J. Edmund 

that sometime

The House and 

the Militia

also Lucas will 

use belonging 

with his wife 

and children. 

EDITORIAL BOARD

RICHARD L. ANDERSON
professor of history and religion, Brigham Young University

R. GRANT ATHAY
professor of astrophysics, High Altitude Observatory, Boulder, Colorado

JOE J. CHRISTENSEN
associate commissioner, Church Education

STANFORD CAZIER
president, Chico State College

SOREN F. COX
chairman, department of linguistics, Brigham Young Univ.

C. BROOKLYN DERR
assistant professor of graduate education, Harvard University

W. FARRELL EDWARDS
coordinator of general education, Utah State University

BRUCE C. HAFEN
assistant to the president, Brigham Young University

HOLLIS R. JOHNSON
professor of astronomy, Indiana University

EDWARD L. KIMBALL
professor of law, University of Wisconsin

NEAL E. LAMBERT
assistant professor of English, Brigham Young University

T. EDGAR LYON
research historian, Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

ROBERT J. MATTHEWS
assistant professor of ancient scriptures, Brigham Young Univ.

EARL E. OLSON
Church archivist, Church Historical Department

ERNEST L. OLSON
director, university press, Brigham Young University

SPENCER J. PALMER
professor of history and religion, Brigham Young University

CHAUNCEY C. RIDDLE
dean, graduate school, Brigham Young University

CHARLES D. TATE, JR.
associate professor of English, Brigham Young University

BRUCE B. CLARK
dean, college of humanities, Brigham Young University
BYU Studies
A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars

VOLUME 13      SUMMER 1973      NUMBER 4

Guest Editor's Prologue
Alexander William Doniphan: Man of Justice
The Mormons and the Bible in the 1830s
The Saints and St. Louis, 1831-1857: An Oasis of Tolerance and Security
Missouri Persecutions: Petitions for Redress
Eliza R. Snow Letter from Missouri
Adam-ondi-Ahman: A Brief Historical Survey
Mormon Bibliography: 1972
Book Reviews
Notes and Comments
Index

Truman G. Madsen 459
Gregory Maynard 462
Gordon Irving 473
Stanley B. Kimball 489
Paul C. Richards 520
Eliza R. Snow 544
Leland H. Gentry 553
Chad J. Flake 577

584
600
601

Guest Editor
Editor
Book Review Editors
University Editor
Editorial Intern

Truman G. Madsen
Charles D. Tate, Jr.
Robert J. Matthews and C. Brooklyn Derr
Ernest L. Olson
Laura Wadley
The opinions and statements expressed by contributors to *Brigham Young University Studies* are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Brigham Young University, the editor or editorial board.

**PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY**
**BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY PRESS**
**Provo, Utah 84601**
Guest Editor’s Prologue

Truman G. Madsen*

"A Melancholy Task" is the phrase with which B. H. Roberts repeatedly characterized the tracing of Mormon history through the tangled Missouri period, when utopian aspirations and fresh fervor met the crunch of tradition, opposition, and expulsion.

Yet the Missouri period which had really begun before the body of the Saints departed Kirtland, Ohio, and extended into their later movements into Illinois and Utah is both tragic and triumphal. Moreover, the state and many of its locations loom large in the Mormon future. Something of the temper of that friendlier day is seen in a witticism of the late President Harry S. Truman: "When the Mormons return, they tell me I can stay."

Our researches and team efforts in Missouri are producing material for another year and perhaps two. This is so even though a full BYU Studies issue has already been published on events, issues, and implications of Missouri history. (See BYU Studies, vol. 13, no. 1 [Autumn 1972]).

In this issue our Missouri revisited reports include personalities, documents, sites, recollections, doctrinal developments, and an original letter.

Perhaps the most famous Missouri defender of the Mormon cause was Alexander W. Doniphan, whose resistance to military venom saved the lives of leading Mormons at the risk of his own. Through the researches of Gregory Maynard we see a close-up of the man before and after his entrance into the Mormon drama. It turns out that Doniphan was trained in the law as well as the military, in legislation as well as

*Dr. Madsen, director of the Institute of Mormon Studies, is professor of philosophy at Brigham Young University. He also holds the Richard L. Evans Chair of Christian Understanding.
in battle, and these disciplines merged in a personality deeply impelled toward peacemaking. The portrait also shows how often community animosity arose not out of fact, but out of rumor fed by suspicion.

If, as several recent studies suggest, the undergirding doctrinal insights of Mormonism were planted in New York and nurtured in Ohio soil, they blossomed in Missouri. Gordon Irving shows how the Bible and biblical texts figured in the formation of the Mormon kerygma, and the early merging of the new and the old, the discovered and the recovered. There is some evidence (which suggests yet another project) that in the wake of the publication of the Book of Mormon and other revelations it came as a surprise to the Mormon leaders that there was so much in the Bible that anticipated, commended, and sustained the central dispensation theory of history and doctrinal insights of this last dispensation.

For some years Stanley B. Kimball has been tracing the strands on a center of capital importance in Mormon history often neglected: the city of St. Louis. Kimball shows that the cosmopolitan complexion of St. Louis provided much sustenance to the Church—for example, sanctuary and asylum, and even a somewhat fair-minded press. From 1830 on, it was also a center of conversion which steadily grew into one of the early (the sixteenth) stakes. Kimball's treatment of the history of the Church in St. Louis might well serve as a model to Church historians worldwide.

Paul C. Richards, a research fellow with the Institute of Mormon Studies, has uncovered a cache of documents from the National Archives—original, contemporary, and detailed accounts of the actual sufferings which the Saints recorded and presented as a memorial to the U. S. Senate. As would be expected, the documents underscore the multiplicity and complexity of issues and acts and tend to temper the judgment either that the whole of Missouri was involved, or that the attacks and drivings, atrocious though they were, were always atrocities, or that the Mormons were utterly without friends.

Through the cooperation of Reorganization Historian, Mark McKiernan, we publish here also an original letter of Eliza R. Snow which, in turn, contains a copy of an original letter of her brother, Lorenzo Snow. Together they recreate a sense of living reality, almost as immediate and luminous as a head-
line story in a newspaper. One can here measure the inner turmoil that attended the external pressures.

Leland Gentry presents a study of Adam-ondi-Ahman as a stake, a model or miniature plat of Zion, as a city, a refuge, a temple site, a community committed to the law of consecration, and as a place where both the Patriarch Adam and the colony of Nephites erected altars. He offers considerable evidence for differentiating between the altar, designated by the Prophet as built by Adam, and a "tower" designated as erected by the Nephites. He concludes with a chart which illustrates the perplexities that point to this "two-altar" view of the city. Continued work on the historiography of these accounts is indicated.

Further researches are under way and there will be yet another full issue of BYU Studies on the history of the Church in the Missouri period.
Alexander William Doniphan: 
Man of Justice

Gregory Maynard*

Late in the evening of 1 November 1838, Major General Samuel D. Lucas of the Missouri State Militia issued the following order to Brigadier General Alexander W. Doniphan:

Sir: You will take Joseph Smith and the other prisoners into the public square of Far West, and shoot them at 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Upon receipt of this order, General Doniphan promptly replied:

It is cold-blooded murder. I will not obey your order. My brigade shall march for Liberty tomorrow morning, at 8 o'clock; and if you execute these men, I will hold you responsible before an earthly tribunal, so help me God.

Doniphan's bold stand against his superior officer not only saved the life of Joseph Smith and his fellow prisoners but also marked him as a man of justice.

Born on the ninth of July 1808, to Joseph Doniphan and Anne Fook Smith, Alexander William Doniphan was the youngest of seven children. From his earliest years, Doniphan was taught the value of an education. However, the education of young Alexander soon fell to his mother, for his father died when Alexander was only six. He remained with his mother only two years, until she sent him to live with an older brother, George, who lived in Augusta, about fifteen miles away. While

---

*Gregory P. Maynard is a graduate student in western history at Brigham Young University, where he also serves as a research assistant for the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies.


there, Alexander was placed under the instruction of Richard Keene. It was Keene who helped the youthful Doniphan overcome his clumsiness of expression by exposing him to the works of the great poets.⁵

At fourteen, Doniphan entered Augusta College from which he graduated four years later with distinction. After college, he continued his studies toward a law degree under the tutelage of Martin T. Marshall, brother of the Supreme Court Justice, John Marshall. Marshall believed lawyers should be well versed in the English classics and in history. It was from this background that Doniphan was to draw later in his eloquent speeches before the bar and in public.

After two years of study with Marshall, Doniphan passed his bar examinations and was licensed in Ohio and Kentucky. Searching for a place to locate his new practice, Alexander toured the southwestern states for several months before deciding upon western Missouri. After his admission to the Missouri Bar, he settled in Lexington in 1830. Three years later he moved to Liberty in Clay County because of the "prospects of the early annexation of the Platte County to the state and the growth of Jackson County."⁴

Not long after his move to Liberty, Alexander came into contact with the Latter-day Saints or "Mormons" for a second time, his first acquaintance having occurred in 1831. On that occasion, he had traveled to Independence in order to have a suit made in the latest eastern style at the hands of a "Mormon" missionary named Peter Whitmer.⁵ Now in 1833, the Mormons were coming to him. Actually, they approached Doniphan and three other prominent Clay County lawyers as they attended court in Independence. The Mormons were responding to a suggestion from Governor Daniel Dunklin to seek redress in the courts. The four lawyers replied by a letter on 30 October 1833, in which they agreed to file the suits if the Latter-day Saints would agree to pay them each two hundred and fifty dollars. The fee was high because

we have been doing a practice here among these people, to a considerable extent, and by this engagement we expect to lose the greatest part of it....

---

⁵Alexander W. Doniphan, "Sketch of Life," Doniphan papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.
⁶Saints' Herald 28 (June 1881).
If the fee was not agreeable, they asked to be notified by letter immediately,

for we can be engaged on the opposite side in all probability. We prefer to bring your suits, as we have been threatened by the mob, we wish to show them we disregard their empty bravadoes.\(^6\)

The Mormons accepted their proposal as a last resort.

Doniphan's involvement in the suits brought him into direct contact with the mob. In mid-November, he accompanied a militia escort for Attorney General Robert W. Wells into Jackson County. Wells tried to issue indictments against the Missourians, but he succeeded only in stirring up the wrath of the mob. Doniphan and company were forced to turn back.\(^7\)

Outright defiance of the law was not the only means employed by the Jackson County mobs in order to expedite their expulsion of the Mormons. They also tried to stir up bad feelings in neighboring counties. On 16 June 1834, in Liberty, about 800 to 1,000 citizens assembled at the courthouse to hear a proposition from the people of Jackson County to the Mormons. A delegation from Independence presented a proposition to sell out to the Mormons. After a lengthy and self-saving presentation, one of their numbers, Samuel C. Owens, made a flaming war speech. Doniphan and others countered in favor of peace and justice and asserted their belief in the good character of the Mormons. In the heat of the debate which followed, pistols were cocked and knives unsheathed; but before events exploded, someone cried from the door, "a man stabbed." The meeting instantly came to an end as all rushed outside to see if it had been a Mormon. To the disappointment of many, the stabbing had only involved two Missourians.\(^8\)

Such efforts to keep the Mormons out of Clay County failed because of the influence of Doniphan and other just men. Nonetheless, the increasing numbers of Mormon immigrants into the county continued to create a feeling of alarm. On 29 June 1836, a citizens' meeting was called and Doniphan and five other men, including Colonel John Thornton and David R. Atchison, were chosen to draft a resolution asking the Mor-

\(^6\)HC 1:425.

\(^7\)Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1831-1897, 24 November 1833, LDS Church Historian’s Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereinafter cited as JH.

\(^8\)HC 2:97-98.
mons to leave the county before violence erupted. The Latter-day Saints agreed to move at the first opportunity, and accepted an offer to help them select a new location.\(^9\)

That opportunity came in January 1837 with the creation of two new counties, Caldwell and Daviess. In November 1836, Doniphan, then a member of the State Legislature, had introduced a bill for the creation of a new county exclusively for the Mormons. After much debate and some compromise, a bill creating two smaller counties was signed into law by Governor Lilburn Boggs on 29 December 1836. Learning that Caldwell County was to be assigned to them, the Mormons began moving into their new home by February of 1837.

With the Mormon problem apparently settled, Doniphan turned his attention to other matters. Through his association with Colonel John Thornton, Alexander had made the acquaintance of the Colonel’s oldest daughter, Elizabeth Jane. She was beautiful, well-mannered and intelligent. They were married 21 December 1837. In describing his wife to his cousin Emma, Doniphan wrote years later:

My wife was a lovely woman: I married her the day she was seventeen; I was glad she had no more education than the Common Schools of this frontier then afforded; I desired to educate her myself—to form her mind and tastes—I was young, liberally educated, and energetic, I never read a book to myself (other than a law work) during the more than thirty years of married life. I read them all to her and with her, she often relieving me.\(^10\)

Two boys were born to the Doniphans: John Thornton in 1838 and Alexander W., Jr., in 1840. Doniphan was very attached to his boys and was concerned for their education. Of them he wrote:

I may say without vanity that they were the most highly educated, the most finished educations, of any boys of that age in the state; besides the ordinary classical and scientific collegiate training, each could speak and write French, Spanish, German and Italian . . . . I had provided them with private teachers from childhood and never tasked them heavily, and required them to plough and to hoe when I feared study was enervating them.\(^11\)

\(^9\)Ibid., pp. 449-461.
\(^10\)Doniphan to his cousin Emma, Richmond, Missouri, 1875, as quoted in William H. Richardson, Journal of Doniphan’s Expedition.
\(^11\)Ibid.
Shortly after the birth of John Thornton in 1838, Doniphan was called into service in the State Militia. The continued growth and increasing prosperity of the Mormons in Caldwell County and their overflow into surrounding counties had aroused the jealousy and fears of the local Missourians. In the midst of this increasing antagonism, Col. Doniphan again came into personal contact with Joseph Smith, as a partner to General Atchison. Atchison appears to have been Joseph’s legal counsel in meeting the mobs which were then assembling, particularly those in Daviess County, and the Prophet records the following:

Tuesday, [September] 4.—This day I spent in council with General Atchison. He says he will do all in his power to disperse the mob. We employed him and Alexander Doniphan (his partner) as our counsel in law. They are considered the first lawyers in upper Missouri.

President Rigdon and myself commenced this day the study of law, under the instruction of Generals Atchison and Doniphan. They think, by diligent application, we can be admitted to the bar in twelve months.\(^\text{12}\)

But political problems apparently intervened, and hostilities again broke out.

On 9 September, the Mormons seized a shipment of arms enroute to the mobs of Missourians roving the countryside. Fearing this might ignite a civil war, Major General Atchison ordered Doniphan, then Brigadier General of the Western division of the Missouri Militia, to take a regiment of the Clay County Militia and prevent a collision between the two opposing forces. On 12 September 1838, Doniphan left his troops on the Crooked River and went with his aide to Far West, where he asked for the release of the wagon of arms and the prisoners the Mormons were keeping. The Mormons complied. On the 14th, Doniphan marched his troops north into Daviess County. Near Millport he encountered a mob force under the direction of a Dr. Austin. They were read the order to disperse, but they refused. Doniphan then proceeded to Adam-ondi-Ahman where he found a Mormon force gathered. The Mormons agreed to disperse if the mob would. This not being likely, Doniphan encamped between the two forces.\(^\text{13}\)

The groups were finally dispersed after the arrival of General Atchison. However, trouble soon broke out in Carroll County.

\(^2\text{HC 3:69.}\)
\(^3\text{Ibid., p. 78.}\)
The Alexander W. Doniphan Family
The Mormon settlement at DeWitt was surrounded and the Saints forced to leave. The ousting of the Mormons from Carroll County encouraged the mobs in Daviess County, who gathered together again, determined to drive the Mormons out. In early October General Doniphan informed Joseph Smith "that a company of Mobbers, eight hundred strong, were marching toward Adam-ondi-Ahman." He ordered Lieutenant Colonel George M. Hinkle, a Mormon, to raise a force and march to the aid of his fellow Mormons, until he himself could raise a reliable company from Clay County.

The Mormon offensive scattered the mobs, but in the end it worked to their disadvantage. By seizing Gallatin and Milport, the Mormons caused rumors to spread among the Missourians that they intended to lay waste the entire northern part of the state. The Mormons on their part were sure that mob forces were planning an attack on Far West. Rumors, charges, and countercharges were so numerous that it made it hard for anyone to know just what was happening.

The final spark that ignited the fire of passion which drove the Mormons from the state occurred on 25 October 1838. The Mormon Militia under Captain David W. Patten engaged a detachment of the State Militia under Captain Samuel Bogart at Crooked River. The Mormons were responding to an attack on a Mormon settlement by Bogart on the 24th. Patten and two of his men were killed, while Bogart’s forces lost only one man. However, rumors of a Mormon massacre and a probable march on Richmond spread swiftly. Without questioning the validity of the reports, Governor Boggs issued his infamous “Extermination Order” on 27 October 1838. In the meantime, Generals Atchison, Lucas, and Doniphan were marching north to restore order. Atchison and Doniphan requested by letter additional arms from Fort Leavenworth to help put down what they thought was a Mormon uprising. But Colonel Mason of the U. S. Dragoons responded that he could not justify giving arms to one party to be used against the other. He was there to protect both from Indians, not to interfere in internal politics.

It was on the 28th that General Boggs’ order caught up with the generals. The order gave General John B. Clark full command and General Lucas a subordinate command. General

---

14 Ibid., p. 161.
15 Ibid., pp. 170-171.
16 JH (27 October 1832), p. 2.
Atchison was not to command any troops.\textsuperscript{17} Atchison resigned and returned home outraged. Doniphan continued under Lucas' command, but paid no attention to the extermination part of the order, for, as he stated in his report to the Governor, it was entirely illegal.\textsuperscript{18}

About the 29th, the State Militia arrived in front of Far West. At first the Mormons thought that the militia was there to protect them, but they soon learned otherwise. The Mormon leaders sent Charles C. Rich out under a white flag in an effort to have an interview with General Doniphan. They hoped that this man who had been their lawyer during the Jackson County expulsion would again help them. Doniphan calmed the fears of the Mormons of immediate doom by agreeing to spare the people of Far West at least until he was directed to do otherwise. During the next twenty-four hours, Colonel George M. Hinkle consulted with Doniphan twice. The exact subject of their discussion may never be known, but the end result was the betrayal of Joseph Smith and four other Mormon leaders into the hands of the State Militia. The next day, 1 November, a courtmartial was held at the order of General Lucas, and the five prisoners were found guilty of treason. Doniphan, the only lawyer present, objected, stating that the court-martial was "illegal as hell," because civilians are not subject to military law. In addition, he challenged the make-up of the court-martial, as not all the judges were military personnel.\textsuperscript{19} However, the next morning Doniphan received orders to shoot the prisoners. He refused and withdrew his troops to Liberty. After Doniphan's departure the prisoners were taken to Independence, while Far West was forced to surrender. Joseph Smith was taken to Liberty where he spent many months of abuse in jail before his defense lawyer, Doniphan, was able to get a change of venue from Daviess to Boone County. While enroute to Columbia, the prisoners were allowed to escape.\textsuperscript{20}

With the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri, Doniphan returned to his law practice and local politics. Some years later, in 1846, the Governor asked Alexander to help raise volunteers to fight in the Mexican War. Doniphan consented with enthusiasm. He even volunteered himself to serve as a private;

\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Saints' Herald}, 28:230.
\textsuperscript{19}JH, 28 May 1868, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{20}March, \textit{History of Missouri}, pp. 570-571.
however, he was soon elected Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers. As such, he was second in command to Colonel, later General, Stephen W. Kearny of the Army of the West. Rendezvousing at Fort Leavenworth, the volunteers underwent a few weeks of training. Then on 26 June 1846, they began their march. By August, the Army of the West had arrived, unopposed, in Santa Fe. Kearny desired to move on to California, so he left Doniphan in charge. Several weeks later on 9 October, the Mormon Battalion arrived in Santa Fe, en route to join Kearny. Upon hearing of their arrival, Doniphan ordered a one-hundred gun salute fired in honor of their loyalty despite the wrongs they had suffered.  

Colonel Sterling Price arrived shortly after the Mormon Battalion. Complying with orders, Doniphan turned over command of Santa Fe to Colonel Price and moved south toward Chihuahua where he was to rendezvous with General John E. Wool. Several thousand dry and dusty miles later, Doniphan entered Chihuahua. He had fought two major engagements with the Mexicans at Brazito and Sacramento, and had been victorious despite being outnumbered four to one. More important to Doniphan, he had accomplished his assignment with a minimum of casualties to his own men. July 1, 1847, marked the triumphant return of Doniphan and his men to Missouri. They had traveled behind enemy lines for nearly 3,600 miles, living off the land and out of contact with superiors. They had defeated two armies and brought nearly all of Central Mexico under United States control. The exploits of Doniphan’s Expedition became a topic of conversation for years.  

Despite the glory and fame his expedition had brought him, the next ten years were not happy ones for Doniphan. Tragedy struck his family three times during the 1850s. On 9 May 1853, John T., his oldest son, was accidently poisoned at the home of his uncle, James H. Baldwin. Shortly afterwards his wife, Elizabeth Jane, suffered a stroke which left her a semi-invalid until her death in 1873. Then in 1858, Alexander Jr. drowned in Buffalo Creek, while attending Bethany College in Virginia. The deaths of his two boys and the stroke of his wife left

---

22Liberty Tribune, Liberty, Missouri, 1846-1858. [Compiled by Nadine Hodges, 1967.]
23The Millenial Harbinger, Bethany, Virginia, 1858. [Compiled by Nadine Hodges, 1969.]
a deep impression upon the soul of Doniphan. Perhaps for this reason, he joined the Liberty Christian Church in 1860. As he entered the waters of baptism, the people watching on the banks of the river wept for joy.  

Personal tragedy, however, did not lessen his interest in public service. In 1861, when the nation was being torn apart over the issues of slavery and states rights, Missouri was in the middle of the controversy. Missouri was divided. The governor and lieutenant governor were southern in their sympathies, while most of the legislature was pro-Union. On 28 February, a pro-Union convention met in Jefferson City to decide what course Missouri should take. Doniphan was a delegate to that convention, which adjourned to St. Louis on 22 March where it was decided to adopt the Crittenden Compromise. The state, however, remained divided.

Doniphan was very much against secession. When he learned of South Carolina's secession, he printed and distributed handbills inviting Missourians to attend a meeting where he would present his views on the issue. The night of the meeting, 6,000 people came to hear him speak. They stayed in the snow for three hours while he entreated them to remain loyal to the Union. Shortly after this public meeting, he attended the Peace Conference in Washington D. C., where he met President Abraham Lincoln. Upon meeting Doniphan, Lincoln stated, "You are the only man I ever met who, in appearance, came up to my previous expectations." The Peace Conference failed, but Doniphan and others were able to keep Missouri from officially seceding from the Union. When the fighting of the Civil War began, Doniphan was offered command of the pro-Southern troops from Missouri. He refused for personal and family reasons. In 1863, he moved to St. Louis.

After the Civil War, Doniphan returned to western Missouri. He settled in Richmond, where in addition to continuing

---

26March, History of Missouri, 2:867.
his law practice, he engaged in banking and traveling until his death in 1887. On one of his trips, in 1874, he journeyed to Utah, where he was warmly received by his Mormon friends.20

While Doniphan was much esteemed by the Mormon people, what his interest in them was remains largely in the realm of speculation. Not enough evidence has as yet been found to prove that he held anything more than a professional interest in them. Not once did he mention them in his brief autobiography, nor has any holograph correspondence been found between himself and the Mormons. However, Mormon accounts show that Doniphan did think highly of the Mormons, for they report he described them as a "peaceable, sober, industrious, and law-abiding people."30 He is also reported to have said the following about the Mormon leaders:

I have never met a group of men who had native intelligence and understanding and force of character that have ever quite equaled the group of men- leaders gathered about Joseph Smith...31

There are many possible reasons why Doniphan never developed a more personal relationship with the Latter-day Saints. One reason might have been his love for Missouri and her people; another reason might have been his own sense of duty, for his life was dedicated to the service of others and to the defense of truth and justice; still a third possibility might have been that the force of his character and that of Joseph Smith’s conflicted with each other. Whatever the reason, the nobleness of the man cannot be denied, for "there was no oppression in his presence. The great man was forgotten in the genial friend and faithful counselor."32

20Deseret Evening News, 22 May 1874, p. 3.
21Saints’ Herald, 28:250.
22Given in 1884 to John Morgan, President of the LDS Southern States Mission. Name file, Church Office Building, Salt Lake City.
23Connelley, Doniphan’s Expedition, p. 38.
The Mormons and the Bible in the 1830s

Gordon Irving*

One does not long study Mormon beginnings without realizing that the Bible held a special place in the hearts of the early Saints. Latter-day Saint use of its accounts and teachings greatly influenced the formulation of Mormon theology, and, in addition, helped the Saints find their personal and group identity in God’s Kingdom. The deep commitment of early Mormon intellectuals to the ancient scriptures is suggested by the frequency and nature of biblical references in their writings. Three Church periodicals published between 1832 and 1838, *The Evening and the Morning Star* (Independence, Missouri, 1832-33, and Kirtland, Ohio, 1833-34), the *Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, 1834-37), and the *Elders’ Journal* (Kirtland, 1837, and Far West, Missouri, 1838)¹ are the most important representative samples of the written expression of early Mormon thought, and serve in this investigation as indicators of the attitudes of the Saints towards the Bible, and their uses of its contents.² Let us begin by identifying two leading assumptions which governed Mormon biblical interpretation.

THE MORMON VIEW OF HISTORY: GOSPEL UNIFORMITY

As Marvin S. Hill has noted, the Saints adopted “Christian primitivism,” a restorationist view of history which looked to

---

*Gordon Irving graduated with an Honors B.A. degree from the University of Utah in 1972, and is currently serving as an historical associate for the Historical Department of the Church.

¹An excellent description of these periodicals appears in Peter Crawley’s, "A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri," *BYU Studies* 12:465-468, 474-477, 491-494, 518-520 (Summer 1972).

²This article is based upon the author’s thesis, “Mormonism and the Bible, 1832-1838,” honors B.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1972. Fuller development and more complete documentation of the ideas presented can be found in the larger work.
the New Testament church as the model for contemporary Church polity and doctrine. Mormons were strongly impressed that God, being perfect and unchanging, had presented to man an organization and a plan of salvation that were invariable through all time. This interpretation was based not only on the assumption that God is unchanging but also in the belief that he is impartial. Since he is no respecter of persons, God has given and will continue to give the gospel scheme of salvation to all those willing to be instructed and to be obedient to the principles taught them.

Holding these assumptions about God and gospel, Mormons naturally developed a view of the past which held that the gospel of Christ as presented in the New Testament had been preached to all men since the beginning of the world, and that whenever God's church had existed on earth, it had enjoyed the same gifts as the apostolic church. Mormon primitivism took on its own peculiar color when the order set up in Jesus's day was projected both backward to Adam and forward to the Mormons themselves.

As with many theories of history, the Saints' view of the past was employed to demonstrate the validity of contemporary Mormon ideas and practices and to give the Church a sense of community with the faithful of both the Old and New Testaments. Mormons often referred to the Old Testament to show that the gospel of apostolic times had also been preached prior to the birth of Christ. That being true, they reasoned, then the same gospel ought to be taught and accepted in modern times. The Saints worked hard to establish the concept of the unchangeability of the gospel, which in the context of Mormon periodical literature as a whole seems to have been mainly intended to win converts to Mormonism by showing that all other religions failed to believe this basic doctrine of the uniformity of the gospel in all dispensations and were hence "perverted gospels."

---


In presenting the idea that the gospel had been and must always be what it was in Christ's day, there was a need to back up Mormon claims with references to authoritative sources. Three tools for convincing the world of the uniformity of the gospel, as well as of other Mormon doctrines, were used: the Bible, a reasoned common sense, and the revelations given to Joseph Smith. Preference was given to the three in this same order. Reasoning based upon the Bible would have more effect on the non-Mormon reader than would arguments drawn from an unfamiliar and "suspicious" work like the Book of Mormon. The Book of Mormon might have been a favorite missionary tool, as has often been suggested, but Mormon writers certainly tended to favor arguments from the Bible when trying to deal with sectarian ideas. At least in that way both Mormon and non-Mormon could start from a common position.  

Not only were Latter-day Saints likely to draw their arguments from the Bible for pragmatic reasons; they had divine sanction for doing so. Note the following instruction to Sidney Rigdon in a revelation given by Joseph Smith in December 1830: "... thou shalt preach my gospel, and call on the holy prophets to prove his [Joseph's] words, as they shall be given him."

Although for purposes of discussion the Mormons might choose to reason from the Bible, they also had revelations asserting that the gospel has always been the same, which were a good deal clearer than the Old Testament passages upon which they relied. Joseph Smith's revision of the Bible teaches at some length that Adam, Enoch, and Noah had the gospel and that it consisted of faith, repentance, baptism in the name of Christ for the remission of sins, and the reception of the gift of the Holy Ghost. However, it would seem that the Mormons would have been believers in the antiquity and uniformity of the gospel even without these explicit statements from Joseph Smith. Mormon writers were convinced of the

---

6Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Latter Day Saints (Kirtland, 1835) EMS, p. 117.
7See Joseph Smith's "New Translation" of the Bible (Independence, 1970), pp. 35-68. These passages from the Bible revision were published in the EMS during W. W. Phelps' editorship. EMS 1:18-19, 73-75, 81-83 (August 1832 and March 1833).
truth and plainness of the Bible. In line with their assumptions they expected the plan of salvation to be uniform—the Old and New Testaments ought to present the same message.

An interesting aspect of the Mormon idea of gospel uniformity is the way in which the lives and merits of certain biblical figures were often used to authoritatively demonstrate lasting gospel values. Mormons frequently cited writings of the prophets and apostles, but it was largely the Old Testament patriarchs who were chosen to personify gospel principles. The ten men most frequently discussed were Adam, Abel, Cain, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Elijah. Their experiences served to typify the following Mormon tenets: man receiving by revelation the divine gospel of Jesus Christ, the uniformity and antiquity of the gospel, the princely role of Adam, the offering in righteousness, the heritage of persecution, the treachery of apostates who rebel against the light of God, the perfectibility of man, the gathering of the elect in preparation for the Second Coming and the triumph of the Saints, the future millennial state to be enjoyed by the earth, the warning to be given the wicked prior to the great day of destruction, the importance of contemporary revelation and prophets, the necessity of possessing proper authority and priesthood in order to act for God, the importance of the covenant relationship of God with Israel, adoption into the seed of Abraham, the doctrine of the elect, the Book of Mormon as the record of Joseph, the penalty suffered for apostasy, and the sending of heavenly messengers to restore the truth to the earth. A better compendium of early Mormon doctrine can hardly be imagined, and the Mormon found all this taught and symbolized by the lives of ten figures from the Old Testament.

MORMON LITERALISM

The veneration for the Bible felt by Mormons led the Saints to put great stock in the scriptures. The Bible was to be understood literally. For Mormons of the 1830s the literal view of the scriptures involved several accepted assumptions: the meaning of the various books was both clear and consistent, historical accounts were accurate and factual, biblical prophecies were to be fulfilled exactly as written, and many parts of the Bible were of direct application to modern times.
There was thus no need to seek some hidden or allegorical meaning which might lie behind the words of the book; rather, the message of the Bible lay on the surface to be discovered and readily understood by any man possessed of an average amount of common sense.

This approach to the Bible, which in recent times has been labeled "fundamentalist," could be illustrated in terms of the Mormon view of the New Testament church, with reference to historical portions of the Old Testament, or in terms of the Saints' approach to biblical prophecies. Let me use the last of these three as an example. Four assumptions governed Mormon thought concerning the prophetic statements of the Bible: the prophets were inspired men who knew what they were talking about, prophetic language was clear enough to be understood, the prophecies were to be fulfilled literally, and much of what the prophets said in ancient times about the future was intended to refer to the nineteenth century. Other churches were frequently criticized for "spiritualizing" the prophecies by claiming that they were to be fulfilled in some figurative sense. Mormons argued that whatever was predicted would occur exactly as the prophet had said it would. Joseph Smith went so far as to say that the Mormons believed what the Bible foretold, while the sects of the day only held to "interpretations" of the book. The Mormons claimed to be so literal in their reading, and the Bible so clear in its meaning, that there was little room for error in their perception of God's plan for the future as revealed in Holy Writ.6 Mormon preachers limited their assertions to those capable of support from the Bible, always striving to adhere to the text as closely as possible. The Saints invited their hearers to examine the passages cited, with full confidence that the "straight forward consistency" of the Bible could be counted on to sway the sincere mind.9

Many persons found this approach compelling. The jour-

---

6Sidney Rigdon, "Faith of the church of Christ," EMS 2:153 (May 1834); Joseph Smith, Elders' Journal of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints 1:42-43 (July 1838), hereafter cited as EJ.

nals of many converts show that they were seeking a common-sense church which followed the New Testament pattern. A missionary reporting the success of his labors noted that whenever ministers of other faiths met him on "bible ground," their influence suffered.\(^{10}\)

Periodical literature extant from the early days of the modern Church shows that the Saints made both doctrinal and "non-doctrinal" uses of biblical teachings and phraseology. Writers saw biblical situations being repeated in the Mormon experience and drew such analogies to the attention of their readers. Sidney Rigdon noted, for example, that John the Baptist, the harbinger of Christ, had pointed to the Master who was to follow after him, and suggested that Alexander Campbell's *Millennial Harbinger* ought to point to something or other too. The image of the mob at Ephesus shouting "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" was used to typify the uproar caused by ministers of the various sects in response to the Mormon attack upon the ministerial livelihood. Parley P. Pratt, to present a final example, called a convert a "good old Cornelious."\(^{11}\)

As can be seen, the Mormon writer was so familiar with the Bible that he often illustrated his points by referring to scripture. A parallel non-doctrinal use of the Bible resulted from the Mormon tendency to slip into biblical phraseology. Oliver Cowdery's remark to his brother that had certain men traveling with him in the East been as eager for the Kingdom of God as they were for dinner, they would "take it by force," illustrates the way in which the Bible could be cited without any intention of comparing the present to the biblical situation, simply because the words were both familiar and fortunate.\(^{12}\)

**ANALYSIS OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES USED**

But more significant than these more casual comparisons were the doctrinal explications based upon biblical passages. In order to determine which books of the Bible and which portions of them Latter-day Saints were fond of citing, the

---

\(^{10}\)E.g., James Holt's journal in *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1970), 13:469; John Gregg to the editor, *EMS* 2:192 (September 1834); Cf. extract from the *Brookville Enquirer* in *MA* 1:77 (February 1835).

\(^{11}\)EMS 2:126-127 (January 1834); *MA* 3:396-397 (October 1836); *EJ* 1:8-9 (October 1837).

\(^{12}\)MA 3:386ff (October 1836). The scripture cited is Matthew 11:12.
passages used in the Church periodicals between 1832 and 1838 to establish doctrine (as distinguished from other uses of the Bible just discussed) were identified as far as possible and tabulated. Table 1 gives the results of this tabulation for the three periodicals published during the period, each volume of the three journals being tabulated separately, followed by the total for the six year period. The first figure given represents the number of passages cited, while that below it shows this number as a percentage of the total number of passages tabulated in that particular column.

In view of the large number of articles of so many different kinds being considered, it might be useful for the reader to know how this tabulation compares with a similar analysis of a unified doctrinal work. Parley P. Pratt’s A Voice of Warning, published in 1837, would seem to be suitable for this purpose and the scriptures used therein are tabulated in the last column on the right in Table 1.

NEW TESTAMENT PASSAGES

The early Latter-day Saints emphasized the New Testament during the period being considered. Some 762, or 63 percent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>SOURCE OF BIBLE PASSAGES USED FOR DOCTRINAL PURPOSES IN MORMON PERIODICAL LITERATURE, 1832-1838</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ENS 3'32-3 ENS 3'34-5 MA v. 1 '34-5 MA v. 2 '34-6 MA v. 3 '35-6 MA v. 4 '36-7 EJ v. 3 '37-8 EJ v. 4 '38-9 Pratt 3'37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of the scriptures used in the periodicals were drawn from the New Testament. This reflects the desire to present the scriptural pattern for the gospel and the church of Christ, whose basis is to be found almost entirely in the New Testament. Pratt's *Voice of Warning* is useful in demonstrating that Mormon challenges to doctrines of other churches tended to center around New Testament passages. In a chapter contrasting Church and gospel scriptures with sectarian "perversions" of the same verses, all the passages cited, with one exception, came from the New Testament.

Table 2 shows which specific New Testament passages were cited most frequently. Eighteen of the twenty-seven New Testament books account for 94 percent of all New Testament passages. LDS writers drew from roughly three-quarters of the chapters of the New Testament. While that might imply a fairly even coverage of these books, this does not prove to be so. The fifty-nine specific passages listed as being most frequently used are drawn from only fifty-four chapters and yet account for more than half of all the New Testament passages used. Thus Mormon use of the New Testament was only superficially thorough; actually the Saints concentrated on certain key passages.

While the sources of Mormon scriptural references are of interest, more useful to the historian is the analysis of the content of those passages most frequently used. Table 3 breaks down the fifty-nine specific passages listed in Table 2 according to subject matter as seen by Mormons.

This tabulation shows that the New Testament passages used generally stress one or more of four themes:

1. **Primitive Church Pattern.** Most often scripture was used to show the pattern for the proper organization and basic doctrines which characterize the church of Christ with special emphasis on the doctrines of faith in Christ, repentance, baptism, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, as well as the spiritual gifts which are bestowed upon the faithful. The scriptural pattern, as understood by the Latter-day Saints, was seen to be identical with their own church polity. Passages asserting that there is only one true pattern for church and gospel were used frequently to enhance the authority of Mormonism as well as to challenge other systems of Christianity.

2. **Apostasy and Restoration.** The New Testament was
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Times Used&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Chapters in Book</th>
<th>Chapters Used</th>
<th>Specific Passages Used Frequently</th>
<th>Times Used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mt. 5:5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7:7–8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7:15–16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28:18–20</td>
<td>9 [54]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23:34–38</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25:21–23</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25:34</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16:13–19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mk. 16:14–19</td>
<td>14 [14]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lk. 1:32–33</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21:24–27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24:39–50</td>
<td>9 [17]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jn. 3:5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14:11–19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15:22–26</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16:6–16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17:10–24</td>
<td>7 [29]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Acts 1:1–8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1:9–11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2:14–22</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2:33–39</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3:19–25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8:17–18</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10:44–48</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19:1–6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20:28–30</td>
<td>3 [34]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romans</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rom. 1:16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11:19–28</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15:4</td>
<td>4 [26]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Corinthians</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>I Cor. 1:25–27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2:6–10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14:33</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15:1–8</td>
<td>4 [37]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galatians</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gal. 1:6–12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3:6–9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3:26–28</td>
<td>4 [26]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephesians</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Eph. 1:3–11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4:11–17</td>
<td>13 [22]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colossians</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Col. 2:8–9</td>
<td>3 [3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4:13–17</td>
<td>3 [3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Thessalonians</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>I Th. 2:1</td>
<td>7 [7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Thessalonians</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>II Th. 1:9–10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Timothy</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>II Tim. 3:1–5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4:1–7</td>
<td>9 [20]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrews</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Heb. 1:15–17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jas. 1:27</td>
<td>4 [10]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1:20–21</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2:1–7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3:1–7</td>
<td>5 [18]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Peter</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>II P 14:15</td>
<td>7 [7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jude</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jude 14:6–7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Rev. 19:10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22:17–19</td>
<td>3 [15]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Where identifiable by chapter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Passages</th>
<th>Times Used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. The true church</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First principles</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption through Christ</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only one gospel—any other doctrine not of God</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual gifts given to faithful</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern for church organization</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. The gospel and the world</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostasy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mankind to forsake true gospel</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful to be hated and persecuted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False prophets to come</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warning against &quot;vain philosophies&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Partial subtotal:</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restoration of gospel</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saints called to preach gospel</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Millennialism — Eschatological doctrines</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second coming of Christ</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resurrection and immortality</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward of the faithful</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Uniformity of the gospel—Links between Old and New Testaments</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God does not vary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulfillment of inspired prophecy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel and the patriarchs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful adopted into Israel</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ to reign over Israel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Christian living</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. Scripture</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total:</strong></td>
<td>91</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*aTotals are higher than Table 2 figures as many passages fit several categories.*
employed to show that an apostasy from the true church of Christ and a subsequent restoration of the gospel to mankind had been foreseen by Jesus and his apostles. The greater emphasis was placed on the theme of apostasy, as it provided the *raison d'être* for Mormon restorationism. The New Testament was also seen as calling members of the true church to take the message of the restored gospel to all peoples, as well as predicting that they could expect to be hated and persecuted for doing so.

(3) **Millennialism.** Mormons also used frequently those New Testament passages dealing with the second coming of Christ and the end of the world. Not only were the "signs of the times" referred to, but Mormon editors, especially W. W. Phelps, often cited contemporary news stories as evidence that the signs foretold by Jesus had appeared. Passages relating to the resurrection and the respective rewards of the wicked and the faithful were also often cited.

(4) **Uniformity of the Gospel.** While Mormon logic dictated that the existence of a church set up by the Son of God meant that such a church should be the pattern for Christ's church through all time, other elements of the New Testament were also emphasized to demonstrate that the gospel had always been the same. The Latter-day Saints were fond of using Pauline passages which suggest that the Christian faithful are adopted into the Old Testament House of Israel, and that Christ will reign over Israel. Passages implying that Old Testament prophets and patriarchs knew of Jesus Christ and his gospel were often quoted, as were others asserting that the Church had fulfilled the messianic predictions of the Hebrew prophets.

Three of these four themes were polemical tools in the Mormon struggle to win converts away from the "perverted" forms of Christianity found in other churches. The idea that there was a set form that Christianity should follow, that mankind had deviated from that pattern, and that the gospel in past times had followed the New Testament norm prescribed by Mormon writers were all scriptural defenses of the Mormon claim to be the true church of Christ and the only earthly vehicle of salvation. Mormons aimed these New Testament arguments at a world deeply impressed by the authority of the Bible. That the challenge to other religions was a power-
ful one is indicated in part by the conversion of so many Bible-
reading Americans to Mormonism, as well as by the violent
opposition to the new church on the part of many American
Protestants.

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES

Table 1 shows that only 37 percent of the biblical passages
used by Mormons were drawn from the Old Testament. Yet
the fact that the Old Testament was in a way overshadowed
by the New should not lead one to think it unimportant in
Mormon thought. For example, one volume of The Evening
and the Morning Star used more Old Testament passages than
New Testament references. Published on the Missouri fron-
tier, away from the "learned men" of the East and debates
with other churches, the Star in its first year gave special em-
phasis to millennial themes. Most of the documentation for
articles dealing with the gathering, the Second Coming, and
similar themes came from the Old Testament and from the
new revelations given the Church through Joseph Smith. Pratt's
book also cited a higher percentage of Old Testament passages
than did the Mormon periodicals over the period. This also
resulted from the writer's special emphasis on millennial
themes. The Old Testament throughout the period served, if
not as the source, then at least as a reinforcement of Mormon
millennialism.

Table 4 shows which passages from the Old Testament
were cited most often. Fifteen of the thirty-nine Old Testa-
ment books provided 93 percent of all identifiable Old Testa-
ment passages used. Fewer than one in six Old Testament
chapters were drawn upon by Mormon writers, indicating that
the Saints were more selective with regard to the Old Testa-
ment than they were with the New. This impression is
strengthened by noting that the fifty-three specific passages
listed, which account for roughly one-half of all Old Testa-
ment passages used, were drawn from only five percent of
the book's chapters. The Saints limited their total use of the
Old Testament to a small fraction of the volume, while those
passages seen as important enough to be used repeatedly were
drawn from an even more limited portion of the work.

Table 5 categorizes the fifty-three specific passages listed in
Table 4 according to subject matter as perceived by the Mor-
mons. Three major themes recur:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Times Used</th>
<th>Chapters in Book</th>
<th>Chapters Used</th>
<th>Specific Passages Used</th>
<th>Times Used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genesis</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Gen. 6:9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48:49</td>
<td>6 [12]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ex. 19:5-6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2 [4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuteronomy</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Dt. 4:27-34</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18:15-19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28:33</td>
<td>15 [23]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Job 19:23-29</td>
<td>8 [8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Ps. 2:7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14:2-3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50:3-5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>85:11-12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>105:6-10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>144</td>
<td>4 [15]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Isa. 1:2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2:1-4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4:2-6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7:14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11:11-16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24:16-23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28:8-23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29:4-14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35:1-10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43:6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45:4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52:7-8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53:3-10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>59:19-20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60:2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62:17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66:18-20</td>
<td>2 [70]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3:12-18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16:14-19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23:7-8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31:1-20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31:33-34</td>
<td>2 [17]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ezek. 37</td>
<td>8 [8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dan. 2:44-45</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7:9-13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jl. 12:1</td>
<td>2 [12]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2:28-32</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3:16-21</td>
<td>2 [14]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Amos 3:7</td>
<td>4 [4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micah</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mic. 4:1-7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zephaniah</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Zeph. 3:8-20</td>
<td>5 [5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zechariah</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Zech. 10:5-12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14:2-5</td>
<td>5 [9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malachi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mal. 3:6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3:8-12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4:1</td>
<td>2 [7]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Passage identifiable by chapter.
### TABLE 5
CLASSIFICATION OF OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES FREQUENTLY USED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Passages</th>
<th>Times Used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Millennial prophecies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Gathering of Israel</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Kingdom of God to be established</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Israel to be purified</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Spirit to be poured out in last days</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Apostasy of mankind in last days</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Destruction of wicked</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7 Ancient of Days to come</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8 Second coming of Christ</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9 Restoration of Jerusalem</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10 Conditions during Millennium</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
<td><strong>152</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Uniformity of the gospel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Predictions about Christ</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Patriarchs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Necessity of having prophets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Invariability of God</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Israel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Covenant—called to be holy nation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Blessings given Israel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Book of Mormon foreseen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Beauty of message of salvation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Ten Commandments</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Tithes and offerings</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
<td><strong>276</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Passages also seen as having millennial overtones.
\(^b\)Totals are higher than in Table 4 as some passages fit more than one category.

(1) **Millennialism.** The greatest number of passages used were prophecies dealing with the events to precede the day of the Lord. These were cited to inform the world and the Church membership of the gathering of Israel, to be followed by the destruction of the wicked, the second coming of Christ, and the Savior’s millennial reign on earth.
(2) *Gospel Uniformity*. Many passages were used to show that the prophets knew of Christ long before his birth. Other passages cited were seen to indicate or imply that the patriarchs were also aware of Christianity prior to the Christian era.

(3) *Special Role of Israel*. A third class of passages were cited to explain the place that Israel had in history as God's chosen people. The covenants made by God with the patriarchs were emphasized, as were the blessings to be enjoyed by Israel if faithful.

Aside from the predictions regarding the Messiah to come, the selection of Old Testament passages reflects the Mormons' interest in the last days rising out of their belief that their day would see the fulfillment of the millennial prophecies of the Old Testament. God was about to "set his hand a second time" to fulfill the covenant made with his chosen people Israel and to carry out the promises made through his prophets. In the Old Testament the Mormons saw as clear a picture of their own times and of their immediate future as though it were one of the revelations of their own prophet.

**REINFORCING EFFECT OF OTHER MORMON SCRIPTURES**

Also important is the way in which the new volumes of scriptures produced through Joseph Smith reinforced Mormon interpretations of the Bible. The Book of Mormon and the revelations of Joseph Smith are based upon the same assumptions about the scriptures, the gospel, and the Church as those which governed the thoughts of Joseph Smith, his fellow Mormons, and indeed many other evangelical Christians of the time. Mormon extra-biblical scriptures emphasize millennialist themes, accept the uniformity of church and gospel through all periods of history, and persuade the reader to interpret the scriptures literally. Whatever the source of Joseph Smith's writings, once in print the new Mormon scriptures reinforced LDS interpretations of the Bible and the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Not only did the content of the new Mormon scriptures reinforce Mormon views, but analysis of the passages cited from them by the Saints in their periodical literature shows that they appreciated this fact. The Book of Mormon and the portion of Joseph Smith's revision of the Bible now known
as the Book of Moses were frequently used to show that the gospel had always been the same as that preached by the Mormons, while the Doctrine and Covenants, used also for this purpose, served dramatically to strengthen Mormon millennialist emphases.

Whether the frequent use of biblical passages should be viewed as the effort of early LDS leaders to reassure themselves and the world, post facto, as to the validity of Mormon doctrines, or whether the Bible should be seen as the primary source of Latter-day Saint ideas, is a point which deserves further examination. Whichever alternative is true, it cannot be disputed that the Bible was the prime authority to which Mormons looked for affirmation of their doctrinal assertions in the first decade of Mormon intellectual history.
The Saints and St. Louis, 1831-1857: An Oasis of Tolerance and Security

Stanley B. Kimball*

Although surrounded by apostates . . . we feel perfectly safe in the midst of an enlightened people, who alike know how to appreciate political liberty and religious freedom.

Conference resolution, 10 Feb. 1845

This city has been an asylum for our people from fifteen to twenty years . . . there is probably no city in the world where the Latter-day Saints are more respected, and where they may sooner obtain an outfit for Utah . . . the hand of the Lord is in these things . . . .

St. Louis Luminary, 3 Feb. 1855

During most of the nineteenth century, St. Louis was the hub of trade and culture for the great western waterway system of the upper and lower Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois rivers. Founded by the French in 1764, St. Louis was, by the time the Mormons first visited it, a sixty-seven year old settlement, a nine year old city—a young giant destined to become the "Fourth City" of our country by the end of the century. Throughout the Missouri and Illinois periods of the Church, up to the coming of the railroad to Utah in 1869 and beyond, St. Louis was the most important non-Mormon city in Church history.

It became not only an oasis of tolerance and security for the Mormons, but a self-sufficient city never fully identified or connected with rural Missouri or with near-by Illinois—

*Dr. Kimball, professor of history at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, works in two fields of historical research—East European and Mormon. He has studied widely in Church origins and is a former board member of the Mormon History Association.

489
areas it considered backward and inferior. This is one reason why St. Louis never condoned nor participated in the Missouri or Illinois persecution of the Mormons.

St. Louis has played two important roles in Mormon history—as a city of refuge and as an emigrant center. As a large and tolerant city, it gave protection to Mormons in the 1830s when they fled persecution in western Missouri and to the refugees from Illinois mobs in the mid-1840s. The first wave of convert-emigrants from Europe passed through the city in April 1841, and until at least 1855 the main route for thousands of European converts to Nauvoo, Illinois, and later to Utah, was via St. Louis.

In 1949 the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* summed up the Mormon experience in St. Louis very well when it printed, "It was the only town in the Middle West large enough to give the Saints some degree of anonymity, cosmopolitan enough to be tolerant of the new and strange religion and prosperous enough to provide work for newcomers."!

Although the history of the Church in St. Louis is episodic and the sources scanty, many interesting and important events took place there. Almost every major Church leader of the period was connected with the Church in St. Louis. There were the prophets and apostles Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, Frederick G. Williams, Willard Richards, Charles C. Rich, Franklin D. Richards, Ezra Taft Benson, George A. Smith, Erastus Snow, Abraham O.

---

1From a feature story on the St. Louis Stake by Dickson Terry, 2 June 1949.

Other than the manuscript history of Missouri Counties and Settlements: 1838-1856, and nine skimpy volumes of St. Louis Branch records in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, there is little else recorded in Salt Lake City or in St. Louis. I found the St. Louis Press especially helpful. Two Mormon newspapers, the *St. Louis Luminary* (for the period November 1854-December 1855) and the *Times and Seasons*; Parley P. Pratt, ed. *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, 6th ed. Salt Lake City, 1966, and Andrew Karl Larson's *Erastus Snow*, (Salt Lake City, 1971), were also of some value. It must be admitted that this present attempt to synthesize and interpret the history of the Church in St. Louis has had to be fleshed out by what I trust is judicious conjecture.
Smoot, Orson Pratt, Jedediah M. Grant, Orson Hyde, Orson Spencer, Amasa Lyman, Moses Thatcher, and other leaders such as Peter Whitmer, Jr., Edward Partridge, W. W. Phelps, A. S. Gilbert, Newel Knight, David Patton, Newel K. Whitney, William Clayton, John M. Bernhisel, and Richard Ballantine. Emma Smith made at least two visits to the city on behalf of Joseph, and Orrin Porter Rockwell was arrested there.

It was also, in the words of a local Saint in 1846, "the first [place] where apostates vomit their venom and explode their spleen"—a reference to the trend of dissatisfied and excommunicated Mormons to settle in St. Louis, and especially to the anti-Mormon activities of Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, John C. Bennett, and Oliver Olney after their excommunication. In passing it may be noted that Charles B. Thompson (The Baneeymetyes) lived and published in St. Louis (1847-1848), that Joseph Morris (The Morrisites) lived in St. Louis for at least two years (1851-1852), and that a colony of the Brewesterites (followers of John E. Brewester) settled in St. Louis for a season.4

Other interesting and important events connected with the Church in St. Louis include the publication of William Clayton's Emigrant's Guide, and the establishing of a Mormon newspaper, The St. Louis Luminary, as well as the funerals of William Clayton's father, Thomas, Elder Orson Spencer, and Andrew L. Lamoreaux (one-time president of the French Mission), public solicitations to aid destitute Mormon exiles, the organization of a lyceum, the organization of the first stake outside of Utah, the exhibiting of the Joseph Smith Egyptian mummies and papyri, and the casting of the font of type for the Deseret Alphabet.

The Church in St. Louis grew from a small colony to a large stake which included all or parts of five states—Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, and Kansas Territory. Its early history can conveniently be divided into the following periods: the Colony, 1833-1843; the Branch, 1844-1847; the District, 1847-

---

3Millennial Star, 1 May 1846. See also note 36.
4Although convert-emigrants from Europe were routinely warned "to beware of the apostate spirit that reigns in this city," the local Mormons considered St. Louis as an "asylum." St. Louis Luminary, 3 February 1855. Martha Brotherton, who claimed that both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young wanted her for a plural wife, went to St. Louis where she published her version of what was wrong in Nauvoo in the St. Louis Bulletin, 15 July 1842.
1854; and the Stake, 1854-1857 (discontinued); reestablished, 1958.

THE COLONY, 1833-1843

Less than one year after the organization of the Church on 6 April 1830, the first Mormons passed through St. Louis, in obedience to a commandment (Doctrines and Covenants 28) to take the gospel to the Lamanites on the western frontier. Consequently, in October 1830, four missionaries, Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and Ziba Peterson, left Fayette, New York, on foot for western Missouri. They traveled via Kirtland, Ohio, where Frederick G. Williams joined them, to Cincinnati, where they boarded a steamer for St. Louis. Ice at the mouth of the Ohio, however, forced them to walk the remaining 200 miles to St. Louis. Sometime during January 1831, they crossed the Mississippi on a ferry to the foot of present-day Market Street, and headed west, again on foot, via St. Charles to Independence, Missouri. During the short layover in St. Louis and vicinity, they did some preaching and made some friends, if not converts.

Elder Pratt recorded the following about this journey:

We halted for a few days in Illinois, about twenty miles from St. Louis . . . although in the midst of strangers, we were kindly entertained, found many friends, and preached to large congregations in several neighborhoods.

In the beginning of 1831 we renewed our journey; and, passing through St. Louis and St. Charles we traveled on foot for three hundred miles . . . [to] Independence . . . Missouri . . .

The following February Elder Pratt returned east to report to Joseph Smith on the mission. He records the following: "In nine days I arrived at St. Louis . . . I spent a few days with a friend in the country, at the same place we had tarried on the way out: and then took a steamer in St. Louis bound for Cincinnati." 6

That June, Joseph Smith and others passed through St. Louis enroute to Independence, and were soon followed by the

---

5Pratt, Autobiography, p. 52.
6Ibid., p. 58. Of all Church leaders, Pratt was the one most closely identified with St. Louis. He visited the city often until his death in 1857.
whole Coleville, New York Branch of about sixty members which stayed in St. Louis during 13-18 June before proceeding to Independence on a boat up the Missouri. In 1832 Joseph Smith again passed through enroute to Independence, and Parley Pratt was there several times. In February or March, Pratt and John Murdock held some formal meetings in St. Louis.7

By 1833, as a result of missionary activity and Missouri mobs, there was a small group or colony of Mormons in St. Louis. Throughout the rest of the decade, St. Louis received informal visits from missionaries.8

In March 1837, Charles C. Rich (the future apostle) was in St. Louis from his home in Independence. While there he wrote to a Miss Sarah D. Pea of Belleville, Illinois, and began courting her by mail. They had never met, but had been highly recommended to each other by missionaries. They were married the following February in Independence.9

The Journal of Sarah Pea Rich tells us something of early missionary work in Madison and St. Clair Counties just east of St. Louis in Illinois—an area which then and now was part of the St. Louis Church area. She records that during the summer of 1835 two Mormon Elders came to preach at her father’s house nine miles from Belleville. Apparently the Elders were enroute from Missouri to Ohio. Later, on 15 December, Sarah was baptized when the same two Elders returned and succeeded in building up a branch of some seventy members, including Sarah’s father, mother, and sister.

In 1838 the St. Louis press began to take some notice of

---

7Murdock’s wife had died in 1831 after giving birth to twins. The twins Emma Smith bore on that same day died, and she and Joseph adopted the Murdock twins. One of these twins, Julia, later married a John Middleton, and lived in St. Louis during the early 1870s. See Julia’s letter to Emma Smith in the Emma Smith Bidamon Papers in the Huntington Library.

8Missionaries had also visited Union, Missouri, which is today part of the St. Louis Stake. See Evening and Morning Star, February 1833.

9This pretty little story comes from Russell R. Rich, Those Who Would Be Leaders (Provo, Utah, 1963), pp. 7-8. Charles got right to the point in his first letter: “I will let you know the reason of my boldness in writing to you. It is because Elder G. M. Hinkle and others have highly recommended you as . . . being worthy of my attention . . . . I should be happy to get a good companion . . . and I should be very happy to see you and converse with you on the subject.”

Sarah’s reaction to this forward approach was, “I was truly struck with wonder and surprise . . . and could not help but think the hand of the Lord had something to do in this matter.” Journal of Sarah Pea Rich. See also John Henry Evans, Charles Coulson Rich . . . (New York, 1963), pp. 27-43.
the Mormon question. On 8 November the *St. Louis Daily Evening Gazette* briefly reported on troubles in the western part of the state and on 20 December the *Missouri Argus* expressed sympathy for the Mormons and their sufferings. That December when John Morrill, a Mormon state representative from Caldwell County, presented a petition to the state legislature for protection, Henry S. Geyer, of St. Louis, and another member of the legislature, staunchly defended the Mormons and threatened to leave the state if the Mormons were driven out. (A noble, but futile gesture.)

During the subsequent expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri throughout the winter of 1838-1839, a number of leading newspapers in St. Louis supported the Mormons and condemned Gov. Lilburn W. Boggs. Such efforts did the Mormons of western Missouri no good, but it may be one reason why no Mormons in St. Louis were expelled. Some of the citizens of St. Louis held meetings to raise funds to assist the destitute exiles.

Soon after the removal of the Mormons to Nauvoo, Illinois, the results of the British Mission (opened in 1837) were felt in St. Louis. The first emigrant group passed through

---

"I have collected 690 references to the Mormons in the St. Louis press for the period of 1839-1848 alone. Most, however, refer to events in Nauvoo.

*Corrill, important in Church affairs in Missouri, later apostatized and was excommunicated 17 March 1839. That same year in St. Louis he published a booklet entitled, *A Brief History of the Church of Latter-day Saints...* in which he gave his reasons for having left the Mormons. Geyer was one of the best lawyers and statesmen Missouri ever had. He was active in state politics from 1818 and served in the U.S. Senate from 1851 to 1857.*

*Corrill's work was the first in a small corpus of early St. Louis Mormon Imprints. Others which followed are: Elder John Lee, *An Attempt to Prove the Propriety and Utility of Saint's Washing One Another's Feet* (1841); Elder Orson Hyde, *Missouri Persecutions* (1842); James H. Hunt, *A History of the Mormon War...* (1844); George T. Davis, *An Authentic Account of the Massacre of Joseph Smith...* (1844); James H. Hunt, *Mormonism...* (1844); G. W. Westbrook, *The Mormons in Illinois* (1844); Oliver Olney, *Spiritual Wifery at Nauvoo Exposed...* (1845); Josiah B. Conners, *A Brief History of the Leading Cause of the Hancock Mob in...* 1841... (1845); Charles B. Thompson, *Baneemy...* (1848); William Clayton, *Emigrants' Guide...* (1848); and the newspaper, the *St. Louis Luminary* (1854-1855).


"The *Daily Evening Gazette* of 22 January 1839 even suggested that some of the newly arrived German emigrants should go to Caldwell County and buy out the Mormons."
in April 1841. Throughout the Nauvoo period, and up to 1855, the emigrants came up the Mississippi from New Orleans to St. Louis, where it was necessary to change boats to continue on the upper Mississippi to Nauvoo. While most of the converts proceeded to Nauvoo as quickly as possible, some stopped over in St. Louis for a variety of reasons—the main one was to work and recoup their finances. Over the years, so many Mormons worked in St. Louis that in 1855 the St. Louis Luminary reported:

St. Louis is a fine, large, and flourishing city, and has furnished employment to many hundreds and thousands of our brethren . . . there are few public buildings of any consideration in this city that our brethren have not taken an active and prominent part in erecting or ornamenting. There are few factories, foundries, or mercantile establishments, but they have taken, or are taking an active part in establishing or sustaining.\(^3\)

Consequently the colony prospered.

The St. Louis press began to take increasing notice of the Mormons and printed many, generally favorable, accounts of them, so much so that on 9 September 1846, the Quincy Whig complained that the St. Louis People's Organ was a"bitter reviler of the anti-Mormons." In September 1841, for example, the St. Louis Atlas printed the following:

THE MORMONS: An intelligent friend, who called upon us this morning, has just returned from a visit to Nauvoo and the Mormons . . . . He believes—just as we do—that they have been grossly misunderstood and shamefully libeled . . . the people are very enterprising, industrious, and thrifty. They are at least quite as honest as the rest of us . . . their religion is a peculiar one . . . but it is a faith which they say encourages no vice . . . . At this moment, they present the appearance of an enterprising, industrious, sober, and thrifty population—such a population indeed as, in the respects just mentioned, have no rivals east and, we rather guess not even west of the Mississippi.\(^4\)

Further evidence of the maturity and fairness of the St. Louis press was the calm way it responded to the Bennett

\(^3\)February 1855.

\(^4\)Reprinted in the 1 October 1841 issue of the Times and Seasons, the official Mormon newspaper in Nauvoo, Illinois. On the preceding 15 May the Times and Seasons had reprinted another article from the St. Louis Pennant and Native American. As the name suggests, this organ was anti-emigrant, and its comments about "this fanatic tribe," and "wretched creatures," which
"exposés" of 1842-1843. John C. Bennett, former mayor of Nauvoo, was excommunicated in May 1842 for immorality. He hurriedly went to St. Louis to publish a book, The History of the Saints, and to seek his fame and fortune. Two St. Louis newspapers, however, took a dim view of his efforts. The St. Louis Gazette, for example, was entirely opposed to the publication of any book on Nauvoo seduction as "a great deal of money has been made by the sale of documents and papers pretending to give accounts of the Latter Day Saints." The Missouri Reporter commented, "We confess, however, that we place no great confidence in the statements of Bennett, Rigdon & Co." and was suspicious of why Bennett did not attack the Mormons until after he had been expelled by them. Such openly expressed negative views may be why Bennett had his book published in Boston.

Six months later, in January 1843, Bennett was back in St. Louis giving lectures on "Holy Joeism! Alias Mormonism!" Again the press was calm. Between 19 and 21 of January, he offered three lectures against the Mormons in the Concert Hall and Lyceum Hall. Admission to the first two was 12.5 cents. The third, on polygamy, cost 25 cents and was too indelicate for ladies, so none were admitted. The press restricted its coverage to mere announcements of the lectures and Bennett's paid advertisements.

Although barely mentioned by the St. Louis press, the arrest of Orrin Porter Rockwell, sometime bodyguard to Joseph Smith and one of Mormondom's most colorful characters, in St. Louis on 4 March 1843, was an important event. On 6 May 1842 an attempt had been made on the life of ex-Gov. Boggs of Missouri by an unknown would-be assassin. Rock-

“arrived [from England] day before yesterday” should not be taken too seriously.

Throughout October and November 1843 the People's Daily Organ printed a series of twenty-three lampoons of Mormon history written in pseudo-Book of Mormon style, the flavor of which may be gained from the following: "And it came to pass, in the second year of the reign of Andrew, whose surname is Jackson, who judged the people of Columbia (for they did have no kings over them) that there rose up in those days many prophets and led much people after them, and among the prophets there arose one Joseph, whose surname was Smith. Now Joseph affirmed that by a revelation from Heaven he was made prophet and leader of a sect to be called Latter-day Saints..."

*2* Cited in the Times and Seasons, 1 August 1842.

*3* According to the People's Organ of 16 and 19 December 1843, Bennett was back in St. Louis again, this time debating with a Dr. Underhill on the subject of mesmerism.
well was immediately suspected of having been commissioned by Joseph to do the job. For sometime thereafter Rockwell made himself scarce, and apparently went East. Later, during March 1843, he tried to return to Nauvoo. In St. Louis he was quickly recognized by one Elias Parker, who indicated in an affidavit that he was the Rockwell advertised for in the papers. Rockwell was arrested, and put in jail for two days.17 (The jail was then located on the Southeast corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets.) He was taken to Independence to stand trial, escaped, was caught and returned to prison. When his trial came up, however, there was not enough evidence to convict him, and he was released after having spent nine months in prison.

There was a little flurry of missionary activity on the Illinois side of the river in 1843. In January, two Elders enroute to Kentucky had preached in Madison County. They later reported they had gone to "Highland, Madison County; preached several times and baptized three, where by the help of brother Cooper, a high priest, we organized a branch, consisting of seven members: ordained one priest."18 During a special Elders' conference in Nauvoo on 6 April, held for the purpose of sending Elders "forth into the vineyard to build up churches," an Elder John Zundall was sent to "Muskootau" (Mascoutah), St. Clair County.19 At a similar conference in July, Elders G. P. Dykes and Samuel Brown were sent to St. Clair County, and Elder Elisha H. Groves was sent to Madison County.20 Later that year, in December, an Elder Francis M. Edwards, enroute to Tennessee, laid over in Lebanon, St. Clair County, where he baptized eight.21

The sources are almost mute, however, regarding the thoughts and activities of the East-side Mormons. In addition to the above quoted journal of Sarah Pea Rich, we do have one letter from a Matilda R. Bailey of Edwardsville, Madison County, Illinois, dated 14 February 1842 and addressed to

---

17This is the only incident of a Mormon having difficulties with the law in St. Louis that I have found, and it was caused by Missouri rather than St. Louis officials. See Rockwell's own account in the Millennial Star, 22:517-520 and 535-536. See also Harold Schindler, Orrin Porter Rockwell (Salt Lake City, 1966), pp. 88-107.
18Times and Seasons, 1 November 1843.
19Ibid., 1 April 1843. (That the April first issue could carry news of a 6 April conference suggests that the issue was late.)
20Ibid., 15 June 1843.
21Manuscript history of the Southern States Mission, December 1843.
Emma Smith. A few of her lengthy comments bear repeating. Among other things she reports, "I have been in this State four years without friends and brethren . . . ." (Apparently the East-side Mormons were not well acquainted with one another.) Perhaps the most important comment is one regarding Joseph Duncan, the Whig candidate for governor of Illinois in 1842. Duncan, who had already served one term (1836-1838) as governor of Illinois, was no friend of the Mormons. In 1842 he pledged that if elected he would either exterminate the Mormons or drive them from the state. The good people of Illinois did not, however, reelect him. Matilda, who claimed to have worked for Duncan, had the following to say to Emma:

They say that Jo Duncan is up for Governor; if he is elected, I say that mobs and destruction await the saints . . . unless he is a better man than when I worked for him: I washed and ironed for his family, to the amount of six dollars and seventy-five cents, and because we lived in a wretched old house not one cent would he pay me; he gave me the most abusive language that I ever heard a man utter . . . and although they called him governor, he did not appear to me bigger than a skunk, nor of any more importance.22

THE BRANCH, 1844-1847

Apparently it was during the spring of 1844 that the first formal branch of the Church was organized in St. Louis. We are told something of these events in the biography of Thomas Wrigley:

We for some time felt afraid of the exterminating orders23 of Governor Boggs, which were still in force, but our numbers began to increase in that city and we took courage and a few met in a private house and organized a branch . . . but it was sometimes hard work having to contend with the prejudice of the people of the world and every apostate that left Nauvoo came here and did their best to bring persecution on us.

22 Times and Seasons, 1 June 1842.
23 The so-called "Exterminating Order," 27 October 1838 was an order from Boggs to General Clark and stated in part, "The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary for the public good." This order is routinely cited from the History of the Church 3:175. The ur-text, however, is Document Containing the Correspondence, Order, &C., in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons . . . (Fayette, Missouri, 1841), p. 61.
A man by the name of Small was appointed to preside over the branch and he turned out to be very small for he soon backed out and left the Church and went after Sydney Rigdon. The next man appointed to preside was a Richard [James] Riley . . .

In the same year one of the earliest stories appeared in the St. Louis press about local Mormons. On 16 May the People's Organ reported, "We understand that a few of the followers of Holy Joe have located themselves on Morgan [now Delmar] St. and hold forth in the school house every now and then." A week later the branch was visited by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and perhaps 100 other Elders. This sudden influx from Nauvoo was the result of Joseph Smith's decision to campaign for the presidency of the United States. Although he knew he had no chance of winning, it did give him a nation-wide audience for his principles and it also saved him from the awkward necessity of siding with one party or the other in Illinois. As it was, he alienated both.

To stump for him, Joseph called about 350 able-bodied men to spread throughout the country. Brigham Young and his group arrived in St. Louis on 22 May. There they called the Church together, and instructed them both religiously and politically. Heber C. Kimball recorded that about 300 were present. On the 23rd, the group sailed for Cincinnati and the East.

Instead of being elected Joseph was assassinated 27 June 1844, and the St. Louis press printed many stories condemning this murder. Typical of the attitude of the St. Louis press regarding this event is the following statement from the St. Louis Evening Gazette of 1 July: "THE MURDER OF THE PROPHET: It was Murder—Murder of the most deliberate, cold-blooded, atrocious and cowardly description."

The following September the first victims of Illinois lawlessness began coming to St. Louis. On 15 September the Weekly Reveille reported that "many Mormons have visited St. Louis during the week for the purchase of provisions. They

24Carter, Mormons in St. Louis, p. 497.
26Heber C. Kimball Journal, no. 92, May 1844. Both Kimball and Young had passed through the city once before, in July 1842, while enroute east to collect money for building the Temple and the Nauvoo House.
state that there is a general combination of Illinois and Missouri people against them. Provisions on their way to Nauvoo are in every case intercepted and the friendly farmers ill treated. The design is to starve them out of the country.”

Sidney Rigdon also came to St. Louis that month—but for a different reason. On 8 September he had been excommunicated for his insistence that he should succeed Joseph Smith. He left almost immediately for Pittsburgh, his former home. The St. Louis Republican noted that “Sidney Rigdon had arrived on his way to Pittsburgh, where he would establish a paper. He was still a believer in the doctrine though the Twelve would not allow him to rule.” 27 Apparently he only laid over between sailings, for on 12 September (aboard the Mayflower), he wrote a long letter which was printed on 16 September by the St. Louis New Era and the People’s Organ. He explained his position and why he had left Nauvoo. He also announced that Orson Hyde was in St. Louis, and was going to preach against him that week.

Also during that same September what was perhaps the first Mormon conference ever held in St. Louis took place on the 29th. The new president of the branch at that time was James Riley and the main purpose of the conference was to sustain the Council of the Twelve and not Sidney Rigdon. During this conference, a special committee was appointed “to district the city, so that the priests and teachers may the more conveniently attend to their duty; and that the poor and the sick may be attended to; and that all things may be done in order . . . .” 28 Concerning the Rigdon question, the trial of Rigdon was read before the congregation, and then Brother Riley addressed the meeting. When the question was put to a vote, all but four voted to sustain the Twelve.

There was a second conference that year, on 10 November. Orson Hyde was present at this time, along with 233 others—“the largest congregation ever assembled in this city to hear an Elder of the Latter-Day Saints preach.” 29 Among other things, Elder Hyde encouraged the Saints to subscribe to the official Mormon newspaper, the Times and Seasons,

27Cited in the Burlington Hawkeye, 19 September 1844.
28Times and Seasons, 1 November 1844. According to the St. Louis New Era of 10 December 1844 they were meeting “opposite the North Market.”
29Ibid., 15 November 1844. Someone must have forgotten that at least 300 turned out to hear Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball in 1844.
published in Nauvoo, and called upon all Mormons to unite with the branch. (Apparently not all Saints cared to join the branch, for this admonition was given repeatedly by the authorities.) It is reported that during the conference seventeen members joined with the branch and one convert was baptized.

The branch continued to grow and prosper. In January 1845, Orson Hyde returned and "delivered a lecture on Mormonism and things in general at the headquarters next door to the Liberty Engine House."30 Upon his return to Nauvoo he reported that:

I was highly pleased with the spirit that prevails among the saints in that place. They are united in fellowship—they are one in heart, one in faith, and one in their resolutions to serve and honor the Lord, to uphold the regular authorities of the church, and listen to the counsel and instruction of the Twelve.31

Since the branch president left the Church later that year, it is interesting to note what Elder Hyde said of him in January:

The vigilant exertions of Bro. Riley, the presiding Elder, together with all the official members of the church, are truly praiseworthy. They are indefatigable in their labours to gather together all the scattered sheep and bring them back to the fold. They visit the sick and administer to their wants . . . they also remember the building of the Temple . . . . There is much interest felt by many in St. Louis for our cause. More or less are being baptized weekly; and the saints number between three and four hundred.32

The branch had been asked to support the building of the Nauvoo Temple and Elder Riley had solicited help from St. Louisians in general. He prepared a statement or a handout addressed "To the Ladies and Gentlemen of St. Louis. Respected Friends: Your attention is here with invited to the building of the TEMPLE OF GOD, in the city of Nauvoo, Illinois . . . we would ask if there are not good Samaritans in St. Louis that will pour a little of the mammon of unrighteousness to aid us in completing our house of worship?"33

Another conference was held on 10 February in the Franklin Hall and 403 (329 members, 4 High Priests, 18 Seventies,

---

30 People's Organ, 15 January 1845.
31 Times and Seasons, 1 February 1845.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., 15 January 1845.
25 Elders, 15 Priests, 6 Teachers, and 6 Deacons) were present—nearly double the congregation of the preceding November conference. This conference considered and resolved many things, including the resolve to sustain the Twelve, to help rear and finish the temple, and to patronize the *Times and Seasons* (such things as would hold the group together and strengthen its union with Nauvoo). The conference also resolved that “We view with mingled emotions of grief and surprise, the proceedings of the highest court in the State of Illinois, in taking away the chartered rights of Nauvoo.” They also resolved that “although surrounded by apostates . . . we feel perfectly safe in the midst of an enlightened people, who alike know how to appreciate political liberty and religious freedom; and who have too much respect for the sanctity of constitutional rights, to trample upon the law and the rights of others.”34 This resolution may have been as much a suggestion as a compliment to St. Louis.

The sincere and well-meant resolves, however, were not enough to protect the little branch from the trouble that was brewing in Nauvoo. That fall and winter, the St. Louis Saints were severely tried as a result of the defection of William Smith, brother of Joseph Smith. William had been excommunicated 12 October 1845 in Nauvoo for not supporting the Twelve and claiming the right to succeed his dead brother. As Rigdon and Bennett had done before him after their communications, William quickly set out for St. Louis. On 21 October the *Missouri Reporter* said that he was in St. Louis and had been “compelled to flee Nauvoo.” Both the *St. Louis American* of 28 October and the *Peoples’ Organ* of 30 and 31 October reported that William was to lecture in the Mechanics Institute on Third Street on “the corruption of the Twelve in Nauvoo.”

As a direct result of William’s lectures there was a “GRAND FLARE-UP IN THE MORMON CHURCH IN ST. LOUIS.” The *People’s Organ* of November reported that on Wednesday 19 November, at the regular meeting in the Mechanics Institute someone publicly “denied the spiritual right of the Twelve to the patriarchal government and accused the Twelve of robbery, assassination, and adultery.” The chair-

34Ibid., 15 February 1845. Special note was taken of an Elder Williams who represented a branch of six in Belleville.
man tried to stop the proceedings, but was prevented from doing so by many shouts of "Sit down, let him speak, privilege, go on . . . etc." According to the reporter, one of the denunciators was a "Brother Riley." According to Thomas Wrigley's journal Riley "left the city and went to Nauvoo but soon returned, a bitter enemy to the Church. . . ." 35

One who may have attended this meeting wrote a letter three days later in which we have a confirmation of Riley's disaffection and from which we learn that William Smith contends the church is disorganized, having no head, that the Twelve are not, nor ever were, ordained to be head of the church, that Joseph's priesthood was to be conferred on his posterity to all future generations, and that young Joseph [Joseph Smith, III] is the only legal successor to the presidency of this church . . . intends holding a conference there this week and organizing the church on the old original plan, according to the Doctrine and Covenants, Book of Mormon, and the New Testament . . . two high priests have been disfellowshipped, one seventy, and a number of other officers and members from this branch I suppose will join the Smith party. Amongst them is our late president, H[igh] P[riest] James Riley. 36

About a month later the Warsaw Signal of 31 December reported that, "The St. Louis Branch of the Mormon Church, it appears, had revolted and joined the standard of the Patriarch Bill Smith." Those were trying times—the St. Louis branch was torn by factions and the Saints in Nauvoo were preparing to leave Illinois the following spring.

On 9 January 1846, the St. Louis Organ commented on the persecution of Mormons in Illinois. After criticizing Governor Ford for having acted unwisely, the paper said, "It is notorious that the great 'Mormon Eaters' of the Upper Missouri were the greatest scamps in the country, and we have very good reason to believe that the same remarks would apply to the tribe who are now persecuting them in Illinois." The Organ then quoted the Peoria Register to the effect that Joseph and Hyrum had been murdered in "cold blood . . . an act of

35Carter, Mormons in St. Louis, p. 497.
36Millennial Star, 1 May 1846, letter of James Kay. Kay, an English convert, had apparently left Nauvoo in December 1844 and was then living in St. Louis. The reference to "young Joseph" is noteworthy. Burgess, former historian of the RLDS Church, contends on the basis of Kay's letter that "the name of 'Young Joseph' . . . was first publicly raised in St. Louis. . . ." Burgess, "St. Louis."
atrocities unparalleled in the history of the age," and that the persecutors will "continue to have apologists for their misdeeds, in the shape of some sixpenny journal of the calibre of the Warsaw Signal, Quincy Whig, &c. &c."

The exodus from Nauvoo commenced in February and continued throughout that year. That July, when Brigham Young was preparing to winter in the Council Bluffs (Iowa) area, he instructed the Church trustees in Nauvoo to determine the number of Saints in St. Louis who wanted to join him. Apparently not many were ready or able to go at that time, for there is no mention of the St. Louis Saints moving to Winter Quarters. (In August Bishop Newel K. Whitney came to St. Louis from Winter Quarters to purchase sixty tons of supplies, and it is possible that some of the Saints from St. Louis returned to the Winter Quarters area with him.)

We do know, however, that many Mormons from Illinois who did not go west with Brigham Young did come to St. Louis—especially during the "Mormon War" in Nauvoo of 10-13 September when mobs drove the remaining Mormons out.\(^37\) The \textit{St. Louis Daily Union} of 22 September, for example, reported that "The New Haven brought a number of families from Nauvoo to St. Louis. Many Mormons are leaving Nauvoo." On 29 September the same paper said, "The New Haven brought down from Keokuk some forty families of Mormons whose purpose it is to settle in this city."\(^38\) Many

\(^{37}\)One or more of the six cannon used against the Mormons may have come from St. Louis, for the \textit{St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican} of 7 September 1846 reported that, "the Anti-Mormons were waiting the arrival of Mr. Wagoner from St. Louis, who was sent there to get a cannon with which to storm Nauvoo." This may have been George C. Waggner, a member of the Carthage Greys.

\(^{38}\)In the \textit{Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis}, 3:1567 we read, "In 1845 [sic], after the expulsion from Nauvoo, a considerable number of Mormons came to St. Louis. Among them were Joseph Knowles, William Giddings, Thomas Kent, Matthew Kent, and others. Some of them engaged in digging coal on Rankins's farm, over on the Illinois Bluffs, eight miles from the city. Knowles and Giddings worked with Elder Thomas digging coal on Dry Hill within the limits of the present Forest Park."

In 1851 a Dry Hill Branch of about eight families was organized. Some of the branch records have been preserved—Record of Member and Council Minutes: Dry Hill Branch, St. Louis Stake, 1835-1839—and as skimpy as they are, they are superior to other branch records of that time. The branch seems to have been made up completely of colliers from Great Britain. At one time the branch had fifty-four members, met in a "meeting house," had three dozen chairs, and purchased a five-dollar stove.

Coal was mined in Forest Park (near Steinberg Rink) until at least 1916. Mary Joan Boyer's \textit{The Old Gravois Coal Diggings} (Imperial, Mo.,
of these Saints settled in St. Louis, but others stayed only long enough to get an "outfit" in order to join Brigham Young.

That same September the Church trustees in Nauvoo came to St. Louis to collect funds and goods to relieve the distress of the exiles. In reference to this, the St. Louis Union of 5 October printed the following: "MORMON SUFFERERS IN NAUVOO: The public has been apprised that Mr. Heywood is here as a committee to receive contributions of food, clothing, or anything else that the benevolent may choose to send to the sufferers . . . ." 30

A week later the St. Louis Weekly Reveille published a lengthy announcement from Peter G. Camden, Mayor of St. Louis.

THE MORMON SUFFERERS: In the recent expulsion and flight of the Mormons from Nauvoo and its vicinity, many of the poorest, most friendless and helpless have been left behind . . . . How or why these unfortunates are in their present condition, there is no time now to enquire . . . it should suffice that we have the highest authority and encouragement for believing it is always 'more blessed to give than to receive' . . . it is hoped that the people of St. Louis will, on this occasion, maintain their former high character for sympathy and liberality. 40

In October Brigham Young sent word to Joseph A. Strat- ton, who had succeeded Riley as branch president, to send as many men west as possible with the understanding that they could bring their families later. 41 Again the sources are silent regarding how many, if any, left St. Louis at that time. We do know, however, that in spite of all these difficulties, the well-known Mormon penchant for making the best of things brought about in October the organization of the St. Louis Lyceum, devoted to adult education and the study of the gospel. 42

1952), mentions some Mormons in this occupation, but they seem to have all been of the RLDS persuasion. Matthew Gauntt, an English convert, left Nauvoo during this period and went to St. Louis. Eleven of his letters are in the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. He makes no reference, how- ever, to the Mormons in that city.

30 Probably Joseph Leland Heywood, a former resident of Alton, Illinois.

40 The success of this appeal is questionable. The Quincy Whig of 28 October 1846 gleefully announced that only $300 in provisions had been raised.

41 Missouri Counties and Settlements, October 1846. Hereafter cited as MCS.

42 This venture was not successful. It lasted four months, met twice weekly, and had about seventy members who paid dues of ten cents monthly. Minutes of the St. Louis, Missouri, Lyceum, October 1846-January 1847.
The new year of 1847 started out with a conference on 31 January at which time it was reported that in the St. Louis area there were 1,478 members present.\(^43\) Since prior to the exodus from Nauvoo, there had only been about 400 members in St. Louis, many Mormons must have come to St. Louis from Illinois, and most of the 1846 migrants must have decided to remain in St. Louis rather than push on to troubled Nauvoo or distant Winter Quarters.

The branch also got a new president. After President Stratton left for Winter Quarters in February, Nathaniel H. Felt (1816-1887) was called to succeed him. In Winter Quarters Elder Stratton reported two cases of polygamy in St. Louis to President Young. Brigham Young prudently sent back word to St. Louis that the two polygamists should join the main body of Saints as quickly as possible to avoid trouble in St. Louis.\(^44\)

Since there were already more than 1,500 Saints in St. Louis, and other hundreds on the way from Europe, and since President Young had not yet settled his people anywhere, St. Louis was designated as "a gathering place for the driven from Nauvoo and the converted from Europe coming up from New Orleans,"\(^45\) and the branch organization was expanded to that of a district.

**THE DISTRICT, 1847-1854**

To enable the local leaders to fulfill their new responsibilities as a "gathering" and outfitting place, the original branch was divided into six branches on 25 March, each with its own presidency,\(^46\) and became therefore a "conference" or district—the only one in the Church for sometime outside of wherever Brigham Young happened to be, and Felt became the district president. During the rest of that year three new

---

\(^43\)St. Louis Branch Records, 1846-1847.
\(^44\)MCS, 6 February 1847. Apparently they did so, for I have never found a reference in the St. Louis press to local polygamy. There may have been at least one more case of polygamy in St. Louis, for on 10 February 1848 a Theodore Curtis (who had been excommunicated for performing the marriage of a man and another man's wife) formally requested a rehearing of his case. MCS, 10 February 1848.

\(^46\)Ibid., p. 441. A branch was probably organized in each of the six political wards of the city. Since there is no evidence that there was ever more than one hall of worship in the city, these "branches" seem to have been only administrative units. All six apparently met collectively in one building or another.
branches (in Gravois, Dry Hill, and in Alton, Illinois)\textsuperscript{47} were organized, some Saints were shipped to Winter Quarters, hundreds more were received from Europe, and money and teams were sent to help with the forthcoming move from Winter Quarters.\textsuperscript{48}

In February of 1848, William Clayton came to St. Louis to oversee the printing of 5,000 copies of the \textit{Latter Day Saint's Emigrant's Guide}, written expressly to aid Mormons in their long trek from Winter Quarters west.\textsuperscript{49}

So many hundred emigrants flooded into the city that President Felt took most of the Mound House Hotel for temporary housing, and rented the larger and more suitable Concert Hall on Market Street (between Second and Third Streets, west side) for Sunday services. He divided the Gravois branch into four units, one of which was Welsh, and found himself by September 1849 shepherding from 3,000 to 4,000 members—the largest district in the Church.\textsuperscript{50} (The population of St. Louis was then about 63,000.)

Even throughout the great cholera epidemic and fire of 1849, the district continued to grow. The \textit{Frontier Guardian} reported on 13 June that "great accessions are made to the church in St. Louis in the midst of fire, cholera, and death." Among those who died that summer was William Clayton's father, Thomas.

\textsuperscript{47}Gravois was an ill-defined rural area southwest of St. Louis. Since Elder Snow once reported that "I visited the Gravois Branch, 6 miles out of town . . .," I have concluded that the branch was near present-day Tower Grove Park. Larson, \textit{Erasus Snow}, p. 259. At one time there were about 250 members in this branch. Dry Hill was a coal mining district which also had some 250 members. The Alton Branch reached a peak membership of about 150 in 1850. Research to date has failed to turn up a single reference in the Alton press to the Mormons in that area, even though the Alton press frequently commented on Mormon affairs in Nauvoo.

\textsuperscript{48}On 21 April 1848, Orson Hyde wrote to Elder Felt congratulating him on the $2,000 raised "within the last year by voluntary contributions . . .." Carter, \textit{Mormons in St. Louis}, p. 441. Heber C. Kimball also wrote to Felt from Winter Quarters on 22 April 1848, praising the St. Louis Saints "who have contributed so liberally in their poverty for the public good during the past year . . ." Heber C. Kimball papers, carton 627, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

\textsuperscript{49}Clayton's guide, listed in R. F. Perotti and T. N. Luther, \textit{Important First in Missouri Imprints}, 1808-1858 (Kansas City, Missouri, 1967), p. 25.

\textsuperscript{50}This estimate comes from John M. Bernhisel in a letter to his wife from Washington, D.C. dated 10 September 1849. He had passed through St. Louis the preceding August enroute to Washington with a petition from Brigham Young for territorial government. MCS, 10 September 1849. One Eil B. Kelsey reported in the 15 January issue of the \textit{Millennial Star}, that "the branch in St. Lo is numbers about 3,000 Saints, of all ages, hot, warm, and cold, with far less proportion of the cold than I anticipated."
During these trying times it was later reported that Elder Felt "was called on constantly by the afflicted people. Hour after hour, without stopping sometimes to eat or sleep, President Felt visited the sick, administering to them, comforting them in their pain, cheering them, advising and guiding them . . . ."51 We learn something of the affairs of the district from John Taylor who spent some time in the city that winter while enroute to a mission in France. He wrote his family:

After a long absence I now sit down to write you. I have been in this city about three weeks . . . . Here the Saints have a magnificent hall and a splendid band and do things up in good style . . . . On my arrival here . . . the Saints flocked around me like bees; and the greatest trouble I have is that of not being able to fulfill the many engagements that have pressed themselves upon me.52

During January of 1850 Elder Taylor was joined by Elders Erastus Snow, Franklin D. Richards, and Jedediah M. Grant, who helped out with administrative and emigration problems before moving on to various mission fields. In February Elder Taylor conducted a conference at which 1,814 were present.53 His main message was to urge them to go west as soon as possible. One of those who did so was President Felt, who was succeeded by his first counselor, Alexander Robbins.

Emigrants continued to come in. On 17 June the Frontier Guardian noted that "During the past three or four days not less than 1,000 emigrants . . . passed through St. Louis on their way to the Great Salt Lake." The St. Louis press took careful note of the arrival of the emigrants and their activities. On 8 May 1851, for example, the Missouri Republican carried the following:

Although we have no Mormon Church in St. Louis, and though these people have no other class or permanent possession or permanent interest in our city, yet their numerical strength here is greater than may be imagined. Our city is the greatest recruiting point for Mormon emigrants from England and the Eastern States, and the former especially,

51Carter, Mormons in St. Louis, p. 446.
53MCS, February 1850.
whose funds generally become exhausted by the time they reach it, generally stop here for several months, and not infrequently remain among us for a year or two pending the resumption of their journey to Salt Lake . . . .

There are at this time in St. Louis about three thousand English Mormons, nearly all of whom are masters of some trade, or have acquired experience in some profession, which they follow now. As we said, they have no church, but they attend divine services twice each Sunday at Concert Hall, and they perform their devotional duties with the same regularity, if not in the same style as their brethren in the valley . . . .

We hear frequently of Mormon balls and parties, and Concert Hall was on several occasions filled with persons gathered to witness Mormon theatrical performances. We have witnessed the congregation as it issued from the hall and at religious meetings on Sunday, and certainly we think it does not compare unfavorably with other congregations.

On 28 June the same paper reported that "upwards of 1,000 had arrived at St. Louis since spring, not more than 600 of whom had been able to leave."

Despite heroic efforts to ship the emigrants west (more than eleven companies left in 1852), the district continued to grow. In October of that year Horace S. Eldridge (1816-1888) was sent from Utah to preside over the district and to act as General Emigration Agent for the Church in St. Louis. Even though during the 1853 and 1854 seasons he purchased about 800 wagons and 4,000 head of cattle to ship emigrants with, the district flourished.

Finally at the 1854 April Conference the leaders in Salt Lake City designated St. Louis as a place to "which the Latter-day Saints might gather with approbation who were unable to go directly through to Utah" and appointed Erastus Snow of the Quorum of the Twelve to go to St. Louis and organize a stake, direct emigration, and preside generally over the whole Church in the area. At the same time Milo Andrus (1814-1893) was called to preside over the stake which Elder Snow was to organize.

---

64 At one such party, during Christmas time of 1854, 600 Church members gathered in the church. Larson, Erastus Snow, p. 262.
The Old Methodist Church by courtesy Stanley B. Kimball and the Missouri Historical Society
THE STAKE, 1854-1857

Elder Andrus left Salt Lake City more than two months before Elder Snow and on 30 May arrived in St. Louis where he was met by Orson Pratt and Horace S. Eldridge. While waiting for Erastus Snow he kept busy. In one of his letters to the Deseret News he reported:

I began to feel after the Saints and found many disaffected and the Holy Spirit came upon me, when I thought of the best plan to save the most: and I counseled them to renew their covenants by rebaptism, and by making new records as the old were imperfect. I also opened the door to those who had been cut off, only forbidding such as were forbidden by all laws this side of the mountains. The result is, the Saints are rejoicing and bear testimony that they have never felt better in their lives; and about twenty-five more have been baptized, some of whom had been cut off . . . .

In the month of August last, I received an invitation to go to Illinois about 10 miles from the river. I went and preached and then sent others, and last Sunday (Oct. 15) I went again, and organized a branch, called Centreville Branch . . . consisting of eight members . . . .

On 28 August Elder Snow arrived in St. Louis and boarded with Elder Andrus. A few days later, on 12 September, he wrote to Franklin D. Richards in England that

Brother Andrus had succeeded well in his labors here and on my arrival he was stirring up the Saints to renew their covenants in baptism and nearly all have done so . . . after this month we shall leave Concert Hall and occupy [lease] the Old Methodist Church on Fourth Street a spacious building with a gallery, which will be under our entire control, including a basement in three rooms, suitable for councils, storage, or rendezvous for our emigration . . . . I propose calling a special General Conference in this place on the first Saturday and Sunday in November . . . .

---

57Printed in the Deseret News, 4 January 1855. The sources do not tell us much about the number of converts in St. Louis at that time, and one concludes that there were comparatively few. Perhaps the most notable convert was Henry Eyring—the first of that prominent family to come into the Church. From Germany he came to St. Louis in March 1854, became a druggist, was baptized 10 December 1854, and spent four and a half years in the Cherokee Mission before going to Utah. See "The Journal of Henry Eyring," privately printed, Salt Lake City, 1951.

58This chapel, built of brick in 1830, stood where the Missouri Athletic Club is today. It was considered the "Mother of Methodism" in St. Louis. In 1854 the congregation moved to a new building, whereupon the chapel was available to the Mormons. Later, in 1857, the building was razed by a Mr. G. W. Clark, who built a block of five-story buildings on the site.

59Millennial Star, 28 October 1854. Not only was he concerned with the
On the following 4 November, the most important single event in the history of the Church in St. Louis took place—the organization of the first St. Louis Stake by Elder Snow—the sixteenth stake to be organized in the Church. (According to the *St. Louis Luminary* Orson Spencer was also present). Milo Andrus was sustained as president, with Charles Edwards and George Gardner as counselors; a High Council of twelve men was also organized. The stake consisted of at least fifteen branches in Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa, and 1,320 members attended from the following branches: St. Louis First, 59; St. Louis Second and Third, 164; St. Louis Fourth, 157; St. Louis Fifth, 158; St. Louis Sixth, 250; Gravois, 216; Dry Hill, 45; Bellefontaine, 23; Alton, Illinois, 102; Centreville, Illinois, 8; Keokuk, Iowa, 35; Bluff City, Iowa, 71; Maquoketa, Iowa, 16; and Fairfield, Iowa, 16.

That same month Elder Snow established the *St. Louis Luminary*, a weekly newspaper, to promote "science, religion, general intelligence, and news of the day." He used a basement room in the chapel for an office, and hired a Mr. Drake of Connecticut (who was friendly towards the Church) as his foreman. The first issue appeared 22 November and for a year, until 18 December 1855, it advocated and defended the Restored Gospel. It also reprinted much from the *Deseret News*, including public discourses of President Young and discouraged and backsliding Saints, but with what most visitors to St. Louis in August are concerned with—the heat. On 23 September he reported, "I landed here on the 28th of August. Weather for two weeks after was so oppressive, I could hardly live. Over fifty men are said to have fallen dead from the effects of heat in this city this summer." *Deseret News*, 21 December 1854.

While in St. Louis, Snow undoubtedly looked up his in-laws. His fourth and last wife, Julia Spencer, had lived in St. Louis during the 1840s, and her father, Matthias, and some brothers and sisters remained in St. Louis after Julia, her mother and younger sister went to Utah in 1850. Snow left for St. Louis ten days after they were married. Larson, *Erastus Snow*, p. 278.

*Bellefontaine* was platted in 1836 in section 10 of St. Ferdinand Township, which then included the abandoned Ft. Bellefontaine on the Missouri River. This town, fourteen miles north of downtown St. Louis, no longer exists, and the area of the old fort is now a home for boys. Only a few Mormons (between twenty-three and thirty-three during 1854 and 1855) ever lived in this area.


Larson, *Erastus Snow*, p. 260; *The Luminary* (1854-1855); *The Mormon* ed. in New York City by John Taylor, 1855-1857; and *The Western Standard*, ed. by George Q. Cannon in San Francisco 1856-1857, were all organized at about the same time for the same purpose.
other prominent leaders, and proclamations, correspondence, and messages from the First Presidency. We learn little of the day-by-day activities of the stake from its pages, but it did carry complete accounts of various conferences held in the city that year.

As with the district, the biggest work of the stake was emigration. Indeed the sketchy records of that time reveal little else, and the arrival and departure of emigrants is faithfully chronicled. Many were shipped as far west as possible on the Missouri River, and others overland by wagon and team. So extensive were the Mormon purchases of wagons that they were credited with having helped launch the largest and best known wagon factory in the country.

In 1843 a German emigrant, Louis Espenschied, established his wagon factory at 1815 North Broadway. "It appears to have been the Mormons who gave Espenschied his first considerable business in prairie schooners . . . an account was found . . . dated '1855 May 16, paid $2000.00 to Louis Espenschied and Co. for wagons. John Wardle and Erastus Snow." There is also some evidence that Brigham Young had ordered wagons from Espenschied in 1846 and 1847. Apparently Espenschied continued to do considerable business with the Mormons, for he advertised continually in the Luminary, and held notes on the Utah firm of Hooper and Williams and payment was overdue at one time on nearly nine thousand dollars. Espenschied asked Erastus Snow to straighten this out with Brigham Young—which he did.

In spite of the hundreds who left for Utah, the stake continued to grow. At the April 1855 conference, 1,661 members were present, all but 140 of whom were in the St. Louis area. The records of the October conference that year show a membership of 2,044 in thirty branches in Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, and Kansas Territory.

---

63 See the Espenschied Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.
64 St. Louis Luminary, 21 April 1855. A decision was also made to organize the Saints in the St. Charles area into a branch. Ibid., 14 April 1855.
65 Ibid., 20 October 1855. The thirty-two branches were as follows: six in St. Louis, 975; Gravois, 243; Dry Hill, 22; Bellefontaine, 33; Platten, Mo., 6; Weston, Mo., 40; Alton, Ill., 123; Calhoun, Ill., 20; Centerville, Ill., 12; Kingston, Ill., 19; Jacksonville, Ill., 12; Sullivan, Ill., 7; Maqueketa, Ill., 11; Bluff City, Iowa, 20; Indian Creek, Iowa, 6; Keokuk, Iowa, 50; Burlington, Iowa, 13; Fairfield, Indiana, 14; Carelton, Indiana, 11; Ft. Riley, Kansas Ter-
and the senior member of the High Council, James Henry Hart (1825-1906) became the next stake president on 6 October and remained so until 1857, after which the stake was allowed to wither away.

There were two important funerals in St. Louis in 1855. Andrew L. Lameraux, returning to Utah after having served as president of the French Mission, died of the "Asiatic Cholera" in St. Louis on 13 June.66 After Erastus Snow returned to Utah, Elder Orson Spencer, who bore the title "President of the Church in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys," was sent to St. Louis. He arrived 7 July, contracted typhoid fever, and died 15 October.67 The following spring his remains were shipped to Utah for reburial.

In 1855 the Church encouraged European emigrants to sail to the East Coast. At first they took the railroad to Pittsburgh, then went by boat to St. Louis, but in 1856 they went by rail to Iowa City and proceeded to Utah by handcart. This decision was the beginning of the end of the St. Louis Stake. Thereafter, although the Church kept an emigration agent in St. Louis for several years, most of his work was in connection with Iowa City affairs. For a season, the stake marked time.

One Church-related matter concerning some mummies once owned by Joseph Smith, however, should be pointed out. In 1835 the Church purchased four mummies and some papyri which Joseph Smith said contained ancient writings of Abraham and Joseph. After the death of Joseph Smith, and by 1856, two of these mummies and some of the papyri were being exhibited in St. Louis, in Wyman's Hall—an important museum and concert hall operated by Edward Wyman (then located immediately south of the Old Court House on the south side of Market Street). There they remained until 1863 when Wyman sold his whole collection to a Chicago exhibitor. There is, unfortunately, no known reference to these mummies in St. Louis by a Mormon of that day.68

66His obituary was printed in the Luminary of 16 June 1855, and his remains were later shipped to Salt Lake City.
67His funeral was reported in the Luminary 20 October and 10 November 1855.
Although St. Louis was no longer an important emigrant center, the needs of the Saints there who would not or could not emigrate had to be tended to, and for this reason, both Andrus and Snow returned to St. Louis during the spring of 1856. Thereafter, the main efforts seemed to have been devoted to strengthening the faith and testimonies of those who remained behind. To this end, Elder Snow instituted the “Reformation,” a reform movement which commenced in Utah in mid-1856 and swept throughout the Church in 1856 and 1857 “until every Saint was rededicated to the Kingdom through baptism or purged from membership.”

On 7 January 1857, Elder Snow preached in the Fourth Street chapel and himself entered the font (newly installed for that purpose), followed that day by thirty-seven others and later by hundreds of others. Snow next visited all the wards and branches in the area, preaching, excommunicating, and rebaptizing. In February, Apostles Parley P. Pratt and George A. Smith were sent to St. Louis to help with the Reformation. This was to be Elder Pratt’s final assignment. The last incidents related in his Autobiography mention that on 1 March he and Elder Snow preached the message of the Reformation three times and on 3 March he refers to his work assisting Elder Snow with the Deseret Alphabet. Soon thereafter he left for Arkansas where he was killed on 13 May.

The great Reformation proved to have been the last major activity of the organized St. Louis Stake. The threatening “Utah War” of 1857 pretty much killed it. To strengthen the Church’s defense against the U.S. Army advancing on Utah, Brigham Young called Erastus Snow and all others who could to leave St. Louis that summer. This, essentially, brought an end of the stake. The razing of the chapel later that year by

70St. Louis, Record of Members, 1856-1862, 7 January 1857.
71The Deseret Alphabet was an abortive attempt to simplify the orthography and reading of English for the benefit of thousands of European emigrants pouring into Utah. The effort was commenced October 1853, a font of type was cast in St. Louis, and by 1869 three books had been printed—The Deseret First and Second Readers, and the Book of Mormon. The experiment quickly died out.
72Pratt was actually knifed and shot to death by the husband of an abandoned wife whom Pratt had married. See Reva Stanley, The Archer of Paradise (Caldwell, Idaho, 1937), pp. 298-308. Part of the time he was in St. Louis he was in hiding. Snow helped him elude officers who were searching for him, and when Pratt left, he was in disguise.
The Four Presidents of the St. Louis Stake

Milo Andrus (1854-1855)

James H. Hart (1855-1857)

Roy W. Oscarson (1958-1969)

Boyd F. Schenk (1969—)
its owner was the symbolic end. Among those who left was James H. Hart, the second president of the stake. Thereafter the sources regarding the Church in St. Louis are even more scanty than for the earlier period.

Apparently Brother Eldridge more or less presided over the Saints in St. Louis until he returned to Utah in 1858. The Dry Hill branch kept records until 14 April 1859, but they are mainly a record of those who emigrated. Erastus Snow passed through St. Louis during November 1860 enroute east on a mission. There is a reference to an Elder Elijah Thomas working here in 1861. From 1862 to 1868 and again from 1870 to 1877, St. Louis was a branch of the Indian Territory Mission. (The branch had 75 members in 1864.) In 1865 Brigham Young sent an agent to St. Louis to buy machinery for a cotton and woolen factory in Utah. In June 1877 a conference was held in the Broadway Hall at 1310 No. Broadway with 42 in attendance. Thereafter there was very little Mormon activity in the area until 1896. (One exception was a concert presented by the Tabernacle Choir 2 September 1893 in the Music Hall of the Exposition Building.)

In 1896 Salt Lake City sent two elders, Melvin J. Ballard (the future apostle) and Ezra Christensen, to renew Church activities in St. Louis. In 1904 Utah had an exhibit in the St. Louis World's Fair. From 1907 to 1916 the reorganized branch rented a store at 4265 Easton Ave. and used it for religious services. On 26 November 1916 Elder James E. Talmage dedicated a chapel which the branch had purchased at 5195 Maple Ave.

STAKE REESTABLISHED, 1958-PRESENT

The next important event was on 4 September 1949 when George Albert Smith, President of the Church, dedicated a new chapel at 4720 Jamieson, the first chapel the Mormons had even built or owned in the area. Nine Years later, on 1 June 1958, the second St. Louis Stake was organized with Roy W. Oscarson as president. This, the 265th stake in the Church, consisted of six congregations (South St. Louis, North St. Louis, Rolla, Alton, Illinois, East St. Louis, Illinois, and Belleville, Illinois), and about 1750 members. Today the stake is made up of over 5,000 members in thirteen congregations.
The fourth president of the St. Louis Stake (since 1969) is Boyd F. Schenk.

St. Louis more than deserves the compliments paid it by the early Mormons who sought security there, and its role in Church history needs to be better understood and appreciated today. In conclusion it should be added that, in addition to the important members of the Church mentioned above, there are at least eighty-seven other prominent men and women listed in Andrew Jenson's *Latter-day Saint Bibliographical Encyclopedia* who were in some way connected with the early church in St. Louis.73

Missouri Persecutions:  
Petitions for Redress  

Paul C. Richards*  

When the Latter-day Saints first appealed to the U. S. Government in 1839-1840 for redress of wrongs committed against them in Missouri, Church President Joseph Smith said, "About 491 individuals gave in their claims against Missouri, which I submitted to Congress . . . .""1 More than 200 of these same claims or affidavits plus other important original documents relating to Mormon history in Missouri have been uncovered by the Institute of Mormon Studies at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.  

These affidavits, sworn to by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints shortly after they were driven from Missouri in 1839, constitute a veritable gold mine of first-hand accounts covering the 1831-1839 period of LDS Church history on the western frontier. They document the persecutions, depredations and murders committed against the Saints, but at the same time, raise a few questions about traditional LDS views of that period of history. They point up the need for a new look at Mormon history in Missouri.  

The new document find contains affidavits, letters, and petitions from 229 individuals, including affidavits from twenty-eight women and several children.2 Only a few of these documents have been published in the History of The Church  

---  

*Paul C. Richards received his M.A. degree in Church history from Brigham Young University in 1972, and is currently a feature writer for the BYU News Bureau.  

1Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1966), 4:74. Hereafter cited as HC.  

2These names are listed alphabetically in the accompanying Appendix.
This affidavit by Edmund Durfee, Jr., written 4 January 1840, has a plot plan scribbled on the back. All of the affidavits sent to Washington by the Mormons were notarized. This one was done by James M. Campbell, clerk of the County Commissioners Court, McDonough County, Illinois.
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints\(^3\) and in other works, leaving the rest as essentially untapped, primary-source documents covering this period. Even in the case of the printed materials, it is valuable to have the originals to make comparisons and to see what editorial changes have been made. Among the collection is an affidavit of Bishop Edward Partridge describing the time he was tarred and feathered at Independence (not the same document as in \textit{HC} 1:390-91), more than ten affidavits from witnesses of the Haun’s Mill massacre, and numerous other personal accounts covering almost every phase of Church history in Missouri.

The collection also shows that the Latter-day Saints made two more redress appeals in Congress following the well-known, unsuccessful 1840 appeal. As already pointed out, Joseph Smith submitted affidavits from 491 individuals during that first attempt. These documents were retrieved by LDS delegate Elias Higbee at the conclusion of the four-month appeal before the Senate Judiciary Committee. On 24 March 1840, Higbee wrote to Smith, who had already returned from Washington to Nauvoo, Illinois:

Dear Brother:—Our business is at last ended here. Yesterday a resolution passed the Senate, that the committee should be discharged; and that we might withdraw the accompanying papers, which I have done. I have also taken a copy of the memorial, and want to be off for the west immediately.\(^4\)

The original memorial or petition, from which Higbee took his copy, remained in Washington and today is filed in the National Archives under Senate Record Group Number 46. It is a twenty-eight page, handwritten document (two different hands), dated 27 January 1840, at Washington, and signed by Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Elias Higbee. This petition appears in \textit{HC} 4:24-38, but with numerous editorial changes which will be discussed later.

The Latter-day Saints sent another delegation to Washington in 1842, this time to appeal before the House of Repre-

\(^3\)\textit{HC} contains affidavits from more than forty persons, written in 1839 and 1840 about the Missouri persecutions (See \textit{HC} 3:183, 323-325; 4:49-71). The two which are duplications of documents in the new find are from Joseph Young (\textit{HC} 3:183) and Amanda Smith (\textit{HC} 3:323-325). \textit{HC} also contains the petition which the Saints sent to Congress (\textit{HC} 4:24-38). The original of this is in the new document find.

\(^4\)\textit{HC} 4:98-99.
sentatives in the newly seated 27th Congress. Major LDS historians are silent on this second appeal.\(^5\) Again the effort was unsuccessful, but this time the affidavits were not retrieved. Instead, they were kept by the House, and eventually filed in the National Archives with the 1842 House of Representatives Collection (HR 27A-G10.1), where they are now. Unfortunately, the collection contains less than half the affidavits that were submitted during the first appeal. It might be assumed that all were not used in the second appeal except for the fact that a note on one of the document folders indicates some papers may have been misplaced.\(^6\)

Other documents pertaining to the 1842 appeal are also filed in this collection. They are as follows:

1. A twenty-four page, handwritten petition which is a copy of the 1840 memorial, except that it is dated 10 January 1842, and signed by Elias Higbee, John Taylor, and Elias Smith.

2. *History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by The State of Missouri Upon the Mormons*, a sixty-four page book written by Parley P. Pratt during his eight-month imprisonment in Missouri. This work was published in Detroit by Dawson and Bates in 1839.


4. *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, & C. in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons: and the Evidence Given Before the Hon. Austin A. King . . . .* This 163-page document was published at Fayette, Missouri, by order of the Missouri General Assembly in 1841. Therefore, it

\(^5\)The *Congressional Globe* also is silent on this second appeal, but a handwritten note on one of the containers holding the documents of this appeal reads:

"Document presented by Mormons May 10, 1842 and on May 21, 1842 to the House Judiciary Committee; and the petition of Elias Higbee, John Taylor, & Elias Smith delegates of the LDS (referred on Feb. 14, 1842, to that committee), setting forth certain grievances, and asking for the redress of them."

A check of the *Congressional Globe* on the dates above indicated shows no action on the matter by the main body of the House (See Blair and Rives, eds., *The Congressional Globe*, vol. 11, no. 15 [Washington, 1842]).

\(^6\)The note reads: "Document Number 3 has not been located. It is possible that the Original papers comprising this file are scatter [sic] throughout the other documents in this group."
could not have been part of the documentation for the Saints’ 1840 appeal before Congress.

Copies of items 2, 3, and 4 have long been available in Mormon Americana so their recent discovery in the National Archives is not particularly significant. However, it should be pointed out that items 2 and 4 were never trimmed during the book binding process. The pages are not separated at the top, thus indicating that the House Judiciary Committee, which handled the second appeal, never examined these documents.

One more document was uncovered which shows the Saints made still another appeal in 1844. Among the Senate records of the 28th Congress, first session (Sen. 28A-G7.2), is a fifty-foot petition containing 3,419 signatures from inhabitants of Nauvoo. The document includes about three pages of memorial giving an overview of the Saints’ problems in Missouri and asking for redress. It was dated at Nauvoo 28 November 1843, and was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee on 5 April 1844.

Copies of all these documents have been made and are filed in the Brigham Young University Archives as Manuscripts Collection 942. The collection totals more than 580 pages and is divided rather randomly into fourteen folders.

It adds nothing earthshakingly new to the general, overall history of the Missouri persecutions, but contains many interesting, detailed accounts which augment and sometimes correct existing histories. For instance, compare the following two accounts concerning the death of William Carey, who was taken prisoner along with other Mormons near Far West in 1838. The first account is from \textit{HC} 3:182, 190:

\textit{Tuesday, October 30.}—The advance guard of the mob were patrolling the country and taking many prisoners, among whom were Brother Stephen Winchester, and Brother Carey, whose skull they laid open by a blow from a rifle barrel. In this mangled condition, the mob laid him in their wagon and went on their way, denying him every comfort, and thus he remained that afternoon and night.

\textit{Wednesday, October 31.}—... After we arrived in the camp, Brother Stephen Winchester and eleven other brethren

\footnote{The \textit{Congressional Globe} substantiates this appeal. (See entry for Friday, 5 April 1844, vol. 13, no. 32, p. 497).}

\footnote{Hereafter, references are from MSS 942 and are cited according to folder number, e.g., MSS 942:7. The pages are not numbered within the folders.}
who were prisoners, volunteered, with permission of the officers, to carry Brother Carey into the city to his family, he having lain exposed to the weather for a show to the in-human wretches, without having his wound dressed or being nourished in any manner. He died soon after he reached home.

The second account is from the affidavit of John Smith:

... they placed several guns in our wagon we then Drove to their Camp about three miles after we came into their Camp they toock up their guns and fired them of except one which missed fire—they layed it Down and left the gun locked; thirrett Dunihue came along and got in to the Wagon to hand out the guns he picked up the gun that was locked and said, hear you Damd son of a bich; you have cocked your gun to shoot us; Carey replied I did not cock it; Said Dunihue, Dont you contradict me you damd Sone of a bich; you; by the time the words came out of his mouth he struck Mr Carey a full blow with the brich of his gun upon his head, I was Sitting by the side of Mr Carey upon the same Seat when he received the fatal blow Mr Carey pitched forward and would have falen out of the wagon; but I caught hold of him and raised him in the wagon; his head was split open the Sergon washed his wound ... he was in great misery but could not speak a word; he lived about forty seven hours and expired. ...

The affidavit of John Loveless adds further information about the character of Carey’s assailant:

... I was preasant at the That Wm Cary was stuck over the head with a Gun by One one of the Militia by the name of Dunnhooh. Wm Cary was A prisner at the Time. And at the Same time this Dunnhooh Jurked up a spear and made an attemp to take my Life. And likewise Saw this Dunnhooh brake open several houses while I was a prisner ...

Most of the affidavits in MSS 942 were written in 1840 in response to an appeal from Washington by Joseph Smith and Elias Higbee. They wrote:

We want you to assist us now; and also to forward us your certificates, that you hold for your lands in Missouri: your claims to pre-emption rights, and affidavits to prove that soldiers were quartered on us and in our houses without our

---

9MSS 942:11. As with other documents cited herein, original punctuation and spelling are preserved.
10MSS 942:11.
consent, or any special act of law for that purpose; contrary to the Constitution of the United States. . . .

These facts must be authenticated by affidavits. Let any particular transaction of the outrages in Missouri that can be sworn to by the sufferers, or those who were eye-witnesses to the facts, be sent, specifying the particulars. Have the evidence bona fide to the point.¹¹

The Saints in Illinois rallied together to write the affidavits. They appeared almost en masse before justices of the peace to have the facts "bona fide to the point." One such justice was William Laughlin, who verified thirty-five affidavits on 7 and 8 January 1840. To make sure there was no question, Nicholas Wren, clerk of the county commissioners' court in Adams County, Illinois, was called on to certify that Laughlin was an authorized justice of the peace.

Some of the affidavits almost parroted Smith's and Higbee's words to show that the depredations were executed "without our consent." The following two are typical:

. . . These troops came to Far West and lived upon us without our consent as far as my knowledge extends . . . .¹²

. . . General Clarks troops came to Mr Yale's house and stopt their for about two Days and destroyed considerable property, they tore up both the floors of the House destroyed their poultry, and hogs and set fir to a Hay stack I saw them set fire to the stack which was entirely destroyed, they took what Corn they wanted for their horses from Mr Yale and I believe he had about ten acres destroyed besides a Hay Stack, this they did without leave from Mr Yale or any one who had authority . . . .¹³

A note written by Bishop Edward Partridge at the bottom of Nathan Knight's affidavit indicates the urgency involved in getting the affidavits together:

We will procure the proper certificate to show that Wells is a justice and forward it soon Be patient brn. will do as fast as we can We may send you some things which you do not want and omit some things which you do want but we will do the best we can¹⁴

The note was written 3 January 1840. On another sheet, Partridge submitted a list of twelve land patents for property

¹¹HC 4:44, 7 December 1839.
¹²MSS 942:10, affidavit of J. S. Miles.
¹³MSS 942:10, affidavit of Mary K. Miles.
¹⁴MSS 942:7.
Affidavit of Elisha Hill written 6 January 1840. Most of the affidavits in this collection were written in January 1840 in response to the appeal from Mormon delegates in Washington, D.C., to send documentation on the Missouri persecutions.
he held in Jackson County, Missouri. It was thought best not to send the patents themselves for fear of losing them, a note said.

Many Mormons have come to regard the Missouri persecutions as among the most atrocious crimes ever committed by man. It may be disappointing to some, then, to explore the MSS 942 affidavits and find that many of the Saints who lived through the persecutions really didn’t say much about them. Take, for instance, the affidavit of William Allred:

September the 3rd AD. 1839
State of Illinois, Pike County—

Of Damage sustained By Mr. Wm. Allred by the Mob of the State of Missouri and the Exterminating Order of Governor Bogs it is 4 Fourthousand Dollars at a moderate rate

William Allred15

Not all are so short. A few go on for as many as twenty pages, but most involve one-third to one-half of an 8½ by 11-inch sheet of paper. Many of the affidavits deal almost entirely with losses rather than with accounts of what happened. The following by Andrew Moore, written 25 September 1839, illustrates the point. This was written before the appeal came from Smith and Higbee in Washington to substantiate the outrages committed against the Saints.

A bill Stating the loss of property and damages that I sustained by the inhabitence of the State of Missouri unlawfully. I imagrated with my Famaly in the year 1834 from the State of Ohio to the State of Missouri with the expectation of residing there, which cost me one hundred dollars there I bought Land and paid for it in Clay county being compeld to leve there with out any just caus or provication I lost on my land there one hundred and ten dollars. I remooved from Clay to Caldwell Co damages for remooving from Clay to Caldwell one hundred and ten dollars. there I bought Land and made me a farm there being compeld to leve the State in 1838 lost on Land Twelve hundred dollars, on Corn Cattle and other property two hundred dollars on Hogs fiftty dollars, two Rifle Guns thirty five dollars, one Sward eaight dollars. on 2 Town lots in Farwest one hundred dollars I was Seraunded and taken and and cep under gard unlawfully six days—damagees twenty dollars loss of time and damagees for remooveing out of the

15MSS 942:7.
Issac Leany (Laney) wrote seventeen pages describing the Missouri persecutions. He told his readers he was not learned and that they must watch for his meaning, not his imperfections.
State one thousand dollars, all with out any Just caus or provi-
cation, the amount of all losses and dammges as nigh as I
can ascertain amounts to two thousand nine hundred and
thirty three dollars.

Imagine what could be done claimwise with a case like
that in a modern-day lawsuit. Lewis Abbot was getting close
to the idea of collecting more than tangible losses when he
wrote:

I think the State had ought to pay me for my loss $1,500
at least and for my damage a great sum, as money would not
hire me to pass through the same scenes again . . . .

Loyal C. K. Griffen expressed similar sentiments:

. . . from the comensment of this fus to the end of it was
as much as 1000 thousand Dollars Damage to me and my
famerly this would not tempt me to go throught the Same
truble and loses of time a gane So I close my trublue by
being a friend to the laws of my country

The Reverend Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary among
the Indians, is named in LDS histories as being one of several
religious leaders who led mobs in attacks on Mormons in
Missouri. The MSS 942 affidavits also mention him as a perse-
cutor of the Saints. Lewis Abbott’s reference is typical.

This is to certify that I moved from Wayland Mass. 1832 to
Jackson Co. Missouri. There I perchesd 80 acres of land
I remained there untill the mob had driven the largest half
of our soxety out of the Co. where then I was attack’d
by a company of 40 mobers well armed and under the com-
mand of Rev Isaac McCoy an Indian Missionary they threaten
my life with much violence but left me on condition I would
leave the County. Accordingly I move into Clay Co. 1833.

Perhaps nothing more need be said except that research
by RLDS historian Warren A. Jennings indicates that McCoy
may have been acting at the head of the mobbers to keep
them from murdering the Mormons. McCoy’s Journal for
6 November 1833, states:

---

18MSS 942:7.
19MSS 942:9.
20MSS 942:13.
21MSS 942:9.
22Warren A. Jennings, professor of history at Southwest Missouri State
College, in Springfield, has studied the 38 volumes of McCoy’s letters and
McCoy’s Journal housed in the Manuscript Division of the Kansas State His-
 torical Society, Topeka, Kansas.
I set out for Independence, and met a small company who desired to make an excursion in the upper Mormon settlement in order to take the guns which might yet be found among them. Fearing that the Mormons would be rashly used by them I requested to forbear until I returned from town, & I would then accompany them. This they agreed to. A few miles farther I met a company of 30 or 40 persons coming up on the same errand. Believing that some of the Mormons, now conquered, would likely be killed by them, I proposed to turn back with them, to this some who were bent on avenging the deaths and wounds which had been occasioned by the Mormons, objected, though in respectful terms. Several advised me to proceed to town, a few expressed a wish that I should go with the company—the one party lest I should be present when some one would be killed—and the other that I might prevent the killing of any. I however turned and went with the company, many of whom I discovered were determined to kill. I embraced the earliest opportunities of conversing alone with the most murderously disposed. We immediately entered the Mormon settlement, and I as soon perceived that my anticipations had not been erroneous—there was need of some to regulate the conduct of the rash. Two guns were at one time cocked for the purpose of shooting a Mormon, when I rushed forward and prevented. I had to use similar efforts afterwards to prevent one from being beaten with a stick, and another with a gun. I prevailed upon the company to stop a little from houses, and allow me with one or two only to approach and ask for their guns, &c. Had it not been for this measure the alarm and injury to the Mormons would have been much beaten and the injury considerable [sic]. In some instances I had to pacify some of our party by telling them that the Mormon had laid himself liable to prosecution, and it would be better to hang him by law, than kill him & thus expose themselves to prosecution. The mormon men were generally hid, though we spoke to several. My business in approaching their houses alone was dangerous, for I knew not at what moment some one of them in their alarm might knock me in the head. We found two guns.

The company dispersed at night, and I returned to my house fatigued in the extreme yet satisfied that I had been the means of saving several mormons from being murdered on that day, and from suffering severely in other respects.21

Maybe McCoy was whitewashing the matter, but with all that the MSS 942 affidavits say about him, there is nothing to contradict his version of the story. In all cases, he is reported

as coming at the head of a mob and demanding that the Mormons leave. Not once is he cited as physically attacking any of the Saints. This situation calls for more study and points up the need for a new look at Mormon history in Missouri.

A comparison of the original 1840 petition with the printed version in HC 4:24-38 shows many differences. For example, only two lines of the published version on page 25 are printed without changes. All the rest have been altered. Note the differences in the following passages. The first is from HC 4:25:

They then proceeded to the dwelling of Mr. Partridge, the beloved Bishop of the Church there, dragged him and his family to the public square, where, surrounded by hundreds, they partly stripped him of his clothing, and tarred and feathered him from head to foot.

The following is from the original handwritten petition submitted to Congress in 1840:

They then proceeded to the dwelling of Mr. Partridge, the beloved Bishop of the Church; they dragged him from his family to the public square, and when surrounded by hundreds of spectators partially stripped him of clothes, and in the most unfeeling manner covered him with tar and feathers from head to foot.  

The first account is shorter and less colorful. However, it does involve the family whereas the second one doesn't. Now compare these two accounts with Partridge's own affidavit as found in MSS 942:

On the 20th day of July A.D. 1833 George Simpson and two other mobbers entered my house (whilst I was sitting with my wife, who was then quite feeble my youngest child being then about three weeks old,) and compelled me to go with them, soon after leaving my house I was surrounded by about fifty mobbers who escorted me about half a mile to the public square, where I was surrounded by some two or three hundred more.

Rupell Hicks Esqr. appeared to be the head man of the mob, he told me that his word was the law of the county, and that I must agree to leave the county or suffer the consequences. I answered that if I must suffer for my religion, it was no more than others had done before me—that I was not conscious of having injured any one in the county therefore I could not consent to leave it. Mr. Hicks then
The first page of a three and one-half page letter from Sidney Rigdon to the Honorable Felix Grundy asking for legal advice concerning the plight of the Saints, written 23 February 1839 at Quincy, Illinois.
proceeded to strip off my clothes and was disposed to strip them all off—I strongly protested against being stripped naked in the street, when some more humane than the rest interfered and I was permitted to wear my shirt and pantaloons. Tar and feathers were then brought and a man by the name of ________ Davies with the help of an other doubted me with tar from the crown of my head to my feet, after which feathers were thrown over me. For this abuse I have never received any satisfaction, although I commenced a suit against some of them for $50,000. damage, and paid my lawyers six hundred dollars to get a change of venue.—My lawyers after getting their pay of me, made a compromise with the defendants without my consent, and threw my case out of court without giving me any damages by their agreeing to pay the costs, which they never have paid that I know of. And I never could prevail upon my lawyers to collect them for me though they agreed so to do.

Quincy Ill May 15, 1839

Edward Partridge

It is interesting to note that "some more humane than the rest" interfered to keep the rest from stripping their victim naked. Mormons today are not accustomed to thinking of frontier Missourians as humane or even human, but this and other affidavits contain statements showing that some actually helped the Mormons.

Here is another comparison between the published and original versions of the petition. The first is from HC 4:26:

Shortly after the meeting above referred to, another persecution commenced; some of the "Mormons" were shot at, others were whipped, their houses were assailed with brickbats, broken open, and thrown down; their women and children were insulted; and thus for many weeks, without offense, without resistance, by night and by day, were they harassed, insulted, and oppressed.

The original reads thusly:

Shortly after the meeting above referred to, another persecution commenced with increased sufferings on the part of the devoted Mormons. Some of their people were shot at; others were whipped without mercy; their houses assailed with brickbats, the doors broken open; and thrown down; their women grossly insulted; and their weeping daughters brutally abused before their mother's eyes. Thus were they for many days and weeks without offence and

23MSS 942:9.
without resistance, by night and by day, harassed, insulted, and oppressed. . . .

It seems that the editor wanted to tone down the severity of the account. At least he leaves out the part about the weeping daughters being abused before their mothers’ eyes. Perhaps he was justified in this because the affidavits, including the twenty-eight written by women, give little or no evidence of attacks on women. It may be that victims of such assaults were, as today, reluctant to talk about them. Hearsay evidence in HC 3:428 and 464 indicates that several women were violated by mobs, but there is no direct evidence for such instances in MSS 942. In fact, a study of the affidavits leaves one with the feeling that even the worst of the Missourians had a certain respect for women—even Mormon women. Knowing what soldiers and street gangs have done in more recent times, perhaps we tend to pin these same types of atrocities on the early Missourians, but the affidavits do not back up this assumption. The following account by Catherine Fuller describes conditions which would afford every opportunity for mobbers to violate Mormon women, yet no mention is made of this type of atrocity:

I hereby certify that my husband and myself settled within about a mile of Haun’s mill Caldwell Co. Missouri in the fall of AD. 1836 where we lived until the massacre at the mills the 30th of Octr. 1838, at which time and place my husband was killed. About a week after the massacre I was at the mills and saw a large company of our enemies, as I understood, tented there I heard one of them by the name of Comstock say to Sister Merrill who lived in the house with me that if he could get his eye upon her husband he should be a dead man. Companies of from six to ten came to our house enquiring for men and guns a number of times.

This affidavit exhibits a strange, matter-of-fact association with the mobbers that gives cause for wonder. Ruth Naper’s account also is intriguing because of her concern for seeming trivia after having lived through the Haun’s Mill massacre. The affidavit also deals with the assault question.

. . . After a few days there came back a large company of armed men and took possession of Haun’s mill and they also crowded into our house and crowded me and my chil-

\[24\text{MSS 942:5.}\]
\[25\text{MSS 942:8.}\]
dren away from the fire without my consent they lodged there and one night one of them came to my bed and laid his hand upon me which so frightened me that I made quite a noise and crept over the back side of my children, and he offered no further insult at this time. This company camped in the neighborhood between one and two weeks to our great inconvenience for they took from the brethren grain, cattle, hogs, bee stands, &c. as free to appearance as though they were their own.26

Only one other affidavit says anything directly about assaults on women. It is interesting because it shows that Missouri mobbers could be dissuaded from their plans. The following account is from Elijah Reed:

... I was Closely Pursued I was at a Br. Jimmisons house in a by Place on the 28th of Oct & in the night of of that Day a Company of men Came to the House & Demanded admittance & threatened to Brake Down the Door Mr. J got up and opened the Door meantime I hid under the Bed the men Came in and said they were soldiers & he must Go with them his wife asked where they said to the Malitia Camp above Richmond he Dressed himself & he & one of the men went for a horse at the Stable when they had got a little from the house the man Fired a gun & said the D.d rascal had run from him he then returned to the house & they began to abuse Mrs. Jimmison wanting to sleep with her But she begged & cried For them to Desist & they Did so I lay under the Bed During this time they soon left the house & we supposed they had killed him I lay in the Feild the remainder of the night ... 27

In examining documents like the affidavits in MSS 942, there is always the question of how much is fact and how much is exaggeration. As can be seen from the affidavits already quoted, there is an amazing matter-of-factness concerning some pretty terrible events. Many of the affidavits exhibit this same tone. But others, such as the one following, leave the reader wondering if the facts weren't a bit overplayed. The affidavit is from Truman Brace and concerns an event which took place in the fall of 1832 in Jackson County:

... One day as I was hauling a load of wood I saw a number of armed men on the prairie. Then they saw me two of them came up to me. They ordered me to Stop or they would shoot me. One of them named J. Young asked me

26MSS 942:8.
27MSS 942:10.
The first page of the 24-page petition submitted to the House of Representatives in May 1842 by Elias Higbee, John Taylor, and Elias Smith. The petition is essentially the same as the one submitted to the Senate in 1840 by Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Elias Higbee. The petition was published in edited form in the History of the Church.
if I believed the book of Mormon, I told them that "I did". They said that I must leave the County. I told them I had neither team or means to take me and my family away. The said Young then said he would shoot me and immediately made ready to carry his threat into execution, but the other man persuaded him not to do so,—the rest of the company then rode up I suppose there were about Fifty of the. The said John Young then took an axe gad which I held in my hand and commenced beating me with the same. I suppose I received about fifty strokes after breaking it he got a Raw Hide and Commenced whipping me with it he cut my Hat nearly all to pieces, while he was thus engaged a man of the name of Jennings came behind me and struck me on the head with a Rifle which nearly knock'd me down, John Young then took an axe from me and going a few steps back threw the axe at me with great force, but fortunately it did not hit me, at this time my wife and daughter seeing me there situated came and entreated the mob to share my life. I then went to the House and was followed by the mob. they came into the House. I sat me down on the chair when one of them thrust the missile of the Gun against my neck and thrust me against the wall and then kicked me on the mouth with his foot and cut my lip. This was in my own House—... 28

As stated earlier, MSS 942 contains about ten affidavits dealing directly with the Haun's Mill massacre which took place 30 October 1838. The collection includes the affidavit of Amanda Smith, thus affording another opportunity for comparisons, since the affidavit was published in HC 3:323-325. As with the petition to Congress, the Smith document appears in a heavily edited form in the published version. The most significant difference is the names of the mobbers. HC 3: 325 reads:

I will mention some of the names of the heads of the mob: two brothers by the name of Comstock, William Mann, Benjamin Ashley, Robert White, one by the name of Rogers...

Compare this with the original:

... I will mention some of the names of the heads of the mob: two brothers by the name of Crumstock, William and Benjamin Ashby, Robert White, and one by the name of Rogers ... 29

28MSS 942:9.

29MSS 942:8.
The last of three pages written by Amanda Smith, who lost her husband and one son in the Haun's Mill Massacre. About ten of the affidavits in the collection deal directly with the Haun's Mill incident.
Amanda Smith’s young son who was in the middle of the massacre also swore out an affidavit. It is a priceless, first-hand account:

I hereby certify that my father stoped at Haun’s mill and was living in a tent at the time the massacre took place there. I was in the tent when the company rode up. Some of our people hallowd to the women and children to leave the tents I run into a blacksmith shop where my father was. I crept under the bellows as also did my brother and another boy by the name of Charles Merrick. I was wounded on the hip, my brother had his brains blown out, and the other boy received three wounds and has since died of them. My mother tells me that I was eight years old last month. I saw some of our enemies pull off my father’s boots before he was dead

his
Alma X Smith\textsuperscript{20}
mark

The above was written 3 January 1840. Note that the document was signed with an X. Nineteen of the affidavits were thus signed. Six of the nineteen signers were women.

Some of the affidavits are interesting because of the frontier language they portray. They wrote the way they talked. Consider the following which deals also with the Haun’s Mill massacre:

all of A Suding the war whoop was heard and an armed force amediatly hove in Sight and Commenced firing upon men women and Children our Society Called for quarters, but none Granted the women and Children then fled in every direction nearly frightened out of there sensis in this awful Seene of destruction I made out to escape and after a short and Bloody Conflict the mob dispersed not leaving so much as the clothes of the Dying and wounded but littlaly took thier Clothes from thir backs & boots & shoes from thire feet also most of thire furnitur and to prove their Savage feracity more Clearly they Also literaly took a Corn Cutter and mangled an ole Revolutionary Soldier by the name of Mc Beide in Cool Blood. 16 were killed and among the Number killed was my father and two sons dyed of their wounds

his
Mosiah X Benner\textsuperscript{21}
mark

\textsuperscript{20}MSS 942:8.
\textsuperscript{21}MSS 942:11.
Tarlton Lewis, who was wounded in the Hauns Mill tragedy, wrote an affidavit which shows that all Missourians were not set on murder all of the time. Speaking of the time after the massacre, he said:

...While I was confined with my wound, companies of six or eight came to my house three or four times enquiring for arms and threatening to take me a prisoner and carry me off. Twice they examined my wounds to see if I were able to be moved but concluded that I was not.32

Similar things happened to other Saints at other times in Missouri. For instance, David Pettigrew wrote concerning the Jackson County era:

...they still continued their depradations till in Oct when a mob came to my house in the night of Between 50 and a hundred men headed by brazill Moses Wilson Luis Franklin and burst Open my door and cried how many mormans have you got here I told them we ware sick to come in and light a candle and see which...was done by brazill he then came to the bed and felt the faotts of my self and wife and pronounced us sick the cry was made to tare down the house which was forbidden to be done that night by brazill but threatoned us with ammediate destruction if we did not leave the county forthwith...33

Other affidavits show that some of the Missourians actually helped the Mormons. Elisha Whiting wrote:

...and soon taken sick and in a few days a mob threatened to come upon and drive me from my home not withstanding my sickness. but through the kindness of a neighbor who informed me of the plot, and offered me an asylum under his roof which I accepted and escaped from their snare...34

The whole Missouri affair is not a simple story of the good versus the bad. Both sides drank in rumors and spread propaganda that could cause almost any culture to go to extremes to defend itself. An example of how the Missourians felt is depicted in David Pettigrew's conversation with Judge Elisha Cameron of Clay County:

...and now will retale a conversation that took place between Judge Elisha Camron and myself as I met him in

32MSS 942:8.
33MSS 942:10.
34MSS 942:11.
the road he said its terrible times oald man the Maill Carrier 
Eat breakfast at my house this morning and said he came 
by an army of mormons this side of richmond and they are 
twelve hundred strong in Jackson and they have four cannon 
and recruits are coming in from other counties continually 
for God's sake dont take your family over thare to be cut 
all to peices . . .

Then with Missouri Lieutenant Governor Lilburn W. 
Boggs stirring up both sides, it is no wonder that the conflict 
worsened. Isaac Morley said he had a talk with the Lieutenant 
Governor in Jackson County in 1833.

. . . about this time lieutenant Governor Boggs Came to my 
house and advised me if any of the Citizens came and Des-
troyed any of my property by night if he was in my place 
he would return the Same injuries to them in the Dark 
. . .

Only samplings of a few of the documents in MSS 942 
have been touched on here. The entire collection deserves de-
tailed study. Perhaps the most interesting thing about the docu-
ments is that they give the reader a more humanistic view of 
frontier Missourians than is generally available in LDS his-
tories.

List of Names of the Signers of the Memorials, Affidavits, 
and Letters in the 1840 and 1842 Appeals to Congress by the 
LDS Church.

Note: This list does not contain the 3,419 names signed by 
Nauvoo residents on the fifty-foot petition submitted to the 
U.S. Senate in 1844.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lewis Abbott</th>
<th>Mary Benson</th>
<th>Levi Bracken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rufus Abbot</td>
<td>Lettice Bent</td>
<td>Lindsey A. Brady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David W. Adams</td>
<td>Samuel Bent</td>
<td>John Brassfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Aldrich</td>
<td>Henry Best</td>
<td>Alanson Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. M. Alexander</td>
<td>Betsy Bidwell</td>
<td>Mary Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberm Allen</td>
<td>Robert W. Bidwell</td>
<td>Horace Burges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James D. Allen</td>
<td>Adam Black</td>
<td>Daniel B. Bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin C. Allred</td>
<td>George Boosinger</td>
<td>Reynolds Cahoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Allred</td>
<td>William Bowman</td>
<td>Daniel Cathcart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Ballard</td>
<td>Peter Boyce</td>
<td>Lorenzo D. Chamberlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucinda Barlow</td>
<td>Squire Bozarth</td>
<td>Solomon Chamberlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moriah Benner</td>
<td>Truman Brace</td>
<td>Amelia Chapman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerome M. Benson</td>
<td>James Bracken</td>
<td>Nathan Cheney</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35MSS 942:10.
36MSS 942:11.
James Clark
Moses Clawson
Barnet Cole
Anthony Coombs
Lucy Corkins
John Corrill
David Crenshaw
Charles Crisman
Lyman Curtis
Nahum Curtis
Percy Curtis
Alpheus Cutler
Thaddeus Cutler
John Daley
Daniel C. Davis
Isaac Decker
David C. Deming
Moses Dudley
Edmund Durfee Jr.
Jabris Durfee
James Durfee
Perry Durfee
David Dutton
Hannah Dutton
Eliha Edwards
Rufus Edwards
Isaac Ellison
Lydia B. English
(Widow of William Whiting)
Henry Etteleman
Philip Etteleman
Ladawick H. Ferre
Reuben Foot
Jonathan Ford
Clarissa Fosdick
Catherine Fuller
David Fullmer
D. H. Gilmer
Charles Gluet
Charles Granger
Loyal C. K. Griffen
Selah J. Griffen
Thomas Grover
Solomon Hancock
James M. Henderson
Reuben Hendrix
Jordan P. Hendrixson
Amos F. Herrick
Lemuel Herrick
Phebe Herrick
Elias Higbee
John S. Higbee
Elisha Hill
Curtis Hodges, Sen.
Elizabeth Holsclaw
Jonathan Hoopes
Warner Hoopes
Joseph Hornuth
Eli Houghton
James Houghton
Orman Houghton
Mary Ann Hoyt
Smith Humphrey
Jacob Huntsman
James Huston
Charles Jameson
Mahlon Johnson
Moses Kelly
H. N. Kent
Perry Keyes
Joseph C. Kingsbury
Nathan K. Knight
John Lawson
Isaac Leary
Alfred Lee
Eli Lee
Wm. Leffingwell
Tarlon Lewis
John Loveless
Robert Lucas
Arza Ludd, Jnr.
John M. McCall
Jesse McCord
Enos McHall
William Marks
Eliphaz Marsh
Moses Martin
J. S. Miles
Mary K. Miles
Samuel Miles
Samuel C. Miles
Alexander Mills
Albert Miner
Andrew Moore
Isaac Morley
Arthur Morrison
Elizabeth C. Munjar
William Munjar
John Murdock
Phillinda Myrick
Reuben Naper
Ruth Naper
Eliah Newman
William Niswanger
Daniel Norton
Harvey Omstead
John Outhouse
Mahalaanon Oventor
John Pack
James B. F. Page
Abraham Palmer
Edward Partridge
Charles W. Patten
John Patten
P. Paullin
David Pettigrew
Jeremiah Plumb
Merlin Plumb
Uriah B. Powell
Terah Pulipher
Tuspen Rappleye
Harlow Redfield
Delia Reed
Elijah Reed
John Reed
Elisha Richards
Sidney Ridgon
Oren P. Rockwell
Sarah Rockwell
Noah Rogers
James H. Rollins
Stephen M. St. John
William Seely
Elihu Shaw
Joel Shearer
Benjamin Slade
Clark Slade
Alma Smith
Amanda Smith
Elia Smith
John Smith
Joseph Smith
Willard Snow
Chester Southworth
Charles Squires
Daniel Stanton
Henry Stephens
Henry Stevenson
Dexter Stillman
Coonsod Stokes
Nathan Stuart
Gabriel N. Taylor
John Taylor
George B. Teeples
Darrill S. Thomas
Lewis Thompson
John Thorp
James B. Turner
Lewis Turner
Nelson Turner
William Turner
Elizabeth Tyler
John P. Walker
Wm. C. Walker
John Welch
Elihu Whiting
Andrew Whitlock
Bradley B. Wilson
Eleanor Wilson
George C. Wilson
Lewis D. Wilson
Polly Wilson
William Wilson
David Winter
Giddion D. Wood
Hannah Wood
William Woodland
James Worthington
Hannah Yale
Hannah York
Jane A. Young
Joseph Young
Phineus H. Young
Eliza R. Snow
Letter From Missouri*

Caldwell Co. Feb. 22, 1839

Esqr. Streator

You have so long been reliev'd from my preaching, as you sometimes call'd it; I think you may well afford to endure a little interruption. You need not anticipate another intrusion very soon, for as yet we have no continuing city or sure abiding place, and one week more will probably find us on our journey from this State. We wish to give you some few items of the movements here before we leave, for we find from the reports, which go, and come, thro' the Newspaper medium that you get nothing correct; and as you are a Politician & fond of politics perhaps you will take some pleasure in contrasting those of Missouri with your own. Father is so busy, preparing for our next move, that he has not a moment to spend in writing; this, is my apology for addressing you. Probably, before you receive this, you will have seen a letter which father wrote judge Atwater two or three weeks since in which he gave some few of the particulars, respecting what has transpir'd since our arrival; but it would require a volume to give a full account. Things have mov'd with such rapidity, and of such a nature as might well allay doubts, if doubts are yet remaining in the mind of any, that these are indeed the last days, and that the inhabitants of the earth are some of them at least, beginning to be in haste to fill up their measure, before the Lord shall come forth from his hiding place. The nations of the world can never fill the cup of their iniquity without shedding innocent blood, and the blood of the "Latter Day Saints" will, that of many of them be required of the present generation. The Lord has commenc'd a

*Used by permission of the Western Reserve Historical Association, and submitted to BYU Studies by Dr. F. Mark McKiernan, a distinguished RLDS scholar, and Director of Historic Site Program Development and Research Historian for the Restoration Trail Foundation.

544
The first page of Eliza R. Snow's letter to Esqr. Streator. Published by courtesy of The Western Reserve Historical Society.
work that is destin'd to try the sincerity and the strength, yes, and the legality too, of every Creed and Profession, both political & religious, upon the face of the whole earth. The religionists of the day who have been crying "do as you would be done by," will have ample opportunity to see if they will put their own excellent precept in practice; and those who sit in the halls of justice, as the dispensers of rights between man and man, will be put to the test, whether they judge righteously, for righteousness' sake. It is comparatively an easy matter to act uprightly, when public opinion and the weight of influence favor the act; but it requires some courage when a man is obliged to bid defiance to popular feeling, in order to do right —when a man must place his life in jeopardy in order to decide with impartiality between man & his fellow man. This, has been fully proven in the State of Missouri. There are those, who, actuated by the spirit of republicanism and without any partiality to the religious views of our society; have risked their reputation, and endanger'd their lives by pleading the cause of the innocent, while Judges & Lawyers have dispersed with the high dignity of their profession, and while Preachers and Deacons have laid aside the Sacred insignia of their office, to wield the sword against a people whose only crime was in believing in "the times of the restitution" (not destruction) "of all things," and proving their faith by their works. In persecuting us, & driving us from city to city, & from State to State, no doubt, like Saul of Tarsus, they think they are doing God service. And so they are, for as a Pharaoh was necessary to the establishment of Israel in the land of Canaan, so are the persecutors of the Saints of the last days, necessary, in bringing about the great purposes of God. They mean it for evil but the Lord means it for good. "Offences must needs come" We have a copy of Gen. Clark's concluding Speech, which was delivered to our brethren at Far-West a few days after the surrender, which will give some idea of the spirit of the times. Our brethren have not taken up arms except in self-defence. Expecting you have seen father's letter refer'd to above, I shall not say anything about what transpir'd previous to the last of Oct. when an army of 95 hundred encamp'd about Far-West threatened an immediate massacre. Soon as our people ascertain'd that they were authoriz'd Militia they surrender'd, the leaders of the church delivered themselves up, and went to the camp of the Militia, with the promise, that they should return to their fami-
lies in the morning. Gen. Lucas, was first in command;—the prisoners 7 in number instead of returning home the next day were tried by a Court Martial & 13 generals out of 17, condemned them to be shot a company was chosen to execute the sentence—the hour was appointed & the place chosen which was the center of the City, in sight of their families. Those who were chosen refus'd to perform, & a second company chosen, when Gen. Donithan told them, they were acting illegally and if they proceeded he would expose them. They then coneluded to take them to Jackson County thinking the mob spirit there, would furnish executioners without ceremony, but they were mistaken. Our people found warm friends in that Co. who even invited Joseph Smith & S. Rigdon to bring their families & settle there. They were then taken back to Richmond & put in chains where they were kept four weeks when prejudice was so strong it was thought wisdom to remove them to Liberty where they were considered more safe. They were tried about the last of Jan. The excitement was great, about 250 mob, collected & seeing that nothing could be brought against the prisoners, threatened to shoot both Judge & Jury if the verdict was given, and the prisoners were hurried back to prison. One of our neighbors was there on the day of trial, who said he should judge that no less than 1000 people gathered in, and when he was returning home, met 300 arm'd men, who swore that if the prisoners were releas'd, they would kill every "Mormon" in the State. But to return to the surrender at F. West. After the 7 were taken, the City was kept with a strong guard, the men call'd together to lay down their arms and were compell'd at the point of the sword to Deed away all their property both real & personal estate to a committee chosen for this purpose, all of which was done so cheerfully that the Militia were quite angry. Three or four days after this, General Clark came with several hundred, who ratified the treaty made by Gen. Lucas, I will send a copy of his address that you may have it in his own words, the "list of names" refer'd to in the speech are those of between 60 and 70, who were driven to prison soon after, like sheep to a market, most of whom were releas'd after a confinement of a month, the rest are in prison now, unless they have been privately set at liberty, for the Mob law is the law of this State and but few dare act, except in accordance with it. A copy of the General's Speech:
"Gentlemen,

You whose names are not attach'd to this List of names, you will now have the privilege of going to your fields to obtain corn for your families, wood &c. Those that are now taken, will go from this, to prison to be tried & receive the due demerit of their crimes. But you are now at liberty all but such as charges may be brought against. It now devolves upon you to fulfil the treaty that you have entered into, the leading items of which I will now lay before you. The first of these, you have already complied with, which is, that you deliver up your leading men, to be tried according to law. The second is, that you deliver up your arms: this, has been attended to: The third is, that you sign over your property to defray the expences of the war; this you have done. Another thing yet remains for you to comply with, that is, that you leave the State forth-with, and whatever your feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence, is nothing to me. General Lucas, who is equal in authority with me, has made this, treaty with you—I am determined to see it executed. The order of the Governor to me, was, that you should be exterminated and not allow'd to continue in the State—and had your leaders not been given up—the treaty complied with; before this, you, and your families would have been destroy'd—your houses in ashes. There is a discretionary power vested in my hands, I shall try to exercise for a season. I do not say that you shall go now, but you must not think of staying here another season and putting in another crop, for the moment you do, the citizens will be upon you. I am determined to see the Governor's message fulfil'd. Do not think, that I shall act as I have done any more: but if I have to come again, because the treaty which you have made, shall be broken, you need not expect any mercy but extermination, for I am determin'd that the Governor's orders shall be executed. As for your leaders, do not once think—do not imagine for a moment—do not let it enter into your minds, that they will be delivered, or that you will see their faces again; for their fate is fix'd—their dye is cast—their doom is seal'd. I am sorry, Gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men, found in the situation that you are, and Oh! that I could invoke the spirit of the unknown God to rest upon and deliver you from that awful chain of superstition; and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism with which you are bound. I would advise you to settle abroad, and never again organize with Bishops, Presidents &c, lest you excite the jealousies of the people and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you.—You have always been the aggressors—You have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected and not being subject to rule: and my advice is, that you become as other
citizens, lest by a reoccurrence of these events you bring
upon yourselves irretrievable ruin." — — — — — —

The General's assertion that our people had been the "ag-
gressors" is too false to pass without some comment; for we
have been driven from Jackson, Clay, De-Witt and Daviess;
yet, as a people have always been in "subjection to the powers
that be"; not that there has been no wrong done by those that
are call'd "Mormons" for we profess the "ancient order," of
course our greatest perils are those we have to encounter among
false brethren; for we have those among us who have not only
tasted the "good word of God" but also the "powers of the
world to come," who, concerning the faith have become repro-
bates. These constitute the most powerful earthly ally, which
Satan has to boast. But be assured, these are not the followers
of Joseph Smith, for so long as they conform'd to his teaching,
they were righteous men. I now anticipate your question, Do
you yet believe Joseph Smith is a prophet? I have not seen or
heard anything which caus'd me to doubt it even for a moment:
If possible, I have better testimony that J. Smith is a prophet,
than that Jeremiah was one, altho' he has not been kept in pris-
on quite so long. S. Rigdon is liberated, I do not know whether
he was let down the wall in a basket, but his keepers thrust
him out privately for fear of the people, and then circulated the
report that he was bail'd out in two thousand dollar bonds, but
this, is only to appease the wrath of the multitude. He has gone
clear, and the others are only kept for our safety, for it is sup-
pos'd, the Mob will either revenge on us, or on those who hold
them in confinement, if they are liberated before most of us get
out of the State. The Gov. of Illinois says our people may come
there—they have been going all winter, and move very fast—
A man just arrived from Ill. who said he counted 220 wagons
between this and the Mississippi. It has been judg'd there were
eight thousand of our people in this County but the season has
been a stormless one—the most favorable for moving that we
could wish, and the word impossible, has become obsolete with
us, therefore I think we shall get out, in pretty prompt compli-
ance with the orders of government. Those who will deny the
faith have the privilege of staying. Some, will accept the terms.

Lorenso left us in the forepart of Oct. we received a letter
from him which he commenc'd in Ill.; it was mail'd in Ken-
tucky where I suppose he is now,—had but partially recover'd
from an attack of the fever & ague when he started. I will transcribe as much of his letter as my paper will admit, which is as follows,

"Dear Father,

It being six weeks today since I left home I feel an anxiety to address you upon the subject of my welfare & prosperity. Since I left Far West, my health has, thro' the great mercy of God, continually been improving, and now am enjoying excellent health. The morning on which I left Far West appear'd big with evil forebodings. Dismal [?] were the prospects before me—terrible reports from DeWitt were in circulation and a severe relapse, rendered me, to all human appearances, unfit to perform one half mile journey. I put my trust in the arm of Jehovah & set forth. I gradually received strength until my disease was entirely removed. The next day we met a company of arm'd men who viewed us very narrowly as we pass'd, which caus'd us to suspect they were a Mob we manag'd to get by them unmolested. Some of them however call'd very lustily after us, to know where we were from. At Richmond landing, we found two brethren, who were desirous of getting on board a steam Boat for St. Louis. In consequence of the lowness of the water, the prospects being small of any Boat arriving soon, we concluded to unite together & build a skiff & row ourselves down the Missouri waters. We built our skiff and embark'd—the next day we rowed nearly 50 miles. It was very unpleasant travelling in consequence of the leakiness of our boat and the coldness of the weather. The next day we travelled about the same distance and at evening sold our skiff. The next morning we all started on foot for Boonville; the same night stay'd with a man who was one of the Mob at DeWitt. Just before we arrived at Boonville we parted with our brethren—the same evening we reach'd the village of Palestine, where we proclaimed our name, and business: A congregation was immediately obtained, & I delivered them a discourse upon the principles of salvation. Among my auditors, was one of the Governor's guards who had about one week before, accompanied the Gov. with three thousand volunteers, to Boonville, with the intention of going against the Mormons. He gave me a very polite invitation to preach at Boonville.—We traveled a South Western direction, calling on all men every where to repent. The country we found generally thinly settled, consequently, we preach'd from house to house, When we got into settlements, where we could hold meetings, we did so. On the Osage River I found our people from Mantua, Mr. Dresser Mr. Bliss, and the Mr. Jones—We found here, a most cordial reception: we stay'd two or
three days and held one meeting. From this, we directed our
course to Washington Co. holding meetings whenever oc-
casion offered, & warn'd the people in their houses, in their
synagogues, in their lanes, and in their streets the Lord
who sent us, giving us power, & bringing all spirits under
our subjection. In this manner, I have strong faith that
we have succeeded, thro' the grace of God, in planting the
seeds of life in the hearts of many which will eventually,
shoot forth into Everlasting Life. I parted with brother B.
at Belview, Washington Co.—I held fifteen public meetings
in the State of Missouri, and if ever man received assistance
from God, I also receiv'd of his assistance in performing a
mission thro' that State. When I now look back upon the
scenes thro' which I pass'd, in traveling in that State; I am
astonish'd and caus'd to marvel. It certainly appears more
like a dream, than a reality. Upon the swift waters of
Missouri, I have traveled in the dark night, amid terrible
[snags and daring savages?], in an open pine camp, death
staring me in the face. I have slept in the open wood,
upon the bare ground all night, waiting the rising sun. I
have slept in the house of him, who was seeking the lives
of my people. I have declar'd the gospel among those, who
would, they could cover a multitude of sins, to kill a
Mormon I have been to those places, where, if I should
go, it was declar'd in demoniacal rage, I should be tied to the
whipping post Man has sought for his fellow man for
strength, to take me to drag me from my congregation. I have
taken breakfast at that man's house whose eyes were red with
hellish rage for my destruction. I have been, as a spy, taken
& search'd by a Magistrate-Judge and six or eight assistants,
call'd from my bed in the silent night—my license de-
manded—my vallese search'd from top to bottom—from
end to end. After all, the Lord has brought me off unin-
jur'd—without the loss of an hair of my head.——I am
now in Illinois, in about 13 miles of the Ohio River, about
60 from its mouth 1 travelled 585 miles in Missouri, &
held 15 meetings. In Ill. I have travelled 75 miles and
held eleven meetings. In this settlement I have baptiz'd five
adult persons. The Lord has been pleased to give me here
a father and mother, one brother & two sisters. I baptiz'd
a Mr. Cotton of the Baptist order, & upwards of sixty years
of age. In order to perform the ordinance of baptism we
were oblig'd to open the ice, yet, notwithstanding the ex-
treme coldness of the water, the women came forth from the
water, clapping their hands, and shouting praises to God."

I have not room to transcribe all of his letter. I wrote him,
& directed to Washington Co. Kentucky, have receiv'd no reply
as yet. Letter-conveyance is very uncertain here for which rea-
son I intend mailing *this*, in Illinois. Please, let cousin Pease &
wife see this, I purpose writing to Uncle Granger's family after
we get located, for now I could not tell them where to write
us—

Confiding in the Lord's protecting care, We go, as Abra'm
did, *"not knowing where."* I have not written half, that I want
to say to you, but my paper is full, and it would be superfluous
to tell you I have written in too much haste to keep my pen in
order—we have so much to do, to prepare for the journey.

Respectfully,
Elisa R. Snow

To Esqr. Streator, Mrs. Streator, Charity and all the rest.
I find upon folding my letter a little more room—The Mis-
sourians had commenc'd mobbing in Daviess Co. previous
to our arrival; but were very friendly at *that* time & were very
anxious to sell to us: Our people purchas'd their farms—they
remov'd their families away, and rais'd a mob—painted their
faces like Indians, & came directly back to drive us from the
lands, we had purchas'd of them, calculating to chase us away
& *reposess* the country. *This, we suppose;* because when we *did*
leave, by order of the Militia, we were hardly out of our houses
before the former, owners occupied them. When the Militia
came, the mob volunteered & join'd them. You will understand
from *this*, the character of the Militia. I will transcribe a
[pass?], which every man was requir'd to carry for his own pro-
tection, and that of his property. *"I permit Oliver Snow & sons
to remove from Daviess to Caldwell County, there to remain
during the winter or to pass out of the State."*

Nov. 9th 1838  (Signed R. Wilson, Brig. Gen.)

It astonishes our enemies that our people *suffer* no more while
passing thro' these scenes of *suffering*. They say, the Mormons
have always rejoic'd in tribulation, but they will do something
now that they will not rejoice in. I fear them not, but know not
what *new*, tortures they *may* invent. They have not burnt any of
us at the stake *yet,*—they have imprison'd, whip'd, ston'd and
shot some but *death* does not terrify us enough to suit them,
for they say that the Mormons are so d—d sure of going to
heaven, they had as lief die as not. The Lord maketh the wrath
of man to praise him. *Let his name be magnified.*

E. R. S.
Adam-ondi-Ahman:
A Brief Historical Survey

Leland H. Gentry*

The recent renewal of interest in Adam-ondi-Ahman as a place of historical importance for Latter-day Saints suggests the need for a new look at the site. Indeed, at least one writer has called for an "archaeological reconnaissance of the area before it becomes too accessible to tourists and souvenir-seekers." It is not the the purpose of this paper to defend the pros and cons of such a plea. Rather, this work is written to help identify facts in relation to several important questions: (1) How, when, and by whom was the area of Adam-ondi-Ahman laid out? (2) How large was the town plat, and what purposes did the city serve by its settlement? (3) What do we know about there being a tower and one altar or two in the area?

EXPLORATION AND SURVEY ATTEMPTS

As early as September 1837, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were requested by a conference of the Church at Kirtland to "appoint other stakes or places of gathering" for the Saints, and this was one of the principal purposes behind their visit

*Dr. Gentry has been an institute teacher, serving several years at the Logan Institute adjacent to Utah State University. He is now in the Institute Curriculum Division of the Church Department of Education.


553
to Far West, Missouri, in November of 1837. Subsequent to their arrival, the Church in Missouri had appointed David Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, John Corrill, Lyman Wight, and David W. Patten to explore possible sites for future settlement in northern Missouri. The ideal place to begin was in Daviess County, a sparsely settled area in which some few Latter-day Saints had already located.

An official report of the exploring committee's efforts was made to the Saints in Far West by Oliver Cowdery and David W. Patten on 7 December 1837. They declared the area ideal for settlement and suggested a more thorough reconnaissance in the near future. In a personal letter to Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery reported that he, in company with others, had spent twenty days exploring Daviess County. "I found a great many of the finest mill sites in the western country," he reported, "and made between forty and fifty locations." The Church in Missouri accepted the committee's labors with gratitude, and the subject was laid over until such time as a more complete survey could be made. In the meantime, however, at

---

2Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1957) 2:514 (commonly referred to as the Documentary History of the Church, and hereinafter cited as HC.)

3Daviess Journal, 1:27 (November 1837).

4Daviess County was formed in December of 1836 at the same time that Caldwell County came into existence. Shortly after the settlement of the Saints in both counties, Far West became the chief city of Caldwell and Adam-ondi-Ahman the same in Daviess. See Leland H. Gentry, "A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839," Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1965, pp. 60-65.

5Lyman Wight and a few other members of the Church moved into the Grand River area in the spring of 1837. Shortly thereafter, they were given "public notice" by the non-Mormon residents to leave the county or face the consequences. These and similar threats were ignored, but there can be no doubt that the tendency of the Saints to "fan out" into ever-expanding circles of country was a source of great vexation to their Gentile neighbors. See HC, 2:496; Times and Seasons, 1:65 (March 1840); and Gentry, "A History of the Latter-day Saints," pp. 224-225.

6This quotation is found in a letter which Oliver wrote from Far West to his brother, Warren, a resident of Kirtland, Ohio, on 21 January 1838. Part of the letter was intended for Joseph Smith. Oliver, who at this time was temporarily disaffected from the Church, wrote several letters between late December 1837, and April 1838. At least four of these are preserved in a special collection in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Special Collections section of the Brigham Young University Library has microfilm copies of all the letters, and they make most interesting reading since they give an insight into the feelings of Oliver during the period just preceding his excommunication from the Church.

7The Conference Minutes and Record Book of Christ's Church of Latter-day Saints, belonging to the High Council of Said Church of their Successors in Office, Caldwell County, Missouri, Far West: April 6, 1838, pp. 87-88. (Sometimes known as the Far West Record, this source will hereafter be cited as FWR.)
least two members of the committee, Oliver Cowdery and David
Whitmer, had a "falling out" with their Missouri brethren,
which eventually led to their excommunication from the
Church. Further exploration attempts waited the arrival of the
Prophet Joseph Smith in March of 1838.8

About a month following the Prophet's arrival, the matter
received renewed attention. On 26 April 1838, a revelation
was received stating "that other places should be appointed for
stakes in the regions round about" Caldwell County.9 Less
than a month later, an exploratory committee, Joseph Smith
at its head, journeyed to Daviess County to lay out a new stake
of Zion. The Prophet gives the following description of this
effort:

Friday, May 18.—I left Far West in company with Sid-
ney Rigdon, Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Bishop
Partridge, Elias Higbee, Simeon Carter, Alanson Ripley, and
many others, for the purpose of laying off a stake of Zion,
making locations, and laying claim to lands to facilitate the
gathering of the Saints, for the benefit of the poor, in up-
holding the Church of God. We traveled to the mouth of
Honey Creek, which is a tributary of Grand River, where
we camped for the night. . . .

Saturday, 19.—This morning we struck our tents and
formed a line of march, crossing Grand River at the mouth
of Honey Creek and Nelson's Ferry. . . . We pursued our
course up the river, mostly through timber, for about eight-
teen miles, when we arrived at Colonel Lyman Wight's
home. . . .10

The actual work of exploration and survey appears to
have occupied some time. Joseph Smith reports that he was
personally involved in the same between 18 and 24 of May,
while others of the party were active until 28 May. Under
date of 4 June, however, he reports: "I left Far West with
President Rigdon, my brother Hyrum and others for Adam-
ondi-Ahman, and stayed at Brother Moses Dailey's over night;
and on the morning of the 5th, went to Colonel Lyman
Wight's in the rain. We continued surveying, building houses,
day after day, for many days, until the surveyor had completed
the city plat."11 The next journal entry is 11 June, and we

---

8HC, 3:8.
10HC, 3:34-35.
11Ibid., p. 38. The company's chief surveyor was Alanson Ripley, a faith-
fu member of the Church. Abraham O. Smoot was flagman when Ripley
are left to conclude that the Prophet and his party were also busy at the same work during the week of June 4 to 11. Lyman Wight gives us the following report:

About June, Joseph Smith, together with many others of the principal men of the Church, came to my house, and taking a view of the large bottom in the bend of the river and the beautiful prairies on the bluffs, came to the conclusion that it would be a handsome situation for a town. We, therefore, commenced surveying and laying off town lots, and locating government lands for many miles north of this place.12

Wight's reference to "locating government lands for many miles north of this place" deserves more than passing notice. It appears to have been the intent of the Saints to spread both north and south of the Grand River and thus occupy large segments of northern Missouri. On the afternoon of 19 May 1838, for example, the Prophet, accompanied by Sidney Rigdon and George W. Robinson, went a half-mile up the Grand River from Wight's home "for the purpose of selecting and laying claim to a city plat near said ferry in Daviess County, township 60, ranges 27 and 28, sections 25, 36, 31, and 30. . . ."13 The next day, however, the Prophet's company "traveled about six miles north." The following morning, 21 May, work was begun making locations for settlement in township 61, ranges 27 and 28, following which the company returned to "Robison's Grove," some two miles to the south, and set up camp.14 That evening the Prophet called a council of the brethren for the purpose of deciding "whether it was wisdom to go immediately into the north country, or tarry here and hereabouts, to secure land on Grand River, etc." Each one present was permitted to express his feelings, after which the Prophet said he "felt impressed to tarry and secure all the land nearby that is not secured between this and Far West, especially on Grand River." The Council voted unanimously

surveyed the town plat—Oliver B. Huntington when the farming area around the settlement was surveyed. Oliver B. Huntington, "Adam's Altar and Tower," Juvenile Instructor, 30:701.

12The foregoing is taken from Lyman Wight's Journal and is quoted in Rollin J. Britton, Early Days on the Grand River (Columbia: Missouri State Historical Society, 1920), pp. 6-7.

13HC, 3:35.

14This would still be some four miles to the north, and if the party followed the course of the river, to the west of Adam-ondi-Ahman.
in favor of the Prophet’s proposal.\textsuperscript{15} The next day, Sidney Rigdon went east with a company of men to reconnoiter another area of the country for possible settlement. They, too, returned “with a good report of that vicinity, and with information of valuable locations which might be secured.” Of the next day’s activities, the Prophet Joseph records: “Wednesday, 23.—We all traveled east, locating lands, to secure a claim on Grove Creek, and near the city of Adam-ondi-Ahman.”\textsuperscript{16} Three days later, following the Prophet’s return to Far West, “the company surveyed land on the other side of the river opposite Adam-ondi-Ahman.”\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{SETTLEMENT ATTEMPTS}

The foregoing information is important for at least two reasons: (1) It demonstrates that the explorations undertaken by the Saints in northern Missouri far exceeded the areas known today as “Tower Hill” and “Spring Hill” or Adam-ondi-Ahman. As a matter of fact the exploring parties appear to have gone in all directions from Adam-ondi-Ahman, perhaps using the latter as a hub from which to radiate throughout the countryside. (2) Further, the evidence suggests that Adam-ondi-Ahman was not intended to be the narrow, restricted town which some may have supposed, but rather a true City of Zion as comprehended by the revelations of God.\textsuperscript{18} Additional information clearly indicates that at least some members of the exploration team had land allocated to them as far away from Adam-ondi-Ahman as township 61, some miles to the north.\textsuperscript{19} The entire matter takes on new per-

\textsuperscript{15}HC, 3:36.
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 57.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid. The evidence, sparse though it is, clearly indicates that Joseph Smith and many others were active in seeking settlement locations for a few days in late May also. Had the Saints been permitted to locate in the Grand River area for any length of time, they would have undoubtedly settled on both sides of the river. As it was, they settled only north and east of the same.
\textsuperscript{18}See pp. 559-563 below.
\textsuperscript{19}See “A Record Kept for the Use of the Church: of Lands Surveyed, Locations Made, and Names to Whom Located, Giving the Range, Township, Section, and Quarter; Also of the City Plats, their Surveyer [sic] etc, Far West Missouri and Adam Ondi Ammen, Geo. W. Robinson, Gen. Clerk & Recorder.” The foregoing record is housed in the LDS Historian’s Office in Salt Lake City, No. 71648 R. It gives the names of several persons to whom lands were allocated in Township 61 as well as of those in Township 60 where Adam-ondi-Ahman was located. At some time subsequent to 1838, the record fell into the hands of Henry G. Sherwood, resident of the city of Nauvoo, who preserved it for the Church.
spective when one considers the following statement from James H. Hunt, a local resident of Daviess County during the time of its Mormon occupation:

Early in 1837, Daviess county began to have an influx of Mormon immigrants. Their settlements were mainly south of Grand River. They had one settlement on Lick Fork, near the Weldon settlement. Here a Mormon by the name of Bosley and a widow by the name of Ives, besides others whose names are not remembered, settled... Further up the river and in what is now Monroe Township, the Mormons formed another settlement—this was on Narrowbone and Honey Creeks... Here Perry Durfey, Roswell Stevens, Henry Belt, the Daleys, and John D. Lee settled, and others also came, whose names are not remembered.

It would be well to state here that at this time all the lands in Daviess County, excepting Colfax Township, were subject to preemption, not having as yet been brought into market. Colfax Township had been surveyed at the same time Ray and Caldwell Counties were, and was therefore in market. Here another settlement of Mormons was made, composed principally of a better class, who were able to purchase their lands and improve them.20

Thus while most of the lands in Daviess County were unimproved pre-emption lands, available from the federal government at $1.25 per acre, at least some locations were obtained from private owners.21

---

20 James H. Hunt, History of Daviess County and the Mormon War (St. Louis: Ostick and Davies, 1844), p. 162.
21 This is the identical procedure used to procure lands for the Saints in Caldwell County. See Gentry, "A History of the Latter-day Saints," pp. 57-58, 75. Far and away the greater portion of the land obtained was by pre-emption purchase, presumably at the United States Land Office in Lexington, Missouri. Ibid., p. 48. In the two years that the Saints occupied northern Missouri, they "opened two thousand farms and... paid to the United States government, for land alone, three hundred and eighteen thousand dollars." At a minimum price mentioned above, this gave them "over two hundred and fifty thousand acres." Lucien Carr, Missouri, Bone of Contention (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1888), p. 181. Still another source says: "All the Mormon settlements outside of this county [i.e., Caldwell] were made with the prior consent of the inhabitants then living where the settlements were made; the consent was obtained in nearly every instance by the payment of money, either for the lands of the pioneer gentiles or for some articles of personal property they owned. Money was scarce at that day, and although the pioneers did not approve Mormon doctrines, they did approve Mormon gold and silver, and they were willing to tolerate the one if they could obtain the other. But afterwards, certain of the gentiles claimed that the Mormon occupation had been by stealth and fraud, and perhaps in some instances this was true." History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri (St. Louis: National Historical Co., 1886), p. 118. B. H. Roberts says of the last comment: "It is not true, and there is no evidence that warrants the 'perhaps' of the quotation." A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 1:420.
Not all the Saints who eventually settled in Daviess County located at Adam-ondi-Ahman, but most certainly did so. In June 1838, when large companies of migrating Saints began to arrive in Far West, they were counseled to move on to Adam-ondi-Ahman. One such group was led by John Smith, the Prophet's uncle. The following information is gleaned from John Smith's private journal:

June 16, 1838—Arrived at the city so long sought for, even Farr West [sic].

June 18, 1838—We think of going to Grand River, Davies [sic] county. Spent our time preparing to go.

June 25, 1838—Got help, moved all our goods to Grand River. . . Camped on the prairie with Br. Hillman and Thayer.

June 26, 1838—Crossed the river, got on the land of Adamondiahman [sic] about ten o'clock; pitched our tent on the bank of the river in the woodland; here we are, thank the Lord; but we have no money, neither house, nor but little provisions; but the Lord will provide.

The city continued to grow at a steady rate. One month after the arrival of John Smith, the Prophet recorded in his journal that he [Joseph Smith] "left Far West for Adam-ondi-Ahman in company with President Rigdon . . . to settle some Canadian brethren in that place, as they are emigrating rapidly to this land from all parts of the county." On 4 October 1838, more than five hundred Saints arrived in Far West at once. This company, known as the "Kirtland Camp No. 1," came from Ohio, having completed a journey of more than nine hundred miles. They soon learned, however, that their tedious journey was not yet at an end, for they were counseled to settle at Adam-ondi-Ahman.

As with Far West, so with Adam-ondi-Ahman—attempts were made to set up a City of Zion. As set forth by revelation, the chief city of Zion comprehended an area extensive enough to hold fifteen to twenty-thousand people. The city

---

22HC, 3:38.
23"Journal of John Smith," Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, unpaged.
24HC, 3:38.
25Ibid., pp. 147-148. See also Ibid., pp. 87-148, for an account of the organization and journey of this group. Adam-ondi-Ahman is some twenty-five miles north of Far West.
plat itself was to be one mile square with square blocks of forty rods to the square gridded out from a given centerplace. The city’s lots ran north and south or east and west in alternating patterns, each lot one-half acre in extent. In the center of the city was the town square where the public buildings, including the temple and the Bishop’s storehouse, were to stand. On the outskirts of the city were the agricultural areas, set at equal distances from every man’s dwelling place.27 The economic foundation of Zion was the “Law of Consecration of Property and Stewardship,” which had for its basic premise the idea that the earth is the Lord’s and that man is merely a steward thereon.28 The entire Order of Zion was intended to make God’s people free of earthly encumbrances and to unite them in a social compact where each person was bound by “covenants of mutual friendship and mutual love” to seek the welfare of Zion rather than his own personal aggrandizement.29

It appears that Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman did not in the end follow precisely the plan laid down for the chief City of Zion.30 They were enough alike, however, that it is apparent that they were patterned in many respects after the latter. The following statement by William Swartzell, a member of the survey team at Adam-ondi-Ahman, is significant here:31

Brother White [i.e., Lyman Wight] preached to-day, on the consecration of property to the Church of the Latter-day Saints [sic]. He said that after the brethren had bought lots to suit themselves, with their own money, in the city of Adam-on-Diammon [sic], they should consecrate all their money and property to the Church, so that the Church can purchase the lands and locations within 12 miles from the centre of the stake, in every direction.32

[Note: Numbers 27-32 refer to footnotes at the bottom of the page.]

27For a description of the plat as set forth by the Prophet Joseph Smith as well as an accompanying drawing of the same, see William E. Berrett and Alma P. Burton, Readings in LDS Church History (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1953), 1:112-113.
28A more detailed analysis will be found in Gentry, “A History of the Latter-day Saints,” pp. 25-26.
29Ibid., pp. 23-27.
30The town plats of Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman were two miles square rather than one. See Ibid., pp. 96-97.
31William Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, Being a Journal of a Residence in Missouri (Pekin, Ohio: By the Author, 1840). Swartzell was a chronic complainer. He wrote his exposé following the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri and their subsequent unpopularity throughout the country.
The foregoing indicates how expansive the plans of the brethren were where the city of Adam-ondi-Ahman was concerned. Moreover, it illustrates the intention of the Church to purchase extensive areas of land, using consecrated monies as payment. Further, the reference to the city as a "stake" is also interesting. Shortly after the first large influx of Saints into the area, the residents of Daviess County were organized into a stake of Zion. John Smith was appointed to serve as president of the newly formed Church unit, while Reynolds Cahoon and Lyman Wight were appointed first and second counselors respectively. Vinson Knight, pending the arrival of Newel K. Whitney from Kirtland, was chosen as "Bishop protemporum," while the new High Council was composed of John Lemon, Daniel Stanton, Mayhew Hillman, Daniel Carter, Isaac Perry, Harrison Sagers, Alanson Brown, Thomas Gordon, Lorenzo D. Barnes, George A. Smith, and Ezra Thayer.33

As formerly noted, the layout of Adam-ondi-Ahman was much like that of the chief City of Zion. Swartzell gives us the following picture:

Two miles square, in the center of the twelve mile circle, was laid out in lots of an acre each, in the center of which was the temple lot of four acres. The lots nearest to the temple lot were the property of the High Priests and dignitaries of the Church. These lots, to a certain distance outside of the two mile square, were of different sizes, from five to ten acres each, to be appropriated or disposed of to individuals, with a due regard to the size of the family, the larger families each to have a ten acre lot, and the smaller families to have five acres, as a homestead.34

The city, then, according to this description, was to be the center of the "stake," and in the center of the city, undoubtedly near the town square, the temple of God was to stand. Evidence has been found which tends to support Swartzell's report. A map, apparently based upon the survey of Adam-ondi-Ahman in 1838 by Alanson Ripley, clearly shows the city occupying an area two miles square. Blocks with the city are

33Details of this conference will be found in the Elders' Journal, 1:61 (August 1838). See also HC, 3:38, 39; and Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, p. 13.
34Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, p. 24. An interesting dimension is added to the picture when one studies a topographical map of the area. The area laid out for purchase in 1838 and known as Spring Hill is precisely four sections of land, or two miles square. In the exact center of this area is Tower Hill.
marked off at right angles, and each block is 36 rods in its north and south dimensions and 32 rods east and west. The plat is clearly north and east of the Grand River, with the town square better than a mile away from the river. Swartzell’s reference to the “homesteads” beyond the city’s perimeter also finds support in another source. Joseph Smith’s land, for example, was located in Range 27, Township 60, Section 30, South West Quarter, and also in Range 28, Township 60, Section 25, South East Quarter. This would place the Prophet’s holdings on both sides of the Grand River, and the two pieces, although situated in different ranges, would be adjacent. Sidney Rigdon’s land was located on the east in Range 27, Township 60, Section 30, South East Quarter, and joined the Prophet’s land.

The allocation of land was, as always, a ticklish matter, particularly when the leaders of the Church received their allocations first. As formerly noted, Swartzell reports that the “lots nearest to the temple lot were the property of the High Priests and dignitaries of the Church.” He also noted (chronic complainer that he was) that “the least among the brethren were the least noticed and got the least land.” Benjamin F. Johnson, a late arrival in the area, allows that while all were anxious, including himself, to secure choice lots, his unmarried status placed his chance to select “near the last under the rule of ‘oldest served first.’” Harrison Burgess, who labored nine days as a surveyor’s helper, wrote: “As a reward for rendering this assistance at this time, Brother Joseph selected me a very fine city lot.”

In addition to their personal lots in connection with the Law of Consecration, the Church collectively owned—or it was intended that it should own—large quantities of land beyond the 12-mile radius. Quoting Swartzell again:

35See “A Map of Adam-ondi-Ahman, Mo,” in the LDS Historian’s Office in Salt Lake City in the file folder marked, “Adam-ondi-Ahman.” It is credited to “R. Campbell, A. Ripley, Surveyor.” It would appear that Adam-ondi-Ahman included not only the ridge commonly known as Spring Hill, but also Tower Hill, and the entire valley running south to the river.
36“A Record Kept for the Use of the Church....”
37Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, pp. 9-10. His land was in Range 27, Township 60, Section 19.
38Benjamin F. Johnson, My Life’s Review (Independence: Zion’s Press, 1947), p. 36. Johnson, however, obtained the very lot on which the altar (which one?) stood.
39Harrison Burgess, Labors in the Vineyard: Faith Promoting Series, Book 12 (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1884), p. 68.
Upon the extremities of the twelve mile square, there were laid off lots of a thousand acres each; one upon the east, west, north, and south. These thousand acre lots were designed as the general farming lands of the whole brotherhood, who were all to be under the direction of the dignitaries or overseers of the congregations; and from the proceeds of these thousand acre lots, the laboring part, or those who tilled them, were to receive their breadstuffs and their seed-grain, while the residue of the crops was to go to support the Church. . . . This stake is so laid out, that all in going to and from their dwellings to the center lots to work, have precisely the same distance to travel.\footnote{Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, p. 24.}

The rapid growth in population made necessary the immediate construction of houses. Joseph McGee recalled in later years that Adam-ondi-Ahman had more than five hundred inhabitants at a time when Gallatin, the near-by county seat, had but a few houses.\footnote{As quoted in Britton, Early Days on the Grand River, p. 8. The vastness of the area was impressive to the Saints, and the Lord Himself said of the area: "Is there not room enough on the mountains of Adam-ondi-Ahman, and on the plains of Olaha Shinehah, or the land where Adam dwelt . . .?" Doctrine and Covenants 117:8.} George A. Smith, son of John, states that he helped his father build "a two-story log house on a lot in Adam-ondi-Ahman" soon after the family's arrival. He also "helped to raise twenty-five log houses in 25 days."\footnote{George A. Smith, "Journal of George A. Smith," LDS Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, unpaged.} Swartzell is likewise expressive about the rapidity of the new building program. For his journal entry of 19 July he wrote: "All things are going on a [sic] briskly as ever. The brethren are getting lots and raising houses on them—two or three every day."\footnote{Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, p. 19.}

In time, however, the rapid influx of settlers exceeded the abilities and energies of the builders. Jonathan H. Hale reports: "On the 4th of October, 1838, the camp [the famous Kirtland Camp] arrived in Davies [sic] County, Missouri, on Grand River, at a place which we called Adam-ondi-Ahman, the territory assigned to us. There we lived in tents until the last of November, when we were driven to Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri."\footnote{Heber Q. Hale, Bishop Jonathan H. Hale of Nauvoo, His Life and Ministry (Salt Lake City: By the Author, 1938), p. 61. On arrival in Dahmam, this group was told: "Brethren, your long and tedious journey is now ended; you are now on the public square of Adam-ondi-Ahman. This is the place where Adam blessed his posterity, when they arose up and called him Michael, the Prince, the Archangel, and he being full of the Holy Ghost, predicted what}
THE ALTAR-TOWER QUESTION

In the course of his labors in northern Missouri, the Prophet Joseph made several visits into the Grand River country. As noted, the first such visit was a rather extended trip for the purpose of "laying off a stake" and "making locations and laying claim to lands to facilitate the gathering of the saints . . . ." Under date of Saturday, 19 May 1838, the second day of the journey, the Prophet writes:

This morning we struck our tents and formed a line of march, crossing Grand River at the mouth of Honey Creek and Nelson's Ferry. . . . We pursued our course up the river, mostly through timber, for about eighteen miles, when we arrived at Colonel Lyman Wight's home. He lives at the foot of Tower Hill (a name I gave the place in consequence of the remains of an old Nephite altar or tower that stood there), where we camped for the Sabbath.45

One could devoutly wish that the Prophet had told us more about this "old Nephite altar or tower" since it has given rise to some controversy left as it is. Was it really of Nephite origin as the History of the Church records, or was it an "Adamic Altar' as others have maintained the Prophet told them?46 Or, were our sources referring to two altars instead of one? If so, why did the Prophet mention only one while people report his speaking of another? Even if these and like questions cannot be given final answers in this article, the evidence, at least, can be examined.

The easiest and most logical explanation would appear to be that of two altars.47 This view has recently been challenged

---

45HC, 3:34-35.
46"A careful check of the earliest printed account of "The History of Joseph Smith," which carries this incident concerning the identification of an "old Nephite Altar or tower" is identical with that found in HC. See Millennial Star (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1854), 16:132. As the result of a conversation with Earl Olsen, Church Archivist, it was discovered that there is no original journal of the Prophet Joseph Smith for 1838. The original manuscript "History of the Church" also carries the same terminology, however. The error, if it is one, then, is of long standing. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints appears to place little credence in Joseph Smith's mention of the altar which they say he "speculatively referred to as an old Nephite altar." Charles A. Davies, Question Time (Independence: Herald House, 1967), 2:167-178.
47"On the basis of a preliminary survey of historical evidence made in the course of writing a doctoral dissertation, this was the view the present writer adopted. See Gentry, "A History of the Latter-day Saints," pp. 237-241.
by at least one LDS scholar, however, and it is to be expected that others will also wish to take a serious look at the question.

It is important to know that there are two hills or ridges, separated by a small valley, in the area encompassed by Adam-ondi-Ahman. Tower Hill, where Joseph Smith located the Nephite altar or tower, is one of these. The small valley connects with the larger valley to form an interesting semicircle. In the words of B. H. Roberts:

North of the ridge on which the ruins of the [Nephite] altar were found, and running parallel with it, is another ridge, separated from the first by a depression varying in width from fifty to a hundred yards. This small valley with the larger one through which flows the Grand River, is the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman.\(^5^0\)

The ridge on the north was first visited by the Prophet Joseph and his company on 19 May 1838, on the afternoon of the same day that Tower Hill was named. Of this visit the Prophet wrote:

In the afternoon I went up the river about half a mile [i.e., from Lyman Wight's house] to Wight's Ferry, accompanied by President Rigdon and my clerk, George W. Robinson, for the purpose of selecting and laying claim to a city plat near said ferry in Daviess County, township 60, ranges 27 and 28, and sections 25, 36, 31, and 30, which the brethren called "Spring Hill," but by the mouth of the Lord it was named Adam-ondi-Ahman, because, said He, it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel the Prophet.\(^5^1\)

The account of the discovery of "Adam's Altar" is quite different from that for the "Nephite altar or tower." Abraham O. Smoot, a member of the survey team for Adam-ondi-Ahman, is quoted as having said that Joseph Smith was not present when "Adam's Altar" was discovered:


\(^{49}\)As originally laid out by Alanson Ripley, the City Plat of Adam-ondi-Ahman included both ridges, the small valley between them, and the larger valley to the south. In other words, all the land from "Spring Hill" on the north to the Grand River on the south. See "A Map of Adam-ondi-Ahman, Mo."

\(^{50}\)HC, 3:40.

\(^{51}\)Ibid., p. 35. Much of this is the identical area laid out for Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon as formerly noted. See pp. 555-557 above. Much of this land has been recently acquired by the Church. See Dyer, The Refiner's Fire, pp. 176-177. See also note 34 above.
President Smoot said that he and Alanson Ripley, while surveying at the town [i.e., Adam-ondi-Ahman], which was about 22 miles from Jackson County, Missouri, came across a stone wall in the midst of a dense forest of underbrush. The wall was 30 feet long, 3 feet thick, and 4 feet high. It was laid in mortar or cement. When Joseph visited the place and examined the wall he said it was the remains of an altar built by Father Adam and upon which he offered sacrifices after he was driven from the Garden of Eden. He said that the Garden of Eden was located in Jackson County, Missouri. The whole town of Adam-ondi-Ahman was in the midst of a thick and heavy forest of timber and the place was named in honor of Adam's altar. The Prophet explained that it was upon this altar where Adam blessed his sons and his posterity, prior to his death.²²

Analysis of the foregoing report leads to the following conclusions: (1) the stone wall (not a tower) was credited by the Prophet to Father Adam, not the Nephites; (2) there was an apparent construction, an actual "stone wall" whose constituent parts were seemingly "laid in mortar or cement"; (3) the wall had measurable dimensions; (4) the "wall" or "altar" was "in the midst of a dense forest of underbrush"; (5) Adam-ondi-Ahman or "Spring Hill" received its name "in honor of Adam's altar."

Still another factor lends credence to the conclusion that there were two altars rather than one. The altar pointed out and named by Joseph Smith as a Nephite altar was apparently discovered on 19 May 1838. Smoot did not arrive at Adam-ondi-Ahman until 20 June 1838; hence, his discovery with Ripley must have been subsequent to that time.³³ There is a second report from Smoot, however, which presents some difficulty. It purports to be a question-and-answer conversation between President John Taylor and Abraham O. Smoot at the latter's home in Provo on 4 December 1881:

Question by President Taylor: Brother Smoot, did you see on the top of a hill, in a place called Adam-ondi-Ahman, the remains of what Joseph Smith said had been an altar built by Adam, upon which he offered sacrifice?

Ans. Yes, sir. I first saw it in 1837, and the spring of

²²Matthias F. Cowley, Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), pp. 545-546. The statement about Adam-ondi-Ahman being "22 miles from Jackson County" is an obvious error.

1838, when assisting to survey the town called by that name.

Quest. What was the condition of the stones of which the altar had been built?

Ans. I remember well. The stones which lay scattered around looked as though they had been torn from a wall.

Quest. Yes, my remembrance is too that the stones were scattered as you say they were, having no particular form, except in one place. You remarked that you helped to make the survey; and prior to this particular conversation, you told me that you assisted in making an excavation.

Ans. Yes, sir. I helped to excavate around the base of the altar, some 2 to 3 feet, and from 6 to 8 feet in length, which was sufficient to thoroughly satisfy us that the foundation of the wall was still there.

Quest. Did you examine the wall further at any later period?

Ans. No, sir; but we intended to do so after the war, or as some called it, the "Mormon War," was over. The opportunity, however, to do so did not present itself afterwards.

Quest. Do you know the name of the hill where the Altar was?

Ans. I do not recollect that. I will say that I heard Joseph say that it was the remains of an altar built by Adam; and that he offered sacrifice on it, and called his family and blessed them there.

Quest. That was on the point of the hill that formed a curvature?

Ans. Yes, sir. And that point commanded a beautiful view of the country.54

In this instance, the "wall" or "altar" is described as "having no particular form, except in one place," and the stones, which looked as if they had been "torn from a wall," also "lay scattered around." In addition, some excavation work was apparently undertaken to determine if the wall had a foundation. Note the distinctions between the two accounts. Helpful information to aid in the solving of the dilemma comes from John Lyman Smith, the son of John Smith, President of the Adam-ondi-Ahman Stake:

In 1838 my father moved to Davis [sic] County, Missouri, where we assisted in building Adam-ondi-Ahman. Our house, built of logs, was located in a point of timber near the edge of the prairie. A few hundred yards from our door, toward Grand River, the ground seems to have

dropped off from twenty to thirty feet, leaving a line of almost perpendicular rocks for two or three miles, running nearly parallel with the river.

. . . About a quarter of a mile down the road, toward the river crossing, three or four rods to the left of the road, was a copse of trees and bushes, in the center of which was a raised stone work, which showed marks of fire, coal, etc. The falling of the leaves and blowing in of sand and dust had rounded this knoll until it was some feet above the road. This place was where the Prophet Joseph said Adam offered sacrifices and blessed his children. I looked upon this as a sacred spot, and often used to hide there when strangers passed along the road.55

Here we may see the reason for the excavation work, at least in part: the "raised stone work" was covered with "leaves and blowing in of sand and dust. . . ." Once again, since the "lots nearest to the temple lot were the property of the High Priests and dignitaries of the Church," and since John Smith was the stake president, it would seem that his home would be located near the town square. The "altar" was "a quarter of a mile down the road," rather than on top of Tower Hill where the Nephite altar was found.56

Evidence from several quarters strengthens the two-altar concept. Heber C. Kimball, in fact, speaks of "three altars of stone" (a three-tiered altar) as having been used by Adam rather than one. He said:

The Prophet Joseph called upon Brother Brigham, myself and others, saying, 'Brethren, come, go long with me, and I will show you something.' He led us a short distance [from the place where the temple plat had been dedicated] to a place where were the ruins of three altars built of stone, one above the other, and one standing a little back of the

55John Lyman Smith, Diary, 1839-1888, Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, pp. 1, 2.
56See page 564 above. It is not known precisely where the temple lot stood, but it is quite likely that it was not on Tower Hill since the map or survey by Alanson Ripley puts the town square some mile or more from the Grand River. Heber C. Kimball states: "While there [i.e., at Adam-ondi-Ahman], we laid out a city on a high elevated piece of land, and set stakes for the four corners of a temple block, which was dedicated, Brother Brigham being mouth; there were from three to five hundred men present on the occasion, under arms. This elevated spot was probably from 250-500 feet above the level of the Grand River, so that one could look east, west, north or south, as far as the eye could reach; it was one of the most beautiful places I ever beheld." Orson F. Whitney, Life of Heber C. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888), pp. 222-223. The elevation of the northern ridge exceeds that of Tower Hill by some twenty-five feet when their highest points are compared. There is an even higher point than that to the east.
other, like unto pulpits in the Kiriland Temple, representing the order of three grades of Priesthood; 'there,' said Joseph, 'is the place where Adam offered up sacrifice after he was cast out of the garden.' The altar stood at the highest point of the bluff. I went and examined the place several times while I remained there.\footnote{Ibid., p. 22. Italics added. This then is a three-tiered altar rather than three separate altars. See altar drawings and discussion in Lauritz G. Peterson's, "The Kiriland Temple," \textit{BYU Studies}, vol. 12, no. 4 (Summer 1972), pp. 400-409.}

Oliver B. Huntington, just a lad at the time he lived at Adam-ondi-Ahman, recalled the following concerning the "wall" in later years:

That wall of rock that was in sight and rising above the ground about thirteen inches, was laid as accurately as any wall nowadays, and was five or six feet long. One end showed the corner and end wall enough to prove that it ran back into the hill; the other end of the wall was covered with earth, and I do not know that the visible end was the real end. Dirt had naturally washed and worn down so as to cover the body of the altar.

One day while sitting on the wall and devoutly thinking of the use that had been made of that place, I got a naturally sharpened stick and dug into the earth that covered the altar and found charcoal quite plentiful.\ldots

Perhaps these coals, I thought, were from wood burned by Father Adam, and perhaps that altar had been used by men of God hundreds and thousands of years after him.

I felt sure, however, that the rocks were the identical rocks that was [sic] placed there, for Joseph said, "That altar was built by our Father Adam and there he offered sacrifice."

The man who showed me the altar was with Joseph when he discovered it. He said that within a rod or two of the place Joseph stepped quickly ahead of the little company of men who were with him, and, standing upon the altar, told them what use had been made of that spot and who built it.

The rocks that were visible showed indisputable signs of having been burned with fire. I have hunted for rocks around there of that kind, but found none. There were plenty of other kinds not far distant.\ldots

My father's house stood about two hundred and fifty yards from that altar, on the bottom land of Grand River, in the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman.\footnote{Oliver B. Huntington, "Adam's Altar and Tower," \textit{Juvenile Instructor}, George Q. Cannon, ed., 30:700-701.}
The Nephite Altar or Tower, should it have a separate existence from that denominated as Adam's Altar, seems never to have attained the significance that the latter did. It may even be that some of the brethren in time, or perhaps from the first, confused the two, because many of the accounts were written years later from memory. A possibility is that the altar on Tower Hill faded into graceful oblivion with the discovery of Adam's Altar on Spring Hill. In any case, there is a problem of identity precisely because various accounts of eye-witnesses differ so radically from each other. The following from Benjamin F. Johnson, on whose city lot the altar of Adam is said to have reposed, will show what is meant.\(^59\)

The idea is being taken by some . . . that the altar constructed by Adam is still standing "in a fair state of preservation." Such a statement would be very misleading, for there are those still living who, in 1838, were familiar with the city seat of Adam-ondi-Ahman, as surveyed by Bishop Alanson Ripley, who as agent recorded upon the city plat the names of those to whom lots were given and I well know to whom was given the lot at the top of the hill on which was scattered the many different-sized stones, some of which had been burned—all partly buried; and while there appeared a center from which they were scattered, yet no one stone remained laid upon another to show the form and size of the altar. This was before the identical place with the rock of the altar had been pointed out by the Prophet Joseph.\(^60\)

At this point, then, we are confronted with some very interesting discrepancies: (1) the altar spoken of by Johnson was

---

\(^{59}\) Says Johnson: "On our arrival at Diahman [late in October, 1838] our camp was pitched upon the town plat which had just been surveyed by direction of the Prophet, and of course each one was anxious to obtain the most eligible, or first choice of lots. As I was young and unmarried my choice would come near the last under the rule of oldest served first. So when it was my choice I found I must take the top lot on the promontory overlooking the Grand River valley, or go farther away and lower down than I wished to. So I chose the upper, which at first appeared rocky, but which made the other lots appear almost enviable. When, after a few days, the Prophet accompanied us to this spot, and pointed out those rocks as the ones of which Adam built an altar and offered sacrifice upon this spot, when they called him Michael, and where he will again sit as the Ancient of Days, then I was not envious of anyone's choice for a city lot in Adam-ondi-Ahman. Johnson, My Life's Review, pp. 35-36.

\(^{60}\) Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to the Deseret Evening News, 5 November 1895 and published 9 November 1895. Johnson speaks approvingly of Elder E. Stevenson's report in the News of 24 September 1895. Stevenson writes under date of 16 September from Adam-ondi-Ahman that "the altar is erected on the highest point hereabouts."
on the lot “at the top of the hill”; (2) the “many different-sized stones” were somewhat “burned—all partly buried”; (3) “not one stone remained laid upon another to show the form and size of the altar”; (4) such was the case “before the identical place with the rock of the altar was pointed out by the Prophet Joseph.”

A somewhat similar report does not help clarify the picture. On the contrary, the following from Chapman Duncan only casts a greater mist over the problem:

I think the next day [sometime near the end of October], he [i.e., Joseph Smith] said to those present, Hyrum Smith, Bishop Vincent [sic] Knight, myself, and two or three others, get me a spade and I will show you the altar that Adam offered sacrifice on. I believe that was the only time Joseph was in Diamon [sic]. Went about forty rods north of my house. He placed the shovel with care, placed his foot on it. When he took out a shovelful of dirt it barred the stone on the upper side nearly a foot deep. The dirt was two inches deep on the stone, I reckon. About four feet or more was disclosed. [He] did not dig to the bottom of the 3-layer of good masonry well put-up wall. The stones looked like dressed stone, nice joints, ten inches thick, 18 inches long or more. Came back down the slope perhaps 15 rods on the level. The Prophet stopped and remarked this place where we stood was the place where Adam gathered his posterity and blessed them, and predicted what should come to pass to the latest generation.

According to this report, the entire work was underground also, but the masonry was composed of “3-layers of good masonry well put-up.” How can either of the foregoing be reconciled with the following from B. H. Roberts without postulating the existence of two distinct altars:

On the brow of the bluff stood the old stone altar which the brethren found there. When it was first discovered, according to those who visited it frequently, it was about sixteen feet long, by nine or ten feet wide, having its greatest

---

61 Johnson arrived in Diahman after October 20, probably about the 22 or 23, just about a week before the so-called “Mormon War” broke out in Grand River Country. See Johnson, My Life’s Review, pp. 35-36.
62 We know that the Prophet was in Diahman as early as May, probably before Duncan arrived.
63 Chapman Duncan, “Autobiography of Chapman Duncan,” Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, unpaged. Duncan’s reference to “dressed stone” is vastly different from Huntington’s insistence that there were no “tool marks” on the altar stones he visited. Juvenile Instructor, 30:700.
extent north or south. The height of the altar as the brethren found it, was some two and a half feet at each end but gradually rising higher to the center, which was between four and five feet high—the whole surface being crowning.64

It must be admitted that the evidence thus far examined suggests two altar sites. Attempts to explain away the "apparent discrepancy among the accounts" as being merely the difference between "a pile of stones" on the one hand and a "wall or stonework" on the other, the former "on top of the hill" and the other further down the hillside, merely obfuscate the question,65 for they do not reconcile the many other conflicting differences observed in addition to the location problem. Would not those who were familiar with the pile of stones have also been familiar with the fact that a standing altar in a fair state of preservation, enough to be recognized at least, was located a short distance away? How about the reference to "buried stones" on the one hand, requiring a shovel to uncover, and a rising set or tier of altars on the other? What about the references to a "Nephite Altar or Tower" in one instance, and "Adam's Altar" on the other?

Perhaps the following from Oliver Huntington is the key to the problem. Huntington appears to distinguish between the altar and a "tower." After speaking of the altar at length, he writes:

After Joseph the Seer had stood upon that memorable spot [i.e., where the altar stood] and told his brethren many things that had taken place there and in the valley just below, while Adam dwelt in that locality, they traveled on up into the prairie beyond. About half a mile or between a quarter and a half of a mile, just in the edge of a grove of timber, they came to a little elevated spot of earth, like a knoll or slight hill, the earth of which was thickly dotted with cobble stones.

"Here," the Prophet and Seer said, "Adam built a tower, from the top of which he could see all the surrounding country, and this knoll is formed of its remains."

... My father's house stood about two hundred and fifty yards from that altar, on the bottom land of Grand River, in the Valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman.

When Alanson Ripley surveyed a part of the farming

64 B. H. Roberts, The Missouri Persecutions (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1900), p. 189. Roberts visited the area on at least one occasion.
land around the settlement, I was flagman, and the spot of
ground designated as the place of Adam's Tower came within
that survey.66

Thus we have a new dimension added to the puzzle, for the
farming land, it will be remembered, was on the outskirts of
the city plat of two miles square.67 The confusion appears to
come from the fact that both an altar and a tower of Adam
were found in the vicinity.

Small wonder that Oliver B. Huntington expressed a be-
lief on one occasion that Edward Stevenson, formerly a resi-
dent also of Adam-ondi-Ahman and later a visitor to the area,68
had not found the "true Adam's altar." Stevenson's descrip-
tion clearly places the altar he visited on Tower Hill. Accor-
ding to an associate of Huntington, the altar with which the
latter was familiar was "not on top of the hill but a few yards
below, perhaps 50 yards."69 In setting forth his belief in his
private journal that Stevenson did not find the "true Adam's
altar," Huntington wrote:

. . . The night of October 4th, 1899, I stayed with
Elder Arnold Reiser in 6th Ward Salt Lake City. He was the
missionary in Missouri that I wrote to about the altar of
Adam-on-Diahmon [sic], and through my request, while on
his mission he visited Diahman again and searched according
to my minute directions and found remains of the wall of the
Altar, which wall however had been torn down to a level
or nearly level with the ground—probably by cattle, as it
was in a pasture, so he proved that which I told Elder Ed-

66Juvenile Instructor, 30:701. Italicics added.
67See p. 561 above.
68Stevenson made a visit to the area in 1895 and wrote a description of the
same which was printed in the Deseret Evening News on 24 September 1895,
under the caption, "Adam-ondi-Ahman." Stevenson also visited the area with
Andrew Jenson in 1888. Jenson's report will be found in the Autobiography
Another account by Stevenson, which, like the above-mentioned altar on Tower
Hill, will be found in Joseph Grant Stevenson, The Stevenson Family His-
tory (Provo: By the Author, 1955), 4:63.
Historical Investigation," p. 6. Roberts, however, speaks of the altar as
standing on the "crown of the hill." "Adam-ondi-Ahman," The Contributor,
7:314 (1886). Andrew Jenson states that the altar was located "on the top
of what is supposed to be the highest point in the neighborhood." Auto-
bio-
ography, p. 162. Benjamin F. Johnson states that the altar was located on his
personal property on "the lot at the top of the hill. . . ." Deseret Evening
News, 9 November 1895. Edward Stevenson states that "the altar is erected
on the highest point hereabouts." Deseret Evening News, 24 September 1895.
Heber C. Kimball says that "the altar stood at the highest point on the bluff." Whi-
tney, Heber C. Kimball, p. 223.
ward Stevenson, viz., that he did not find the true Adam's Altar, as he had published.\textsuperscript{70}

The fact that the Prophet's records make reference only to a "Nephite Altar or Tower" is difficult to explain. If there were but one altar, the Prophet might have meant to teach that although the structure was built by Adam, Nephites at a later time made use of the same for their own purposes.\textsuperscript{71} Latter-day Saints have long believed that the ancient Nephites penetrated into the area now embraced by the United States of America,\textsuperscript{72} and Zera Pulsipher, one-time resident of Adam-ondi-Ahman, even held that the Saints "supposed that there had been an ancient city of the Nephites" at Spring Hill-Tower Hill and vicinity.\textsuperscript{73} The case for the "two-altar theory" at this point at least, appears plausible. Perhaps the second structure was a "tower" as Huntington states.

Residents of Adam-ondi-Ahman have been known to tell an entirely different tale regarding the altar or rather the pile of stones which were said to have formed the same. According to some accounts the site marked the grave of Father Adam. According to another, gold was buried there by the Saints prior to their rapid departure from the State of Missouri.\textsuperscript{74} The fact

\textsuperscript{70} "Diary of Oliver Boardman Huntington," Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, 1:30-52, 35, 439, as cited by Wittorf, "An Historical Investigation," p. 6.

\textsuperscript{71} We note, for example, Huntington's statement that "perhaps that altar had been used by men of God hundreds and thousands of years after him [i.e., Adam]," Juvenile Instructor, 30:700.

\textsuperscript{72} "Latter-day Saints have long believed that at least some of the Nephites found their way into North America. In the days of Zion's Camp, the brethren discovered the skeleton of a "White Lamanite," whose name was Zelph, a good man who served under the great chief Omandagus. See the Historical Record, 7:581. Orson Pratt was fond of pointing out evidence of Nephite meanderings during the so-called "mound-building period" on this continent. Journal of Discourses, 13:131, and 14:296-298. Brigham Young is quoted as having said that Moroni dedicated the site for the Manti Temple. See Whitney, Heber C. Kimball, p. 447.

\textsuperscript{73} "History and Life of Zera Pulsipher by Himself," p. 12. Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

\textsuperscript{74} Among those who held to this view were Hunt, History of Daviess County, p. 164, and Joseph McGee, Missouri Historical Review, 20:342. See also Heman C. Smith, ed., History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 2:111, and the Gallatin Democrat 49:1. "The people in and around Diahman have peculiar views regarding the belief of the Latter-day Saints in connection with this ancient altar. It is the prevailing belief, based on untruthful statements in the history of Davies [sic] county, that the Mormons taught that the Altar was Adam's Grave. One country editor near the place, when told of the error and requested to correct the same through his paper, replied: 'What? You will not take our grave from us will you?' The people have been taught it was the grave and fear it would lose its attractiveness if the correction were made." "Some of the Waste Places of Zion
that the Saints did some digging in this area may have lent some credence to these suppositions. At any rate, the non-
Mormons, to satisfy their curiosity, also did some digging, which
work had the effect of breaking down what remained of the
altar. As a result of their visit to Diahman in 1888, Andrew
Jenson and party reported:

The mound of ruins of the ancient altar on the top of
the Adam-oni-Ahman hill measures 36 feet in diameter. A
large number of rock fragments which no doubt were once
part of the altar lie scattered all around.75

It would appear, then, that the evidence still suggests the
existence of more than one altar, or at least one altar and a
tower. Admittedly, the various classifications represent an
individual judgment and are certainly open to challenge. The
following chart is a summation of the evidence on which this
conclusion is based:76

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Difference</th>
<th>Altar &quot;A&quot;</th>
<th>Altar &quot;B&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Origin</td>
<td>1. Nephite or Adamic</td>
<td>1. Adamic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2. Condition | 2. "no one stone on an-
               other in 1838 to show
               size or form" | 2. Some stones scattered but altar standing in
               recognizable form when discovered, having meas-
               urable dimensions |
| 3. Size | 3. Stones scattered to
circle of 30 feet in
diameter. | 3. Five or six feet long;
another account says "16
feet long by 9 or 10
feet wide"; 2½ feet
at each end but gradu-
ally rising in the center. |
| 4. Description | 4. Good masonry work;
"dressed stone, nice
joints, ten inches
thick, 18 inches or
more long"; "stones
of different sizes"
and apparently native
to the area; some | 4. Untooled stones but
"laid accurately as any
wall nowadays" in actu-
al mortar or cement; no
stones like them in the
area; stones partly burn-
ed and many exposed
above ground; 3 altars |

---

76The classifications are artificial since the so-called "Nephite Altar" lo-
cated on Tower Hill has never been called by that name except by Joseph
Smith. Therefore, it has been necessary for the writer to judge from the
various descriptions which was Altar "A" and which Altar "B."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. <strong>Location</strong></th>
<th>5. On top of the hill partly burned and most if not all buried; first stone bared by Joseph Smith at nearly a foot deep.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. <strong>Excavation</strong></td>
<td>6. Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <strong>Approximate Date of Discovery</strong></td>
<td>7. May 18, 1838, with Joseph Smith present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. After 20 June 1838, with Joseph Smith not present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. "On a sidehill"; "about a quarter of a mile down the road" but also on the "highest point of the bluff" "in the midst of dense forest or underbrush"; perhaps a "tower" on the prairie.
Mormon Bibliography: 1972

Chad J. Flake*

With the untimely death of Dale Morgan in 1971, many feared that Mormonism had lost its only author of analytic Mormon bibliographies. Although Mr. Morgan had only produced three such monographs, *Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ*, *Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Strangites)*, and *Bibliography of the Churches of the Dispersion*, he was in the process of doing a definitive bibliography of the early history of the Church. It is therefore a great delight to see the emergence of another man of Mr. Morgan's abilities. This is Peter Crawley, whose "A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri" was published in *BYU Studies* in the summer of 1972. Although Professor Crawley possibly lacks some of Dale Morgan's erudition, he makes up for it amply in depth and readability. His bibliography is as complete as is humanly possible, and puts each imprint into its historical perspective. Such a find as the broadside concerning Zion's Camp is of immense importance. One looks with anticipation for his next publication which will be on the Mormon imprints during the Nauvoo period. As with Mr. Morgan, bibliography is not Professor Crawley's livelihood, so that unfortunately neither devoted, or is devoting, a preponderance of his time toward this study. This is a shame inasmuch as so few scholars seem genuinely interested in bibliography and can ably handle the subject.

In paying tribute to this fine study of Professor Crawley's, an accolade should also be given to *BYU Studies* for devoting

*Professor Flake is Special Collections Librarian at Brigham Young University. He also edits *Mormon Americana.*
72 pages to a bibliographic monograph which might have had only limited appeal.

In the current Mormon Bibliography, all references to general Church periodicals have been omitted inasmuch as they are cumulatively indexed in a separate publication. As always, great reliance has been placed on *Mormon Americana*, Volume 13.

**HISTORICAL**


Hansen, H. N. “An Account of a Mormon Family’s Conversion to the Religion of the Latter Day Saints and of Their Trip from Denmark to Utah, Parts I and II.” Annals of Iowa 41:709-728 and 756-779 (Summer and Fall 1971).


Robinson, Adonis Findlay, ed. *History of Kane County*. Kane County, Utah: Kane County Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1970.

**DOCTRINAL**


INSPIRATIONAL


Curtis, Dr. Lindsay R. Tips for Two 1/2's. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, Inc., 1972.


Pearson, Carol Lynn. *The Order is Love.* Provo, Utah: Trilogy Arts, [1972?].

Pearson, Gerald. *There is a Way Back.* Provo, Utah: Trilogy Arts, [1971?].


**BIOGRAPHY AND FAMILY HISTORY**


Christensen, Madge M. and Anna, compilers. *Sketches of the Lives of Winifred Scott and Anna Elizabeth Parker McClellan* [Salt Lake City, Utah, 1970].


Peterson, Charles S. "A Mighty Man was Brother Lot: A Portrait of Lot Smith—Mormon Frontiersman." *Western Historical Quarterly* 1:393-414 (October 1970).


Book Reviews


(Reviewed by William D. Russell, an associate professor of religion and history at Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa, and co-editor of Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action.)

In a paper presented at the Spring 1971 meeting of the Mormon History Association and later published in Courage (vol. 2, no. 1, September 1971), Mark McKiernan argued that Sidney Rigdon has not been given proper respect by religious historians because his search for truth was not compatible with any organized religion of his time. Since Rigdon separated himself from the Baptists, Campbellites, and the Mormons, historians from these three traditions have tended to discount his importance.

Historians should therefore welcome this biography of Rigdon, based on McKiernan’s Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Kansas. McKiernan, formerly a professor of history at Idaho State University and now with Restoration Trails Foundation, has done considerable research on Rigdon and deals sympathetically with this important associate of Joseph Smith. McKiernan demonstrates Rigdon’s importance to the rise and development of Mormonism. Therefore The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness should help correct the tendency to underestimate Rigdon’s role in the early history of Mormonism.

It has been this reviewer’s opinion that members of all branches of Mormonism need to learn to deal more maturely with those people who separated themselves from the Church. Sidney Rigdon provides a good example. Historians of Mormonism will particularly welcome the chapter on Rigdon before his contact with Joseph Smith and the concluding chapter on Rigdon from 1844 until his death in 1876.
McKiernan seems to grasp what this reviewer thinks is the key to understanding the effectiveness of the Book of Mormon in winning people to the Church. He portrays Rigdon and Parley P. Pratt, for example, as finding the Book of Mormon convincing because, as he says of Pratt, it "contained answers for many of the problems which had plagued him" (p. 30).

McKiernan's book does have some significant weaknesses, however. The author makes statements which seem stronger than the evidence will support. For example, "Smith had always kept men like Parley P. Pratt and Brigham Young in distant areas so that he could be the complete master of his own religious household" (p. 126); "Rigdon changed the entire course of Mormon history when he persuaded Smith to move the headquarters of the Church from New York, where it was stagnating, to the Western Reserve" (p. 12); and Rigdon "seized upon the doctrine [of the coming millennium] and heralded it everywhere" (p. 27). Similarly, while Robert Flanders' *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* is an excellent book, one wonders if McKiernan isn't too flattering when he calls his former professor's book "the finest work on the early Mormon Church" (p. 178).

Organizational slips occasionally occur. For example, in his very useful bibliographical essay, the final paragraph should have been placed much earlier (p. 179), and a paragraph on Smith's sense of humor is concluded with a sentence that is out of place (p. 70).

There are a number of places where greater editorial care could have helped prevent unclear or confusing statements. McKiernan has a very confusing paragraph on Joseph Smith's revision of the Bible, for example (p. 45). He indicates that Rigdon had denounced the Church's participation in the Masonic order (p. 133), but earlier he mentioned that Rigdon became a Master Mason (p. 111). Unfortunately, he does not explain the apparent contradiction.

Other examples where clarity is needed are: he seems to use the terms "Calvinism" and "revivalism" synonymously (p. 16); he says Sidney and his wife "lived together in harmony" for ten years after Sidney's death (p. 17); in the first chapter Rigdon retires from the ministry in 1824, but at the beginning of Chapter 2 we find Rigdon in that year establishing "a reformed Baptist church at Pittsburgh with the aid of a young
school teacher named Walter Scott" (p. 25); rather than stating that Smith later claimed that on 21 September 1823 he had been visited by an angel, McKiernan has Smith claiming on 21 September 1823 that he had received the angelic visitation (p. 32); he says that many of Smith's followers, "including Rigdon, shared the animosity and wrath of the anti-Mormon" (p. 33), which gives the impression that Rigdon was one of Smith's antagonists; it is unclear as to who terminated correspondence between a Mr. Barr and Rigdon (p. 72); he has Rigdon's influence on Mormonism a popular topic among anti-Mormon writers from 1832 until 1947, but the reader is not told why these two dates were selected (p. 171); in addition, McKiernan has Joseph Smith sanctioning Rigdon's "salt sermon" (p. 86), but later refers to "Rigdon's denunciation of Smith's policies in the 'salt sermon'" (p. 99).

When McKiernan quotes the revelations of Joseph Smith, he uses the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. It would be more appropriate to have taken his quotations from the 1833 Book of Commandments, since many of these revelations were revised for the 1835 edition, including some that McKiernan uses. He also quotes from the 1955 RLDS Book of Mormon when it would have been more appropriate to use the 1830 edition (pp. 151-152) and from the 1952 Salt Lake City Pearl of Great Price when he could have used the original 1851 Liverpool edition. These original editions are easily available, and in fact McKiernan does cite the 1830 Book of Mormon at one time (p. 61).

McKiernan says that the RLDS Church does not have Utah Section 115 in its Doctrine and Covenants because its Doctrine and Covenants is based on the 1852 edition, which does not contain this revelation. But Richard Howard, in Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development (Herald Publishing House, 1969) says that the first RLDS edition of 1864 was based on one of the Nauvoo editions (p. 223) and was largely a duplication of the Nauvoo editions, which were published in 1844, 1845, and 1846.

Occasionally McKiernan seems to show an RLDS bias, as when he writes, referring to Independence, Missouri: "Although the headquarters of the Church would change throughout the years, the location of Zion could never be changed" (p. 59). He also seems to accept uncritically the RLDS
contention that Joseph Smith "set apart" his son, Joseph III, at the Liberty Jail in 1839 (p. 127). The statement he cites from the memoirs of Joseph Smith, III, written many decades later, is rather vague.

Though marred by such imperfections, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness* is nevertheless a book that most students of Mormon history will find both interesting and useful.


(Reviewed by Neil J. Flinders, director of educational research for seminaries and institutes of religion.)

If the reader avoids stumbling over the multiple interpretations of the title, he will find *The Sensitive Manipulator* a unique and comprehensive collection of concepts associated with the process of change as it relates to human behavior. The author has attacked the difficult problem of cognitively discussing an affective subject with a gutty freshness. From his earthy anecdote of the strained relationship created between two college roommates because one habitually "... kicked off his shoes, peeled off his socks, and with obvious relief began to systematically clean the accumulation of dirt and grime between each toe with his forefinger" (pp. 3-4), to the nostalgic recall of "over the river and through the woods to grandmother's house" (p. 165) as illustrative of the current stress on family contiguity, Dr. Dyer has attempted to link the vitality of his subject to the sterile world of psychological and systems jargon.

The effort to tie the content of the book to one's family life makes this text a commendable contribution to the field of social psychology. It is a marked shift from the bland profit-centered or free-yourself-from-personnel-problems approaches that usually pervade such subject matter. Aside from a few awkward overstatements that inaccurately attribute start and stop characteristics to dynamic processes such as, "Unfortunately, most people have not learned to be interdependent with others" (p. 45), or "The couple needs to develop together a whole new set of norms, roles, and expectations" (p. 20), the book is a well-organized and pithy treatment of the process of change. Compared with treatments of the subject by other
qualified academicians, it is most refreshing, and should be welcomed by students and faculty alike. It is probably still too technical to generate much enthusiasm among lay readers, however.

The major limitation of the work is the same limitation of most if not all scholastic treatments of living processes. They are exhortations that tell what, but not really how; for example, “Sometimes this means that in order to achieve a new and more effective level of interaction, both subordinate and authority persons need to re-examine their attitudes and behavior and work out a change” (p. 45). The work is descriptive, but hardly causal in its impact. More than other books on this subject, however, Dr. Dyer’s material occasionally sends faint impulses to the reader that suggest that its concepts and interpretations are rooted in a vital reality that is being tactfully hidden. One can only lament the fact that too often marketing of a product requires compromising the packaging process.

Perhaps the author should be challenged to share with the readers of Studies his exploration of the hidden root system to the tree which he has so successfully painted in this secular treatment of the change process. Recognizing that it may not be economically realistic to write a document that spotlights the true foundations of “... changing in directions of improving maturity, effectiveness, and satisfaction” (p. ix), one can still appreciate the value of shoveling the dirt away from the footings. With the contents of The Sensitive Manipulator as preparation, it seems that Dr. Dyer could shed some light on the nature of desire, its origin and maintenance; the element of agency, its impact and consequences; the role of divine influences such as the Holy Spirit; and the place of principles such as faith, hope, charity, virtue, knowledge, temperance, etc., à la the Doctrine and Covenants 4:5-7. One job rather well done certainly deserves the invitation to do another.


(Reviewed by Dorothy J. Schimmelpfenning, a "Visiting Assistant Professor" in cultural foundations of education,
Graduate School of Education, University of Utah. Dr. Schimmelpfenning has B.A. and M.A. degrees in art, and a Ph.D. in cultural foundations.)

For those who anticipate an historical treatment, or perhaps a compendium of pioneer folk craft, the book Mormon Arts offers a pleasant change from the stereotyped. The majority of works of art included in this first volume of a proposed series have been created by contemporary Mormon artists. However, under a doctrinal mandate to seek after "anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy," the editors offer a potpourri of artistic expression, from Mendelssohn's Elijah, to semi-abstract paintings and avant-garde theatrical productions.

The editorial team of Lorin F. Wheelwright and Lael J. Woodbury readily acknowledges that there does not yet exist a style of art unique to Mormondom, but contends that the purpose of art transcends style in importance; the purpose in this instance being the expression of cultural values of an idealistic people dedicated to the service of God and His church.

For some, a preliminary examination of Mormon Arts may prove disconcerting. No attempt is made to organize the contents in chronological sequence, and the various artistic mediums appear loosely interspaced. However, the presentation of works of art within the book closely follows two editorial objectives: (1) to illustrate unifying principles of Mormon aesthetics, as proposed by Mr. Wheelwright, and (2) to categorize works of art according to the medium of expression, in the final sections of the volume.

The broad sampling of work created by Mormon artists, including sculpture, painting, poetry, dance, photography, and theater arts, offers something that should appeal to almost anyone's personal preference. Quality color reproductions are generous in size and number, and encourage the casual browser to consider editorial comment more deeply.

A major bonus in the book is the series of twenty-two paintings, begun by C. C. A. Christensen in 1869. Reproduced in full color, with comprehensive explanations supporting each picture, these remarkable paintings provide a pictorial record of tragic events in the early history of the Mormon Church.

A strongly didactic publication, making frequent reference to unquoted L.D.S. scripture and doctrine, Mormon Arts may
not appeal to the general public. These very factors, however, plus the low purchase price of $13.95, should encourage members of the L.D.S. Church to add this introductory volume to their personal libraries.

A second review of Mormon Arts, Volume I.

(Reviewed by Richard G. Oman. Mr. Oman graduated from Brigham Young University in 1970. He is presently a graduate student in the history of art at the University of Washington in Seattle.)

Since 1969 Brigham Young University has held a Mormon Festival of Arts each spring. This book is basically an outgrowth and an expression of these festivals and thus many of the strengths and weaknesses of the book are reflections of strengths and weaknesses of the Festival. The book is lavishly illustrated with over 120 photographs and illustrations (45 in color) of art mainly from the festival. Because of the large size of the pages (13” x 13”) many of the plates are quite large—some even covering two pages. A long-playing phonograph record containing music, drama, and dramatic reading accompanies the volume.

The first 43 pages contain several long essays by Dean Lorin Wheelwright. These essays examine such topics as “Is There a Mormon Art?” “The Artistic Goals of Brigham Young University,” and the interrelationships of divine revelation, science, and aesthetics. Dr. Wheelwright’s basic point is that content, not form, should be the first concern of the Mormon artist. Sections on drama, music, photography, literature, and dance follow the extended introduction to Mormon Art. An essay on the Kirtland Temple is included, as well as a short article on David Hyrum Smith, poet-musician son of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and early leader in the Reorganized Church. The text ends with a short report on a symposium held during the Festival on Mormon architecture, design, and the environment. Most of the critical and analytical writing is done by Drs. Wheelwright and Woodbury. At the end of the book appear the schedules of the first three Festivals and biographical listings of all persons whose art work or essays are included in the book. The accompanying record is correlated with the book.
BOOK REVIEWS

My immediate response to this book is enthusiastic. No matter what level of artistic sophistication the reader has, he will find something of interest in *Mormon Arts*. This speaks well for the pedagogical skills of the editors and the universality of the subject. The writers on music, drama, and visual art each plead with the reader to extend himself and take in a greater variety of new aesthetic experiences. Appropriately, a wide range of works is reproduced. The relationships drawn between art, theology, and life are quite provocative. This reviewer tends to basically agree with Dr. Wheelwright and others that Mormon Art should have a deep concern with content as well as form and that it should be basically supportive of Mormon values.

However, I do have some reservations about the book. Though the title is *Mormon Arts*, there are little more than two pages devoted to poetry and literature. Perhaps this reflects logistical problems between different colleges of the university, since literature is not included in the College of Fine Arts and Communications. We are not told.

Though the authors plead for greater acceptance of different aesthetic viewpoints (Lorin Wheelwright even reminds us that the Church is now multi-national and multi-cultural), the only non-western art in the book is a photograph of a Toltec sculpture. Dr. Wheelwright reveals his own Western, post-Renaissance aesthetic value system when he begins to link theology, science, and aesthetics. For example, he explains that the numbers two and three are the basic numerical units in art, but this is simply not true of many non-Western cultures. This points out the difficulty of trying to establish a single aesthetic broad enough to fit a broad spectrum of artistic styles.

Drs. Woodbury and Wheelwright both put great emphasis on Mormon art being optimistic, buoyant, and problem-solving. I think there are Mormon artists who would feel uncomfortable with this prescription. There is much great art which does not soothe, answer or relax. Art often raises disturbing questions and lets the audience struggle with the solutions. A constant demand for optimism and clear solutions can lead to art that is smug and insipid.

A final problem is a seeming overemphasis on the subject of the art and an underemphasis on the work itself. None of
the reproductions of the visual arts are accompanied with references to dimensions or media. This omission may not affect the viewer's appreciation of the subject, but it certainly may impair his ability to understand the work of art itself. Less than fifteen per cent of the article on the Kirtland Temple deals with the structure itself; there are no accompanying photographic details. A poem by Alice Morrey Bailey and a painting by Floyd E. Breinholt are juxtaposed with no comment on either one. Why? The subject of both is the Tetons. This emphasis on subject matter ignores whether the works of art are compatible, and forces one to be the comment on the other.

Since *Mormon Arts* is optimistically labeled Volume I, it is hoped that the kinds of problems just discussed can be dealt with in future volumes. Volume I is certainly overdue.

The preface states that this book "... justifies its existence if it stirs the appetite of the reader for continued experience with and enjoyment of Mormon arts." I for one feel stirred.


(Reviewed by Dr. Glade Burgon, who received his Ph.D. from Brigham Young University and currently teaches in the LDS Institute of Religion at Logan, Utah.

"Att South Cadbyri standith Camallate, sumtyme a famose toun or castelle. The people can tell nothing that but that they have hard say that Arture much resortid to Camalat."

So wrote John Leland, an author attached to Henry VIII, in 1542.

In the summer of 1966 an archaeological organization began digging the hill of Cadbury Castle in the hope of finding some evidence which would substantiate that King Arthur was an ancient royalty and that Cadbury was his Camelot. The secretary of the organization was Geoffrey Ashe, who in *Camelot and the Vision of Albion* records his own personal search for the historicity of the legends of King Arthur and Camelot. The excavation of Cadbury established the possibility that Cadbury may have been a citadel of an Arthur-type figure, but nothing definite was found to substantiate that Arthur was an historical figure. The castle hill had earmarks of a stronghold
of a wealthy leader who imported expensive goods. A "dark age knife" was found, also a dish marked with a Christian cross, some Tintagel pottery, and a bulk work three-quarters of a mile long, all of which indicated the "easy possibility" that this was the residence of a British Chieftain.

Very little of the book, in fact just a few pages, tells of archeological finds. The bulk of the book deals with Mr. Ashe's theory that the King Arthur legends, although centered around an historical figure, are grounded in ancient myths of the Celts, Romans, Greeks, Anglo-Saxons, Druids, and Hebrews. He leans heavily toward William Blake's idea that "the stories of Arthur are the acts of Albion applied to a prince of the fifth century." Blake seems to have introduced the idea that Albion was an individual rather than a place—a giant who sought and won the golden age for the British Isles. With artifacts showing early strata at Cadbury to be Mycenaean and Minoan-Cretan, Mr. Ashe sees a natural link between the Titan myths of these cultures and the myths and legends of early England. Even Robin Hood is brought into the parallel with Arthur to show the natural tendency of legend to find a hero and peacemaker. He also found parallels between the story of the Holy Grail and the magic vessels of the ancient myths; between Atlantis, New Jerusalem, and Camelot; between Joseph of Arimethea (and other Christians in the lore of the British Isles), and King Arthur. All of these things, Mr. Ashe felt, indicate that although British myth is called unique, it "reflects a human phenomenon, a motive thought and behavior, that will be traced through the world in a profusion of forms."

The remainder of the book deals with a common ideal Mr. Ashe finds in the philosophies of Confucius, Lao-Tzu, Voltaire, Rousseau, the French Revolution and even the Hebrew Messiah. The apparent ideal is a desire for the reinstatement of a lost golden age which brings final victory over life's problems and sufferings. The same ideal is found in the ideas of Hegel, Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Mr. Ashe calls this common parallel, "The Mystic of Renewal, Reinstatement, Transfiguration; a fresh start," and concludes that herein is the basic philosophical factor that is the moving influence in the legends which have been attached to "King Arthur."

He next considers the question, "Why does the reinstate-
ment and revival mystic occur and reoccur?” His answer is the well-worn and frequently overused resort to anthropology and evolution: Man’s need for security begets myth which begets myth, etc., etc. There is no consideration (of course) of the possibility that the theory may be backwards—that the legends were influenced by true accounts of Adamic forefathers in former dispensations who communed with a living God and taught of restorations and a God-ruled millennium.

The literature of Shelley, Robert Owen, Chesterton, the Fabian society, and Gandhi, are brought into parallelism as further proof that the Arthur legends are influenced by psychological desire for a better age. His statement “Christ was a Platonist” cements the ever-growing indications in Mr. Ashe’s book, that the author is caught in the “parallel evolutions” and “psychic origin” trap so apparent in the intellectual literary criticism of today.

Mr. Ashe’s conclusions are these: “Arthur is best defined as the British General who won the battle of Mount Badon,” and who obviously was a real individual identified as a military commander. Histories never called him a king. Welch literature refers to him as an outstanding leader. His name became popular thereafter and many stories about his greatness were circulated being influenced by the myths of the “Titans” of early legends and the psychological need of man to find a renewal of life, a “golden age.”


(Reviewed by John H. Gardner, professor of physics at Brigham Young University, who is a past president of the Utah Academy of Scientific Arts and Letters, and a recipient of the Karl G. Maesar Distinguished Teacher Award.)

Is society perfectible? This was a question much debated in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century. In discussions with his father, who believed that it was, Thomas Robert Malthus, an English curate and economist, advanced the view that the realization of a happy society will always be hindered by the tendency for population to increase faster than
the means of subsistence. The only positive checks to popu-
lation were held to be war, famine, and pestilence attended by
the influence of misery and vice. He first published this
time in 1798.

Although these views gained considerable attention at the
time and greatly influenced subsequent economic thought, they
were contradicted by the facts. In the large scale of history,
superimposed on the ebb and flow of human fortune, there is
a secular trend in the direction of progress: by and large each
generation bequeaths to succeeding generations a better life
than its own. The idea of progress has hence become deeply
ingrained in the consciousness of Western man.

With the new ventures into outer space has come the al-
most universal realization that the earth and its resources are
limited. Pictures from the moon of "space-ship earth" have
indelibly implanted in men's minds the finiteness of our world
and the fragility of our existence. This, together with the rapid
increase in urbanization and the attendant difficulties for hu-
man institutions of coping with the problems of high popula-
tion densities, has again raised the spectre of overpopulation.
A new breed of Malthusian disciples has arisen, with the cry
that "whatever your cause, it is a lost cause unless we check
the population explosion. Good causes . . . will inevitably
become swamped by too many people. . . ." (Time, no. 11,
1969). The pervasiveness of the alarm in this country is evi-
denced by the appointment by President Nixon of a Commissi-
on on Population, and the public release by them of a film
urging restraint in propagation, wider dissemination of birth
control information and devices, and more liberal laws on con-
traception and abortion.

Within the framework of man's present knowledge, the
fact of the existence of a limit to the population the earth can
support is obvious. At the present rate of growth, within
500 years, (approximately the time elapsed since the discovery
of America), there would be only one square yard of land
per person. The neo-Malthusians suggest that if the stand-
ard of living of everyone on the earth were to be raised to that
of its average inhabitant, which is considerably less than that
of the average North American, the earth would support only a
small percentage more than live on it at the present time. Yet
the inertia of population growth is such that by the turn of
the century world population will have almost doubled with the result, they claim, that man will almost certainly have degraded his quality of life to the point that suffering, misery, and despair will be the lot of the greater part of mankind. Hence the urgent cry for government intervention into what is considered by many as one of the most sacred rights of individual couples, the determination of family size.

Bahr, Chadwick, and Thomas have undertaken to examine the premises of the neo-Malthusians with a view to providing a calmer and more objective perspective on the problem of population. They have assembled a collection of essays on various aspects of the problem of population and resources, some of them reprinted from other publications, and some of them written specifically for this one.

The book is divided into seven parts: (1) Are Proposals for Population Control Premature?; (2) "Overpopulation": The Wrong Problem; (3) How Full is the Earth?; (4) What Everyone Knows: The "Disadvantages" of Large Families and High Density; (5) Man the Destroyer? Not Necessarily; (6) The "Crisis" in Future Perspective; and (7) Population Policies: Implicit Values and Ethical Problems. Each part is preceded by an introduction by the editors which gives motivation for and summaries of the articles included in that part. Although technical material is not absent from the book, the articles are easily within the reach of the average reader.

A number of the articles deal with the question of whether or not we are reaching the limit of our natural resources. The collective impression one gains is that whenever we arrive at what is seemingly a limit of these resources, the ingenuity of man is brought to bear in such a way as to break out of constraints which are seemingly impenetrable. For example, the "green revolution" has led to surpluses in food, the fast breeder nuclear reactor can provide inexpensive energy for centuries, and fusion power, which seems just around the corner, can supply inexpensive, safe, pollution-free energy for billions of years. Minerals can be recycled and man's utilization of his living space can be restructured to accommodate comfortably many times the present world population. Pollution can be avoided by innovative design of "market and control institutions that could more effectively cope with environmental damage."
The notion of world population as being "wildly out of control" is debunked in a careful analysis to show that "the population of the world is decision-determined right now." Decisions are made, however, by individual families in response to cultural forces in which they are immersed rather than by government. The ethical considerations relating to possible governmental intervention into the loop are dealt with, but perhaps not adequately. The moral problem involved in the denial by a community of the right to life of the unborn when there are those in the community willing, and indeed anxious, to give them life, is one of the deepest faced by man. And, although bringing abundant new life into the world at the present moment in history scarcely diminishes our own, the time seems to be not far distant when, if indeed it does not actually do so, the better part of the community will be convinced that it does diminish them, as is made clearly evident by the wide acceptance of the neo-Malthusian view. Then, the full force of the moral problem will be upon us, and, all practical considerations aside, this is the real issue which will divide us.

The book is very timely indeed. It restores our faith in the idea of human progress. It provides an abundance of information relating to an issue upon which we may all be bruised by the course of events if we are not sufficiently well informed to influence them.


(Reviewed by Kenneth W. Godfrey, a division coordinator of seminaries and institutes of religion. Dr. Godfrey has written many articles on topics important to the history of the Church, and has contributed to several magazines and publications of the Church.)

Having lived for three years in Arizona, and having visited most of her towns and cities at least three or four times, it was a pleasant experience to go to Mesa-Lehi again through the pages of Mr. Merrill's book. This work, not written for the historian or the serious scholar, provides many insights into the settlement, colonization and daily life of those people who settled this part of Arizona in the 1870s. From this collection of very short articles, which originally appeared in the
Mesa Tribune, we glimpse, however briefly, the courage, faith, and devotion of those men and women who braved the heat, infrequent yet sometimes severe flash floods, the dust and the wind of pioneer Arizona.

Through the diaries of Henry C. Rogers and Dan P. Jones, together with many Pomeroy letters, the reader is allowed inside the minds of those hearty frontiersmen. Their hopes and dreams become his own through their own scanty records. On page 36, we are given a list of the entire colony, while on page 43 we begin an article that discusses wild hay and rattlesnakes. Should the reader of this review wonder what the two have in common, he, upon reading the book, will find that almost every clump of wild hay contained a rattlesnake probably seeking shelter from the intense heat. One of the most fascinating articles concerns what might be an apocryphal story of how the settlers outwitted the crows by putting “horse hair through every kernel of corn.” Other articles describe the early crops of the Mormon pioneers, how they harvested grain, and the building of the Mesa canal so that water from Salt River could be spread over the land and allow farming on a scale hardly thought possible in the early settlers’ native Utah. Because of Mr. Merrill’s research, we learn how dependent early pioneers were on the mesquite tree, which not only provided food for the people themselves, but also for their livestock. Even the pods shed by this tree became a valuable part of their diet.

Briefly we go to the marriage altar with Dan P. Jones and Mary Ellen Merrill that hot sultry 26 August in 1877, as they won the distinction of being participants in the first wedding performed in Mesa—at least in recorded time. Having followed with interest their romance, the reader is glad to vicariously feast on the wedding meal of venison provided by a sheepman from the Fort McDowell hills, and then begin married life with the poor yet happy couple. Through a letter never before published, written by Emily Stratton Pomeroy, the reader sits alone through one of those awful summer thunderstorms, with only a tent for protection on 14 July 1878. Mrs. Pomeroy describes her experience, complete with severe wind, loud thunder and pelting rain. Not only does she have to face the storm alone, but we find out at the end of the article that she was seven-months pregnant.
Anyone who has resided in the Salt River Valley for any length of time has wondered how the early settlers lived through the heat of those long air-conditionless summers. During June, July, and August it is commonplace even today to discuss this topic with the older settlers. In the short article titled, "Summers Were Hot Then, Too." Mr. Merrill provides some very interesting, and often tragic accounts of the effects of the Arizona heat. Those who have never lived through day after day of temperatures over 110 degrees will find this article most enlightening.

In spite of its many good qualities, this book is not without some serious faults. For example, greater care could have been taken in the selection of articles to become a part of this work. The reader is often left hanging as he leaves one article discussing pioneer life, turns to the next article and begins reading about an 1887 earthquake hardly felt in Mesa; or having read about the trek to San Pedro, finds himself on the next page reading what archaeologists say about the Hohakan Flying Birds. Mr. Merrill also tells of the dedication of the Roosevelt Dam in 1911 well before his discussion of the Mesa Canal's completion by the early pioneers in 1878. Though such sequencing must have made interesting and timely reading in the newspaper, the chronology makes for some frustration in a book. I also found his article on pre-Mesa history less than convincing and hardly necessary. Greater care and selectivity and much more attention given to the sequence of events would have made this a better book. Had the writer wanted to have written a really fine history of Mesa, he should have spent more time in original records, journals, letters and diaries. He relies too heavily upon the published autobiography of Dan W. Jones, and secondary sources such as Leonard Arrington's Great Basin Kingdom, and Thomas Farish's History of Arizona to name only two.

Still, with few if any books in print specifically relating to the settlement and history of Mesa, Arizona, Mr. Merrill's book does fill a need, and perhaps its appearance will stimulate Arizona historians to do the needed research to give us a thorough history of that important southwest community.

This reviewer found Mr. Merrill's book worth reading, insightful, and for the most part a valuable contribution to at least a beginning understanding of Mesa's history.
Notes and Comments

THE KESLER COLLECTION

It has just been called to my attention that I made an error in the "Notes and Comments" on the Kesler Collection (BYU Studies, vol. 13, no. 2 [Winter 1973]. It was simply one of those stupid mistakes of giving the man the wrong first name. I meant John Whitmer; instead I used David.

If you offer corrections, perhaps in your next issue you would care to point out that I caught the error too late and the statement on page 224 should read "in the handwriting of John Whitmer," rather than "David," as it now reads.

Everett L. Cooley
Curator,
Western Americana
University of Utah

HINMAN COLLATION OF THE
FIRST EDITION OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

In her "Variations Between Copies of the First Edition of the Book of Mormon" in a recent issue of BYU Studies [vol. 13, no. 2 (Winter 1973)], Janet Jenson gives me credit for industry and skills that belong to another. The use of the Hinman Collator on the Book of Mormon which I began several years ago, produced no concrete results until last summer when a young scholar, Sharon Pugsley, had the patience, perseverance, and skill to complete the collation of five copies of the book. I simply made the copies available and transmitted the results of Miss Pugsley's industry to Miss Jenson. Credit for the work, which can be appreciated only by those with a knowledge of the task presented by the Hinman machine, must be given solely to Miss Pugsley.

Alfred L. Bush
Curator,
Princeton Collections of
Western Americana
INDEX

Volume 13, Nos. 1-4
Autumn 1972, Winter, Spring, and Summer 1973

compiled by
Gary P. Gillum*

AUTHORS


Blakesley, Davis, "Missouri Thoughts (April 15, 1972)," 5, Autumn 1972.


Hart, Edward L., "On Listening to

*Mr. Gillum is assistant reference librarian and bibliographer at Brigham Young University.

601
Yarn, David H., Jr., "'Wisdom' (Philosophy) in the Holy Bible;" 91, Autumn 1972.
"Ancient Writings in the Americas," by Paul R. Cheesman, 80, Autumn 1972.
"Missouri Thoughts (April 15, 1972)," by Davis Bitton, 5, Au- tumn 1972.
"Variations Between Copies of the First Edition of the Book of Mor- mon," by Janet Jenson, 214, Win-
BOOK REVIEWS


COLLECTED POEMS OF CHARIS SOUTHWELL, by Charis Southwell, reviewed by Elouise Bell, 106, Autumn 1972.


As heretofore, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES is to be a voice for the community of Latter-day Saint Scholars. Contributions dealing with LDS thought, history, theology, and related subjects will receive first priority.

BYU STUDIES is a serious venture into the study of the correlation of revealed and discovered truth. Dedicated to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual are complementary avenues of knowledge, BYU STUDIES welcomes articles from all fields of learning. They should be written for the informed non-specialist rather than the specialized reader in the technical language of the field. Creative work—poetry, short fiction, drama—are also welcomed.

Except for unusual cases, contributions should not exceed 4,000 words (approximately 15 double-spaced, typewritten pages). Manuscripts should conform to the University of Chicago Press Manual of Style, and footnotes should be placed on a separate page at the end of the article.

Each author will receive 20 off-prints and three copies of the number in which his contribution appears.

Send manuscripts to Brigham Young University, Dr. Charles D. Tate, Jr., Editor, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES, 283 JKBA, Provo, Utah 84601.

SUBSCRIBER NOTICE

Subscription is $7.00 for four numbers; $12.00 for eight numbers; and $16.00 for twelve numbers. Single numbers are $2.00. The rate to bona fide students and missionaries is $5.60 for four numbers. All subscriptions begin with the current issue unless subscriber requests otherwise. Send subscriptions to Brigham Young University Press, Marketing Division, 205 UPB, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

If you’re moving, PLEASE let us know four weeks before changing your address. A Change-of-Address Postcard available at all Post Offices, sent in advance, will aid us in getting your magazine to you promptly. Your courteous compliance with this request will help us to solve a serious and costly problem.

Brigham Young University Studies is being listed in Current Contents: Behavioral, Social and Management Sciences