was indeed the leader of the church, and if they wanted to be true and faithful Saints, they must go west even if they did not relish the journey. By far, the majority that left the Cutlerite church, however, joined with the Josephites, later known as the Reorganized Church.\textsuperscript{98}

Cutler's church is known as the True Church of Christ, and its members are referred to as Cutlerites. This is in keeping with all the other schismatic groups who became known by their leaders' names after Smith's death. Those of Joseph's followers who accepted Brigham Young as leader, were known as the Brighamites. There was another well known
leader at the time who attracted a sizeable following -- Jesse Strang -- whose followers were called Strangites. When Joseph Smith, III, son of the Prophet, agreed to assume the leadership of what became known as the Reorganized Church, his followers became known as the Josephites. 

Cutler's church still exists today, though it remains the smallest of the groups.

For a brief time, in the 1850s and 1860s, Cutler's church thrived. Perhaps more importantly, his settlement thrived, but he faced at least three major drawbacks to any long-term success for either his settlement or his church: ever encroaching civil authority; a lack of personal charisma; and the lack of numbers necessary to long-term success. First and foremost, he stayed within the established boundaries of a state of the United States, subject to all of the federal and state laws. Contrary to the popular belief of the people near Manti's location today, Cutler did not leave the main body of the church over the question of polygamy, although as his church evolved, he came to reject the doctrine of polygamy. One must remember that he was a polygamist himself. It was Iowa civil authority that forced him to give up his wives, sometime before 1851. He simply put some of his wives aside and they went on to marry other individuals. At least one of his wives followed him to Manti. This woman had two
children by Cutler and they grew up in Manti never knowing that Cutler was their father.\textsuperscript{101} This was the harsh reality of Iowa civil law extending into his personal life, his church, and his settlement.

Cutler tried diligently to follow the pattern of maintaining a theocratic community consisting of a First Presidency and a High Council. Unlike Smith's original church, Cutler did not establish a Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Once again state and federal laws did not long allow him to remain both the civil and spiritual leader of his people. There is no indication of any separate civil government developing to govern the increasingly diverse population. A second obstacle to Cutler's leadership was his lack of charisma. He was not a Joseph Smith who drew people toward himself. Although he attracted and held the loyalty of a relatively small group of people, he was unable to attract the number of followers who were needed to ensure long-term success. To further exacerbate the problem, he was unable to prevent even his own son from joining more charismatic leaders such as Joseph Smith, III.

By the end of 1854, Young and Cutler had completed their journeys and each had founded a new settlement. Young strengthened his position within the established Church, while Cutler founded a new one. From this point on, the
path each had chosen would diverge even more than when they had first separated at Winter Quarters in 1847.
ENDNOTES


3 Barrett, "Legal Aspects," 5-6.

4 Ibid., 6-7.

5 Hill, "The Honey War," 81.


7 Barrett, "Legal Aspects," 7.

8 Ibid., 8.

9 Hill, "The Honey War," 82.

10 Carroll J. Kraus, "A Study in Border Confrontation: The Iowa-Missouri Boundary Dispute," *Annals of Iowa* 40 (Fall 1969), 86.

11 Ibid., 82.

12 Hill, "The Honey War," 82.

13 Bennett, "Legal Aspects," 10-11.

14 Kraus, "Border Confrontation," 88.

15 Ibid., 88.

16 Ibid., 81.

17 Ibid., 105-106.

18 Hill, "The Honey War," 86.

19 Ibid., 81.

21Ibid., 79-82.


24Stegner, The Gather of Zion, 19-20; Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, Vol. 1, 413, 417.

25Stegner, The Gathering of Zion, 29; DeVoto, Year of Decision, 83.

26Stegner, The Gathering of Zion, 20; Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, Vol. 1, 480-483.

27Ibid., 21.

28Stegner, 23.

29Ibid., 23.

30DeVoto, Year of Decision, 80-81.


32Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, Vol 2, 248-249.

33Ibid., 284-289.

34Ibid., 307-308.

35Ibid., 414.


37 Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, Vol. 1, 418.

38 Bennett, Mormons at the Missouri, 18; D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," Brigham Young University Studies 16 (Winter 1976), 212; Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 34.

39 Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 30-31; Bennett, Mormons at the Missouri, 3.

40 Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 38; Bennett, Mormons at the Missouri, 14-15.

41 Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, Vol. 1, 536-537, 540-541.

42 Ibid., 406, 417.

43 The endowment is a major part of the temple theology that emerged during Joseph Smith's leadership. While it is not a secret and there is nothing taught that cannot be found in the Bible, it is considered sacred by members, and therefore not discussed or explained outside of the temple.


45 Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, 102; Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 310.


48Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 43, 50; Bennett, Mormons at the Missouri, 27.

49Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 42, 47, 49-50.

50Ibid., 57-58.


53Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 73; Bennett, Mormons on the Missouri, 26.

54Bennett, Mormons on the Missouri, 39.

55Ibid., 38-39.

56Ibid., 56.


58Bennett, Mormons on the Missouri, 33, 43; Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 63.

59Bennett, Mormons on the Missouri, 39-40; Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 54.

60Stegner, Gathering of Zion, 308-309.

61Ibid., 54-55, 68; Bennett, Mormons on the Missouri, 44-45.

62Bennett, Mormons on the Missouri, 42-44, 46.


64Bennett, Mormons on the Missouri, 70-71.

65Ibid., 66, 73.

66Ibid., 76, 78-79.


88*Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1991), 664.


90*Shenandoah's First 100 Years*, 55; Hickey, *Ghost Settlement on the Prairie*, 66-67.

91Farwell, "'Disfellowshipped' Mormons," 3.

92"Shenandoah! 'Daughter of the Stars,'" Shenandoah Sentinel, August 11, 1892.


97Ibid., 4.


100Jorgensen, "Antecedents," 53.

101Ibid., 64.
"Ibid., 69, 163.

69Ibid., 148.

70Ibid., 16, 148.

71Ibid., 162.


73Kimball, Heber C. Kimball, 180.


75Kimball, Heber C. Kimball, 180.


78Ibid., 202, 206.

79Ibid., 203.


84Rupert J. Fletcher and Daisy Whiting Fletcher, Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ (Independence, Missouri: The Church of Jesus Christ, 1974), 46.


87Walter Farwell, "'Disfellowshipped' Mormons Founded Manti in 1853 Move from Mills County," manuscript in possession of
CHAPTER III
GROWING PAINS, 1855-1870

When Brigham Young began the Saints' removal to the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847, he hoped for at least ten years of isolation from the rest of the country. The valley was off the normal westward trails to Oregon and California, and far enough outside United States' boundaries so that the Saints would have ample time to strengthen themselves against the next inevitable assault of persecutors. Although they did not gain the desired ten years of separation from the Gentiles, they did take such thorough possession of the Great Basin that they could continue to dominate the population and control the territorial government even after outsiders began to arrive. Through their shared hardships in reaching the valley and the hard work involved in converting the desert into green fields, the Saints were bonded to each other and to their religion. They not only survived these difficulties, but also thrived in their wilderness refuge to build a city, a state, and a religion that commands respect throughout the world today.

Young's experiment in the desert was in strict contrast with that attempted by Alpheus Cutler in southwestern Iowa during the same time. Since Manti was located in an
established state, it was already subject to state and federal authority, making a theocratic government virtually impossible from the very beginning. Although the area was sparsely settled, other non-Mormon settlers were already living in the area when Cutler and his followers arrived. Another problem was surely the proximity to Missouri, and especially to the northwestern area from which the Saints had been driven in the 1830s. Likewise, Missouri would have been a problem for them due to its strong defense of slavery. Although the boundary line had been settled in 1851, both states had difficulty accepting the boundary. Manti was located only a few miles north of the border that separated a slave state from a free state, thus keeping federal and state attention focused on the area. How much these factors contributed to the development of Manti is unclear. Nevertheless, they were real situations that Cutler would have to face almost immediately.

There were other realities over which they had absolutely no control -- acts of nature. The summers of 1858 and 1859 were apparently very wet. Although specific mention of the farm situation does not appear in the written record, rain was so prevalent that the creeks, streams, and rivers were in danger of flooding. A flood in July or August could quickly ruin what was an otherwise excellent
crop. To have it happen in two consecutive years would be devastating to the settlement.²

Grasshoppers were another threat to the farmers. In 1869, a sustained invasion occurred, this time destroying the vegetable and potato plants. One pioneer, Philend Pease, recalled that potatoes were "scarce as hen's teeth," and that cornbread and fried mush were the only available substitutes that year. Grasshoppers were again a problem in 1874, but the worst invasion did not occur until the following year. This time grasshoppers destroyed all the crops and defoliated virtually all the trees and shrubs. There were so many grasshoppers in the fields that a farmer could not avoid stepping on hundreds of them, or even breathe without risk inhaling at least one.³

Prairie fires were another threat to the settlement. Even in 1868 the area was so sparsely populated that pioneers had to plow around their buildings and burn 100 foot wide strips of ground between the furrows to act as fire guards.⁴ Even burning prairie grass to create a fire break could prove dangerous. J. L. E. Peck recalled such a case about his father soon after they had settled in neighboring Page County in 1862. In this instance, the fire created enough wind for Peck to lose control and it threatened a neighbor to the south. Peck was able to race to the neighbor, warn him of the danger, and assist in
saving the buildings. The writer also described a more traditional prairie fire in the following manner:

A prairie fire in those days was a grand sight, never again to be seen . . . 20 miles long, in zig-zag streaks of fire, in the total roaring like unto the rumbling of thunder in the heavens, and oft times wiping out grain and hay stacks and buildings, the wind at times catching up a haystack and carrying the blazing hay bunches for a long distance for further blazes of fire.5

Another early settler recalled one positive benefit from a prairie fire -- killing rattlesnakes -- although she commented that enough serpents survived so settlers always had to be attentive when they walked through the prairie or when they approached the river.6

Perhaps the most dangerous act of nature that pioneers had to face was a blizzard. The winter of 1856-57 was apparently one of the worst, and many local people were lost. On December 1, 1856, a cold rain began. The next day the rain froze and it started to sleet. On the third day snow began to fall and continued until December 13 when a full-fledged blizzard descended on the southwestern Iowa counties.7

Isaac W. Malcom recalled how his father and brother Robert were lost in that storm. Having set out early in the day to haul a load of corn, they were caught in the blizzard as they returned home. Becoming lost about 5:00 p.m., they wandered for many hours. Finally, the father cut the oxen
loose to return home on their own. Not knowing that they were only three-quarters of a mile from home, the father, himself exhausted, found a hazel thicket, placed Robert in it, and covered him with snow while he went for help. Finally the father spotted a light which turned out to be a quarter of a mile from where he had left Robert. It was now 3:00 a.m. By the time he and the neighbor returned for Robert, the boy was so frozen that he could not be revived. Likewise, the father’s feet were so frozen that he became a cripple, and was never able to farm or even walk again.8

Ironically, it was also death that brought some of the first non-Mormons to the settlement; the reason -- Manti had the only cemetery for miles around. Many families found it extremely difficult to bury their loved ones on the prairie without any permanent marker. And so both Mormons and Gentiles who found out about the cemetery sometimes detoured from their overland trip to bury their loved ones in consecrated ground. Some of those people then decided to stay near their loved ones in or near Manti. The permanent settlement of these non-Mormons again undercut Cutler’s attempt to maintain a theocratic government.9

Although it did not become significant until later, another factor in the early growth of Manti was the South Tier immigration route. This route began at either Keokuk or Burlington on the Mississippi River, and passed through
the county seat of each of the counties on the southern tier of Iowa, connecting with the South Platte route to the far west by crossing the Missouri River at either Bennett’s Ferry, Nebraska City, or Wyoming, Nebraska, during the 1850s and early 1860s. The farthest west that anyone could travel by railroad along this route was Ottumwa, Iowa. One then took the stage coach the rest of the way, with the last stop in Iowa being Eastport, just across the Missouri River from Nebraska City. This gave prospective settlers the option of settling anywhere between Ottumwa and their original destination. By choosing this method, they did not have to invest their money in a team, wagons, food stuffs, repairs, and supplies if they found a desirable location along the way. Nothing was lost if they chose to take the stage and purchase their outfit once they arrived at Eastport.

This road is one of the oldest in Iowa. It was a state road approved by the legislature on February 5, 1851 and was to pass through each county seat by “the most practicable route,” ending at a point on the Missouri River opposite old Fort Kearny at Nebraska City [see Map 9]. Touted as a desirable route because of the good grass, water, timber and formal accommodations, its 260 miles also represented the shortest route across Iowa. Another advantage to the route was that it was not as heavily traveled as others. It is
MAJOR ROADS IN IOWA INCLUDING THE ROAD THROUGH THE SOUTHERN MOST COUNTIES OF THE STATE

likely that at least a few of the people traveling west by this route decided to settle in the vicinity of Manti. It is known that the W. H. Crose family, moving from Boone County, Indiana to Sidney, Iowa, used at least part of the South Tier Route. Although they did not settle at Manti, they appeared later as Manti pioneer merchants.

Originally this road was important for stage coaches. Since the road passed directly through Manti’s main street as it traveled from Clarinda to Sidney, Manti was one of the places that travelers could stop and rest before continuing their trip. Although initially served by the Western Stage Company with four-horse coaches, the company withdrew from the area when it failed to secure the mail contract from Clarinda to Sidney, and then to Nebraska City. But, unlike many other coach companies during the Panic of 1857, Western managed to survive in the region.

The mail contract was awarded to P. D. Banks who ran a tri-weekly stage between Clarinda and Sidney. Unfortunately for his passengers, he used two-horse hacks, commonly called jerkeys. These were springless wagons that jolted the passengers terribly. Even worse were the lumber wagons, also springless and without seats. As can be imagined, after the relative comfort of four-horse stages, it did not take long for complaints to develop. Although the documentary evidence is slim, a strong case can be made that
the Western Stage Company was again serving the area by 1861 or 1862.\textsuperscript{16}

Further strengthening the role of the South Tier road for both stage coaches and emigration was a decision by Russell, Majors and Waddell in 1858 to make Nebraska City their freight depot. This contributed to making Nebraska City a boom town with many jobs available. Thus, it is likely that coach travel along the South Tier increased even if people were not emigrating west at that time.\textsuperscript{17}

Manti's location was nearly perfect as a trail crossing, one of the criteria necessary for a settlement to develop.\textsuperscript{18} With the South Tier road passing through the settlement, and also a north-south stage road that ran from Council Bluffs, Iowa to St. Joseph, Missouri, people passing either way were on their way to somewhere else. Some scholars, who believe that Manti was completely bypassed by the north-south route, dispute this claim. They believe that the north-south route from Council Bluffs to St. Joseph passed through Sidney from the north, and not from the east as others believe. There seems to be supportive evidence for both views. The strongest evidence in favor of Manti, is that there are, still in the area, living descendants of Amos Cox who was one of the settlers who followed Cutler to Manti, and who also was the first stagecoach driver. His descendants insist that the version of the north-south route
passing through Manti is the correct one. Another plausible explanation might be that, because of the bluffs and the river flood plain, it was impossible for a coach to go directly south from Council Bluffs to St. Joseph. Beginning at Council Bluffs, the coach traveled on the west side of the bluffs, between the bluffs and the Missouri River, then was forced to cross to the east side of the bluffs to serve the established communities there. This included Manti because it supposedly was the place where the north-south stage took a rough turn, crossing back through the bluffs to Sidney, and then on to St. Joseph. As a result, there are numerous possible scenarios that helped to explain the growth of Manti in its early days, particularly if it had two daily stages covering all four major directions. One must remember, however, that at least for a few years the Clarinda to Sidney route was serviced by the two-horse hacks.

Manti is located geographically almost exactly half way between Clarinda, the county seat of Page County, Iowa, and Sidney, the county seat of Fremont County, Iowa. Because of the modes of travel, this made Manti a regular stop on the stageline. Newspaper articles refer to Banks' Lightening Express, which gave the traveler seeking transport from Clarinda to Sidney two choices. He could leave very early one day and go straight to Sidney, conduct his business,
spend the night, and then catch the stage the next morning
to go straight back to Clarinda. However, if he did not
want to make such an arduous thirty-mile journey in one day,
he could leave in the middle of the afternoon, travel to
Manti, spend the night in one of the inns or taverns, and
then board the stage the next day to complete the rest of
his journey after a good night’s rest. He then conducted
his business and repeated the trip back. This seemed to be
the preferred method because to go from Clarinda to Manti by
the Lightening Express took five and one-half hours. It
took all day to make the trip from Clarinda to Sidney
without the stop in Manti.20 As fine as Banks’ coaches may
have been by the day’s standards, they were a thoroughly
exhausting means of travel.

As the slavery debate accelerated in the 1850s and
Missouri became something of a battleground for the issue,
the value of the South Tier Route increased until it reached
its peak use during the Civil War. As the debate escalated,
violence in Missouri also surged, making it unsafe for
travelers to pass through the state. This situation
continued throughout the Civil War.

Of the factors that brought dissension to Manti,
slavery was surely one of the more public ones, but in a
settlement that was trying to preserve a theocratic
government, any outsider likely brought some tension to the
settlement. Unlike Kiktland and Nauvoo, the citizens of Manti were a homogeneous mixt and were demographically similar to the general population of the country at that time. A different kind of stress was added to the mix, however, due to the youthfulness of the population. Slightly more than seventy-seven percent of Manti's citizens were age thirty-one or younger. In fact forty-four percent of the entire group were under sixteen [see Appendix. With so many lacking the maturity that comes with age, tension was sure to develop.

As the nation's population became more urbanized, the demand for meat grew, especially in the East. This need was partially met by driving Texas longhorns north to a railroad terminal for shipment east. One of the first trails developed during the 1850s was the Shawnee Trail. Although modern experts such as Wayne Gard claim that the Shawnee Trail never came into Iowa, contemporary newspapers indicated otherwise. Some local editors during the late 1850s claimed that the occasional major cattle drive that found its way to the Nishnabotna River Valley of southwestern Iowa, was indeed another extension of the Shawnee Trail. This is not entirely implausible since there was a railroad terminal at Ottumwa. An 1859 newspaper article in the South Tier Democrat, published at Corydon, Iowa, referred to the end of a drive in which the main body
of cattle had passed through six weeks earlier. This herd numbered 1,700 head, enough to frighten many pioneers, and most particularly the children on their way to school. On July 12, 1860, the Nebraska City newspaper reported that 750 head of Texas longhorns had crossed the Missouri River that day. Some had been barged across, while other swam across, the latter with great difficulty because of the swift current.21 One detailed record still exists, written by cattle driver George Duffield, who moved cattle through southwestern Iowa in 1866 [see Map 10].22 In August 1869, the Sidney newspaper carried a story about a stampede of Texas longhorns that occurred southeast of Sidney.23 These examples can support a conclusion that, while the Nishnabotna River Valley was not a primary part of the Shawnee Trail and never played a key role in cattle driving, it did occasionally experience the sight of Texas longhorns. Two other references to cattle drives into or through Iowa were found, but no indication was given of where they traveled in the state.24

Since prairie grass was free for the cutting, it soon became clear that the Nishnabotna River Valley might also be a good place for local settlers to feed young cattle before sending them on to market. All one had to do to claim prairie grass for hay was to cut a single swath around a fixed portion of public land, and ownership was established.
ROUTE FOLLOWED BY GEORGE DUFFIELD WHILE TRAILING CATTLE TO IOWA

Source: George Duffield, "Driving Cattle from Texas to Iowa, 1866," Annals of Iowa 14 (April 1924), 212.
One could then cut the grass whenever it was convenient. All unclaimed prairie was open range, and unattended cattle could easily wander into the crops of farmers and feast on them. This meant that farmers had to build fences around their crops to protect them. Although there is no mention of any problems arising from this arrangement, open range conditions frequently created tension within a settlement.\textsuperscript{25}

Mrs. K. E. Welch claimed that her father was the first local resident to feed out steers, at least in significant numbers. Since the valley was still largely unclaimed in 1868, there was plenty of free hay for the cattle. In the immediate area of Manti the "bluegrass" grew to a height of five to seven feet. During the winter of 1868-1869, her father, Liberty Pease, fed two railroad car loads of steers. The downside of this venture was that the cattle had to have more than just hay to fatten properly, and so corn had to be hauled eight miles. In the spring of 1869, Pease then drove the fattened cattle to Red Oak where they were loaded into railroad cars for transport to Osceola. Pease accompanied the cattle and received eight cents per pound for his winter's work.\textsuperscript{26}

By 1889 the valley had become known for its high quality of livestock. Purebred horses, cattle, and pigs were all raised in the valley with great success. As a
result, all but the poorest farmers had switched from raising scrub cattle to improved breeds.\textsuperscript{27}

During Manti's early days there was another source of dissension that continued to affect the settlement throughout its lifetime: contact with the outside world. Although Clarinda and Sidney were founded during the same time, for a brief period Manti was the most successful. Perhaps that is why the settlement developed an extensive main street which included two general stores, a harness shop, a blacksmith, two inns, a doctor, a post office, a candy store, and a stationery and music store.\textsuperscript{28} By having all of these resources readily available by 1860, residents did not have to seek as many essential services elsewhere. Of course such an extensive trade center also raised the likelihood of outsiders visiting, but the area's ordinary citizen's would have little or no contact with such visitors.

Even a brief review of the 1856 published census for Iowa shows that Fremont County was strongly agricultural with 568 farmers. However, Fisher Township only showed one farmer, while four men were listed as laborers. Other occupations included blacksmith, wagon maker, stone mason, physician and teacher, each with only one participant. In addition, there were two carriage makers, chair makers, and milliners, as well as three seamstresses. In this census,
Manti is not shown either as a town or a post office, even though it had maintained a post office since 1854. A quick survey of the federal manuscript census for 1860 shows that an area of Fisher Township was designated as Manti because of its post office. The economy was based mostly on agriculture, and of the eighty-two people listing occupations, fifty-six were farmers or farm laborers. One noticeable occupation that was missing was a newspaper editor. Extensive research failed to show even a hint that Manti ever produced a newspaper. According to the 1860 manuscript census there were sixty-one dwelling places, as well as one hotel and the post office in the area of Manti. Fifty-six families, encompassing 277 individuals, composed the entirety of the settlement [see Map 11].

In the early days, before an extensive main street developed, anyone who needed to lay in substantial supplies, or buy furniture or major farm equipment, probably had to make the trip to St. Joseph, Missouri for such purchases. At that time, this was not an easy trip since there was basically no road. One set out in a wagon pulled by a team, and began the trek across the open prairie in a general southeasterly direction to reach St. Joseph and then make the return journey. If one thought that the so-called roads were bad, local travel across open prairie was even more rugged. A direct stage connection from the Southern
MANTI PRIOR TO 1860

Source: C. L. LeBarron, copies of map available at the Shenandoah Historical Museum, Shenandoah, Iowa.
Tier to Denver, completed in 1862, brought an increasing number of travelers through the area, and thus opportunities for dissension also arose. The stage from Denver took four and one-half days. The remaining 219 miles from Nebraska City to Ottumwa and the railroad could be traveled by daily stages. Reliable stage traffic also brought crime since the stages carried the mail, a prime target for robbery. When robbers were caught, frontier justice usually was handed down on the spot. A man, carrying $400 to purchase legal drugs for a Sidney merchant, was robbed and killed near Manti. The murder occurred on January 2, 1865, but his body was not discovered until months later.

A more pleasant form of civilization developed through music. A brass band was formed at Sidney that traveled throughout the area performing concerts. This was a familiar form of entertainment to Cutler and his followers since a brass band had accompanied the Saints across Iowa in 1846. A traveling circus came to Sidney July 23, 1859, and played to a crowd of 1,500. People traveled from miles around, including residents of Manti, to see the Mabee’s Menagerie and Circus, even though one Sidneyite described it as “poor miserable, lean, squint-eyed [and] utterly contemptible.” People came from at least 40 miles away, minimally a five-hour journey if one came by Banks’ Lightening Express.
Probably the most challenging issue that Manti citizens faced was the same issue that divided the rest of the country — slavery. Missouri was a slave state, but all Iowa settlements and towns near the border would have been affected by this issue. Whether the presence of ardent abolitionists in nearby Tabor aggravated the existing tension or not, there were at least two instances of shots being exchanged near Manti over the issue.38

At least two national issues were key to the development of the Republican Party in southwestern Iowa. One of the big issues was the fight between those wanting Kansas to be a slave state and those wanting Kansas to remain free of slavery. It generally is accepted today that the establishment of the Republican Party in Iowa began with a meeting of the Free Soil Party in February 1854.39 This issue had a major impact on southwestern Iowa, partly because of its proximity to Kansas and partly because the Underground Railroad passed through the area, using Nebraska City as its main crossing point, and Tabor's position as an arsenal and hospital for the Free State fighters in Kansas.40

Railroads were the other national issue contributing to the development of the Republican Party. Although this issue did not directly affect southwestern Iowa and Manti for at least another ten years, it ultimately had a far more
significant impact than the Free Soil issue. In response to the railroads’ westward push, Congress passed the Iowa Land Grant in May 1856, which granted Iowa four and one-half million acres of public domain lands for assistance in building railroads. At that time railroads had barely crossed the Mississippi River into Iowa and the only means of communication between the eastern and western parts of the state was by stagecoach.\textsuperscript{41}

Even before the land grant was passed, the Fremont County Republican Party was organized on April 21, 1856. The first Republican senatorial convention was probably held in Manti on August 4, 1859. A Fremont County man, J. A. Harvey, was unanimously nominated to be a state senator at that convention, but he was defeated in the general election. He was elected to be the Registrar of the State Land Office in 1862.\textsuperscript{42} Almond Whiting, one of Cutler’s followers, was a delegate to the convention.\textsuperscript{43} Even though the creation of the Republican Party nation-wide was divisive to the country, it probably did not have that effect on Manti and Fremont County since they had been overwhelmingly Republican from the beginning.

By 1856, immigrant guides were touting the desirability of Iowa as a settling place. Fremont County was considered a particularly desirable place for mechanics, manufacturers, flour processors, and farmers. There were twenty schools, a
carding machine, two grist mills, one steam saw mill, and four water-power saw mills. Abundant farm land with very fertile soil, abundant water, and adequate timber also graced the county."

Settlers came to Iowa by the thousands. In 1850, the national census listed Iowa's population at 192,214. Just four years later, when Iowa conducted a state census, it listed a population of 325,202. This last figure also showed that there were 16,000 more men than women in the state. By the end of January, 1855, the population was estimated at 500,000. Western Iowa and eastern Nebraska were the ultimate destinations for many of these new settlers, since the eastern part of Iowa was far more populated and offered less chance of success for the newcomer.

Organized in 1849, Fremont County recorded a population of 1,244 persons in 1850. Over the next two decades, the population would increase almost eleven-fold. Population data for 1860 shows 5,074 persons calling Fremont County home, and by 1870, that figure had more than doubled to 11,173 people. In comparison, Page County, founded in 1847, was much less populated as evidenced by an 1850 population of 551 people. This would hold true for the next two decades, with only 4,419 Page County people in 1850, and 9,975 in 1870."
A roving correspondent traveling in western Iowa in 1857 confirmed these findings and described another situation that certainly brought dissension to the area -- pre-emption. Vacant government lands located between the railroad grant land were subject to pre-emption. Supposedly to help settlers, the majority of pre-emptions were more for speculation than actual settlement. A pre-emptor was required to lay a "foundation" for a house, often only four logs, each twelve feet long. Once that was done, the pre-emptor had 30 days to file his claim at the Land Office and then a year to prove up the claim and make payment, after which he received title to the land.47

While many honest settlers gained title to land in this way, small speculators, often as fronts for the large speculators, gained title by honoring the letter of the law, while violating its spirit and intent. One-hundred-sixty acre parcels were the most desirable size, but one-hundred-twenty and eighty acre parcels were also available. To protect settlers taking land under pre-emption, the Land Offices in Iowa were closed to all but pre-emptors. Another problem was that of claim jumpers, normally illegal, but in the case of a squatter taking claim to a settler's property, the squatter not only won but gained, on the average, twice as much land as he would have under pre-emption. This was a much bigger problem in Nebraska, but it did happen in
southwestern Iowa, because of the land's high desirability.48

In 1860, what would prove to be the single greatest cause of contention within Manti was set in motion. This was the year in which Joseph Smith, III, son of the martyred Prophet, agreed to accept the leadership of what became known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Originally this group was known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints because, like all the other schismatic groups, they believed that they were the true successor to Joseph Smith. During those formative years, the various groups attempted to gather all of the others under one organization. As a result, Joseph Smith, III and other leaders made many proselytizing missions to the various schismatic groups to recruit them.49

Even before Joseph Smith, III assumed leadership of the Church, the missionary work had already begun. On July 30, 1859 the first missionaries for the Reorganization arrived in Farm Creek, Iowa, one of the Cutlerite settlements. Just as Brigham Young did in the Salt Lake Valley, Cutler had sent followers to other areas to establish settlements and church influence. One such settlement was Farm Creek, near Henderson, Iowa, where the first of Cutler's followers to be baptized into the Reorganized Church on September 11, 1859 was Calvin Beebee, who was the Bishop there.50 This
represented at least the third time Beebee had been
baptized, once when he joined the original church under
Joseph Smith, again when Cutler officially organized his
church, and now a third time when he joined the
Reorganization.

So successful were the missionaries of the
Reorganization at Farm Creek that a branch of the
Reorganized church was established there on November 16,
1859. Calvin Beebee was in charge of the 23 members who
comprised the first branch in Fremont District.\textsuperscript{51} The same
missionaries traveled to Manti, but were unsuccessful until
late in 1862, when the Cutlerites there began to join in
significant numbers.\textsuperscript{52}

Joseph Smith, III took a special interest in Cutler and
his followers. Certainly he knew who Cutler was, that he
was a friend of Smith's father, and that he had held a high
position in the original church. Perhaps for those reasons,
Joseph Smith, III chose to make the proselytizing trips to
Manti. Over the next few years, he made at least two trips.
The first was very successful in recruiting members to his
church, including Thadeaus Cutler, Alpheus' son and first
counselor in his church, as well as many other members of
the Cutlerite church. For some reason, Joseph Smith, III
was unable to meet with Alpheus at that time. Later, he
made a special trip back to Manti specifically to meet Cutler.  

During the early 1860s Cutler made a valiant attempt to dissuade those who had joined Joseph Smith, III and to prevent the rest of his followers from joining with the Reorganization. Cutler was disappointed by the number of his followers who had left the fold, including his son. He prophesied that his followers should not listen to Smith because he was not the true successor to the prophet Joseph, and that if they were foolish enough to listen to Smith, the main street of Manti would run to the depth of a horse’s head in blood. Cutler believed that if he lost his followers, the Civil War would come that far north and the blood in the street would not be brother fighting against brother, as on the two sides of the religious issue, but rather brother against brother because the Civil War had reached the settlement. This was not unreasonable, considering all the violence that had occurred in Missouri and Kansas before the war and Manti’s proximity to the Iowa-Missouri border.

While nothing is known about Cutler’s temperament at this time, some clues can be discerned. Apparently not as charismatic as the Prophet Joseph, Cutler had been an intimate of Smith and that fact alone would attract people to him. Also, he had proven himself a capable leader, first
as an informal general authority between June 27, 1844 and late July when the Apostles returned from their various missions after the Martyrdom and second, during the difficult trip across Iowa as the commander of a company among the first to leave Nauvoo. One must also remember that Cutler was chosen as the President of the Municipal High Council at Winter Quarters and later as Bishop of the Silver Creek Branch. He had also successfully led two missionary attempts into Kansas. All of the people who eventually chose to follow him had experienced his leadership and probably felt that they could trust him completely. All evidence points to the fact that this continued to be true until the appearance of the missionaries of the Reorganization. The cumulative effect of losing two daughters in death and his son and so many of his followers to the Reorganization as well as the failure of his mission to the Indians in Kansas, may have shattered any remaining confidence in his leadership. Certainly by the time that Joseph Smith, III visited him, he had lost whatever charisma that he might have possessed.

During his second visit, Joseph Smith, III encouraged the settlers at Manti to buy as much of the surrounding land as they could because the railroad would soon locate there. Though Civil War armies never came close to Manti, Smith's
two proselytizing missions cost Cutler another half of his followers, leaving him with approximately 100.57

While Cutler’s prophecy concerning the Civil War and its impact on Manti was not fulfilled, Smith’s prophecy did come true, not in the fifteen years that he prophesied, but in less than eight, when the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad completed a branch line through the area in August of 1871. Unfortunately, no one in the immediate vicinity of Manti had heeded Smith’s counsel, and so no one had the land to sell to the railroad to insure that it would pass through the settlement. Many of the farmers had paid $5.00 per acre for their property. They had lived on and improved the land, and could not afford to sell it to the railroad for $5.00 per acre, demanding instead $10.00 per acre.58

Another problem occurred after the Civil War when Urban Coy, a Union veteran, moved to the area and purchased 1,600 acres of land. In turn, he sold 160 acres of this land to the railroad for a new town, Lowland, later renamed Farragut, and a railroad right-of-way.59 It is local belief that this arrangement led to the railroad bypassing Manti. This seems unlikely since the branch line passed within two miles of Manti at several points until reaching Farragut.

With the rapid fulfillment of this prophecy, it was no wonder that so many of Cutler’s followers would join the Reorganization. Even before the railroad had come through
the area, enough people had joined with Joseph Smith, III to found a branch of his church in Manti, known as the Fremont Branch. Founded in March 1863, the Fremont Branch initially had sixteen members. Another of Cutler's followers, Wheeler Baldwin, was named President of this Branch. He served in that position until 1867 when he was named District President. This made him responsible for all the branches of the Reorganization in the Fremont District.60

Also in the early 1860s, the church of Joseph Smith, III decided to include the word "Reorganized" in its name.61 This was not because the members felt that they were in any way less than the true successor of Joseph the Prophet, but rather to distinguish themselves from what they considered to be the usurper church led by Brigham Young in Salt Lake City. The founding of Fremont Branch would outlast the settlement of Manti itself.

Unlike Kirtland, Jackson County, Missouri, and Nauvoo, none of these tensions resulted in the persecutions that had driven the Saints from those places. Instead, Cutlerites became increasingly interactive with non-members. While this may have initially beneficial to everyone, this increased contact may have ultimately resulted in the death of the settlement. After the Cutlerites went to Minnesota in 1865, one founding member, Sylvester J. Whiting, recalled Cutler's prophesy that the membership of the church would
drop to as low as three members, but that would be enough to sustain the church until it could rise again. This is indeed what had begun to happen to this group. Whiting believed that it was because contact with "worldly people" would bring dissension and disunion to the Cutlerites. There is no indication whether or not this was a doctrine that Cutler initially taught or one that developed later, but it certainly is what happened to the Cutlerites at Manti.62

Although Brigham Young did not get the ten years of isolation he desired when settling the Saints in the Great Basin, he avoided many of the problems that faced Cutler. Indeed, so solid was the foundation laid in Utah that the Saints would be able to retain a strong controlling authority, in marked contrast to the compromises that Cutler was forced to make. In the end, this may be the greatest reason why Manti did not survive.

Fremont County Herald (Sidney, Iowa), July 24, 1858, August 4, 1859.


"Pioneer Experiences," April 23, 1912.

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20Farwell, "‘Disfellowshipped’ Mormons," 9.

21Ibid., 11-12.

22George Duffield, "Driving Cattle from Texas to Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 14 (April 1924), 242, 245.

23Farwell, "‘Disfellowshipped’ Mormons," 12.


29*The Census Returns of the Different Counties for the State of Iowa, for 1856* (Iowa City, Iowa: Crum and Boye, 1857), 141.

30*U. S. Federal Manuscript Census for 1860*.

31Ibid.

32*Shenandoah's First 100 Years*, 66.

33Farwell, "‘Disfellowshipped’ Mormons," 10.

34Ibid., 10-11.


36Ibid., 8.

37Ibid., 9.
38"J. L. E. Peck," History of Fremont County (Des Moines, Iowa: Iowa Historical Company, 1881), 501.


42Ibid.

43Farwell, " 'Disfellowshipped' Mormons," 15.


45Ibid., 54.


48Ibid., 311-312.


51Ibid., 351.

52Ibid., 352-355.


56Ibid., 7.

57Smith, Joseph Smith III, 209.


59Ibid., Volume 1, 210.


61Ibid., 210.

62"A Brief Sketch of the History of the True Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites)," Fergus Falls Historical Records, Fergus Falls, Minnesota.
Many citizens of Illinois, especially those in and around Nauvoo during the mid-1840s, came to believe that if Joseph Smith could be removed from the scene, the Church he founded would disintegrate. These people were not trying to destroy the town -- only the church. By destroying the church and expelling the members, the Gentiles believed that they would control the thriving community and be able to have their pick of the abandoned homes and businesses, free for the taking. History has proven the error of their reasoning, for even the murder of Smith did not destroy the Church. In fact, just the opposite happened. With Smith's death, the greatest challenge that the Church had yet faced would be met, thus strengthening the entire community and the faith of its individual members.

Likewise, the difficult crossing of Iowa and the Great Plains, plus the unified efforts to make the arid Great Basin bloom, further strengthened the communal orientation of the believers. The combination of their leader's martyrdom, the long trek west, the relative desolation of their final destination, and the need for unified labor created a people who survived intact, despite everything that government, society, or nature could inflict upon them.
Another strengthening factor for the Saints and the Church was that Brigham Young ably guided them through most of this period.

By 1869, when the first transcontinental railroad was completed across Utah, the Church was in a position to withstand the rapid influx of non-Mormons, while maintaining its unique culture and society. In contrast, when the main line of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad crossed the Nishnabotna River Valley between Red Oak and East Plattsmouth in 1869, its bypassing of Manti and the other towns south of the main line could have sealed the fate of the communities. This event added to the list of factors which gradually undermined Alpheus Cutler's experiment: lack of isolation; ever encroaching civil authority; the proselytizing work of the Reorganization; death of the founder and leader; failure to attract a large enough following to create a numerical base sufficient for success; and the ultimate exodus of remaining Cutlerites from the settlement.

The ongoing westward movement and early proselytizing by the Reorganization had reduced Cutlerite membership significantly by 1864. Whether or not the Church and settlement could have survived these factors will never be known because Cutler's death forever changed the nature of both Church and settlement. Even before his death Cutler
had decided that the Church would have to move. Completion of the second proseltyzing mission of Joseph Smith, III in 1862 and the founding of the Fremont Branch at Manti, convinced Cutler that he and his followers could no longer stay in Manti. Moving north appeared to be their only option because rejection of his message by the Indians in Kansas precluded a westward migration, and the extermination order against Mormons in Missouri eliminated going south.¹

Preparations were begun to move the remainder of Cutler's followers to Minnesota which was still a sparsely populated area. They were scheduled to leave in September of 1865, but on August 10, 1864, Alpheus Cutler died. Despite this major setback, an advance party, consisting of a guide and four families, including eleven children, left in late September, after just two weeks of preparation, to find a suitable Minnesota location. The rest of the group were to follow in the coming January.² Except for the seasons of travel, the Cutlerite journey was very similar to the one that had begun in Nauvoo nearly twenty years earlier, and that the Brighamites completed with their arrival in Utah in 1847. The site eventually chosen was at Red Wing, Minnesota. The advance party built temporary structures and made preparations for getting through the winter while they waited for the rest of the group. Starting out from Manti on January 16, 1865, the second
group finally arrived in Red Wing, where everyone remained until April.³

In November 1864, three of the men went northwest to Crow Wing to negotiate with the Indians and establish treaties of amity. After completing this task, two of the men then returned to Red Wing for the winter. In April, just before the three men were to leave for Crow Wing, word that the Civil War had ended reached them.⁴ After reaching Crow Wing, the men continued their search for a permanent location in the Minnesota woodlands. They reached Otter Tail Lake where they camped, and then moved on to Battle Lake, where they located a site and began clearing the land and preparing gardens for those who would soon follow. Although all had agreed on the location before the work began, during the night one of the men declared that the correct place had not yet been found. The next day, the three discovered a second lake, and after prayers, they became convinced that this was definitely the place for the Cutlerites to settle. Later they learned that the first site they had chosen was already owned by speculators and thus they would not have been allowed to stay.⁵ Somewhat ironically, the Cutlerites named the site after a southerner, Major B. Clitherall, a pro-slavery Alabaman who previously had returned to the South from Minnesota to fight in the Confederate Army.⁶
Questions of leadership succession and the move to Minnesota created further dissension among the Cutlerites, just as Joseph Smith’s death in 1844 had affected the original Church. These transplanted Cutlerites experienced similar problems that had affected the group when it separated from the Brighamites. For some, the move to Lake Clitherall did not prove successful since they had left friends and family in Manti, and so they returned to the original Iowa site. Still others made their way to Independence, Missouri and initially founded a branch of Cutler’s church, but they eventually separated from the main body. This act further diminished their opportunities to grow since many of those who left were young families.

When Cutler had founded Manti and reorganized the Church, he retained all of Joseph’s original teachings, except for polygamy and proselytizing. With Cutler’s death, this continued to remain true. The Cutlerite Church is the only schismatic group of the original church that still practices the temple theology. Membership never grew to the point that they could build a temple for conducting their temple services, but they always dedicated a floor in a dwelling or in a business, both in Manti and in Minnesota, where they practiced temple worship.

Proseltyzing by the Reorganization continued in Minnesota, but even with all the problems, the move to
Minnesota provided some of the same opportunities that existed in Utah for the Brighamites, and may have provided the means for Cutler's Church to survive into the late twentieth century, something that was less likely in southwestern Iowa. One possible explanation is that the isolation of northwestern Minnesota slowed the proselyzing efforts of the Reorganization under Joseph Smith, III. In contrast, southwestern Iowa would have allowed an acceleration of the process.

Joseph Smith, III recorded a very sad tale about visiting Cutler shortly before the latter's death. He described Cutler in a very unflattering way, yet portrayed a vivid picture of what Cutler had become. Although his church professed to preach all of the doctrines that Joseph Smith had instituted, Cutler no longer personally kept the Word of Wisdom, a doctrine requiring total abstinence from tobacco. Instead of a robust man, he found an unhealthy, overweight man in ill health. Cutler was unable to sleep lying down and he found whatever rest he could by sitting up in a chair. Tobacco spittle covered the front of his shirt, even though a spittoon, an ordinary milk pan, was close by. This is a sad picture of a man who had such bright promise in the early days of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He had been friend and confidant of Prophet Joseph Smith, one of the chosen seven leaders, one
of the Council of Fifty, and father-in-law to patriarch Heber C. Kimball. He had been the President of the Municipal High Council in Winter Quarters, and had the first permanent campsite west of the Missouri River, Cutler's Park, in present-day Omaha, Nebraska.\textsuperscript{10}

Just as Cutler's own health and determination declined, so too did the Manti settlement. Prevailing local stories said that when the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company finally came through the area in 1870-1871, neither remaining Cutlerites nor Gentiles had the requisite amount of land to sell to the railroad and still have enough to support their families. Apparently, the railroad was willing to only pay $5.00 per acre to anyone who would sell. Manti farmers supposedly refused to sell because $5.00 per acre was what they claimed they paid for their virgin prairie land when they bought it in the early 1850s. The major exception to this would be the Civil War veterans who arrived after the war such as Urban Coy and Liberty Pease and who had paid more than $5.00 per acre. For the rest, after living on their land for as many as fifteen years, and making improvements, they insisted they needed at least $10.00 per acre in order to start over. Thus, local oral tradition stresses that Manti died because the railroad bypassed it.\textsuperscript{11} As has already been shown, this is unlikely
since the branch line passed close to Manti even though the settlement did not get a depot.

Research points to several other equally plausible explanations. According to Joseph Smith, III, when he made his 1863 visit to Manti to meet Cutler, he found a people so intent on the eminent call to Zion that they were prepared to leave at a moment's notice. The Brighamites, the Cutlerites, and the Josephites all shared the same understanding of Zion, that the area around Independence, Missouri, including the temple lot, was to be the site of the "Holy City" in America. The call to gather at Zion would immediately precede the millennial reign of the Savior, even though they did not share the same opinion of when the call would come from God. Cutler, along with a few other Church leaders, had returned to Missouri and laid the cornerstone for the Temple in 1839.

Even though Cutler now led a schismatic group, he did not consider himself to be in apostasy since he alone had not been re-baptized, thus maintaining his direct link with the Prophet. There is at least circumstantial evidence to support a contention that even though Brigham Young sustained Cutler's excommunication in 1851, Cutler and all of his followers would have been welcomed back should they have chosen to come to the West. Excommunication always left room for the supplicant to return to full
fellowship. This would be particularly true since they had been among the most faithful believers at the time the Pioneer Company departed Winter Quarters for the Salt Lake Valley in the summer of 1847.

Whether or not Cutler would have remained principal stone mason if he had finally gone west is unclear, but his designation as such for the temple clearly indicates where the Cutlerites expected to go. Wagons were ready and waiting to receive the household goods for a quick departure to Independence, Missouri. All other necessities for the immediate exodus were also ready. One, therefore, is left to wonder how significant the improvements really had been, or even if all of the land had been broken by the plow. Apparently selling their homes and lands was less important to the Cutlerites than obeying the call when it came.

Despite their commitment to the theological prophesy about gathering at Independence, when the Cutlerites had moved north to Clitherall, Minnesota in 1865, they had somewhere between $50,000 and $100,000 capital within the group, and had the necessary equipment to establish a flour mill, saw mill, wagon shop and blacksmith shop, among others. This indicates that had they remained in Manti as a group, they had the means to start over if they sold their original claims to the railroad. Smith also noted
that although their numbers were small, they were well organized, held everything in common, and supported each other so completely that no one went without. Smith was wrong in one aspect of his description -- the holding of everything in common. While this was a basic doctrine of the Cutlerites, it was not mandatory. Census records also indicate that significant real and personal property were owned by individual families. One possible explanation for the mistaken observation is the existence of a church farm [see map 12]. Also a Church Corporation was formed in 1860 to help the Cutlerites live the Order of Enoch: the dedicating of their homes to the church and a sharing of resources. Although the premise of the Order of Enoch is that everything is held in common and everyone gives according to his ability and receives according to his need, the Cutlerite version differed from earlier attempts to live this law in that it was not mandatory, and each member was allowed to participate to the extent that the person desired.

Another indicator of their situation was their excellent sources of local credit, including from as far away as Council Bluffs. This information, when viewed together, indicates that the few members who might have lost land to the railroad probably had the means to start over, even after selling at $5.00 per acre. One possible
MANTI DURING THE 1860s

Source: C. L. LeBarron, copied by Ben Mitchell, copies of map available at the Shenandoah Historical Museum, Shenandoah, Iowa.
MANTI AREA IN 1869

Source: Unknown artist, map at Shenandoah Historical Museum, Shenandoah, Iowa.
explanation for this story is that perhaps non-Mormon families at Manti blocked the railroad. Yet extensive research has not revealed any direct information to support this conclusion.

A more logical explanation for the ultimate location of the branch line was provided by Civil War veteran Urban Coy who settled near Manti in 1867. Having accumulated a substantial sum of money, probably from the sale of his Illinois holdings, he had purchased 1,700 acres approximately four miles west of Manti. Coy came to Manti with his wife and nine children because two of his wife's brothers had settled in the area in 1866. It is unknown what these three men paid for their land, but when additional members of the family arrived in 1868, the average price they paid was $5.50 per acre. The majority of the land was purchased for $5.00 per acre, while the forty acres around the Coy house cost $11.00 per acre.21

Coy purchased 1,700 acres and gave most of it to his children. In 1870, he sold 160 acres to the railroad company for a town, platted and sold another eighty acres into town lots, and donated five acres for a cemetery. Descendants of the Latimer family, another Civil War veteran, believe that it may have been their ancestors who refused to sell to the railroad.22
Local residents called the town site Lowland, which was changed to Lawrence when the railroad arrived, but Coy did not like that name. Consequently, he initiated and realized his goal of changing the name to commemorate one of his heroes. Shortly after platting the town, Coy succeeded in changing the town's name to Farragut, after Civil War hero Admiral David Farragut, whom he greatly admired. This was accomplished by 1872. Farragut is about four miles west-southwest of Manti.

Local belief about the railroad bypassing Manti, and therefore being the cause of the settlement's demise, is based upon the fact that Manti's location in the Nishnabotna River Valley was supposedly the best place for a railroad to traverse the valley with a minimum amount of grading and dirt work. After extensive research, only two additional sources have been located that support this belief. The first is found in the Shenandoah newspaper, in which the comment is made that "the topography of the country made it necessary," for any railroad passing through the area should touch the area where Shenandoah is located. In order to understand what that means one has to go to the second source for the explanation. The two branches of the Nishnabotna River had cut deep channels, causing as much as 300 feet disparity between the lowest point of the river and the highest level in the valley, or the land on either side
of the two branches of the river. The desirable grade was no more than forty feet to the mile, which was required to maximize the business capacity of the new railroad. Consequently, to cross the valley required the utilization of the lowest points, whether ravine or lateral drainage land, to meet the forty foot per mile limitation. It remains unknown if the area near Manti would have met the requirement. The point became moot when the mainline traversed the valley further north. When the branch line was proposed, it was to run the length of the East Nishnabotna River valley, at least from Red Oak south. It seems logical that even near ideal topography for crossing the valley could be unsuitable for track running north and south.

Although incorporated in 1852, the Burlington and Missouri Railroad Company did not begin building its railroad across southern Iowa until 1856. Following the South Tier Road to Ottumwa, it headed approximately due west through Chariton, Osceola, Red Oak, and ended at East Plattsmouth, Iowa, where connections could be made for Council Bluffs. Building this railroad was facilitated by the 1856 passage of the Land Grant Act that gave 300,000 acres of Iowa land to the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company. November 12, 1869, marked the day that
COMPLETED ROUTE OF BURLINGTON AND MISSOURI RIVER RAILROAD THROUGH RED OAK JUNCTION TO PLATTSMOUTH, NEBRASKA

Red Oak, approximately twenty-two miles northeast of Manti, was connected to the east by the railroad.27

Red Oak was also the location for the first branch line that the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company built in Iowa. Running southwest, the thirty-nine miles of the branch line connected Red Oak with Hamburg.28 As a result, instead of crossing the valley, the railroad could follow the East Nishnabotna River Valley since the two branches of the Nishnabotna River joined near Hamburg.

The route eventually chosen for the branch line ran from Red Oak on the north, southwest to Lowland (Farragut), and then on to Hamburg [see Map 16]. Fifteen miles south and a little west of Red Oak, initially known as Red Oak Junction, lies the area where modern Shenandoah is located.29 Of the other settlements in Fremont County only Sidney and Hamburg waged an intense battle for the railroad to come to their communities. Hamburg emerged as the victor because a select group of Hamburg businessmen raised a subscription to entice the railroad. Hence, once Lowland entered the picture with Coy’s sale of 160 acres to the railroad company, and the dispute between Sidney and Hamburg was settled, Manti was out of the picture as a possible railroad site.30 Local farmers were so happy to have the railroad come their way that all but two of the farmers along the proposed route from Fair Oaks (Shenandoah) to
RECONSTRUCTED MAP SHOWING
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MANTI, THE NISHNABOTNA RIVER,
VARIOUS COMMUNITIES, AND THE BURLINGTON & MISSOURI RIVER
RAILROAD

Lowland (Farragut) donated land for the railroad right-of-way.\textsuperscript{31}

Research indicates that a town was platted on railroad grant land before the final decision was made about where the branch line would be located. When the final route was chosen for the branch line, this town site was on the route. Railroad workers initially named the community "Fair Oaks;" however, there were no trees in sight and the name was changed to "Shenandoah." Train tickets sold at the Shenandoah depot on August 1, 1870 bore the town's name of Fair Oaks. Five days later, tickets carried the name of Shenandoah. It is believed the name change was the result of having a significant number of General Sheridan's Army of Virginia settle in the area after the Civil War.\textsuperscript{32} Many of these veterans settled around Manti. The selected route from Red Oak through Fair Oaks, Lowland, and Riverton to Hamburg missed Manti by three miles.\textsuperscript{33}

While having a railroad actually pass through a settlement was highly desirable, there is no evidence to suggest that Manti residents fought to have the tracks laid to their settlement, in marked contrast with the way that Sidney and Hamburg fought for the railroad stop. Another possible explanation is that the site of Shenandoah was considered so unusable due to the presence of swarms of green flies that Manti residents may have thought that their
BURLINGTON AND MISSOURI RIVER RAILROAD BRANCH LINE COMPLETED, BY-PASSING MANTI

Source: George F. Cram, "Cram's Railroad and Township map of Iowa, 1873." State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
location was inevitable and that they really did not have to do anything to convince railroad officials to choose their settlement.  

A look at a contemporary map quickly shows that the route chosen could easily have served the Manti area. With Shenandoah two miles northeast and Lowland (Farragut) four miles west-southwest of Manti, significant competition between Lowland and Shenandoah could have encouraged Lowland to offer incentives to Manti businessmen to support Lowland, and then perhaps today Farragut would be the small city, and Shenandoah would be the small or nonexistent town.

It appears that a more likely explanation for the demise of Manti is a combination of factors, including the heavy proselytizing of the Reorganized Church of Latter-Day Saints [RLDS], which greatly diminished Cutler's following and created a competing church within the settlement. Cutler's death certainly would be another significant factor. As their leader, he had founded the settlement and their church. He had tried, against great odds, to maintain it as a theocracy. Research has not indicated of how he did this, but a theocratic government had been a strong tenet of the church from its inception, and the principle was carried to every community that the members founded. With his death, and the exodus of his remaining followers, the vision for the settlement was virtually lost.
Another factor would be the increasing population of non-Mormons who moved into the settlement and soon outnumbered the Cutlerites. Non-Mormons did not owe allegiance to the village for religious reasons and they probably were not interested in maintaining the theocratic government. As both farmers and businessmen, they wanted to locate their enterprises wherever they could make the greatest profit. At its peak, Manti's population was approximately 1,000, most likely after the Civil War when a large influx of veterans revitalized the settlement. More than sixty-two men, many with families, came from Kewanee, Illinois, alone. Many of these families were interrelated, thus forming significant kinship groups similar to the original Cutlerites. Such kinship groups were typical and necessary for the development of a settlement. How many came from other areas is unknown.

Again, Manti is not listed as a town in either the 1867 state census or the 1870 federal census. The 1870 manuscript census shows a population of 669 people for the Manti Post Office and the published census for 1870 gives the population of Fisher Township as 748. Even if the total, original Cutlerite membership of 400 spread throughout three locations -- Manti, Farm Creek, and Blockton, near modern Bedford, Iowa -- had been in place at
that time, the non-Mormons would have still outnumbered the members. 38

Certainly, another major factor had to be the continually encroaching civil authority. When Manti was founded, there were relatively few white settlers in the area. As a result, state government tended to let Cutler do whatever he wanted, with the exception of requiring the end of polygamy. This continued to be true even after non-Mormons moved into the area since the Cutlerites remained largely separate and self-sufficient. 39 The fact that Cutler did not advocate active proselytizing except to the Indians surely helped to maintain peace.

As settlers discovered the area’s rich soil and its suitability for farming, the numbers of settlers increased significantly. Although southwestern Iowa would never become highly populated, it did grow significantly as county governments were formed, first neighboring Page County in 1847 and then Fremont County in 1849, and as more settlements were founded. Manti’s residents, particularly non-Mormons, may have realized that they had options other than a theocratic government. Perhaps they tried to institute some of these options and make changes. Even if they could not eliminate theocracy totally, they could take on more significant roles in the institutions of county government. However, there is no indication that Manti ever
had a civil government or that it was ever incorporated. Closing the post office in 1873 removed the only visage of civil government the settlement ever had. Until at least 1870, incorporation of settlements into villages or towns was not a common phenomenon. In 1869 Clarinda, Sidney, and Hamburg were just three of approximately 1,000 thriving settlements with post offices that were not incorporated throughout Iowa. Manti was most likely another of these unincorporated settlements.

Finally, the vacuum created by Cutler's death, and the exodus of his followers, may have prevented a unified approach to lobbying the railroad for the location of a depot in Manti. Surely, by 1866, the settlement became aware of how close the railroad was coming, particularly the talk about a branch line being built through the area. The large influx of Civil War veterans to the settlement may have contributed to a failure of creating a unified lobbying group to lure the railroad to Manti, thus leaving individuals to determine as many options as possible. After all, they were businessmen and farmers. They would locate their businesses where they would generate the greatest profit. Since few permanent structures existed at Manti, it was relatively easy to put runners under a wooden building and move it to another location, such as Shenandoah or Farragut. As in so many other settlements across
America, Manti fell victim to the urban boosterism and competition evidenced by neighboring settlements. Not all could remain "winners" in the midst of such a competitive environment.
ENDNOTES

1Rupert J. Fletcher and Daisy Whiting Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ* (Independence, Missouri: The Church of Jesus Christ, 1974), 63.

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3Ibid., 65-66.

4Ibid., 66; "A Brief Sketch of the History of the True Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites)," *Fergus Falls Historical Records* (Fergus Falls, Minnesota: n.p., 1960), 16, 19.

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10Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 68-69.


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18 U. S. Federal Census for 1860, manuscript for Manti.


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22 Ibid., 210, 213.

23 Ibid., 210.

24 Shenandoah's First 100 Years, 81.


26 W. W. Merritt, Sr., A History of the County of Montgomery From the Earliest Days to 1906 (Red Oak, Iowa: Express Publishing Company, 1906), 68.


29 Merritt, History, 64.

30 History of Fremont County (Des Moines, Iowa: Iowa Historical Company, 1881), 426.

31 "Pioneer Experiences of Mrs. Liberty Pease," Sentinel-Post, April 23, 1912.

32 "Original Name Fair Oaks," Tri-Weekly Sentinel-Post, Shenandoah, Iowa, October 7, 1921.

33 Donovan, "Branch Line Construction", 489; History of Fremont County, 426.
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CHAPTER V

THE LEGACY OF MANTI

Today Salt Lake City and the state of Utah stand as lasting monuments to the sacrifices and hard work that the Saints under Brigham Young created after the death of the Prophet, Joseph Smith. In the process of accomplishing this great work, the Church fought a war with the United States during 1857-1858, dealt with the rapid growth in population, resolved boundary conflicts with neighboring states and territories, witnessed completion of the first transcontinental railroad within their borders, lost their second leader, and spread their communities throughout the Great Basin and the Pacific coast.

Although Manti’s legacy is not as well known as that of Salt Lake City, one can readily see that Alpheus Cutler and his followers, in founding Manti, also left behind a legacy. The major difference was in the scale of that legacy.

Instead of now being a bustling city containing the world headquarters of the Mormon Church, the settlement of Manti ceased to exist more than 100 years ago. All that remains of the settlement are the cemetery, Cutler’s house, remnants of a livery stable in a modern barn, the road that served as main street, and the grove of virgin walnut and shell-bark hickory trees. Of these symbols, the cemetery
and grove are the most obvious remains. In large part, this is due to the joint efforts of the Kiwanis Club, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Manti Cemetery Association. In addition to preserving the site, their goal was to create a recreational area for the local population.

Kiwanis was organized in Shenandoah in 1922, and four years later nurseryman Henry Field proposed a plan to develop the tract as a permanent shrine for the pioneers. To that end, he had leased ground and built cabins for his family's use during the summer. When the family was not using them, the cabins were made available to other people. Six cabins, each 30' x 12', were erected and connected by a boardwalk. The first was for Henry's parents, pioneers in the Manti area since 1871; the second for Henry and his wife; and the next three were for the children. About a block away was the sixth cabin, the "Music House," containing a victrola, a piano, and an outside swing. The Music House was for the older children to entertain their friends. How many years Henry's family spent their summers at Manti is unknown, but after his wife's death, the family never returned, and the cabins were moved into Shenandoah where one continued to be Henry's "get-away" house. This cabin is possibly the small cottage which is located today behind the former Henry Field home, 403 Sycamore Street, in
Shenandoah. Knowing how much he and his family enjoyed their summers there probably prompted Henry’s suggestions to the Kiwanis.

Unfortunately, whole-hearted support for the project did not develop until the late 1950s. One group could not accomplish the goal alone. Although public support had been expressed over the years, a concentrated effort was made to spread the word about the details of the plan to gain the support from people of the entire area.²

During the June 1930 term of the district court for Fremont County, the Manti Cemetery Association petitioned to set aside the tract containing the cemetery so that it could be restored and preserved in remembrance of the pioneers buried there.¹ The court agreed and cemetery association members began the work of restoring the cemetery where significant early vandalism had occurred. Headstones had been moved and removed. Some were recovered, but it is believed that many were thrown into an abandoned well. In 1933, Civilian Conservation Corps workers dug out a three-and-one-half-ton granite boulder and moved the huge monolith to the cemetery. Later a bronze plate was attached to the stone, forming a permanent monument to the settlement and its citizens who were buried in the cemetery.⁵

When the plan was finally activated in the late 1950s, the Manti Cemetery Association held the deed for the
cemetery, but there was no access to the site except by a footpath across a farm field. The plan that was developed included building a 24-foot-wide road from the park land to the cemetery. All the dead trees and overgrown brush were to be removed, thus creating a beautiful park. Long-term plans included building a multi-purpose shelter house, rest rooms, and lighting. A creek passing by the west side of the site was to be dammed to create a small fishing lake. Another group of citizens in Fremont County purchased the site of the original Manti School where the modern school presently sits. The property was then deeded to the Fremont County Conservation Board. It was expected that the two groups would work together to preserve and develop the site.6

The needs of young people, such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, were also included in the plan. The shelter was conceived to include two secure rooms at each end, one for each youth group. It also was hoped that a museum commemorating Manti would be built at the park in the near future. When it was discovered that the old well had caved in, a new one was dug. Along with the well at the school site, safe drinking water was therefore insured for anyone using the recreational area.7

The new well was dug and a shelter house was built, but without the storage rooms envisioned for the scouts. A road
was built from the schoolhouse site to the cemetery, but it was never graveled. Dams were built and a small lake created. For many years, during the 1960s and 1970s, the park was well utilized, even though all the planned electric lighting was never installed. Unfortunately, the area was not always used in the way it was intended. Vandalism continued in the cemetery, and the shelter was used more for drinking parties or a place for young lovers, so that when scouts did want to camp there, leaders learned to check the shelter before the children arrived. The road from the shelter to the cemetery became overgrown with vegetation, but trees and shrubs were removed so that maintenance vehicles could reach the cemetery. Eventually, a fence and gate were installed in the parking lot so cars could no longer drive directly to the shelter. Unfortunately, silt has filled much of the lake over time, so that today it is only about one-fourth its original size. Thus, while the area was not developed or utilized to its full potential, it is a historical site that has been preserved.

Another remnant of Manti is found just around the corner and up the hill to the west of the park. This is the original McComb homestead built by John H. and Mary M. McComb before the Civil War. From at least 1856 until passage of the last stage coach in 1873, weary travelers could spend the night at McComb’s Inn. The inn was built
MAP 17

PLAN OF

SHENANDOAH
In Secs 19 & 20 T 69 N R 39 W 1/2 Sec. 31
PAGE CO.

ORIGINAL PLAT OF SHENANDOAH

not the most obvious, is the location of Shenandoah’s main street, Sheridan Avenue. However, Shenandoah’s original plat map shows Thomas Avenue, twenty feet wider than Sheridan’s eighty-foot width, as the main street.\textsuperscript{10}

If Thomas Avenue was intended to be main street, how did a narrower street, one block north of Thomas Avenue, become the new town’s primary business street? Manti merchants provide the simple answers. The railroad depot was located on Sheridan Avenue between East Railroad Street and West Railroad Street, immediately west of what became Shenandoah’s main street business district. Manti’s merchants moved their businesses the approximately three miles necessary to be close to the depot. Also, land on Sheridan Avenue was cheaper, a factor that surely influenced these thrifty merchants. Once a few merchants established themselves in this location, near the depot, others soon followed, thus establishing Sheridan Avenue as main street instead of the wider Thomas Avenue.\textsuperscript{11}

During the 1960s and 1970s, before the international oil embargo and when big cars were the norm, more than a few accidents occurred due to the narrowness of the street. More than one driver swore at the idiot who had laid out such a narrow main street. Finally, the city tried to remedy the situation by removing several parking places in each block. This worked for several years, but today, with
all the vans and pickups being driven, the situation is as bad as ever. Very few people know that this is one of the legacies of Manti.

Perhaps the most obvious remnant of the settlement is Shenandoah’s Manti Street. If any thought is given today to the name, it is that the street may be named for the park, since the vast majority of residents have long forgotten about the settlement. A similar situation probably exists for Anna B. Crose Highway, a section of old Highway 2 that runs in front of the high school. Other than history buffs, few realize the significance. The Crose family were Manti pioneers and businessmen. It was the Mettleman and Crose General Store that moved from Manti to Shenandoah on November 28, 1870. This was the fourth business to open in Shenandoah and the fourth to move from Manti. Only by looking at a modern plat map of Shenandoah can one learn that this is more than recognition of a Manti pioneer, but probably also is recognition that the family either donated or sold land east of L. A. Logan Elementary School for what is known as Crose Addition.

Shenandoah’s largest and most beautiful park is another legacy of Manti. Created on land donated to the city by John H. and Mary M. McComb, it is a favorite destination of today’s children and adults. Families gather here for annual reunions since the park is shaded by beautiful, old
trees and there is modern playground equipment for the children. New tennis courts offer recreational opportunities, as do the track and football fields.

At least two of Manti’s original buildings survive in Shenandoah, although to look at them, one would never know that they are that old. Charles Oxenford’s CPA office on the corner of Sheridan and Maple Streets, still includes the original building, even though it has been enlarged and remodeled over the years. For many years the building was a doctor’s office, but today it is divided into several smaller offices, with the majority of the building housing the CPA office. The other building is a home on University Avenue owned by Harold and Mary Buick. It too, has been enlarged and remodeled, but the Buicks can identify that part which was the original house moved from Manti.15

One additional building remains from Manti and it is obviously an old building. Logs from original Manti buildings were salvaged and brought to Shenandoah to reconstruct an authentic log cabin. Located in the Shenandoah Historical Museum, it is one of the first sights to greet the visitor. Directly inside the front door to the visitor’s left is a mural depicting how Manti’s main street may have looked. Arranged on the floor beneath the mural is an assortment of pioneer farm and household implements. Next is the cabin, with its three walls, a front door, and
no windows. Inside are examples of household furniture from the Manti period, although they were not necessarily used in a log cabin. It is unfortunate that the Manti display is both the main attraction for the museum and also the most neglected.\textsuperscript{16}

A deep love of the land that one homesteader instilled in his son links Manti to another legacy, the nursery business which has been Shenandoah's major industry for many years and its claim to fame. Known as the "Nursery Capital of the World," Shenandoah only recently has diversified its industrial base. In 1871, Solomon and Lettie Field arrived from Illinois and settled in the Nishnabotna River Valley, approximately six miles east of Manti. Their first child, Henry, was born in the same year and he was destined to be the owner of the largest retail mail order seed and nursery firm in the United States, perhaps because of the deep love for the land instilled by his parents. Founded in 1899, and still operated from his house at the time of his retirement in 1938, the Henry Field Seed and Nursery Company was the world's largest, and it was best known for the high quality of its seeds.\textsuperscript{17}

In 1885, another Shenandoah seed house, Mount Arbor Nursery, purchased the Latimer farm one mile north of Manti.\textsuperscript{18} This is the same farm that the Latimer family believed had kept the railroad from coming to Manti. It
seems ironic that the farmer who may have been responsible for Manti’s demise was, in turn, swallowed by an industry that could have enabled Manti to grow as it later did for Shenandoah.

In 1870, before there was a railroad through the area, with only $400 in his pocket, David S. Lake bought land and established a nursery known as the Shenandoah Nursery.\(^{19}\) His land was located east of where Shenandoah would develop.\(^{20}\) While this enterprise never rivaled the two big ones, Lake’s nursery did survive into the 1960s.\(^{21}\) In 1875 T. E. B. Mason established Mount Arbor Nursery approximately 1 1/2 miles south of Shenandoah.\(^{22}\) Mason operated the new nursery until he sold it in 1885 to the firm of Howard and Latimer. They were succeeded by Martin and Welch. Little is known about Martin except that he suffered from ill health.\(^{23}\) A little more is known about Welch.

A Welch family that included a child, later known by the initials, E. S., had moved northwest of Shenandoah sometime prior to 1882. As a youngster, E. S. Welch worked for Lake, tending fruit trees and other nursery stock. This helped him learn something about the business so that when he and his partner, Martin, purchased Mount Arbor’s in 1891, business could continue as usual. Soon after the purchase, however, Martin had to retire due to ill health. The partnership was dissolved and E. S. Welch became the sole
owner of Mount Arbor Nursery. In the same year that he purchased the nursery, Welch had a daughter named Gertrude. She grew up surrounded by the nursery business. As a young woman, she attended the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, where she met a young Nebraskan named Earl May.

Eventually Gertrude and Earl married and moved to Shenandoah. Probably because his father-in-law was a nursery man, May became interested in the business and soon opened his own nursery and seedhouse. Earl May was a flamboyant businessman. Whatever new idea Henry Field implemented, May soon adopted and made sure he did it bigger and better than Field. When Field became interested in radio and established his own station, KFNF, in 1924, Earl May was quick to imitate. May built his seedhouse and radio station, KMA, three blocks away. When Henry decided to host a fall jubilee, Earl had one too. The intense competition between the two men proved good for the town and for the area. Today the May Seed Company remains headquartered in Shenandoah. In addition to the original radio station, May Broadcasting at one time also owned KMTV, an Omaha, Nebraska television station. In the late 1980s an FM radio station was subsequently opened at Clarinda.

At least eight other nurseries developed in Shenandoah, and these used many acres of farm land, including the area around Manti. As competitors, entrepreneurs, and
charismatic showmen, Henry Field and Earl May brought much of the Midwest, if not the entire country, to the small farm community of Shenandoah. Their annual competing jubilees brought 100,000 people to Shenandoah each fall. The town was so crowded that people had to park several miles away and walk to the festivities.  

Manti's location, near the border between Fremont and Page counties, meant that the legacy would affect both counties. When Henry Field's sister, Jessie, grew up, she became the superintendent of Page County Schools from 1906-1912. An innovator in her own right, Jessie sought ways to make education more relevant to farm children. Out of her efforts grew the 4-H Club system known around the country. Having grown up in the Manti area, she had obviously been instilled with the same values that her brother, Henry, had, and these contributed to her success just as much as they did for Henry.

Manti's most enduring legacy has been the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints [RLDS]. Although it was not the first church to be formed in Shenandoah, it represents the oldest, continuously-meeting denomination in Shenandoah. First built in Shenandoah in 1875, this was the immediate successor to the Fremont Branch at Manti when that branch was disbanded. Since the majority of the Fremont Branch's members had moved to Shenandoah and
traveled back to Manti for their meetings, they eventually decided to disband the Fremont Branch and form the Shenandoah Branch. To that end, a building was erected and the transition was completed in 1877.29

As a result of this transfer, the RLDS church was the only "Mormon" Church in Shenandoah for 100 years. Since RLDS children were raised to believe that Utah Mormons were synonymous with Satan, complete with horns and tail, it proved very difficult for the Utah Church to establish itself in Shenandoah.30 An attempt to establish a branch in the 1950s lasted only a few years. A number of people were baptized during the period, some who could trace their families' presence in the area to the Mormon exodus across Iowa in 1846, but enough support to sustain the branch could not be maintained.31

It was not until October 1975, one hundred years after the RLDS built its first church in Shenandoah, that the Utah Church tried again. First meeting at the multi-purpose community building known as the Rose Garden, and then a rented building, it was not until 1980 that it was strong and stable enough to erect its own permanent building. In 1995, work is planned for the second phase of building construction. Twenty years after the Branch was created, and fifteen years after construction of its first permanent building, proves how difficult it has been for the Utah-
based church to establish itself in Shenandoah. In all fairness to the RLDS Church, many of the problems lie with the LDS members, but, in part, those problems were exacerbated by the strong presence of the RLDS Church in the community. Today, the two churches peacefully co-exist in Shenandoah and are gradually finding positive ways to interact through their shared history, rather than their differences.32

Ironically, the railroad that built Shenandoah and contributed to Manti's demise, exists today as a freight hauler that moves farmers' grain and brings in raw materials for local feed manufacturers. Passenger services have not been offered for many years.33

Another legacy that cannot be credited solely to Manti, but rather to all the pioneers who initially settled the area, is the profitable agricultural base that they established in the region. In the 1970s, Shenandoah finally began to diversify its financial base by luring an Eaton Transmission Plant.34 Most recently, Pella Corporation has located its custom window manufacturing facility there.35 Nevertheless, the economic base remains largely agricultural. Without doubt, this is in large part due to the fertile soil and a nearly perfect agricultural climate.

Composed of loessial soil, with a deep subsoil noted for its high productivity, the area still provides an ideal
PRESENT DAY SHENANDOAH SHOWING SITES WITH A KNOWN MANTI CONNECTION

Source: Chamber of Commerce, Shenandoah, Iowa
agricultural base for a wide variety of farm products, including corn, alfalfa, and fruit orchards. Its advantage is the high permeability of the soil, rather than high fertility, which fosters high productivity even in years with a "somewhat deficient rainfall." Climate in the area is a nearly perfect compliment to the soil. Early settlers recognized the combinations and described it as follows:

... land with a climate of pure delight. In Spring the prairie was green and beautiful with a scattering of wild flowers. The grasses bent before the wind like the waves of a great lake. The breezes were scented with the fragrance of flowering trees. The glorious Autumns shimmered in the haze of Indian Summer and the whole land was colored with the gold and crimsons of sumac and cottonwoods. The Winters were crisp and clear with endless fields of unbroken snow glistening in the brilliant sun. Each season seemed the best.

Despite general regional growth, Manti could not or would not adapt to take advantage of all the rapid changes confronting it; so Manti, the settlement, ceased to exist physically. Though the settlement is gone, Manti in its largest sense, still exists today in the legacies bequeathed to its successor, Shenandoah. All that physically remains of the settlement of Manti can be seen in a handful of pictures. The grove and the cemetery are preserved by concerned Shenandoahans as a link between the past and the future. One can examine a map of Shenandoah and discover the legacies of Manti there also, but only in the grove can
one stand in the present, be immediately transported to the past, and know unquestionably that one is part of the future. Manti was a unique spot in 1850 as one of the few free-standing groves of timber, continued to be unique when the Cutlerites arrived, founded their settlement, founded a new religion, and raised two of Heber C. Kimball's sons there. The area is still unique today as a truly historical spot where three religions can come together to share their common heritage. The area around Manti has a special place in the hearts and minds of area residents today, and they hope that it is recognized, remembered, and preserved as a unique part of our nation's heritage.
\[ENDNOTES\]

\[\text{1}R. \text{E. Cunningham, Compiler, Manti . . . The Grove, The Town, The Cemetery (Shenandoah, Iowa: World Publishing, n.d.), 8-9, 47, 60.}\]

\[\text{2Ibid., 8; Bob Birkby and Janice Nahrn Friedel, "Henry, Himself," Palimpsest 64 (September–October 1983), 157.}\]

\[\text{3Cunningham, "Manti," 8-9.}\]

\[\text{4Ibid., 47-49.}\]

\[\text{5Ibid., 57-59.}\]

\[\text{6Ibid., 8-9.}\]

\[\text{7Ibid., 63-64.}\]

\[\text{8"Old Manti Home Still Stands After More Than 100 Years," Shenandoah Evening Sentinel, June 17, 1971, Section 10, page 2; "Many Manti Residents Moved to Shenandoah," Shenandoah Evening Sentinel, June 5, 1946.}\]

\[\text{9Various conversations with Shenandoah Historical Museum Board members during the spring of 1991.}\]


\[\text{11Conversations with Shenandoah Historical Museum staff members.}\]

\[\text{12Verbal conversation with Shenandoah Historical Museum staff; First 100 Years, 78-79.}\]

\[\text{13Verbal conversations with Shenandoah Historical Museum staff; Shenandoah Plat-1988 Map, City Hall, Shenandoah, Iowa.}\]

\[\text{14"Old Manti Home."}\]

\[\text{15Conversation with Elaine Danforth, Shenandoah Historical Museum staff member.}\]
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16 Conversations with Benetta Guilford who directed the salvaging of the timbers used to build the cabin; Conversations with Jackie Simpson, former Shenandoah Historical Museum staff member in charge of Manti exhibit.


20 A. T. Andreas. Andreas’ Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa 1875 (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Company, 1875), 73; First 100 Years, 83.


22 "Daughter of the Stars," August 11, 1892.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.


28 Ibid., 155.


31 Conversations with Carl Reese Boyer, Branch President during the 1950s, now retired and living in Idaho.

32 Personal knowledge of the author based on the experience of being a member of the Shenandoah Branch and the unofficial keeper of the branch history.
Personal knowledge of the author living in the area for twenty-nine years.

The decision on Eaton Transmission was made on September 18, 1970. Telephone conversation with Judy McCall, Economic Assistant, Shenandoah Economic Development Corporation, July 5, 1995.

The decision about Pella was made on December 20, 1990. Telephone conversation with Judy McCall. She also indicated that another significant company had come to Shenandoah on March 3, 1993. This company builds horse trailers.


Shenandoah's First 100 Years, 71-72.
CONCLUSION

In 1842 there was one Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, based in Nauvoo, Illinois, with Joseph Smith as its leader. Four years later, Smith was dead, the Church was fragmented by many schisms, and the majority of Saints, led by Brigham Young, were preparing to abandon their beautiful city of Nauvoo. Nearly destitute, the first group crossed the frozen Mississippi River to regroup on the Iowa side of the river to begin yet another journey in their long search for a new home.

Over the following months, thousands of Church members would leave their homes and businesses to the Gentile population who were forcing them to leave. Under Young's direction, the faithful would struggle across Iowa to the Missouri River where they would spread out to wait out the winter of 1846-1847. Among the members of one of the first companies to leave Nauvoo was Alpheus Cutler and his family. As an early convert to the infant church, Cutler had endured most of the hardships that the Church had faced, and he had risen to a place of prominence within the Church hierarchy. Although never a member of the Council of Twelve, he was a member of the Council of Fifty, the next level of leadership. Cutler also was a member of Smith's inner circle of counselors and confidants, including being one of
the seven men to whom Smith gave specific leadership responsibilities.

As a stone mason, Cutler had a major responsibility for building the Nauvoo Temple. He participated in the emerging temple theology, including the practice of polygamy. Records exist for at least six polygamous wives beyond his first wife. He also gave two of his daughters into polygamous marriages to Heber C. Kimball, by which each produced a son.

When Brigham Young selected the members of the "Pioneer Company" in 1847, Cutler was among its members, although at the last minute his request to remain behind was granted. By the spring of 1847, Cutler was certainly one of the least likely church members to depart from the main church body; yet that is exactly what he did.

This thesis chronicles Cutler's descent into apostasy, the settlement he and his followers created, and their efforts to preserve their uniqueness while living amid a non-Mormon population. It likewise places these developments within the larger chronicle of events in southwestern Iowa, and particularly the lower Nishnabotna River Valley. Perhaps the most important contribution this thesis makes is to show how a settlement does not really die but, rather undergoes a metamorphosis. In this case Manti did become Shenandoah, Iowa. A comparison of Cutler with
Young, shows how two men on the same path gradually diverged. Although each faced similar challenges -- such as dealing with civil authority; creating homes, farms and businesses; and sustaining their respective churches and settlements -- they arrived at very different results.

While Young and his followers created a major city as well as numerous smaller towns and villages throughout the Great Basin, Cutler's settlement never fulfilled its potential to become a full-fledged town. Manti had the potential as evidenced by the presence of significant kinship groups, first within the Cutlerites, and finally with the influx of Civil War veterans; its location at a trail crossing; the early establishment of a school; and the presence of a post office -- the criteria Joseph V. Hickey established for defining a settlement. Unlike Hickey's model, Manti also had good terrain suited to building of a future railroad, and highly productive agricultural land.

With all this potential, why did Manti fail to develop into a full-fledged town? Local belief insists that Manti failed when the railroad bypassed the town, but this thesis has shown that even without a depot, Manti could have been served easily by the railroad over its selected route. Other factors certainly contributed to the failure to become even a village. This thesis has attempted to determine some other plausible explanations for the settlement's demise.
Although primary sources are difficult to locate, there is more that can be done with Manti. With Hickey's model as a guide one can find at least two other settlements within the area examined that could be studied -- Austin and Buchanan. As a whole, southwestern Iowa has many such settlements that could provide a framework for broader comparative studies. Furthermore, southwestern Iowa is so understudied that numerous researchers could be kept busy into the foreseeable future. If such work is undertaken, a substantial pioneer legacy may be uncovered, if not equal to that of Utah, than at least equal to John Mack Faragher's interpretation of Sugar Creek, Illinois.¹

Today Young's legacy is found in Salt Lake City, Utah, as well as around the world, through a vibrant, growing church. Cutler also left a lasting, but far more subtle legacy of a religious ideal. His Church still survives, although there are few remaining members. Even though the lack of numbers eventually ensured the demise of his settlement, it is the contention of the Cutlerites that the small numbers of Elect are proof of their claim to be the true successor church to the one founded by Joseph Smith.
ENDNOTES

TABLE 1A

NATIVITY OF CUTLERITE FAMILY HEADS, 1850-1855

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of Origin (birth)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England (RI, CT, NH, MA, VT)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle West (OH, MO, IL, IN)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South (TN, NC, KY)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England, Scotland</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>80*</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This number represents all of the Cutlerite family heads that were originally at Manti, some of whom were sent out to found the Cutlerite branches at Farm Creek and Blockton.

TABLE 1B
NATIVITY OF FAMILY HEADS AT THE MANTI POST OFFICE, 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of Origin (birth)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England (RI, CT, NH, MA, VT)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OH, MO, IL, IN, IA, WI, MI</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KY, VA, NC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE, KS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England, Ireland</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This total includes both Cutlerites and Gentile family heads at the Manti Post Office in 1860.

Source: Federal Manuscript Census for Manti Post Office for 1860.
### TABLE 2

RESIDENTS OF MANTI POST OFFICE AREA BY YEARS OF AGE, 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 8</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-15</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-23</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-31</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-47</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48-55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-62</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 62</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>278*</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children under 15</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young adults, 16-31</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults, 32-55</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 56</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This number represents the total number of individuals receiving their mail at the Manti Post Office in 1860 and includes both Cutlerites and Gentiles.

Source: Federal Manuscript Census for Manti Post Office for 1860.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-60+</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Federal Manuscript Census for Manti Post Office for 1860.
TABLE 4

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

POPULATION IN 1850 AND 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age category</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 years</td>
<td>1,728,313</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>2,392,949</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9 years</td>
<td>1,600,861</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>2,061,655</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14 years</td>
<td>1,417,513</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>1,819,912</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>1,292,112</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>1,711,483</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years</td>
<td>2,082,849</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>2,814,842</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years</td>
<td>1,335,684</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>1,892,231</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49 years</td>
<td>879,087</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>1,222,107</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59 years</td>
<td>533,855</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>750,529</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 60+ years</td>
<td>478,830</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>688,788</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5,112</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>23,621</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>11,354,216</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>15,358,117</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jorgensen, "The Social Backgrounds and Characteristics of the Founders of the Church of Jesus Christ," 35.
FIGURE 1

AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF THE GROVE
FIGURE 3

Author's photo of road, looking east, that was Manti's main street.
AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF THE CUTLER HOUSE
NOTE THE CORNER POSTS
FIGURE 5

AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF THE MCComB HOUSE
FIGURE 6

AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF THE MCCOMB BARN CONTAINS REMNANTS OF THE ORIGINAL STAGE BARN
AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF THE MEMORIAL MARKER

The inscription reads: 1852-1878 "Site of the Pioneer village of Manti and intersection of cross country stage-coaches. Old burying ground Southeast on brow of hill." Marked by Manti Cemetery Association, Inc.
FIGURE 8

AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF THE RESTORED DEPOT
FIGURE 9

AUTHOR’S PHOTO OF SHERIDAN AVENUE
SHENANDOAH’S MAINSTREET, LOOKING EAST
FIGURE 10

Author’s photo of Anna Crouse highway. On the left is McComb Park.
FIGURE 11

AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF MCCOMB PARK
FIGURE 12

AUTHOR’S PHOTO OF THE RLDS CHURCH
FIGURE 13

AUTHOR’S PHOTO OF OXENFORD’S ACCOUNTING BUSINESS BUILDING CONTAINS AN ORIGINAL MANTI BUILDING
FIGURE 14

AUTHOR’S PHOTO OF WHAT MAYBE HENRY FIELD’S MUSIC HOUSE
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