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Cover: A photograph of a painting by C. C. A. Christensen, part of the Permanent Collection, Brigham Young University, depicting Missouri mobsters being overcome by a storm as they attempt to destroy Zion’s Camp. Reprinted here by courtesy of Mormon Art, vol. 1, ed. Lorin F. Wheelwright Lael J. Woodbury (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1972).
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Guest Editor’s Prologue

Truman G. Madsen*

With this issue of BYU Studies, the Institute of Mormon Studies completes its reworking of the Missouri Period of Church History and opens up the Nauvoo Era which, we project, will keep us occupied for at least four years.

Once again, Stanley L. Kimball has probed little-known and out-of-the-way sources and resources of Missouri manuscripts. The result is a clarifying of dates and places of the prelude and postlude of the period from 1831-1841. One of his colorful “finds” is in the “Hubble Family” papers which record a late interview (1886) with David Whitmer, a singular glimpse of this important Mormon figure as he looked back.

Leland H. Gentry, confronted with the thorny and controversial issues of the “Danites,” presents a coherent account showing how, in an atmosphere of pillage, dissent, and polarization, such an “order” could arise. While his effort to “shave the beard” of fiction and folklore from the factual may not be the last word, it is, at least, one that future interpreters cannot ignore.

Richard L. Anderson and Peter Crawley have combined talents in their "The Political and Social Realities of Zion’s Camp.” This lengthy and perilous journey has seemed, even to some Mormon interpreters, a bit quixotic and the explanations inadequate. This article outlines the precipitating conditions in Missouri. The promises of Governor Dunklin, it turns out, legitimized the expedition not, as has been said, to initiate war, but to help protect Mormon landowners after the State had reestablished the Missouri Saints on their lands. The executive promises were retracted in the threat of civil war, making the dissolution of the camp the only law abiding action left.

Toward geographic precision on the sites and buildings of

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significant Mormon reference, Max H. Parkin shows that while the location of the Independence Courthouse referred to by the Prophet is the same, the structure is not, even though historians often say it is.

As a bonus in this issue, we print photographic copies of two rare documents of the Missouri Period. The first, *The Evening and the Morning Star. Extra 1834*, is presently known only in two copies which have been found in the last three years. In addition to its being very rare, this imprint also forms the first comprehensive account of the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson County, probably written by Parley P. Pratt.

The second, The Fourth of July Oration by Sidney Rigdon, has been known for a long time, but has been generally inaccessible to the larger group of LDS scholars. It followed Rigdon’s “Salt Sermon” by seventeen days, and the two are often cited as the beginning of the end of Mormonism in Missouri. No copy of the “Salt Sermon” has been found, whereas the Oration was printed and circulated in 1838.

As the Institute’s project on Mormon origins moves into its seventh year, one wonders how significant the labor has been and what its long-standing effects may be. Three developments have emerged which, we feel, are a partial answer.

First, the data-search has provided and will continue to provide grist for the projected Sesqui-Centennial History of the Church. Leonard Arrington and his allies continue to encourage and participate in the research. Likewise we will support both individual scholars and cooperative ventures that further this effort.

Second, as the library collections continue to build in centers for the study of American religions, experts from a variety of disciplines are triggered in interest and find guidance to original sources and to the bibliographic and historiographic materials that are now accumulating from this joint effort of the Institute and *BYU Studies*. Not the least gratifying are the inquiries from the likes of Reformation historian, John Dillenberger, and American religion expert, Timothy Smith.

Third, the extension of the “context,” the recovery of non-Mormon sources and heretofore ignored or “unknown” documents, helps in the vital but precarious reconstruction of influences in the unfolding drama of American Mormon history.

An example of a significant document only recently “discovered” is an unrecorded revelation to W. W. Phelps concern-
ing the purchase of paper for the publication of the Book of Commandments and the translation of the New Testament. The handwriting of the document is Sidney Rigdon’s and the revelation also bears a penciled note as to date and place—20 March 1832 at Hyrum [Ohio]—in an unknown hand. Sidney Rigdon had written on the reverse side, “Revelation as to paper for Phelps, 1832.”

This document was one of those contributed to the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University by the Whitney-Groo family.

First Shall we procure the paper required of our brethren in this letter and carry it with us or not and if we do what money shall we use for that purpose. It is expedient saith the Lord unto you that the paper shall be purchased for the printing of the book of the Lord's commandments and it must needs be that you take it with for it is not expedient that my servant Martin should as yet go up unto the land of Zion let the purchase be made by the Bishop of if it must needs be by hire let whatsoever is done be done in the name of the Lord

Second shall we finish the translation of the New Testament before we go to Zion or wait till we return

It is expedient saith the Lord that there be no delays and this saith the Lord for the greatest good and benefit of the church Wherefore omit the translation for the present time 20 March 1832 at Hyrum
The Political and Social Realities of Zion's Camp

Peter Crawley and Richard L. Anderson*

Ever since Zion's Camp marched out of Kirtland in May 1834, its journey into Missouri has been one of Mormon history's more controversial events. The earliest history judged the camp "frought with delusion and nonsense."¹ More recent scholarly assessments include "a total failure,"² "Joseph Smith's second major failure,"³ and "a quixotic adventure."⁴ The complexities of Zion's Camp, however, do not admit simplistic evaluations; and in spite of numerous descriptions of the camp in print, the basic questions raised by the expedition still persist. In this article the primary documents bearing on Zion's Camp are reviewed in an attempt to evaluate it more accurately in the context of the political and social forces that brought it into and took it out of existence.

Zion's Camp had its beginnings in the violent expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri, in early November 1833. News of the expulsion reached Joseph Smith and the members of the Church in Kirtland, Ohio, on 25 November, with the arrival of Orson Hyde and John Gould from Jackson.⁵ On 5 December, upon receiving a letter from W. W. Phelps supplying additional details of the Jackson tragedy,

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¹E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unraveled (Painesville: Printed and published by the Author, 1834), p. 163.
⁵Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 1:446. Hereafter cited as HC.
Joseph Smith wrote to Edward Partridge, the bishop in Missouri, instructing Partridge to use the law to obtain redress, but not to sell any of the Mormon land. Five days later he again wrote to the elders in Missouri, reiterating his instructions to Partridge to hold on to their property and to appeal to the courts, the governor of the state, and the President of the United States for redress. Finally, on 16 December 1833, Joseph Smith received a long revelation (now Doctrine and Covenants 101) concerning the Jackson County difficulties that was immediately printed in broadsheet form and circulated among the Saints in Ohio and Missouri. A copy was also sent to Daniel Dunklin, Governor of Missouri. Explaining why the Latter-day Saints had been driven from Jackson, this revelation enjoined the elders to continue to use constitutional means to obtain redress. In addition, it suggested that the elders attempt to buy out their persecutors in Jackson County, and in this regard, the revelation asserted that at that moment there was enough money in the hands of the eastern branches of the Church to buy out the local Missourians and settle the Jackson County dispute. Most significant for the eventual organization of Zion's Camp, this revelation included a long parable of a nobleman and his vineyard that carried an implicit promise of armed assistance to the exiled Jackson County Mormons from the Church in Kirtland. In the course of this parable it is asked when this help would be forthcoming. The answer: "When I will."

The Mormon leaders in Missouri lost little time in apprising Daniel Dunklin of the Jackson situation. On 6 November 1833, six days after the violence commenced and while the Latter-day Saints were crossing the Missouri River into Clay County, W. W. Phelps, A. S. Gilbert and William E. McLellin crossed into Clay and hastily drafted a statement of their plight which was forwarded to Governor Dunklin by express. A response from the governor came through his legal assistant two weeks later. On 21 November Robert W. Wells, attorney general of Missouri, wrote to Alexander W. Doniphan and David

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6HC 1:448.
7HC 1:453-56.
8Painesville Telegraph, 24 January 1834. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, p. 147ff. Only a single copy of this broadsheet is extant, in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University.
9HC 1:474.
10HC 1:438.
R. Atchison, two of the four lawyers engaged by the Mormons, making the initial offer of military assistance:

From conversation I have had with the Governor, I believe I am warranted in saying to you, and through you to the Mormons, that if they desire to be replaced in possession of their property, that is, their houses in Jackson county, an adequate force will be sent forthwith to effect that object. Perhaps a direct application had better be made to him for that purpose, if they wish thus to be re-possessed. The militia have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness. If the Mormons will organize themselves into regular companies, or a regular company of militia, either volunteers or otherwise, they will, I have no doubt, be supplied with public arms.11

Two days later, Wells informed Doniphan that Governor Dunklin intended to hold a court of inquiry in Jackson County but first needed to know the Mormons' intentions.12 And on the 24th, Circuit Judge John F. Ryland wrote to Amos Rees, a third attorney for the Saints and circuit attorney for Jackson County, that he had been requested by Dunklin to inform the governor about the Jackson County conflict and to take steps to punish the guilty and protect the innocent. "I now request you to inform me whether the Mormons are willing to take steps against the citizens of Jackson county," Ryland continued, "whether they wish to return there or not; and let me know all the matters connected with this unhappy affair." Judge Ryland further asserted that "the military force will repair to Jackson county, to aid the execution of any order I make on this subject."13 Doniphan communicated his conversation with Wells to A. S. Gilbert on 28 November, and the next day Gilbert wrote a confidential letter to Dunklin expressing grave concern over an immediate court of inquiry inasmuch as the Mormons who would need to testify in their own behalf were scattered over the adjoining counties:

An immediate court of inquiry called while our people are thus situated would give our enemies a decided advantage in point of testimony, while they are in possession of their own homes, and ours also; with no enemy in the county to molest or make them afraid.14

11HC 1:444-45. A manuscript copy of this letter in the hand of A. S. Gilbert is in the LDS Church Historical Department.
12HC 1:446.
13HC 1:445-46.
14HC 1:446-47.
On 6 December 1833 a petition was sent to Governor Dunklin by the elders in Missouri.\textsuperscript{15} This petition specifically requested (1) assistance from the governor so that the Mormons could "be restored" to their homes in Jackson and (2) continuing military protection by either the state militia or a detachment of the United States Rangers until peace could be restored. The concluding paragraph requested a court of inquiry after arrangements had been made to protect the Mormons with an armed force, and here it was mentioned that such a force would be needed until the Missouri Mormons could "receive strength from our friends to protect ourselves"—an idea that ultimately would become the underlying concept in the formation of Zion's Camp. A W. W. Phelps letter accompanying the petition underscored the Mormons' determination to return to their homes in Jackson County and repeated the need for armed protection after their return.\textsuperscript{16}

A formal response to the petition would not be forthcoming from Dunklin until 4 February 1834. It is clear, however, that during December the Missouri elders had some communication with the governor about the possibility of military protection. On 15 December 1833 W. W. Phelps wrote to Joseph Smith of Dunklin's position: "The Governor is willing to restore us, but as the constitution gives him no power to guard us when back, we are not willing to go. The mob swear if we come we shall die!"\textsuperscript{17} And in the same month John Corrill wrote a long letter to Oliver Cowdrey in which Dunklin's attitude is further described:

The Governor has manifested a willingness to restore us back, and will if we request it; but this will be of little use unless he could leave a force there to help protect us; for the mob say, that three months shall not pass before they will drive us again. And he cannot leave a force without calling a special Legislature for that purpose, unless the President should see fit to place a company of rangers here with power to assist us in time of need. . . . If we could be placed back, and become organized into independent companies, and armed with power and liberty to stand in our own defense, it would be much better for us. But then, as their numbers are double ours this would be paving the way, or laying the foundation for another scene of murder and bloodshed.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{15}HC 1:451-52.
\textsuperscript{16}HC 1:452.
\textsuperscript{17}HC 1:457.
\textsuperscript{18}The Evening and the Morning Star, January 1834. Hereafter cited as Star.
Corrill went on to say that he doubted that any grand jury in Jackson would indict a Missourian for a crime against the Mormons.

By early January 1834 the elders of the Church in Clay County were undoubtedly aware that they were reaching an impasse. A council was called and the decision reached that Joseph Smith should be personally informed of the situation in Missouri. Lyman Wight and Parley P. Pratt were delegated to make the journey to Kirtland. On 9 January A. S. Gilbert wrote a second letter to Governor Dunklin in which he expressed serious doubts that a fair court of inquiry could be held in Jackson County because a large part of the Mormons who would need to testify, particularly women and children, greatly feared violent reprisals from the local Missourians. Gilbert then offered a new suggestion: that the Mormons buy out the leaders of the anti-Mormon faction, thereby reducing agitation against the Saints.  

Pratt and Wight left Clay County for Ohio on 12 January 1834, arriving at Kirtland on Saturday, 22 February. The following Monday a council convened at the house of Joseph Smith to hear the reports of Pratt and Wight and to discuss the Missouri crisis. The minutes of this meeting are unfortunately brief, but it seems clear from the foregoing that the following five points must have been considered: (1) After three months no progress had been made toward the recovery of the Mormons’ possessions in Jackson County. (2) Governor Dunklin had promised to provide an armed force to guard the Mormons while they returned to their homes in Jackson. (3) The governor was unwilling to retain that force in the county after the Mormons had returned. (4) Unless an appropriate additional armed force—perhaps one made up of members of the Church from Kirtland and the eastern branches—remained in the county after their return, the Saints would certainly be driven from their homes again. (5) A fair court of inquiry probably could not be held in Jackson. Confronted with these considerations, particularly against the backdrop of the implicit promise of assistance contained in the well-circulated revelation of 16 December 1833, Joseph Smith had

19HC 1:472-73.
little choice but to respond with a pledge of help from the Church in Kirtland. His failure to do so at this critical juncture would certainly have been interpreted as an abandonment of the Missouri Saints. All at the council meeting must have been convinced that the time for the redemption of the nobleman’s vineyard spoken of in the parable was at hand. The minutes of the council report that at the end of the meeting, Joseph Smith arose and said

he was going to Zion, to assist in redeeming it. He called for the voice of the Council to sanction his going, which was given without a dissenting vote. He then called for volunteers to go with him, when some thirty or forty volunteered to go, who were present at the Council.21

Later that day Joseph Smith received a revelation (now Doctrine and Covenants 103) confirming the decision of the council and outlining the procedure for the expedition. This revelation also designated four pairs of elders to travel about the eastern branches of the Church to collect money and supplies and to recruit additional men. Preparations for the journey continued for two months, and on 1 May the first contingent of Zion’s Camp marched out of Kirtland.22

Meanwhile, on 4 February 1834, Governor Dunklin wrote to the elders in Clay County in response to their petition of 6 December. He informed them that a court of inquiry would soon convene in Jackson County, and that he had sent an order to the captain of the Liberty Blues, a company of the Clay County militia, to comply with any order that the circuit attorney might issue for the protection of the court and its witnesses. Dunklin reaffirmed his position that he was not authorized to maintain an armed force in the county to guard the Mormons after the trial ended, but he expressed his willingness for the Mormons to return to their homes under guard of the Liberty Blues and be protected by them during the course of the trial.23 This portion of Dunklin’s letter contains a hint of a shift in his position: a suggestion that possibly the only armed guard now available to the Mormons was that which would be called out to guard the court.

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21HC 2:39.
23HC 1:476-78.
Twenty days later the court assembled in Independence. Twelve Mormon witnesses, including W. W. Phelps, Edward Partridge, and John Corrill, along with fifty of the Liberty Blues, were in town for the proceedings. After a three-hour wait, they were informed by Amos Rees and R. W. Wells that there was no hope of a criminal prosecution. The implacable hatred of the Jackson Countians was such that no Missourian could be convicted of a crime against the Mormons. "Thus ends all hopes of 'redress'," wrote W. W. Phelps in a letter describing these events that appeared in the March 1834 issue of The Evening and the Morning Star, "even with a guard ordered by the Governor, for the protection of the court and witnesses."

On 24 April the elders in Clay County informed Governor Dunklin that Zion's Camp was about to depart for Missouri, at the same time reminding Dunklin of his promise of an armed guard to assist the Mormons in returning to their homes:

We have deemed it expedient to inform your Excellency that we have received communications from our friends in the East, informing us that a number of our brethren, perhaps two or three hundred, would remove to Jackson county in the course of the ensuing summer; and we are satisfied that when the Jackson mob get the intelligence that a large number of our people are about to remove into that county, they will raise a great hue-and-cry, and circulate many bug-bears through the medium of their favorite press; but we think your Excellency is well aware that our object is purely to defend ourselves and possessions against another outrageous attack from the mob, inasmuch as the executive of this state cannot keep up a military force 'to protect our people in that county, without transcending his powers.' . . . We do not know at what time our friends will arrive, but expect more certain intelligence in a few weeks. Whenever they do arrive, it would be the wish of our people in this county, to return to our homes, in company with our friends, under guard; and when once in legal possession of our homes in Jackson county, we shall endeavor to take care of them, without further wearing the patience of our worthy chief magistrate.24

Dunklin's terse reply on May 2nd discussed the Mormon arms that had been confiscated the preceding November. But it was strangely silent about the requested force to guard the Mor-

24HC 1:490.
mons back to their homes, failing even to acknowledge the news of the approaching reinforcements.\textsuperscript{25}

News of Zion's Camp also came quickly to the Jackson Countians. A late, but informative, letter was sent on 29 April, for example, by the postmaster at Chagrin, Ohio, to the postmaster at Independence:

The Mormons in this region are organizing an army (as they are pleased to express themselves) "to restore Zion,"—that is, to take by force of arms their former possessions in Jackson County, Mo. These facts I have from the mouths of several of them, with whom I am personally acquainted. Some have already set off, and Thursday night is the day set apart for the departure of the grand caravan, with the 'Prophet' (Joseph Smith) at their head. . . . The elders say that the Governor of your state has promised them an armed force of militia to protect them through the state to their former possessions. This is believed by the commonality.\textsuperscript{26}

The response of the local Missourians was swift and violent. During the last week in April the county turned out en masse and burned nearly all of the 170 buildings belonging to the Mormons. Phelps' report in the May 1834 issue of The Evening and the Morning Star further asserted that "all that will not take up arms with the mob and prepare to fight the 'Mormons,' have to leave Jackson county."

Joseph Smith and the main body of Zion's Camp left Kirtland on 5 May 1834. Of the Church leaders, only Oliver Cowdery and Sidney Rigdon remained. Five days after Joseph Smith's departure, Rigdon and Cowdery issued a printed circular to the eastern branches of the Church. Primarily an appeal to these branches to supply additional means and men to strengthen the expedition underway to Missouri, this document provides a clear statement of the purpose and expectations of Zion's Camp at the time it departed from Kirtland:

It is, no doubt, known to you, that a large number of our brethren have lately gone up for the deliverance of the afflicted saints, who have been dispossessed of their lands and homes by a lawless band of men, who have risen up in defiance of all law, all equity, and all power, and taken the life of one, and sought the overthrow of all who have embraced the everlasting gospel in these last days. When

\textsuperscript{25}HC 1:491.
\textsuperscript{26}Columbia Missouri Intelligencer, 7 June 1834.
these brethren have arrived in the vicinity, or as wisdom shall direct, they will wait for our brethren who have been driven out, to inform the Governor of that state, that they are ready to go back to their lands. The Governor is bound to call out the Militia and take them back, and has informed our brethren of his readiness so to do, previous to this time. When orders arrive from the Governor to the Military Commanding Officers in that vicinity to guard our brethren back, then it is expected that all will march over, the former residents as well as those now on the way. When they are on their own possessions, they have a right to defend themselves and property from destruction and spoilation, and be justified in the sight of the laws of heaven and men. The company now on the way, with the scattered brethren when collected, will be sufficiently strong in the strength of the Lord to maintain the ground, after the Militia have been discharged, should those wicked men be desperate enough to come upon them. But we wish you to see the propriety of more numbers in this situation. For instance, [if] ten men were to go back, the mob would suppose that they could overpower them, and would be disposed to assault them, because they were few in number; but were there a large number, even so many that they (the mob) knew were sufficient, without the least difficulty, to withstand them, it is consistent to foresee that they would be silent, and either flee the country entirely, or remain inoffensive. . . . Our brethren who have now started on this arduous journey, have a small supply of money, and as the crops of wheat which were put in last fall by our dispersed brethren are in all probability, destroyed, the whole company who may remain after our brethren are taken back, will be obliged to purchase food till grain can be raised, which will be one year from June till wheat harvest. It will be unsafe for our brethren to labor for hire among that people after they return, so you see in what situation they will be placed, unless our brethren abroad rise up and put forth their hands to assist in the name of the Lord. That county abounds with bread-stuff which can be purchased very low, and with the assistance which our brethren abroad are able to render, the goodly land can be sustained and the saints be established to rejoice forever. 27

Two objectives, then, were held by the camp as it marched out of Kirtland: to provide sufficient additional men so that the Mormons could protect themselves after they had been es-

27Dear Brethren [Signed and dated at end:] Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, Kirtland, Ohio, May 10, 1834. The only known copy of this broadsheet is in the LDS Church Historical Department. The text of the broadsheet is copied into Oliver Cowdery’s Letterbook, now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
corted back to their lands by the governor’s force, and to supply means to sustain the Saints in Missouri until they again became self-supporting. It is apparent that the Mormons viewed Zion’s Camp as operating in concert with the executive of Missouri to restore the civil rights of the Latter-day Saints in Jackson County. The circular also expresses the considerable concern that existed over the size of the expedition, a concern that Joseph Smith repeated at the banks of the Mississippi River in a letter to his wife:

But our numbers and means are altogether too small for the accomplishment of such a great enterprise. . . . Now is the time for the Church abroad to come to Zion. It is our prayer day and night that God will open the heart of the churches to pour in men and means to assist us, for the redemption and upbuilding of Zion. We want the elders in Kirtland to use every exertion to influence the church to come speedily to our relief.  

On the other hand, the printed circular betrays a certain optimism with regard to the Mormons’ ability to intimidate the Jackson citizens. Word of April’s violence in Jackson hadn’t reached Kirtland at this point; but these events show that the local Missourians were spoiling for a fight, and the addition of an armed Mormon force in the county would in no way deter them from attacking the Saints.

Zion’s Camp arrived at the Mississippi on 4 June. Two days were spent in ferrying the camp across the river, and on the 7th it moved to Salt River, where a branch of the Church known as the Allred settlement was located. More than 200 now comprised the expedition. On 5 June the elders in Clay County petitioned Dunklin for an armed guard:

We think the time is just at hand when our society will be glad to avail themselves of the protection of a military guard, that they may return to Jackson county. We do not now know the precise day, but Mr. Reese gives his opinion, that there would be no impropriety in petitioning your Excellency for an order on the commanding officer, to be sent by return mail, that we might have it in our hands to present when our people get ready to start.  


29Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, 4 June 1834; Joseph Smith Letterbook, 1838-43. In LDS Church Historical Department.

30HC 2:84.
After a four-day pause at the Allred Settlement, the camp resumed its march on 12 June. That same day Joseph Smith dispatched Orson Hyde and Parley Pratt to Jefferson City, as George A. Smith remembered, "to accept His Excellency's proposal to reinstate the Saints on their lands in Jackson County and leave them there to defend themselves."\(^{31}\) On 15 June, Hyde and Pratt returned to the camp with the news that the governor "refused to fulfill his promise of reinstating the brethren on their lands in Jackson County."\(^{32}\)

Certainly Dunklin's response was unanticipated by the Mormons. As late as 14 June, for example, John Corrill could write to the Kirtland elders: "For as we design to be governed in all cases by the laws of the land, we shall therefore return under the protection of the Governor, as he has promised us."\(^{33}\) Dunklin's refusal, of course, insured that Zion's Camp would not march into Jackson County. With its principal objective—that of protecting the Latter-day Saints after their return to Jackson—out of reach, all that remained for the camp was to move into Clay County while Joseph Smith deliberated with the Missouri elders about possible compromises and more formally organized the leadership of the Church in Clay.

Seven days after Pratt and Hyde brought the news of Dunklin's refusal, Cornelius Gilliam, sheriff of Clay County, rode up to the camp to confer with Joseph Smith. Gilliam received a statement of intention from the Mormons, which he published in the Clay County Upper Missouri Advertiser, that includes what might be considered the official version of the purpose of Zion's Camp at its termination:

It is not our intention to commit hostilities against any man or body of men. It is not our intention to injure any man's

\(^{31}\) "History of George Albert Smith," ms.; original in LDS Church Historical Department.

\(^{32}\) Ibid. This account agrees with Parley Pratt's and Orson Hyde's, but conflicts with Lyman Wight's report quoted in Smith and Smith, History of the Church 1:472-73, which asserts that Hyde and Pratt "brought the intelligence that the Governor would execute the law, whatever it might be." Wight's entry could be sarcastic. Also, there is some question as to the exact date Pratt and Hyde returned to the camp. Wight's Journal just referred to, for example, states that it was 13 June; and Charles C. Rich's "Original Manuscript Diary of the Mormon Journey to Zion's Camp, Missouri" (typescript in the LDS Church Historical Department) asserts that it was the 14th. Rich's entry for that date reads: "we traveled till 10 O Clock met parley pratt on his return from the governor stoped and held a Council Decided that we should go on armed and equipped started at 12. O Clock traveled 25 miles Camped on a small Creek"\(^{34}\)

\(^{33}\) Star, June 1834.
person or property, except in defending ourselves. . . . It is our intention to go back upon our lands in Jackson county, by order of the Executive of the State, if possible. We have brought our arms with us for the purpose of self-defense, as it is well known to almost every man of the State that we have every reason to put ourselves in an attitude of defense, considering the abuse we have suffered in Jackson county. We are anxious for a settlement of the difficulties existing between us, upon honorable and constitutional principles.  

Several sources assert that one purpose of the camp was to carry supplies to the exiled Saints.  But no evidence has materialized that any supplies were actually delivered to the Saints in Clay County. The financial records of Zion's Camp show that on 21 June there remained $233.70 in the camp treasury, which was divided equally among the members.  These records also show that no monies were disbursed to the Clay County Mormons. Individual assistance, however, was given by some members of the camp; after their discharge, a number remained in Clay to help the Saints salvage their crops.  

Both Pratt's and Hyde's accounts shed some light on the reasons behind Daniel Dunklin's shift in position. According to Parley Pratt, 

We had an interview with the Governor, who readily acknowledged the justice of the demand, but frankly told us he dare not attempt the execution of the laws in that respect, for fear of deluging the whole country in civil war and bloodshed. He advised us to relinquish our rights, for the sake of peace, and to sell our lands from which we had been driven.  

And Orson Hyde recalled that the governor referred us to the courts of the respective counties in which our grievances originated; and said that he entertained no doubt but that these courts, that had full jurisdiction, would do us ample justice in the case. He knew better. He knew that both magistrates, constables, judges and sheriffs were  

24Quoted in Missouri Intelligencer, 12 July 1834.  
25E.g., HC 2:106; Pratt, Autobiography, p. 122.  
27Missouri Intelligencer, 28 June 1834.  
engaged in the mob, and were sworn to destroy us. He well
knew that to refer us to the courts for justice, was like re-
fering us to a band of thieves to sue for the recovery of
stolen property. The courts would do nothing—the Gover-
nor would not if he could; and the President of the United
States, at the head of all political power, could not correct
one error in any branch below him, neither redress us in
any way.\(^39\)

Dunklin did have good reason to fear civil war. The
abortive court of inquiry and the violence of the preceding
April were ample evidence that the Jackson Countians would
go to any lengths to keep the Mormons out of the county.
Moreover, as the camp approached, Independence took on
the appearance of a city under siege: sentries were posted
along the Missouri River, and troops paraded the streets,
"determined to repel, with spirit, the threatened invasion."\(^40\)
Dunklin was also informed that the Jackson citizens expected
reinforcements from the adjoining counties, and, inaccurately,
that both sides were arming themselves with cannon.\(^11\)

On 6 June Dunklin had written to John Thornton, an
influential Clay Countian, urging Thornton to effect a com-
promise between the Mormons and the Jackson citizens and
suggesting that the best course would be for the local Mis-
sourians to buy out the Mormons.\(^42\) He repeated this advice
to the leaders in Jackson County, and according to the report
of this communication in the Upper Missouri Enquirer, "should
the Mormons refuse to accede to an honorable and fair ad-
justment of these difficulties, the Governor will not restore
any to that county, but such as hold lands."\(^43\) It is incon-
ceivable, however, that the governor sincerely believed that a
compromise could be reached. It must have been apparent to
him that, without his intervention, the local citizens could
keep the Mormons out of Jackson without expending a penny
simply by refusing to do anything other than continue to
make threats. After the collapse of the efforts to effect a
compromise on 16 June, the governor still refused to act, de-
spite his rather strange assertion to the Jackson leaders that

\(^39\)Deseret News, 12 May 1858.

\(^40\)John K. Townsend, Narrative of a journey across the Rocky Mountains

\(^41\)Dunklin to J. Thornton, 6 June 1834. HC 2:84-87.

\(^42\)Ibid.

\(^43\)As quoted in Missouri Intelligencer, 21 June 1834.
he would restore only Mormon landowners in the event the compromise failed. Thus it would appear that by the time Zion's Camp reached the Mississippi River, Dunklin had decided upon a policy of "benign neglect" regarding the Mormon problem, knowing that without his forceful intervention the Mormons had no recourse but to abandon their efforts to recover their Jackson County lands. The opening sentence of Dunklin's comments on the Mormons in a letter of 15 August seems to bear this out:

Upon the subject of the poor deluded Mormons & the infuriated Jacksonites, it is unnecessary now to say anything, & I hope it will continue so. There can be no difficulty in ascertaining the correct course for me if I am compelled to act. I have no regard for the Mormons, as a separate people; & have an utter contempt for them as a religious sect; while upon the other hand I have much regard for the people of Jackson county, both personally and politically; they are, many of them, my personal friends, and nearly all of them are very staunch democrats: but these are all secondary considerations when my duties are brought in question.44

Most probably, therefore, Dunklin originally made his promise of military assistance to guard the Mormons back to their homes in good faith. But in the intervening six months, as the situation in Jackson County deteriorated, he perceived that an armed conflict would inevitably ensue if the Mormons returned to the county, and he pragmatically withdrew his promise in order to avert a civil war.

Whether the camp would have been able to protect the Saints had they been restored to their lands in Jackson is questionable. The combined Mormon force would have totaled between 400 and 500 men.45 On the other hand, 400 to 500 Missourians were involved in the destruction of Phelps' house and printing office on 20 July 1833.46 Corrill remarked in December 1833 that the "mob" was twice the size of the

44Dunklin to J. H. Haden, 15 August 1834; original in the Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri.
45The Star for November 1832 reports a Mormon population in Jackson County of 465 "disciples" (baptized men and women) and 345 children and nonmembers; the March 1833 issue reports about 500 "disciples." The Evening and Morning Star Extra, February 1834, asserts that upwards of 1,000 Mormon men, women, and children were driven from Jackson County in November 1833.
Mormon force then in Missouri; and in June 1834 he reported that, at a moment’s notice, two or three hundred Jackson Countians turned out to fight the Mormons on a false alarm. One Lexington citizen wrote to his father that 900 men from Jackson and 700 others from adjoining counties—undoubtedly inflated estimates—had been raised to attack the Mormons if they attempted a return. And at the 16 June meeting ostensibly to discuss a compromise, the chairman of the Jackson committee declared

in the presence of five or eight hundred persons, appealing to high heaven for the truth of his assertion, that they would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and suffer their bones to bleach on their hills, rather than the Mormons should return to Jackson county.

It appears, therefore, that had Dunklin kept his promise and escorted the Mormons back to their lands, a second violent confrontation would have erupted, with the Mormons at a disadvantage.

The destiny of Zion’s Camp, in a real sense, was in Dunklin’s hands. His promise of a guard was a precipitating factor in the camp’s creation. And his decision not to provide armed assistance removed any opportunity for the camp to play a lawful role in recovering Mormon lands. Nevertheless, in retrospect it would seem that Joseph Smith had no other reasonable alternative at the 24 February council meeting but to respond as he did with the formation of Zion’s Camp. Given the Mormons’ belief in the eschatological significance of Jackson County, it was impossible for them simply to walk away from their holdings in Jackson without making some substantial effort toward their recovery, particularly with the governor’s promise of help lingering in their minds. The camp was the embodiment of such an effort. It further brought into sharp focus just what the Mormons could expect from the Missouri government. Having made that effort and having tested the limits of governmental support, the leaders of the Church could move from a single-minded concentration on Jackson County to examine other alternatives for the Latter-day Saints in Missouri.

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"Star, January 1834, June 1834.
"Missouri Intelligencer, 28 June 1834."
The Danite Band
of 1838

Leland H. Gentry*

Near the conclusion of the Mormon occupation of Missouri, late in 1838 to be exact, several leading men of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were arrested and charged with treason. The court hearing that followed produced abundant testimony regarding the existence in Mormon circles of a secret, oath-bound organization known as the "Danite Band." But most of the corroborative evidence concerning the existence of the group came from men opposed to Joseph Smith and his close associates in the leadership of the Church.

The Danites made their appearance during a very troubled period in Mormon history. For this and other reasons, one finds much difficulty in isolating the many threads in order to lay bare the facts. One major purpose of this paper is to examine the Danite Band in terms of its origin, purpose, and organizational structure. A second objective is to show who

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2That the testimony in this document is generally unfavorable to Joseph Smith derives from its being drawn in more part from prejudiced witnesses, and from the fact that favorable testimony was an act of courage, being given largely "at the point of a bayonet." Also, whenever additional witnesses were found who could testify for Joseph, they were quickly placed in prison, thus preventing their testimony from being given. A fuller account of the hearing and its proceedings is found in Leland H. Gentry, "A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri, 1836-1839" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1965), pp. 546-61. On the basis of the evidence thus procured, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, and others were held in Missouri jails for several months during the winter and spring of 1838-1839, ostensibly awaiting trials that never came.
was responsible for the formation and perpetuation of the movement and why.

THE RISE OF THE DISSENTERS

Prominent among the causes for the emergence of the Danites was the financial condition of the Church. By and large the Saints were poor, a condition aggravated by the repeated insistence of their non-Mormon neighbors that they find new locations for settlement. Moreover, unwise financial ventures served to create problems. The failure of the so-called Kirtland Bank in Ohio was a prime cause for trouble in Missouri. Many of the leading Saints lost heavily in this scheme, among them Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, the former an Associate President of the entire Church, and the latter President of the Church in Zion. They, together with some members of the apostolic Quorum of the Twelve, blamed Joseph Smith and his closest supporters for their financial distress. The resulting saga is one of the unpleasant stories in LDS Church history.

Coterminous with these Ohio events were those taking place in Missouri. To help procure money for land purchases in northern Missouri, Thomas B. Marsh and Elisha H. Groves were sent by the members in Missouri to scattered branches in Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Their efforts netted some fourteen hundred dollars. These funds were placed in the hands of John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps, members of the Presidency in Zion. Instead of using the money as intended, however, the two presidents bought lands in their own names and attempted to sell the same to their impoverished brethren at a small profit. Such action brought immediate protest from many quarters, members insisting that the two men were only agents appointed to act in behalf of the Church. Phelps and Whitmer, on the other hand, insisted that they were entitled to the profits for their time and trouble.

\[1\] During the latter part of October and the early part of November, 1833, Mormon residents of Jackson County, Missouri, were forcibly evicted from their homes by mob action. Following a two-and-one-half year stay in Clay County, they were once again compelled to "move on." See Gentry, "History," pp. 18-47.

\[2\] Ibid., pp. 109-18.

\[3\] Ibid., pp. 55, 59.

\[4\] Ibid., pp. 102-9. Evidence shows that Groves and Marsh were each paid one dollar per day plus traveling expenses for their services. Elders' Journal
ACTION TAKEN AGAINST THE DISSENTERS

During the winter of 1837-38, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Lyman E. Johnson moved from Kirtland, Ohio, to Far West, Missouri. Not long after their arrival, "a general system of slander and abuse was commenced" by them, allegedly "for the purpose of destroying the character of certain individuals." In time, David Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and John Whitmer were rejected by the Church in Missouri as its presidents. Shortly thereafter, proceedings were instituted to try them and others for their membership in the Church. The resultant trials did nothing to allay the bad feelings that already existed, but only served to inflame them. In time the Saints of Caldwell County determined to rid their community of these men.

The first official encouragement given to removing these "dissenters" from Caldwell County came in the form of a speech by Sidney Rigdon on Sunday, 17 June 1838. Familiarly known in church history annals as the "Salt Sermon," Rigdon's address remains one of the controversial events of the period. One who heard the speech, John Corrill, wrote concerning it,

President Rigdon delivered from the pulpit what I call the "Salt Sermon;" 'If the salt have lost its savour, it is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under the feet of men,' was his text; and although he did not call names in his sermon, yet it was plainly understood that he meant the dissenters or those who had denied the faith. He indirectly accused some of them with crime.

While it cannot be shown beyond dispute that Rigdon's

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1 (July, 1838): 37-38. This may have accounted for Phelps' and Whitmer's feelings that they should also be reimbursed.
2 Ebenezer Robinson, The Return (Davis City, Iowa, 1889) 1:218.
3 For an account of the trials, see Gentry, "History," pp. 139-55. David Whitmer had long been absent from his post in Missouri, preferring, it would seem, the more hospitable climes of Kirtland.
4 No text for the speech has ever been found. Many, however, have confused it with the even more famous "Fourth of July Oration" given less than three weeks later. Reed Peck, one who heard it, claims that the address was rabid and suggested that when Church members lose faith they are as salt without savour and should be cast out and trampled under foot. See the "Reed Peck Manuscript," photocopy, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, p. 23. Although not an open dissenter at this time, Peck came to sympathize with the dissenting point of view. His unpublished manuscript reveals much of his hidden discontent during the period.
5 John Corrill, A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Commonly Called Mormons) (St. Louis: Privately Printed for the Author, 1839), p. 31.
sermon was the prime cause for the dissenters' rapid departure from the county, there is little doubt that it played a significant role. The Saints of Caldwell County seem to have felt that it was a greater crime to tolerate the dissenters longer than it was to drive them out. According to John Corrill, "the Church, it was said, would never become pure unless these dissenters were routed from among them. Moreover, if they were suffered to remain, they would destroy the Church."  

The second step taken against the dissenters came at this same time in the form of a lengthy document rehearsing the supposed sins of the dissenters and ordering them to leave the county or face the consequences. This "Greeting" was drawn up in the form of a solemn warning and was addressed to "Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and Lyman E. Johnson." The first paragraph reads in part as follows:

Whereas the citizens of Caldwell county have born [sic] with the abuse received from you at different times and on different occasions, until it is no longer to be endured; neither will they endure it any longer, having exhausted all the patience they have, and conceive that to bear any longer would be a vice instead of a virtue. We have borne long and suffered incredibly; but we will neither bear nor suffer any longer; and the decree has gone forth from our hearts, and shall not return to us void. Neither think, gentlemen, that in so saying, we are trifling with you or ourselves; for we are not. There are no threats from you—no fear of losing our lives by you, nor by anything you can say or do, will restrain us; for out the county you shall go, and no power can save you.  

The foregoing document was signed by eighty-four Caldwell citizens, but its author remains unknown. Sampson

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8The feelings entertained by the Saints of Caldwell County are strangely reminiscent of those expressed by the residents of Jackson County in 1833. The "evil" occasioned by the Mormon occupation, they said, was one that "no one could have forseen," one that was "unprovided for by the laws," one that "the delays incident to legislation would put . . . beyond remedy." Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971) 1:396. Hereafter cited as HC.

9Corrill, Brief History, p. 31.

10For the document in its entirety, see Gentry, "History," pp. 162-66.

11Aard testifed at the hearing in 1838 that Rigdon was the author of the paper. See "Journal History," 13 November 1838. (The "Journal History," a day-by-day account of historical events within the Church, is housed at the Church Historical Department in Salt Lake City.) Whereas Aard's signature is the first to be appended to the document, Rigdon's does not appear. It is possible, therefore, that Aard drew up the document himself.
Avard, founder and perpetuator of the infamous Danite Band, was the first to sign. It is possible that the document was drawn up by him and presented for signing at one or more Danite meetings. Several of the signatories were known Danite members.

HISTORY OF SAMPSON AVARD

Little is known of Sampson Avard prior to his arrival in Far West about June of 1838. He was born 23 October, year unknown, on the Isle of Guernsey, St. Peter's Parish, England. Sometime prior to 1835, he migrated to the United States and settled at Freedom, Beaver County, Pennsylvania, where he engaged for a time as a Campbellite preacher. Precisely how he came in contact with the Church is not known, but there is evidence of interest as early as October of 1835. He was baptized about this time by Orson Pratt, who immediately ordained him an elder and set him apart as president of his local branch. While still engaged in that capacity, Avard did some missionary work near his home with Elder Erastus Snow.

15 A careful search for Avard's parents as well as for the year of his birth has proved unfruitful. The information given above was supplied by Avard himself at the time he received his patriarchal blessing in Kirtland. See "Early Church Information File," Genealogical Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
16 "Journal History," 14 October 1835.
17 See "Cowdery Letters," 14 October 1835. Copies of these letters may be found at the Historical Department of the Church in Salt Lake City.
18 "Journal History," 14 October 1835. The account reads: "Elder Orson Pratt left Kirtland on another mission of which he gives the following account: 'Started on a mission to the Ohio River, preaching by the way; tarried two or three weeks in Beaver County, Penn; held sixteen meetings, baptized a few and raised up a small branch of the Church, and ordained Dr. Sampson Avard an elder, to take charge of them, and then returned to Kirtland.'" A second account of the same mission has Pratt reporting that he "baptized three in Freedom, Pennsylvania, one of whom (Sampson Avard) I ordained an elder. . . . After parting with two Books of Mormon; four books of Revelations, and obtaining 14 subscribers for the Messenger and Advocate; I left them with Elder Avard to continue the work. There is a prospect of many embracing the gospel in these parts." Messenger and Advocate 2 (November 1835): 223-24.
19 "Journal of Erastus Snow," n.p., 1836, original on file in the Church Historical Department in Salt Lake City. About this time, Lorenzo Dow Young was also engaged in missionary work in the southeastern part of Ohio and came in contact with Avard, still presiding over the branch at Freedom, Pennsylvania. Lorenzo became disturbed at some of Averd's teachings and reported that he "did not like the spirit or the teachings of the man." Later, so he reports, he discovered "that the Dr. and Elder S. S. Rigdon [sic] were on quite intimate terms, and that the latter was considerably tinctured with the ideas and spirits [sic] of the former." When Lorenzo reported his mission to the First Presidency, he likewise spoke of his reaction to Averd, whereupon Rigdon allegedly "manifested his displeasure by animadverting rather sharply
Avard moved to Kirtland late in 1836. Shortly after his arrival, he applied for and received a patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith, Sr.\(^20\) One year later, in October of 1837, Avard’s license as a high priest was revoked by his quorum in Kirtland.\(^21\) Although the nature of Avard’s offense is not specified, B. H. Roberts asserts that it consisted of going to Canada sometime after his arrival in Kirtland and presenting false credentials to John Taylor, then the presiding elder, claiming that he had been appointed president of the branch in Taylor’s place. Roberts concludes that Avard went to Canada at the behest of the “apostates” in Kirtland who wished to replace Taylor with someone less loyal to Joseph Smith. Later, when Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon made a visit to Canada, the matter was cleared up. The Prophet is said to have rebuked Avard severely for his course, and in consequence Avard lost his license.\(^22\)

By June of 1838, Avard was in Far West. On 2 June, Oliver Cowdery wrote to his brothers Lyman and Warren in Kirtland as follows: “Avard arrived sometime since. He appears very friendly, but I look upon him with so much contempt that he will probably get but little from me.”\(^23\) Avard was excommunicated from the Church at Nauvoo on 17 March 1839, along with George M. Hinkle, John Corrill, Reed Peck, W. W. Phelps, Thomas B. Marsh, Burr Riggs, and several others.\(^24\)

All evidence indicates that the Danite order originated about the same time Sidney Rigdon gave vent to his feelings on my remarks.” The Prophet Joseph Smith encouraged Lorenzo to proceed with his report, at the conclusion of which Joseph Smith allegedly said: “Give Avard time and he will prove that he is a consummate hypocrite and a wicked man.” See “Diary and Reminiscences of Lorenzo Dow Young,” unpublished remarks made in February, 1890, and set forth in a manuscript housed in the Church Historical Department and quoted by Hugh Nibley in \textit{Sounding Brass} (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1963), p. 219. It is entirely possible that Rigdon and Avard may have been personally acquainted prior to Avard’s joining the Church, for they both came from the same area in Pennsylvania and both were involved with the Campbellite movement.

\(^{20}\) “Early Church Records File,” Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. See the card on Sampson Avard.

\(^{21}\) HC 3:284.

\(^{22}\) B. H. Roberts, \textit{Life of John Taylor} (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1963), pp. 43-44. Whether or not the license was ever renewed is unknown.

\(^{23}\) From an original letter of Oliver Cowdery owned by Professor Kirk L. Cowdery, Oberlin, Ohio. See the photostat in Stanley Gunn, \textit{Oliver Cowdery: Second Elder and Scribe} (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), Appendix D, p. 263.
in his "Salt Sermon." The original purpose of the order appears to have been to aid the Saints of Caldwell in their determination to be free from dissenter influence. John Corrill, present for at least one of the group's earliest meetings, states that "an effort was made to adopt some plan to get rid of the dissenters." He, with others, allegedly opposed the formation of a band for that purpose, but to no avail. Said he,

I think the original object of the Danite band was to operate against the dissenters; but afterwards it grew into a system to carry out the designs of the Presidency; and, if necessary to use physical force to build up the Kingdom of God, it was to be done by them. This is my opinion as to their object; and I learned it from various sources connected with the band.25

Avard, first among those to testify at the hearing in Richmond in November 1838, agrees. According to his account, the original intent of the band "was to drive from the county of Caldwell all that dissented from the Mormon Church."26

With the flight of the dissenters on 19 June 1838, the Danites lost their reason for existence.27 A new purpose had to be found to justify their continuation. The warlike threats continually breathed against the Saints by their Missouri neighbors furnished just the objective, namely, protection against mob violence. Reed Peck, present at a meeting presided over by Avard, claims that he was told that the major

25Document, p. 12. Note the tenuous nature of Corrill's testimony as indicated by the italics supplied for emphasis. With the exception of Avard, all who testified at the hearing were careful to preface their remarks with such expressions as "I think," "It is my opinion that," or "I rather thought." What Corrill and others related they learned either from Avard's testimony on the occasion or from hearsay conversation with other known Danites. Their disaffection for Joseph Smith and his close associates made it easy for them to accept and repeat what they heard.

27John Whitmer, one of the dissenters, records the following from the dissenting point of view: "When we were on our way home from Liberty, Clay County [whether they had gone to secure legal aid in their battle against the residents of Caldwell], we met the families of Oliver Cowdery and L. E. Johnson, whom they had driven from their homes. . . . While we were gone Jo, and Rigdon and their band of Gadiantons had kept up a guard, and watched our houses and abused our families, and threatened them, if they were not gone by morning, they would be drove out and threatened our lives if they ever saw us in Far West." "History of the Church," chapter 20, kept by John Whitmer. Whitmer was appointed Church Historian by a revelation recorded in the Book of Commandments (50:1 and 47:1). He continued in the post until his deflection from the Church in 1838. Following his excommunication, he refused to give up the history when it was demanded. HC 3:16.
purpose of the Danite organization was that its members "might be more perfectly organized to defend ourselves against mobs." Sidney Rigdon later maintained that "the Danites were organized for mutual protection against the bands that were forming and threatened to be formed." Luman Andros Shurtliff, one-time member of the order, wrote that the Danite organization "was got up for our personal defense; also of our families, property, and our religion.

In time, the order, under the leadership of Avard, assumed a third purpose, one entirely foreign to the spirit of the Church: retaliation against those who committed depredations against defenseless Saints. According to information received by Joseph Smith following the demise of the Danites, Avard secretly taught his troops,

Know ye not, brethren, that it will soon be your privilege to take your respective companies and go out on a scout on the borders of the settlements and take to yourselves spoils of the goods of the ungodly Gentiles? For it is written, the riches of the Gentiles shall be consecrated to my people, the house of Israel; and thus you will waste away the Gentiles by robbing and plundering them of their property; and in this way we will build up the Kingdom of God.

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28Document, p. 17. A second Danite group was organized in July 1838 at Adam-ondi-Ahman with Lyman Wight at its head.

29Times and Seasons, 15 July 1843; Nauvoo Neighbor (26 July 1843). Rigdon's "Fourth of July Oration" was chosen for an official declaration that the Saints would no longer tamely submit to mob violence. Said Rigdon, "That man or set of men who comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them, till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us. . . . One party or the other shall be utterly destroyed." "Oration delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon, 4th Day of July, 1838, at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri" (Far West: Elders' Journal Press, 1838).

30Luman Andros Shurtliff, "Diary," p. 120. This manuscript is housed in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. See also Robinson, The Return, 2:217.

31How early this third stage made its appearance is hard to say. Evidence suggests, however, that it came after 6 August 1838, the day of the famed "Election-Day Battle" in Daviess County and before mid-October, when the Saints made a firm determination to stand in their own defense. For an account of the "Election-Day Battle," see Gentry, "History," pp. 251-58.

32HC 5:180. The concept that the "riches of the Gentiles" were to be consecrated to the Lord's people appears to be borrowed from Doctrine and Covenants 42:39. A careful reading of the passage, however, makes it clear that the riches spoken of were to be given voluntarily by the Gentiles, not extracted by plunder in the manner described by Avard. This is an excellent example of the manner in which Avard capitalized upon the sacred beliefs and credulity of his followers to secure their assistance. "It was frequently observed among the troops," testified John Clementon, "that the time had come when the riches of
THE QUESTION OF NAMES FOR THE ORDER

In the course of its existence, the organization went by several names. It is entirely possible that the names were changed as the purposes for the organization also changed. At its inception, the band was known as the "Brothers of Gideon." Reed Peck, one-time member of the order, claimed that the Danites were originally under the command of one Jared Carter, the "terrible Brother of Gideon," so called because Carter had a brother by the name. W. W. Phelps testified that he overheard Sidney Rigdon say in a Danite meeting that whoever was caught speaking against the First Presidency would be delivered "over to the hands of the Brother of Gideon." John D. Lee alleged that on the first Sunday he attended Church in Far West a man entered the House of God without removing his hat. Whereupon, says Lee, "the Prophet ordered the Brother of Gideon to put that man out for his presumption."

When the Danites entered their second phase, serving as protectors against mob attack, they became known as the "Daughters of Zion." Sampson Avard claimed that this was one of the band's more common names. The term "Danite" appears to have been applied to the order in its third and last stage, namely, stealing from and plundering those who stole from and plundered the Saints. Summarizing the question of names, John Corrill wrote,

They [the Danites] sometimes went by the name of the "Big Fan;" this, I supposed, was figurative of their intentions to cleanse the chaff from the wheat. They also assumed the name "Daughters of Zion," and afterwards were called "Danites." Why they assumed these last names I never knew, but always supposed that they took them from the

the Gentiles should be consecrated to the Saints." Document, p. 16. "I understood from those who were bringing in property," observed Reed Peck, "that they were to take it to the Bishop’s store [house] and deposite it, and if they failed to do so, it would be considered stealing." Document, pp. 18-19. The Saints, whether Danites or not, clearly considered that they were acting in self-defense. See Gentry, "History," pp. 383-90.

23Peck, Peck Manuscript, p. 45. Gideon Carter was one of three men killed at the Battle of Crooked River in October 1838. See Gentry, "History," p. 404.

24Document, p. 44.

25John D. Lee, Mormonism Unveiled: The Life and Confessions of John D. Lee (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand, and Co., 1877), p. 54. Lee arrived in Far West on 4 June 1838, not yet having been baptized. The incident related above took place on Sunday, 10 June.

scriptures, which speaks of them, the first prophetically, the last historically. (See Micah iv., 13, read the whole chapter; also Judges, xvii and xviii chapters.)

THE NATURE OF THE DANITE SOCIETY: ITS TEACHINGS AND PRACTICES

The teachings and practices of the Danite order gave it identity and uniqueness. Joseph Smith referred to it once as a "secret combination," thus linking it with the satanic organizations mentioned in the Book of Mormon.

Recruitment for the band appears to have been by personal contact, and admission to membership was exclusively select. William Swartzell, resident of Adam-ondi-Ahman, relates how he sought to attend a Danite meeting on one occasion only to find his way blocked by sentinels "armed with pistols, swords, and guns." When the meeting was over, however, Swartzell was allegedly approached by a friend and asked if he could "eat strong meat." When Swartzell replied that he could providing the meat had a "good scent," he was temporarily dropped from consideration. Sometime later, however, he was again approached, this time by another Danite member who said:

Ah!! Brother Swartzell, you should have been at the meeting; you should have heard all about the Danite [sic] business. . . . I dare not tell you what was said or preached, but never mind; next Saturday is another Danite [sic] meeting, and then I will cause you to come in, too, to learn this mystery, provided no one objects to your being a MAN OF WAR.!

27Corrill, Brief History, p. 32. Micah 4:12-13 speaks of those who neither know the thoughts of God nor understand His ways. Such persons are likened unto sheaves upon the threshing floor. "Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion; for I will make thy hoofs brass: and thou shalt beat in pieces many people: and I will consecrate their gain unto the Lord, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth." Apparently the dissenters were the sheaves and the "Daughters of Zion" represented the faithful Saints. Chapters 17 and 18 of the book of Judges rehearse the story of how descendants of the tribe of Dan stole the graven image of one Micah and appropriated it for their own use. When Micah attempted to recover his possessions, he found himself opposed by some six hundred men equipped for war. "And the children of Dan went their way: and when Micah saw that they were too strong for him, he turned and went back unto his house. And they took the things which Micah had made, and the priest which he had, and came unto Laish, unto a people that were at quiet and secure: and they smote them with the edge of the sword and burnt the city with fire." Judges 18:26-67.

28HC 3:179.

29See particularly Helaman 2:2-11, 6:21-30, and Ether 8:7-25.

30William Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed. Being a Journal of a Residence
The most important aspect of the Danite society, apart from its apparent exclusiveness, was its secret nature. As previously noted, meeting places were carefully guarded to prevent unwanted intruders from entering. Moreover, those who did come to the meeting were said to be "well armed, some had swords, some had pistols, and others had guns and cow-hides.""41 Initiates were instructed to settle all differences with prospective Danite brothers prior to accepting full membership, thus lessening the risk of exposing Danite secrets in unguarded moments of anger.

The secrets of the order were further protected by means of solemn oaths and covenants that each initiate was required to assume. According to Avard, the oath of secrecy was administered so that all members might be "bound together by covenant, that those who revealed the secrets of the Society should be put to death." The oath, as given by Avard, was as follows:

In the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, I do solemnly obligate myself ever to conceal and never to reveal the secrets of this society called the Daughters of Zion. Should I ever do the same, I hold my life as the forfeiture."42

Swartzell's version, although somewhat different, was as follows:

Now I do solemnly swear, by the eternal Jehovah, that I will decree to bear and conceal, and never reveal, this secret, at the peril of committing perjury, and [enduring] the pains of death, and my body to be shot and laid in the dust. Amen."43

According to John Clemenson, "Dr. Avard further taught that if anyone betrayed the secret designs of the society," he was to be "killed, laid aside, and nothing said about it."44 Swartzell added that he was personally told that if any member of the society should try to run away and betray the secrets, "though he should be five thousand miles distant, the 'Destroying Angels' would pursue him and take his life."45

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41Mormonism Exposed, p. 21.
42Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, p. 21.
43Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed.
44 Ibid., p. 1.
The Danites had their own system of punishment. If the so-called Constitution is to be trusted, punishments were "administered to the guilty in accordance with the offence." However, no member was to be punished "without law." Moreover, members of the order were sworn to protect each other at any cost from all forms of law and order except those that were part of the Danite system. According to Swartzell, all Danites were taught as follows:

If any brother should have stolen a horse, or committed any offence, and is arraigned before a justice of the peace for trial, you must, at the risk of your lives, rescue him and not permit him to be tried by the Gentile Law; but bring him before our tribunal and let him be tried by our council.47

John D. Lee, also a member of the band, wrote,

The members of the Order were placed under the most sacred obligations that language could invent. They were sworn to stand by and sustain each other. Sustain, protect, defend, and obey the leaders of the Church under any and all circumstances unto death; and to divulge the name of a Danite to an outsider, or to make public any of the secrets of the Danites, was to be punished by death.48

Whether the supreme penalty was ever invoked is open to question. No evidence whatever has been found to show that it was, although Sidney Rigdon is quoted as having said in a Danite meeting "that one man had 'slipped his wind' yesterday, and had been thrown aside into the brush for the buzzards to pick, and the first man who lisped it should die."49

That members might be able to recognize one another at all times, let the circumstances be as they might, signs of recognition were taught. John D. Lee states that the principal purpose for these signals was mutual protection in times of

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47See pp. 438-39 in this article.
48Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, p. 22. Such may have been the attitude of mind nurtured by Lyman Wight who refused for so long to submit himself for legal process. See Gentry "History," p. 267. Wight allegedly stated that he felt no obligation whatever to the laws of the land, for they had never protected him in his rights for the last seven years, and he would rather die than submit to the tyrannical measures advocated by his enemies. Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, p. 32.
49Lee, Mormonism Unveiled, p. 57.
50Document, p. 57, testimony of Benjamin Slade. According to Reed Peck the form of justice advocated in Danite circles was not always according to Danite law. See Document, pp. 17, 20.
distress, means by which a fellow Danite could call for help without using his voice. According to Lee,

When the sign was given, it must be responded to and obeyed, even at the risk or certainty of death. That Danite that would refuse to respect the token and [did not] comply with its regulations, was stamped with dishonor, infamy, shame, and disgrace, and his fate for cowardice was death.

The sign or token of distress is made by placing the right hand on the right side of the face, with the points of the fingers upwards, shoving the hand upwards until the ear is snug up between the thumb and fore-finger.\(^{50}\)

Rigdon and Shurtliff agree in substance with the foregoing.\(^{51}\) Reed Peck and John Corrill add that a Danite was under oath to help a brother in distress without taking time to inquire into the reason for or the nature of the difficulty.\(^{52}\)

**AVARD'S CHARACTER AND METHODS**

Nothing demonstrates the nature of Sampson Avard's character more than the quickness with which he broke his Danite oath and "told all" after he was captured. He alleged that "Daniteism was an order of the Church," he merely acting under the orders of the Mormon First Presidency.\(^{53}\)

His testimony was readily accepted by all who opposed Mormonism.\(^{54}\) General John B. Clark, who captured Avard, reported the following to Governor Boggs: "I will here remark that but for the capture of Sampson Avard, a leading Mormon, I do not believe I could have obtained any useful facts. No one disclosed any useful matter until he was brought

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\(^{50}\)Lee, *Mormonism Unteiled*. Swartzell, *Mormonism Exposed*, p. 22 adds that the right hand must strike the right thigh before being raised to the temple in the manner described above.

\(^{51}\)*Times and Seasons*, 15 July 1843; Shurtliff, "Diary," p. 120.

\(^{52}\)Corrill, *Brief History*, p. 52, and Peck, "Peck Manuscript," p. 43. Thus it was at the famed "Election-Day Battle," on 6 August 1838, that John D. Lee claimed to have seen John L. Butler, a perfect stranger at the time, give the signal of distress. Whereupon Lee, accompanied by other close friends, leaped into the fray. Lee, *Mormonism Unteiled*, p. 60.

\(^{53}\)HC 3:192-93. Avard was discovered hiding in some hazel brush a few miles from Far West. Testifying at the trial, Avard said, "I was continually in the society of the Presidency, receiving instructions from them as to the teachings of the Danite Band. I continually informed them of my teachings; and they were well apprised of my course and teachings in the Danite Society." *Document*, p. 21.

\(^{54}\)This would include former members now apostate, as well as non-Mormons.
in.” Considering the secretive nature of the Danite order and the fact that Avard was the chief proponent of the same, it is easy to see how he was able to supply so many “useful facts.”

There is abundant evidence to indicate that Avard was untruthful. Nancy Rigdon, one of the few permitted to testify in behalf of the Mormon prisoners, said that she had personally heard Avard say “that he would swear to a lie to gain any object; that he had told many a lie and would do so again.” While awaiting trial, Avard allegedly told Oliver Olney that “if he [Olney] wished to clear himself, he must swear hard against the heads of the Church, as they were the ones the court wanted to crimate . . . I intend to do it . . . for if I do not, they will take my life.” Joseph Smith charged that Avard taught his captains that he would “swear a lie” to clear any of them of an accusation, and they should do the same. From Lyman Wight’s journal we get the following:

November 12th. Court opened this morning and Sampson Avard was sworn. He was a man whose character was perfectly run down in all classes of society, and he being a stranger, palmed himself upon the Mormon Church, and in order to raise himself in the estimation of the Church, invented schemes and plans to go against mobocracy, which were perfectly derogatory to the laws of this State and of the United States, and frequently endeavored to enforce them upon members of the Church, and when repulsed by Joseph Smith, he would frequently become chagrined. At one time he told me that the reason why he could not carry his plans into effect was that the First Presidency of the Church feared he would have too much influence and gain the honor which the Presidency desired for themselves. At one time he said to me that he would ‘be damned’ if he did not carry his plans through. More than once did he raise a conspiracy against them (the Presidency) in order to take their lives, thinking that he might then rule the Church. Now when he was brought before the court, he swore that all these treasonable purposes (which he had sworn in his heart to perform) originated with us.

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55 Correspondence, Orders, etc., in Relation to the Recent Disturbances with the Mormons (Jefferson City: Office of the Jeffersonian, 1840), p. 90.
58HC 3:180.
Morris Phelps, one-time Danite who spent the winter of 1838-39 in jail for alleged misdeeds, wrote,

He [Avard] at length turned conspirator and sought to make friends with the world and save his neck by testifying false against the lives of the innocent. This modern Sampson was one that crowded himself into the company of Mormons that declared they would no longer bear the insults of a mob and was determined to fight them in defending themselves, and he figured largely when there was property to be found in vacated house of the mob. But when coming up to face the enemy, [he was] like Sampson of old contending for his rights. Three days after he was found by the mob several miles from danger, as was supposed, in a brush thicket, he was brought into their camp and was a good fellow, well met.60

It is apparent that Avard's abilities as a persuader were of no mean order. Moreover, his ability to make use of familiar and sacred concepts for his own purposes was as ingenious as it was perverse. In his instructions to his Danite captains, for example, he allegedly taught that stealing was not wrong providing one did it in support of the kingdom of God.61 Having particular reference to the subject of plundering the enemies of the Church, Avard said,

In this way we will build up the Kingdom of God, and roll forth the little stone that Daniel saw cut out of the mountain without hands, and roll forth until it filled the whole earth. For this is the very way God destines to build up His Kingdom in the last days.62

As part of his imposition upon the credulity of his brethren Avard taught his devotees to manifest an outward allegiance to the Church by consecrating all plunder taken from the Gentiles to the bishop's storehouse.63 John Clemenson testified at the hearing that Dimick B. Huntington, a Danite, personally informed him that the Missourians at Gallatin took the goods from the store of one Jacob Stollings, piled them outside, and then set fire to the building, ostensibly to blame

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60Morris Phelps' material is drawn from a brief account entitled "Missouri Persecutions," Blue Book No. 9245, Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah.
61For proof that the kingdom concept was a subject of widespread discussion at this time, see the Elders' Journal 1 (July 1838):27-38, and HC 3:49-54.
63Mosiah L. Hancock, "Life of Mosiah L. Hancock by Himself," n.p., n.d., Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Hancock did not think much of the Danites. To him, they were all "show."
the Mormons for the deed. While the Missourians were gone for wagons in which to haul the goods off, however, the Danites arrived, piled the property into their wagons, and drove off. Said Clemenson,

I understand that the goods were deposited with the Bishop of the Church at Diahman as consecrated property of the Church. A great deal of other property was brought into the Mormon camps, but I do not know where it came from, but understood it was consecrated property. It was frequently observed among the troops that the time had come when the riches of the Gentiles should be consecrated to the Saints.

Avard taught his followers that if they were faithful, the Lord would protect them in time of war. According to Joseph Smith, Avard pictured for his followers "a great glory that was then hovering over the Church and would soon burst upon the Saints as a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night." Reed Peck adds that "victories in which one would chase a thousand and two should put ten thousand to flight were portrayed in the most lively manner," while the "assistance of angels was promised" if the need arose. Everything, Peck says, was said to inspire the Danites with zeal and courage and to make them believe that God was soon to "bring to pass his 'strange act,'" of which the Danites were to be the chosen instruments. John D. Lee concurs. He charges that the Danites were taught that if they faithfully consecrated their wealth unto the Lord, "the Lord . . . would fight their battles and save them from their enemies."

Avard appears to have been most skillful in convincing his followers that he had the sanction of the heads of the

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64This was an old Missouri trick. See Gentry, "History," pp. 583-86. The Danites did some burning, too, but not so much as the Missourians charged. On 12 April 1839, Stollings wrote a letter to Joseph Smith requesting that various irreplaceable items be returned to him. Joseph Smith replied that the items in question were last seen in the possession of Sampson Avard. HC 3:316-17, 378-79.
65Document, p. 18.
66HC 3:179.
67Peck, "Peck Manuscript," pp. 46, 47. The subject of angels coming to the assistance of the faithful was mentioned often at the hearing. See Document, pp. 4, 14, 24, testimony of Avard, Owens, and Hinkle. The reference to God's "strange act" was no doubt inspired by Doctrine and Covenants (1855) 95:1 and 97:12.
68Lee, Mormonism Unveiled, pp. 60-61, 74-75; Corrill, Brief History, p. 58. Avard capitalized upon such statements as found in the Doctrine and Covenants 83:6. See also Times and Seasons, 1 February 1846; D & C 98:57 and 103:14.
Church for his operations. To prevent their inquiring for themselves, however, he bound them to maintain “everlasting secrecy to everything which should be communicated to them by himself.” Meetings were held daily and consummated with such speed that “mature reflection upon the matter” was nearly impossible. In the process of indoctrinating his captains, Avard allegedly said,

If any of us should be recognized [i.e., by an enemy], who can harm us? for we will stand by each other and defend one another in all things. If our enemies swear against us, we can swear also. Why do you startle at this, brethren. As the Lord liveth, I would swear to a lie to clear any of you; and if this would not do, I would put them [i.e., the enemy] under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian; and in this way we will consecrate much unto the Lord and build up His kingdom; and who can stand against us? And if any of us transgress, we will deal with him among ourselves. And if any one of this Danite society reveals any of these things, I will put him where the dogs cannot bite him.59

Naturally Avard’s followers were dismayed by some of his teachings. Such instructions ran counter to their understanding of the manner in which God’s kingdom would be built. Avard tried to calm their apprehensions by asserting that while such deeds may be unlawful in man’s sight, “no laws were executed in justice” on earth anyhow; and even if they were, they would not be binding upon the Saints, because those of the Church belonged to a new dispensation, a period of time when “the kingdom of God was to put down all other kingdoms, and the Lord Himself was to reign, and His laws alone were the laws that would exist.”70

Avard’s motives for organizing the Danites are not entirely clear. At first he may have been prompted by a sincere desire to help protect the lives of the Saints and to preserve the principles of liberty that they valued. But he used the organization for other ends. Joseph Smith inclined toward the opinion that Avard “was secretly aspiring to be the greatest of the great and [to] become the leader of the (Mormon) people.” Said the Prophet,

At a time when mobs oppressed, robbed, whipped, burned, plundered, and slew, till forebearance seemed no longer a

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59 *HC* 3:179-81 for these quotes about Sampson Avard.
virtue and nothing but the grace of God without measure could support men under such trials—[Avard sought] to form a secret combination by which he might rise a mighty conqueror, at the expense and overthrow of the Church. This he tried to accomplish by his smooth, flattering, and winning speeches, which he frequently made to his associates, while his room was well guarded by some of his followers, ready to give him the signal on the approach of anyone who would not approve of his measures.71

THE DANITE CONSTITUTION

The secret nature of the Danite order makes it difficult to ferret out the truth in every particular. The so-called Constitution is a good example. Of those who testified at the hearing, none but Avard seemed to know of its existence. He charged that the original copy was read at a Danite meeting held in the home of Sidney Rigdon and was "unanimously adopted" by those present "as their rule and guide in the future." Avard also swore that he was ordered by the organization's "Council" at a later date to destroy the document because its existence would be evidence of the highest incrimination. This he did not do. Instead, he produced the following before the Court:

DANITE CONSTITUTION

Whereas in all bodies laws are necessary for the permanence, safety, and well-being of society, we, the members of the Society of the Daughters of Zion, do agree to regulate ourselves under such laws as, in righteousness, shall be deemed necessary for the preservation of our holy religion, our most sacred rights, and the rights of our wives and children. But to be more explicit on the subject, it is especially our object to support and defend the rights conferred on us by our venerable sires, who purchased them with the pledges of their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors. And now, to prove ourselves worthy of the liberty conferred on us by them, in the providence of God, we do agree to be governed by such laws as shall perpetuate these high privileges, of which we know ourselves to be the rightful possessors, and of which privileges wicked and designing men have tried to deprive us, by all manner of evil, and that purely in consequence of the tenacity we have manifested in the discharge of our duty towards our God, who has given us those rights and privileges, and a right, in common with others, to dwell on this land. But we, not

71Ibid., p. 179.
having the privileges of others allowed unto us, have determined, like our fathers, to resist tyranny whether it be found in kings or in people. It is all alike unto us. Our rights we must have, and our rights we shall have, in the name of Israel’s God.

Article 1st. All power belongs originally and legitimately to the people, and they have a right to dispose of it as they shall deem fit; but, as it is inconvenient and impossible to convene the people in all cases, the legislative powers have been given by them, from time to time, into the hands of a representation composed of delegates from the people themselves. This is and has been the law, both in civil and religious bodies, and is the true principle.

Article 2d. The executive power shall be vested in the president of the whole church and his councillors.

Article 3d. The legislative powers shall reside in the president and his councillors, together with the generals and colonels of this society. By them all laws shall be made regulating the society.

Article 4th. All offices shall be during life and good behavior, or to be regulated by the law of God.

Article 5th. The society reserves the power of electing its officers, with the exception of the aids and clerks, which the officers may need in their various stations. The nomination to go from the presidency to his second, and from the second to the third in rank, and so down through all its various grades. Each branch or department retains the power of electing its own particular officers.

Article 6th. Punishments shall be administered to the guilty in accordance with the offence, and no member shall be punished without law or by any other means than those appointed by law for that purpose. The legislature shall have power to make laws regulating punishments, as, in their judgments, shall be wisdom and righteousness.

Article 7th. There shall be a secretary, whose business it shall be to keep the legislative records of the society; also the rank of the officers. He shall also communicate the laws to the generals as directed by the laws made for the regulation of such business by the Legislature.

Article 8th. All officers shall be subject to the commands of the Captain General, given through the Secretary of War; and all officers shall be subject to their superiors in rank, according to the laws made for the purpose.22

The author of this document is unknown. When Avard was captured, he immediately surrendered the paper to Gen-

22Document, pp. 5-6.
eral Clark. Clark in turn forwarded it to Governor Boggs. Of those who were questioned at the hearing concerning its existence, all insisted they had never heard of it. In addition, Corrill wrote,

I have learned of late [i.e., as a result of the hearing] that a constitution was formed, savoring all the spirit of monarchy and adopted by the leaders and some others of this society; but I conclude that few knew about it, for I never heard one lisp on the subject, until after Avard exposed it after he was arrested.

DANITE RELATIONSHIP TO THE "ARMIES OF ISRAEL"

Increasing hostilities, both actual and threatened, during the late summer and early fall of 1838 made it advisable for the Saints to organize into military bodies for self-defense. Acting upon advice from General Alexander Doniphan, brigadier general for northern Missouri, the Saints formed two such units, one at Far West, the other at Adam-ondi-Ahman. Many who belonged to these legitimate units were also members of the Danite clan. Evidence indicates that little, if any, effort was made to distinguish between one’s activities in either group. In addition, both Danites and legitimate troops were organized into companies of tens and fifties, thus further obfuscating the picture. Joseph Smith made an attempt to distinguish between the groups in these words:

And here let it be understood, that these companies of tens and fifties got up by Avard were altogether separate and distinct from those companies of tens and fifties organized by the brethren for self-defense in case of attack from the mob. This latter organization was called into exis-

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17Ibid., p. 4.
18Correspondence, Orders, etc. . . . , p. 63.
20Corrill, Brief History, p. 32.
21HC 3:161-63. Lyman Wight, resident of Diahman, and George M. Hinkle, resident of Far West, were selected to serve as commanding officers of the newly organized units. Each man held an official commission as a colonel in the Missouri State Militia from Governor Lilburn W. Boggs. The legislature had been slow to recognize the need for a military unit for Caldwell County, but the Saints, sensitive to past hardships, were determined not to be driven again. The advice of Doniphan, then, was not only timely; it was in line with the thinking of the Saints themselves. During the height of the troubles, both units were ordered into the field, the one in Caldwell by Doniphan, the one in Daviess by General Parks. See Gentry, "History," pp. 367-77.
22Members of these military units always regarded themselves as legitimate state troops and their enemies as "mob" because of Doniphan's orders. See HC 3:162.
tence more particularly that in this time of alarm, no family or person might be neglected; therefore, one company would be engaged in drawing wood, another in cutting it, another in gathering corn, another in grinding, another in butchering, another in distributing meat, etc., etc., so that all should be employed in turn and no one lack for the necessaries of life.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 181-82. Following the surrender of Far West and until such time as provisions were made otherwise, these units continued to serve the Saints. The sufferings of the Mormon people during the post-Mormon War period are told in Gentry, "History," chapter 14, pp. 599-657.}

Following his capture by the Missourians, Avard apparently surmised rather quickly that if he could convince the court that both sets of troops were one and the same and that the First Presidency was responsible for their creation and perpetuation, he would go free. Such is precisely the stand he took; and his testimony was accepted at face value, for Avard was never censured in any way for his connection with the Danites. Joseph Smith, on the other hand, wished it plainly understood that the two groups were separate. He wrote,

> Let no one hereafter, by mistake or design, confound this organization [i.e., the legitimate militia of Far West] of the Church for good and righteous purposes with the organization of the "Danites" by the apostate Avard, which died almost before it had an existence.\footnote{\textit{HC} 3:182.}

Other factors make it clear that the two groups were separate. In contrast to Danite secrecy, membership in the "Armies of Israel"\footnote{This name was adopted from the Doctrine and Covenants 105:26, 30.} was open to all able-bodied men. In addition, the Armies of Israel were purely defensive in nature and were not distinguished by secret oaths or passwords of any sort. They were governed openly in accord with accepted military discipline.

Nothing confirms the fact of separateness, however, like a comparison of the officers of the two organizations. Reed Peck, one-time member of the Danites, claims the following:

> Philo Dibble told me who the officers of the Danite Band were: that George W. Robinson was colonel, that he [Dibble] was lieutenant colonel, and Seymour Brunson, major, and that I was chosen adjutant. After that, I had a talk with George W. Robinson, in which I was informed . . . further, that Jared Carter was captain general of the band, Cornelius
P. Lott, major general, and Sampson Avard, brigadier general. This is as I recollect it.\textsuperscript{82}

The military organization for the Armies of Israel, on the other hand, was as follows:

It was determined that Colonel Wight should be commander-in-chief at Adam-ondi-Ahman; [Seymour] Brunson, captain of the flying horses of Daviess; Colonel [George M.] Hinkle, commander-in-chief of the Far West troops; Captain Patten, captain of the flying horses or cavalry [at Far West]; and that the Prophet, Joseph Smith, jr., should be commander-in-chief of the whole kingdom.\textsuperscript{83}

It will be noticed that in the foregoing quote, Avard places Joseph Smith as "commander-in-chief" of the Armies of Israel and makes no mention whatever of himself. In this way, Avard, who could not have failed to know the difference between the two organizations, attempted to make the Mormon prophet pay for Avard's own folly. George M. Hinkle, however, inadvertently exposed Avard's rascality at the hearing when he complained bitterly that the Danites took "all power out of the hands" of himself and the officers of the troops in Far West. He thus clearly distinguishes between the two groups.\textsuperscript{84}

\textbf{DANITE RELATIONSHIP TO THE FIRST PRESIDENCY}

The question naturally arises as to how much the members of the First Presidency knew about the Danite movement. Avard consistently taught his followers that he had the unqualified support of the top leaders of the Church.\textsuperscript{85} Owing to the secret nature of the order and to the severe penalties invoked when Danite secrets were discussed outside of chambers, dubious members do not seem to have felt free to inquire for themselves. In time, however, some members became insistent on a visit from the First Presidency. According

\textsuperscript{82}Document, p. 17. Peck, "Peck's Manuscript," p. 47, also states that Carter was later dismissed and replaced by Avard. Avard's position in the legitimate Armies of Israel was that of Surgeon. See Document, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{83}Ibid., p. 4. Several authorities deny that Joseph Smith exercised any military authority whatever. \textit{HC} 3:280, 404, 432-33, 449.

\textsuperscript{84}Document, pp. 22-23. Hinkle claims that he returned from Daviess County and found the Saints hemmed in by their enemies. He was ordered to call out the militia by the Caldwell County Judge, Elias Higbee, highest-ranking civil officer in the county. In this framework Hinkle discovered that the Danite Band had superseded the local militia.

\textsuperscript{85}\textit{Times and Seasons}, 15 July 1843; Shurtleff, "Diary," p. 120.
to Peck, Avard gave in reluctantly, having long insisted that it was "impossible for the Presidency to come and explain their views and wishes" because of the heavy press of Church duties.\textsuperscript{64} One of those who demanded the visit was Lorenzo Dow Young. According to his own testimony, he felt that what he heard at Danite meetings was "in direct antagonism to the principles taught by the leaders of the Church, and the elders generally." Speaking of his personal efforts to induce Avard to give in, Young wrote,

The culmination finally arrived. At one of the meetings Dr. Avard particularly required that all present who had been attending meetings should at once join the Society by making the required covenants, and I was especially designated. I asked the privilege of speaking which was granted. I began to state my reasons for joining the society and was proceeding to . . . expose its wickedness, when Dr. Avard peremptorily ordered me to be seated. I objected to sitting down until I had fully expressed my views. He threatened to put the law of the organization in force there and then. I stood directly in front of him and was well prepared for the occasion. I told him with all the emphasis of my nature, in voice and manner, that I had as many friends in the house as he had, and if he made a motion to carry out his threat, he should not live to get out of the house, for I would instantly kill him. He did not try to put his threat into execution, but the meeting broke up. From the meeting I went directly to Brother Brigham and related the whole history of the affair. He said he had long suspected that some secret wickedness was being carried on by Dr. Avard.\textsuperscript{65}

Such pressure resulted in the only known visit of Joseph or Hyrum Smith to Danite meetings. Evidence indicates that Rigdon was present on more than one occasion, perhaps several. At the meeting Avard informed those present that "he had procured the Presidency to come there to show that what he had been doing was according to their direction and will." However, adds Peck, Avard "did not explain to the Presidency" in the presence of those assembled, precisely "what his teachings had been in that Society."\textsuperscript{66} John Clemenson, also present for the occasion, testified:

\textsuperscript{64}Document, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{65}As cited in Nibley, Sounding Brass, pp. 219-20. As far as is known, not one apostle belonged to the Danite Order.
\textsuperscript{66}Document, p. 18. Although a charter member of the order, Peck later renounced his former connections with the clan and subsequently with the Church as well.
The three composing the presidency was at one of those meetings, and to satisfy the people, Dr. Avard called on Joseph Smith, Jr., who gave them a pledge that if he led them into difficulty, he would give them his head for a football; that it was the will of God these things should be so. *The teacher and active agent of the society was Dr. Avard.*

It was during the second stage of Danite development, namely, when the Saints were making preparations to stand against the many mobs forming and threatening to be formed, that the First Presidency made their only visit. Understanding neither the full intent of Avard’s mind nor the devastating nature of his teachings, Joseph Smith may have felt that the society had a legitimate basis for existence in that it was organized for protective purposes. His comment that “it was the will of God these things should be so” doubtless should be interpreted in this light. Consider the following statement from Joseph Smith:

> The Danite system . . . never had any [official] existence [it was a term used by some of the brethren] in Far West and grew out of an expression I made use of when the brethren were preparing to defend themselves from the Missouri mob, in reference to the stealing of Macaiah’s [i. e., Micah’s] images (Judges 18). If the enemy comes, the Danites will be after them, meaning the brethren in self defense.

Avard apparently took advantage of the expression and applied it to his secret band. Hence Joseph Smith wrote from jail in 1838,

> We have learned . . . since we have been prisoners that many false and pernicious things, which were calculated to lead the Saints far astray and to do great injury, have been taught by Dr. Avard as coming from the Presidency, and we have reason to fear that many other designing and corrupt characters like unto himself, have been teaching many things which the Presidency never knew were being taught in the Church by anybody until after they were made prisoners. Had they known such things, they would have spurned them and their authors as they would the gates of hell. Thus we find that there have been frauds and secret abominations and evil works of darkness going on, leading the minds of the weak and unwary into confusion and distraction, and all

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69 Ibid., p. 15. Italics added.
the time palming it off upon the Presidency, while the Presidency were ignorant as well as innocent of those things. . . .

Later, in a second letter from Liberty Jail, the Prophet wrote,

I would suggest the impropriety of the organization of bands or companies, by covenant or oaths, by penalties or seccries; but let the time past or our experiences and sufferings by the wickedness of Doctor Avard suffice and let our covenant be that of the Everlasting Covenant, as it is contained in Holy Writ, and the things that God hath revealed unto us. Pure friendship always becomes weakened the very moment you undertake to make it stronger by penal oaths and secrecy.

The precise role of the First Presidency in the so-called Mormon War is uncertain. George M. Hinkle, disgruntled because of alleged mistreatment at the hands of Joseph Smith, testified at the hearing as follows:

In the council in Far West a few days before the [State] militia came out, I recollect, in making arrangements for war, that the Presidency was to have supreme rule, and that their war office or headquarters was to be in Diamon where, Joseph Smith, Jr., said, they could have all necessary preparations to carry on the war in a warlike manner; and they were to have gone in a day or two to take their seats.

John Clemenson testified that "it was not usual for any of the presidency . . . to take up arms and go into the ranks," while Alanson Ripley, Heber C. Kimball, William Huntington, and Joseph B. Noble signed a formal petition claiming that the Mormon prophet "never commanded any military company nor held any military authority, [nor] has borne arms in the military rank."

If it be wondered how one so prominent as Joseph Smith could be so ignorant of Danite workings, particularly when the size of the order is considered, the following should

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9Ibid., 3:231. Italics added.
10Ibid., p. 303.
11An account of the Mormon War, so called in Missouri annals, is in Gentry, "History," Chapters 8, 10, 11, and 12.
12Document, p. 23.
13Ibid., p. 17.
14HC 3:280. The petition was formally concurred in before a justice of the peace by six additional personal acquaintances of the Prophet (p. 281).
15Corrill, Brief History, p. 32, says that the band had about 300 members.
be of interest. John Taylor, a prominent resident of Far West during the latter half of 1838, once said in a public sermon, "I have heard a good deal about Danites, but I never heard of them among the Latter-day Saints. If there was such an organization [i.e., in 1838], I was not made acquainted with it."98 Taylor’s testimony is confirmed by Luman Shurtliff, a Danite, who, while on guard duty with Taylor during a difficult phase of the Mormon War, gave the Danite signal of distress only to discover that Taylor did not recognize it.99

Sidney Rigdon’s connection with the Danites is truly open to question. As shown throughout this study, Rigdon was present at Danite meetings on more than one occasion. In setting forth his personal testimony of the order, Rigdon speaks far less deprecatingly than does Joseph Smith; in fact, his tone sometimes suggests approval:

Sometime previous to this [i.e., the trouble in Daviess County] in consequence of the threatenings which were made by mobs or those who were being formed into mobs, and the abuses committed by them on the persons and property of the citizens, an association was formed called the Danite band.

This, as far as I was acquainted with it (not being myself one of the number, neither was Joseph Smith, Sen.,)100 was for mutual protection against the bands that were forming and threatened to be formed for the professed object of committing violence on the property and persons of the citizens of Daviess and Caldwell counties. They had certain signs and words by which they could know one another, either by day or night. They were bound to keep these signs and words secret, so that no other person or persons than themselves could know them. When any of these persons were assailed by any lawless band, he would make it known to others, who would flee to his relief at the risk of life.

In this way they sought to defend each other’s lives and property; but they were strictly enjoined not to touch any person, only those who were engaged in acts of violence.

98John Taylor, The Mormon Question: Being a Speech by Vice President Schuyler Colfax at Salt Lake City and a Reply Thereto by John Taylor (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1870), p. 8.
99Shurtliff, "Diary," p. 120.
100Even Avard admitted that neither Rigdon nor Joseph Smith ever took the Danite oath. Document. p. 21. The reference to "Joseph Smith, Sen.," is a reference to Joseph Smith whose father, also named Joseph, was dead at the time of Rigdon’s statement.
against the persons or property of one of their own number, or one of those whose life and property they had bound themselves to defend.\textsuperscript{101}

Certain statements credited to Rigdon during this period have strong Danite overtones. We have already considered the "Salt Sermon," the strong note of "Greeting" written to the dissenters in June of 1838, and the "Fourth of July Oration." One of Rigdon's biographers, Daryl Chase, allows that while the testimony given against Rigdon at the trial was one-sided, it does show him to be "one of the chief storm-centers on the Mormon side."\textsuperscript{102} The following are samples of the rhetoric attributed to Rigdon during this difficult period:

Rigdon, in speaking of the dissenters who were unwilling to fight mobs, said they ought to be pitched upon their horses with pitchforks and bayonets, forced into the front of the battle, and their property confiscated to the use of the army.\textsuperscript{103}

As early as April last, at a meeting in Far West of eight or twelve persons, Mr. Rigdon arose and made an address to them, in which he spoke of having borne persecutions and law-suits, and other privations, and did not intend to bear them any longer; that they meant to resist the law; and if a sheriff came after them with writs, they would kill him; and if anybody opposed them, they would take off their heads. George W. Harris, who was present, observed, "You mean their heads of influence, I suppose." Rigdon answered that he meant that lump of flesh and bone called the skull or scalp. . . .\textsuperscript{104}

I was invited to a schoolhouse, where, it was said, the people had assembled. I went there and was admitted. . . . A guard was placed around the house and one at the door. Mr. Rigdon then commenced making covenants, with uplifted hands. The first was that, if any man attempted to move out of the county or pack their things for that purpose, that any man then in the house, seeing this, without saying anything to any other person, should kill him and haul him aside into the brush; and that all the burial he should have should be in a turkey buzzard's guts; so that nothing should be left of him but his bones. That measure carried in the

\textsuperscript{101}HC 3:453. Rigdon's failure to denounce the Danites as Joseph Smith did may be partly due to his close association with the movement, particularly in its first two stages.


\textsuperscript{103}Document, p. 12, testimony of Morris Phelps. See also the testimonies of John Corrill, p. 13; John Clemenson, p. 16; and Reed Peck, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{104}Ibid., p. 43, testimony of W. W. Phelps.
form of a covenant with uplifted hands. After the vote had passed, he said, Now see if anyone dare vote against it, and called for the negative vote; and there was none. The next covenant, that if any persons in the surrounding country came into town, walking about—no odds who he might be—anyone of that meeting should kill him and throw him aside into the brush. This passed in a manner as the above had passed. The third covenant was to “conceal all these things.” Mr. Rigdon then observed that the kingdom of heaven had no secrets; that yesterday a man had ‘slipped his wind,’ and was dragged into the hazel brush; and, said he, the man who lisps it shall die.\footnote{Ibid., p. 46.}

The foregoing testimony was supplied by men who felt animosity for Rigdon and must be viewed in that light. As Daryl Chase observes, however, "if there is so much as a grain of truth running through the apostates’ affidavits, Rigdon made wild utterances" on several occasions. The evidence indicates, Chase concludes, that Sidney was a "dangerous man to be exercising control in such a situation."\footnote{Ibid., p. 129. Evidence shows that Joseph Smith did try to restrain Rigdon’s emotional outbursts on more than one occasion. Document, pp. 20-21, 33, 43, testimony of Reed Peck, John Whitmer [Whitmer], and W. W. Phelps. Orson Hyde, speaking of Rigdon’s conduct during this period, observed that “although Brother Joseph tried to restrain him, he would take his own course.” See Improvement Era 3:583. Jedediah M. Grant reports that Rigdon’s flights of fancy were “so rapid that Elder [Joseph] Smith was unable to keep him within the bounds of reason. . . . His imagination carried him not beyond the bounds of time and space, but beyond the bounds of reason.” Jedediah M. Grant, Collection of Facts Relative to the Course of Mr. Sidney Rigdon, a copy in the Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 9. Newell K. Whitney also claimed to overhear Joseph Smith rebuke Rigdon for “speaking in the name of the Lord what was not so.” Times and Seasons, 15 October 1844.\footnote{HC 5:181.} Later he avers that "if the Prophet had any desire to curb Rigdon’s extravagant language, he was not very successful."\footnote{HC 5:181.}

Avard is quoted as having said that he had received his authority for heading the Danite order from Sidney Rigdon.\footnote{HC 5:181.} The truth of this assertion, like all others coming from Avard, is open to question because of Avard’s known anxiety to implicate anyone but himself. It is possible, in view of Rigdon’s later connections with the Church, that he may have had some connection with the organization. Following his release from jail in January 1839, Sidney’s interest in the
Church began to wane. He allegedly told Brigham Young that he "would never follow Brother Joseph's revelations anymore, contrary to his own convenience" and that "Jesus Christ was a fool compared to him in sufferings." Rigdon's agreement to go to Washington to present the case of the stricken Saints was never fulfilled, and in 1843, Joseph Smith came to suspect that Rigdon was in league with the "Missouri mob" to destroy him.\(^{110}\)

As for Hyrum Smith, second counselor in the First Presidency, no specific charges against him emerged at the hearing. John Clemenson testified:

> As to Hiram [sic] Smith, personally, I have thought him to be a good meaning man; but in connection with others, under the order of the Danite society, I thought I had as much to fear from him as from others.\(^{111}\)

Avard himself testified:

> I never heard Hiram [sic] make any inflammatory remarks; but I have looked upon him as one composing the first presidency; acting in concert with Joseph Smith, Jr.; approving by his presence, acts, and conversations, the unlawful schemes of the presidency.\(^{112}\)

Avard's only indictment of Hyrum Smith was that he was a member of the First Presidency and therefore guilty by association.

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

Much of the attitude one takes toward the origin and development of the Danite problem depends upon the kind of testimony one is willing to accept. When Avard's known penchant for lying as well as his unchristian teachings to the Danites are considered, it is difficult to see how much reliance could be placed in his word. Moreover, the readiness with which Avard, when apprehended by the law, broke his oath and "told all" speaks volumes about his character.

\(^{109}\) *Times and Seasons*, 1 October 1844. A similar comment from David Pettigrew will also be found in the 1 May 1845 issue.

\(^{110}\) *HC*, 5:331-32. The basis for the Prophet's suspicion was information he had received from Orson Hyde to the effect that Rigdon was in league with Governor Thomas Carlin of Illinois to capture Joseph Smith and extradite him to Missouri on the old charges. See also pp. 553-54, where Carlin denies the charge by personal letter to Rigdon.

\(^{111}\) *Document*, p. 17.

Evidence that contributes to an understanding of the Danite order comes from three prime sources. Some of it comes from members who had nothing to hide. Other portions come from members who wished to implicate all but themselves. A major source is Joseph Smith, who gleaned his understanding following the demise of the order. Not until the trial was in progress did Joseph Smith and his close associates become aware of the full extent of Avard's work. From his prison cell, the Mormon prophet emphatically denied the Danite order and issued stern warnings against all such future attachments.

The student stands aghast at the methods employed by Avard. By means of secret signs and tokens, communicated in secret meetings heavily guarded against intrusion, Avard swore his men to everlasting secrecy. This made it impossible, under pain of death, to inquire of Joseph Smith or other Church leaders concerning the truth. Avard personally demonstrated outward allegiance to Church practices by obeying the law of consecration and instructed his followers to do the same.

As a scheme the Danite order lasted less than five months. Following Avard's capture in November 1838, the movement died a quick death. It was then that Avard called upon his ingenuity to extricate himself from his difficult position. Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Church's leaders with the Missouri populace, as well as the fact that they were the ones the court wished to convict, Avard carefully worked to shift responsibility for the order from himself to Joseph Smith and his close associates. It being the fashion of the times to blame the Mormon prophet for all that went awry in Mormondom, enemies of the Church accepted Avard's lies without question. Sampson Avard, designer, craftsman, and leading light of the Danite Band, was never punished in any way for his crimes. Joseph Smith and other leading Church officials spent the next several months in Missouri jails.
The Courthouse Mentioned in the Revelation on Zion

Max H. Parkin*

In the summer of 1831 after the Prophet Joseph Smith and members of his party arrived in Missouri to find the location of the Lord's City of Zion, the young leader dictated a revelation informing the Church that a temple was to be constructed near the Jackson County Courthouse. "Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place," reported the Prophet that July 1831, "and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the courthouse." (D&C 57:3)

Because some have identified the wrong courthouse as the landmark mentioned in the revelation, historian and artist alike have sometimes inaccurately reconstructed the past. The problem derives from the fact that there were three Jackson County courthouses commissioned and constructed in Independence during the decade surrounding the Prophet's visit. To add to this confusion, some historians indicate that the courthouse in use when Joseph received the revelation was a log courthouse, while others say it was brick.1 Two facts which contribute to this misunderstanding are that the pioneer log courthouse,

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The first Jackson County Courthouse as it appears today.

built only as a temporary frontier facility, has been preserved by an historical society [see illustration #1], and that a third courthouse—the second permanent brick structure—was immortalized in about 1850 by an unknown artist's etching [see illustration #3]. This rendition has been widely reprinted and sometimes mistakenly designated as the first permanent brick courthouse.⁵

The courthouse of the revelation is neither the log structure nor the second brick building. The courthouse which was standing on the public square the summer Joseph and his party arrived in Missouri was the first permanent-type brick courthouse in Jackson County [see illustration #2], but it enjoyed only a brief service from 1831 to 1836, when it was torn down and replaced by the second permanent brick building. Because of the short life of the first brick courthouse and because knowledge of its successor was made more readily available and lasting by the artist's etching, the existence of the first

permanent brick courthouse has been largely overlooked, even by public officers of Jackson County.

The log structure which predated the courthouse mentioned in the revelation was built shortly after Independence became the county seat on 29 March 1827. In the September 1827 term of court, the county administrators ordered Lilburn W. Boggs, superintendent of public building, to erect a hewed log courthouse, 36 feet by 18 feet, as temporary quarters for county business. The one-story log building of two rooms was to be constructed on the northwest corner of lot number 59 on Lexington and Lynn streets, reserving the public square of approximately one acre for the permanent courthouse. The contract was awarded to Daniel P. Lewis for $150 dollars—25 dollars below the court's authorized limit, and 40 dollars below high bidder.\(^3\) Lewis worked on the temporary courthouse for nearly a year, and the county officers moved into their temporary facility on 11 August 1828. During the October term of

\(^3\) County Court Record, Book 1, February 1828, p. 30. Some histories state that $175.00 was paid, but that was the amount allowed by the court.
The second brick courthouse on the square in Independence, Missouri, as pictured by an unknown artist, c1850.

court, the commissioners authorized the final payment to Lewis for completion of this contract and dispatched Samuel C. Owens, county clerk, to the federal land office at Lexington, Lafayette County, to secure a patent for a quarter section of land that became the original plat for Independence.

The previous February, the superintendent of public buildings had laid before the court plans to erect a permanent brick courthouse upon the public square. This "first" brick building was the courthouse referred to in the revelation. It was rectangular—40 feet long and 30 feet wide—rising to 23½ feet at the square. It was two stories high, built on a stone foundation, and constructed to face north and south with entrances on the long sides. Major contracts for various phases of the building were awarded in May 1828. William Silvers, George H. Arnold, and Eli Roberts received the contract to perform the stone and brick work for $799.00; Samuel Weston was to do the carpentry work, including glazing and furnishing hardware, for $415.00; William Bowers was to provide the plank, scantling, joists, and other heavy timbers for $192.77½; and Lin
Sheppard was to provide other large boards and hewn walnut or oak shingles for $50.20. The county judges awarded the builders payments in city lots.

Liburn Boggs, noting the rapid advance of initial construction, reported to county officials the adequacy of the work and the superiority of the stone foundation and brick work. By October 1828 the walls had risen to nine feet above the stone foundation, "much better" than the contractors "were bound to do." Except for William Bowers' failure to comply with his contract (for which the county fathers sued him), the construction progressed in an orderly manner. By 3 August 1829, all the stone and brick work was completed. The building was probably closed in that fall as evidenced by the delivery of rafters and roof sheathing (the year before) by Mirack Davis and John B. Lucas, Bowers' successors, and by the nature of the interior work the following summer.

Although construction continued, it moved more slowly the following two years. In 1830 Samuel Sweet laid two hearths for fireplaces at each end of the building, bricked around the doors and windows, and constructed the inner partitions on the east end of the first floor to provide for two jury rooms. In June 1831 the county court ordered the acquisition of boards for shutters for the lower floor and for partitioning the second floor into serviceable rooms and for building a judge's seat on that floor; but the stairway to the second floor was not authorized until the November 1831 term of court with an accompanying order to have the building finished by 15 February 1832. It is not clear whether the ornately designed stairway to the second floor was ever constructed; it may be that temporary stairs were used throughout the life of the building.

In August 1831, after the arrival of the Prophet, the judges ordered Sheriff Jacob Gregg, who had been appointed courthouse superintendent the previous June, to procure six chairs, a table, and sufficient lumber to construct "ten or twelve good plank benches for use of the courthouse." Although the

4County Clerk's Record, 27 October 1828, 1:53.
5Ibid., 5 August 1830, 1:93. The original specifications called for two jury rooms on the first floor and east end of the building (the stairs to the second floor being designed for the west end). Although the first floor was partitioned off as specified, the court authorized Superintendent Boggs to make alterations in the original plans, and the jury rooms may have been relegated to the second floor as later statements suggest. See Clerk's Record for 27 June 1831, 1:113, and for 17 August 1836, 2:200.
6Ibid., 7 November 1831, p. 132.
7Court Record, 2 August 1831, 1:119.
courtthouse was not in full service when the Prophet and his party arrived in Missouri, the building was nearing completion. Whether furniture from the log courthouse was temporarily used in it, or whether the date of first use was delayed until the courthouse was more nearly complete, is unknown, as nowhere in the court records does the county clerk refer to the first occupation of the new brick courthouse. Nevertheless, the following winter the county sold the old log courthouse and lot 59 to Smallwood P. Noland, who shortly afterwards, on 20 February 1832, sold the west parcel of the 2.4 acre lot and the log building to Algernon S. Gilbert and Newel K. Whitney, operators of the Church's store in Zion. Tradition indicates that they used it as a storage warehouse. The log courthouse remained on this lot until it was removed in 1916 to its present site on west Kansas Street and restored.

In early August the Prophet conducted special ceremonies dedicating Jackson County for the gathering of the Saints, and a parcel of land owned by Jones H. Flornoy for the building of the temple. This land was situated approximately one half mile west of the courthouse and outside the original Independence survey.

One of the elders, Ezra Booth, described the city at this time as "... a new town containing a court-house built of brick, two or three merchant's stores, and 15 or 20 dwelling houses, built mostly of logs hewed on both sides." Whether or not the county judges or other officials met in the new courthouse at the time Booth first saw it, it seems improbable that the revelation would have referred to the log structure, rather than the more conspicuous new two-story brick courthouse situated in the middle of the public square.

This courthouse which yet enjoys an aura of immortality, experienced only a short period of mortality. The building never proved satisfactory, and county judges ordered repairs on it both before and after its completion. On 19 December 1836, the fatal blow was issued when a circuit court grand jury recommended that the county administrators have the building demolished because of its "delapidated, deplorable condition," for all efforts to make the courthouse a "comfortable and convenient one to do the business of the county would be fruitless and unavailing." The contract for the demolition of the

*Ohio Star II*, no. 46 (17 November 1831), n. p.

*Court Record*, 19 December 1836, p. 250.
first brick courthouse was opened to public bid on 1 February 1837. The lowest bidder was requested to remove all parts of the courthouse except the rock foundation which was to be used as the foundation for the new building.

Embarrassment over the first building plus a sense of community pride probably prompted the commission to order that the new brick courthouse not be "inferior to any in the adjoining counties." Before a year passed the judges used county tax revenue and public subscriptions to start construction on the second brick courthouse. Parts of the unfinished building were soon occupied, but construction continued until 5 January 1841, when the court officially received the new building as complete.

Today nothing remains of the original permanent brick courthouse—the courthouse mentioned in the Lord's revelation—except foundation stones that were used in later construction and renovation. Yet, the tower of the preserved courthouse metaphorically watches over the temple site "not far" away.

"Ibid., 20 February 1837, p. 264.
"Mrs. Fowler identified and showed to the author in the greatly enlarged basement area the foundation stones believed to be part of the courthouse of the revelation."
Missouri Mormon Manuscripts:
Sources In Selected Societies

Stanley B. Kimball*

From the organization of the Church in 1830 through the move to Utah in 1846-47, the Missouri period (January 1831-July 1839),¹ was the longest single episode, the most dramatic and troublesome. Although it may also be the best documented, the hunt for new sources does go on.² A recent search of three Missouri archives (and correspondence with 90 other historical societies in Missouri) turned up over 250 unpublished documents, most of which have seen little use if any. While these documents do not require any substantial alterations of our views of Missouri Mormon history, they do add considerably to our knowledge and understanding of that difficult time.

From them we learn, for example, many details regarding anti-Mormon military and political affairs, the trials of Joseph Smith and others, facts about a little known Iowa-based attempt to kidnap the Prophet, about official Missouri defensive action against adverse criticism of their Mormon policy, about Easterners who wrote to Missouri officials for propaganda to

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²That is from the arrival of Parley P. Pratt and others in Jackson County to the escape of Pratt and others from the Boone County Jail (subsequent to the escape of Joseph Smith from Liberty Jail the preceding April).

³Hundreds of printed documents may be found in contemporary publications such as the Evening and Morning Star, the Times and Seasons, The Millennial Star, the Western Monitor, and the Missouri Intelligencer. Many documents are reproduced in such publications as Parley P. Pratt’s History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by the State of Missouri Upon the Mormons . . ., Detroit, 1839, John P. Greene’s Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons . . . from the State of Missouri, Cincinnati, 1839, J. H. Hunt’s A History of the Mormon War . . . St. Louis, 1844, in an official Missouri publication titled Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c. in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons . . ., Fayette, Mo., 1841, and in the Missouri Journal of the Senate and Journal of the House. The so-called Documentary History of the Church (hereafter cited as HC) contains many documents, and some of the published histories of the Missouri counties also present documents.
use against Mormon missionaries, and about some surprisingly fair and sympathetic non-Mormon Missourians.

The Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis (hereafter cited as MoSHi) has at least 160 Mormon items scattered throughout 44 collections, most of which are original letters, journals, and documents of all kinds (mainly for the period 1838-63). They refer to the "Mormon War" of 1838-39, the Mormon Battalion, emigration, Book of Mormon, polygamy, Nauvoo, and Utah. Only 18 of these documents (cited below), however, refer significantly to the Mormons in Missouri.

The Missouri State Historical Society in Columbia (hereafter cited as MoHi) has at least 84 Mormon items scattered throughout 41 different collections, most of which are also original letters, journals, and documents of all kinds (mainly for the period 1832-43). They refer to the Mormon War, court trials and indictments, emigration, David Whitmer, Nauvoo, Iowa, and Utah. Of these documents, 54 are listed below. (The society also has hundreds of Mormon War documents—especially pay accounts and pay rolls).

The Missouri State Archives in Jefferson City have been burned twice (in 1837 and 1911) and therefore contain few Mormon documents. Apparently all that is left in Jefferson City is what appears to have been the original manuscript for the compilation of documents published as Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &C. in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons . . . , Fayette, Missouri, 1841.

This manuscript, known as "Mormon Papers, 1838-40," is filed under the Special Collection section of the papers of the Secretary of State. As will be noted below, some documents (items 11, 24-27, 28, 38-50, 53, 54-63 below), previously in Jefferson City have been transferred from the State Archives to the Missouri State Historical Society.

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These records are worthy of a special study themselves. They are listed as State Archives—Adjutant General (State) and consist of 108 folders in 7 cartons. The manuscript collection of this society is more correctly and officially known as the Western Historical Manuscript Collection/State Historical Society Manuscripts Joint Collection.

See James P. Kirkpatrick, A Guide to the Missouri State Archives, 1972 ( Mimeographed). One visit to Jefferson City and subsequent phone calls and correspondence with Mrs. Pauline Irvine, the State Archivist, and with Prof. Warren Jennings, a great student of Missouri Mormon history, at Southwest Missouri State College in Springfield, failed to locate anything else in Jefferson City.
Missouri Mormon history falls neatly into three divisions: the Jackson County, Clay County, and Caldwell County periods. The following study is an attempt to integrate into a brief sketch of church history in Missouri 73 of these new and relatively unknown documents. After a brief statement giving the background of the documents, the documents themselves are described, quoted, their sources noted, and numbered consecutively from 1 to 73.

JACKSON COUNTY (January 1831-November 1833)

Less than a year after the Church was organized, Mormon missionaries were in western Missouri, and soon they experienced difficulties with ministers and Indian agents. Never daunted by rebuffs and problems, the Mormons purchased land, settled a colony, and began to build a gathering place called Zion. For a variety of reasons—political, social, economic, and religious—the original dislike and fear of the Mormons grew to scattered violence by the spring of 1833. Mobs began driving the Mormons out of Jackson County in July, and by November most Mormons had fled northward across the Missouri River into Clay County.

CLAY COUNTY (November 1833-July 1836)

The earliest document considered in this study is a Mormon request for legal help in recovering property in Jackson County.

ABEL LEONARD PAPERS, MoHi


Gilbert was a prominent Mormon, "the keeper of the Lord's Storehouse," and Leonard was an attorney and later a member of the Missouri Supreme Court.

After the Mormons fled from Jackson County to Clay County, they continued trying to get back their land in Zion. Among other things, they petitioned the Governor of Missouri and the President of the United States. Daniel Dunklin (Governor of Missouri, 1832-44) received the following letter:

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9During the Caldwell County period the Mormons were, of course, also active in Daviess, Ray, Carroll, and Boone Counties.
DANIEL DUNKLIN PAPERS, MoHi

2. Joel H. Haden Letter, Aug. 8, 1834, Fayette, Mo., to Gov. Dunklin requesting him "not to interfere neither the one way nor the other in the Case of the citizens of Jackson, & the poor deluded Mormons."

3. A week later, on Aug. 15, Dunklin replied, "Upon the subject of the poor deluded Mormons & the infuriated Jacksonites, it is unnecessary now to say anything, & I hope it will continue so. There can be no difficulty in ascertaining the correct course for me to pursue if I am compelled to act. I have no regard for the Mormons, as a separate people; & have an utter contempt for them as a religious sect; while upon the other hand I have much regard for the people of Jackson county, both personally and politically: they are, many of them, my personal friends, and nearly all of them are very staunch democrats: but these are secondary considerations when my duties are brought in question."

Dunklin had a nice way of reneging on his duties as governor and still posing as an impartial statesman. He obviously had no desire at all to uphold Mormon rights to their confiscated Jackson County lands or as citizens of Missouri. At the time of this letter, the Mormon question was quiet, and he hoped it would stay that way. He was certainly not going to do anything for them.

For a season the Mormons were left alone in Clay County, but an indication of portending trouble may be seen in the beating of a Mormon in April 1836.

WILLIAM THOMPSON PAPERS, MoHi

4-5. Two statements made 29 Apr. 1836, by witnesses who saw Thompson beaten because he refused to answer "where he was from and whether he was a Mormon."

This may be the same William Thompson who later lived in Far West in 1839.

The following June a mass meeting of non-Mormons in Liberty led to the peaceable expulsion of the Mormons from Clay County. The non-Mormons quite obviously did not want the trouble of Jackson County.

Caldwell County, (July 1836-July 1839)

By July 1836 the Saints were moving from Clay County into the uninhabitated northern part of Ray County, which by
December was organized and named Caldwell County. There the Mormons built several settlements, the most important of which was Far West, and for a little more than two years enjoyed a modicum of peace and stability. During this relatively peaceful time, Edward Partridge, the first bishop in the Church, wrote a letter.

**EDWARD PARTRIDGE LETTER, MoHi** (photostat copy)

6. Partridge, Oct. 12, 1837, Far West to his sister Emily and brother James of Pittsfield, Mass., defending his Mormon faith, lamenting his family’s ostracism, and reporting in general about conditions in Far West.

By the following March (1838), as a result of difficulties in Kirtland, Ohio, Joseph Smith had moved himself and headquarters to Far West. Less than six months later, on 6 August, during an election in Gallatin, Daviess County, the final scene in the complete expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri commenced. During this election, the Mormons were denied their right to vote, and a fight broke out between Mormons and non-Mormons. When Joseph Smith and others went from Far West to Gallatin to protect their friends, rumors and lies regarding their intentions spread and the so-called Mormon War of 1838-39 began. Some new and relatively unknown documents of this period have been discovered and are presented here in chronological order.

**JAMON ALDRICH LETTER, MoHi**

7. Aldrich’ Sept. 30, 1838, Far West to his brother Daniel in Littleton, New Hampshire. He wrote that “Mormonism so callen has not come to naught not withstandin the many prophicies of its coming to naught. But it is like the stone that Daniel saw . . . we have been threatened with a mob to drive the Mormons from certain counties but [they] did not undertake it.”

Aldrich had previously helped to build the Kirtland Temple and later died while fleeing Missouri.

One letter from Lilburn W. Boggs (Governor of Missouri, 1836-40) suggests the type of anti-Mormon propaganda sent

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"Spelled Jaman in HC.

*Spelling, punctuation, and grammar throughout this study have not been "modernized" or corrected."
Governor Lilburn W. Boggs to Colonel Joseph Hawkins, 26 October 1838, by courtesy of the University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscripts Library, Columbia, Missouri.
to him. It is not known how much faith Boggs put in such reports, but his strong anti-Mormon sentiments caused him to take immediate and forceful action.

FOREST SMITH PAPERS, MoHi

8. An order from Boggs, Oct. 26, 1838, Jefferson City, Mo., to Col. Joseph Hawkins. Boggs wrote, "I have just received information from the County of Davis [Daviess] that the Mormons have driven the Citizens of Davis from their homes burnt their houses, destroyed their property, have reduced to ashes the town of Gallatin the County Seat of said County, including the Clerks office, Post Office and all the public records—the Citizens of Davis have requested of the Executive protection and to be reinstated in their homes." He then ordered Hawkins to raise 2,000 men and present them in Jefferson City within a week, on November 1. (See the photocopy of this letter on p. 463).

One letter gives us an idea of the general reaction of Missourians far removed from the scene of trouble.

HULL PAPERS, MoSHI

9. Letter, Nov. 5, 1838, St. Louis, Mo., to J.S.W. Baldwin. This unknown writer reports, "The most of intelligence we now talk about are the difficulties on the frontier, or the Mormon War. These deluded fanatics have been for some years collecting in one or two of the frontier counties of this state and so concentrating their property and forces as to become sufficiently embolded of late to set the Civil law at defiance. They have built a town which they call Mount Zion and openly declare that none but Mormons shall hold property in the promised land. Things after so long secretly fermenting have of late come to a crisis. The issue is now made up between the citizens and the Mormons. The Militia have been called out at the order of the Executive and we are daily expecting news of an engagement in which it is expected much blood will be spilt. Some skirmishing has already taken place and several have fallen on both sides."

Because E. M. Violette (who wrote A History of Missouri, Kirkville, Mo., 1918) had the highly unprofessional habit of "borrowing" documents, the court proceedings in the trial of Joseph Smith and other Mormon leaders before Judge Austin A. King in Richmond (Daviess County) during November of 1838 are in Columbia rather than in Daviess County Court House in Gallatin.
E. M. VIOLETTE COLLECTION, MoHi

10. This is the original three-part, 127-page Daviess County Circuit Court record "In the matter of the State of Mo. vs. Joseph Smith, Jr., et al . . . Wherein the following named persons were then and there brought before me [Judge King] [during November 1838], being charged with several crimes of high treason against the State, murder, burglary, arson, robbery & larceny. . . ." (See photo pp. 466-67.)

As a result of strong anti-Mormon feelings and questionable procedures during this trial, Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, Hyrum Smith, Alexander McRae, and Sidney Rigdon were sent to jail in Liberty, Clay County, to await further trial for treason and murder (there being no suitable prison in Caldwell County), and Parley P. Pratt, Morris Phelps, Lyman Gibbs, Darwin Chase, and Norman Shearer were put in the Richmond, Ray County, jail to stand trial for the same crimes.

Later, criticism of Missouri's treatment of the Mormons led the Missouri legislature to appoint a committee to collect and publish all documents pertaining to this trial. The resulting 163-page publication carried the omnibus title of Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &C. in relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons: and the Evidence Given Before the Hon. Austin A. King, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of the State of Missouri, at the Courthouse in Richmond, in a Criminal Court of Inquiry, begun November 12, 1838, on the trial of J. Smith, Jr., and others, for High Treason and Other Crimes Against the State. Published by order of the General Assembly, Fayette, Mo. 1841.

MISSOURI STATE ARCHIVES, JEFFERSON CITY

11. As mentioned above, what appears to be the original manuscript from which this Document was published is in the Missouri State Archives. The collection consists of the following:

A. LEGAL PROCEEDINGS, pp. 1-8.
B. CORRESPONDENCE (letters, orders, petitions, affidavits), pp. 8-96.
C. EVIDENCE (given before Judge King consisting of thirty-seven testimonies—twenty-nine for the state and eight for the defendants), pp. 97-151.
D. CERTIFICATES (regarding the authenticity of the documents of the trial furnished by the Clerks of the
Be it remembered, that a Criminal Court of
Courts held before me, 1st. A Judge
of the Fifth Judicial Circuit in the State of
Kipna, at the Court House in Topeka,
on Monday the 12th day of November, 1838.
Wherein the following named persons were
then and there brought before me, being
charged with the several crimes of high
breach against the State, Murder, Burglary, arson,
Robbery, &c. viz.: Joseph Smith, Jr.
Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt
Lyman Wight, Amasa Lyman, Geo. M.
Robison, Hezekiah Baldwin, Hanson, Bigley,
Washington Worries, Sidney Kearne, John
Buckhamen, James Gates, Chandler Hall
Cook, George M. Harris, Jepse. O. Hunter
Andrew Whitlock, Martin C. Alward, William
Allen, George Grant, Darwin Howe, Eligor
Newmon, Alvin S. Hippey, Jedediah Cowen
Jesse Morgan, Thomas D. Moss, Clawson,
John J. Farmer, Daniel Theurer, Daniel
Johnson, Alexander M. Wey, Elias
Edward, John P.Hipley, Ebenezer Ogles
Benjamin Lounes, Ebenezer Robinson, Simeon
Gilb, James M. Henderson, David Pettigrew
Edward Parkridge, Francis Hipley, David
Brampton, George Kimball, Joseph M. George
Henry Fagenesly, Allen J. learnt, Sheffield
Daniels, John Manard, Anthony Head,
Benjamin Jones, Daniel Brown, John J. Earle,
and Norman Pierce, All of whom being
present before the court, and the said Ebenezer
Brown, Daniel Harris, Ebenezer Robinson.
Alexander, by George Grant, Judge
Higham, Henry, Gatzlaff, Allen, Stout, Hoffman,
Daniel, George, Members, & Mormon Shearers,
satisfying the Court that they are poor persons
unable to employ counsel to assist them in
their defense. It is therefore ordered that Ambrose
Reece, A M. Douglas, & John H. Williams
be appointed as counsel for said poor
people and not being able to proceed further
in the cause, the Court adjourned until to-
morrow morning 9 o'clock.

Court met agreeably to adjournment 17th day
of Nov. - Samson handed a written, produced
swor and examined on behalf of the State.

Deposith and saith: That about four months
ago, a band, called the Daughters of Zion, for
Danite band was formed by the members of the
Mormon, the original object of which was to drive
from the county of Caldwell all those who depare
from the Mormon Church, in which they suc-
ceded admirably to the satisfaction of those concern
ed.

Consider: Joseph Smith Jr. as the prime mover and
organizer of this Daite band - the officers of the band
according to their grades were brought before
him at a school house, together with David
Smith, Lydian, Rigdon, the three composing the
first presidency of the whole Church. Joseph
Smith Jr. fulfilled their prophesied over them, declaring
that they should be the means in the hands of God
of bringing forth the Millennial Kingdom. It
was stated by Joseph Smith Jr. that it will
expire. This band should be formed together by
a covenant that those who cannot the secret.

This collection of 125 documents is worthy of a study by itself.8

Evidently several copies of these November 1838 court proceedings were made, for in addition to the documents in Jefferson City and the court record referred to above as item 10, there is another incomplete account of the proceedings in the Missouri Historical Society.

MORMON PAPERS COLLECTION, MoSHi

12. A 43-page manuscript copy of some of the testimony of witnesses for and against Joseph Smith during November 1838 before Judge Austin A. King of the Daviess County Circuit Court.

Two letters of December 1838 may well express the attitude of many fair-minded Missourians regarding Mormon affairs.

HULL PAPERS, MoSHi

13. Letter, Dec. 10, 1838, St. Louis, Mo., to father, Louisville, Ky. The unknown writer reports, "I could tell you a long story of the disgraceful Civil War that has but recently terminated in a consumation of foul disgrace to our State. Think of an Order from the Executive of a State to a Military Commander to expel or exterminate a portion of its Citizens. Every Citizen according to the Common law of England and according to a law of paramount authority . . . But our sapient governor has ordered that the poor infatuated Mormons shall be stripped of the Arms, they had taken up in defence of their lives and property, and themselves be expatriated from our Democratic State. These people are not less worthy of pity for being the victims of a most shameful and debasing imposture. Men in all ages of the world have been dupes of delusion of various kinds. . . ."

GEORGE FREDERICK BOLLINGER LETTER, MoHi


A personal letter with a few references to the Mormon War. For example, he writes, "The Mormon War and Col. Z

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8Original copies of this publication are hard to come by, but readily obtainable on microfilm—Utah and the Mormons: A Collection Available on Microfilm, Research Publications, Inc., New Haven, Conn. 06510.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roll of Capt. J. Ellsworth Company</th>
<th>1838</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Ellsworth, Capt.</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Johnson, 1st Lt.</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Fielding, 2nd Lt.</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Ayres, 3rd Lt.</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table continues with the names of other officers and enlisted men.*
Taylors report [He was leading Missouri troops during the Seminole War] are making much noise here at this time, both rather extraordinary business... we have had but little excitement, except when the Mormon War, as it has been called has been up. My own opinion is that there has been some of the very worst kind of conduct on both sides, and more than likely when investigating will not add much to the credit of our state, particularly at a distance."

The final document for the year 1838 in this study consists of three muster rolls.

Elliott Collection, MoShi

15-18. Three Muster Rolls of Capt. N. G. Elliott's Company of the 14th Regiment of the Missouri Militia "in the service of the State against the Mormons" during 1838 and one "certified sick list."

These rolls list the men by name, rank, and term of service. (See the photocopy of one of these documents on p. 469)

The common and controversial nexus of military exploits and political aspirations is suggested by an early 1839 letter.

Sibley Papers, MoShi

19. G. Tompkins Letter, Feb. 21, 1839, City of Jefferson, Mo., to George C. Sibley, St. Charles, Mo. A personal letter including the observation that "The Mormon campaigns [words unclear] have failed to produce a warrior of note enough for Governor."

Four miscellaneous affidavits and indictments of the period have been preserved.

Daviess County, Mo. Circuit Records, April Term, 1839, MoHi

20-23. Four affidavits and indictments to the effect that the Mormons injured Adam Black, a Daviess County judge, that the Mormons stole from Cornelius Pott, a statement of proceedings ordering Joseph Smith to be transferred to Boone Co., and a statement (typescript) from William Morgan, Sheriff of Daviess County, which says, in effect, "This is to certify that I executed the within order by taking the bodies of the within named Joseph Smith, Jr., Lyman Wight into my custody and that I summoned a guard of four men to wit William Bowman William McKinney, John Brassich, and

*The writer was probably the Judge Tompkins of the Missouri Supreme Court mentioned in HC 3:277-81.
MISSOURI MORMON MANUSCRIPTS

This is to certify that I executed the within
order by taking the bond of Caleb Baldwin,
Seaman Right Joseph Smith Jr. and Adam
Smith and Alexander meeting in to my custody,
and that I summoned a party of 4 simple men
to wit William Bowman William Winding,
John Brafield and John Pope to assist me
in taking the said Smith Right and others from
the seamen in the County of Daviess to the
town of Columbia in the County of Boone, State
of Missouri as Commanded by said order and that
on the way from the seamen in the county of
Daviess to the town of Columbia where said on
the 16th 22 of April 1839 the Smith Right and
other made the escape without the consent
how negligence of myself or part.

July 6th 1839

William Morgan Sheriff
of Daviess County

Statement from Sheriff William Morgan concerning escape of Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., while being transferred to Boone County from Daviess County, 6 July, 1839, by courtesy of the Church Historical Department.
John Page to assist me in taking the Smith Wight and others from E.B. Creekmores the place of holding court in the County of Daviess to the town of Columbia in the County of Boon State of Missouri as commanded by said order and that on the way from said E.B. Creekmores in the County of Daviess aforesaid on the 16th day of April 1839 the said Smith and others made the escape without the connivance consent or negligence of myself or said guard, July 6, 1839." (See photocopy on page 471.)

Morgan and Bowman, ex-sheriff of Daviess County, were later accused of, and roughly handled for, complicity in the escape of Joseph and others. This statement by Morgan was obviously made to avoid further unpleasantries^10. According to the Manuscript History of Brigham Young for 12 June 1847, Bowman was later ridden to death on an iron bar and Morgan fled to Oregon.

**STATE ARCHIVES—GOV. THOMAS REYNOLDS, MoHi**

24-27. Four letters for the period 1841-43 requesting payments from Reynolds for services rendered during the Mormon War.

The escape of Joseph Smith and others while enroute to Columbia, Boone County, occasioned, no doubt, much correspondence, some of which has survived (cf. item 23 above).

**STATE ARCHIVES—GOV. LILBURN W. BOGGS, MoHi**

28. Austin A. King Letter, June 7, 1839, Richmond, Mo., to Boggs. General comments regarding the escape of Joseph Smith while enroute to Boone Co.

There is also a rather belated pro forma report (from a Daviess County judge to the Missouri Secretary of State) on the escape of Joseph Smith.

**MORMON PAPERS COLLECTION, MoSHi**

29. Th. C. Burch, Letter, June 24, 1839, Keytesville, Mo., to James S. Minor, Jefferson City, Mo., informing him that Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight, and others, while being transferred from Daviess Co. to Boone Co., have escaped and that Burch will forward copies of the indictments against the escapees.^11

As a companion to items 10 and 11 above, the Boone County Circuit Court records of three cases against Joseph

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^10cf. HC 3:321.

^11Sometimes spelled Birch. He was a Daviess County judge.
Smith, Caleb Baldwin, Parley P. Pratt, King Follett, and others have been preserved.

CIRCUIT COURT, BOONE COUNTY, MISSOURI, PAPERS, 1839 (copies), MoHi

30-33. The original 250-page set of documents is on file in the Circuit Court Office, Boone Co., Mo., in Columbia. Included are case No. 1362, involving charges of treason, arson, burglary, etc. against Caleb Baldwin, Joseph Smith, Jr., and others; No. 1379, involving the charge of murder against Parley Pratt and others, as well as charges of aiding and harboring, against Joseph Smith, Jr.; No. 1380, involving charges of robbery, against King Follett. Papers include indictments, changes of venue, and subpoenas.

Although the lawyers hired by the Mormons accomplished little in their behalf, they left behind some evidence of half-hearted attempts.

ABEL LEONARD COLLECTION, MoHi

34. Amos Reese Letter, Nov. 1, 1839, Richmond, Mo., to A. Leonard, Esq., regarding Mormon property in Daviess Co. He gives detailed information about Mormon troubles there and asks Leonard to determine whether the Mormons are entitled to any considerations for their lands.

As mentioned above, the Missouri State Legislature, to present its side of the Mormon War difficulties, printed all the available documents pertaining to the November 1838 trial of Joseph Smith and others. There is one letter regarding this venture.

JAMES L. MINOR LETTER, MoHi

35. Minor, Sec'y of State, Feb. 23, 1841, City of Jefferson, Mo., to Roger N. Todd, Clerk of Boone County Circuit Court, Columbia, Mo., requesting information about Mormon difficulties for this publication. Minor specifically requested a "general certificate" regarding,

1. Who of the Mormons were indicted
2. For what crimes
3. What was the final disposition of said indictment

1. Whether they (the indictments) were disposed of by trial or dismissal,
2. In any case was a trial prevented by the escape of the prisoner or the forfeiture of his recognizance, or from any other cause."
Minor stated that this publication was to "assist in cleansing the aspirations which are now so industriously circulated against our State, in consequence of these disturbances. I trust that you will lose no time in preparing your certificate for this publication, which it is desirable, should be made at a period as early as possible."

The history of the Mormons in Missouri, of course, did not end with the escape of Joseph Smith in April 1839 or with the escape of Parley P. Pratt the following July. In fact, it did not end until the Mormons left Winter Quarters for the West in 1848. And if one considers that men such as David Whitmer continued to be a part of Mormon history even after disaffection and excommunication, then it did not end until the 1880s.

After Smith, Pratt, and others finally escaped to Illinois, Missouri officials attempted to extradite or kidnap Smith and others for several years—until 1844. Some sixteen documents relating to various kidnapping attempts have survived.

CHAUNCY DURKEE LETTER, MoSHi

36. Chauncy Durkee letter, 1840, Monticello, Mo., to Lilburn W. Boggs, reporting that the Gov. of Illinois intends to summon Durkee to account for the kidnapping of five Mormons; claims he had nothing to do with it.
There is no evidence that Durkee was involved.

H. M. WOODYARD LETTER, MoSHi

37. H. M. Woodyard letter, 24 July 1840, Tully, Mo., to Gov. Boggs concerning Mormon charges of kidnapping against him and others, says that the Gov. of Illinois intends to look into these charges.

It is quite possible that Woodyard was implicated in the July 1840 kidnapping of four Mormons—Alanson Brown, James Alfred, Benjamin Boyce, and Noah Rogers—who were forcibly taken to Tully, Missouri, beaten and detained for several days.

Not only were some Missourians anxious to drag Joseph Smith and others back to Missouri for more kangaroo court proceedings, but at least two citizens of Lee County, Iowa, conspired with Thomas Reynolds (Governor of Missouri, 1840-44) to this end. The two were David Wells Kilburn, post-
To: Governor Thomas Reynolds

Your reward for Smith & Rockwell is making a great stir among the 'Brickers' at the City of Nauvoo. Smith & He said he pointed himself in some sort of a demoralizer, but I do not wish for. Rockwell has left the country, I am informed, that the town of Illinois has added these men to your force and I at this time know of no relief. Last there fore, these persons that are on the alert determined to arrest him, if possible. There will be some Indians among themselves. I think I am in hope to hear of your progress to announce to you the capture of Smith last week from this position. Yesterday was a day that was set for about 30 of them to come down to our town to effect this, but by an order from the prophet, they all remained at home. And I have from the Missouri that I have no doubt but it is correct. The mention of the three persons above alluded to, is to seize Smith again, whether in his own house, park, or where he carries a boat to a small boat and bring him down to my headquarters. Keep him securely in a room in the dwelling until the arrival of one of our agents. A Lewis Packet, one of which have been delayed on this week's course. Monday night, I am the agent for all of those. Packet, if when one on board, there will be no further difficulty. If the packet ship succeeds, I am instructed to capture Smith, which I will not alter. Remain in the position on the slate. Missouri. One of these ships it came in. I have made the boat thus far, for change, since which time, I have heard nothing from my last, no doubt but that he is making all the discoveries that he can make without exciting suspicion. They are also likely to notify

From Laban B. Fleck to Governor Thomas Reynolds, 5 October 1842, by courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
master of Montrose, and Laban B. Fleak, postmaster of Keokuk. Fleak was by far the more active of the two, writing at least eleven letters to Boggs reporting on the movements of Smith and others and offering kidnaping schemes of his own. The letters are as follows:

STATE ARCHIVES—GOVERNOR THOMAS REYNOLDS, MoHi:

38. July 12, 1842. Fleak requests Reynolds to assist in getting rid of Smith.

39. Aug. 8, 1842. Fleak has received word from Nauvoo that Smith has been arrested and that all the Keokuk Mormons have gone to Nauvoo.3


41. Sept. 6, 1842. Fleak tells of difficulties in arresting Smith and Rockwell. "You have not much to expect from Gov. Carlin, he is about half-Mormon himself or at least appears so from his sycophancy when he meets those Smiths."

42. Oct. 5, 1842. Fleak states that the Gov. of Illinois has increased the reward for the capture of Smith. He also writes of the difficulties in trying to arrest Smith and his own plans to abduct him. "The intention . . . is to seize Smith some night in his own house perhaps, gag him, and carry him on board a small boat and bring down to my house & keep him securely in a room in the 3rd story until the arrival of one of our regular St. Louis Packets, one of which leaves here every night in the week except Monday Night, I am agent for all of those Packets & when once on board there will be no further difficulty. If the enterprise succeeds I am entitled to one fourth of the Reward which I will take pleasure in bestowing on the State of Missouri." (See photocopy of this letter on p. 475.)

43. Oct. 5, 1842. Fleak transmits a letter from his half-brother reporting on another arrest of Smith.

44. Nov. 7, 1842. Fleak writes that the report of

3Kilbourn is mentioned several times in church history—he is referred to as a justice of the peace in Lee County (HC 4:50) and as having insulted Joseph Smith in Montrose, (pp. 416-17), and there are references to him on p. 444, and in 5:61.

There is a 114-page biographical sketch of the life of Kilbourn and a 184-page account of the life of Fleak in the nine-volume scrapbook compiled by Mr. C. F. Davis, former president of the Keokuk Savings and Trust Company. (Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville has a microfilm copy of this scrapbook in its microfilm collection of the Sources of Mormon History in Illinois, 1830-48).

3During the early Nauvoo period Mormons were prominent across the river in Lee County, Iowa, and suffered some of the same difficulties as did the Illinois Mormons. (See my paper, "The Mormons of the Iowa Shore: Nauvoo West," presented at an annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, Nauvoo, Illinois, April 1974.)
Smith's arrest was not true and says that plans are still being made to abduct him.

45. Dec. 4, 1842. Fleak reports the failure to arrest Smith. Says efforts to do so have been abandoned and thinks the Mormons intend to return to Missouri.

46. Mar. 1, 1843. Fleak mentions a new requisition out for Smith and says that Smith has ordered the Mormons to leave Keokuk for Nauvoo.

47. Mar. 20, 1843. A letter regarding the arrest of Rockwell.

48. Aug. 3, 1843. Fleak complains that the Indians are being taken in by Mormon promises and lies and tells Reynolds that he can expect trouble on his western and northern borders in the fall. There are also two letters from Kilbourn in this collection.

49. May 14, 1842. Kilbourn wrote to Reynolds regarding Smith's reaction to the news of Gov. Bogg's attempted assassination.

50. Aug. 12, 1842. He wrote to Fleak regarding an attempted arrest of Smith.

The background of this August 1842 arrest is as follows: On 6 May 1842, an unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of former Governor Boggs. On 20 July Boggs made affidavit that Orlin Porter Rockwell had shot him on orders from Smith and applied to Governor Carlin of Illinois and Governor Reynolds of Missouri for the arrest of Rockwell and Smith. On 8 August they were arrested but not held and promptly went into hiding, whereupon Reynolds sent an agent, Edward R. Ford, to Illinois to find Smith and Rockwell and, with the permission of Carlin, bring them back to Missouri. Ford was unsuccessful, and we have two interesting documents regarding his efforts.

FORD DOCUMENTS, 1842, MoSHi

51. Edward R. Ford Letter, Sept. 8, 1842, St. Louis, Mo., to "His Excellency," [Gov. Reynolds] giving a report of his progress in pursuing the Mormons. He first went to Quincy and then to Nauvoo arriving there about nine a.m., but Smith "furnished with the information that the officers was a coming, he left Nauvoo about seven o'clock in the morning ... we then proceeded for a carch [search] with five men ... we carch two days for Smith and Rockwell on both sides but and intier falier. Tho Smith is undoubtedy about Nauvoo—it is very unseartin whether Rockwell is about or not."
Ford's Quincy hotel bill has survived and suggests that Missouri agents sent after Mormons lived well and billed the state for all expenses. (See the photocopy of this bill on p. 479).

52. Receipt to Mr. Edward R. Ford from J. H. Miller, City Hotel, Quincy, Ill., Aug. 12, which reads as follows:

Quincy, Aug. 12th, 1842

Mr. Ford

To City Hotel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Horse 5 days</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 days board</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 drinks</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigars</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse &amp; Buggy</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 days board</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse &amp; Buggy</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 days board</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cr. by Cash 4.00

$22.24  1.24
$18.24

Received payment
J. H. Miller

$21.00

After E. R. Ford left Nauvoo, Joseph Smith returned on 29 August and decided to stand trial. He did so in Springfield, Illinois and was acquitted 2 January 1843, whereupon one aspiring bounty hunter offered his services to ex-Governor Boggs.

STATE ARCHIVES—GOV. LILBURN W. BOGGS, MoHi

53. J. A. Richardson, Feb. 4, 1842, Monticello, Mo., to Boggs. Although Richardson had recently failed "from causes not now necessary to mention . . . to bring to justice a negro thief," he offered his services "to have Jo Smith brought to justice," and affirmed that "I will bring him dead or alive or he shall leave the United States."

There is no evidence that Boggs accepted this offer. Perhaps he wisely concluded that anyone who could not apprehend an ordinary thief was hardly up to capturing the Mormon prophet.

STATE ARCHIVES—GOVERNOR THOMAS REYNOLDS, MoHi

There are a few other letters in the Governor Reynolds collection which ought to be noted in passing.
Receipt from City Hotel, Quincy, Illinois, to Mr. Edward R. Ford from Mr. J. H. Miller, 12 August 1842, by courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.
54-58. Five letters for this period, 1840-41, from persons in New Jersey, Mississippi, Ohio, and Pennsylvania requesting information on Mormon troubles in Missouri to be used against the Mormons, especially missionaries, in their area.

Specifically the letters are as follows: Edward D. Smith, Nov. 18, 1840, Trenton, N. J., and June 28, 1841, Chester County, Penn.; J. H. Johnson, Feb. 4, 1841, Utica, Miss.; Lyman Cowdery, Feb. 20, 1841, Kirtland Mills, Ohio; and A.V.B. Orr, July 7, 1841, Steelesville, Penn.

59. George Miller Letter, Sept. 4, 1842, St. Louis, Mo., to His Excellency Thomas Reynolds, [Jefferson City, Mo.].

Miller writes in defense of Joseph Smith and the Mormons in the attempted assassination of L. W. Boggs. After explaining why he thinks it was impossible for Smith to have been involved, he writes, "I have known Joseph Smith intimately for nearly three and a half years, having been a great portion of that time in his society every day. There being an intimacy between us like that of Brothers, he having frequently unbosomed himself to me, and I unhesitatingly aver that in every sense of the terms, a more generous, liberal, honorable, high toned virtuous man, never existed on the footstool of the great Jehovah than Joseph Smith . . . I make this appeal to your Excellency having learned from good sources that you are a learned jurist, a good man, & honorable patriot . . . ."

60. John Corrill Letter, Mar. 21, 1841, Quincy, Ill., to Mr. Samuels.

Corrill, an ex-Mormon, writes, "I have just returned from Nauvoo and to confess the truth to you, I consider the prospects for collecting debts this season very poor, and what property there is among Jo and his associates contrive to make use of four public or Church use buildings." Corrill goes on to explain that the church tithing system "only serves to reduce and enslave these people." Corrill apparently had the nerve to face Smith for he reports, "I discovered by talking with Smith and others that they feel very hostile toward you and Mr. Arthur & others there [in Missouri] . . . and I must confess that I found their feelings much more hostile than I expected . . . ."

Although for years Corrill was a faithful member and defender of the Church, he later left it. This letter reveals him

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15Miller was a bishop who later left the Church and went to Texas.

16Corrill later published a booklet on the Mormons (see item 64 below) in which he explained his reasons for leaving the Church. "I can see nothing that convinces me that God had been our leader; calculation after calculation has failed, and plan after plan has been overthrown and our prophet seemed not to know until too late . . . the promises failed and time after time we have been disappointed; and still were commanded in the most rigid manner, to follow him . . . ." This is not a harsh criticism of Joseph Smith or the Church, but
to have been a very naive and simple fellow. Unless he is deliberately dissembling, it is incredible that, considering what the Mormons suffered in Missouri, he would even consider trying to collect Missouri debts from them. Perhaps, however, he was working on a commission. We have one more letter from him on this subject.

61. Apr. 5, 1841, Quincy, Ill., to Messrs. Samuel and Arthur, Liberty, Mo. Corrill suggests that an effort be made to get the governor of Missouri to correspond with the governor of Illinois regarding these debts.

62. Samuel D. Lucas Letter, May 13, 1842, Independence, Mo., requesting Reynolds to offer a reward for the arrest of the person who attempted to assassinate Boggs. Reports that the Jackson County Committee of Investigation is offering $1,000.00.\(^\text{16}\)

63. Levi Williams,\(^\text{17}\) Chairman, Citizens of Hancock, Ill., Jan. 13, 1844, sends Reynolds a pamphlet circulating among the Mormons and appealing to the Green Mountain Boys.\(^\text{18}\)

A few miscellaneous documents turned up which perhaps should be noted here.

DABRY PAPERS, MoSHi

64. John Corrill Letter, Apr. 21, 1839, Springfield, Mo., to Messrs. Thomas Watson and Sons, St. Louis Mo. Corrill is writing the printers of his booklet (A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter-Day Saints . . . St. Louis, Mo., 1839) regarding an insertion to be made in the manuscript he had previously sent them. He wanted to add a “specimen of the manner in which he [Joseph Smith] performed his translations.” His selection was the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew as it appears in the Pearl of Great Price.

65. In addition to this letter there are seventy-three pages of Corrill’s original manuscript.

JAMES O. BROADHEAD PAPERS, MoSHi


\(^\text{16}\) Lucas was major general in the Missouri militia.

\(^\text{17}\) Williams was a leading anti-Mormon.

\(^\text{18}\) During November 1843 Joseph Smith published, “President Smith’s Appeal to his Native State—Vermont” in which he said, “I appeal to the ‘Green Mountain Boys’ of my native State to rise in the majesty of virtuous freemen, and by all honorable means help to bring Missouri to the bar of justice.” For the complete text of this appeal and the circumstances surrounding it see HC 6:88-93. 99. There is no evidence that anything helpful ever came from this effort.
MORMON PAPERS, MHS  
67. L. A. Moody [Lamoody?], Sept. 26, 1842, Willoughby, Ohio. The writer, a postmaster, wrote the St. Louis postmaster reporting the supposed presence of O. P. Rockwell "who tried to take the life of Gov. Boggs" in the Kirtland, Ohio area.  

Two documents have surfaced pertaining to the Mormons going into Missouri while crossing Iowa in 1846.

ETHLYN COCKRELL COLLECTIONS, MoHi  
68. Alfred L. Rockhold Letter. May 13, 1846. Mercer Co., Mo., to Thomas Rockhold, Whitley Co., Ky., regarding the Mormons in northern Missouri. "The Mormons is as thick as hops about here they have been drove from Narvoo." He reports three or four hundred wagons on their way to California.

Whether the Mormons at that time were actually in present-day Missouri is debatable for, at that time, Missouri claimed a boundary ten miles north of the present line separating the states.  

G. S. KUNKEL MEMOIRS, (typed copy), MoHi  
69. According to Kunkel. "During the Mormon emigration [1846-47]" . . . Brigham Young preached in Oregon, Missouri. "He walked up to his pulpit with two of his 'high mugs' [guards] on each side of him, pulled out two revolvers and laid one on each side of him . . . Oregon was the last stop at which the Mormons could get supplies before reaching Salt Lake."

Kunkel, only a boy of twelve at the time of this visit, may be mistaken. Although the Mormons did occasionally go into Missouri to buy supplies, it seems strange that Young himself would have gone so far south as Oregon—some forty-five miles off their general line of march across Iowa. This may be a reference to one of the trips for supplies made from Winter Quarters. At times the Mormons went 60, 80, even more than 100 miles into Missouri from Winter Quarters for necessities.

HOCKADAY FAMILY PAPERS, MoSHi  
70. Letter, May 13, 1857, Columbia, Mo., to Mother,  

"See my article, "The Iowa Trek of 1846: the Brigham Young Route from Nauvoo to Winter Quarters," Ensign 2 (June 1972): 36-45, for a study of the Mormons crossing Iowa and particularly regarding the question of the Missouri-Iowa border."
Richmond, Nov 13

I have just come from an interview with David Whitmer who is one of the witnesses to the translation of the Mormon Bible or "Book of Mormon" as he always called it when speaking of "Mormon" the book. I did not ask him how old he was but I think he must be between 75 and 80 years old, about 6 feet nine inches tall, hair snow gray, not white smooth shaven when young would I think have weighed 150 lbs. His face, & eyes are his strong features, the face is large shaped somewhat after the manner of what the French in the South used to call "haut chauds."

From M. J. Hubble's account of an interview with David Whitmer, by courtesy of the University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscripts Library, Columbia, Missouri.
Mrs. Emily Hockaday, Fulton, Mo. "A boat passed up Friday evening with 400 Mormon emigrants. They would not risk her stopping though there is no cholera on the boats."

These were undoubtedly European emigrants going from St. Louis via the Missouri River to Kanesville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa, and then overland to Utah.

NOTES FROM MISSOURI INTELLIGENCER, MoSHi

71. A collection of twenty-one stories from this newspaper for the period Sept. 17, 1831 - Oct. 11, 1834 concerning Mormons in Missouri, including some official correspondence and miscellaneous private letters.

ESPENSCHEID PAPERS, MoSHi

72. A typescript account (1960) of the activities of Louis Espenschied, a St. Louis wagonmaker who furnished wagons for the Mormon trek west.26

On 13 November 1886, M. J. Hubble visited with David Whitmer, one of the Three Witnesses of the Book of Mormon, and left behind an account of this interview which I here quote in full. (See photocopy of a page of this document, on p. 483).

HUBBLE FAMILY PAPERS, MoHi

73. The account: Richmond Nov. 13, 1886

I have just come from an interview with David Whitmer who is one of the witnesses to the translation of the Mormon Bible or "Book of Mormon" as he always called it when speaking of the book. I did not ask him how old he was but I think he must be between 75 & 80 years old, about 5 feet 9 inches high hair Iron gray not white smooth shaven & when young would I think have weighed 150 lbs. his nose & his eyes are his strong features, the first is large & somewhat after the manner of what the negroes in the south used to call "Hawk Nosed" the eye, when he was discussing the

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26For further discussion of Espenschied and also of the Mormons in general in St. Louis, see my article, "The Saints and St. Louis, 1831-1857: an Oasis of Tolerance and Security," BYU Studies, 13 (Summer 1973): 489-519.

27This interview has probably never been published before. Richard L. Anderson does not mention it in his series of nine articles on the Three Witnesses published in the Improvement Era between September 1968 and July 1969.

Hubble's account is accurate with but several small errors—such as Lehigh for Lehi, confusing the missing 116 pages of manuscript which Martin Harris lost with the Anthon Transcript and writing Philadelphia for Palmyra. His reference to Whitmer's eyes lighting up "brilliantly" is noteworthy and Whitmer's account of how he first heard of the Smiths is interesting, if not new.
"Plates" from which Joe Smith made the translation (or pretended to) lighted as brilliantly as ever I seen an eye in my life, it brought back, in a flash, the eyes of a beautiful girl in Springfield, Mo., when at a social party in 1856, I told her I had news from her lover who had just got to California via overland route with a herd of cattle—it was the only time I have ever seen Miss Lizzie's eyes rivalled, the thumb of his right hand is missing & he is now suffering from rheumatic pains.

I was met at the door by a pleasant faced intelligent lady of 25 years, I should think, who was present at the conversation & who called Mr. Whitmer Grandpa.

I asked as soon as I could the privilege of an interview for publication but he said he preferred not as an interview published in a Chicago paper some years ago & written I think he said by Mr. Jacob T. Childs Editor of the "Richmond Conservator" was nearly right, ("only two trifling errors" he said) and he wanted that "to stand for all time as his testimony as to things therein mentioned" So, I now put on paper for my own benefit what Mr. Whitmer told me Copying his language as near as I can. "My Brother was Sheriff of our county in Western New York. He got crippled and had business in the neighborhood of where the Smiths lived and sent me to attend to it, while transacting the business I first heard of the Smiths, and the translation. A part of the book of Lehigh [Lehi] had been translated, about 150 pages & taken to Philadelphia by one of the parties, who put it in a bureau drawer at night, the next morning it was gone and has never yet been found. Joseph Smith was informed that for his transgressing the command, to keep it always under his care, he would be punished and the "gift" of reading through the spectacles was taken from him for about 3 months & never was allowed to see the "plates" again but at the end of his punishment, he was told that he might translate the book of Mormon, instead of the book of Lehigh but would not be permitted to see the "plates" that the "Characters" would appear before him & when he translated them correctly they would disappear & new ones come in their place if not translated correctly the first time they would remain until they were which in several instances he knew to be true because he said Joseph Smith was a man of limited education could hardly write legibly.

The statement regarding the "Book of Lehigh" surprised me, never having heard it before, although, I can well remember the "Mormon War", my Father having participated therein, and I can remember the pain and sorrow his departure caused my Mother and the joy at his return, therefore I have been particular to write his statement correctly.

He said the Brass or Gold Plates were bound together at the back by having 3 rings run through & when a page was translated it turned back on the ring.

He said Smith translated by means of a pair of large bound Specacles ie the "Book of Mormon", that the Characters would appear in the air & stay until correctly translated and then disappear that Smith was ignorant of the Bible that when translating he first came to where Jerusalem was spoken of as a "Walled City" he stopped until they got a Bible & showed him where the fact was recorded—Smith not believing it was a walled city.

Mr. W. said that when Jerusalem was captured by the Babalonians that many of the Jewish histories were missing and believes that the book of Lehigh and the Book of Mormon were safely secured by their proper owners & brought to this continent & under the guidance of Almighty God buried until future generations should be ripe for the truth. Mr. W. also expressed reverently, his belief in "Our Lord & Savior Jesus Christ". Although an old man his mind is clear & vigorous & he expressed himself in good language and he believes what he says.

ADDENDA

Correspondence with ninety other historical societies in Missouri turned up several important documents which ought to be mentioned in passing.

The archives of the RLDS Church in Independence contain two letters from Joseph Smith to Emma, his wife, dated Independence, Nov. 4, 1838, and Richmond, Nov. 12, 1838; a William E. McLellin letter dated Independence Aug. 4, 1832, to Samuel McLellin, Carthage, Tenn.; a manuscript fragment of the Book of Commandments; and the manuscript of "John Whitmer's History."

The archives of the Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Missouri, have several letters suggesting that a Johannes Gerber, a Swiss Reformed missionary of Pinckney, Missouri, was accused of joining the Mormons. A Georg Wall letter of May 3, 1855 states, "Dr. Gerber ist in Salt Lake City, das Jerusalem der Mormonen, gezogen—der arme Mann."

The St. Mary Pioneer Historical Society of Independence, Missouri, has a letter in French from Father Roux, Mouth of the River of Kansas, 27 June 1834, to Bishop Rosati, St. Louis County, Missouri, regarding Mormon troubles in Jackson County. The sympathetic priest reports:
The troublesome situation of the Jackson County people will create for a while some obstacles to our aims. Between them and the Mormons is an implacable hate. [Entre eux et les Mormons il existe une haine implacable.] They have chased them from their possessions destroyed their crop, broke their fences, burned their houses and thrown them into distress, that would move even a heart of stone, they keep guard along the Missouri to repel them and take away all hope for them to return to their farms. Everywhere they created generals, chiefs, and armed themselves to the teeth with the most determined resolution to sustain the bloodiest fight. Everywhere in Jackson County resound these words “War to the Mormons.” If the government of the State of Missouri does not take this matter in hand, we will see grave and serious things in a short time. Mr. Bouvet and I are recluse, in solitude waiting for the bomb to explode. Combat ideas replace religious ideas and religion does not hold the first place in the Jacksonian hearts.
New Data for Revising the Missouri
"Documentary History"

Richard L. Anderson*

The informed student of Joseph Smith would not trade his seven volume "Documentary History of the Church" for all other books, since it attempts to furnish the main chronological sources on the rise of the Latter-day Saints. It is a tribute to its indispensability to insist now that it needs careful annotation and moderate expansion, a project not yet in any serious planning stage. That particular part under consideration here contains a narrative of Joseph Smith's arrival in Missouri in 1831 and what appears to be the first Mormon reaction to their chosen land. Yet a close look at this short account illustrates the need of adding later-discovered documents, as well as properly understanding those already printed in the volumes. Each source is a building block with its own genealogy, and one fails to understand the record without knowing the processes that formed it. The History of the Church basically records Joseph Smith's revelations and directions to the Church, as well as an administrative history of his presidency. Out of voluminous possibilities, then, new material selected should follow the standard of illuminating these revelations or the Prophet's life, particularly his role as church leader.

*Dr. Anderson is professor of history and religion at Brigham Young University.

1"Documentary History of the Church" has been a widely used nickname for the work begun by Joseph Smith and first printed in the Times and Seasons, 1842-46 as the "History of Joseph Smith," then reprinted and continued later in the Deseret News and LDS Millennial Star. The bound edition was edited by B. H. Roberts as the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1902-1932). Abbreviated as HC in this article, the bound edition will be cited unless textual problems dictate earlier reference.

2HC 1:188-99. This short article suggests representative corrections within these pages. Treatment of the Colesville Branch in Missouri is not attempted, the focus being on enrichment of the journey to Zion and certain commands given in D&C 58 after arriving, including problems raised by descriptions of Missouri.
One important source is contemporary newspapers. In June 1831 several revelations commanded the Prophet and over two dozen missionaries to leave Ohio, preach on the way, and meet in conference "to rejoice upon the land of Missouri, which is the land of your inheritance" (D&C 52:42). Movements at Church headquarters in Kirtland were quite closely followed by the nearby Painesville Telegraph, which sarcastically suggests the date of departure with its comments on 14 June 1831: "The chosen few are to be off during the present week, going in pairs in different routes, all on foot, except Jo, Rigdon, and Harris, the contrivers and commanders of the expedition." Since this newspaper regularly ran its brand of commentary on Mormon events, several of its articles have good relevance for an expanded history. Sometimes even Mormon newspapers have been overlooked. For instance, the 1831 Missouri trip in the HC rather mechanically recites places and distances, but in 1835 in the Messenger and Advocate, Joseph Smith spiritedly discusses his first Missouri trip in simple prose worthy to add to the "Documentary History":

I have been laboring in this cause for eight years, during which time I have travelled much, and have had much experience. I removed from Seneca County, N.Y., to Geauga County, Ohio, in February, 1831. Having received, by an heavenly vision, a commandment in June following, to take my journey to the western boundaries of the State of Missouri, and there designate the very spot, which was to be the central spot for the commencement of the gathering together of those who embrace the fulness of the everlasting gospel—I accordingly undertook the journey with certain ones of my brethren, and after a long and tedious journey, suffering many privations and hardships, I arrived in Jackson County, Missouri. And after viewing the country, seeking diligently at the hand of God, he manifested himself unto me and designated to me and others the very spot upon which he designed to commence the work of the gathering and the upbuilding of an holy city, which should be called Zion: Zion because it is to be a place of righteousness, and all who build thereon are to worship the true and living God—and all believe in one doctrine, even the doctrine of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.3

What about contemporary letters and Mormon journals? Though there are few for this period, letters sometimes equal

3"To the elders of the church of Latter Day Saints," LDS Messenger and Advocate, 1 (September 1835):179. Compare the much terser summary in HC 1:188. Here and in other quotes of the article, moderate punctuation and capitalization revision is made for clarity.
the quality of a good journal in narration and emotional impact. One such letter was written by William E. McLellin to his non-Mormon relatives, warmly but carefully recounting his conversion the year before, which began when two different sets of the elders travelling to Zion in 1831 preached in his village of Paris, Illinois. The first pair held an evening meeting and described in detail the discovery, plates, and contents of the Book of Mormon. They left the next morning. McLellin's next exposure to the new religion is relived in this letter:

But in a few days two others came into the neighbourhood proclaiming that these were the last days, and that God had sent forth the Book of Mormon to show the times of the fulfillment of the ancient prophecies, when the Saviour shall come to destroy iniquity off the face of the earth and reign with his saints in Millennial Rest. One of these was a witness to the book and had seen an angel, which declared its truth. His name was David Whitmer. They were in the neighbourhood about a week. I talked much with them by way of enquiry and argument. They believed Joseph Smith to be an inspired prophet. They told me that he and between 20 & thirty [of] their preachers were on their way to Independence. My curiosity was roused up and my anxiety also to know the truth.4

Several personal diaries of the missionaries then sent have survived, precious records not merely of locations and distances, but of the fervent spirit that marked the success of the new movement. In a new "Documentary History," some selections from these should record the carrying out of the missions assigned in printed revelations.

Since missionary pairs travelled separate routes, comments of Joseph Smith's party would have special significance. Of the half-dozen men travelling with him, only William W. Phelps now offers additional details of the journey. HC gives but an outline of Joseph Smith's first trip to Missouri, with the date of departure 19 June:

We went by wagon, canal boats, and stages to Cincinnati.
. . . We left Cincinnati in a steamer, and landed at Louisville, Ky., where we were detained three days in waiting for a steamer to convey us to St. Louis. At St. Louis, myself,

4Wm. E. and Emeline McLelin to Samuel McLelin, Independence [Missouri], Aug. 4, 1832. The surname follows William's later spelling in the article. I have edited certain capitalization and punctuation in this extract retaining McLellin's underlining. Letter copied courtesy of RLDS Historian, Richard P. Howard.
Brothers Harris, Phelps, Partridge and Coe, went by land on foot to Independence, Jackson county, Missouri, where we arrived about the middle of July.\(^1\)

Is this the "long and tedious journey" with "many privations and hardships" that the Prophet referred to in 1835? A full month and 900 miles in three sentences? Phelps was a journalist and caught the color of that journey in a letter not heretofore available in Mormon publications. He had been baptized before leaving Ohio with Joseph Smith, arriving there from Canandaigua, New York, where he had edited The Ontario Phoenix, an anti-Masonic paper, for two years.\(^6\) One week after arriving in Independence, he sketched for The Phoenix the trip from western New York to Cleveland, and from there with the Prophet to Missouri. The newspaper published only an "extract of a letter" describing the trip without a hint of Mormonism, the editor undoubtedly deleting anything that would link the paper with the scorned religion. Nevertheless the details of the trip west were interesting to its first readers, and give a good insight into the Prophet's experiences and feelings as he first journeyed to Missouri. This is the first portion of that extract, pertaining to travel:

After I left Canandaigua, on the 9th of June, I went on board a canal-boat the same evening for Buffalo, where I arrived the 12th. Started for Cleveland on the 18th. Passed from thence to Newark, 176 miles on the Ohio canal; found it superior to the Erie canal in point of better locks, and wider excavation. From thence to Dayton, 101 miles. I passed through Columbus, the capital of the state, an ordinary town about as large as Geneva; and from thence to Cincinnati, 65 miles by water on the Miami Canal. Cincinnati is a thriving place, as large as Albany, but not so handsome. Took steamboat for Louisville, 165 miles (deck passage) and was roused in the night by the cry of wood! wood!—the common practice among southern boats to replenish the stock of fuel. Arrived at Louisville on the 25th. This is a considerable southern city, with daily newspapers, hacks, and draymen (cartmen) thick as southern mosquitoes; passed down 1 ½ miles to Shavingport (or Shavingport), and tarried three days in wait for a passage to St. Louis. Viewed the Grand Canal round the falls of Ohio—a magnificent

\(^{1}\)HC 1:188. I have omitted the confrontation with Reverend Walter Scott at Cincinnati, the only incident narrated on the trip.

\(^{6}\)For a summary of Phelps' career and conversion to Mormonism, see Walter Dean Bowen, "The Versatile W. W. Phelps" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958). pp. 16-28.
display of human skill, which cost $900,000. Three superb locks of hewn stone, the largest of which, for high water, is 60 feet wide, 43 feet deep, and 300 feet long. Saw the Franklin, a boat of the largest size, mount through in a kind of "dreadful splendor." On the 27th, left for St. Louis in the steamboat, Don Juan. On the 29th I passed the mouth of the Ohio, where three states were in sight, in the 37th degree of north latitude, and the sun nearly over head. 30th saw mills on the Mississippi propelled by current wheels: constructed like cidermill screws, 100 feet long; halted at Cape Girardeau, and saw Frenchmen using oaken to draw by the horns; lead piled up like cord wood; broke the boat wheels on Devil Island. July 1st, stopped at Geneveive, saw large quantities of lead and white sand. Arrived at St. Louis same day, and quite a city, with the small pox in it. July 2d started for the west part of Missouri, and saw in the first graveyard Roman Catholic crosses sprawled over the dead. From this time until the 14th, I passed through patches of timber, and fields of prairies, till I arrived at Independence, 12 miles from the west line of the United States, containing the last, or outside post-office.

The heavy sounding boat-horns, used by the stagedrivers in Ohio, with the common term "smart," applied to everything—as a smart man, smart land, smart rain, etc. was nothing compared to the customs below Louisville. Men go armed with a pocket dirk, or pistol; a sixpence is called a "piccaoom"; a shilling a "bit," and the word "mighty" is an indefinite adjective and qualifies all things, good, bad and indifferent—as a mighty man, mighty land, mighty big, mighty little, mighty much, etc.

The Ohio, opposite Indiana and Illinois, is a beautiful sheet of water, quite clear, and studded with cotton wood, sycamore, locust, etc., and streaked with steamboats from one end to the other. The Mississippi is a serpentine stream, rily below St. Louis; guarded on the west, or Missouri shore, by huge bluffs, capt ever and anon with daring shot towers. It is said to be clear above the Missouri. The Mississippi is the grand middle feeder of the Atlantic Ocean, and already steams and smokes with the commerce of nine states. The Missouri is the capshelf—it is always rily and bubbly, and receives its "mountain rise" the last of June. It is said to possess mineral qualities, among which is magnesia. An uncommon heavy shower on the night of the 4th of July raised the stream in 24 hours, 8 feet!"
The first Missouri conferences and dedication ceremonies cannot be treated here, though examples can be given from two important supplementary records. The HC has a bare entry for 4 August as the day of "the first conference in the land of Zion," held at the home of Joshua Lewis with attendance of the Colesville branch. What went on? Only a summary statement suggests: "The spirit of the Lord was there." But one can attend the conference to some extent through the minute book of the period, called the Far West Record. It gives the names of fourteen elders present at this 4 August conference, indicating also that thirty-one additional members "with the elders partook of the sacrament." Sidney Rigdon's charge is given in summary, together with "exhortation by Brother Joseph Smith, Jr., to acts of righteousness and keeping the commandments of the Lord with promise of blessings." Since such moral leadership in the new Zion has obvious importance, these early minutes should be included in a revised "Documentary History." Though not utilized in detail in the HC, certain other meetings were annotated from that book by B. H. Roberts; but a higher quality history demands greater use of the first conference record of the Church.

Another official source was not available in the formation of the HC. On 8 March 1831, John Whitmer was called "to keep the church record and history continually, for Oliver Cowdery I have appointed to another office." Taking his charge seriously, he produced an earlier "Documentary History," building his main work around the revelations and formal correspondence of the Church. But when the present HC began in 1839, John Whitmer had been excommunicated, and had kept the original history. In the midst of completing the massive HC, historians at Nauvoo received the information from John Whitmer that the early history could "be had at a fair price." Incensed, church leaders responded through Willard Richards that their work covered the same period and was so voluminous that it duplicated anything Whitmer had previously compiled: "therefore any thing which you have in the shape

8HC 1:199.
9Far West Record, typescript, pp. 5-6. Church Historical Department.
10See, for example, citations of the Far West Record in HC 1:77, 110, 175.
11D&C 47:3. The last name "Cowdery" was added in later editions.
13John Whitmer to W. W. Phelps, Far West [Missouri], 8 January 1844.
of church history would be of little or no consequence to the church at length." 14 Even if this curt comment were largely true, there were certain early documents copied by Whitmer that were valuable and not otherwise available. One of these was a first fragment of church history in Missouri produced by Whitmer's predecessor, Oliver Cowdery. Roberts used part of this account, footnoting the 2 August dedication of the land by Rigdon, but a significant gap remains. 15 The revelation of 1 August instructed Sidney Rigdon also to "consecrate and dedicate . . . the spot of the temple unto the Lord." 16 Yet this command appears unfulfilled in the HC, which only indicates that on 3 August Joseph Smith "proceeded to dedicate the spot for the temple." 17 But the Cowdery record preserved by Whitmer adds considerable dimension, showing that Joseph Smith indeed laid a cornerstone with prayer, but that Rigdon formally sealed this dedication:

[Eight elders] assembled together where the temple is to be erected. Sidney Rigdon dedicated the ground where the city is to stand, and Joseph Smith, Jr., laid a stone at the northeast corner of the contemplated temple in the name of the Lord Jesus of Nazareth. After all present had rendered thanks to the Great Ruler of the universe, Sidney Rigdon pronounced this spot of ground wholly dedicated unto the Lord forever. Amen. 18

One significant purpose of the HC is to be the ultimate commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants, but it badly needs clarification on another of Sidney Rigdon's assignments. While in Missouri he was instructed:

And I give unto my servant Sidney a commandment that he shall write a description of the land of Zion, and a statement of the will of God as it shall be made known by the Spirit unto him—and an epistle and subscription to be presented unto all the churches to obtain moneys to be put into the hands of the bishop to purchase lands for an inheritance for the children of God. 19

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14Willard Richards to John Whitmer, Nauvoo [Illinois], 23 February 1844. Cited in Journal History of that date; also noted in HC 6:224.
15HC 1:196.
16D&C 58:57. "Of" was changed to "for" in modern editions.
17HC 1:199; also the corrected reading of the manuscript, which originally mentioned only the dedication without naming any person, the form of the first printings before the 1902 bound edition.
18"The Book of John Whitmer," ms. at the RLDS Department of History, p. 32. Punctuation in the Whitmer history is mine.
As a long description of Jackson County appears right after the above revelation in the *HC*, it is easy to assume that Rigdon was its author; especially so when it is prefaced with: "As we had received a commandment for Elder Rigdon to write a description of the land of Zion, we sought for all the information necessary to accomplish so desirable an object." Thus it has been commonly accepted by historians that the present Missouri description of the *HC* is Rigdon's. But it is not, for John Whitmer gives "a copy of the epistle written by S. Rigdon's own hand," and it is in language that is not in the present *HC*. But it certainly should be, for on returning to Kirtland, Joseph Smith reiterated the command to raise money for Missouri purchases, appointing Newell Whitney and Oliver Cowdery to the task—and telling Rigdon that his first Missouri description was inadequate: "He exalted himself in his heart and received not counsel . . . wherefore his writing is not acceptable unto the Lord, and he shall make another" (D&C 63:55-56). The Whitmer copy of Rigdon's work is a significant church document, displaying the consciousness of Latter-day mission and the moral commitment to serve Jesus Christ "with fear, rejoicing, and trembling." It might have been printed and circulated but instead was carried among the branches as an introduction to Whitney and Cowdery in their money-raising assignment. The Zion to be purchased was thus described by Rigdon:

This land being situated in the center of the continent on which we dwell, with an exceeding fertile soil and ready cleared for the hand of the cultivator, bespeaks the goodness of our God in providing so goodly a heritage, and its climate suited persons from every quarter of this continent, whether east, west, north or south—yea, I think I may say for all constitutions from every part of the world, and its productions nearly all varieties of both grain and vegetables which are common in this country, together with all means [for] clothing. In addition to this it abounds with fountains of pure water, the soil, climate and surface all adapted to health. Indeed I may say that the whole properties of the country invite the Saints to come and partake their blessings. But what more need I say about a country which our heavenly Father

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holds in his own hands, for if it were unhealthy he could make it healthy, and if barren he could make it fruitful. Such is the land which God has provided for us in these last days for an inheritance, and truly it is a goodly land and none other so well suited for all the Saints as this and all those who have faith and confidence in God. Who has ever seen this land will bear the same testimony.21

When the true Rigdon description of Missouri is identified one would assume that the similar but longer production in the HC is Joseph Smith’s. But writers who have introduced it with such phrases as “Joseph Smith said” or “the words of Joseph Smith” should be more careful, since it is largely a condensation of William W. Phelps’ letter of 1834 describing the counties lying above Jackson County. This can be vividly seen by placing the HC account side by side with equivalent extracts from the Phelps’ letter:

"History of Joseph Smith"22

Unlike the timbered states in the east, except upon the rivers and water courses (which were verdantly dotted with trees from one to three miles wide), as far as the eye can glance, the beautiful rolling prairies lay spread around like a sea of meadows.

The timber is a mixture of oak, hickory, black walnut, elm, ash, cherry, honey locust, mulberry, coffee bean, hackberry, box elder and bass wood, together with the addition of cotton

Phelps’ 1834 Letter23

Unlike the martial-like wildernesses of the timbered states, except upon rivers and water courses, which are striped and specked with a rather small than sturdy growth of trees, as far as the eye can glance, swell peeps over swell . . . in the midst of an ocean of meadows.

The timber is mostly a mixture of several kinds of oak, hickory, black walnut, elm, ash, cherry, honey locust, mulberry, coffee bean, hackberry, bass wood, and box elder, with the addition

22The first printing is quoted because of rewriting explained later. "History of Joseph Smith," Times and Seasons, 5(1 March 1844):450. Since comparison is the purpose of the passage, some portions are deleted as indicated, though no change is made in sequence. Manuscript readings are followed in these cases: adding “ash” between “elm” and “cherry”; “locust”; “hackberry”; “pecan”; “persimmons”; “sixteenth” (a cipher “16” has been misread as “10” in printing): “vanish.” I have editorially modified the spelling of “buffalo” and “plumbs.” My punctuation of the opening paragraph is justified by the manuscript.
23W. W. Phelps to Oliver Cowdery, Esq. (Letter 1). Liberty, Mo., Oct. 20, 1834, LDS Messenger and Advocate, 1(November 1834):22-24. This letter is much longer than the Zion description it is compared to, so only matching extracts are given, some out of sequence. For clarity I have altered the following: “pecon”; “paupau”; and “brandr.”
wood, button wood, pecan, soft and hard maple upon the bottoms. The shrubbery was beautiful, and consisted in part of plums, grapes, crab apples, and persimmons. . . .

The wild game is less plenty where man has commenced the cultivation of the soil, than it is a little distance farther in the wild prairies. Buffalo, elk, deer, bear, wolves, beaver, and many lesser animals roam at pleasure. Turkeys, geese, swans, ducks, yea, a variety of the feathered race are among the rich abundance that graces the delightful regions of this goodly land of the heritage of the children of God. Nothing is more fruitful, or a richer stockholder in the blooming prairies, than the honey bee; honey is but about twenty-five cents per gallon.

The season is mild and delightful nearly three-quarters of the year, and as the land of Zion, situated at about equal distances from the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, as well as from the Alleghany and Rocky mountains, in the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude, and between the sixteenth and seventeenth degrees of west longitude, it bids fair to become one of the most blessed places on the globe, when the curse is taken from the land, if not before. . . .

But all these impediments vanish, when it is recollected that the prophets have said concerning Zion in the last days: how the glory of Lebanon is to come upon her; the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box together, to beautify the place of his sanctuary, that he may make the upon the bottoms of cotton wood, button wood, pecan, soft maple, with now and then a very small patch of sugar maple. The shrubbery, in part, is . . . grapes, papaw, persimmon, crab apple, etc.

The wild game is an important link to the living of many in the west. In the inhabited sections, however, it grows "less plenty": and where the hunter could once drop the huge buffalo, the surly bear, the stately elk, the sly beaver, and the proud swan, he can now find difficulty in bringing down the deer, the wolf, the fox, the turkey, the goose, the brant, the duck. . . . The honey bee is a large stockholder in the flowers of the variegated prairies. . . . Honey is frequently sold at 25 cents per whole sale, & 37 cents at retail, a gallon.

The climate is mild and delightful nearly three quarters of the year; and being situated about an equal distance from the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, as well as from Alleghany and Rocky mountains, in near 39 degrees of north latitude, and between 16 and 17 degrees of west longitude, it certainly affords the pleasing hope of becoming as good a spot as there will be on the globe, when the wolf shall lie down with the lamb.

The lacks that seem most prominent will soon sink with the fading glories of perishable things . . . yea, the glory of Lebanon will come upon the land of the Lord, the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box together to beautify the place of his sanctuary, and make the
place of his feet glorious, where for brass, he will bring gold, and for iron he will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron. And where the feast of fat things will be given to the just; yea, when the splendor of the Lord brought to one consideration, for the good of his people, the calculations of men and the vain glory of the world vanishes. And we exclaim: God will shine—the perfection of beauty out of Zion.

Questions are obviously raised in the above quotation of three-fourths of the HC description, but they have reasonable answers. Can the 1834 description of the adjoining counties accurately portray 1830 Jackson County? The time differential is negligible, and even today's tourist can see that county lines do not change the general appearance of this region. Is it appropriate for Joseph Smith's history to copy Phelps' words? Phelps himself was Joseph Smith's historical clerk when this section of the HC was compiled about 1842. He could easily have modified what he had written earlier to suit his recollection of being in Jackson County with Joseph Smith. Can the account be considered the Prophet's? Yes, in the sense that he undoubtedly approved it prior to publication. But since the language is basically Phelps', one cannot press too far a study of the Prophet's thought with this and similar material. The moral is obviously to check each quotation attributed to Joseph Smith. The same thing is true of many busy administrators who employ executive assistants.

With the above understanding, the words of the HC introducing the Missouri picture seem more accurate: "As we had received a commandment for Elder Rigdon to write a description . . . we sought for all the information necessary." The pronoun "we" could refer to the Prophet and others, or the clerk and others. It is known that Edward Partridge also wrote a description of Zion. In addition, Phelps had penned

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21This is based upon Phelps' handwriting for the HC manuscript, which I have checked personally and discussed with Dean Jesse, whose conclusions about Phelps have not changed since "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," pp. 441, 446-47.
22HC 1:197.
similar language on the subject in 1831, though a parenthesis on his words in the HC is necessary before quoting this. The compared passage above has been reworked somewhat from the Times and Seasons account in the HC publication, but not (as has been alleged) on confusing principles. The clumsy first sentence has been broken into workable segments, and topical material (principally on prairies) has been drawn together. The language has also been tightened by eliminating redundancies, especially in the opening paragraph. Other than that, the printed account in the HC is quite faithful to Phelps' manuscript, which was not followed with perfect accuracy in the first place. Other modifications were evidently done by B. H. Roberts in preparation for the printing of the HC in 1902. In his other works, Roberts considerably amplified his description of Jackson County from his own experiences in Missouri, but in the HC he edited the Phelps' account without adding his own impressions. Even in the radically edited first paragraph, Roberts basically employed the language of the HC and not his own. A revised "Documentary History" would restore original wording. But Roberts obviously saw his role as editor to improve the clarity of Phelps' phrasing; he did not set out to adulterate history.

At least one present at the 1831 dedications found the promised land far from promising. Ezra Booth, who defected after returning east, contended that his Ohio land was twice as productive as anything he had seen in Missouri. Yet Jackson County was seen mostly through the eyes of enthusiastic faith as the elders of the Church gathered there for its consecration in the summer of 1831.

The final section of Phelps' 1831 letter to the Ontario Phoenix contains similar optimism, though possessing the his-

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22 See HC 1:197-99. The Times and Seasons first printing incorrectly punctuated the opening lines, resulting in an incomplete sentence, which may have motivated rephrasing the beginning.

28 In addition to examples given in footnote 22, the Times and Seasons made one common error of deleting material between similar words. The manuscript read, "many other common agricultural commodities," but the typesetter apparently looked forward to "commodities" after beginning to set "common," thus eliminating "common agricultural" in the first printing.

29 Compare how freely Roberts adapted the Phelps' description when writing on his own responsibility. See The Missouri Persecutions (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1900), pp. 48-50, or Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1930), pp. 259-61.

30 Booth to Eddy, no. 5, cited in Ohio Star. 10 November 1831.
torical value of particularizing the first Mormon impressions of Western Missouri. Following is the entire remaining section, continuing directly from the portion quoted earlier in this article:

The state of Missouri is *sui generis*—containing two-thirds rolling prairies, and the rest patches of timber. The upland: oak, hickory, walnut, etc.—and the bottoms: bass wood, cotton wood, locust, coffee bean, etc., etc. The soil especially in the western part of the state, and generally upon the prairies, is a rich black mould, bedded on clay, from 3 to 8 feet deep. The prairies are beautiful beyond description, yielding prairie grass, wild sun flowers, small flowers in great variety and color, and continually presenting, or "keeping up appearances" of a highly cultivated country without inhabitants. Meadow peeps o'er meadow, and prairie on prairies rise like the rolling waves on the ocean. Prairie plovers, prairie hens, wild turkeys, rabbits, gray squirrels, prairie dogs, wolves, rattlesnakes (the big breed), prairie rattlesnakes, copperheads, panthers, deer, etc., go when they have a mind to and come when they please.

With the exception of some of the western counties, the state is under a remediless want of water and water privileges. Few mills are in the state, except horse ones. At the capital of Montgomery county, there are four little log huts on the summit of a dry prairie; the people live on what little rain water can be saved from the eaves. Education sings small, and few schools are kept, a common occurrence in southern and new states. No danger need be feared from *secret societies*, or any other.

It is a great grazing country on account of the prairie chance; cattle, horses, hogs (which by the bye are long nosed and mean), and sheep raise themselves almost; corn, in good seasons, does well; wheat, tolerable, but nothing like York state. Cotton, sweet potatoes, wild honey, wild grapes, wild roses, strawberries, dew berries, black berries and raspberries are common. The milk on the bottoms is sometimes found to be poison, in which case those using it and the cows die. The consequent diseases are the cold plague in the spring, and the ague and fever in the fall. The cash trade is carried on with Santa Fe, a Spanish port on the Pacific, in 36 degrees north latitude, and about 900 miles distant, across the prairie, where there is not a tree. The fur trade is to the Rocky and Shining Mountains, 800 miles distant, where is said to exist a kind of frog, with hard sharp scales, which he hoists and lowers at pleasure, and when swallowed by a snake *cuts out* in great agony. The weather is warmer than in York state, and when it grows cold at night with the wind from an easterly direction, depend upon a deluging rain before morning, and then it clears off hot enough to roast
eggs. The inhabitants are emigrants from Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and the Carolinas, etc., with customs, manners, modes of living and a climate entirely different from the northerners, and they hate yankees worse than snakes, because they have cheated them or speculated on their credulity, with so many Connecticut wooden clocks, and New England notions. The people are proverbially idle or lazy, and mostly ignorant; reckoning nobody equal to themselves in many respects, and as it is a slave-holding state, Japheth will make Canaan serve him while he dwells in the tents of Shem.32

The above source also belongs in a revised "Documentary History," as one of the most important Mormon insights into Jackson County conditions when major settlement was first beginning in 1831. One theme is the wonder of that luxuriant land, still enshrined in Phelps’ hymn describing the prairie expanse: “Earth with her ten thousand flowers.”33 But a tragic countertheme is uneducated frontier prejudice, combined with predominating “customs, manners, modes of living” of the South. Joseph Smith was aware of these sources of conflict at the same time, witness the revelation given a week after Phelps’ letter: “For after much tribulation come the blessings.”34

32Full citation at footnote 7 above. My modifications for clarity are adjustments of punctuation and standardizations of spellings. Phelps may have had this document before him when writing the HC, judged by similar language on the soil of the prairies and descriptions of sheep and hogs. That is not certain, however, since some similarities seem to arise from habits of expression between this 1831 letter, the 1834 Messenger and Advocate letter, and even the “Far West” description in The Evening and the Morning Star, 1(October 1832): editorial page.

33Although this popular hymn adapts to a western setting, it originally captured the beauty of unspoiled Jackson County, where it was first published in The Evening and the Morning Star, 1 (September 1832). There is a remarkable similarity of impression in this hymn, Phelps’ other allusions to prairie flowers, and eastern traveller’s impressions. See Anderson, “Early Mormon Descriptions,” pp. 287-88.

34D&C 58:1 (1 August 1831). Compare earlier reports of Pratt and Cowdery, the latter indicating considerable opposition to the first Mormon message in Jackson County in the preceding winter, HC 1:182-83. For further development of the cultural conflict, see Anderson, “Early Mormon Descriptions,” pp. 277-84.
Two Rare Missouri Documents

Peter Crawley*

Few contemporary Mormon imprints exist that deal with the Missouri phase of Mormon history, and those that do are invariably great rarities. Photographs of two such imprints are reprinted here, each of particular importance to the history of the Latter-day Saints. The first is an extra issue of the Church newspaper of the time.

The Evening and the Morning Star, Extra, Kirtland, Ohio, February, 1834.

Broadsheet 31.7 x 24.2 cm. In three columns.

This broadsheet reprints a circular that was originally printed in Missouri, most likely at the office of the Liberty Upper Missouri Enquirer, late in December 1833 or early in January 1834. No copy of the original is known to have survived. It is known that a copy was sent by the elders in Missouri along with the 10 April 1834 petition to the President of the United States, and, fortunately, another copy was mailed to Oliver Cowdery, who was editing The Evening and the Morning Star in Kirtland, Ohio. He immediately issued the February 1834 Star Extra that contains the text of the Missouri circular, together with two of his own comments. Parley Pratt, Newell Knight, and John Carrill [Carril] signed the circular over the date 12 December 1833. An examination of the text shows that it largely agrees—at a number of points word for word—with the corresponding part of Parley P. Pratt's History of the Late Persecution (Detroit, 1839). Since it is unlikely that Pratt, a mature writer by 1839, would copy

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another's writing, this suggests that Parley Pratt actually wrote the circular and incorporated parts of it in his later work.

The importance of the circular is that it is the earliest comprehensive account of the Mormon expulsion from Jackson County. It is also a bibliographical milestone, marking the entrance into print of Parley P. Pratt, one of Mormondom's most gifted writers.

Only two copies of the *Extra* are known to be extant. One is bound with a complete file of *The Evening and the Morning Star* in the LDS Church Historical Department, and the other is bound with the file of the *Star* originally owned by Newell K. Whitney and now in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University.

The second item reproduced here is more widely known:

Oration delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon, on the 4th of July, 1838, at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri. [One-line quotation.] Far West: Printed at the Journal Office. 1838. 12 pp. 18.7 cm.

The celebration of the Fourth of July in Far West in 1838 signaled the beginning of the end of the Mormon community in Missouri. Forming in a long procession at 10:00 A.M., the Far West Saints marched to the accompaniment of Dimick Huntington's band to the excavation for the new temple, where the four cornerstones of the temple were laid by the Church leaders. Then Sidney Rigdon mounted the speakers' stand and delivered the day's oration, which was enthusiastically received by the crowd. Subsequently Rigdon's oration was printed in pamphlet form on the Mormon press in Far West and reprinted in some of the local Missouri newspapers.

Six years later, Jedediah M. Grant acknowledged that Rigdon's oration "was the main auxiliary that fanned into flame the burning wrath of the mobocratic portions of the Missourians."¹ The oration was certainly inflammatory; but more important, it was put into print to be read and reread, galvanizing both Mormons and Missourians.

Grant lays the responsibility for the oration squarely on Rigdon. But it is clear from the reminiscences of Ebenezer Robinson, the printer of the pamphlet, and the comments of Joseph Smith in the Far West periodical Elders' Journal that the oration had Joseph Smith's approval.

Bibliographically, Rigdon's oration is exciting inasmuch as it is the only "book" printed by the Mormon press at Far West. It is also a rarity, found in only four institutional libraries: The Chicago Historical Society, Harvard University Library, LDS Church Historical Department, and the Brigham Young University Library.

The Evening and the Morning Star, Extra.
Kirkland, Ohio, February 1834.

THE MORONS
20 CALLED

Revelations have been the events, concerning which they say
the eye of the church. Amongst the last, a 1/2
for the purpose of preventing, and final application
of false teaching and error in the church. But
the following extract is included and intended to
be enough for the purpose of the word. It shall
be granted that the eye of the church shall be
the conviction of the individual and intended to
be made known in the church.

From photograph copies of the printed and original documents, we refer to the four-month or the

At the time the printing was in process of the

This is our copy of the original and each

The oration is reproduced in actual size.
FROM MISSOURI.

OUR readers will recollect the frequent accounts published in the Star, concerning the outrage in Missouri, and lest we might give them occasion to think, that we devote too large a portion of our columns to this subject, we have issued this Extra, containing a circular recently received from our friends in the West, which corroborates many items heretofore laid before the public. It will be seen, that the more part of the following, or the substance of it, up to Dec. 15, has been previously published; but out of respect to our friends in the West, and the justice of their cause, we consider that it is no more than right, that they should be allowed to speak for themselves upon this awful and unheard of persecution in a republican government!

Facts concerning this afflicted people already before the world, are sufficient to arouse the sympathy of every feeling heart, and cause every true republican to blush at the thought, that men in our country are so destitute of humanity, as to raise an oppressive hand against any people for their religion! None, we presume to say, will forbear to weep at such conduct, but those who are bound, more or less by priestly influence!—[Editor of the Star.]

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"THE MORMONS"

SO CALLED.

So various have been the reports, concerning this people, that an attempt, at this time, to spread a few facts in relation to their inhospitable reception, and final expulsion from Jackson county by force of arms, may be unavailing. But through the solicitation of certain candid and influential citizens of this state, that there should be sent forth, a hand-bill containing in a very brief manner, only the important features of their history in Jackson county, Missouri: the writer notes the following facts, passing over every incident except the most important. On the 20th July, 1831, about sixty men, women, and children, landed at Independence landing, from on board the steamer Chief-Flain, Captain Shalcross.—These were the first settlers of this people in Jackson county. From this time their emigration continued, until their number became about twelve hundred. As regards their integrity in all their dealings with the world, their industrious habits, and total abstinence from public
crime, and violations of the laws of the land, let such individuals as are unconnected with the Jackson county mob, and have personal knowledge of, and dealings with them, speak in this case: and also, the records of the courts of Jackson county.

What then, a candid public enquires, is the cause of their extraordinary persecutions? The answer is, their firm belief in the book of Mormon, and the articles and covenants of their Church, as being brought forth by inspiration of Almighty God. In June, 1832, this people established a press in Jackson county; and their first paper, entitled the Evening and the Morning Star, was published the same month. In this paper, their faith and doctrines were fully set forth, and through this vehicle, the inhabitants of Jackson county became acquainted with them; and if those communications published as revelations from God to this generation, are marvelous, the unusual circulation of all manner of falsehood concerning this people, is equally marvelous. As early as the spring of 1832, written hand-bills were posted up in various parts of the county of Jackson, warning this people to clear from the county; but they were unheeded. In the same season, a meeting of the citizens of the county was called, and a large collection gathered, which terminated with warnings, and wicked threats to the leading men in the Church. After stoning and brick-batting their houses for several nights in succession, the persecution abated in some degree, till the following fall, when a certain man in the village of Independence, whose name was not divulged till the summer of 1833, set fire to, and burnt a large stack of hay, belonging to two of this people. After this, few acts of violence were committed openly by the populace, but continual rumors of a mischievous and wicked nature, too incredible and trifling to be named among the intelligent part of community, were busily circulated among the inhabitants of Jackson county, and had the desired effect, in exciting and enraging the illiterate class against the Mormons.—One report was, that “the Mormons had declared, that they would have the land of Jackson county, for the Lord had given it to them, &c.” — Another, that “the Mormons were tampering with the Blacks of said county; and that they were, (to use their term,) conversing with the Indians, and exciting them to hostilities against the whites, &c.” — Most industriously were reports of this nature daily spread, while the Mormons were seeking for an open and legal investigation into these rumors. But no such step would the leaders of this faction consent to take; but, on the contrary, made every effort to fan the flames, till this demoniac spirit became general, and those few who wished for peace, were compelled to be party. — Thus did the deep-rooted hatred and malice against
their religion rage, under cover of the aforesaid reports. And foreseeing that false impressions against this people were prevailing in adjoining counties, because of wicked fabrications, the conductors of the Star published an address to the Church abroad, in the last July number, headed “Free People of Color,” in which they particularly quoted the two important sections, 4 and 5, from the statute laws of Missouri, with a warning to the church, to “shun every appearance of evil.” This communication, being misrepresented by the leaders of the faction, hand-bills were immediately struck off, under date of 16th July, giving full explanation to every rational man of the views of this people, in relation to the Blacks. The hand-bills were posted up in the village of Independence, at sundry times, and immediately pulled down by the mob. About this time, the following note circular was passing through the county for signatures, which reads as follows:

[Those of our readers who wish to peruse the above mentioned document, we refer to the first number of the Star, published in this place: the length of the article prohibits its insertion in this extra.—Editor of the Star.]

At the time the foregoing circular was put into the hands of the Mormons, there were between 76 and 100 signatures to it; among the number were names of the following, viz. Henry Chiles, Attorney, Russel Hicks, Attorney, Hugh L. Brazenale, Attorney, Samuel Weston J. P., John Smith J. P., John Cook J. P., Lewis Franklin, Jailor. Thomas Pitcher, Lt. Colonel militia and constable, Dan Johnson, James P. Hickman, Samuel C. Owens, County Clerk. S. D. Lucas Colonel of militia, Judge of County Court, John O. W. Hambright, R. W. Cummings, Ind. agent, Jones H. Flournoy P. M., Richard Simpson, &c. Several other circulars, supposed to be of the same tenor as the foregoing, were circulated thro’ the county, and hundreds of signatures obtained. Pursuant to the last clause of said circular, the mob met at the court-house on the 20th of July, and from their appearance, it became apparent that nothing but the blood of this defenceless people would appease their wrath, unless God, or the Executive of the State interposed. But through the mercy of God, the execution of their threats was stayed, and July passed without bloodshed. The wicked and wanton manner, in which the printing office of W. W. Phelps & Co. the type, and books then publishing, the dwelling-house of said Phelps, and some furniture, were destroyed: together with the inhuman and degrading treatment of tarring and feathering the Bishop of the Church, and one other worthy member. Charles Allen, in the presence of several hundred people, are facts.
too notorious to need particular comment here. After compelling Messrs. Gilbert & Whitney to close their store and pack their goods, (which was done,) the mob adjourned to meet on the 23d July, on which day they again met, to the number of 3 to 500 as was estimated; some armed with firearms, dirks, and sticks, with their red flags hoisted as they entered town, threatening death and destruction to the Mormons. On this day, six of the Church signed an agreement for themselves, to leave the county of Jackson, one half by the 1st January, and the other half by the 1st of April, 1831, hoping thereby to preserve the lives of their brethren, and their property. After said agreement was signed, and the mob, arranged by two of their leaders in the court-house, they dispersed with threats of destruction the next new year's day, if the Mormons were not off by that time. This people, being wearied with such barbarous usage, made several attempts to effect a settlement in the new county of Van Buren; and several families removed there; but the threats of a majority of that county, so alarmed the women and children, that they were compelled to return. Under these circumstances, a petition was sent by express early in October last, to the Governor of the State, praying his Excellency to point out some relief.—The Governor's letter, in reply to said petition, is already before the public, in which he pointed out certain legal steps for their safety, and a prosecution of their claims in the courts of law, &c. Accordingly, by advice of the Governor, suits were directed to be commenced in certain cases for damages, in the destruction of property, &c. This was spread and some few honest men in Jackson county, gave this people warning, that the prosecution of their claims, was arousing the vengeance of the county against them; and that they were determined to come out by night, and tear down houses, kill stock, and probably wound and maim individuals. Having passed through the most aggravated insults and injuries, without making the least resistance, a general inquiry prevailed at this time, throughout the Church, as to the propriety of self-defence. Some claimed the right of defending themselves, families, and houses from destruction, while others doubted the propriety of self-defence; and as the agreement of the 23d July, between the two parties, had been published to the world, wherein it was set forth, that the Mormons were not to leave until the 1st of January, and 1st of April, 1831, it was believed by many of the Mormons, that the leaders of the mob, whose names appeared in the Monitor of that date, would not suffer so barefaced a violation of the agreement, before the time therein set forth but Thursday night. the 31st of October, gave them abundant proof, that no pledge, written or verbal, was longer to be regarded: for on
that night, between 40 and 50 in number, many of whom were armed with guns, proceeded against a branch of the Church west of Big Blue, and unroofed, and partly demolished, ten dwelling houses, and in the midst of the shrieks and screams of women and children, whipped and beat, in a savage and brutal manner, several of the men: and with their horrible threats, frightened women and children into the wilderness. Such of the men as could escape, fled for their lives; for very few of them had arms, neither were they embodied: and they were threatened with death if they made resistance; such, therefore, as could not escape by flight, received a pelting by rocks, and a beating with guns, sticks, &c. On Friday, the 1st November, women and children sallied forth from their gloomy retreats, to contemplate with heart rending anguish, the ravage of a ruthless mob, in the mangled bodies of their husbands, and in the destruction of their houses, and some of their furniture. Houseless, and unprotected by the arm of civil law in Jackson county, the dreary month of November staring them in the face, and loudly proclaiming a more inclement season, at hand; the continual threats of the mob, that they would drive every Mormon from the county; and the inability of many to remove, because of their poverty, caused an anguish of heart indescribable.

On Friday night, the 1st of November, a party of the mob, proceeded to attack a branch of the church at the prairie, about twelve or fourteen miles from the village. Two of their numbers were sent in advance, as spies, viz, Robert Johnson, and one Harris, armed with two guns, and three pistols. They were discovered by some of the Mormons, and without the least injury being done to them, said Johnson struck Pratt, with the butt of his gun, over the head; after which they were taken and detained till morning; which it was believed, prevented a general attack of the mob that night. In the morning, they were liberated without receiving the least injury. The same night (Friday,) another party in Independence, commenced stoning houses, breaking down doors and windows, destroying furniture &c. This night, the brick part, attached to the dwelling house of A. S. Gilbert, was partly pulled down, and the windows of his dwelling broken in with brick bats and rocks; while a gentleman stranger lay sick with a fever in his house. That same night, three doors of the store of Messrs. Gilbert and Whitney, were split open: and after midnight, the goods lay scattered in the streets, such as calicoes, handkerchiefs, shawls, cambrics, &c; to which fact upwards of twenty witnesses can attest. An express came from the village after midnight, to a party of their
een, who had embodied about half a mile from the village, for the safety of their lives; stating that the mob were tearing down houses, and scattering the goods of the store in the street. The main body of the mob fled, at the approach of this company. One Richard McCarty was caught in the act of throwing rocks and brick bats into the doors while the goods lay strewn around him in the street, and was immediately taken before Samuel Weston, Esq., and a complaint there made to said Weston, and a warrant requested, that said McCarty might be secured; but said Weston refused to do anything in the case at that time—said McCarty was then liberated. The same night, some of their houses in the village, having poles thrust through the shutters and such, into the rooms of defenseless women and children, from whence their husbands and fathers had been driven by the dastardly attacks of the mob, which was made by ten, fifteen, or twenty men upon a house at a time. Saturday the second November, all the families of this people in the village, moved about half a mile, with most of their goods; and embodied to the number of thirty, for the preservation of life and personal effects. This night, a party from the village, met a party from west of the Blue, and made an attack upon a branch of the church, located at the Blue, about six miles from the village, here they tore the roof from one dwelling, and broke open another house; found the owner sick in bed, viz. David Bennett, whom they beat inhumanly, swearing they would blow out his brains, and discharges a pistol, the ball of which cut a deep gash across the top of his head. In this skirmish, a young man of the mob, was shot in the thigh; but, by which party remains yet to be determined. The next day, (Sunday,) November, the third, four of the church, viz. Joshua Lewis, Hiram Page, and two others, were dispatched for Lexington, to see the circuit Judge, and obtain a peace warrant. Two called on Esq. Silvers, who refused to issue one, on account, as he has declared, of his fears of the mob. This day many of the citizens, professing friendship, advised this people to clear from the county, as speedily as possible; for the Saturday night affair had enraged the whole county, and they were determined to come out on Monday, and massacre indiscriminately; and in short, it was proverbial among the mob, that Monday would be a bloody day.—Monday came, and a large party of the mob gathered at the Blue, took the ferry boat, belonging to the church, threatened lives, &c. But they soon abandoned the ferry, and went to Wilson's store, about one mile west of the Blue Word had previously gone to a branch of the church, several miles west of the Blue, that the mob were destroying property, on the east side of the Blue; and the sufferers there, wanted help, to preserve lives and property.
teen men volunteered, and started for their assistance; but discovering, that fifty or sixty of the mob, had gathered at said Wilson’s, they turned back. At this time, two small boys passed on their way to Wilson’s who gave information to the mob, that the Mormons were on the road west of them. Between forty and fifty of the mob, immediately started on horseback and foot with guns, in pursuit; and after riding about two, or two and a half miles, they discovered them, when the said company of nineteen, immediately dispersed, and fled in different directions: The mob hunted them, turning their horses into a cornfield, belonging to this people, searching their cornfields and houses, threatening women and children that they would pull down their houses and kill them if they did not tell where the men had fled. Thus, they were employed in hunting the men, and threatening the women; until a company of thirty of the Mormons, from the prairie, armed with seventeen guns, made their appearance. The former company of nineteen had dispersed, and fled, and but one or two of them, had returned to take part in the subsequent battle. On the approach of this latter company of thirty men, some of the mob cried, “Fire, God—down you, fire.” Two or three guns were then fired by the mob, which were returned by the other party without loss of time. The public will here observe, that this company is the same, that is represented by the mob, as having gone forth in the evening of the battle bearing the olive branch of peace. The mob retreated early after the first fire, leaving some of their horses in Whitman’s cornfield; and two of their number, Hugh L. Brazzale, and Thomas Linnell, dead on the ground. Thus fell H. L. Brazzale, one who, a few days before, had been heard to say, “with ten fellows, I will wade to my knees in blood, but that I will drive the Mormons from Jackson county. Early the next morning, a respectable woman passed over the battleground, and discovered the corpse of the said Brazzale with a gun by his side. Several were wounded on both sides, but none mortally, except one Barber, on the part of the Mormons, who expired the next day. This battle was fought about seven, Monday, November the fourth: the same night, runners were dispatched in every direction under pretence of calling out the militia; spreading as they went, every rumor calculated to alarm and excite the curiosity; such as, that the Mormons had taken Independence, and the Indians had surrounded it, being joined together &c. The same evening November fourth, not being satisfied with breaking open the store of Gilbert & Whit- ney, and demolishing a part of the dwelling house of said Gilbert, the Friday night before, they permitted the said McCarty, who was driven on Friday night, as one of the number breaking in the doors of the store, to take out a warrant, and arrest the said Gilbert, and others of the
church, for a pretended assault, and false imprisonment of
the said McCarty. Late in the evening, while the court
were proceeding with their trial, in the court house, a gen-
tleman unconnected with the court, as was believed, per-
cieving the prisoners to be without counsel, and in immin-
ent danger, advised said Gilbert and his brethren, to elect
for jail, as the only alternative to save life: for the north
door was already barred, and an infuriated mob thorough
the house, with a determination to beat and kill; but
through the intervention of this gentleman, said Gilbert
and six of his brethren were committed to the county Jail
of Jackson, the dungeon of which, must have been a palace,
coimpared to a court room, where dignity and mercy were
strangers; and naught but the wrath of man, in horrid
threats, stifled the ears of the prisoners. The same night
the said Gilbert, Morley, and Carrill, were liberated from
jail, that they might have an interview with their brethren
and try to negotiate some measures for peace; and on their
return to jail, about 2 o'clock Tuesday morning, in custody
of the deputy sheriff; an armed force, of six or seven men,
stood near the jail, and hailed they were answered by the
sheriff, who gave his name, and the names of his prisoner,
cried, "don't fire, don't fire, the prisoners are in my
charge," &c. They however fired one or two guns, when
Morley and Carrill retreated; but Gilbert stood, with sev-
eral guns presented at him. Two, more desperate than the
rest, attempted to shoot, but one of their guns flashed, and
the other missed fire. Said Gilbert was then knocked
down by Thomas Wilson, a grocer in the village. About
this time, a few of the inhabitants arrived; and Gilbert a-
again entered jail, from which, he, with three of his breth-
ren, were liberated about sunrise, without further prosecu-
tion of the trial. On the morning of Tuesday, fifth of
November, the village began to be crowded with individu-
als from different parts of the county, with guns, &c. and
report said the militia had been called out, under the sa-
tion, or instigation of Lieut. Gov. Boggs; and that one
Col. Pitcher had the command. Among this militia (so
called,) were embodied the most conspicuous characters of
the mob; and it may truly be said, that the appearance of
the ranks of this body, was well calculated to excite suspi-
cions; of their honorable designs. Very early on the same
morning several branches of the church received intelli-
gence, that a number of their brethren were in prison, and
the determination of the mob was to kill them: and, that
the branch of the church near the village of Independence,
was in imminent danger, as the main body of the mob were
gathered at that place. In this critical situation, about
one hundred of the Methodists from different branches vol-
unteer d, for the protection of their brethren near Indepen-
dence and proceeded on the road toward Independence;
and halted about one mile west of the village, where they awaited further information concerning the movements of the mob. They soon learned, that the prisoners were not massacred; and that the mob had not fallen upon the branch of the church near Independence, as was expected. They were also informed, that the militia had been called out for their protection, but in this they placed little confidence for the body congregated, had every appearance of a county mob, which subsequent events fully verified, in a large majority of said body. On application to Col. Pitcher, it was found, that there was no alternative, but for the church to leave the county forthwith; and deliver into his hands, certain men, to be tried for murder, said to have been committed by them in the battle the evening before. The arms of this people were also demanded by the Col. We here remark, that among the committee appointed to receive the arms of the Mormons, were several of the most unrelenting of the old July mob committee: who had directed in the demolishing of the printing office, and the personal injuries of that day, viz. Henry Chiles, Abram Staples, and Lewis Franklin; who have not ceased to pursue the Mormons, from the first to the last, with feelings the most hostile. These unexpected requisitions of the Col. made him appear like one standing at the head of civil, and military law, taking a stretch beyond the constitutional limits of our Republic. Rather than have submitted to these unreasonable requirements, the Mormons would have cheerfully shed their blood in defence of their rights; the liberties of their country, and of their wives and children: but the fear of violating law, in resisting this pretended militia: and the flattering assurances of protection, and honorable usage, promised by Lt. Gov. Boggs, in whom they had repose confidence up to this period, induced them to submit, believing that he did not tolerate so gross a violation of all law as had been practised in Jackson county. But how great has been the change, in the views of this gentleman, since these people have been deprived of their arms by stragglers; and upwards of one thousand defenceless men, women, and children, have been driven from their homes, into strange lands, to seek shelter from the wintry blasts, remaining yet to be ascertained. The conduct of Col. Lucas and Pitcher, had long proven them to be open and avowed enemies. Both of these men had their names attached to the foregoing mob circular, as early as July last; the object of which was to drive the Mormons from Jackson county. With assurances from the Lt. Governor and others, that the object was to disarm the combatants on both sides, and that peace would be the result; the Mormons surrendered their arms, to the number of fifty or upwards; and the men present, who were accused of being in the battle the evening before, gave themselves up for trial. After detaining them one day and night, on a preten-
and trial for murder; in which time they were threatened, brick-batted, &c. said Col. Pitcher, after receiving a watch of one of the prisoners, to satisfy costs, &c. took them into a cornfield, and said to them, “clear.” After the surrender of their arms, which were used only in self-defence, the neighboring tribes of Indians in time of war, let loose upon women and children, could not have appeared more hideous and terrible, than did the companies of ruffians, who went in various directions, well armed, on foot and on horse back: bursting into houses without a far, knowing the arms were secured, frightening distracted women with what they would do to their husbands if they could catch them; warning women and children to flee immediately, or they would tear their houses down over their heads, and massacre them before night. At the head of one of these companies, appeared the REV. ISAAC M'COY, with a gun upon his shoulder, ordering the Mormons to leave the county forthwith, and surrender what arms they had. Other pretended preachers of the Gospel took a conspicuous part in the persecution, calling the Mormons the “Common Enemy of mankind,” and exulting in their afflictions. On Tuesday and Wednesday nights, the fifth and sixth of November, women and children fled in every direction before the merciless mob. One party of about one hundred and fifty women and children fled to the prairie, where they wandered for several days, under the broad canopy of heaven, with about six men to protect them; other parties fled towards the Missouri river, and took lodging for the night where they could find it. We ought to notice the hospitality of one man, Mr. Barnett, who opened his house for a night’s shelter, to a wandering company of distressed women and children, who were fleeing to the river. During this dispersion of women and children, parties of the mob were hunting the men, firing upon some, tying up and whipping others, and several they pursued upon horses for several miles. A small branch of the Church, located on the prairie, about 15 miles from Independence, say 15 to 20 families, had hoped, from the obscurity of their situation, to escape the vengeance of the mob: but on Sunday, the 24th of November, a party of the mob went to them with arms, and presented pistols, commanding them to leave in three days, or they would tear down their houses, &c. For the preservation of life, and personal effects, the most, if not all of said branch, have left their houses, and are now in Clay county, encamped on the bank of the Missouri river. A number of families went into Van Buren county; their whole number of men, women and children, being upwards of 150. An express has just arrived from that place, this 12th of December, with information, that these families are about to be driven from that county; after building their houses, and carting
their winter's store of grain, and provisions, 40 or 50 miles. Several families are already fleeing from thence. The contaminating influence of the Jackson county mob, is predominant in this new county of Van Buren, the whole population of which is estimated at about 30 to 40 families. The destruction of crops, household furniture, and clothing, is very great; and much of their stock is lost. The main body of the church, are now in Clay county, where the people are as kind and accommodating, as couldreasonably be expected. The continued threats of death to individuals of this church, if they make their appearance in Jackson county, prevent the most of them, even at this day, from returning to that county, to secure personal property, which they were obliged to leave in their flight. The public may be assured, that the foregoing is a plain, unvarnished statement of facts, relative to the lawless proceedings of the Jackson county mob. Interesting matter sufficient for a volume, has been omitted, in the foregoing, that this hand-bill might not be rendered too voluminous; but posterity will record it as true, which stands unparallelled in the annals of this Republic. With a firm reliance on that God, who never fails to bring to light the hidden works of darkness; and confiding in the integrity and patriotism of those who hold in high veneration, the beloved constitution of our country, we submit the foregoing, being ready to meet it, not only before an earthly tribunal, but before the Great Searcher of all hearts.

PARL'Y PRATT,
NEWEL KNIGHT,
JOHN CARRILL.

DECEMBER 12, 1833.

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P. S. After the foregoing was taken to the press we received the distressing intelligence, that four aged families living near the village of Independence, whose prudence and infirmities, incident to old age, forbade a speedy removal, were driven from their houses on Monday night the twenty third inst. (December,) by a party of the mob, who set down their chimneys, broke in their doors and windows, and hurled large rocks into their houses, by which the life of old Mrs. Miller in particular, was greatly endangered. Mr. Miller is aged sixty five years, being the youngest man in the four families. Some of these men have bled and bled in the defense of their country; and old Mr. Jones, one of the sufferers, served as life guard to General George Washington, in the revolution. Well may the soldiers of '76 contemplate with horror the scenes which surround him at this day in Jackson county, where liberty, law, and equal rights, are trodden under foot. It is now apparent that no man embracing the faith of this people, whatever
be his age or former standing in society, may hope to 
escape the wrath of the Jackson county mob, whenever it is 
in their power to inflict abuse.

We conclude with a few remarks in relation to the cel-
reated mob circular inserted in the foregoing, from the 
very features of which, it will be seen that they mediated 
a most daring infraction of the constitution of our country, 
that they might gratify a spirit of persecution against an 
innocent people. To whom shall blame be attached in this 
tragedy, when they, in July last, boldly made known their 
determinations to drive the Mormons from Jackson county, 
peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must, openly de-
claring, that the arm of the civil law did not afford them 
a sufficient guarantee against the increasing evils of this 
religious sect; and in their circular they further say, "we 
deem it expedient, and of the highest importance, to form 
ourselves into a Company for the better and easier accompli-
ishment of our purpose;" and conclude with these high-
toned words: "We therefore agree, that after timely warn-
ing; and upon receiving an adequate compensation for what 
little property they cannot take with them, they refuse to 
leave us in peace as they found us, we agree to use such 
means as may be sufficient to remove them; and to this end 
we each pledge to each other, our lives, our bodily powers, 
fortunes, and sacred honors."

The public will here perceive, that since July last, the ci-
tizens of Jackson county have been diligently devising ways 
and means for the accomplishment of their purpose, which 
they effected after calling out the Militia in November 
last. In answer to their bold and daring resolves to guard 
against anticipated evils, we give the following extract 
from the Governor's letter in relation to this affair, dated 
Oct 19th, 1833. "No citizen nor number of citizens has a 
right to take the redress of their grievances, whether real 
or imaginary, into their own hands: such conduct strikes 
at the very existence of society, and subverts the founda-
tion on which it is based."

As regards the approbrious charges against this church, 
not only in the said circular, but in subsequent communi-
cations, the members thereof are willing, that their exam-
plar's for a period of more than two years in this region of 
country, should be taken as a standard to convict or acquit. 
That all manner of evil will be spoken against them false-
ly, they expect; but, for all unrighteous slanders of their 
enemies, God will be their avenger. And will an enlight-
ened public condemn an afflicted people, who have been 
stricken and smitten, should they ask a share in these 
rights and privileges, which are the gifts of our great Fa-
thor in heaven, and are guaranteed unto us by the laws of 
our country, of which they are now wantonly and inhu-
manly deprived?
ORATION

DELIVERED

BY MR. S. RIGDON.

ON

THE 4th OF JULY,

1838.

AT FAR WEST, CALDWELL COUNTY, MISSOURI.

Better far sleep with the dead, than be oppressed among the living.

FAR WEST:
PRINTED AT THE JOURNAL OFFICE.

1838.
ORATION.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

By your request, I am called upon to address you this day, under circumstances novel to myself, and I presume as much so to the most of you; for however frequently we may have met with our fellow-citizens, in times past, in the places of our nativity, or of our choice, to mingle our feelings with theirs, and unite with them in grateful acknowledgments to our Divine Benefactor, on the anniversary of our national existence; but not before, have we been assembled by reason of our holy religion; for which cause alone, a very large majority of us is here this day. But though our residence here, is far from the sepulchres of our fathers, and from the lands of our nativity and former choice; and our association here, as novel, and as strange to ourselves, as it could be, to any portion of our fellow-men; still, we hail the return of the birth day of our liberties, with no less feelings of joy and gratitude; nor no less desire, for the prosperity and continuance, of the fabric of our national government, inspires our breasts this day, than when met in the mixed assemblies of all religions, as in times past, in the lands of our nativity.

Nor indeed could it otherwise be; from our infancy, we have been traditio...
oppressed to enter, and find an asylum. Under the safeguard of
its constitution, the tyrant's grasp is unfastened, and equal rights
and privileges flow to every part of the grand whole. Protected by
its laws and defended by its powers, the oppressed and persecuted
saint can worship under his own vine, and under his own figtree, and
none can molest or make afraid. We have always contemplated it,
and do now, as the only true fabric of freedom, and bulwark of
liberty, in the world.

Its very existence, has taught the civilized world, lessons of free-
dom, far surpassing those of a Pitt, a Wilberforce, a Canning, or a
Grey, and has cast all their efforts in the shade forever. It has
stood, and now stands, as the arbiter of the world, the judge of the
nations, and the rebuker of tyrants.

Throughout the world, it is the standard of freedom, both civil
and religious. By its existence, the fears of the superstitious have
been removed, and the pretexts of tyrants have been swept away
as a refuge of lies, and the rights of man have been restored, and
freedom, both political and religious, have been made to triumph.

Our government is known throughout the civilized world, as the
standard of freedom, civil, religious, and political; by it are the
acts of all nations tried, and it serves to expose the frauds, the de-
ceptions, and the crafts, of the old world, in attempting to pawn up-
on the people, monarchy and aristocracy, for republicanism and
freedom. So powerful has been its influence, that the hand of the
 oppressor, even in the old world, has been lightened tyrants have
been made to tremble, and oppressors of mankind, have been filled
with fear. Thrones, if they have not been cast down, have been
striped of their terror, and the oppressed subject has been, measur-
ably, delivered from his bondage.

Having been rocked in the cradle of liberty, and educated in the
school of freedom, all our prejudices and propensities are deeply
rooted in favor of the superlative excellence of a government, from
which all our privileges and enjoyments have flown. We are wedded
to it by the strongest ties; bound to it by cords as strong as death.
To preserve it, ought to be our aim in all our pursuits, to maintain
its constitution unviolable, its institutions uncorrupted, its laws un-
violated, and its order unaltered.

There is one thing, in the midst of our political differences, which
ought to create feelings of joy and gratitude in every heart, and in the
bosom of every wellwisher to mankind; that, all parties in politics,
ties, express the strongest desire to preserve both the union and the
constitution unimpaired and unbroken, and only differ about the
means to accomplish this object; so desirable, as expressed by all
parties. And while this, indeed, is the object of parties in this re-
public, there is nothing to fear. The prospects for the future, will
be as flattering as the past.
In celebrating this, the anniversary of our independence, all party distinctions should be forgotten, all religious differences should be laid aside. We are members of one common republic, equally dependent on a faithful execution of its laws for our protection, in the enjoyment of our civil, political, and religious privileges. All have a common interest in the preservation of the Union, and in the defence and support of the constitution. Northern, southern, and western interests, ought to be forgotten, or lost for the time being, in the more noble desire to preserve the nation, as one whole; for on this depends the security of all local and sectional interest; for if we cannot preserve them by supporting the Union, we cannot by rending it in pieces. In the former there is hope, in the latter fear.

In one peace, in the other war.

In times of peace, it ought to be our aim and our object, to strengthen the bonds of the Union by cultivating peace and good will among ourselves. And in times of war, to meet our foes sword in hand, and defend our rights, at the expense of life. For what is life when freedom has fled! It is a name, a bubble; better far sleep with the dead, than be oppressed among the living.

All attempts, on the part of religious aspirants, to unite church and state, ought to be repelled with indignation, and every religious society supported in its rights, and in the exercise of its conscientious devotions. The Mohammedan, the Pagan, and the Idolator, not excepted, and be partakers equally, in the benefits of the government. For if the Union is preserved, it will be by endearing the people to it; and this can only be done by securing to all their most sacred rights. The least deviation, from the strictest rule of right, on the part of any portion of the people, or their public servants, will create dissatisfaction, that dissatisfaction will end in strife, strife in war, and war, in the dissolution of the Union.

It is on the virtue of the people, that depends the existence of the government, and not on the wisdom of legislators. Wherefore serveth laws, (it matters not how righteous in themselves,) when the people in violation of them, tear those rights from one another, which they [the laws] were designed to protect? If we preserve the nation from ruin, and the people from war, it will be by securing to others, what we claim to ourselves, and being as zealous to defend another's rights, as to secure our own. If on this day, the fathers of our nation, pledged their fortunes, their lives, and their sacred honors, to one another, and to the colonies which they represented, to be free, or to loose all earthly inheritance, not life, and honor excepted. So ought we to follow their example, and pledge our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honors, as their children and successors, in maintaining inviolable, what they obtained by their treasure, and their blood.

With holy feelings, sacred desires, and grateful hearts to our Divine Benefactor, ought we to perform the duties of this day, and
enjoy the privileges, which, as saints of the living God, we enjoy in this land of liberty and freedom, where our most sacred rights, even that of worshipping our God according to his will, is secured unto us by law, and our religious rights so identified with the existence of the nation, that to deprive us of them, will be to doom the nation to ruin, and the Union to dissolution.

It is now three score and two years since the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, caused the proclamation to go forth among the people of the continents, that the people of this nation should be free, and that over them, "kings should not rule, and princes decree authority?" and all this, preparatory to the great work which he had designed to accomplish in the last days, in the face of all people, in order, that the Son of God, the Savior of the world, should come down from heaven, and reign in mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously: according to the testimony of all the holy prophets, since the world began. And it is eight years, two months, and twenty eight days, since this church of the last days was organized, by the revelations of that same Jesus, who is coming to reign before his ancients gloriously: then consisting of six members only.

At its first appearance, excitement began to prevail among the people where it made its appearance, and as it increased in numbers, the excitement increased. The first attack made upon it, by its enemies, was by false representation and foul slander. By this engine it was assailed from every quarter, and by all classes of men, religious and unreligious: misrepresentation followed misrepresentation, falsehood after falsehood, followed each other in rapid succession, until there must have been multitudes of them created in a minute, by those employed in it, or else they could not have gotten so many put in circulation. This scheme not succeeding, the enemies had recourse to prosecutions, which were multiplied continually apparently with determination, to destroy every person who united to aid and assist in bringing forth the work of the Lord. But all this not succeeding, according to the expectations of the persecutors; they united to all this power, that of mobs, driving men, women, and children, from their houses, dragging them out in the dead hours of the night, out of their beds, whipping, tearing and feathering, and otherwise shamefully treating them.

Nor were those means the only ones resorted to in this work of persecution, but being determined to put an end to the church forever; they added to all the rest of the means used, stealing the property of the saints, also burning houses and charging it on their [the saints] heads, in order to raise public indignation against them; as also false swearing, and indeed we may add, all other means which the adversary had in his power to use, nothing seems to be left undone, that could be done, by men and demons, in order that the purposes of God might fail; but still the object, so much desired
by many, has not as yet been obtained. Under all this fire of persecution, the cause has rolled on with a steady course; the increase has been gradual, but constant, and the church, at this time, numbers many thousands: some in the old world have become obedient to the faith, multitudes in the Canadas, as well as in most parts of the United States.

During these scenes of persecution, a number of the saints have lost their lives, and others are missing, and it is unknown what has become of them; but the presumption is, that they have been secretly murdered.

No country, of which we have any knowledge, has offered so fair an opportunity for determining the great hostility which exists, naturally in the human heart against God and against his work, as this one. In other countries, persecutions were carried on under pretext of law; but in this country, where the constitution of the United States, and the constitution of every State in the Union, guarantees to every person, the rights of conscience, and the liberty of worshiping as he pleases, to witness such scenes of persecution, as those which have followed this church from the beginning, in spite of law, justice, equity, and truth, and at war with the very genius of our republican institutions, and contrary to the spirit and design of our government, surely evinces the depravity of the human heart, and the great hostility there exists in the hearts of the human family, against the work and purposes of God; and most fully confirms the apostle’s saying, that, “the carnal mind is enmity against God.”

But notwithstanding all this violence, we can say as did Paul to the Corinthians: We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.” We have until this time, endured this great fight of affliction, and kept the faith. If the ancient saints had to endure as seeing him who is invisible—so have we. If they had to suffer the contradiction of sinners against themselves—so have we. If they had to undergo fears within, andtings without—so have we. If they had to suffer stripes and imprisonments, for their religion’s sake—so have we. If they were often in journeyings, in perils of water, in perils among robbers, in perils by their own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren. In weakness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness—so are we. If they had to commend themselves to God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings; by patience, by knowledge, by long suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love untied, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the
left, by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown and yet well known; as dying and, behold, they lived; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things—so have we. If they went up through much tribulation, and washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb—so have we to go up through as great tribulation; and we trust in so doing, we will also wash our robes, and make them white in the blood of the Lamb.

One cause of our heavy persecutions, is the influence which those have in the world, whom we have separated from the fellowship of the church for their wickedness; who attempted to gratify their vengeance on us, and also to hide their own shame, by foul standers and base calumny. We were at one time represented by them, as having all things common: at another, as being enemies to the government: and in other places we were reported to be abolitionists, and indeed any thing, they thought best calculated to stir up the public mind, and to excite popular indignation; and if possible, put an end to the work, by sacrificing some of those who were considered as most active in supporting and defending the cause. But through the mercy of God, we are still in existence, and have the opportunity of joining with you in the privileges of this day.

In assembling on this occasion, our object is, not only to comply with the custom of our nation in celebrating the birth day of our liberties; but also to lay the corner stones of the edifice, about to be built in this place in honor of our God, to whom we ascribe the glory of our national freedom, as well as our eternal salvation; and whose worship we esteem of more consequence, than we do the treasures of Missouri; ready at all times, to offer unto him the sacrifice of our first fruits, and by untiring perseverance, patient industry, and faithful devotion to the cause of our God, rear this building to his name, designed, for the double purpose, of a house of worship and an institution of learning. The first floor will be for sacred devotion, and the two others, for the purpose of education. The building to be one hundred and ten feet by eighty, with three floors, and not far from thirty feet between the floors; all to be finished, according to the best style of such buildings in our country. The entire expense, calculated at not far from one hundred thousand dollars: all when finished, to stand as a monument, of the power of union of effort and concert of action.

Next to the worship of our God, we esteem the education of our children and of the rising generation. For what is wealth without society, or society without intelligence. And how is intelligence to be obtained?—by education. It is that which forms the youthful mind: it is that alone, which renders society agreeable, and adds interest and importance, to the worship of God. What is religion without intelligence!—an empty sound. Intelligence is the root.
from which all true enjoyments flow. Intelligence is religion, and religion is intelligence, if it is any thing. Take intelligence from it, and what is left? a name—a sound without meaning. If a person desires to be truly pious in the sight of God, he must be purely intelligent. Piety without intelligence, is fanaticism, and devotion without understanding, is enthusiasm.

The object of our religion, is to make us more intelligent than we could be without it, not so much, to make us acquainted with what we do see, as with what we do not see. It is designed to evolve the faculties, to enlighten the understanding, and through this medium, purify the heart. It is calculated to make men better, by making them wiser; more useful, by making them more intelligent; not intelligent on some subjects only, but on all subjects, on which intelligence can be obtained; and when science fails, revelation supplies its place, and unfolds the secrets and mysteries of the unseen world, leads the mind into the knowledge of the future existence of men, makes it acquainted with angels, principalities, and powers, in the eternal world; carries it into heaven and heavenly places, makes it acquainted with God, its Redeemer, and its associates in the eternal mansions; so that when science fails, and philosophy vanishes away, revelation, more extensive in its operations, begins where they [science and philosophy] ends, and feaseth the mind with intelligence, pure and holy, from the presence of God.—Tells of eternal mansions, of immortal glories, of everlasting dominions, of angelic thrones, of heavenly hosts, of flaming scriptures, of crowns of glory, of palms of victory, of the saint's eternal triumph through a glorious resurrection, of songs of everlasting joy, of God the Father of all, of Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and of the blood of the sprinkling, which speaketh better things, than that of righteous Abel.

It not only acquaints us with these eternal things, but it makes known unto us the future history of man in time, of the purposes of God, which have to be accomplished before the end of all things comes. It warns and forewarns, of the wars, the pestilences, the famines, the earthquakes, and the desolations, which are coming on the earth. The rising and falling of nations: and also the desolation of the earth itself: the falling of the mountains, the rising of the valleys, the melting of the rocks, the purifying of the elements by fire: of the sun's sailing his face, the moon's turning to blood, the stars of heaven falling: of the heavens rolling away as a scroll; and of Christ's descending from heaven in a cloud, with the shout of the arch angel, and the trumpet of God. And of the wicked's fearing and trembling, of their faces gathering blackness, and of their seeking a refuge under the mountains, and of their calling upon the rocks to hide them from the face of him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: “For the great day of his wrath has come, and who shall be able to stand!”
All this mass of important intelligence, together with the final end of all thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers, and governments, which nothing else but revelation could make known, (for science, with all her powers, could never declare it, neither could philosophy, with her utmost stretch, reach it,) we obtain by our holy religion; for this is her province; it is the theatre where she acts; it is the business we have for her; it is to tell us things which nothing else could tell; it is to fill us with that kind of wisdom, which cometh down from above, and which is alone obtained by revelation, and by the powers which our holy religion confers, and by nothing else. In view then, of what we have already obtained, and of what there is to be obtained, we have assembled ourselves together in this remote land, to prepare for that which is coming on the earth, and we have this day laid the corner stones of this temple of God, and design, with as little delay as possible, to complete it, and to rear up to the name of our God in this city, "Far West," a house, which shall be a house of prayer, a house of learning, a house of order, and a house of God; where all the sciences, languages & c., which are taught in our country, in schools of the highest order, shall be taught. And the object is, to have it on a plan accessible to all classes, the poor, as well as the rich, that all persons in our midst, may have an opportunity to educate their children, both male and female, to any extent they please. So that all the talents in our midst, may be called forth, in order that we may avail ourselves, of all the means God puts into our hands, and put it into the power of all, to deliver themselves from the impositions, and frauds, which are practicing upon the more illiterate part of the community, by those who have had superior advantages, or as far, at least, as learning can go to obtain this object.

One part of the house, shall be set apart for a place of worship, where we shall invoke our God for revelations, when we have gone as far as human learning can carry us, that by revelations, visions & c. we may fill the vacuum still left, after science and philosophy have done all they can do. So that we may have that understanding, and that wisdom which brings salvation, and that knowledge which is unto eternal life.

That whether there are wars, or famines, or pestilences, or earthquakes, or distress of nations, or whatever may come according to the purposes of our God, that we may know it before hand, and be prepared for it, so that none of these things shall overtake us as a thief in the night, and while we are crying peace and safety, sudden destruction come upon us.

The Savior of the world himself, while he was here with his disciples, said, that, "As it was in the days of Noah, so should it be at the coming of the Son of man. They were eating, they were drinking, they were marrying, and giving in marriage, and knew not, till the flood came and swept them all away—So shall it be, at
II

the coming of the Son of man." And Paul declared to the saints of his day, "That the day of the Lord so cometh, as a thief in the night. That when the people are crying peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them, and they shall not escape. And that wicked men and seducers, would wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived." They will, says Peter, say, "where is the promise of his coming; for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

Such is to be the state of the world, at the most important period in the existence of man's earthly residence. The description given by Isaiah, is tremendous in the extreme, "Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof. And it shall be, as with the people so with the priest; as with the servant so with his master, as with the maid so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender so with the borrower; as with the taker of usury, so with the giver of usury to him; the land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled for the Lord hath spoken this word. The earth mourneth and fadeth away, the world languisheth, and fadeth away; the haughty people of the earth do languish. The earth is also defiled under the inhabitants thereof, because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore hath the curse devoured the earth, and they that dwell therein are desolate; therefore the inhabitants of the earth are burned, and few men left."

The prophet Malachi describing the same scene and the same period of calamity says, "For behold, the day cometh that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble; and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.

The psalmist David, in the majesty of his prophetic power, has left us a warning also, when he says, "The mighty God, even the Lord hath spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof. Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined. Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence; a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him; He shall call to the heavens from above and to the earth (that he may judge his people). Gather my saints together unto me; those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice. And the heavens shall declare his righteousness; for God is Judge himself.

Having then knowledge of these things, and the voice of God being unto us, to gather together, and make a covenant with our God by sacrifice. We have given heed thereto, and, are here this day as witnesses for God, that he has not spoken in vain, neither has he said in vain. But the day and the hour of his judgements sleepeth not, neither do they slumber: and whether men believe or do not believe, it alters not the word which God has caused to be spoken, but come it must, and come it will, and that to the astonishment, the confusion, and the dismay, of thousands who believe not, neither will they regard, until overtaken by it as a thief in the night, and sudden distraction come upon them, and there be none to deliver.

Knowing therefore the terrors of the Lord, we warn our fellow men, not only by precept, but example also, by leaving our former homes, to which we were bound by the strongest ties, suffering a sacrifice of the greatest share of
our earthly possessions. Many of us, in times past, were rich, but for Jesus’ sake, and at the command of our God we have become poor, because he [Christ] became poor for our sakes; so in like manner, we follow his example, and become poor for his sake.

And as Moses left Egypt not fearing the wrath of the king, and refused to be called the son of Pharaoh’s daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, having respect to the recompence of reward. So do we, we choose to suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than enjoy the flatteries of the world for a season.

It is not because we cannot, if we were so disposed, enjoy both the honors and flatteries of the world, but we have voluntarily offered them in sacrifice, and the riches of the world also, for a more durable substance. Our God has promised us a reward of eternal inheritance, and we have believed his promise, and though we wade through great tribulation, we are in nothing discouraged, for we know he that has promised is faithful. The promise is sure, and the reward is certain. It is because of this, that we have taken the spoiling of our goods. Our cheeks have been given to the smiters, and our heads to those who have plucked off the hair. We have not only when smitten on one cheek turned the other, but we have done it, again and again, until we are weary of being smitten, and tired of being trampled upon. We have proved the world with kindness, we have suffered their abuse without cause, with patience, and have endured without resentment, until this day, and still their persecutions and violence does not cease. But from this day and this hour, we will suffer it no more.

We take God and all the holy angels to witness this day, that we warn all men in the name of Jesus Christ, to come on us no more forever. For from this hour, we will bear it no more, our rights shall no more be trampled on with impunity. The man or the set of men, who attempts it, does it at the expense of their lives. And that mob that comes on us to disturb us: it shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them, till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses, and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed.—Remember it then all men.

We will never be the aggressors, we will infringe on the rights of no people; but shall stand for our own until death. We claim our own rights, and are willing that all others shall enjoy theirs.

No man shall be at liberty to come into our streets, to threaten us with mobs, for if he does, he shall atone for it before he leaves the place, neither shall he be at liberty, to vilify and slander any of us, for suffer it we will not in this place.

We therefore, take all men to record this day, that we proclaim our liberty on this day, as did our fathers. And we pledge this day to one another our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honors, to be delivered from the persecutions which we have had to endure, for the last nine years, or nearly that. Neither will we indulge any man, or set of men, in instituting vexatious lawsuits against us, to cheat us out of our just rights, if they attempt it we say we will unto them.

We this day then proclaim ourselves free, with a purpose and a determination, that never can be broken, “no never! no never!! NO NEVER.”!!!
Mormon Bibliography:
1973

Chad J. Flake*

In a recent meeting, the Mormon History Association announced its plan to publish a journal. This news was received with great pleasure by most of the members of the Association. However, in a day when periodicals are having to go out of business due to the rising cost of paper, labor, and postage, some have felt it to be a poor idea. One only has to look at the Mormon-related periodicals to see the tenuous nature of these publications. This year the RLDS publication Courage and Velton Peabody’s Mormonia were discontinued due to financial difficulties, and Dialogue has frequently asked for financial help to maintain its fragile hold on life. BYU Studies and Utah Historical Quarterly have no apparent difficulty, being funded by Brigham Young University and the Utah Historical Society respectively.

There is a second reason why it seems to us to be an unfortunate decision. We feel that one more “house” type organ is not needed. There are an adequate number of places that non-technical or general articles can be published: The Ensign, Dialogue, BYU Studies, and the Utah Historical Quarterly for starters. One can argue that Dialogue and Utah Historical Quarterly don’t fall into that category, but that is quibbling. They still are published by and for a limited audience. What is needed is to have more Mormon scholars publish in national magazines and historical quarterlies such as The New England Quarterly, Ohio History, Missouri Historical Review, Arizona and the West, and New York History, to mention just a few. It would both enlarge the scope of audience, and I suspect, improve the quality of the material published. This advantage

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is two-fold. In the first place it would give our scholars national coverage. Secondly, it would provide those publications with articles that are more compassionate toward the Church than some that have appeared in recent months.

As in the past, for the compilation of the Mormon Bibliography, I have relied heavily on Mormon Americana, vol. 15, 1973.

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Gary P. Gillum®

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