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Edited by William D. Morain

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About This Journal

The *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* is published semi-annually by the John Whitmer Historical Association. The association's purposes are to create and encourage interest in Latter Day Saint history, especially the history of the Community of Christ, to promote communication, research, and publication in the field of Latter Day Saint history, and to provide vehicles for the dissemination of scholarly research to persons interested in Latter Day Saint history. For more information, visit the association website: *www.jwha.info*.

Papers for consideration will be reviewed by the editorial committee and should be submitted in a digital file (preferably Microsoft *Word*) using the most current *Chicago Manual of Style* format. Send all submissions and queries to the editor via email: *anplsurg@grm.net*.

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The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal

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The Walrus Talks

William D. Morain

"The time has come," the Walrus said, "To talk of many things: Of Saints—and Shipps—and sealing-writs—And shadowing of wings … and also of letters to the editor.

The *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* has heretofore had no tradition of publishing letters, and it's time for that to change. We hear second-hand feedback about our articles from time to time and think a mechanism should exist to share those thoughts with our readership.

But there be rules:

1. A limit of 350 words will be enforced. Any that are longer will be returned to the author for revision.
2. *Journal* staff may perform copy editing for editorial purposes of usage and grammar.
3. Statements arguing for ecclesiastical or doctrinal positions will be rejected.
4. The *Journal* is a historical publication—not a sectarian one.
5. Any letters concerning a previously published article will be forwarded to the original author in order that he/she may respond alongside.
6. Tasteless or disparaging comments mirroring those on so many contemporary Facebook pages of late will be rejected outright. Contributors should remember what their mothers taught them.
7. Letters concerning book reviews will not be published. Authors who disagree with comments by reviewers have already made book-length statements explaining their positions.
8. This may not be the end of the rules.

Of course, we prefer letters that extol the wisdom and flair of our authors, but neither they nor we need the protection of a closed forum. The *Journal* belongs to the members of the John Whitmer Historical Association; accordingly, all members may speak … including the Walrus, if he pays his dues.

R. Jean Addams, JWHA President 2012–13

The Establishment and Redemption of Zion

R. Jean Addams

Presidential Address
Forty-First Annual Meeting
of the
John Whitmer Historical Association
Council Bluffs, Iowa
September 28, 2013

December 1833: President Joseph Smith proclaimed a prophecy: "that you may know my will concerning the redemption of Zion"[1] (LDS D&C 101:43/ RLDS D&C 98:6a).[2]

1. Joseph Smith proclaimed this revelation on December 16, 1833, at Kirtland, Ohio. Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1948 printing), 1:458–64, hereafter cited as *History of the LDS Church*.

2. D&C refers to the Doctrine and Covenants, a compilation of "revelations" delivered by the Prophet Joseph Smith and his successors. Because of the differences in belief regarding the matter of succession (following the death of Smith), several of the expressions of the Restoration have included in this publication revelations that they believe are pertinent to their distinct and separate church organizations. Additionally, what is, or is not, included and the particular numbering method for verses varies between these separate church entities. For simplicity, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is hereafter referred to as the LDS Church. Because this article deals with the period before 2001 when the RLDS Church's name changed to Community of Christ (while legally retaining its incorporated name), I use "RLDS Church" throughout. The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) uses the original compilation of early Joseph Smith revelations known as the Book of Commandments published in 1833. Many of the revelations cited in this article, however, are from the period 1834 and beyond. Again, for simplicity, the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) will be generally hereafter referred to as the Church of Christ. The parenthetical enclosure of (Temple Lot) is not part of the official name of the church but is often used to distinguish itself from other denominations also named Church of Christ.

November 1900: LDS President Lorenzo Snow, speaking to a conference setting, stated: "Now the time is fast approaching when a large portion of the people I am now addressing will go back to Jackson county."[3]

August 1905: Church of Christ (Temple Lot) editor John Haldeman wrote: "As one marshalls [*sic*] the elements requisite to the redemption and establishment of Zion there is one very important question that always presents itself for answer. How shall the money be raised?"[4]

Summer 1934: LDS Apostle John A. Widtsoe proclaimed: "Our obligation is to the Lord, and when He wills He will direct us to build a temple in Jackson County … we look forward to a time when a temple shall be built and when we shall return."[5]

October 1942: RLDS President Frederick M. Smith commented: "It is a cause for rejoicing among the saints to know that already the problems of gathering and establishment of Zion are pressing more heavily upon us … we will constantly be in need of the encouragement that lies in our slogan, 'Onward to Zion,' even though the road be upward and difficult."[6]

Introduction

This essay reviews the efforts of the young Church of Christ to comply with the early revelations and expectations of President Joseph Smith Jr. (1831–33) regarding the establishment of Zion in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri. This nearly three-year period came to a dramatic and tragic end in the late fall of 1833, with the expulsion of the church and its members from Jackson County.

After this pioneering attempt to establish Zion, this article shifts to the efforts of three separate expressions of the Restoration (churches who base their beginnings

3. Lorenzo Snow, "The Redemption of Zion," *Millennial Star* 62, no. 48 (November 29, 1900): 753–56. Snow addressed a stake conference setting in the Salt Lake Tabernacle on November 7, 1900.

4. John R. Haldeman, untitled article—subject is the Redemption of Zion, *Evening and Morning Star* 6, no. 4 (August 1905): 1. This periodical should not be confused with the original *Evening and Morning Star*, also published in Independence but in 1832–33 and in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1834. This second *Evening and Morning Star* replaced the *Searchlight* in May 1900 as the Church of Christ's official newspaper and ceased publication in late 1916. It was replaced by *Zion's Advocate* in May 1922 and has been continually published to the present. John R. Haldeman served as editor until his death in 1912. He was the son of early Church of Christ member Adna C. Haldeman.

5. John A. Widtsoe, *Answers to Seminary Teachers' Questions: Summer School 1934* (n.p.), 32. Reproduction of original was granted by the LDS Church Educational System.

6. Frederick M. Smith, "Problems of the Gathering," *Saints' Herald* 89, no. 12 (October 17, 1942): 3. The *Saints' Herald* has been the official periodical of the RLDS Church (now Community of Christ as previously noted) since 1860. Originally named the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald*, it was first published at Cincinnati, Ohio. The name was changed to the *Saints' Herald* in 1877 and in 1881 the paper was relocated to Lamoni, Iowa. The paper was again relocated to Independence, Missouri, in 1920. More recently the name has again been modified to the *Herald*, hereafter cited as the *Herald*. Inez Smith Davis, *The Story of the Church* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1943), 393.

on the early mission and revelations of Joseph Smith), namely: the Church of Christ (Temple Lot), the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now known as Community of Christ), and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to "redeem Zion" in compliance with other instructions/revelations by Smith in the years following the expulsion.

The first of this trio of churches to initiate a return (1867) to Jackson County was the Church of Christ. Their specific mission was specifically to reclaim/repurchase the "Temple Lot" that had been dedicated by Joseph Smith in August 1831. The RLDS Church, while initially restraining its members from making a return to Independence, authorized, with President Joseph Smith III's blessing, a cautious return beginning in 1877. While certainly the desire to redeem Zion was not a forgotten tenet of the LDS Church, then located in Utah, it was not until years later (1900) before an organized movement was undertaken to re-establish a permanent presence in Jackson County, and Independence in particular.

The early land acquisitions, the construction of churches, and the undertaking of other ventures to facilitate the "Redemption of Zion" are hereafter examined. Finally, this essay will discuss the three churches' plans to build a temple on or near the designated "Temple Lot" with the exception of the LDS Church which chose, instead, to build a temple nearby in Clay County, across the Missouri River to the north of Jackson County.

The Establishment of Zion

Before we can discuss the "Redemption of Zion," we need to briefly define "Zion" and then relate that definition to the earliest days of the latter-day Restoration and the establishment of Zion as revealed to and understood by the young prophet Joseph Smith Jr. On April 6, 1830, Joseph Smith and a group of early adherents met together and formed the Church of Christ in upstate New York.[7] From this early nineteenth-century beginning, the missionaries of the church preached a gospel heavily punctuated with a millenarian spirit, that is, that the "end of times" was near and that the prophesied return of Christ to this earth and the commencement of his Millennial Reign were imminent. Responding to instructions outlined by Smith, both the missionaries sent out to proclaim the restoration and those who listened and converted were filled with a sense of millennial destiny.[8] New Testament (specifically the Book of Revelation 3:12 and 21:2) and Book of Mormon references to Zion and a

7. The name of the original church founded by Joseph Smith Jr. on April 6, 1830, at Fayette, New York, was recorded as the Church of Christ. The name of the church later *became* the Church of the Latter Day Saints in 1834, during the Kirtland, Ohio, period. It was not until 1838 when Joseph Smith at Far West, Missouri, formalized the name of the church as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (or Latter Day Saints).

8. Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1999). No specific page has been cited here. This text is an excellent read on the subject as captured in its title.

New Jerusalem were common themes used by the early leaders of the infant church and were subjects readily accepted by prospective converts.

The publication of the Book of Mormon in the month preceding the official organization of the Church of Christ indicated that there would be a "New Jerusalem" built somewhere "upon this land" (LDS Ether 13:4/RLDS Ether 6:4). Prior to the September 1830 conference of the church held at Fayette, New York, Smith proclaimed, "No man knoweth where the city of Zion shall be built, but it shall be given hereafter. Behold, I say unto you that it shall be on the borders by the Lamanites" (LDS D&C 28:9/RLDS D&C 27:3d). From this first recorded latter-day revelation on the subject of the city of Zion, the church was infused with an insatiable desire to be a party to its establishment wherever and whenever that might be!

Sometime in the following month, many of the new elders of the church were concerned about the blessings and destiny of the Lamanites (specifically, those Indian tribes living across the western state line of Missouri) referred to in the Book of Mormon.[9] Oliver Cowdrey, Peter Whitmer Jr., Parley P. Pratt, and Ziba Peterson, all recently ordained elders, were subsequently appointed as missionaries to go "into the wilderness among the Lamanites" (LDS D&C 32:1–3/RLDS D&C 31:1a–c). This designation was readily understood by the new adherents to Smith's church as the vast reaches of the continent west of the state of Missouri, to which US President Andrew Jackson was "strongly encouraging" Indian tribes of the southeastern area of the United States to relocate.[10]

On February 9, 1831, soon after Smith had relocated the church to the Kirtland, Ohio, area, he proclaimed, "the time shall come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, when the city of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared" and "it shall be revealed unto you in mine own due time where the New Jerusalem shall be built" (LDS D&C 42:9, 62/RLDS D&C 42:3b, 17b).[11] To the members of the rapidly growing young church this announcement carried with it considerable excitement and a great sense of anticipation. Later, in June 1831, Smith claimed receipt of divine instruction to "take your journey … unto the land of Missouri, unto the borders of

Sample chapters include: "The Eschatological Background of Early Mormonism," "Mormons and Millenarians," and "The Bible, the Mormons, and Millenarianism."

9. *History of the LDS Church*, 1:118. "The desire being so great, it was agreed that we should inquire of the Lord respecting the propriety of sending some of the Elders among them [Lamanites/American Indians], which we according did, and received the following"; the result being that Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer Jr., and Ziba Peterson were appointed as noted above.

10. The Indian Removal Act was signed into law by President Andrew Jackson on May 28, 1830. The tribes primarily affected were the Five Civilized Tribes: Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole. Other tribes affected and removed included the Wyandot, Potawatomi, Shawnee, and Lenape. "The law was passed after a bitter debate in Congress." See *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Indian Removal Act," last modified December 15, 2013, http://wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Removal_Act.

11. Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, vol. eds., *Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations/Manuscript Revelation Books* (Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press, 2009), 103.

the Lamanites" (LDS D&C 54:8/RLDS D&C 54:2b). Smith and his companions left Kirtland soon thereafter and arrived in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, in mid-July 1831.[12] Other missionaries were also sent to Missouri, some leaving before the Smith party and others shortly thereafter (LDS D&C 52:22–38/RLDS D&C 52:5b–9a).

Shortly after his party's arrival, Smith announced this location to be the "chosen place" for the gathering of his followers.[13] In this revelation, the town of Independence, Missouri, was designated as "the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the court-house" (LDS D&C 57:1–3/ RLDS D&C 57:1a–d). In addition, Joseph Smith dedicated this "spot for a temple" on August 3, 1831.[14] In December 1831, following Smith's trip, church bishop Edward Partridge purchased a 63.27 acre tract of land in Independence that encompassed the location where Smith and others had dedicated the "spot" for the millennial temple.[15]

For purposes of this presentation, Zion is hereby defined as a specific physical location. Granted, there are many other uses of the word "Zion," particularly in latter-day scriptures such as seeking "to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion" (LDS D&C 6:6/RLDS D&C 6:3a) and "let Zion rejoice, for this is Zion—THE PURE IN HEART" (LDS D&C 97:21/ RLDS D&C 94:5c). Additionally, after the Mormons had fled from Missouri in 1838–39 and established themselves in Nauvoo, Illinois, Joseph Smith announced in April 1844: "I have now a great proclamation for Elders to teach the Church hereafter which is in relation to Zion. The whole of North and South America is Zion," a further expansion of the many definitions of Zion.[16]

However, with the July 20, 1831, revelation denoting the "center place" and a "land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion" (LDS D&C 57:1–3/RLDS D&C 57:1a–d), the much anticipated location of Zion was no longer a mystery to early church members. As such, Zion or the site for the city of the New Jerusalem, was, and is, specifically designated as Independence, Jackson County, Missouri.

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12. Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1805–1890*, 4 vols.; continued by F. Henry Edwards as *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1890–1946*, vols. 5–8 (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1897–1903), 1976 printing, 1:201–2, hereafter cited as *History of the RLDS Church*; *History of the LDS Church*, 1:189.

13. *History of the LDS Church*, 1:189. Joseph Smith recorded (paraphrasing Old Testament Prophet Isaiah—Isaiah 35:1): "When will the wilderness blossom as the rose? When will Zion be built up in her glory, and where will Thy temple stand, unto which all nations shall come in the last days?" He continued: "Our anxiety was soon relieved by receiving the following."

14. Ibid., 1:196.

15. Jackson County, Missouri, Property Records, Jones H. Flourney and Clara Flourney to Edward Partridge, 19 December 1831, Independence, Missouri, B:1. The legal description of the parcel is: "63 and 43/160th acres in Section 3, Township 9, Range 32."

16. Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 360.

The Colesville branch of the church, recently established in the Kirtland area after moving from western New York, was again counseled in early June 1831 to go on to Jackson County, Missouri (LDS D&C 54:7–8/RLDS D&C 54:2a–b).[17] Other early converts followed, anxious to go to Zion. By early 1833, a little over two years since those first missionaries had gone to "the borders by the Lamanites," it is estimated that there were 810 members of the struggling young church in Jackson County.[18] Throughout the spring and early summer of 1833 others arrived heeding the call to "go to Zion," bringing the population to perhaps twelve hundred individuals.[19]

This essay is not intended to discuss in detail the reasons or causes of why the church's effort to establish Zion in Jackson County, Missouri, was short-lived. But with the mass meeting of county residents, and the "tar and feathering" of Bishop Edward Partridge and Charles Allen on July 20, 1833, it was apparent that these early Mormons' sojourn in Zion was about to end.[20] Mobbing and deprivations on a large and determined scale began on October 31, 1833, and the church was literally driven *en masse* out of the county by November 8. Most members fled north across the Missouri River to accommodating Clay County.[21]

The Redemption of Zion—Zion's Camp

Joseph Smith had been advised of the July troubles by Oliver Cowdery, who had been sent by "the brethren in Zion" on July 24 or 25 and arrived in Kirtland possibly as early as mid-August.[22] However, in what must have been an unsettling announcement while he and Sidney Rigdon were on a mission in October 1833 in Perrysville,

17. William G. Hartley, *Stand by My Servant Joseph: The Story of the Joseph Knight Family and the Restoration* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book in conjunction with the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for LDS History, 2003), 119; *History of the LDS Church*, 180–81.

18. *Church History in the Fulness of Times* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 111. No author, hereafter cited as *Church History in the Fulness of Times*. Prepared by the LDS Church Educational System.

19. "'Regulating' the Mormonites," *Niles' Register* (Baltimore, MD), September 14, 1833, 48.

20. *History of the RLDS Church*, 1:316.

21. For excellent readings covering this early settlement period (1831–33) in Jackson County, Missouri, see Ronald E. Romig and John H. Siebert, "First Impressions: The Independence, Missouri Printing Operation, 1832–33," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 10 (1990): 51–66; Thomas M. Spencer, "Introduction: Persecutions in the Most Odious sense of the Word," *The Missouri Mormon Experience*, ed. Thomas M. Spencer (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010), 1–8, hereafter cited as *The Missouri Mormon Experience*; Ronald E. Romig and Michael S. Riggs, "The Appointed Time," Spencer, *The Missouri Mormon Experience*, 27–49; and James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 81–93;

22. *History of the LDS Church*, 1:395, 407; *Church History in the Fulness of Times*, 134; and B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Provo, UT: Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 1:358–59, hereafter cited as *Comprehensive History of The LDS Church*. Cowdery would have left shortly after a Memorandum of Agreement was signed by the Jackson County "Citizens Committee" and by church leaders in Independence on July 23, 1833.

New York,[23] Smith proclaimed: "And now I give unto you a word concerning Zion. Zion shall be redeemed although she is chastened for a little season" (LDS D&C 100:13/RLDS D&C 97:4a). The terminology "to be redeemed," particularly as it applied to Zion, i.e., Jackson County, was certainly a clear message that what was once "established" was "no more" and thus the first latter-day scriptural use of the word "redeemed" as it pertained to Zion. This concept was further amplified with the personal report delivered four months later in February 1834 by Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight. Pratt and Wight had been designated by the Clay County refugees (at a meeting on January 1, 1834)[24] to travel in mid-winter to Kirtland to counsel with Smith. Upon arrival in Kirtland they were to advise him of the pitiful situation of his downtrodden, disheartened, and desperate followers clinging to mere existence whose subsistence was facilitated only by the generous people of Clay County who were providing them food, shelter, and employment as they were able. Pratt and Wight arrived on February 22, 1834.[25]

On February 24, 1834, Smith proclaimed that "the redemption of Zion must needs come by power" (LDS D&C 103:15/RLDS D&C 100:3d) and "as your fathers were led at the first, even so shall the redemption of Zion be" (LDS D&C 103:18/RLDS D&C 100:3e). From these "warm up" verses came to be what has since been known as the "call for Zion's Camp."[26] The message continued:

> Therefore let my servant Joseph Smith, Jun. say unto the strength of my house … Gather yourselves together unto the land of Zion, upon the land which I have bought with money that has been consecrated unto me …
>
> It is my will that my servant Sidney Rigdon shall lift up his voice … in the eastern countries, in preparing the churches to keep the commandments which I have given unto them concerning the restoration and redemption of Zion. (LDS D&C 103:29/RLDS D&C 100:6b)

From this "call" the church recruited approximately two hundred able-bodied men (together with a few women and children who wanted to establish their families in Missouri) to travel to Jackson County. They assembled at New Portage, Ohio. On

23. *History of the LDS Church*, 1:416–21. Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, in company with Freeman Nickerson, commenced a mission that would take them to Nickerson's home in "Upper Canada." Smith's statement was made at "Father Nickerson's at Perrysburg, New York."

24. *History of the RLDS Church*, 1:399; Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970), 107–9.

25. *History of the RLDS Church*, 1:435; *Church History in the Fulness of Times*, 141. Pratt and Lyman arrived in Kirtland on February 22, 1834.

26. For excellent readings on this subject see Roger D. Launius, *Zion's Camp* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1984), hereafter cited as *Zion's Camp*; James L. Bradley, *Zion's Camp 1837: Prelude to the Civil War* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1990), hereafter cited as Zion's Camp 1837; James L. Bradley, *The Eternal Perspective of Zion's Camp* (Logan, UT: privately printed, 2004), hereafter cited as *Eternal Perspective of Zion's Camp*.

May 8, 1834, and with over twenty baggage wagons loaded with relief supplies, they left to redeem Zion, some 850 miles away, fully anticipating that they may have to accomplish the redemption of Zion by a quasi-military force.[27]

While encamped on the banks of the Fishing River in Clay County, just north of the Missouri River and Jackson County, word was received that there would be no assistance from the governor of the state in facilitating their reclamation efforts in Independence and vicinity as had been anticipated.[28] On June 22, 1834, Smith proclaimed:

> Therefore, in consequences of the transgressions of my people, it is expedient in me that mine elders should wait for a little season for the redemption of Zion. (LDS D&C 105:9, 13/RLDS D&C 102:3c, f)

Coupled with the devastating effects of a cholera epidemic that quickly spread through the ranks of the men (the disease claimed thirteen men and one woman),[29] the quasi-military body known as Zion's Camp was officially disbanded on June 30, 1834.[30]

The Redemption of Zion—Postponed

After a four-year effort to strengthen themselves as a church in newly created Caldwell County (located in northwest Missouri), the Mormons soon found themselves once again contesting with their neighbors.[31] Persecution of the Mormons by settlers in the surrounding counties (Carroll, Daviess, Livingston, Ray, and Clay) and by their old enemies from Jackson County, eventually culminated in armed conflict in what became known as the "Mormon War."[32] The infamous "extermination order," issued in late October 1838, by Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, castigated the church and its members as enemies of the state and authorized the state militia to "drive them from the state."[33] With the expulsion of the church from Missouri in the late fall and winter of 1838–39, the near-term hope of redeeming Zion was replaced with

27. *History of the LDS Church*, 2:63–65.

28. *A Comprehensive History of The LDS Church*, 1:358–59.

29. Bradley, *Zion's Camp 1837*, 207. Depending on the source, the number of those succumbing to the disease vary from thirteen to eighteen. Some lists include church members who were living in Clay County but not specifically members of Zion's Camp. Fourteen is the number given (men and women with names) by Heber C. Kimball, Joseph Noble, and Elizabeth Rollins Lightner.

30. Launius, *Zion's Camp*, 153.

31. Leland H. Gentry, *A History of Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 2000), 24.

32. Alexander L. Baugh, *A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 2000), 47, hereafter cited as *A Call to Arms*.

33. Ibid., 109. The date of Order No. 44 from Governor Lilburn W. Boggs to General John B. Clark is October 27, 1838.

a "delayed expectation," i.e., that the church would have to "wait for a little season, for the redemption of Zion" (LDS D&C 105:9, 13/RLDS D&C 102:3c, f).[34]

After the murders of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum in June 1844 in Carthage, Illinois,[35] the church struggled over the question of leadership.[36] Those who chose to follow Brigham Young to the Great Basin of the American west were realistic that Zion, that is Jackson County, Missouri, was going to be a considerable distance from where they were heading and intending to settle.[37] Anxious leaders were themselves aware that the redemption of Zion was a matter of concern amongst the membership of the church. Young addressed the matter four months prior to the departure of the pioneer company from Winter Quarters on the last leg of their journey. In a statement known as the "Word and Will of the Lord" given on January 14, 1847, on the west bank of the Missouri River near present-day Omaha, Nebraska, Young asserted a divine instruction to "go thy way and do as I have told you.... Zion shall be redeemed in mine own due time" (LDS D&C 136:17–18). Five years later, with the physical redemption of Zion apparently still fresh in the collective church mind, Young addressed a special conference of the LDS Church. In his discourse Young posed this rhetorical question: "When are we going back to Jackson county? Not until the Lord commands His people; and it is just as much as you and I can do to get ready to go, when He does command us."[38]

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34. For excellent readings covering this early settlement period (1836–39) in Caldwell County and northwest Missouri, in addition to Gentry, *A History of Latter-day Saints In Northern Missouri* and Baugh, *A Call to Arms*, see Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), and Brandon G. Kinney, *The Mormon War: Zion and the Missouri Extermination Order of 1838* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, LLC, 2011), 158–59.

35. The date of their murders was June 27, 1844. Preston Nibley, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944), 549–56 and Richard P. Howard, *The Church Through the Years*, Vol. 1 (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1992), 296.

36. Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration: A History of the Latter Day Saint Movement*, 3rd ed. (Bountiful, UT: Restoration Research, 1982), 31, hereafter cited as *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*.

37. Brigham Young was born on June 1, 1801, in Whitingham, Vermont. He was ordained a member of Joseph Smith's original Quorum of the Twelve Apostles on February 14, 1835. At the time of the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, he was the president of the quorum. After leading the first contingent of followers to the Great Salt Lake Basin in July 1847, he returned to southwest Iowa (Kanesville) and was subsequently sustained as the president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on December 27, 1847, by those assembled. He died in Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, at age seventy-six, on August 29, 1877. Robert V. Thurgood, *Our Prophet Leaders: A Pictorial History of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (n.p.: privately printed, 2012), 39; Preston Nibley, Brigham Young: The Man and His Work (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970), 1, various, 533.

38. "Special Conference at Salt Lake City," *Millennial Star*, *Supplement* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 1853): 11. The *Supplement* was sold separately (and was advertised in the January 1 edition) but was bound and included in the volume for the year 1853. It contained the full proceedings of a "Special Conference of Elders," held at the Salt Lake Tabernacle (old), on August 28, 1852.

Church of Christ (Temple Lot)—The Redemption Begins

Several men, besides Brigham Young, claimed the deceased Smith's prophetic "mantle" and attracted numerous adherents among those who stayed behind in Illinois, Wisconsin, and elsewhere. Many members who had traveled to southwest Iowa and had originally planned to go west with Young decided, for a variety of reasons, to go no farther.[39] As the claims of Rigdon, Strang, Smith, Wight, Brewster, Thompson, Bishop, Cutler, and others faded in the late 1840s and 1850s, two significant *new* groups of the faithful developed in the Midwest.[40]

One group of these scattered members consisted of three branches of the original church located in north-central Illinois.[41] Beginning in the winter of 1852, the same year that Brigham Young made his pronouncement regarding a future return to Jackson County, members from these small branches of the church began to meet together periodically. Their first recorded meeting was held at the home of self-appointed, local leader Granville Hedrick near Washburn, Woodford County; the branch was known as Half Moon Prairie.[42] Hedrick, a farmer and teacher, was an elder in the original church.[43] Several years later, now the acknowledged prophet of

39. Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846–1852: "and Should We Die…"* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 223–28.

40. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*, 36–40, 40–46, 53–55, 55–56, 51–53, 28–29, 60–65.

41. *Crow Creek Record: From Winter of 1852 to April 24, 1864* (Independence, MO: Church of Christ [Temple Lot], n.d.), preface. This is the title as it appears in the church's current edition, but the original document does not have a preface and is titled *The Record and History of the Crow Creek Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ (of Latter day Saints) which was organized on the 6th day of April A.D. 1830*, hereafter cited as *Crow Creek Record*. This group did not hyphenate "Latter" and "day." From 1852 to April 1864, minutes were taken by unnamed person(s) at meetings held at various places and at different times. Then, at an unknown date, they were compiled into a single volume, again by an unnamed person. I make this deduction from the verb tenses in the minutes. The compiler, when quoting the original record, generally used the past tense ("a meeting of the saints *was* held"). The original document is presumably in the possession of the Church of Christ, which allowed the LDS Church to microfilm it on October 4, 1977, in Independence. Microfilm copies are available at the LDS Church History Library, LDS Family History Library, and the Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri (MO 1–48A, reel 294).

42. *Crow Creek Record*, 1; Woodford County, Illinois, Property Records, John H. and Elizabeth Ann Hedrick to Granville Hedrick, 29 November 1849, E:279; James B. and Minerva Martin, John H. Hedrick and Elizabeth Anne, and America and Mary Jane Hedrick to Granville Hedrick, 25 February 1850, E:280–81; and Jane Hedrick to Granville Hedrick, 14 January 1851, Eureka, Illinois, E:278–79. Granville Hedrick's farm was located approximately a mile-and-a-half directly west of Washburn in Cazenovia Township, Woodford County. *Woodford County History* (Woodford County, IL: Woodford County Sesquicentennial History Committee, 1968), 20. Washburn was originally named Half Moon Prairie by early settlers who thought the prairie had that shape.

43. Granville Hedrick was born in Clark City, Indiana, in 1814, was converted to Mormonism between 1839 and 1843. According to one Church of Christ record, he was baptized by Hervey Green in 1843, probably in Washburn, where Hedrick owned a large farm that his father had purchased in 1834 and which Hedrick had acquired from his widowed mother (see previous footnote). Hedrick was also ordained an elder between 1841 and 1843. "More Testimony If Called For," *Truth Teller* 1, no. 2 (August 1864): 31. Interestingly, Hedrick purchased property in Johnson County, Kansas, about thirty-five miles southwest of Independence in 1874 (rather than Jackson County as directed by revelation in 1864) when he was sixty and made his home there until his death in 1881.

his people, Hedrick published a revelation which he claimed had been delivered to him by an angel on April 24, 1864, in the first issue (July 1864) of the *Truth Teller*, the Church of Christ's newspaper.[44] The Heavenly Messenger instructed him and his followers to "gather together upon the consecrated land which I have appointed and dedicated by My servant Joseph Smith." The year of gathering to Jackson County was identified in the revelation as 1867.[45] Among the diverse expressions of the Latter Day Saint movement, the Church of Christ (or "Hedrickites," as members of their church have been historically called) is unique in its early claim to a specific revelation to return as a church to Jackson County and to redeem or reclaim the Temple Lot in the "center place" of Zion.

The RLDS Church—The Redemption Begins

A second group of scattered members emerged under the early leadership of Jason W. Briggs and Zenas H. Gurley Sr., also in 1852.[46] These men, likewise elders in Joseph Smith's original church, had pondered their options after rebuffing the claims of Brigham Young. Beginning in late 1851, both men independently reported that they had received revelations directing them to reject all claimants to the prophetic mission of the church's founder. The language of the revelation to Jason W. Briggs stated: "in my own due time will I call upon the seed of Joseph Smith."[47] Both men proclaimed that Joseph Smith's successor would be Joseph's eldest son, Joseph Smith III.[48] After some correspondence, the two "agreed to hold a conference in Newark

44. The *Truth Teller* was the official monthly newspaper of the Church of Christ published between July 1864 and June 1865 at Bloomington, Illinois. Publication was restarted in June 1868 at Independence, Missouri (two issues only). Of note: the name used in the mast is the Church of Jesus Christ (of Latter Day Saints).

45. Granville Hedrick, "Revelation," *Truth Teller* 1, no. 1 (July 1864): 4. The personal delivery of the revelation by an angel does not appear in the 1864 article, or, to my knowledge, anywhere else in print. Nicholas F. Denham, in an emotional reminiscence, related that, as a teenager, the Hedrick family showed him the bed that Granville Hedrick was sleeping in when "an angel appeared to him and gave him the revelation to return to Jackson County." Nicholas F. Denham, Interview by R. Jean Addams, September 2005.

46. *The History of the RLDS Church*, 3:209. Jason W. Briggs was baptized and ordained an elder in 1841 in the original church. After Joseph Smith's assassination, he followed James Strang and William Smith, became disillusioned, and presided over the New Organization's first conference in 1852. He was ordained an apostle in 1853 and became president of the quorum of apostles. The RLDS conference in 1885 did not sustain him, and he formally withdrew in 1886. He died in 1899. Zenas H. Gurley Sr. was baptized and ordained an elder in the original church in 1838, followed James Strang and William Smith after Joseph Smith's death, and was ordained an apostle in the New Organization in 1853. He functioned in this capacity until his death in 1871.

47. Ibid., 3:201. Jason W. Briggs received this revelation in October 1851 and published the text in the *Messenger* (Salt Lake City, UT) 2, no. 1 (November 1875): 1. This periodical, published 1874–77, has been reprinted by Price Publishing Company of Independence, 1996.

48. Ibid., 3:209; Joseph Smith III was the eldest surviving son of Joseph Smith Jr. and Emma Hale Smith. He was born in Kirtland, Ohio, on November 6, 1832. Smith was only eleven years old when his father was murdered at Carthage, Illinois. When Brigham Young led the majority of the Mormons in the Nauvoo, Illinois, area west, young Joseph's mother and siblings stayed behind. Emma's family remained aloof from the claims of the many

branch at Beloit, Wisconsin, in June 1852. At the time appointed quite a number of the saints assembled."[49] The Briggs and Gurley group initially called itself the "New Organization."[50] In March 1860, Joseph Smith III, after electing to accept the position, wrote to William Marks,[51] advising him, "I am soon going to take my father's place as the head of the Mormon church."[52] The New Organization now with headquarters in Plano, Illinois, changed its name to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1866.[53]

Though small in number, the Church of Christ's 1864 revelation to return to Jackson County, apparently had an unsettling effect on RLDS members. Two months later, Joseph Smith III counseled the church: "We would caution all our readers against going to that land [Jackson County] before God commands His

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aspirants to the mantle of her husband. In the late 1850s, several individuals began to assimilate many of the Latter Day Saints that had remained in the Midwest. Certain of these individuals believed that Joseph Smith III should be the head of the New Organization. In early 1860 Smith agreed and on April 6, 1860, (thirty years to the day that his father had organized the original church) he was sustained as "President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." On February 5, 1873, in an effort to distinguish the Smith III-led church from the Brigham Young-led church of the same name headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, the name was changed to the Reorganized church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Joseph Smith III presided over the RLDS Church for over fifty-four years. His death occurred in Independence, Missouri, on December 10, 1914. Roger D. Launius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), various; Mary Audentia Smith Anderson and Bertha Audentia Anderson Hulmes, eds., *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1952), various.

49. Ibid.

50. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*, 65. Shields used "New Organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." Ronald E. Romig, former Community of Christ archivist, e-mail message to author, February 7, 2008, clarified: "The term 'New Organization' was never an official name of the church. The name was: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. However, the term [New Organization] was and still is often used to describe the early Reorganization." See also Charles Millard Turner, "Joseph Smith III and the Mormons of Utah," (PhD diss., University of California, 1985), chap. 4; Bert C. Flint, *An Outline History of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot)* (Independence, MO: The Board of Publications, Church of Christ, 1953), 92–96, hereafter cited as *An Outline History of the Church of Christ*.

51. Marks had been president of the Nauvoo Stake at the time of Joseph Smith's death but was not sustained by the church in October 1844. He briefly followed James Strang. Marks formally associated with the New Organization in 1859, was mouth for the ordination of Joseph Smith III in 1860, and served as a counselor to Smith until his death in 1872. *The History of the RLDS Church*, 3:721–26; Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The LDS Church*, 2:455.

52. *History of the RLDS Church*, 3:264; Frederick B. Blair, comp., *Memoirs of President W. W. Blair* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Publishing House, 1908; Independence, MO: Price Publishing Company, 1994), 30–31; Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, ed., *Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III (1832–1914)*, photo-reprint edition, Richard P. Howard, ed. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1979), 72, hereafter cited as *Memoirs of Joseph Smith III*. The Anderson edition was serialized in the *Herald*, November 6, 1934–July 31, 1937.

53. The national negative publicity about Mormon polygamy was a major reason for emphasizing this difference in the church's name, beginning in the 1860s. Formal voting on the name occurred on October 21, 1872, at the semiannual conference of the church held at Plano, Illinois; filed in the office of the Recorder of Deeds in Kendall County, Illinois, on February 5, 1873. The April 2000 World Conference approved changing the church's name to Community of Christ, effective April 6, 2001, while legally retaining its incorporation name: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. See *History of the RLDS Church*, 3:709–14.

saints to go there by His prophet Joseph. If any go there before that time, they may expect that the judgments of God will come upon them."[54]

When the members of the Church of Christ relocated to Independence in 1867, they discovered that two local developers (Maxwell and Woodson) had laid out an addition to the City of Independence in 1851. This annexation included "Lot 15," which encompassed the traditional location where Joseph Smith laid a simple cornerstone when he dedicated the temple site on August 3, 1831.[55] John Hedrick and William Eaton thereafter acquired eight contiguous lots between 1867 and 1874, including "Lot 15," the total consisting of two-and-a-half acres.[56] They subsequently quit-claimed their lots to Granville Hedrick as "trustee in trust" for the Church of Christ.[57] Twelve days after Eaton's quit-claim (November 17, 1877), the *Kansas City Times* announced, though without attribution, "It is definitely asserted that the erection of the Temple will shortly be commenced" as envisioned by Joseph Smith in 1831.[58]

By 1877, the RLDS Church was carefully developing its own "return" to Zion strategy. In January 1877, Joseph Smith III stated: "We now state that we are decidedly of the opinion that those who may so desire, can move into that state [meaning Missouri] in safety."[59] In the Independence area, RLDS membership grew rapidly in the late 1870s and 1880s. Construction on the "Brick Church" began in 1879; the church's first building in Jackson County or Zion. However, the growing congregation dictated the purchase of a new site for a larger edifice. Property was subsequently acquired across the street from the Temple Lot on Lexington Avenue. The cornerstone of what became known as the "Stone Church" was laid on April 6, 1888. By

54. Joseph Smith [III], "Truth Vindicated," *Herald* 6, no. 4 (August 15, 1864): 49. Shortly after Hedrick's April revelation, Joseph III counseled the members at a special conference at Amboy, Illinois, on June 25, 1864: "You are forbidden to receive his [Hedrick's] teachings." Minutes, Special Conference held at Amboy, 25 June 1864, Community of Christ Archives-Library.

55. Richard and Pamela Price, *The Temple of the Lord* (Independence, MO: Price Publishing Company, 1982), 77. This book prints the testimony of John Taylor (a member of the original church but not the third LDS Church president) in the Temple Lot Case: "The corner stone was up above the ground that marked the Temple, and I saw it myself with these eyes."

56. Jackson County, Property Records, Jacob Tindall to John Hedrick, 22 August 1867, 50:331–32 (lot 21); John Montgomery to John H. Hedrick, 24 September 1867, 50: 332 (lot 20); and George W. Buchanan to John H. Hedrick, 12 December 1867, 53:526–27 (lot 16); Joseph C. and Mary Irwin to William Eaton, 9 July 1873, 104: 311 (lots 17, 18, 19, 22); and Maria McClanahan and Susan Nelson to William Eaton, 7 March 1874, 104:517 (lot 15), Independence, Missouri.

57. Jackson County, Property Records, John Hedrick, quit-claimed three lots to Granville Hedrick, 8 November 1869, 73:1–2 (lots 16, 20, 21); William Eaton, quit-claimed five lots to Granville Hedrick, 5 November 1877, 115:452–54 (lots 15, 17, 18, 19, 22), Independence, Missouri.

58 "A Mormon Temple for Missouri," *Kansas City Times*, November 18, 1877, 2.

59. *History of the RLDS Church*, 4:166–67; Joseph Smith III and Henry Stebbins, "Notes on Travel," *Herald* 24, no. 2 (January 15, 1877): 25.

April 1892, while not completed, the beautiful building was "ready for occupancy."[60] Indeed, Zion was being redeemed!

Meanwhile, the Church of Christ, owning the two-and-a-half-acre Temple Lot property, had yet to build a meeting house on the acreage purchased between 1867 and 1877. This inactivity was primarily due to limited numbers (less than a hundred members in the Jackson County area) and the requisite resources to build a church.[61] Perhaps spurred on by the construction activities of their rivals, the Church of Christ conference authorized construction of a house of worship in April 1884.[62] Construction on their 16 x 25 feet building was completed in 1889.[63] Tragically, the chapel was torched by an arsonist in 1898.[64] A much larger church was dedicated in 1902.[65] Indeed, Zion was being redeemed!

The LDS Church—Redemption via a "Consecrated Stock" Fund

During this same general time period (1870s–90s), far to the west in the Territory of Utah, the discussion of an eventual return to Jackson County was "alive and well." Several LDS Church leaders often discoursed on the "Redemption of Zion" in semi-annual conference addresses, and in other settings.[66] For instance, Apostle Orson Hyde, who often spoke to this subject, remarked in an address delivered in the new Tabernacle in Salt Lake City on June 14, 1874, that "we Latter-day Saints expect to return to Jackson County and to build a Temple there before the genera-

60. Richard A. Brown, *An Illustrated History of the Stone Church* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1988), 5, 6–7, 8, 10–11.

61. John R. Haldeman, "Secretary's Report," *Searchlight* 1, no.7 (August 1896): 56. The *Searchlight* was the official organ of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) between February 1896 and March 1900.

62. Church Record (Independence, MO: Church of Christ), 65, cited by Flint, *An Outline History of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot)*, 114–15.

63. Richard A. Wheaton, Temple Lot Plat (from plat used in 1890s Temple Lot Suit), plotted by Richard A. Wheaton, P. E., August 1999 (from Temple Plans, Photo Interpretation, Other Surveys, and Records). Copy courteously provided to author by Richard A. Wheaton.

64. "Mormon Temple is Burned: Crank sets Fire to a Church at Independence," *Kansas City Times*, September 6, 1898, 6 ("W. D. C. Pattyson, who thinks himself an agent of the Lord, applies a torch to the building—gives himself up, confesses the deed and makes a statement explaining his reason for his action"); John R. Haldeman, "Our Meeting House Burned," *Searchlight* 3, no. 8 (September 1898): 254–55.

65. John R. Haldeman, "Invitation Renewed," *Evening and Morning Star* 2, no. 11 (March 15, 1902): 3; John R. Haldeman, "The Dedication," *Evening and Morning Star* 2, no. 12 (April 1902): 3; Flint, *An Outline History of the Church of Christ*, 127. A committee was appointed in September 1898 and conference action "to approve" occurred in October 1898. John R. Haldeman, "An Important Action," *Searchlight* 3, no. 9 (September 1898): 260–64. The cost of the new building was approximately $1,800. John R. Haldeman, "The Dedication," *Evening and Morning Star* 2, no. 12 (April 1902): 3.

66. The phrase "redemption of Zion" was used by LDS general conference speakers a total of 116 times—a hundred times between the years 1850–1920, but only sixteen times since 1920. In fact there have been no references since the 1980s. "Corpus of LDS General Conference Talks," Brigham Young University, accessed August 30, 2011, http://corpus.byu.edu/gc.

tion that was living forty-two years ago has all passed away."[67] On December 3, 1882, at a conference in Provo, Utah, President Joseph F. Smith informed those assembled that "when God leads the people back to Jackson County, how will he do it? Let me picture to you how some of us may be gathered and led to Jackson County." He then goes on and describes his vision of how that will be accomplished.[68]

Midway through this thirty-year time period, LDS Church President John Taylor announced to an inner-circle of church officers a revelation (not generally known) on April 28, 1883, that included the following language:

> Besides, have I not shewn [*sic*] unto you, my servant John, a way to raise a fund which should be at your disposal for the accomplishment of my purposes, and by which the rights and properties of my people should be preserved in all of these matters?[69]

These "purposes" included repurchasing the "temple lot" property in Independence and the erection of a temple as discussed hereafter. Years later (April 1899), LDS President Lorenzo Snow commented that: "This fund was created by revelation given to President John Taylor, who received another revelation confirming the former one."[70]

Preceding this April 1883 revelation, John Beck, a Mormon convert, German immigrant, and resident of Lehi, Utah, had approached Taylor with an interesting proposition. Years earlier (1870) Beck had staked a mining claim in the Tintic Mountains of the Territory of Utah.[71] President Taylor reported to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles that Beck had been to see him and had represented his circumstances & wished for counsel. "He had purchased the whole of the property of a mine…, and

67. "Discourse by Elder Orson Pratt," 14 June 1874, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 17:108–13.

68. "Discourse by President Joseph F. Smith," 3 December 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 24:156.

69. John Taylor Revelations and Papers, MS 9473, document 1, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church History Library. This collection is access restricted. I successfully petitioned and was granted reading privileges in 2011. The revelation (document 1) is recorded on plain paper (approximately 8" x 10") in the handwriting of George Reynolds. Additionally, this revelation is apparently part of an expanded revelation under the same date, recorded at Salt Lake City. See Fred C. Collier, comp., *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets and Presidents of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Company, 1981), part 85, 1:141–42.

70. Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), 27 April 1899, p. 4, Church History Library, hereafter cited as Journal History. First Presidency and Apostolic Council minutes, usually not available to researchers, were included inadvertently in the Journal History for only a brief period. The policy of the LDS Church, as conveyed to me by Church History Library archivists, has been and continues to be, to retain minutes of these meetings privately.

71. Tintic, the name given to the mountain range and to the mining district, "was named after Chief Tintic of the Goshute Tribe of Ute Indians." Alice Paxman McCune, *History of Juab County: 1847–1947* (n.p.: Juab County Company of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), 169, hereafter cited as *History of Juab County*. The Tintic Mountains are located in Tooele and Juab Counties, Utah, to the west of the Oquirrh Mountains, and approximately seventy miles southwest of Salt Lake City and forty-five southwest of Provo, Utah.

had become embarrassed, and in conversation said that he was willing that his whole property should be managed by the direction of the Priesthood." Taylor further explained to the Quorum:

> In consideration of this matter, as I referred it to Bro Cannon, we [members of the First Presidency] concluded to make a purchase and as you are aware the Council [Quorum of the Twelve Apostles] voted to loan us $25,000.00 [October 4, 1883].[72]

The result of this conversation was that Taylor and Cannon each agreed to pay Beck $25,000 in cash. They further agreed to pay Beck an additional $25,000 (between them) out of future dividends earned on their personal shares from the profits of the mine. After receipt of payment, Beck transferred one-third of his stock to Taylor and one-third to Cannon, according to a June 1883 agreement that formalized the arrangement. In doing so Beck made Taylor and Cannon equal partners in what became an extremely lucrative, but highly complicated and controversial investment. On October 3, 1883, Taylor, Cannon, and Beck had further agreed, in an additional and separate contract, but one that had presumably been agreed to at the time of the April revelation regarding the creation of a "fund," that they would each donate 60 percent of their individual holdings (20,000 shares each or 60 percent of the aggregate 100,000 shares issued) to a "consecrated" or "dedicated" fund under Taylor's personal control. The document stated:

> John Taylor, George Q. Cannon and John Beck … set apart … and deliver to John Taylor, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to be absolutely and unquestionably held by him as his own personal property, sixty thousand shares … of the capital stock of the Bullion, Beck[,] and Champion Mining Company.[73]

At a later date George Q. Cannon restated the defined purpose of the fund (and further clarified the use thereof), namely:

> And also the further power and authority to use said shares of stock, if practicable, in purchasing that certain piece of ground in Jackson County in the state of Missouri, that was named and set apart by the Prophet Joseph Smith as the site for a temple of God.[74]

72. Jedediah S. Rogers, ed., *In the President's Office: The Diaries of L. John Nuttall, 1879–1892* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with the Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2007), 113.

73. John Taylor Presidential Papers, document 3, "Beck Co. Contracts," Church History Library; John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

74. Ibid.

The RLDS Church and the Church of Christ—Other Developments

So while the LDS Church was contemplating a return to Jackson County with the establishment of a "Consecrated" stock fund to finance the redemption of Zion, the Church of Christ and the RLDS Church were already established, growing in membership, and with plans for local congregation chapels, as discussed previously. On the surface it may have appeared to members of both the Church of Christ and the RLDS Church, as well as to the Independence community in general, that these new buildings and the growth of their respective memberships signaled nothing more than, perhaps, healthy competition of two competing interpretations of Mormonism. Such was not the case! The RLDS Church wanted to acquire the land owned by the Church of Christ due to its specific "sacred space" designation as the location where Joseph Smith had dedicated the site for the millennial temple in August 1831.

In a blatant effort to dispossess the Church of Christ of their property, claiming itself to be the "rightful owner," the RLDS Church filed suit in federal court in 1891.[75] The nearly five years of litigation came to be known historically as the "Temple Lot Case."[76] This essay will not detail the specifics of arguments of this drawn-out legal suit. However, the cost of fighting the law suit (attorney fees and printing expenses) for the hundred-member Church of Christ was going to be prohibitive, a fact certainly recognized by those of the RLDS Church prosecuting the case. The Church of Christ appealed to the Utah-based LDS Church for help and, in fact, received, through LDS Church members and the LDS Church directly, numerous small loans and gifts funneled to Church of Christ President Charles A. Hall.[77]

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75. Ronald E. Romig, "The Temple Lot Suit after 100 Years," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 12 (1992): 3–15 and Paul E. Reimann, The Reorganized Church and the Civil Courts (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1961), 149–64; The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Complainant, vs. The Church of Christ At Independence, Missouri: Richard Hill, Trustee; [et. al.], Bill of Equity, US Circuit Court, Western Missouri District, Kansas City, August 6, 1891. Typescript copies of the Temple Lot Case can be researched at various locations including the following: Community of Christ Library-Archives; Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library; and Church History Library.

76. *The Temple Lot Case* (1893; repr., Independence, MO: Price Publishing Company, 2003). Note: the 1893 printing did not include the "Decision of John F. Philips, [District Court] Judge in the Temple Lot Case" since his decision was not announced until March 3, 1894. The "Decision" was printed separately, together with selected interrogatories by Herald Publishing House at a later date. Price Publishing Company prints Philips's ruling and briefly summarizes the decision of the US Court of Appeals, which reversed Philips.

77. Charles A. Hall had been a member of the RLDS Church since 1878. His administrative skills and missionary zeal had brought him quickly into the leadership ranks. In April or May of 1884 he became president of the Kewanee District in Illinois. But unexpectedly, Hall left the RLDS Church in the spring of 1885, became a member of the Church of Christ in which he was ordained an elder on April 12, 1885, and was formally "expelled" from the RLDS Church on May 17, 1885. He subsequently moved his family to the Independence area, settling in Centropolis, a few miles northwest of Independence. The talented Hall was chosen "presiding High Priest over the High Priesthood of the Church" (in essence, church president) on April 7, 1889, replacing Richard E. Hill, who was ordained as a bishop to the church. Hall threw his energy and skill into the Temple Lot Case, as the

In summary, the initial ruling in 1894 was in favor of the RLDS Church.[78] The Church of Christ, with continued "loans" from the LDS Church and its members, appealed the ruling. In 1895 the US Court of Appeals overturned District Court Judge John F. Philips' decision, thus ruling in favor of the Church of Christ.[79] The RLDS Church next appealed to the US Supreme Court which, in January 1896,[80] remanded the case back to the US Court of Appeals for implementation. This ruling put everything back as it was before the original suit was filed with the exception that the RLDS Church was required to pay all legal costs incurred by the Church of Christ.[81] The animosity engendered on both sides of this controversy, in spite of later efforts in the late 1890s and early 1900s to "bury the hatchet," would last for another sixty or seventy years.[82]

The physical redemption of Zion had hit a snag but, in spite of this "setback" between these two churches, the notion of redeeming Zion would continue to be discussed by both organizations' periodicals: the *Evening and Morning Star* (Church

developing contestation of the two-and-a-half acres came to be known. See the following: Membership Record, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Book B, 272 (Henderson Grove, Ill.) and Book B, 296 (Burlington, Iowa), Community of Christ Archives. Book B, 272 (Henderson Grove) states simply: "Expelled. 17 May 1885." See also: Church of Christ Membership Records, n.d., typescript provided to author by officials of the Church of Christ. Record in possession of the Church of Christ, Independence. I have found no explanation of why Hall left the RLDS Church and joined the Church of Christ.

78. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Complainant, vs. The Church of Christ At Independence, Missouri: Richard Hill, Trustee; [et. al.], Bill of Equity, US Circuit Court, Western Missouri District, Kansas City, March 1894 (60 Fed 937.); "Temple Lot Case Decided: Josephites Rout the Hedrickites and Certain Possession," *Kansas City Times*, March 4, 1894, 5.

79. The Church of Christ, [et. al.], vs. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, US Circuit Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, St. Louis, Mo., September 30, 1894 (70 Fed 179), 188–89; "Judge Philip's Decision Reversed in the US Court of Appeals," *Deseret Evening News*, September 30, 1895.and The Church of Christ, et. al., vs. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, US Circuit Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, St. Louis, Mo., September 30, 1894 (71 Fed 250). The second citing is a request to the court for a "rehearing" which was dismissed and thus set the stage for an appeal to the US Supreme Court. "Laches" means "negligence in the observance of a duty or opportunity." See R. Jean Addams, "The Church of Christ (Temple Lot), Its Emergence, Struggles, and Early Schisms," in *Scattering of the Saints: Schism within Mormonism*, ed. Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2007), 206–33.

80. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Complainant, vs. The Church of Christ At Independence, Missouri, [et. al.], US Supreme Court, Washington, DC, June 27,1896 (163 U.S. 681); "Temple Lot Suit," *Herald* 43, no. 5, (January 29, 1896): 69; "By Way of Explanation," *Searchlight* 1, no. 1 (February 1, 1896): 1. Legal terminology used for this appeal to the US Supreme Court was "writ of certiorari." James H. McKenney, (clerk of the US Supreme Court) to E. L. Kelley, telegram, 27 January 1896, Washington, DC, "Petition for certiorari in the church case denied.""Temple Lot Suit," *Herald* 43, no. 5 (January 29, 1896): 69.

81. George P. Frisbey, James A. Hedrick, and John R. Haldeman, "Reports Presented to Quarterly Conference," *Searchlight* 1, no. 7 (August 1896): 55. The exact amount was $7,630.31.

82. R. Jean Addams, "Reclaiming the Temple Lot in the Center Place of Zion," *Mormon Historical Studies* 7 (Spring/Fall 2006): 7–20; R. Jean Addams, "The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: 130 Years of Crossroads and Controversies," *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 54–127; and R. Jean Addams, *Upon the Temple Lot: The Church of Christ's Quest to Build the House of the Lord*, (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2010).

of Christ) and the *Saints' Herald* (RLDS). In fact, Church of Christ Elder George D. Cole authored a two-part series of articles in 1896 entitled, "Zion and Her Redemption."[83]

The LDS Church—Redemption Is Imminent

At a Meeting of the First Presidency and the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in April 1899, Joseph F. Smith reminded those in attendance of the "Consecrated Stock" fund. He reiterated the objective of that fund, specifically, that "its object to purchase the Jackson County Temple lot, the Kirtland Temple lot and other properties which had been in possession of the Church."[84] This reminder provoked strong feelings among those present. A little more than two months later, apostle Brigham Young Jr. would visit Independence on July 6, 1899. There he met with Richard Hill, presiding elder of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot)[85] and assured him "that the Utah church would soon make a movement looking toward the 'Redemption of Zion' and the building of the Temple." Young further stated there should be "no surprise felt if agents of the Utah church should shortly appear in Independence for the purpose of buying up real estate in the town, and Jackson County as well."[86]

With the expectation of returning to Jackson County and/or redeeming Zion still very much in the mindset of the leadership, the "redemption of Zion" continued to be an oft-quoted theme in LDS Church conferences and meetings. At a meeting of seven hundred priesthood, Relief Society, and other auxiliary leaders held in the Salt Lake Temple on July 2, 1899, President Lorenzo Snow preached, "The time for returning to Jackson County is much nearer than many suppose and it is the faithful that will be selected to go."[87]

The Church of Christ—A Temple Must Be Built

In January 1900, less than one year after Snow's pronouncement and only four years since the conclusion of the Temple Lot Case, John R. Haldeman and George

83. George D. Cole, "Zion and Her Redemption," *Searchlight* 1, no. 3 (April 1, 1896): 15, 22–24 and *Searchlight* 1, no. 4 (May 1, 1896): 30–32, 34–35, 39–40.

84. Journal History, 27 April 1899, p. 5.

85. Addams, "A Contest for 'Sacred Space,'" 44–68; Addams, "Reclaiming the Temple Lot in the Center Place of Zion," 7–20.

86 Brigham Young Jr., diary, MS 1236 1–4, box 4, fd. 5 (access restricted), Church History Library; "Are They in Earnest," *Searchlight* 4, no. 6 (July 1899): 1; Miscellaneous news item without a heading, *Jackson County Examiner*, July 8, 1899, 1.

87. Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1993), 70–72, hereafter cited as *The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson*; Lorenzo Snow, quoted in Hoopes and Hoopes, *The Making of a Mormon Apostle: The Story of Rudger Clawson*, 181–82.

P. Frisbey of the Church of Christ, "after protracted seasons of prayer and fasting [felt] they had been moved upon" and subsequently arranged for a meeting with their recent litigation opponent at the RLDS Church headquarters city of Lamoni, Iowa. There they met with the church's First Presidency, then consisting of Joseph III, Alexander H. Smith, and Edmund L. Kelley. The Church of Christ's specific concern was "agreeing upon a common ground upon which the two organizations might unite in an effort to prosecute the work of 'gathering,' and the building of the temple at Independence, Missouri," considered a key element in the redemption of Zion by both organizations.[88]

At the Lamoni meeting, Haldeman proposed that two representatives from the Church of Christ travel to Utah and meet with the LDS Church's First Presidency to ask its participation in a meeting with four representatives from each of the three churches (Church of Christ, RLDS Church, and LDS Church) in Independence to be held in the near future. They were encouraged to proceed but without endorsing the plan.[89] On the afternoon of February 8, 1900, Elder George P. Frisbey and Elder George D. Cole, as official representatives of the Church of Christ, having arrived by train from Independence, met with the First Presidency of the LDS Church, specifically consisting of Lorenzo Snow, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith. The Church of Christ elders stated that their objective in coming to Salt Lake City was for "the purpose of ascertaining if it is not possible for a delegation of our [LDS] church, a delegation of the 'Reorganite' church and a delegation of their own organization could not meet together for the purpose of trying to harmonize their views on doctrine with a view to our coming together and uniting into one body" and that we "ought to take some steps towards placing this ground [the Temple Lot] so it can be used for the purpose indicated in the revelations."[90] Specifically, that meant to build the prophesied temple as soon as possible.[91]

A second meeting was held on February 10 at the office of the LDS First Presidency with all three members present. At the conclusion of the meeting President Lorenzo Snow asked the visitors if they could remain in Salt Lake City until seven members of the Quorum of Twelve could be contacted and summoned to church headquarters. The suggestion was readily agreed to, and Frisbey and Cole were housed at LDS Church expense.[92]

88. *History of the RLDS Church*, 5:488–89.

89. Ibid.

90. Journal History, 8 February 1900, p. 2; "Probable Amalgamation," *Independence Sentinel*, March 1, 1900, 2.

91. It was understood by all parties (Church of Christ, LDS, and RLDS) that the property held by them (the Church of Christ) specifically included that "spot for a temple" as recorded in the revelation to the prophet Joseph Smith dated July 1831 (LDS D&C 57:3/RLDS D&C 57:1d).

92. Journal History, 10 February 1900, pp. 1–6.

On February 21 the much anticipated third meeting was held at 10:30 a.m. Elders Frisbey and Cole were again asked to express their feelings regarding the purpose of their visit to Salt Lake City (there were in attendance, in addition to the First Presidency, seven members of the Quorum of Twelve, and two members of the Presiding Bishopric—most had not been present at the previous meetings). Church officials then queried their visitors. At the conclusion of the meeting the Church of Christ brethern were asked to again wait until the following day in order to allow the LDS Church authorities to counsel privately.[93] President Snow instructed those present to speak freely about the proposed conference in Independence, and nearly all present did so.[94] However, rather than directly responding to the specific request of the Church of Christ elders as others before him had done, George Q. Cannon, spoke instead about the 63.27 acres purchased by Bishop Edward Partridge in December 1831 for the young church.[95] This acquisition, he pointed out, included the two-and-a-half-acre parcel then held by the Church of Christ. "Our hearts for years have inclined towards the center stake of Zion," Cannon stated. Continuing, he added: "President Taylor wanted to create a fund, outside of the tithing" for purchasing land in Jackson County and "he did create such a fund, and the predominant idea in his mind was to watch for a favorable opportunity to buy land in Independence."[96]

President Snow then stated that "President Cannon had expressed his views exactly in relation to the purchase of land [in Jackson County]," and confirmed that his mind "was tolerably clear in regard to the redemption of Zion. We are not prepared for it now … We must have money."[97] The minutes continued: "It was clear to his mind it would not take long to create a fund,[98] and when this should be done it would be in order to purchase the land as opportunity presented without creating excitement. In this way [he believed] Zion would be redeemed, as President Cannon had said, by purchase." In the discussion that followed, it was concluded that the LDS Church would not participate in the proposed three-church conference or the proposed temple construction project. Later that afternoon, rather than waiting for

93. Ibid., 21 February 1900, pp. 2–24.

94. Ibid., pp. 13–14.

95. Jones H. Flourney and Clara Flourney, Deed to Edward Partridge, 19 December 1831, Independence, Missouri, Jackson County, Property Records, B:1. Today the 63.27 acres is owned (approximately) as follows: Community of Christ 40.5, LDS Church 20, Church of Christ (Temple Lot) 2.75.

96. Journal History, 21 February 1900, p. 13.

97. Ibid., pp. 13–14.

98. Perhaps what Snow was saying was that "it would not take long to 'add to the existing' fund" that Cannon had alluded to only minutes before. Certainly of those in attendance, John W. Taylor and Marriner W. Merrill, would have known what Cannon was specifically talking about, i.e., the "consecrated" stock fund, but apparently chose to not to comment on this sensitive matter. In addition, apostles John Henry Smith, Francis Lyman, and George Teasdale, as well as all three members of the First Presidency, were present in meetings discussing the "consecrated" stock fund in October 1896 and December 1899. Apostle Anthon Lund was present at the December 1899 meeting.

the scheduled February 22 reconvening, President Snow arranged for his visitors to return to his office where he advised elders Frisbey and Cole that the LDS Church would decline their invitation that had been sincerely extended. The minutes show that "President Snow conversed privately with them and apparently they were quite prepared to receive what he said to them." Snow did offer to pay for their expenses to and from Utah and "this mark of kindness [was received] very thankfully, and they left with the best of feelings."[99]

The LDS Church—The Redemption Begins

In my opinion, this meeting with the Church of Christ elders was the catalyst behind the LDS Church's physical return to Jackson County and a renewed interest in moving forward with the redemption of Zion. Only three months later, the First Presidency called James G. Duffin,[100] a seasoned missionary, as president of the Southwestern States Mission, headquartered in St. John, Kansas.[101] Before the year's end, on December 26, 1900, Duffin moved the offices of the mission to Kansas City, Missouri, approximately 275 miles to the northeast.[102] Although Jackson County had always been included in whatever LDS mission had geographical jurisdiction in the Midwest, Duffin's relocation of the mission headquarters established the first official LDS presence in Jackson County since the forced exodus of 1833 and came only ten months following the Hedrickite elders' visit to Salt Lake City. The facility which the

99. Journal History, 21 February 1900, pp. 14, 23–24.

100. James G. Duffin was born May 30, 1860, in Salt Lake City. On June 13, 1887, he was assigned to the Southern States Mission and, in October 1899, was again called to serve in the Southwestern States Mission. While serving in May 1900, Duffin was appointed mission president and served in that capacity until November 1, 1906. Jeffrey S. Hardy, "James Gledhill Duffin," Mormon Missionary Diaries, accessed November 10, 2010, http://www.lib.byu.edu/dlib/mmd/diarists/Duffin_James_Gledhill.html. See also William J. Curtis and Annette W. Curtis, eds., *The Missouri Independence Mission, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1883–2005: The Return to Zion* (Independence, MO: privately printed, 2005), 158, hereafter cited as *The Missouri Independence Mission: The Return to Zion*.

101. St. John, Kansas, is located in south-central Kansas. Its location was selected by William Bickerton as a gathering place for the Church of Jesus Christ in the fall of 1874. It was initially called Zion Valley. While this was not a universal gathering for various reasons, "the first Saints arrived in five wagons on April 3, 1875." Gary R. Entz, "Zion Valley: The Mormon Origins of St. John, Kansas," *A Journal of the Central Plains* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 98–117. This is a publication of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. The LDS Church established Indian Territory mission headquarters in St. John (named for a former governor of Kansas) in March 1895. The name was changed to the Southwestern States Mission in March 1898. History of the Central States Mission (no author or editor is indicated and no date is given). The "History" is a typewritten document of seventy-five pages with appendices. Copy located by author at the LDS Church Missouri Independence mission offices, Independence, Missouri, in 2010. A photocopy was generously provided to me at that time.

102. Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission: The Return to Zion*, 158–59.

church leased for housing the mission home and office was also used for traditional LDS Church services.[103]

Having re-established a presence in Jackson County, the LDS Church wasted little time in arranging for the publication of an edition of the Book of Mormon in the Kansas City/Independence area. At a First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve meeting held on October 17, 1901, it was agreed "to print an edition in Kansas [City].... It can be done for 21 cts. [per]1000."[104] It was further agreed "that the work be done under the direction of Pres.[James G.] Duffin of the S.W. States Mission."[105] The Kansas City, Missouri, edition of the Book of Mormon was produced locally by the firm of Burd & Fisher and rolled off the press in 1902.[106]

During the next two years a "quiet" search for property near the Temple Lot was initiated through the offices of a local attorney, John Southern.[107] Duffin acquired a twenty-six-acre parcel for $25,000 from the Maggie C. Swope Estate in Independence on April 14, 1904.[108] This land was specifically located directly southeast of the Church of Christ property and included twenty acres (of the twenty-six acquired) that had been part of Partridge's 1831 purchase.[109] In October 1905, Duffin purchased a smaller parcel adjoining the 1904 purchase and fronting Walnut Street.[110] The

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103 Ibid. The address of the mission home was 1421 Locust Street. It was later moved to 1405 Locust Street into "a more commodious building." In 1907 the mission home/office was relocated to Independence.

104. Stan Larson, ed., *The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson*, 155.

105. John P. Hatch, ed., *Danish Apostle: The Diaries of Anthon H. Lund, 1890–1921* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 2006), 338.

106. Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission: The Return to Zion*, 159. The Kansas City, Missouri, 1902 edition of the *Book of Mormon* was published by "Burd & Fletcher, Printing for the Southwestern States Mission." The 1902 Kansas City edition is the same as the 1891 Salt Lake City edition. See: Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, eds., *A Mormon Bibliography: 1830–1930*, 2 vols. (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2004), 1:84.

107. John Southern represented the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) in its historic legal entanglement with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1891–96, known as the Temple Lot Case. See: Addams, "The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: 130 Years of Crossroads and Controversies," 76–80.

108. Untitled news item, *Jackson Examiner* (Independence, MO), April 22, 1904, 1; "Buying Independence Property," *Evening and Morning Star* 5, no. 2 (May 1904): 2. Note: as early as October 22, 1903, President Joseph F. Smith announced at a meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles that "Pres Duffin of the S. W. States mission had been instructed to proceed to independence at once and negotiate for said property being authorized to offer not to exceed $20,000, but to get it for $16,000, if possible." Larson, *The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson*, 668–69. Obviously, Duffin's "authorization" was subsequently increased.

109. Jackson County, Missouri, Property Records, Maggie C. Swope to James G. Duffin, 14 April 1904, 251:66; untitled news item, *Jackson Examiner*, April 22, 1904, 1. Duffin subsequently deeded this property to Joseph F. Smith, also on April 14, 1904, but the transfer was not recorded until 1907, two years after Duffin was released as president of the Central States Mission and three years after the land purchase. Jackson County, Missouri, Property Records, James G. and Mary Jane Duffin to Joseph F. Smith, 5 July 1907, 273:152–53.

110. Robert D. and Mary W. Mize, to James G. Duffin, 11 October 1905, Jackson County, Missouri, Property Records, 265:323.

money provided to Duffin came from an LDS Church fund established for the "purchase of land in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, and the redemption of Zion."[111] Today, the LDS Church's Visitors' Center is located on this property.

The RLDS Church—Redemption Facilitated with Relocation of Church Headquarters

"Individual RLDS Church members began purchasing" property near the Temple Lot "as early as the 1880s" stated Ron Romig, former Community of Christ archivist. Continuing, he elaborated, "I suspect that church members began deeding their discrete land holdings to the church upon death." Obviously, these committed members were very much aware of the church's teachings regarding the redemption of Zion.[112]

Likewise, in furthering the establishment of Zion's redemption from an RLDS perspective, Joseph Smith III soberly recalled his motivation in relocating his personal residence to Independence in 1906: "I did so … to fulfill, as I believed, a religious duty to become a resident of the place designated of old as Zion."[113] RLDS member John G. Hodges, in an article titled "The Redemption of Zion," published in the *Saints' Herald* near the same time that Smith moved to Independence, raised the persistent, practical question about Zion's redemption: "At present prices how can Zion be redeemed by the Saints 'by purchase'?" He then paraphrased the scripture: "Zion is to be redeemed by power" (LDS D&C 103:15/RLDS D&C 100:3d; both read: "The redemption of Zion must needs be by power"). His conclusion is a vigorous one that propounds an unusual interpretation: "I believe that by the power of God displayed in scourges, in the fierce and vivid lightning, by famine, floods, cyclones, and by people dying off from the earth, land will be cheaper than it has been for years, and thus Zion will be redeemed by purchase."[114] Radical, perhaps, but clearly the concept of redeeming Zion was continually being discussed within the church.

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111. Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund, to William H. Smart, 18 April 1904. After thanking Smart for his donation, the First Presidency stated: "We.… have great pleasure in saying that we have recently purchased nearly twenty six acres of this temple lot property for which we paid $25,000." A handwritten receipt included with the letter specified that the donation was for the "Jackson County Temple Fund." The receipt bears the same date and is signed by James Jack, cashier. Later, the fund's name was preprinted on prenumbered receipts. The prenumbered receipts are for donations to the "Jackson County Temple and Redemption of Zion" fund. First Presidency receipts for Smart's additional donations are dated February 13, 1905 and December 30, 1911. Color photocopies of the letter and all three receipts were generously provided to the author by Smart's grandsons, Thomas and William. For more information on William H. Smart, see William B. Smart, *Mormonism's Last Colonizer: The Life and Times of William H. Smart* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2008).

112. Ronald E. Romig, e-mail message to author, September 1, 2006.

113. Anderson, *Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III*, 451.

114. John. G. Hodges, "The Redemption of Zion," *Herald* 50, no. 25 (July 1, 1903): 605.

The LDS and RLDS Churches—Further Redemption Efforts

Following the 1904 and 1905 property acquisitions by James Duffin for the LDS Church, other parcels were acquired for the church in 1907 and thereafter in and around the Temple Lot property.[115] The year 1907 was a pivotal year for the LDS Church and its slow, but methodical, approach to the redemption of Zion.

Early that year, Central States Mission President Samuel O. Bennion[116] moved the LDS Church's mission office from Kansas City to Independence.[117] Soon thereafter, arrangements for rented space and production/publication capabilities were made with the local newspaper (*Independence Examiner*) on nearby Lexington Street in downtown Independence to begin printing the *Liahona* magazine[118] for the missions of the church in the United States and Canada. The re-establishing of a printing operation alone within blocks of the original location of the press of the *Evening and Morning Star* was certainly a key part in the LDS Church's return to Jackson County. This undertaking was followed by the construction of a large plow and farm implement manufacturing facility known as the Danielsen Implement Company[119] on land purchased by Bennion in 1907 for this new business south of the 1904 prop-

115. For instance, Samuel O. Bennion acquired other properties on Sept 14, 1907, November 8, 1907, March 2, 1908, November 9, 1908, and March 19, 1909. Names of sellers and citations available on request.

116. Samuel O. Bennion was born June 9, 1874, in Taylorsville, Utah, and was called to the Central States Mission on November 9, 1904. He replaced Duffin on October 1, 1906. Bennion served as president until January 20, 1934. Almost a year earlier, he had been sustained at the April 1933 general conference to the First Council of Seventy where he served until his death on March 8, 1945. "Samuel Otis Bennion," Grandpa Bill's General Authority Pages, accessed November 22, 2010, http://www.gapages.com/bennis01.htm.

117. History of the Central States Mission, p. 28. Note: At this time, approximately fifty LDS members (up from approximately thirty-five in 1903) lived in the Kansas City-Independence area. Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 162.

118. "The Liahona," *Jackson Examiner*, March 25, 1907, 1. Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 10. This publication was named the *Liahona* for its first eleven issues beginning with volume 1, no. 1, dated April 6, 1907. It was then consolidated with the *Elders' Journal* (published by the Southern States Mission in Chattanooga, Tennessee) and renamed *Liahona: The Elders' Journal* (1907–42), hereafter cited as *Liahona*. "To Consolidate with 'Liahona,'" *Jackson Examiner*, April 26, 1907, 3.

119. Wilhelm G. Danielsen to Samuel O. Bennion, 19 March 1907, Presiding Bishopric General Files (1872–1948), CR 4 6, reels 143–44, Church History Library, hereafter cited as Presiding Bishopric Files; Articles of Incorporation of the Danielsen Plow Company, County of Cache, #6386, State of Utah, May 28, 1907. A photocopy of the articles of incorporation is in my possession courtesy of Phillip W. Lear, Lear & Lear, LLP, Salt Lake City. Danielsen Implement Company was organized in October 1907 as a Missouri corporation. Jackson County, Missouri, Property Records, Danielsen Implement Company, Articles of Incorporation, No. 59,714, October 26, 1907, 279:2. Sometimes "Articles of Incorporation" were filed in local county property records after receiving state notification certifying and issuing the incorporation papers. Both names (Danielsen Plow Company and Danielsen Implement Company) were used interchangeably in letters, documents, and newspaper reports. See: R. Jean Addams, "The Danielsen Plow Company and the Redemption of Zion," *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 51–97.

erty acquisition by former mission president James G. Duffin.[120] The final 1907 piece of the "redemption" effort by the LDS Church was the October incorporation of Zion's Printing and Publishing Company.[121] This new entity immediately assumed the responsibility for the printing of the *Liahona* periodical (while still utilizing the press facilities of the *Independence Examiner*) and began the publication of missionary tracts, hymnals, manuals, and books for the church.[122] Bennion's efforts in growing, expanding, relocating, and, in 1915, building a dedicated facility for Zion's Printing and Publishing cannot be understated.

With the achievement of the 1907 successes, growth of the LDS Church membership continued to increase in the Independence area to approximately a hundred members by 1912. The growth included families that came to Independence to staff and run both the plow factory and the printing establishment and, of course, the mission president's family. In 1912 ground was broken for a $25,000 LDS chapel on the corner of Pleasant and Walnut, literally within feet of the mission home and office and, by 1915, the printing plant of Zion's Printing and Publishing Company.[123] The chapel was dedicated by LDS President Joseph F. Smith in November 1914.[124] Zion was being redeemed!

Interestingly, in the same year (1907) that the LDS Church initiated their bold moves toward the redemption of Zion in Independence (as noted above), the RLDS

120. Names of sellers and citations available on request. "Deal Is Closed: Danielsen Plow Factory Is Ready to Organize—Deed for 17 Acres Filed," *Jackson Examiner*, May 31, 1907, 1. After Danielsen Implement Company had been incorporated as a Missouri corporation, Bennion deeded the property he had acquired in his name in the previous May to Danielsen Implement Company. Jackson County, Property Records, Samuel O. Bennion and Lottie T. Bennion to Danielsen Implement Company, 15 November 1907, 275:353, Independence, Missouri. Interestingly, the amount shown on the recorded deed is $52,721, a considerably larger sum than the cost of the property acquired only months previous. Probably Bennion had made a personal loan to the company for construction and/or equipment, which the company presumably repaid once it had collected money from the subscribed stockholders. Wilhelm G. Danielsen to Samuel O. Bennion, (no month or day) 1907, Presiding Bishopric Files. The letter states: "We have now $65,000.00."

121. "Now a Corporation," *Jackson Examiner*, October 17, 1907, 2. Samuel O. Bennion was a major stockholder. Other stockholders were North America LDS mission presidents.

122. History of the Central States Mission, p. 28. The first known missionary tract published by Zion's Printing and Publishing Company appeared in June 1908: *The Forerunner: Devoted to Fair Play/Opposed to Bigotry*. In 1916, the first Independence edition of the Book of Mormon was published. Flake and Draper, *A Mormon Bibliography*, 1:420.

123. "To Build $30,000 Church," *Jackson Examiner*, April 17, 1914, 1; "Printing Plant Home: S. O. Bennion Got Appropriation from General Conference," *Jackson Examiner*, April 16, 1915, 4; "New Home of Zion's Printing and Publishing Company at Independence, Jackson Co., Missouri," *Liahona* 13, no. 19 (November 2, 1915): 11–13.

124. "Mormon Church Is Ready: The $25,000 Independence Structure to Be Dedicated," *Kansas City Times*, November 21, 1914, 18; "The New Mormon Church: Building a Handsome One to Be Dedicated Sunday," *Independence Examiner*, November 20, 1914, 4; "New Temple Dedicated: President Joseph F. Smith of Salt Lake City, Conducted Simple Ceremony in New Church," *Independence Examiner*, November 23, 1914, 1; "Rival Prophets Friends: Saints and Mormons Mingled at Church Dedication," *Kansas City Times*, November 23, 1914, 5; "Dedication," *Liahona* 12, no.24 (December 8, 1914): 376.

Church in conference assembled voted to "keep headquarters at Lamoni." The *Jackson Examiner* article further elaborated:

The desire on the part of many of the Latter Day Saints to bring the general headquarters to Independence has been growing many years. A new impetus to this movement was given when President Joseph Smith, future president Frederick M. Smith and E. L. Kelley, the head bishop, all moved to this city, and still more when the big publishing house at Lamoni was destroyed by fire a few months ago.[125]

Thirteen years later, in April 1920, the RLDS Church in conference assembled, voted "without any opposing vote" to relocate the church's headquarters from Lamoni, Iowa, to Independence. The *Jackson Examiner* reported: "The lack of opposition was due, partly it may be, to the fact that for fifteen years the actual transfer of the headquarters from Lamoni to Independence has been going on, and the greater part of the church business already had been brought here."[126] At the same conference the membership of the church endorsed President Frederick M. Smith's recommendation, with another unanimous vote, that a "large auditorium be built in this city" in order "that the general conference might have an adequate building in which to meet."[127]

In May 1921 the *Saints' Herald*, primary publication voice of the church was also relocated to Independence and combined with the *Ensign* periodical. The unified operation, together with all other aspects of the *Herald*, was housed in the recently acquired Battery Block. The move to Independence "was recognized as an important part of the concentration of church headquarters at the Center Place."[128]

The Church of Christ—Revelation to Build a Temple

While a physical presence of the three church organizations had certainly been well established by the early 1920s, the building of the temple was another matter. However, on the morning of February 4, 1927, at his home in Port Huron, Michigan, Church of Christ Apostle Otto Fetting launched the most dynamic movement toward building the temple on the Temple Lot since the dedication of that site by Joseph Smith in August 1831.[129] Fetting reported an angelic visitation wherein he was

125. "Not ready to Move: L.D.S. General Headquarters to Remain at Lamoni for the Present," *Jackson Examiner*, April 12, 1907, 1.

126. "Adopt Moving Plans," *Jackson Examiner*, April 16, 1920, 1. *History of the RLDS Church*, 7:383–85.

127. "To Build Auditorium," *Jackson Examiner*, April 16, 1920, 4. *History of the RLDS Church*, 7:385–86.

128. "Moving Lamoni Printing Office Here," *Jackson Examiner*, May 6, 1921; *History of the RLDS Church*, 7:434.

129. Otto Fetting was born November 20, 1871, in Casco, Michigan. He was baptized a member of the RLDS Church on February 9, 1891. During the period referred to as SDC (Supreme Directional Control) in the RLDS Church he transferred his membership to the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) where his leadership skills were readily recognized; he was ordained an apostle in 1926. On February 4, at his home in Port Huron, Michigan, he announced that he had been visited by a heavenly messenger whom he subsequently identified as John

told: "The revelation that was given for the building of the temple was true and the temple soon will be started."[130] The church was specifically commanded to erect "the temple" (Message 1, verse 4) on the sacred space owned by the Church of Christ.[131]

On March 22, 1928, the historic "Fifth Message" was announced. It (verses 5 and 11), specifically proclaimed that construction on the temple was to begin in the year 1929 and was to be completed within seven years.[132] The revelation was read on April 9, 1928, to the church at the annual April conference and affirmatively voted upon as "divine."[133] From the moment this message was broadcast throughout the church, the physical undertaking to build the House of the Lord would play a major and pivotal role within the church; furthermore, its relationship with the RLDS Church, as well as with other branches or divisions of the Restoration, would be directly affected. On April 10, 1928, the *Independence Examiner* carried a front-page article titled: "Temple by Revelation."[134] That same day the *Kansas City Times* carried a similar article titled: "Divine Edict to Build: Church of Christ Conference Accepts Temple 'Revelation.'"[135]

It would be error, however, to assume that the "Messenger's" command to "build the temple" by the Church of Christ had diminished in any way the mindset of RLDS Church President Frederick M. Smith regarding the vision of the RLDS Church and their eventual desire to build the temple at Independence. Prior to Fetting's receipt of the "First Message," President Smith, in his April 6, 1926, conference address to the church had stated:

> And must I mention still before us the great task of building ultimately the Temple to which we have all looked forward? I have not forgotten it. I do not forget it. For in my dreams of Zion it is always in a prominent place of perceptive.

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the Baptist. Fetting continued to receive visitations and inspired "messages." As noted in footnotes hereafter, controversy developed and Fetting was subsequently excommunicated in 1930, the result of "Message 12." This Message required rebaptism of all those transferring membership into the Church of Christ. Fetting thereafter organized the "Church of Christ with the Elijah Message." He died January 30, 1933. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*, 131; *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Otto Fetting," last modified December 18, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto_Fetting.

130. "A Message from 'The Messenger,'" *Zion's Advocate* 4, no. 5 (May 1927): 69; *The Word of the Lord* (1943; repr., Independence, MO: Church of Christ With The Elijah Message, 1971), 7–8, hereafter cited as *Word of the Lord*. Fetting sequentially numbered all subsequent "Messages" as they were received.

131. *Word of the Lord*, 7–9.

132. Otto Fetting, "Manifestation Received By Apostle Otto Fetting," *Zion's Advocate* 5, no. 5 (May 1928): 70; *Word of the Lord*, 13–16.

133. "Temple by Revelation: Church of Christ General Conference Receives What is Considers [*sic*] a Divine Command to Build," *Independence Examiner*, April 10, 1928, 1.

134. Ibid.

135. "A Divine Edict to Build: Church of Christ Conference Accepts Temple 'Revelation,'" *Kansas City Times* (April 10, 1928), 1.

> Can words make it any plainer than the foregoing that the building of the Temple is yet in the future? We will await developments.[136]

In accordance with the specific year (1929) as seen in vision by Apostle Fetting and as cited in the "Fifth Message," the Church of Christ held an impressive groundbreaking ceremony on Saturday, April 6, 1929, in conjunction with the annual conference of the church.[137] Excavation was soon commenced following the conclusion of this historic conference.[138] The building of the temple, for a variety of reasons, and repeated attempts to get the process going after several work stoppages, never materialized.[139] Seventeen years later (1946), the City of Independence, after being advised by the church of their unanimous agreement, back-filled at the city's expense the excavation site for the temple.[140] Currently, the Church of Christ has no plans for the physical construction of the House of the Lord, even though the church does

136. F. M. Ball, "Is This the Temple?," *Messenger* 4, no. 3 (March 1928): 40.

137. Julius C. Billeter, *The Temple of Promise: Jackson County, Missouri*, (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Press Company, 1946), 139; "Sacred Soil Broken for the New Temple: Bishop Frisbey Sinks the Spade into the Tough Sod While Multitude Looks On," *Independence Examiner*, April 8, 1929, 1.

138. "Clearing Temple Lot: Trees Being Removed from Temple Site—Wood Will be Used in Making Furniture," *Independence Examiner*, April 26, 1929; "From the Building Committee," *Zion's Advocate* 6, no. 6 (June 1929): 73; "Find Historic Stone Upon the Temple Lot: Believed by Church of Christ Officials to be One Set There by Mormon Prophet," *Independence Examiner*, May 29, 1929, 1.

139. "Prophet Fetting Is Out: The Church of Christ 'Silences' Its Visionary," *Kansas City Star*, October 13, 1929; "Silence Otto Fetting: Church of Christ by Vote of 92 to 67, Adopts Resolution," *Independence Examiner*, October 14, 1929. Flint, *An Outline History of the Church of Christ*, 142, stated that the church's membership at the time of the October "Special Conference" approximated four thousand and that "nearly one-third of the membership" left the church and followed Fetting. While an exaggeration on Flint's part, there was a significant departure of church members. See: Thomas W. Williams, "What a Change: Now that Certain Men Are in Power!," *Messenger* 5, no. 12 (December 1929): 100. This matter of litigation was more than "withholding funds." The suit stated the funds had been used for personal gain. The stated amount of damages sought was $338.40. See also: "Continue Church Case: More Time in Church of Christ Suit versus Otto Fetting and W[illiam] P. Buckley," *Independence Examiner*, January 6, 1930; Leon A. Gould, "Awake, Saints, Awake," *Zion's Advocate* 14, no. 11 (November 1937): 290–92; Richard B. Trowbridge, "That the People May Know," *Zion's Advocate* 17, no. 9 (September 1940): 137; "In the Circuit Court of Jackson County, Missouri, At Independence, December Term 1942, Thomas E. Barton, Archie Bell and Joseph [James] E. Yates, as Trustees for, Church of Christ, (Temple Lot) an Unincorporated Religious Organization[,] Plaintiffs vs. Richard B. Trowbridge, Defendant: Receiver's Final Report and Application for Final Discharge," *Zion's Advocate* 20, no. 4 (April 1943): 52–53; Arthur M. Smith, Bert C. Flint, and James E. Yates, "Action of the Quorum of Twelve: Independence, Missouri, October 7, 1943," *Zion's Advocate* 20, no. 12 (December 1943): 185.

140. "Minutes of Ministers' Conference, 1946," *Zion's Advocate* 23, no. 5 (May 1946): 70–71. This conference authorized the City of Independence to "back-fill" the excavation site.

continue to maintain a Temple Fund.[141] Today the Temple Project is not considered a "primary focus" of the church.[142]

The RLDS Church—Temple Plans and Revelation

As early as 1942, RLDS President Frederick M. Smith asked church historian Samuel A. Burgess to "look into" whether the temple "might be shifted considerable from that spot [the Church of Christ's 2.75 acres] and still be in the confines of the sixty-three acres."[143] Burgess answered two weeks later and advised his president that: "It appears probable that the spot marked was within the two and a half acres, at the same time there is no agreement that any spot can be with even reasonable certainty be pointed out" and "since no land was owned at the dedication it would seem that north and west should be as much consecrated as south and east." He concluded: "In other words, the exact spot is not known, its neighborhood is known. The exact size is not known but can be nearly approximated."[144]

Regardless of a precise determination for the location of a temple within the original 63.27 acres acquired by Bishop Edward Partridge in December 1831, RLDS Church members rejoiced in 1968 when President W. Wallace Smith announced a revelation at the church's world conference: "The time has come for a start to be made toward building my temple in the Center Place. It shall stand on a portion of the plot of ground set apart for the purpose many years ago by my servant Joseph Smith, Jr." (RLDS D&C 149:6a).[145] In 1972, an additional revelation stated: "Continue your study toward … selecting a place for a temple in my name" (RLDS D&C 150:8). That site—RLDS Church property directly east of the Temple Lot on part of the site that Bishop Partridge purchased in December 1831 and to which Burgess alluded to in his 1942 response to President Frederick M. Smith—was selected by 1974;[146] and, at the April 1984 World Conference, the long-awaited revelation setting the building process in motion was announced by President Wallace B. Smith to church members: "The temple shall be dedicated to the pursuit of peace … Therefore, let the work of planning go forward, and let the resources be gathered in, that the building of my

141. "Minutes of the 2002 April Ministers' Conference," *Zion's Advocate* 79, no. 4 (April 2002): 23. Report indicates $89,894 in an account labeled "Temple Fund" and an additional listing of a $25,000 CD also designated as "Temple Fund."

142. Apostle William A. Sheldon, Church of Christ, interview by R. Jean Addams, April 2006; Sheldon, e-mail message to author, December 2006, confirmed, after reaffirming that the building of "the Temple" was not a core objective of the church, stated: "the primary focus [of the church] is missionary work and building up the Kingdom of God."

143. Frederick M. Smith to Samuel A. Burgess, 21 August 1942, Temple Lot, Subject Collection, P22, f111.

144. Samuel A. Burgess to Frederick M. Smith, 8 September 1942, Temple Lot, Subject Collection, P22, f111.

145. Richard A. Brown, "The Temple in Zion: A Reorganized Perspective on a Latter Day Saint Institution," *Dialogue* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 87–89.

146. *Herald* 121, no. 5 (May 1974): 7.

temple may be an ensign to the world of the breadth and depth of the devotion of the Saints" (RLDS D&C 159:6).[147] Groundbreaking was held April 6, 1990,[148] and the edifice was dedicated April 17, 1994.[149]

The LDS Church—A Visitors' Center and a Temple in Clay County

The property purchased by the LDS Church in 1904 remained undeveloped until 1968 when groundbreaking ceremonies were held for an LDS Visitors' Center.[150] After two different attempts by the City of Independence/Board of Education of the City of Independence to purchase the property from the church,[151] and concerned about the reality of "eminent domain" by the City of Independence, plans were quickly developed and approved for the present LDS Visitors' Center in 1967/1968.[152] The Center stands on the northwest corner of the twenty-six acres at the intersection of Walnut and River streets. It is located south of the Community of Christ temple, east of the Auditorium, and southeast of the specific Temple Lot and the chapel and headquarters' offices of the Church of Christ. The edifice was dedicated on May 31, 1971, by President Joseph Fielding Smith.[153]

The Visitors' Center was not a substitute for a temple for the LDS Church. Nearly forty years later, to meet the needs of a growing church membership in Kansas City, Missouri, and the surrounding three-state area, the LDS Church announced

147. H. Michael Marquardt, "The Independence Temple of Zion," unpublished paper, 1997, 7–8; copy courtesy of H. Michael Marquardt. See also Price and Price, *The Temple of the Lord*, 92. The revelation was announced April 10, 1984.

148. "Temple Groundbreaking: Order of Service," *Independence Temple Groundbreaking Service 1990* (Independence, MO: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1990), 3. Program in possession of the author.

149. *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Independence Temple," last modified December 12, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independence_Temple.

150. "Church Center Planned Here," *Kansas City Times*, April 20, 1968, 14; "Latter Day Saints Visitors Center: Work Set for Fall," *Independence Examiner*, April 20, 1968, 1; "Mormons Plan Independence Visitors' Center," *Herald* 115, no. 12 (June 15, 1968): 7; Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 111.

151. Paul E. Reimann, A Generous Gift from the First Presidency in 1950 for Education at Independence, Missouri, M277.78 R367g, Church History Library. This a twenty-four-page document or report prepared for the LDS "Church Library" in 1983 by Reimann upon the request of Thomas G. Truitt. It was not a published article. The mayor of Independence and the city's school board president traveled to Salt Lake City in 1950 to discuss the matter with LDS President George A. Smith. A donation was promised and, subsequently, a gift of $25,000 was made and accepted with thanks and appreciation. Ironically this was the same amount that the LDS Church paid for the twenty-six-acre tract of land in 1904. In 1967 the church was again approached concerning the use of the vacant land. Alvin R. Dyer, diary, 12 October 1967, typescript excerpt, accn 1334, box 46, fd. 4, Gregory A. Prince Collection, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

152. "Visitors Center Ceremony Set," *Independence Examiner*, August 3, 1968, 1; "Ceremony at a Mormon Project Site," *Kansas City Star*, August 4, 1968, 7.

153. "LDS Dedicate Center Before Storm Hits," *Independence Examiner*, June 1, 1971, 1; Joseph Fielding Smith, "The First Prophet of the Last Dispensation," *Ensign* 2, no. 4 (August 1971): 5–6.

plans to construct a temple in the Kansas City vicinity on October 4, 2008.[154] A groundbreaking ceremony took place on May 8, 2010,[155] and an impressive dedication ceremony occurred on May 6, 2012.[156] However, the physical location of the temple is situated near the city of Liberty in Clay County, north of the Missouri River. Perhaps to allay membership concerns, postulating that the millennium was at hand, the church deliberately chose an alternative location for this temple rather than utilizing the twenty-six acres purchased by James G. Duffin in 1904.

Conclusion

Almost from its inception, the young Church of Christ, founded by Joseph Smith Jr. in April 1830, was imbued with a millenarian spirit. This early zeal was augmented by continuous proclamations by Smith. Asserting divine direction for the fast-growing church. Zion was, at first, only described as "on the borders by the Lamanites" (LDS D&C 54:8/RLDS D&C 54:2b). But with Smith's visit to western Missouri in the summer of 1831, Zion, or the New Jerusalem, was specifically located in Jackson County with the "Center Place" designated as the village of Independence. Furthermore, the church was told that a temple was to be built—the Millennial Temple to which the Lord himself would return—"upon a lot not far from the courthouse" (LDS D&C 57:1–3/RLDS D&C 57:1a–d). For two-plus years an attempt was made by members of the struggling church to live the Law of Consecration and establish the City of Zion.[157] That effort came to a tragic end in late October/early November 1833 when the church was literally driven *en masse* out of Jackson County.[158]

The phrase "Zion shall be redeemed" (LDS D&C 100:13/RLDS D&C 97:4a), specifically meaning a physical return to Jackson County (and Independence in particular), was first proclaimed by Smith in October 1833, and the phrase "Redemption of Zion" (LDS D&C 103:18/RLDS D&C 100:3e) introduced in February of 1834. That expression has been a tenet of the various expressions of the Restoration ever since. In 1834 an attempt was made to return to Jackson County to reclaim the church's possessions. This organized effort was known as "Zion's Camp."[159] When that quasi-military unit of two hundred men was not able to proceed in accomplish-

154. *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Kansas City Missouri Temple," last modified November 13, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kansas_City_Missouri_Temple.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. Lyndon W. Cook, *Joseph Smith and The Law of Consecration* (Provo, UT: Grandin Book Company, 1985), 6; *History of the LDS Church*, 1:364–65; *Church History In The Fulness of Times*, 98; Alvin R. Dyer, *The Refiner's Fire* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1969), 50–56.

158. Spencer, *The Missouri Mormon Experience*, 8–11.

159. Launius, *Zion's Camp*, 39.

ing what was perceived as their outward goal for a variety of reasons, the usage of the phrase was interpreted as one of "temporary postponement."

With the re-establishment of a physical presence by first, the Church of Christ in 1867, followed ten years later by the RLDS Church in 1877, and then in 1900 by the LDS Church, the redemption of Zion was undertaken in a most literal sense. Today little is said of the redemption of Zion by any of the various branches of the Restoration Movement. What else is required? How is it to be attained? And, perhaps, most importantly, what further direction will be forthcoming?

Perhaps the Church of Christ's statement regarding its future temple plans can be applied to all of the various expressions of the Restoration regarding the ultimate fulfillment of the redemption of Zion: "We will simply await the Lord's further direction."[160]

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160. Apostle William A. Sheldon, Church of Christ, Interview by R. Jean Addams, April 2006; Sheldon, e-mail message to author, December 2006.

Anchored in Revelation: Scripture and Schism in the Restoration

Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp

Howard Lecture
John Whitmer Historical Association
Council Bluffs, Iowa
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The tiny island of Deer Isle hangs off the lower lip of the Maine coastline approximately halfway between Portland to the southwest and the Canadian border to the northeast. Home to two small villages and measuring 124 square miles, the island has a year-round population of less than two thousand that doubles in the warmer months of summer. Lobstering, granite quarrying, small farming, and arts and crafts sustain the locals. Yet this remote corner of the nation is home to at least three congregations that trace their roots back to the teachings of Joseph Smith: a Community of Christ Church, a Church of Jesus Christ Restoration Branch, and a small gathering of restorationists that meets in a local home. (The LDS meet up the road in Ellsworth).

I open my remarks with this scenario, far away from Iowa or Independence or Salt Lake, because it speaks to the tenacity of religious identity even in sites far removed from formal denominational authorities. It also reiterates a pattern characteristic of religious life in the United States since the early nineteenth century: division, schism, and differentiation of belief and practice. Mormonism, as you know, emerged out of this era of overwhelming religious energy and a marketplace of novel ideas. And we often associate this early variety with the presence of charismatic preachers, itinerant evangelists who could stir up a crowd, debate the fine points of theology, reveal new doctrines, or bring listeners to their knees by raising the specter of divine punishment. These formidable figures, including Charles Finney, Lorenzo Dow, and

Joseph Smith Jr. elicited great loyalty, but they also drove wedges between husbands and wives, robbed parents of their children, and introduced dissent into communities, resulting in a dizzying array of churches in small towns across the nation. This is the way historians often narrate the beginnings of Mormonism—as the story of a single prophetic individual who offered scripture as a sign of divine presence.

But I want to suggest another crucial element of thinking about religious schism as linked not only to powerful individuals, but also to another kind of authority: the authority of scriptural logic. By this I refer to scripture not ***just*** as a sign that points to something transcendent, but scripture as having or generating an authority of its own that then shapes—and continues to influence—a religious community—sometimes even in the absence of charismatic leadership. The restoration congregations of Deer Isle demonstrate something beyond the power of religious entrepreneurs. They also highlight a pervasive and deep-seated commitment to sacred texts as the shapers of collective identity. Revelation may have been transmitted through prophets, yes. But once revealed truths are unleashed on the world, they can take on a power of their own—a power imbued with both creativity and danger. So, what I hope to offer here this evening is a slightly different history of Mormonism and its variations that illuminates the central role of scriptural logic, describes how it changes over time, and explains how it can lead (and has led) to sharp and even hostile divisions among believers.

It may seem obvious to state that the history of Christianity has been ineluctably molded by disputes over scriptural authority. In short, Christians have fought over the Bible a lot more than they have agreed about it. The battles over canonization in the early years of the church, the skirmishes between Catholics and Protestants beginning in the Reformation with the Protestant insistence on "sola scriptura" (belief that the scriptures were the only and complete authority for the Christian life), and the proliferation of dozens of authoritative translations and formats of the biblical text since the dawn of the industrial revolution, all signal that concerns over the status of the Bible—what it is, what it means, and how it relates to other sacred texts—drive to the heart of Christian identity. Scripture also binds communities together, of course, solidifying relationships and clarifying doctrinal boundaries. Its forces are both centrifugal and centripetal, inasmuch as every statement or story "authorized" by a community helps to define who is in and who is out. As James Bielo has put it, "Bible Belief is rarely simple and often an object of struggle."[1]

The decades following the American Revolution bore witness to an unusually fertile and unstable moment for scriptural authority. David Holland has eloquently demonstrated that antebellum believers of all sorts—from orthodox Protestants to

1. James S. Bielo, "Introduction," *The Social Life of Scriptures: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Biblicism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 2.

Shakers to Seventh-day Adventists—danced around the borders of the biblical canon in many ways—adding to it, cutting out its pages when the necessity arose, and challenging its meanings from all angles. Unleashed by the removal of established church authority, as Holland put it, Americans found in the borderlands of scriptural authority both "breathtaking liberties and a frightening potential for tyranny."[2] He notes astutely that early Americans who renounced allegiance to clerical establishments in the name of religious populism often simply "transferred their deference from ministerial authorities to revelatory ones," to those prophets and ancient writers who offered divine records that could then be interpreted by individuals of faith and conscience.[3] Scripture, not the clergy, became the law to which the Christian believer had to answer.

No one traversed canonical borders more exuberantly than did the early followers of Joseph Smith Jr. The Mormon faith was born into American culture in the antebellum era, a period of intense interest in the Bible fueled by the growing dominance of evangelical Protestantism in public life. For most Americans of the day, the Bible shaped the most basic structures of language, social life, habits of mind, and views of the past and the future. School children learned to read by poring over its pages, families gathered around a common book for study and guidance, and many churches featured the pulpit, the site from which the words of the book were proclaimed and elaborated, as the center of liturgical practice. Both proslavery and antislavery activists, and other political actors of all sorts, pulled from its pages to argue the righteousness of their causes. While English was the young nation's primary language, the words and images of the Bible, and especially of the King James Version (KJV), framed its imaginings.[4]

As with many of the religious movements springing up in the 1820s and 1830s, Mormons understood their new faith not as a departure from the Bible but as the most complete way of enacting its sacred truths. Joseph Smith Jr. claimed to have had his first revelation while contemplating a passage from the New Testament Epistle of James, and thereafter the Bible became his touchstone for understanding the outpouring of divine instructions that he received. Indeed, Smith and his followers, in a more literal-minded way than most Americans, quickly came to see themselves as living within the world of the biblical story.[5] Guided by visitations from God, Jesus,

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2. David F. Holland, *Sacred Borders: Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 10.

3. Ibid., 143.

4. See "Introduction," Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll, eds., *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

5. For more on this theme, see Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), esp. ch. 4.

and prophets and apostles mentioned in the scriptures, Smith took it as his task to restore to the earth the ordinances, rites, and beliefs of God's church, the blueprint for which could be found in a commonsense reading of the Bible.

Few American evangelicals would have taken issue with this approach to the scriptures. For Methodists, Baptists, and members of most other Protestant denominations, the Bible was, indeed, a plain text whose meaning was clear to ordinary believers. They may have argued vociferously over what that meaning called them to do, but all would have conceded that the life of a Christian ought to be shaped by the teachings and precepts of God's revealed word to humanity. And those truths could be found in the text. When Joseph Smith Jr. articulated the foundational principles of his new church in 1842, his eighth article of faith seemed to fit right in with the thinking of many Protestant Americans: "We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly."[6]

If pressed to specify, most Protestants would have affirmed that the Bible was the complete and final record of divine intervention in the world. They were taught to believe that the early years of the Christian church, the era of Jesus's life and resurrection and of the acts of his apostles, signaled the final age of miraculous healings and direct revelation. Jesus's incarnation was, indeed, the ultimate sign from God, an action that fulfilled the promises of the Hebrew scriptures and stood as the sole route to human salvation. The task of the Christian church for now, until a future date when Christ once again returned to reign over the earth, was to live out biblical precepts as they had been spelled out in the books of the Old and New Testaments.

Yet in practice, despite doctrinal commitments to a closed canon, Bible believers of all sorts recognized the unleashed potential of a malleable scripture. Americans sought religious truths that would explain the cosmic significance of the new republic and allow them to communicate their understandings to others. Sacred texts that would both connect them to their (predominantly Christian) past and take them into an uncertain future proved a remarkably potent way of expressing and transforming faith, and of wedding the twin imperatives of stability and flexibility. It is no accident, then, that in a society in which the Bible was invested with tremendous cultural power but simultaneously was increasingly contested, religious innovators stepped in with new interpretations, commentaries, and even additions to Christian scripture. The earliest scriptural innovator in the new nation was the founding father

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6. The Articles of Faith, as they came to be known, were first written in a letter written by Joseph Smith Jr., to John Wentworth, editor of the *Chicago Democrat*, and published in the Latter-day Saint newspaper, *Times and Seasons*. They were later included in the canonical text *The Pearl of Great Price*. See John W. Welch and David J. Whittaker, "'We Believe. …': Development of The Articles of Faith," *Ensign* (September 1979), accessed September 20, 2011, http://lds.org/ldsorg/v/index.jsp?vgnextoid=2354fccf2b7db010VgnVCM1000004d82620aRCRD&locale=0&sourceId=10bd615b01a6b010VgnVCM1000004d82620a____&hideNav=1,.

Thomas Jefferson himself, who was known to have kept next to him on his bed stand a copy of the Bible that he had "personalized" by cutting and pasting the passages of the New Testament that he found both believable (as in nonmiraculous) and ethically inspiring. But many others would soon follow. Writings as diverse as the Shakers' *Holy, Sacred and Divine Roll and Book* (1843), James Colin Brewster's A *Warning to the Latter Day Saints* (1845), Andrew Jackson Davis's *Principles of Nature* (1847), Ellen White's *The Great Controversy* (1858), Lorenzo Dow Blackson's *The Rise and Progress of the Kingdoms of Light and Darkness* (1867), Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (1875), and John Ballou Newbrough's OAHSPE: *A Kosmon Bible in the Words of Jehovih and his Angel Embassadors* (1882) all claimed to extend or complete the promises of the Bible; many of these new scriptures caught the attention of growing numbers of believers willing to commit themselves to the truth of their teachings.

These diverse texts, many of which became "scripture" to a variety of American religious communities, asserted authority in divergent ways. Some were presented as ancient texts, newly discovered or revealed. Others came through inspiration, revelation, or channeled communication to authors who declared that they had recovered old truths or revealed new meanings to ancient tales. What connected all of these texts is the linkage they claimed, either explicitly or implicitly, to some aspect of the Bible itself. They borrowed cultural authority from the Bible—not simply from a charismatic leader—to stake their own claim to religious value, and to convince a biblically literate public of their importance.

Let me just offer one example from a list that could grow to several dozen: In 1880 a New York City dentist, John Ballou Newbrough, was gripped by a strong impression that he must write a book. Sitting before a novel device called a typewriter, Newbrough claimed that a bright light enveloped his hands. He later recounted that he had no conscious knowledge of what he was recording and was told by angels not to read it until it was completed. Newbrough wrote "automatically" for over a year before publishing OAHSPE, his volume of nearly nine hundred pages. OAHSPE (which, according to Newbrough's glossary, stands for "Sky, earth [corpor] and spirit") related twenty-four thousand years of world history through the voice of a father-mother Jehovah the Creator, thousands of gods and goddesses, and a delegation of angel ambassadors. It introduces many new names but also enfolds much familiar biblical and world history, outlining the rise and fall of civilizations and predicting the ultimate defeat of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, and other world religions and the emergence of a true universal faith. OAHSPE also contains pencil sketches composed by the angels who, according to Newbrough, controlled his hands as he drew.

Within a few years of its publication, the "OAHSPE Lodge of Faithists" formed and made plans to found a community, "Shalam," in New Mexico. Newbrough, a

lifelong follower of Spiritualism, a vegetarian, a pacifist, and a social reformer, spearheaded the settlement of several dozen believers along with Andrew Howland, a wealthy Quaker businessman from Massachusetts. Located in the Mesilla Valley along the Rio Grande, the community took into their social experiment orphans and abandoned children in an attempt to live out the ideals related in Newbrough's text. Members ate only two meals a day, children were given names drawn from OAHSPE, and leaders relied on the advice of angels to guide the development of the community. After Newbrough's death in 1891, Howland assumed control of day–to-day operations, but within a decade Shalam was bankrupt and the residents dispersed. Still, Faithists into the late twentieth century remained convinced they saw signs in world events of the fulfillment of the predictions outlined in OAHSPE.[7]

So in many ways, Joseph Smith Jr. was right in step with many of his fellow religious seekers. Smith claimed that the book he had translated from golden plates buried in a hillside near his upstate New York farm constituted another divine record, a further revelation of God's working in the world that overlapped with the narrative of the Bible itself. Smith and his followers believed he had been called by God to communicate this additional revelation and to begin to restore all of the truths of the Bible to human life, many of which they asserted had been lost or misapprehended by generations of Christians. Most important, Mormons believed that Smith himself, as head of this restored Christian church, would inaugurate the return of divine revelation to human beings; rather than awaiting the return of Christ, God would once again communicate directly with his children.

Nineteenth-century Mormons, then, by all accounts, took the Bible very seriously. Like the followers of Alexander Campbell and Methodists, religious groups out of which many early converts came, Mormons sought guidance from the Bible as they set up their church and organized their lives. In the 1830s, Mormon periodicals cited the Bible nearly twenty times as often as they did the Book of Mormon. John Codman, son of a New England Protestant minister and a visitor to the "Mormon country" of Utah in the 1870s, noted that Mormons were "astonishing biblical students" who did not seem to spend nearly as much time reading the Book of Mormon. "They are perpetually flinging texts at your head," he marveled.[8]

Early Mormon scriptural *practice*, then, was probably not as distinctive as one might imagine, despite the existence of new texts. I think it is important to acknowledge the many similarities among these disparate biblical communities. Even the

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7. For more on OAHSPE, see Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, *American Scriptures: An Anthology of Sacred Writings* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2010), 219ff.

8. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 44; John Codman, *The Mormon Country: A Summer with the "Latter-day Saints"* (New York: United States Publishing Company, 1874), 15, 16.

often-heard characterization of Mormonism as unique because of its open canon, as opposed to the presumably closed canon of Protestants and Catholics, is probably overstated. Other Americans may not have referred to their approach as an "open canon," and in fact some would have adamantly insisted that they were not changing the text of holy writ. But it would have been difficult, on close inspection, given what they were doing with the text, to tell the difference. As the old saying goes, "If it looks like a duck, quacks like a duck and walks like a duck—then it is probably a duck."

At least two things were quite new in the Mormon approach to scriptures: the intricate interweaving of sacred texts, and a commitment to the restoration of a totality of divine records. The Book of Mormon is a text that elaborates on and refers back to the sacred history contained in the Bible; indeed Joseph Smith's new record even refers to itself in fascinating and complex ways. This demonstrates what literary theorists, in their fancy language, would call a remarkable degree of intertextuality. In this sense Mormons had something unusual: for all the new scriptures of the Shakers or later the Christian Scientists, no others wove themselves into biblical history through such intricate means.

Mormons also stood out from other biblicists by virtue of their commitment to writing and recording as a sacred act. The very existence of another scripture—indeed, a record that mentioned the possibility of still other sacred texts yet to be discovered—opened up Mormons to reading, writing, and preserving as new kinds of religious practices. If God had revealed himself to human beings on many occasions and was now revealing himself once again, there were, in theory, endless numbers of scriptures that had been produced (and could continue to be produced). When late nineteenth-century biblical scholars announced the existence of multiple versions of early Christian manuscripts, their discoveries only confirmed for Mormons that God had called on humans throughout time to create sacred records, and to interpret their words through the light of continuing revelation. Whereas for many Protestants the issue of variations in the biblical manuscripts contributed to an intellectual crisis that eventually would result in a split between modernists (who read the Bible more as metaphor and guide) and fundamentalists (who constructed elaborate theories of scriptural inerrancy), Mormons in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had little trouble with the notion that fallible human beings had written texts that needed to be treated with cautious reverence. Some scholars have attributed the lack of a Mormon controversy over biblical inerrancy to a wariness of literalism. As Terryl Givens has noted, believers, aided by the guidance of latter-day prophets and church leaders, and by the light of their own inspiration, could in theory rely on this world of "scriptural productions" without feeling threatened by the textual discrepancies or multiplicity of language.[9]

9. Terryl L. Givens, "Joseph Smith's American Bible: Radicalizing the Familiar," *Journal of the Book of Mormon and Other Restoration Scripture* 18, no. 2 (2009): 15, accessed August 20, 2013, http://maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/

This commitment to the recovery, conscious reading, and further compilation of sacred records is voiced repeatedly within the Book of Mormon itself. Numerous passages assert that reading brings one to a knowledge of God, and the people who have left their records behind, like the people of Zarahemla referenced in the Book of Omni, can no longer understand the will of their Creator. In several places Nephi describes how he reads sacred texts, and urges his own readers to emulate his study. The purpose of writing, and the purpose of reading, mandated through revelation itself, is to remember how to live in a godly fashion.[10] That directive was carried forward in the religious practice of the early Mormons. Nothing could be clearer than the urgent 1851 revelation of Jason Briggs: "And the Spirit said unto me, 'Write, write, write; write the revelation and send it unto the Saints at Palestine, and at Voree, and at Waukesha, and *to all places where this doctrine is taught as my law*; and whomsoever will humble themselves before me, and ask of me, shall receive of my Spirit a testimony that these words are of me. Even so, Amen.'"[11] Beyond the requirements of memory or spiritual formation, many of the first Mormons likely viewed the importance of recordkeeping as linked theologically to their salvation: Samuel Brown's recent work on early Mormon understandings of death suggests that, for Joseph Smith, the recovery of plates buried in the earth by ancient peoples was a means of mediating between the living and the dead. Through the record of history and the transformation of familial relationships into an eternal web of affiliation, all human

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publications/jbms/?vol=18&num=2&id=496, 9/8/11. See also Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 185–208.

A contemporary example of this can be found in the listing at the website of Mormon apologist Jeff Lindsay, detailing the many lost sacred records mentioned in the Bible. Lindsay concludes that these references prove that the Bible is not an isolated case, and that the notion of biblical inerrancy is misguided. He includes, among others, "the book of the covenant, through which Moses instructed Israel (Exodus 24:7); the book of the wars of the Lord (Numbers 21:14); the book of Jasher (Joshua 10:13; 2 Samuel 1:18); the book of the manner of the kingdom (1 Samuel 10:25); possible books containing three thousand proverbs, a thousand and five songs, a treatise on natural history by Solomon (1 Kings 4:32,33); the acts or annals of Solomon (1 Kings 11:41); the book of Gad the Seer (1 Chronicles 29:29); the book of Nathan the prophet (1 Chronicles 29:29; 2 Chronicles 9:29); the prophecy of Ahijah, the Shilonite (2 Chronicles 9:29); the visions of Iddo the Seer (2 Chronicles 9:29); the book of Shemaiah the prophet (2 Chronicles 12:15); the story of the prophet Iddo (2 Chronicles 13:22); the book of Jehu (2 Chronicles 20:34); the Acts of Uzziah, by Isaiah, the son of Amoz (2 Chronicles 26:22); sayings of the Seers (2 Chronicles 33:19)," accessed August 29, 2011, http://www.jefflindsay.com/LDSFAQ/FQ_Bible.shtml#lost.

10. Matthew J. Haslam, "Mormon Literacy: Reading and Writing in a Religious Context" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2000), 12–13.

11. "Revelation to Jason W. Briggs, November 18,1851," accessed September 10, 2013, http://home.earthlink.net/~jptandy/rlds/jwbriggs.htm.

divisions—as well as disjunctions between divinity and humanity—ultimately could be overcome.[12]

Yet, ironically, this dream of human unity was fractured by the very logic of scriptural abundance. With so many scriptures—and more coming along—how was one to prioritize and discern among them? Almost immediately differences in approach emerged among Mormons over precisely which of the practices described in the Bible should be reinstated in the young church. A significant number of believers, like many Protestants of the day, sought to restore the principles of the early Christian church (those activities described in the New Testament), including foot washing, healing, receiving of the gifts of the spirit (those experienced on the day of Pentecost, such as speaking in tongues), and the calling of elders and apostles. Many early Mormons also believed that they were mandated by God to restore elements of ancient Israelite worship, including the rebuilding of the temple, reinstatement of a priesthood, and the restoration of ordinances such as vicarious baptism for the dead (a rite mentioned in the New Testament book of 1 Corinthians 15:29, but which had not been practiced by major Christian groups since the 4th century CE). Using the Israelite Patriarchs as their model, Joseph Smith Jr. and his inner circle also began to practice plural marriage, a controversial rite that led to deep divisions among his followers. At least one important element of this dispute focused on how to interpret the reinstatement of biblical practices and whether God intended for the restored church to include all of the ordinances and practices described in the Hebrew Scriptures as well as those in the New Testament. But an underlying question concerned the logic of scriptural interpretation itself—how could one adjudicate among scriptures? Those who became LDS took the option, at least in theory and for the moment, of accepting everything. But others hesitated, questioning whether all of the sacred record was equally binding in the same way on God's people. The proliferation of texts thus in and of itself became a challenge and a burden that sowed divisions among church members.

After Smith's death and the leadership struggle that ensued, those Mormons who followed Brigham Young from Nauvoo to Utah Territory continued to believe that their church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, should model itself after ancient Israel and should include the temple ordinance of plural marriage and the literal rebuilding of Zion. At this point they were, quite literally, reading the Hebrew scriptures through a Christian lens. But many others, living in the borderlands of the scriptural canon, initially were not sure where to turn for leadership or interpretive authority. The significant number who stayed behind in the Midwest, including Smith's widow, Emma, and his extended family, eventually helped pull to-

12. Samuel Morris Brown, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Early Mormon Conquest of Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

gether a smaller band in what became known as the Reorganization. That community generally modeled biblical restoration on New Testament precedents, rejecting many of the temple rituals that became so central to the Utah Mormons' understanding of salvation.[13] But this decision to remain in place did not solve the dilemma of scriptural interpretation—indeed, to say that these Midwestern Josephites chose the New Testament over the Old is to read coherence back into a situation that was troubling and deeply vexed. Where was one to turn—not for the records themselves, but for the correct way of reading and enacting those records? How was one to live out the fullness of the gospel when the lines of canon were not clearly drawn?

It was also not entirely obvious how one could tell true revelation from the mundane zeal of the enthusiastic believer. Although the LDS Church later related its own history as a relatively straight line of authority and coherence from Joseph Smith Jr. to Brigham Young and beyond, RLDS Church history displays a visceral sense of the messiness of scriptural logic. One of the early histories of the church penned by president Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith brims with claimants to church authority based on a variety of scriptural calculations. Several of these believers produced scriptures of their own that challenged members seeking a clear path forward after the death of the first prophet.

One of the first and most interesting cases was that of James Colin Brewster (1826–1909), whose family had moved to Kirtland, Ohio, to join with the Mormons when James was a young boy. In 1837 the ten-year-old claimed that he had been visited by an angel who had shown him a better way to organize Smith's church. Initially encouraged in his spiritual precocity by church leaders, Brewster's continuing corrections to church teachings eventually caused a rift with Mormon leaders, and his family, while still connected to the faith, moved to Springfield, Illinois. From there Brewster began in 1842 to publish pamphlets that he asserted were abridgments of ancient documents furnished by the angel. Collectively called the Book of Esdras, Brewster claimed that they were the teachings of an ancient biblical prophet who lived in approximately 160 BCE. The publications contained many predictions related to the fate of the Mormons, criticized the emergence of Mormon temple ceremonies and Mormon economic practices, and prophesied the end of the world in 1878. Brewster and his family were excommunicated in 1842, but this hardly stopped his production of texts.

Several years later Brewster published "A Warning to the Latter Day Saints, Generally Called Mormons" alleged to be an abridgment of the Ninth Book of Esdras. In it he included poetry and fragments said to be from other ancient books, as well as a conclusion that details the prophecies already fulfilled from his 1842 pamphlet (including the murder of Joseph Smith Jr. in 1844). The bulk of the text is

13. Shipps, *Mormonism*, ch. 5.

an extended warning of impending doom to the sinful people who have fallen away from God's true teachings—namely, the Mormons in Nauvoo, Illinois. Like a Hebrew prophet the author details the many painful and destructive ways that they will perish for their trespasses, including floods, droughts, pestilence, and earthquakes. The document also predicts the fall of Nauvoo ("Idle city"), and ultimately the destruction of the American government that will usher in God's kingdom. That realm, he prophesies, will be established in California ("Bashan"), which will be given to the faithful remnant of saints that keep God's commandments.

In June 1848, after Nauvoo had been destroyed and the majority of Mormons had migrated to Utah or otherwise dispersed, Brewster reorganized his small band of perhaps one hundred believers, claiming that, while Joseph Smith had been called to establish the church, Brewster had been anointed to build the kingdom of God on earth. The twenty-four-year-old prophet finally left for California in August 1850 with ninety members, two hundred head of cattle, and twenty-seven wagons, even as he continued to translate ancient documents (specifically, Mayan hieroglyphics and New Mexican Indian pictographs from his travels). The group suffered schisms along the way but Brewster settled briefly in Colonia, New Mexico; by 1853 he returned to the United States with his family, where he lived a life of apparent obscurity, never to prophesy publicly again. Still, his documents vividly demonstrate the tenor of prophetic religion in antebellum America, the volatility of revelatory power in the early Mormon community, and the ways in which believers were eager to tie biblical history to their new world home. The details of Brewster's story are different, but notice the repetition of the scriptural logic of Joseph Smith himself: Brewster's accounts are intertextual, and they indicate the existence of many more records to come.

Brewster's revelations also point to the delicate balance between scriptural authority and charismatic or institutional authority in the wake of the first prophet's assassination. Even in a religious community that prized individual and continuous revelation, interpretation of those ever flowing streams required a community to validate and acknowledge the legitimacy of those truths; it needed a leader or group that could sift among scriptures, prioritize them, and decide which truths were binding. Brewster may have received his divine messages, but they were of no use to the larger Mormon community because its leaders invalidated them. As for Brewster's small band of followers, it was hard to garner scriptural authority with ninety members gradually peeling away as they crossed the Southwest. The two hundred cattle alone could not transform the young man's prophetic energy into a religious movement.

Here stood the Mormons, then, after the death of their prophet. Their dilemma was not simply a problem of ***who*** would lead them, although that problem was formidable enough. They also puzzled over how to adjudicate among the scriptural stories, injunctions, and myriad revelations that had poured from their leader and

held them together previously. They wrestled with new revelations from Brewster, from James Strang, and others, that followed the pattern set by Joseph Smith Jr., but that pulled them in different directions.

I don't have time here to sketch out the various responses and competing approaches to scripture devised in Utah and among the reorganization over the next 160 years. The LDS story has been more widely studied, and the fine work of scholars such as Philip Barlow discuss the complexities and changes in the ways that Utah-based Mormons have dealt with scripture over time. So in the moments remaining I'd like to briefly sketch some elements of the RLDS narrative as it has unfolded. It is no surprise to any of you that this is an ongoing story; it is not as though one approach to scripture has reigned since 1860. This history has been fraught with continued and extremely painful disagreements, much as the initial split from the LDS led to deep and long-lasting wounds. But seeing it through the lens of a longer history of struggles over scriptural practice allows us to recognize that religious divisions are not entirely the product of personalities, even though they are made manifest through human interaction. They are also connected to the power we bestow on texts and our readings of those texts. One of the fascinating features of Mormon scriptural logics is that a shared commitment to an open canon has led to dramatically different modes of employing scripture in religious life.

When Joseph Smith III made the decision to take up his father's prophetic mantle in April of 1860, the speech he delivered to the assembly in Amboy, Illinois, made two very strategic points about scripture that would characterize his presidency: first, he disavowed the practice of polygamy as taught by Brigham Young; and second, he reaffirmed the importance of canonical texts. "I believe in the doctrines of honesty and truth," Smith asserted. "The Bible contains such doctrines, and so do the Book of Mormon and the Book of Covenants, which are auxiliaries to the Bible." The young man claimed his leadership on the basis of two scriptural principles. The first was the negation of one doctrine. The second was a very carefully worded acceptance of the significance of scripture. We should note that he did not state that sacred texts were *entirely* composed of sacred truth, and he seemed to give a place of prominence to the Bible over the Book of Mormon and the Book of Covenants. He ended his discourse on scriptures by admitting that he was not terribly well acquainted with all of these books, and vowed that he would bring himself up to speed on their contents.[14]

Smith's approach set the stage for RLDS wrestling with scriptural precedent throughout the late 1860s and 1870s. Because of their objections to the interpretive lens employed in Nauvoo and the temple practices that arose from that logic, RLDS

14. Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1844–1872*, 3rd ed., vol. 3 (Lamoni, IA: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1908), 248–49.

struggled immediately with questions of which teachings to retain as authoritative and which to remove from their own version of the Doctrine and Covenants. As Richard Howard has demonstrated, this process unfolded contentiously over several decades. The community and its leaders had to devise principles of interpretation, of inclusion and exclusion. One obvious choice was to reject polygamy, a negation that in itself became a prominent feature of the early movement. But RLDS could not let their objections to Utah Mormons be their defining feature: they needed positive statements of faith as well.

Yet doing so meant rethinking the entire canon, because the community needed not only a statement of belief but an ordering logic for the choices they made. The caution they exercised in carrying this out is evident in the fact that even the inspired documents delivered by Joseph Smith III in 1863 and 1873 on church leadership, as well as the text permitting the ordination of African Americans of 1865, were not officially added to the Doctrine and Covenants until the late 1870s. Removing older revelations from the first prophet was even trickier, since it required parsing and choosing among the words of a revered leader, deciding what was mere speculative musing and what was prophetic utterance. (That's not an easy task, in case any of you were thinking of volunteering—it's no wonder Joseph Smith III sounded a little shaky in his opening address to the church he would lead!) Only in 1886 was the ritual of baptism for the dead actively disavowed in RLDS scripture, a decision that resulted in the withdrawal of several prominent church members. Even then, the original revelations were not removed from the D&C until the twentieth century, due to the charged nature of these changes.

It is crucial to see this excessive scriptural caution as a sign of the fragile bonds that held together the early RLDS community. Having spent several decades privately nurturing their loyalty to the principles of the restoration, Midwestern Mormons knew they had to tread carefully in knitting together the shards of those who remained behind after the exodus westward. Ironically, Utah Saints, self-selected to migrate through their allegiance to the leadership of Brigham Young, were in a much stronger position to use the flexibility of an open canon to shape their community. But the stability of their leadership meant that they didn't need to wield their scriptural power to the same extent. The RLDS, conversely, had a relatively weak leadership—not because Joseph Smith III himself was weak, but because the initial impetus for gathering the community rested on a considerably less solid foundation. The Book of Abraham, for example, presented all kinds of challenges to a community in which a number of members actively espoused the doctrine of plural gods. How could one keep the community together while steering a road to scriptural orthodoxy? Smith and his leadership knew that to keep the church united, changes to the scriptures had to be made—but making those changes required a cautious, consensual and very gradual process.

Understanding the precariousness of the young RLDS Church has helped me to see something that did not immediately make sense to an outsider. Why did the RLDS Doctrine and Covenants end up incorporating so many more sections and changes after 1844 than did the LDS version, especially when the practices of the LDS Church remained far more distinctive? How did the logic of the open canon unfold so differently in these two communities? The RLDS, it seems to me, was strategically cautious, and no one more so than Joseph Smith III, in changing the logic of scripture. By the late nineteenth century, a pattern within the church of cautious movement balanced by decision through consensus had been established.

Another enduring legacy of this era with the RLDS Church echoed Joseph Smith III's statement about where truth resides in sacred texts. Recall his words: "I believe in the doctrines of honesty and truth. The Bible contains such doctrines, and so do the Book of Mormon and the Book of Covenants, which are auxiliaries to the Bible." Primacy is given in this statement to truth as an abstract principle, not truth as set out in specific human formulations. It was that calculus that allowed for the difficult task of deciding that not all the prophet's revelations in the LDS Doctrine and Covenants would be absolutely determinative for the church. The thread of this language is woven throughout the later engagement of the RLDS Church and Community of Christ with scripture, in a formula that consistently distinguishes between revelation and the human articulation of that experience. In the *Saints' Herald* in 1951 Arthur Oakman explained it this way: "There are, then, strictly speaking, no revealed truths. There are 'truths of revelation'—statements of principles, that is, which stem from the revelatory experience … For revelation is based upon the intercourse between the mind which guides the event and the mind which views it. When appreciation of Divinity in nature and history comes to man, revelation takes place."[15] The First Presidency echoed Oakman's point in 1968: "Scripture of all kinds is not the primary truth itself."[16]

The RLDS, and now the Community of Christ Church, has in recent years seen a gradual deauthorization of scripture, as evidenced in the statements above. This tendency was accelerated by the publication of the Study Papers of 1967–68 of the Curriculum Consultation Committee, in a way that moved more quickly than some church members would have liked. In those documents, the authors affirmed that no scripture is inerrant or absolute, and that cultures develop over time and thus some of the stories of the Bible pertain to earlier stages of human development. In short, the committee fully affirmed modernist biblical criticism of the previous century, readings of the Bible that had riven Protestant churches for decades. They also reasserted the priority given to the Bible in Joseph Smith III's presidential address,

15. Arthur A. Oakman, "Experience, Authority, and Revelation," *Saints'* Herald 98, no. 2 (January 15, 1951): 313.

16. "Report of the First Presidency," *Saints' Herald* 115, no. 6 (March 15, 1968): 199.

arguing for a "strategic caution" in the use of the Book of Mormon as a teaching tool, cautioning readers about its questionable historical claims, and urging them to use many different versions of the Bible as paths to larger truths. The study papers, in sum, articulated a vision of the scripture as developmental, "illuminating the present age rather than dictating to it."[17]

Reactions to this directive as well as to the changes in church policy that followed in the 1980s were dramatic and deeply divisive. After the RLDS leadership approved the ordination of women at the world conference of 1984, approximately one-quarter of the membership of the church broke away in protest, splintering into a number of groups that remain opposed to newer developments.[18] The interesting question that I might raise for consideration is why there were such strong reactions to these more recent changes and not to the shifts of the 1860s and 1870s, which were arguably more dramatic? Such affirmations about the role of scripture had been pronounced for decades—were in fact alluded to by Joseph Smith III—but only in the 1980s did the tethers within the community snap for many restorationists, who came to see these changes as a violent rejection of timeless truths. One has to wonder if the real rub came over the shift in the *process* by which the Doctrine and Covenants additions are authorized, not over the content of the changes themselves. In 1986 the chair of the world conference ruled that only the prophet and president can add or remove text to the Doctrine and Covenants, a power that had previously resided in a vote of the conference itself. This shift of the power to modify sacred texts, more than the specifics of the new additions to the text, did reflect a decisive change of policy. In some respects, the newly bestowed power of the presidency holds out the possibility of a more top-down decision-making process—or, as David Holland put it, the "frightening potential for tyranny" from any direction. Does our foray into the historical logic of scriptural change help us understand these latest schisms in new ways? Or, has the language of the restoration, so much a part of the nineteenth-century church, become so attenuated that the logic of the open canon no longer holds for many members?

On the other hand, the compromise language of the recently added Doctrine and Covenants 164, as John Hamer has pointed out, fits well into the mold of late nineteenth-century cautious change taken by the early RLDS Church.[19] In leaving

17. *RLDS Study Papers of the Curriculum Consultation Commmittee*, 112, 29. The Study Papers were commissioned by the First Presidency of the RLDS Church, and were written by members of the Department of Religious Education, accessed September 12, 2013, http://home.earthlink.net/~jptandy/rlds/papers/index.htm.

18. William D. Russell, "The Remnant Church: An RLDS Schismatic Group Finds a Remnant of Joseph's Seed," *Dialogue* 38, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 76–77.

19. John Hamer, "My Response to John-Charles Duffy," Saints Herald: A Community of Christ Blog, April 18, 2010, http://saintsherald.com/2010/04/18/dc-164-my-response-to-john-charles-duffy.

controversial issues such as homosexuality to the discretion of local church bodies rather than legislating across the board, it reflects the same concerns for communal cohesion with measured change reflected in the 1860s decisions. So, perhaps in practice the departure from the past has not been radical at all, and we are forced to look for other ways of understanding the latest division in the Mormon family. What is clear is that we miss much of the nuance of history within both the LDS and RLDS wings of Mormonism by resting with the easy platitudes of liberal versus conservative, rationalist versus revelation oriented, or modern versus fundamentalist. Within both movements there is a decided logic to the use of scripture, a shifting configuration of authority residing in leadership, texts, and institutions that we are well advised to examine.

The story of division within the Mormon tradition is often narrated as an argument over leadership, over strong figures who chose to take church communities in very different directions. But I would suggest that schisms also reflect differing understandings of how scriptural logic functions and where it leads. Within the Mormon fold, an abundance and in some cases continued outpouring of revelation presents a particular challenge, one that has been taken up in very different ways. For the RLDS movement, in particular, that abundance continues to provoke debates over the authority of scripture and adjudication among scriptural truths.

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Joseph Smith, Captain Kidd, Cumorah, and Moroni

Grant H. Palmer

Folktales of the treasure feats of Captain William Kidd (1645–1701), and their likely influence upon Joseph Smith Jr., have previously been argued and written during the last several decades. While the topic is not new, circumstantial evidence linking the two men is accumulating. This article is not the last word on the subject, but rather an effort to clarify where things presently stand. Let us start by discussing the Joseph Smith family's efforts at treasure seeking on Cumorah hill.

Fifty-one of Palmyra's leading citizens said the Joseph Smith Sr. family was "famous for visionary projects."[1] One of these projects centered on a nearby glacial drumlin, called Cumorah hill by the Smiths. Neighbor Orsamus Turner said it was "legends of hidden treasure," and Book of Mormon witness Martin Harris said it was "money supposed to have been hidden by the ancients" that drew the family to the hill.[2] From 1820–27, Smith and his father were digging at and claiming to have experiences with the hill's spirit guardian (later called Moroni), according to Palmyra/Manchester residents Orsamus Turner, Martin Harris, Pomeroy Tucker, Willard Chase, and Orlando Saunders—all providing detailed accounts. Before, during, and after the golden plate's saga, the Smiths were engaged in looking for Cumorah's treasures.[3]

One of the "legends of hidden treasure" that would have drawn the Smith family to Cumorah hill was the treasure adventures of Captain William (a.k.a. Robert) Kidd, the pirate. Pomeroy Tucker, who was essentially the same age as Smith, said

1. Statement of fifty-one Palmyra area citizens, December 4, 1833, in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, OH: privately printed, 1834), 261–62; quoted and discussed in, Grant H. Palmer, *An Insider's View of Mormon Origins* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 144n20.

2. Martin Harris, in *Tiffany's Monthly* 5 (August 1859): 164–65, and O[rsamus]. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, NY: William Alling, 1851), 214–16; both quoted in Palmer, *An Insider's View*, 184–85.

3. Cited and discussed in, Palmer, *Ibid*, 178 and notes 7–8; 183–85 and notes 24–26; 194–95n56.

Joseph "had learned to read works of fiction and records of criminality, such for instance as would be classed with the 'dime novels' of the present day. The stories of Stephen Buroughs and Captain Kidd, and the like, presented the highest claims for his expanding mental perceptions."[4] Another Palmyra native, Philetus Spear, said that Joseph Smith as a boy "had for a library a copy of the 'Arabian Nights,' stories of Captain Kidd, and a few novels."[5] According to James H. Kennedy, Joseph Sr. while living in Vermont had "at times engaged in hunting for Captain Kidd's buried treasure," and that young Joseph's own reading about the pirate had "made a deep impression on him."[6] Palmyra resident Ann Eaton added that Kidd was "his hero."[7] Joseph may have read Washington Irving's short story on the adventurous life of *Kidd The Pirate*, which was published in Philadelphia in 1824 and in New York in 1825. More likely, Joseph and his family had read several of the many exaggerated "dime novel" knock-offs about Kidd and other pirates which were based on the 1724 and 1728 popular two volumes, *A General History of Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates*, by Daniel Defoe.[8]

Joseph Smith not only read about the Kidd treasure legends in his boyhood but dug for them at various locations. Stephen Harding, a one-time governor of Utah Territory, and Palmyra native said that Joseph, "had spent his time for several years … digging for hidden treasures, and especially for pots and iron chests of money, supposed to have been buried by Captain Kidd."[9] Early convert to Mormonism and Smith neighbor, Porter Rockwell, informed Elizabeth Kane, the "treasure[s] of Captain Kidd were sought for far and near, and even in places like Cumorah."[10] Rockwell knew this to be true because he, Martin Harris and perhaps Joseph Jr. had sought treasure at Cumorah hill in 1827.[11] William R. Hine of Windsor, New York, heard from young Joseph that:

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4. Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1867), 17.

5. Philetus B. Spear, recollections of c. 1873, reported in the *Marion Enterprise* (Newark, NY), September 28, 1923, 43:1, quoted in *Early Mormon Documents*, 5 vols., ed. Dan Vogel (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996–2003), 3:130.

6. James H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirtland and Nauvoo* (New York: Scribner's, 1888), 8, 13.

7. Ann Ruth Eaton, *The Origin of Mormonism* (Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions, 1881), cited in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 3:148.

8. Geoffrey Crayon, Gent [a pseudonym], *Tales of a Traveler,* 2nd American ed., vol. 2, part 4 (New York: C. S. Van Winkle, 1825), 206–15; Irving's story, "Kidd The Pirate" was retrieved online July 2013 from, Washington Irving—Wikisource, the free online library; Daniel Defoe, *A General History of the Pyrates*, ed. Manuel Schonhorn (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1972).

9. Letter of Stephen S Harding to Thomas Gregg, February 1882, in Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890), 35, cited in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 3:153–54.

10. Statement quoted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 3:406–7.

11. Ole A. Jensen, "Testimony Given to Ole A. Jensen by Martin Harris," July 1875, p. 3, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City; Brigham Young, 17 June 1877, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool:

> He [Joseph] saw Captain Kidd sailing on the Susquehanna River during a freshet, and that he buried two pots of gold and silver. He claimed he saw writing cut on the rocks in an unknown language telling where Kidd buried it, and he translated it through his peepstone … [and then] dug for Kidd's money, on the west bank of the Susquehanna, half a mile from the river.[12]

Likewise, Ketchel Bell remembers being told by her brother Milo, that "he knew Jo[seph] Smith when he was digging near the Susquehanna River for Capt. Kidd's Money. Jo[seph] had a peep-stone through which he claimed to see hidden or buried treasures."[13] It is noteworthy to observe here that even though Joseph Smith claimed *detailed information* on how to find this (Kidd's) treasure, he never found it.

During the early nineteenth century, the Smith family was not unique in seeking Kidd's reported lost treasure. John Hyde Jr. wrote in 1857 that "it was quite common in the western part of New York, about thirty years ago [i.e. 1827], for men to dig for treasure which they supposed had been hidden by Captain Kidd and others."[14] This activity was commonplace enough that Palmyra's *Wayne Sentinel* reprinted a piece from the *Windsor* (Vermont) *Journal*, noting how "prevalent" seeking Kidd's treasure was among New Englanders and Palmyra citizens in 1825:

> We are sorry to observe, even in this enlightened age, so prevalent a disposition to credit the accounts of the marvelous. Even the frightful stories of money being hid under the surface of the earth, and enchanted by the Devil or Robert Kidd (Captain Kidd), are received by many of our respectable fellow citizens as truths.[15]

Captain William Kidd was born c.1645 and was a British sea captain. By 1690, Kidd was living in the colony of New York where he resided until 1699. It was especially during this decade that the Indian Ocean was "swarming with pirates," noted B. F. De Costa.[16] In September, 1696 Captain Kidd raised a crew of eighty-four men in New York, and then sailed to the Indian Ocean. Throughout 1697–98, he spent considerable time in the Comoros Islands and the Indian Ocean, seizing booty from the French and other ships. Shortly after he returned to New York in 1699, he was arrested for killing one of his crew members named Moore and illegally capturing a treasure ship called the *Quedagh Merchant*—both incidents occurring while Kidd

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Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1854–86), 9:37; quoted and discussed in Palmer, *An Insider's View*, 178.

12. Statement of W[illiam]. R. Hine, in Arthur B. Deming, ed., *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1, no. 1 (January 1888): 2, quoted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 4:182–84.

13. Statement of K[etchel]. E. Bell, May 1885, cited in Deming, *Naked Truths About Mormonism*, 3, quoted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* 4:179.

14. John Hyde Jr., *Mormonism, its Leaders and Designs*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. P. Fetridge, 1857), 263.

15. "Money Diggers," *Wayne Sentinel*, Palmyra, New York, February 16, 1825, 1.

16. B[enjamin]. F. De Costa, "Captain Kidd—Why Was He hung," *Galaxy* 7, no. 5 (May 1869): 743.

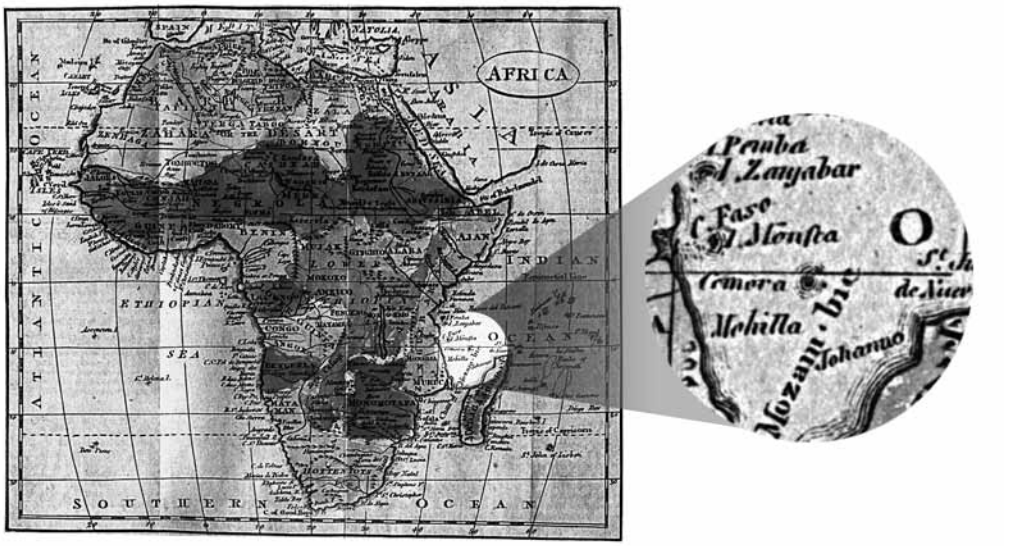

Figure 3.1: "Camora" (in the center of the enlarged inset at right) on an 1808 map of Africa (left).

was in the Comoros in 1697–98.[17] He was returned to England in 1700 where he was tried, found guilty, and executed on May 23, 1701. Soon after his arrest, a small quantity of booty, believed to be his, was found on Gardiners' Island, off the east coast of Long Island, New York. Since that time people have been looking for the rest of Captain Kidd's buried treasure.[18]

Professor Ronald Huggins has written: "The fact that the pirate [Kidd] was hanged for crimes allegedly committed in the vicinity of Moroni on Grand Comoro [Island] is significant."[19] For example, the words Cumorah and Moroni are unusual names, yet are often used in the same sentence by many of the churches based on the movement started by Joseph Smith Jr., when describing the origins of the Book of Mormon. Church members are generally unaware and surprised to learn that off the eastern coast of Mozambique, Africa is the "Comoros" Islands. Today the spelling has been standardized but this has not always been so. An 1808 map of Africa (reproduced above as figure 3.1) refers to these Islands as "Camora."[20]

17. De Costa, *Ibid*, 745.

18. For extensive background information on Captain William Kidd, see researcher/historian Paul Hawkins, "Ultimate Captain William Kidd" found under a section called, "History," accessed July 2013, http://captainkidd.org/NY%20to%20Madagascar.html; See also, Ronald V. Huggins, "From Captain Kidd's Treasure Ghost to the Angel Moroni: Changing Dramatis Personae in Early Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 36, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 17–19.

19. Huggins, "From Captain Kidd's Treasure Ghost to the Angel Moroni," 19.

20. The 1808 map of Africa is found at: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/africa, retrieved February 10, 2014. A cropped version appears at: http://www.2think.org/hundredsheep/bom1830/changes.shml.

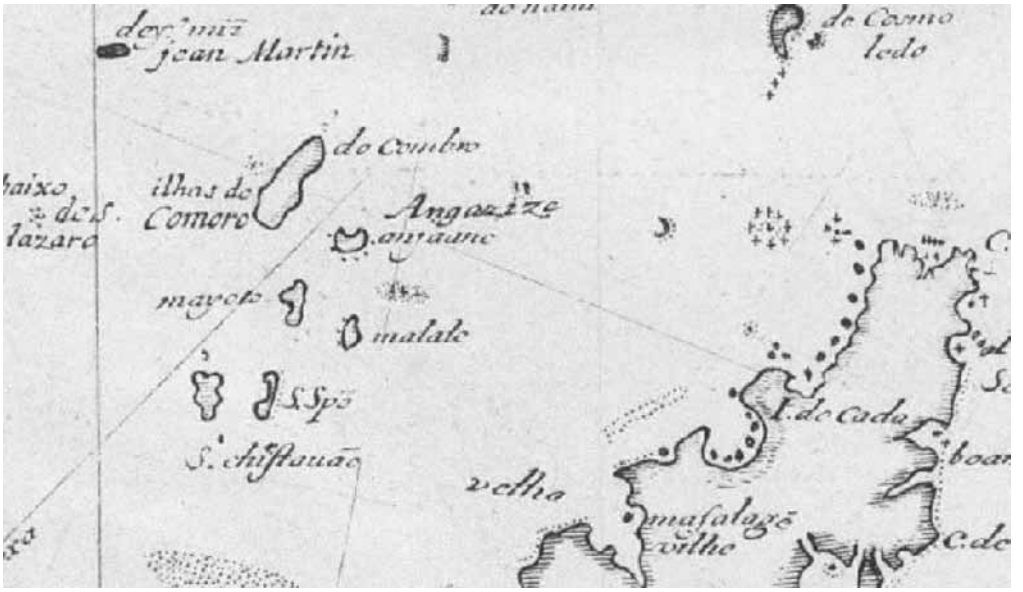

Figure 3.2: The "ilhas [Islands] de Comoro" are near the upper left corner of this detail from a 1649 map.

A 1649 map of the region, reproduced above as figure 3.2 shows the Comoros Islands in more detail.[21]

It is interesting that a *copy* of the original Book of Mormon manuscript, called the printer's manuscript, written in 1829–30, reveals three different spellings for this place-name. In Mormon 6:2, "Camorah" appears once; In Mormon 6:5, 11, "Comorah" is twice seen; and in Mormon 6:2, 4, 6; 8:2, "Cumorah" is found six times.[22] In the first published edition of the 1830 Book of Mormon, all nine references are spelled "Camorah."[23] Still, the name itself is more important than slight variant spellings.

Furthermore, the largest city and capital of the Comoros today is the "city of Moroni," located on Grand Comoro, the largest of the three main Islands. Moroni was founded by Arabic settlers in the tenth century AD, and like Camora/Comoro, is an

21. Hawkins, "Ultimate Captain William Kidd." This 1649 map is found in a section called, "New York to Madagascar," accessed, July 2013, http://captainkidd.org/NY%20to%20Madagascar.html.

22. Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part Six—3 Nephi 19—Moroni 10 Addenda* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2009), 3,637.

23. Cf. *Book of Mormon* (1981), Mormon 6:2–6, 11; 8:2 (RLDS, Mormon 3:3–8, 13; 4:2), with the 1830 first edition, 529–30, 533. Twenty-eight percent of the original manuscript of the Book of Mormon is extant today. Unfortunately, the section where "Camorah" appears, in Mormon 6: 2–6, 11; 8:2, is lost. In 1835, Oliver Cowdery said that "Camorah" in the first edition "is an error." Oliver Cowdery, "Letter VII," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (July 1835): 158; quoted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 2:449. In the 1837 edition, all nine spellings were changed to Cumorah. Without the original manuscript we may never know the correct spelling of the word found in Mormon 6:2–6, 11; 8:2.

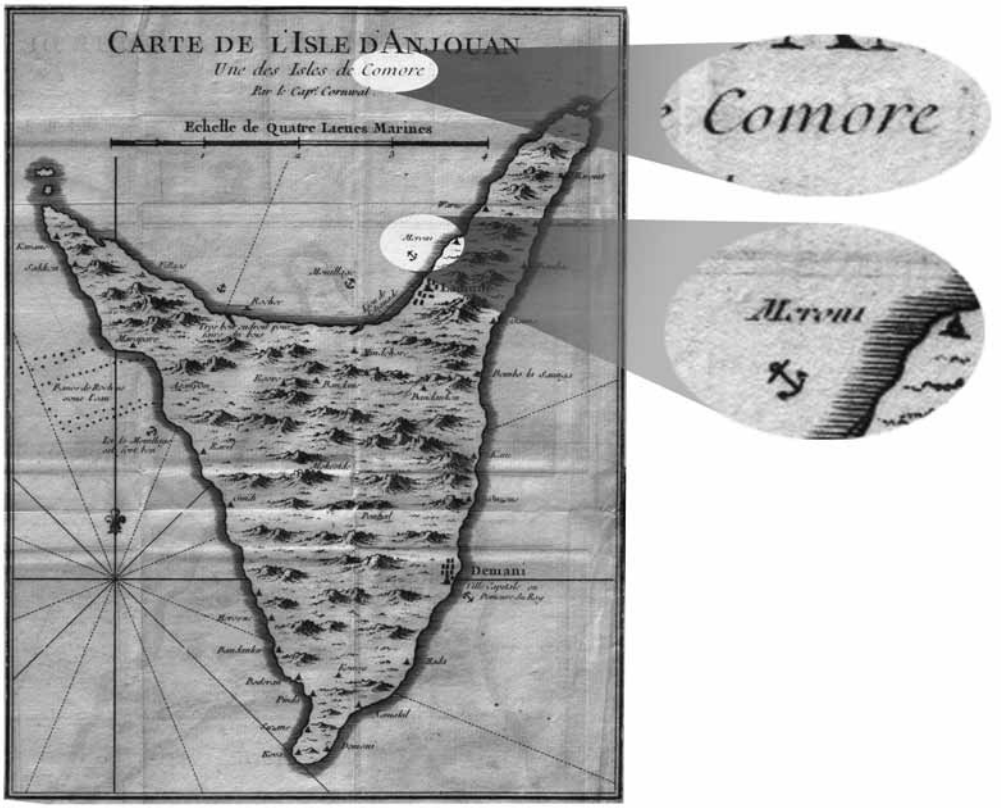

Figure 3.3: "Meroni" on a 1748 of Anjouan, the second largest of the Comoro Islands.

Arabic name.[24] A second Moroni place name, spelled "Meroni," is on Anjouan, the second largest Comoro Island (historically known as Johanna). "Meroni" appears on a 1748 map of Anjouan/Johanna, reproduced as figure 3.2, as an anchorage point for the village.[25] There are five ports on this island and three of them are within less than ten miles, increasing the likelihood of Kidd's knowing about and visiting Meroni. (See the top of the map for the three ports.)

Historian Paul Hawkins has concluded from his extensive research that Captain William "Kidd … seems to have known and been very familiar with the islands of the Comoros, [and] the ports of call."[26] We specifically know that Kidd visited Anjouan/Johanna at least once or twice during March/April of 1697 alone. In a July 7, 1699,

24. Retrieved in July 2013 from Moroni, Comoros—Wikipedia; and Comoros—Wikipedia. Moroni "translates as 'in the heart of the fire,' perhaps alluding to the city's location at the foot of Mount Karthala, an active volcano;" Comoro derives from the Arabic word "moon."

25. This 1748 map is from a site called, Cultural Mormon Cafeteria: Comore, Meroni. Today Meroni is spelled "Mirontsi" (See Anjouan topographic map-en.svg-Wikipedia), accessed July 2013, http://culturalmormoncafeteria.blogspot.com/2010/10/comore-meroni.html.

26. Hawkins, "Ultimate Captain William Kidd," quoted from a section called, "The Conspiracy Theory."

letter, Kidd wrote that he "sailed for the island of Johanna … arrived there about the eighteenth Day of March … and stayed about four days." Then after sailing for a day, he arrived in nearby Mohilla where he remained a month. His crew was sick and "about fifty men died" on the island. One crew member named Bradinham, testified under oath at Kidd's trial in 1701, that they sailed "to Madagascar, from thence to Joanna, from thence to Mahala [Mohilla], from Mahala to Joanna again."[27]

Both the Camora/Comoros Islands and the two Moroni place names, were commonly associated with pirates and treasure hunting ventures in that part of the world—the *very area* of Captain Kidd's greatest adventures. Moreover, twenty other pirate ships, plus New England whalers also visited the Comoros during that era.[28] Unquestionably, people heard the oral reports of these crew members' journeys. Captains of these ships and crew members were undoubtedly familiar with these islands and their ports. Ships would be drawn to the Moroni settlements because both had ports or anchorage.[29] All of these pirate exploits would be particularly interesting to treasure hunters such as the Joseph Smith family.

In short, many of Kidd's most dramatic pirate adventures occurred, as Huggins summarized: "in the vicinity of Moroni on Grand Comoro"/Camora; and Joseph Smith's adventures of "Moroni" are on a "hill" in the "land of Camorah,"/"Comorah,"/"Cumorah." Did the Smith family refer to the hill near their home as Camorah, Comorah, or Cumorah and its treasure guardian as Moroni, because to them these words were synonymous with treasure seeking and hidden treasure? Is it a mere coincidence that the original 1830 Book of Mormon and the printer's manuscript contain the "Camorah" and "Comorah" spelling—spellings found on maps of that era?

It is reasonable to assert that Joseph Smith's hill in the "land of Camorah" [Comorah/Cumorah], "city of Moroni," and "land of Moroni," is connected with the "ilhas [islands] de Comoro"/"Camora," the Moroni/Meroni settlements, and these pirate adventures.[30] It should not surprise us to find these place names of the Comoros in the Book of Mormon. Joseph Smith was skillful at using sources from one setting, then applying the material to another place and time in clever and unique ways. For instance, it is evident that Smith drew many names, quotations, miracles, proph-

27. Hawkins, "Ultimate Captain William Kidd," found under a section called "History—Trial Transcript Piracy Trial," and "History—Kidd's Examination," accessed July 2013. See also Huggins, "From Captain Kidd's Treasure Ghost to the Angel Moroni," 17n1. See the 1808 cropped map above for the names of Johanna and Mohilla in the Comoros.

28. For a list of twenty of these pirate Captains, some of whom were famous, see Huggins, "From Captain Kidd's Treasure Ghost to the Angel Moroni," 17–18.

29. For mention of the port at Moroni on Grand Comoro, see Huggins, *ibid*, 18.

30. The "city of Moroni" appears in Alma 50:13; 51:23–24; 59:5; 3 Nephi 8:9 and 9:4, a total of six times (RLDS, Alma 22:14; 23:28, 30; 27:5; 3 Nephi 4:8, 29). The "land of Moroni" appears in Alma 51:22; 62:25; 62:32–34, a total of five times (RLDS, Alma 23:27; 29:29, 36–37, 39).

ecy, and stories from the King James Bible as plainly seen in the Book of Mormon. He used the Apocrypha, evangelical Protestant doctrines, Methodist camp meeting traditions and ways, American antiquities, anti-Masonic rhetoric and practices, and family dreams and biographical material—all clearly seen in the text of the Book of Mormon. Smith's pattern is further appreciated in the Book of Abraham in his appropriations from the works of Flavius Josephus, biblical quotations, and Newtonian astronomy—all from the early nineteenth century.[31]

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31. See Palmer, *An Insider's View*, for many examples in the Book of Mormon and the Book of Abraham.

Evolution of Early Mormon Priesthood Narratives

Dan Vogel

When Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery announced in the mid-1830s that they had been ordained by John the Baptist in May 1829 and subsequently by ancient apostles Peter, James, and John, it was a surprising disclosure—even for those who had been followers from the beginning.

David Whitmer, who first met Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery within weeks of their alleged celestial ordinations, repeatedly said he never heard about the angelic bestowal of authority until years later. In 1885, for example, Whitmer emphatically stated: "I never heard that an angel had ordained Joseph and Oliver to the Aaronic priesthood until the year 1834 5 or 6."[1]

On February 12, 1886, Edward Stevenson wrote to apostle Franklin D. Richards: "I enquired of David and … John [Whitmer] … who say that they do not have any knowledge of, neither do the records show, concerning Peter, James, and John's coming to the prophet Joseph."[2]

William E. McLellin, who joined in 1831 and became one of the original twelve apostles in 1835, wrote in a notebook: "In 1831 I heard Joseph tell his experience … <many times> about angels visits, and about finding the plates, and their contents coming to light but I never heard one word of John the baptist, or of Peter, James, and John's visit and ordination. <Till> It was told some year<s> ~~or two~~ afterward <in Ohio>."[3]

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1. Zenas H. Gurley Jr., "Questions asked of David Whitmer at his home in Richmond Ray County Mo. Jan 14–1885," Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church History Library; reproduced in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996–2004), 5:136; hereafter cited as *EMD*.

2. Original in Church History Library, quoted in Joseph Grant Stevenson, *The Stevenson Family History: Consisting of Biographical Sketches of the Joseph Stevenson Family Which Came to America in 1828, Including Sketches of the Lives of their Wives and Husbands*, 2 vols. (Provo, UT: Joseph Grant Stevenson, 1955), 1:177–78 (*EMD* 5:161n5).

3. William E. McLellin, notebook, pp. 7, 10, J. L. Traughber Collection, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, quoted in Stan Larson and Samuel J. Passey, eds., *The William E. McLellin Papers, 1854–*

These statements are significant, for apparently the Whitmers and McLellin (and presumably everyone who served with them in the priesthood) were ordained and functioned in their various church offices for about five years without knowing the alleged angelic origins of their authority, nor did they think such a bestowal of authority was necessary.

Which raises the obvious question: without angel-ordination stories what concept of authority did the early church have?

Not only did McLellin say he never heard the stories of angelic ordination, but in 1872 he argued that they were untrue and unnecessary: "An angel never ordained a man to any office since the world began. Then say you how did Joseph and Oliver get authority to start? I answer, that a revelation from the Lord gives a man both power and authority to do whatever it commands. The Lord commanded Joseph to baptize, confirm, and ordain Oliver, then Oliver to do the same for him. This was legal and valid."[4]

After his 1886 interview with David Whitmer, Edward Stevenson reported: "David said the Prophet of God received the command from God, and that was sufficient authority. He did not seem to understand the necessity of the connecting link of ordinations."[5]

While this concept of authority seemed puzzling to later Mormons like Stevenson, it was nevertheless consistent with contemporary church records, where the claim of angelic ordination is not only missing but *divine command* as the source of authority is emphasized. I will pursue my subject chronologically, by which I hope to show that there was a movement from an inherently unstable charismatic-based authority to a more institutional, legalistic concept of authority facilitated by the introduction of angelic-ordination stories.[6]

1880 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007), 68. In this and other quotes from manuscript sources, interlinear text is contained in angled brackets.

4. William E. McLellin to Mark H. Forscutt, 1 October 1871, *True L[atter] D[ay] Saints' Herald* 19, no. 15 (August 1, 1872): 472; reproduced in Larson and Passey, *The William E. McLellin Papers*, 477.

5. Original in Church History Library, cited in Stevenson, *The Stevenson Family History*, 1:177–78 (*EMD* 5:161n5).

6. What I mean by charismatic-based authority is that the authority was derived from revelation and the presence of the Holy Spirit in the person performing the ordinance rather than exclusively from an unbroken chain of ordination or as a function of church office. For example, the 1830 Church articles emphasized charismatic authority, stating that church officers were to be "ordained by the power of the Holy Ghost, which is in the one who ordains him" (D&C 20:60; CofC 17:12b; cf. Moro. 3:4; CofC 3:3). What I am arguing is a matter of degree and emphasis, not the exclusion of one aspect of authority over another. My understanding of early Mormon authority and institutional development has been influenced by the theories of German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1930). See, for example, S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., *Max Weber and Institution Building* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

Various aspects of the development of the Mormon concept of authority have been discussed in Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), chap. 5; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 1–77; Gregory A. Prince, *Power From On High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995); G.

May 15, 1829—Following a command received through the seer stone, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery baptized one another in the Susquehanna River in Harmony, Pennsylvania. In her 1845 history, Lucy Smith remembered what she had been told about this event: "One morning, they sat down to their work, as usual, and the first thing which presented itself through the Urim and Thummim [*i.e.*, seer stone], was a commandment for Joseph and Oliver to repair to the water, and attend to the ordinance of Baptism. They did so … they had now received authority to baptize."[7]

Reception of authority through divine command was consistent with the Book of Mormon, which described the apostasy in terms of the loss of the spirit and spiritual gifts, and never in terms of a broken chain of priesthood ordination. In his 1834 account of this event, Cowdery claimed that he and Smith became concerned about their un-baptized status "after writing the account given of the Savior's ministry to the remnant of the seed of Jacob, upon this continent" (3 Nephi 11–28; CofC 3 Nephi 5–13). Yet there was nothing in the account requiring angelic ordination. Rather, in 3 Nephi, Jesus gives Nephi and the other Nephite disciples "power" to baptize by a verbal commission (3 Nephi 11:21–22; CofC 5:21–22). Indeed, this is what Cowdery took away from this account, as he said, "it was as easily to be seen … none had authority from God to administer the ordinances of the gospel. For … have men authority to administer in the name of Christ, who deny revelations? … we only waited for the commandment to be given, 'Arise and be baptized.'"[8] Unlike the sectarians, Smith and Cowdery had received authority to baptize one another through a direct commandment from God.

June 1829—Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery received a divine command to ordain one another Elders while working on the translation at the home of Peter Whitmer Sr. in Fayette, New York. "We had not long been engaged in solemn and fervent prayer," Smith said in 1838, "when the word of the Lord, came unto us in the chamber, *commanding* us that I should ordain Oliver Cowdery to be an Elder in the Church of Jesus Christ; and that he also should ordain me to the same office."[9] Note Joseph Smith in 1838 connected the bestowal of the eldership with the command of

St. John Stott, "Ordination and Ministry in the Book of Mormon," *Restoration Studies* 3 (1986): 244–53; A. Bruce Lindgren, "The Development of the Latter Day Saint Doctrine of the Priesthood, 1829–1835," *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought and Action* 2 (Spring 1972): 439–43.

7. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and His Progenitors for many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 131 (*EMD* 1:381).

8. Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, 7 September 1834, [Letter I], *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 1 (October 1834): 15 (*EMD* 2:419–20).

9. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1948 printing), 1:60–61; hereafter cited as *History of the Church*. In an 1842 epistle to the church, Smith mentioned this event as "the voice of God in the chamber of old Father Peter Whitmer, in Fayette, Seneca county [New York]" (LDS D&C 128:21; CofC 110:21a).

God and not the appearance of Peter, James, and John, as most Mormons mistakenly assume. (More on this later.)

June 1829—Joseph Smith dictated a revelation *commanding* Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, as charismatic apostles (who had been called as the apostle Paul was),[10] to ordain twelve apostles and for the twelve to build up a church by ordaining priests and teachers (LDS D&C 18; CofC 16). This would essentially leave Cowdery and Whitmer out of the contemplated hierarchy.

About June 1829—Cowdery resisted forming a Quorum of Twelve Apostles by issuing his own revelation calling him an "apostle" and instructing *him* to build up a church by ordaining priests and teachers.[11]

April 6, 1830—Joseph Smith organized the Church of Christ.

June 1830 (April 10, 1830 per BCR)[12]—The Articles and Covenants of the Church of Christ outlining the duties of the various church offices and ordinances was drafted by Joseph Smith (LDS D&C 20; CofC 17).

This document begins by stating the authority upon which the church was organized, including a summary of the miraculous events preceding that organization; yet is completely silent about the angelic ordinations that Smith and Cowdery later claimed. Instead, it mentions only divine and angelic "commandments" as the source of authority. For example, this document reads: "God ministered unto him by an holy angel, … and gave unto him *commandments* which inspired him from on high, and gave unto him power, by the means which were before prepared, that he should translate a book.… Which book was given by inspiration, and is called the book of Mormon, and is confirmed to others by the ministering of angels, and declared unto the world by them" (BofC 24:7, 11; LDS D&C 20:6, 10; CofC 17:2b–e; emphasis added). Note the generic use of the phrase "ministering of angels" even though the three witnesses had seen one angel.

10. This revelation dates to before June 14, 1829, when it was quoted in a letter from Cowdery to Hyrum Smith. Joseph Smith, Letterbook, 1:5–6, Joseph Smith Papers, Church History Library (*EMD* 2:402–03). By this time Cowdery and Whitmer had received testimony concerning the plates: Cowdery in a dream prior to meeting Joseph Smith in April 1829 (per Joseph Smith's 1832 History, see below un summer 1832), and Whitmer in early June 1829 on the way from Harmony to Fayette in company with Smith and Cowdery, when he saw an old man with the plates in a knapsack who walked alongside the wagon and then disappeared; e.g., Edward Stevenson, journal, 23 December 1877, vol. 14, pp. 16–18, Church History Library (*EMD* 5:30–31).

11. Apparently Smith and Cowdery had different views about the nature of the "apostleship"—with Smith believing it was an office in the church hierarchy and Cowdery assuming it was strictly a charismatic calling.

12. While the 1833 Book of Commandments and 1835 Doctrine and Covenants give June 1830 for the Articles and Covenants, John Whitmer's copy in the Book of Commandments and Revelations (BCR) bears the date April 10, 1830. See Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile edition, Revelations and Translations, *The Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2009), 75.

In an apparent compromise with Cowdery and the Whitmers (who were resistant to what they called "priestcraft"),[13] this document is silent about a hierarchy of twelve apostles and instead links the charismatic calling of apostle with the office of elder.

June 1831—Joseph Smith introduced the high priesthood, which quickly evolved from elders with additional authority to the office of high priest.

With the introduction of the high priesthood, there were now two priesthoods (or authorities) in the church with separate origins—both bestowed by revelation. Prior to June 1831, the only major division of authority was between elders—the charismatic leaders—and all others: that is, priests, teachers, and deacons (see LDS D&C 20:38–45; CofC 17:8–9).[14] However, it is important to note that while these men held different offices and callings, they had no concept that there were two priesthoods in the church.

The authority to baptize prior to the organization of the church did not carry over into the church as a lesser authority, as later conceived. In other words, the offices of priest, teacher, and deacon did not trace their authority to Smith and Cowdery's baptisms, but rather were seen as appendages of the eldership. Smith and Cowdery had been called by revelation to be elders and apostles and they had been given authority to ordain other elders and organize the church, and elders were given the authority to ordain priests, teachers, and deacons, as stipulated in the Articles and Covenants (BofC 24:32; cf. LDS D&C 20:38–39; CofC 17:8).

July and August 1831—Joseph Smith visited Missouri and was involved in a jurisdictional dispute with bishop Edward Partridge, who had been ordained the previous February and assigned to preside over the church in Missouri.[15]

September 11, 1831—Back in Ohio, Joseph Smith dictated a revelation which declared that Partridge "hath sinned, and Satan seeketh to destroy his soul" (LDS D&C 64:17; CofC 64:3d).

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13. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:105.

14. In describing the June 1831 bestowal of the high priesthood, Joseph Smith's history states that "the authority of the Melchizedek Priesthood was manifested and conferred for the first time upon several of the Elders" (Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:175–76). Not until September 1832 were elders seen as an appendage of the high priesthood (LDS D&C 84:29; CofC 83:5a), and March 1835 as occupying an order of the priesthood named after Melchizedek (LDS D&C 107:7; CofC 104:3a).

15. In a September 20, 1831, letter to Partridge, Ezra Booth mentioned Partridge's confronting Joseph Smith about unfulfilled prophecy. E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, OH: By author, 1834), 202. On August 4, 1831, Smith attended a conference in Kaw Township during which Sidney Rigdon cautioned Bishop Partridge to be obedient to "the requisition of Heaven." Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 9. He evidently believed the bishop had overstepped his office. On March 10, 1832, Partridge would again be charged with insulting Joseph Smith and assuming authority over him (see below under date).

November 1831—Joseph Smith dictated another revelation calling him to be president of the high priesthood, which also explained that this new office was superior to a Bishop.

> It must needs be that one be appointed of the High Priesthood to preside over the priesthood, and he shall be called President of the High Priesthood of the Church; or, in other words, the Presiding High Priest over the High Priesthood of the Church. From the same comes the administering of ordinances and blessings upon the church, by the laying on of the hands. Wherefore, the office of a bishop is not equal unto it; for the office of a bishop is in administering all temporal things; nevertheless a bishop must be chosen from the High Priesthood.… Wherefore, now let every man learn his duty, and to act in the office in which he is appointed, in all diligence. (LDS D&C 107:59, 65–69; CofC 104:31a, 31e–32a–b)[16]

January 25, 1832—Joseph Smith was ordained president of the high priesthood by Sidney Rigdon in Amherst, Ohio.

March 10, 1832—The Missouri church held a conference and heard charges against Partridge, including his "having insulted the Lord's prophet in particular & assumed authority over him in open violation of the Laws of God."[17] At this time, Partridge humbled himself and asked for forgiveness.

April 24–May 6, 1832—Joseph Smith again visited the Saints in Missouri. The second visit was prompted by a revelation that warned him that "Satan seeketh to turn their hearts away" (LDS D&C 78:9–10; CofC 77:2b–c).

April 26, 1832—Joseph Smith was sustained as president of the high priesthood at a meeting held in Independence, Missouri. The record of this meeting reports that "Joseph Smith Jr. [was] acknowledged by the High Priests in the land of Zion to be President of the High Priesthood, according to the commandment and ordination in Ohio, … And the right hand of fellowship [was] given him by the Bishop Edward Partridge in the land of Zion in the name of the Church.… All differences [were] settled & the hearts of all run together in love."[18]

June 2, 1832—Leaders of the church in Kirtland received a letter from John Corrill in Missouri "accusing Brother Joseph in rather an indirect way of seeking after monarchial power and authority," which received a response on January 14, 1833 from Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith—representing a conference of twelve high priests in Kirtland: "We are sensible that this is not the thing Brother Joseph is seeking

16. An early version of LDS D&C 107:59–100 (CofC 104:31a–44b) appears in the Kirtland Revelation Book, pp. 84–86, under the date November 1831. See Jensen et al., *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 585–89. On the dating of LDS D&C 107:59–100 (CofC 104:31a–44b), see Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Provo, UT: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981), 215–16, 326n1.

17. Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 41.

18. Ibid., 44–45; Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:267.

after, but to magnify the high office and calling whereunto he has been called and appointed by the command of God, and the united voice of this Church."[19]

July 1832—Upon returning to Kirtland, Joseph Smith learned that the Missouri church was once again in discord and that bishop Edward Partridge was challenging his leadership. In a letter to W. W. Phelps, dated July 31, 1832, Joseph Smith called this situation a "critical moment" in the history of the movement.[20] Indeed, the possible apostasy and secession of the Missouri church, especially the loss of the designated land of Zion and location of the New Jerusalem temple was a disturbing thought to church leaders in Ohio. In the same letter, Smith told Phelps to "tell Bro[ther] Edward [Partridge] it is very dangerous for men who have received the light he has received to be a seeking after a sign, for there shall no sign be given for a sign except as it was in the days of Lot. God sent angels to gather him & his family out of Sodom while the wicked were destroyed by a devouring fire behold this is an exsample."[21]

Summer 1832—Joseph Smith began writing his history, the preamble of which outlined his special status as church leader and the authority upon which he founded the church. However, it did not mention angelic ordination, although it referred to the reception of two priesthoods. First, the "reception of the Holy Priesthood by the minist[e]ring of Angels [note the plural despite the later claim of one angel] to administer the letter of the Gospel, the Law and *commandments* as they were given unto him, and the ordinances." Similar to the Articles and Covenants, this merely states that authority was derived from the appearance of angels (in association with the coming forth of the Book of Mormon) and the reception of divine commands. At least, this is how the Whitmers and McLellin (and presumably other believers) would have read this passage.

This preamble also stated that Joseph Smith received "a confirmation and reception of the High Priesthood," which (as we know) came by revelation in June 1831.

Still, there was no mention of John the Baptist, and no provision for Peter, James, and John.

September 22, 1832—Joseph Smith dictated an important revelation dealing with priesthood (LDS D&C 84:1–42; CofC 83:1–6), which reconceptualized the two orders of priesthood and laid the groundwork for later developments.

First, the revelation claims the Holy or High Priesthood was handed down to Moses through a chain of ordinations running through the prophets and patriarchs, including Melchizedek, back to Adam (84:6-16; CofC 83:2c-f), about which the Bible is silent.

19. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:318.

20. Joseph Smith to W. W. Phelps, 31 July 1832, Joseph Smith Collection, Church History Library, in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 270.

21. Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 273.

Next, the revelation creates a "lesser priesthood" said to have been handed down through Aaron's posterity (84:18–28; CofC 83:3–4). However, in the Old Testament, the high (or chief) priest and regular priests came from the Levitical house of Aaron.

The revelation also restructures the church offices, explaining that "the offices of elder and bishop are necessary appendages belonging unto the high priesthood" and "the offices of teacher and deacon are necessary appendages belonging to the lesser priesthood" (84:29–30; CofC 83:5). There were still two priesthoods or authorities in the church, but the demarcation line had changed. Prior to this revelation, there was the eldership and the other offices that emanated from it (priest, teacher, and deacon), and high priests. Now, elders and high priests were together in the high priesthood. By implication, the offices of teacher and deacon were now seen as appendages of the office of priest—thus opening the door for a separate origin story.

Finally, the revelation attempts to overcome the objection that the Aaronic Priesthood was limited to the tribe of Levi by stating that Mormons had a right to these two priesthoods because they had become the sons of Moses and Aaron through the "renewing of their bodies" by the spirit (84:31–34; CofC 83:6a–d).

The claim that the restored church would include Aaronic Priests who ministered under the Law of Moses was the most controversial aspect of this revelation and needed some justification. Indeed, most Christians believe the Aaronic Priesthood ended with the Law of Moses and was superseded by Christ's priesthood, as explained in the Book of Hebrews (chap. 7). The revelation anticipated criticism regarding the restoration of Old Testament priesthood by alluding to the Lord's promise in Malachi 3:3 to "purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness." The revelation thus predicts that "the sons of Moses and also the sons of Aaron shall offer an acceptable offering and sacrifice in the house of the Lord, which house shall be built unto the Lord in this generation, upon the consecrated spot as I have appointed" (84:31; CofC 83:6a)—meaning Independence, Missouri.[22]

This revelation also lays the groundwork for Smith's and Cowdery's subsequent claims to angelic ordination, explaining that although the lesser priesthood had "continue[d] with the house of Aaron among the children of Israel until John [the Baptist] … he was … ordained by the angel of God at the time he was eight days old unto this power, to overthrow the kingdom of the Jews" (84:27–28; CofC 83:4d–f). However, John was a special case that Smith had yet to apply to himself.

Note that whereas Joseph Smith had previously referred to the first bestowal of authority as the "Holy Priesthood." the revelation linked this term with the "greater priesthood." explaining that because Israel rebelled the Lord "took Moses out of their

22. The revelation also alludes to the promise in Exodus 40:15 that Aaron's sons would be given "an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations" (see LDS D&C 84:18; CofC 83:3).

midst, and the Holy Priesthood also. And the lesser priesthood continued" (LDS D&C 84:25; CofC 83:4c).

April 21, 1834—At a meeting held in Norton, Ohio, Smith "gave a relation of obtaining and translating the Book of Mormon, the revelation of the Priesthood of Aaron, the organization of the Church in 1830, the revelation of the High Priesthood, and the gift of the Holy Ghost poured out upon the Church."[23]

There is no indication in this brief entry that "revelation of the Priesthood of Aaron" was different than the "revelation of the High Priesthood," or that it was anything more than a reference to the revealed command for Smith and Cowdery to baptize one another. Note also that there is still no provision for the appearance of Peter, James, and John.

May–July 1834—Joseph Smith led a quasi-military expedition of more than two hundred Mormons to Missouri in an effort to return the Saints to their lands in Jackson County. This effort failed and the Mormons lost their holy land to their enemies. Joseph Smith experienced fallout from this failure and his leadership was questioned in both Ohio and Missouri.

E. D. Howe, editor of the nearby *Painesville Telegraph*, reported that "there was a constant uproar among the brethren, for three or four weeks, which only terminated in a sham trial of the Prophet."[24] Some "were doubting the truth of the book of Mormon, others denying the faith," early Mormon historian John Whitmer recorded.[25] On August 16, 1834, Smith wrote to his followers in Missouri that Sylvester Smith and others "stirred up a great difficulty in the Church against me. Accordingly I was met in the face and eyes, as soon as I had got home, with a catalogue of charges … the cry was Tyrant—Pope—King—Usurper—Abuser of men—Angel—False Prophet—Prophesying lies in the name of the Lord—Taking consecrated monies—and every other lie to fill up and complete the catalogue."[26] This failure of charisma made it all the more imperative for Smith to complete the transition to a more enduring institutional-based authority.

September 1834—In a letter to W. W. Phelps in Missouri, Oliver Cowdery (with Smith's help) wrote the first account of his and Smith's ordination by an unnamed angel in May 1829, which was published in the *Messenger and Advocate* the following month. Significantly, Cowdery began by stating that he hoped that his account would "prove *especially* beneficial … by confirming [Phelps and the Missouri church] in the faith of the gospel," and then made the startling disclosure: "The angel

23. Kirtland High Council Minute Book, 21 April 1834, 43–47, Church History Library. Cf. Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:52.

24. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed*, 163. For an account of the trial, see Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:150–60.

25. Bruce N. Westergren, *From Historian to Dissident: The Book of John Whitmer* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 137.

26. Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:144.

of God came down clothed with glory … his voice, though mild, pierced to the center, and his words, 'I am thy fellow servant,' dispelled every fear.… We received under his hand the *holy priesthood*, as he said, 'upon you my fellow servants, in the name of Messiah I confer this priesthood and this authority, which shall remain upon earth, that the sons of Levi may yet offer an offering unto the Lord in righteousness!'"[27]

By putting the Malachi 3:3 apologetic in the angel's mouth, Cowdery created an anachronism, because the notion of a greater and lesser priesthood, with the lesser being associated with the Levitical priesthood, wasn't part of the discourse until September 1832 when Joseph Smith dictated his revelation on priesthood.

The term "priesthood" is also anachronistic since it wasn't used until June 1831 in connection with the high priesthood. The term did not even appear in the June 1830 (April 10, 1830) Articles and Covenants.

Note also that Cowdery's use of the term "holy priesthood" is consistent with Smith's 1832 History but inconsistent with the September 1832 revelation, which links the term with the High or Melchizedek Priesthood.

The motivation for introducing the story of angelic ordination seems to be internal conflict and Smith's effort to create a hierarchical structure that would align other church leaders under his authority and make him less vulnerable to usurpers and prevent his organization from splintering.[28] It should be observed that the introduction of this angelic ordination story not only enhanced Joseph Smith's leader-

27. Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, 7 September 1834; emphasis added.

28. Cowdery's willingness to alter history for Joseph Smith began as early as July 1830, when he testified at the first of Smith's trails in South Bainbridge and Colesville, New York, on the old 1826 charge of being a stone gazer. One strategy evidently was to distance the Book of Mormon's production from Smith's former treasure seeing activities. According to South Bainbridge resident Abram W. Benton, who had attended the legal proceeding only ten months prior to reporting, "Oliver Cowdry, one of the three witnesses to the book, testified under oath, that said Smith found with the plates, from which he translated his book, two transparent stones, resembling glass, set in silver bows. That by looking through these, he was able to read in English, the reformed Egyptian characters, which were engraved on the plates." "Mormonites," *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate* (Utica, NY) 2, April 9, 1831, 120 (*EMD* 4:97). Cowdery's testimony is refuted by other eyewitnesses to Smith's method of translation—David Whitmer, Martin Harris, Emma Smith, and others—who agree in their descriptions that he used a seer stone placed in the crown of a hat, into which he thrust his face, and in the darkness as he claimed, the translation would appear in luminous writing on the stone, which he read to a scribe—who most of the time was Cowdery. This method was the same Smith used to locate buried treasures and lost objects. In consort with Smith's efforts to downplay the folk magic elements of the Book of Mormon's origin, Cowdery adhered to his fictional description of the translation process throughout his life. In the same letter to Phelps and the Missouri in which he disclosed the story of angelic ordination, Cowdery said: "Day after day I continued, uninterrupted, to write from his mouth, as he translated, with the *Urim* and *Thummim*, or, as the Nephites would have said, 'Interpreters.'" *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 1 (October 1834): 14. When Cowdery wanted to rejoin the Mormons in 1848, he spoke before a conference at Council Bluffs, Iowa, and not only reaffirmed his testimony of angelic ordination but also repeated the false story of the Urim and Thummim. According to bishop Reuben Miller, Cowdery testified: "I wrote, with my own pen, the entire Book of Mormon (save a few pages) as it fell from the lips of the Prophet Joseph Smith, as he translated it by the gift and power of God, by the means of the Urim and Thummim, or, as it is called by that book, 'Holy Interpreters.'" Reuben Miller, "Last Days of Oliver Cowdery," *Deseret News* 9, April 13, 1859 (*EMD* 2:495).

ship, but it also raised Cowdery to prominence as a coreceiver of special authority. It would not be long before Cowdery's new status would be officially recognized.

December 5, 1834—Oliver Cowdery was ordained an assistant or copresident by Sidney Rigdon.

In Joseph Smith's "large journal" (later used as Manuscript History, book A-1), Cowdery recorded that Smith ordained him "to the office of assistant President of the High and Holy Priesthood in the Church of the Latter-Day Saints" and then explained: "It is necessary, for the special benefit of the reader, that he be instructed <into, or> concerning the power and authority of the above named Priesthood. First, The office of the President is to preside over the whole Church; … Second. The office of Assistant President is to assist in presiding over the whole Church, and to officiate in the abscence of the President, according to ~~their~~ <his> rank and appointment, viz: President Cowdery, first; President Rigdon Second, and President Williams Third, as they ~~are~~ <were> severally called."[29]

Note that that these counselors were not ordained in that order, that Cowdery was last. Concerning his sudden rise to the second highest office in the church, Cowdery went on to explain: "The reader may further understand, that ~~Presidents~~ <the> reason why ~~President~~ <High Counsellor> Cowdery was not previously ordained <to the Presidency,> was, in consequence of his necessary attendance in Zion [Missouri], to assist Wm. W. Phelps in conducting the printing business; but that this promise was made by the angel while in company with President Smith, at the time they received the office of the lesser priesthood. And further: The circumstances and situation of the Church requiring, Presidents Rigdon and Williams were previously ordained, to assist President Smith."[30]

There are two problems with Cowdery's explanation. First, Cowdery's claim that he and Smith were told about the offices of president and assistant president of the high priesthood is doubtful and anachronistic for the May 1829 setting. The high priesthood wasn't introduced until June 1831, and a president of the high priesthood wasn't revealed until the following November in response to the challenge of bishop Edward Partridge. Even then, counselors for the president weren't provided until March 1832.[31]

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29. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Autobiographical and Historical Writings*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 20–21.

30. Ibid., 21–22.

31. In March 1832, Smith received a revelation (which remains uncanonized) instructing him to take counselors to assist him in "the presidency of the high Priesthood." Revelation to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, March 1832, document #20, Newel K. Whitney Family Papers, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, cited in Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy*, 41. On March 8, 1832, Joseph Smith ordained Jesse Gause and Sidney Rigdon as "councellers of the ministry of the presidency of th[e] high Pri[e]sthood." Kirtland Revelations Book, pp. 10–11, in Jensen et al., *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 433–34. Soon after returning to Kirtland, Gause apostatized. On January 5, 1833, Smith dictated a revelation (which also remains uncanonized),

Second, Cowdery's excuse for the delay of his ordination is also suspicious since there had been more than ample opportunity before December 1834. Most notably, Smith and Cowdery were reunited in late April 1832 when Smith made a second visit to Missouri with counselors Sidney Rigdon and Jesse Gause and was sustained as president of the high priesthood on the 26th.[32] Cowdery returned to Kirtland in August 1833 to continue printing there following the destruction of the press in Missouri. While there were many opportunities to ordain Cowdery, none were as obvious as when Cowdery assisted Joseph Smith on April 19, 1834, and "confirmed upon" Sidney Rigdon authority as first counselor "to preside over the Church in the abscence [*sic*] of brother Joseph."[33] When Smith left Kirtland for Missouri the following month at the head of Zion's Camp, Rigdon rather than Cowdery presided over the church for the next three months. So Cowdery's elevation was sudden and unexpected, but it paved the way for Smith's subsequent hierarchical innovations, which he had previously resisted.

February 1835—Smith announced that he had received a vision that not only showed him the eternal reward for Zion's Camp members who had died during the expedition but also commissioned him to organize the two major governing bodies in the church hierarchy—namely, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the Quorum of the Seventy.[34]

February 1835—The Quorum of Twelve Apostles was organized, being called and ordained by the three Book of Mormon witnesses. Addressing the newly ordained apostles on February 21, Cowdery first read the June 1829 revelation calling for the Book of Mormon witnesses to ordain the twelve and then said: "You have been ordained to this holy priesthood, you have received it from those who have the power and authority from an angel."[35] The context of the statement implies that the authority to "preach the gospel to every nation" came from the angel who appeared to the Three Witnesses in late June 1829, commanding them to bear witness to the world concerning the truth of the Book of Mormon. Cowdery made no mention of

naming Frederick G. Williams as Gause's replacement. Kirtland Council Minute Book, p. 6, cited in Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy*, 42. On March 8, 1833, Smith dictated a revelation that outlined the duties of Rigdon and Williams in the First Presidency, stating that they were "accounted as equal with thee [Smith] in holding the keys of this last kingdom" (LDS D&C 90:6; CofC 87:3a). Ten days later, Smith ordained Rigdon and Williams "to be equal with him in holding the Keys of the Kingdom and also to the Presedency [*sic*] of the high Priesthood." Kirtland Council Minute Book, p. 16; cf. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:334.

32. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:266–29. Minutes for April 30, 1832, list Rigdon and Gause as counselors. Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 47.

33. Joseph Smith, journal, 19 April 1834, Joseph Smith Papers, Church History Library, in Dean C. Jessee, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Journals, Volume 1: 1832–1839*, Journals, *The Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2008), 41; cf. Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:51.

34. See Prince, *Power From On High*, 25.

35. Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:195.

Peter, James, and John restoring keys of the apostleship, which would be soon announced.

March–August 1835—Joseph Smith added mention of the coming of John the Baptist and Peter, James, and John to his early revelations. To a revelation dated September 1830, he added: "John [the Baptist] I have sent unto you, my servants, Joseph Smith, Jun., and Oliver Cowdery, to ordain you unto the first priesthood which you have received, that you might be called and ordained even as Aaron … and also … Peter, and James, and John, whom I have sent unto you, by whom I have ordained you and confirmed you to be apostles, and especial witnesses of my name" (LDS D&C 27:8, 12–13; CofC 26:2d, 3a–b).

Note that the first public mention of the three ancient apostles ordaining Smith and Cowdery associated this visitation with the apostleship, rather than the eldership as commonly assumed.

Since Cowdery had failed to mention the appearance of Peter, James, and John while commissioning the twelve it would appear that as of February 21, 1835, neither Smith nor Cowdery had connected the apostleship to a visitation of the three apostles. It therefore seems probable that the idea was invented and added to Smith's early revelations sometime after February 21 and before he left Kirtland in August 1835.

September–October 1835—In copying 1833 blessings into the patriarchal blessing book in September and October 1835, Oliver Cowdery attempted to make it appear that angelic ordinations were fulfillment of prophecy given by ancient patriarch Joseph recorded on the Egyptian papyri Smith had purchased in Kirtland, Ohio, in July 1835.

In his description of this acquisition in the December 1835 issue of the *Messenger and Advocate*, Cowdery said the papyri included the writings of ancient patriarchs Abraham and Joseph. By this time, Joseph Smith had already started translating and keeping notes in what he called the "Grammar and Alphabet of the Egyptian Language" as well as dictating what now is chapter 1 and part of chapter 2 of the Book of Abraham.

Joseph Smith's dictation provided ancient support for his new teachings on priesthood, particularly the notion of the high priesthood originating with Adam and being handed down from patriarch to patriarch, a concept not found in the Old Testament but introduced in September 1832 (LDS D&C 84; CofC 83). Not surprisingly, Smith's dictation of the Book of Abraham dealt with legitimate and illegitimate claims to the priesthood and opens with Abraham proclaiming his legitimacy: "I, Abraham, … sought for the blessings of the fathers, and the right whereunto I should be ordained to administer the same; … I became a rightful heir, a High Priest, holding the right belonging to the fathers; it was conferred upon me from the fathers; it came down from the fathers, from the beginning of time, yea, even from

the beginning, or before the foundations of the earth to the present time, even the right of the first born, on the first man, who is Adam, or first father, through the fathers, unto me" (Abraham 1:1–3).

Cowdery's December 1835 description focused on the record or scroll of ancient patriarch Joseph and its elaborate drawings of what he (and probably Smith) interpreted as representations of the three-in-one Godhead, Satan tempting Eve, Enoch's Pillar, and the judgment.[36] Cowdery's fascination with the record of patriarch Joseph became apparent in September and October 1835 when he copied 1833 blessings into a patriarchal blessing book, which he freely expanded and altered.[37] Cowdery drew on information evidently obtained from Joseph Smith's translation of the Egyptian papyri. Before copying the 1833 blessings, Cowdery wrote an introduction to explain some of the content of the blessing Smith gave him on December 18, 1833: "he [Joseph Smith] was ordained by the angel John, unto the lesser or Aaronic priesthood, in company with myself, in the town of Harmony, Susquehannah County, Pennsylvania, on Fryday, the 15th day of May, 1829, after which we repaired to the water, even to the Susquehannah River, and were baptized, he first ministering unto me and after—I to him."[38]

Note that Cowdery follows Smith's recent expansion to section 27 (v. 8; CofC 26:2d) of the Doctrine and Covenants in naming the angel John. Cowdery continues: "but before baptism, our souls were drawn out in mighty prayer—to know how we might obtain the blessings of baptism and of the Holy Spirit, according to the order of God, and we diligently saught for the right of the fathers and the authority of the holy priesthood, and the power to admin[ister] in the same: for we desired to be followers of righteousness and the possessors of greater knowledge, even the knowledge of the mysteries of the kingdom of God."[39]

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36. Oliver Cowdery, "Egyptian Mummies—Ancient Records," *Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 3 (December 1835): 236.

37. Patriarchal Blessing Book, vol. 1, 18 December 1833–28 April 1840, pp. 8–13, Church History Library, in H. Michael Marquardt, *Early Patriarchal Blessings of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2007), 3–10. Comparison of extant original blessings given by Joseph Smith on December 18, 1833 with those copied into the patriarchal blessing book in 1835 indicates, as one Mormon scholar observed, that "Cowdery greatly expanded the blessings beyond their contents as initially recorded." Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1989), 19n8. Comparison of the opening portion of the blessing to Cowdery in the blessing book with a synopsis recorded in Smith's journal under December 18, 1833 indicates that Cowdery omitted a phrase not particularly kind to himself—"nevertheless there are two evils in him that he must needs forsake or he cannot altogeth[er] escape the buffitings of the adver[sar]y if he shall forsak[e] these evils he shall be forgiven." Jessee et al., *Journals, Volume 1*, 21–22. Given this evidence, one should not take Cowdery's oath prefacing his copy of the 1833 blessings too seriously: "These blessing were given by vision and the spirit of prophecy, on the 18th of December, 1833, and written by my own hand at the time; and I know them to be correct and according to the mind of the Lord." Marquardt, *Early Patriarchal Blessings*, 3.

38. Patriarchal Blessing Book, p. 8, in Marquardt, *Early Patriarchal Blessings*, 3.

39. Patriarchal Blessing Book, pp. 8–9, in Marquardt, *Early Patriarchal Blessings*, 3.

In describing what led them to the water's edge Cowdery departs from his previous account, which claimed that they waited for a divine command through revelation to begin baptizing. Now, he anachronistically inserts the claim that they sought the "authority of the holy priesthood," which included the "power" to baptize. Even more problematic is Cowdery's borrowing of Smith's recent translation of the Book of Abraham to craft his description of a May 1829 event. Linguistic affinity between Cowdery's introduction to his blessing and the Book of Abraham is clear. Cowdery's introduction continues: "Therefore, we repaired to the woods, even as our father Joseph said we should, that is to the bush, and called upon the name of the Lord, and he answered us out of the heavens, and while we were in the heavenly vision the angel came down and bestowed upon us this priesthood; and then, as I have said, we repaired to the water and were baptized."

From Cowdery's statements, it would appear that Smith had made some preliminary remarks about the record of Joseph and was planning to produce further authority for his recent ecclesiastical innovations. Cowdery then alludes to the reception of another priesthood: "After this we received the high and holy priesthood, but an account of this will be given elsewhere, or in another place."

As far as can be determined, Cowdery never fulfilled this promise. However, he added more details about the event when he copied the blessing Smith supposedly gave him in 1833 into the record book in October 1835. According to Cowdery, Smith concluded the blessing by saying:

> These blessings shall come upon him [Oliver] according to the blessings of the prophecy of Joseph in ancient days, which he said should come upon the seer of the last days and the scribe that should sit with him, and that should be ordained with him, by the hands of the angel in the bush, unto the lesser priesthood, and after receive the holy priesthood under the hand of those who had been held in reserve for a long season, even those who received it under the hand of the Messiah, while he should dwell in the flesh upon the earth, and should receive the blessings with him, even the seer of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saith he, even Joseph of old … Amen.[40]

Smith's words drew on ancient Joseph's prophecy about a latter-day "choice seer" named Joseph recorded in the Book of Mormon (2 Nephi 3:5–22), but went well beyond what was contemplated in 1829 or 1833. Given the preceding reconstruction, Joseph Smith could not have alluded to ordination by an angel in the bush or unspecified apostles in December 1833 since the first had not been invented until September 1834 and the second until after February 1835. Nor does it seem likely that Smith would have expanded on the prophecy of ancient Joseph until after he began translating the Egyptian papyri in July 1835. Rather, the wording of the blessing re-

40. Patriarchal Blessing Book, p. 12, in Marquardt, *Early Patriarchal Blessings*, 8–9.

flects concerns Smith and Cowdery had at the time Cowdery was copying the blessings into the blessing book in September and October 1835.

Note also that the blessing apparently links ordination by Peter, James, and John with restoration of the "holy" or high priesthood, whereas the additions to the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants linked it to the apostleship. Motivation for Smith and Cowdery's partnership is perhaps contained in the words of Smith's blessing, as recorded by Cowdery in 1835: "He shall sit in the council of the patriarchs, with his brother Joseph and with him have part in the keys of that ministry when the Ancient of Days shall come.... for he shall have part with me [Smith] in the keys of the Kingdom of the last days, and we shall judge this generation by our testimony; and the keys shall never be taken from us, but rest with us for an everlasting priesthood forever and ever.... He shall be equal in the councils of Israel."[41]

While this statement about Cowdery's equality was true in October 1835, it certainly wasn't in December 1833, which is evidence of its having been redacted. There was evidently a need for a second witness since Smith's charisma was in question, as well as a need to thwart challengers and keep the church together. The claim of uninterrupted succession of ordinations back to one who had undisputed authority was a stabilizing force, for it relied more on office and legal right than on a continual display of charisma, which Smith had come to realize was undependable. However, Cowdery greatly benefited from this rewrite and falsification of early Mormon history, and therefore his testimony is suspect.

April 3, 1836—Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery's claimed reception of additional priesthood keys from Moses, Elias, and Elijah during the Kirtland Temple dedication (LDS D&C 110). Smith and Cowdery now held keys which were not shared by other priesthood officers, and as joint presidents of the church they were beyond the reach of any usurper.

While the dedication of the temple occasioned a renewal of Pentecostal and charismatic fervor, it also underscored the ordered environment in which such fervor might be more or less safely allowed. The two priesthoods and their various ranks of authority were clearly displayed for all to see. Pulpits in three rows of ascending height had been erected at opposite ends of the temple, where the presidencies of the various quorums of the priesthood sat.[42] During the conference, each of the presiding quorums and various presidents were presented for the sustaining vote of the membership. Thus each man knew his place in the power structure.

April–May 1838—Joseph Smith began working on his official history, wherein he described the appearance of John the Baptist, mentioned the word of the Lord in

41. Patriarchal Blessing Book, p. 12, in Marquardt, *Early Patriarchal Blessings*, 8.

42. See Lauritz G. Petersen, "The Kirtland Temple," *Brigham Young University Studies* 12 (Summer 1972): 405–9.

the chamber of the Whitmer home, and made vague reference to Peter, James, and John.

John the Baptist

According to Smith, the Baptist said: "Upon you my fellow servants, in the name of Messiah, I confer the priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministering of angels, and of the gospel of repentance, and of baptism by immersion, for the remission of sins, and this shall never be taken again from the earth, until the sons of Levi do offer again an offering unto the Lord in righteousness."[43]

Smith's version retains reference to Malachi 3:3 but differs from Cowdery's account by deleting reference to the "holy priesthood", which his September 1832 revelation (LDS D&C 84; CofC 83) associated with the high priesthood. Instead, the angel specifically mentions the "priesthood of Aaron" followed by a description of the duties of the lesser priesthood that very closely follows the wording of his September 1832 revelation (LDS D&C 84:26–27; CofC 83:4c).

September 1832 Revelation	*Joseph Smith 1838 History*
which priesthood holdeth the key	which holds the keys
of the ministering of angels	of the ministering of angels,
and … the gospel of repentance	and of the gospel of repentance,
and of baptism,	and of baptism by immersion,
and the. remission of sins, …	for the remission of sins, …

Of course, this was all anachronistic for the May 1829 setting.

Perhaps explaining the late public disclosure of this angelic ordination (at least this has been picked up by some Mormon apologists), Smith wrote that he and Cowdery "were forced to keep secret the circumstances of having received the Priesthood and our having been baptized, owing to a spirit of persecution which had already manifested itself in the neighborhood."[44] While this might explain why they didn't tell the residents of Harmony, at least for the two weeks they remained in that neighborhood, it doesn't explain why Smith and Cowdery kept this information from the Whitmer family and others who joined the church in Fayette, which neighborhood Smith admitted was a much friendlier to his message.[45] Nor does it explain why he maintained this secrecy for nearly five years in Ohio and Missouri.

43. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:39. The angel's words were canonized in the 1876 edition of the LDS Doctrine and Covenants; see LDS D&C 13.

44. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:43–44.

45. "We found the people of Seneca county in general friendly." Ibid., 1:51.

Peter, James, and John

In his 1838 history, Smith made only passing reference to Peter, James, and John, and there is no explicit reference to the three apostles ordaining Smith and Cowdery to the Melchizedek Priesthood. Indeed, the history only has the Baptist say that "he acted under the direction of Peter, James and John who held the keys of the Priesthood of Melchizedek, which Priesthood he said would in due time be conferred on us, and that I should be called the first Elder of the Church, and he [Oliver Cowdery] the second."[46] There is no promise that Smith and Cowdery's ordinations would be preceded by the visitation of the three apostles. In fact, the history strongly implies that such a visit had not occurred when it states that prior to receiving the word of the Lord in the chamber of the Whitmer home, Smith and Cowdery had not yet "realized" the fulfillment of the angel's promise to "have the Melchisidec Priesthood" bestowed upon them.[47]

This is further supported by the probable date Joseph Smith gave for the visitation of Peter, James, and John. In his September 6, 1842, epistle to the church, Joseph Smith gave an important clue: "And again, what do we hear? … The voice of Peter, James, and John in the wilderness between Harmony, Susquehanna county, and Colesville, Broome county, on the Susquehanna River, declaring themselves as possessing the keys of the kingdom, and of the dispensation of the fulness of times!"[48]

This statement implies that the visitation supposedly occurred while Smith and Cowdery were traveling the twenty miles between Harmony and Colesville, and the only occasion Smith and Cowdery were together alone in this vicinity following their baptisms was when they were fleeing persecution in Colesville in early July 1830. According to Smith's 1838 History, after being acquitted at his July 2 trial in Colesville, he found it necessary to escape the mob through a "private way" and managed to make his way to the home of his sister-in-law, where he rejoined Emma and others and returned immediately to Harmony. A "few days" later Smith and Cowdery returned to Colesville to confirm those who had been baptized but were again forced to flee. Of this event, Smith recorded in his History: "We considered it wisdom to leave for home, which we did, without even waiting for any refreshments. Our enemies pursued us, and it was oftentimes as much as we could do to elude them. However, we managed to get home, after having traveled all night, except a short

46. Ibid., 1:40–41.

47. Ibid., 1:60–61.

48. Joseph Smith to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 6 September 1842, *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 23 (October 1, 1842): 936 (*EMD* 1:177); cf. LDS D&C 128:20; CofC 110:20d.

time, during which we were forced to rest ourselves under a large tree by the wayside, sleeping and watching alternately."[49]

The late reminiscence of Addison Everett, who said he overheard a conversation between Joseph and Hyrum in Nauvoo in 1844, adds support to an early July 1830 date for the alleged visitation of Peter, James, and John. Although Everett's account contains some minor inaccuracies and understandably conflates Joseph Smith's two escapes from the mob,[50] the historical setting he describes is consistent with Smith's 1842 statement. In Everett's version, Smith and Cowdery narrowly escaped being mobbed when attorney John Reed opened a window in the back of the courthouse and directed them to flee into the woods. Writing to Oliver Huntington in 1881, Everett said: "They traveled all night in a dense forest—some of the time [in] deep mud and water, and in the after-part of the night Oliver became exhausted, and he (Joseph) had to almost carry him. Just at the break of day Oliver gave out and exclaimed 'how long O! Lord? How long brother Joseph have we got to endure this thing?' 'There,' said brother Joseph, 'at that very time, Peter, James and John came to us and ordained us to the Apostleship.'"[51]

In an 1882 letter to Joseph F. Smith, Everett quoted Smith as having said:

> Just this moment Peter, James and John came to us and ordained us to the holy apostleship and gave unto us the keys of the dispensation of the fullness of times and we had some 16 or 17 miles to go to reach our place of residence and Brother Oliver could travel as well as I could after the Endowment [of the apostleship]. Now as to *time* and *place*. I heard the name of the banks of the Susquehanna river spoken of but where it was placed I cannot tell.… As to time I cannot be very exact.[52]

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49. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:96–97. Smith apparently alluded to the same occasion on January 2, 1843: "When I first commenced this work and had got 2 or 3 individuals to believe I went about 30 miles with Oliver Cowdery, one horse between us, to see them. When we arrived, a mob of a hundred come upon us before we had time to eat, and chased us all night and we arrived back again about 60 miles in all, and without food, a little after Day light." Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 270–71; cf. Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:219.

50. See my discussion in *EMD* 1:196–203.

51. Addison Everett to Oliver B. Huntington, 17 February 1881, Church History Library (*EMD* 1:200).

52. Addison Everett to Joseph F. Smith, 16 January 1882, Joseph F. Smith Papers, Church History Library (*EMD* 1:203). In my biography of Smith, I suggested the following: "Given the already existing folklore concerning the three Nephite disciples—the explanation for how David Whitmer's field was mysteriously plowed, for instance—it is probable that Cowdery originally interpreted the vision in that light. Furthermore, Smith and Cowdery seem to have understood the visitation in terms of a blessing of comfort and strength that helped them endure persecution. One can imagine, from the existing evidence, that Cowdery's vision, which he presumably experienced alone, was induced by life-threatening stress, exhaustion, food and sleep deprivation, and dehydration. While these conditions were conducive for hallucination, they were not imperative since Cowdery had already demonstrated a propensity for visions. Regardless, Smith simply inserted himself into the experience as one who saw the personages along with Cowdery and used it to justify the 1835 ordination of apostles." *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005), 521.

Everett's memory that Smith associated the visitation of Peter, James, and John with the restoration of the apostleship, rather than with the office of elder, is supported by other sources. Some Mormon scholars have resisted this dating because they assume reference to Smith and Cowdery as apostles in the Articles and Covenants (LDS D&C 20:2–3; CofC 17:1b) implies the ordination to the apostleship had already occurred.[53] However, they are confusing the restoration of the eldership, which included the apostleship (as stated in the articles), as well as the charismatic calling of apostles through visionary experience, as in the case of Cowdery and David Whitmer (LDS D&C 18; CofC 16), with the office of apostle in the quorum of twelve. In contrast with traditionalist interpreters, believing historians Richard L. Bushman and D. Michael Quinn have defended the later dating.[54]

Apologetic Response

In responding to problems surrounding priesthood restoration, apologists have tended to focus on the element of late disclosure and the testimonies of the Whitmers and McLellin, offering little more than variations of Joseph Smith's original excuse that he and Cowdery kept silent because of persecution in Harmony. This was the approach of retired Brigham Young University professor Richard L. Anderson and Ronald O. Barney, an employee at the Church History Library and volume editor of the Joseph Smith Papers Project, who appeared in season 1 of the documentary *The Joseph Smith Papers*, which aired on the KJZZ TV channel in the Salt Lake City area in 2008 and now widely distributed on DVD.[55] Episode 9 was devoted to the "Restoration of the Priesthoods," and Anderson and Barney appeared extensively defending traditionalist views.

Picking up on Joseph Smith's 1838 theme of suppressing information to avoid persecution, Anderson cites the persecution the Mormons received in Missouri in 1833 as an "inhibiting factor to getting the story out." Indeed, "their visions were used against them," Anderson observes, as the Mormon claim to revelation was given as one of the reasons for expelling them from Jackson County. "There is an appropriate time to develop the story when the public is ready for it," Anderson concludes.

While this might explain a reluctance to tell non-Mormons in Missouri, it doesn't explain why believers wouldn't already know about angelic ordinations. The irony of Anderson's argument is that Joseph Smith chose to discuss these visions in the midst of the most intense persecution he had experienced. Indeed, the first

53. See, e.g., Larry C. Porter, "Dating the Melchizedek Priesthood," *Ensign* 9 (June 1979): 5–10; and "The Restoration of the Priesthood," *Religious Studies Center Newsletter* 9 (May 3, 1995): 1–12.

54. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 163, 240–41n55. D. Michael Quinn defends this interpretation in *Mormon Hierarchy*, 16–27.

55. "Restoration of the Priesthoods," *The Joseph Smith Papers*, season 1, episode 9, directed by Larry H. Miller Communications Corp., aired 2008–09 (Salt Lake City: KJZZ TV).

public announcement followed the failure of Zion's Camp and was sent to the exiled Saints in Missouri. The problem with setting up a paradigm of suppression of visions for fear of persecution is that there is no explanation for revealing them, especially in very public forums.

Barney similarly argues that suppression of the angelic ordination stories is consistent with Joseph Smith's general reluctance to talk about his visions.[56] Because Joseph Smith didn't immediately publicize the appearances of Jesus, Moses, Elias, and Elijah in the Kirtland Temple on April 3, 1836, Barney argues that it demonstrates that Smith had a habit of suppressing his visions. Smith had the Kirtland visions recorded in his journal, but never publicized them during his lifetime, Barney observes. It was first published in the *Deseret News* in 1852 as part of Joseph Smith's history, and in 1876 the account was added as section 110 of the Doctrine and Covenants.

The impression that no one knew about the visions is incorrect since a congregation was present when Smith and Cowdery stepped behind the veil. Within days, W. W. Phelps wrote to his wife: "On Sunday, April 3, the twelve held meeting and administered the sacrament. It was a glorious time. The curtains were dropt in the afternoon. And There was a manifestation of the Lord to Br Joseph and Oliver, [by?] which they [learned?] thus the great & terrible day of the Lord as mentioned by Malachi, was near, even at the doors."[57]

Mary Ann Winters recalled that within days of the Kirtland manifestations her mother "took me to the stand and showed me the place on the pulpit where the Savior had stood when He appeared to the Prophet, and where afterwards Moses and Elias came and delivered the keys for the gathering of the Saints (Israel), and the redemption of the dead."[58] This memory is likely tainted with elements from the published account, but shows the Saints had an understanding of Smith and Cowdery's visionary claim. Even Lucius Pomeroy Parsons, a non-Mormon living in northern Ohio, reported the event in a letter to his sister, dated April 10, 1836: "They have lately had what they term a solemn assembly … They have had wonderful manifestations

56. This claim should be balanced with Alexander L. Baugh's essay "Parting the Veil: Joseph Smith's Seventy-six Documented Visionary Experiences," in John W. Welch, ed., *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 265–326.

57. William W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 1–6 April 1836, copied into W. W. Phelps, journal, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, quoted in Steven C. Harper, "'A Pentecost and Endowment Indeed': Six Eyewitness Accounts of the Kirtland Temple Experience," in Welch, *Opening the Heavens*, 349.

58. Mary Ann Sterns Winters, "An Autobiographical Sketch," Church History Library, quoted in Mark Lyman Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People: The Historical Setting of Joseph Smith's Ohio Revelations* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2009), 456n22.

there of late behind the curtains … they report that the Savior appeared personly [personally] <with angels> and endowed the Elders with power to work Miracles."[59]

There was no need to rush into print because the most important people knew—that is, other church leaders in the hierarchy and potential aspirants and usurpers.

As another example of Joseph Smith's suppressing visions, Barney cites Smith's March 10, 1844, sermon wherein he discussed the spirit and power of Elias, Elijah, and Messiah, and observes that while Smith mentioned the visit of John the Baptist he never mentioned that Elijah had appeared. Barney asserts: "Joseph described what Elijah was going to do, and never mentioned that eight years earlier Elijah had come and fulfilled that promise."[60]

There are several reasons to reject this argument. Given the sources previously discussed concerning the Kirtland visions, there is no reason to assume Joseph Smith's audience was not already aware of them. The sermon is not complete but only a synopsis, and therefore Barney's declaration that Smith didn't mention Elijah's appearance in the Kirtland Temple is too confident. In this sermon and in an epistle from two years earlier, Joseph Smith connected Elijah's appearance with temple work and baptism for the dead, the latter ordinance had been performed in the basement of the temple since November 8, 1841, and before that in the Mississippi River—implying that Elijah had delivered his keys.[61] On April 15, 1842, the *Times and Seasons* published Joseph Smith's history containing angel Moroni's revision of Malachi: "Behold I will reveal unto you the Priesthood, by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the great and dreadful day of the Lord."[62] Clearly signaling his intention to publish an account years before Barney believes Smith wanted to suppress it. Indeed, the Kirtland visions were recorded by Willard Richards in the Manuscript History, book B-1, pages 727–28, on October 28, 1843.[63] Barney's use of this sermon to justify a general disposition in Joseph Smith to repress his visions is therefore not sustained.

Barney and Anderson seem to think that it is merely a matter of excusing Smith's and Cowdery's five-year silence, but there is far more to explain. Like why angelic ordinations weren't mentioned in the Articles and Covenants? Why they were with-

59. Lucius Pomeroy Parsons to "Dear Sister" [Pamelia Parsons], 10 April 1836, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, as quoted in H. Michael Marquardt, *The Rise of Mormonism: 1816–1844* (Longwood, FL: Xulon Press, 2005), 422.

60. For transcriptions of the six accounts of this sermon, see Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 327–36. See also Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:249–54, which relies on Wilford Woodruff's journal.

61. The epistle, dated September 6, 1842, is found in LDS D&C 128 (CofC 110). See especially verses 16–18.

62. "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 12 (April 15, 1842): 753; cf. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:12.

63. Willard Richards, journal, 28 October 1843, vol. 9, p. 52, Church History Library.

held from believers? Why they were not mentioned when Cowdery organized the quorum of twelve? Why they were surreptitiously inserted into earlier revelations? Why anachronistic elements such as the terms Aaronic Priesthood and Melchizedek Priesthood were incorporated in the stories? Why Smith and Cowdery tried to support their stories of angelic ordination by altering 1833 blessings? Why Cowdery and Smith felt free to make anachronistic additions to the stories to serve later purposes such as justifying Cowdery's ordination as assistant president? The cavalier manner in which Cowdery and Smith added anachronistic elements to serve later needs and manipulated related documents raises doubts that they were drawing on memories of real events.

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Memories of Council Bluffs (And What We Never Knew)

Biloine Young

(Comments delivered at a JWHA panel on September 27, 2013)

My father, Ray Whiting, was pastor of the Council Bluffs branch from 1927 until 1936 or 1937, when we moved to Independence, Missouri. Much of that time, during the years of the Great Depression, he was also pastor of the RLDS congregation in Omaha. During those years the Omaha church was unfinished. It consisted only of a basement in which the members of the congregation met. I do not know when the church was finally completed but it was certainly after 1936.

The Council Bluffs congregation of the RLDS Church met in its own church building on Bluff Street. The building was a substantial brick edifice with a basement containing a baptismal font, a rudimentary kitchen, and rooms for children's Sunday school classes. The building was adjacent to a large Roman Catholic Church and school which years later purchased the property and—later still—demolished it. My father was on good terms with the nuns who ran the school, and I remember that they once sent a birthday cake for me to our home.

The RLDS congregation in those years was a thriving one. My father was what is called "under appointment" which meant that the general church had assigned him to that post and paid his salary. His two counselors were named Landon (father of Don Landon) and Graybill who, I believe, had a son named Bruce. I no longer remember the senior's first names—only those of their sons. The Council Bluffs/Omaha congregations may have been one of the largest aggregations of RLDS outside of Independence, Missouri, at the time. We had frequent visits by church presidents John Garver and F. Henry Edwards and, as a kid, I got to know them rather well as they stayed at our house.

In looking back at this first decade of my existence I realize that the church was central to our lives. We lived about a block up the hill from the church, at 26 Bluff Street, and some of us were at the church, for some reason or other, almost every day.

But what strikes me now is that I can remember no recognition on the part of the branch leadership or a comment by any member of the congregation in regard to the fact that Council Bluffs was an historic church site and had a unique and powerful story. There was no mention of the reasons for the founding of the congregation or the backgrounds of any of the members. I never heard of Winter Quarters, of the splintering of the church that took place there, of the reason for the existence of the many small RLDS congregations, such as Underwood and Tabor, scattered in a forty-mile radius around Council Bluffs.

My father was district president for much of that time and we were continually driving to these small towns where he would hold priesthood meetings and preach from the pulpit. Never was the historic background of those communities acknowledged or even mentioned. I never heard of Manti, Iowa, the village not too far from Council Bluffs from which my father's own grandparents had departed for northern Minnesota in pursuit of Alpheus Cutler's dream. My family neither visited Manti nor ever mentioned it. I did not learn of Manti's existence until I was an adult.

I also never heard a mention of the Mormon church. As Sunday school children we learned all about the evils of the Catholic Church and were convinced that we were so favored of God as to have been born into the one true church located in the one best country in the world. But the Mormon church? It was never mentioned.

However, I did know, because it was repeated to us in Sunday school, that within the cornerstone of our Council Bluffs RLDS Church were copies of not only the three standard books—but also the Pearl of Great Price. We Sunday school students were taken outdoors one Sunday to contemplate the exterior of the cornerstone with the date on it. And I remember wondering how the Pearl of Great Price got in there as it was not "one of the three standard books."

What that childhood memory tells me now is that it took a while for the "great split" to get down to the nitty-gritty of details. When the RLDS Church was built in Council Bluffs, no one was yet quite sure exactly which documents were to be in and which were to be out of the canon of scripture. Members were undecided, for a time, about which documents belonged on which side of the schism.

I can say with reasonable certainty that there was neither awareness of nor interest in the history of the Council Bluffs/Omaha region on the part of anyone in either congregation in the period of the 1930's. The focus of the Council Bluffs congregation was on the future. Members were intent on "building Zion," living cooperatively, and surviving the Great Depression. In pursuit of these goals the congregation, at some cost, established a cooperative grocery store—which promptly failed within a few months. If there was a Mormon church in the area, it was never mentioned.

The church members I remember are the sort who would remain in a kid's mind. There was Henry Kerns who, in a uniform, was a toll-taker on the bridge over the Missouri River that divided the two cities. One was an elderly gentleman with a long white beard named Minton. Another was a well-to-do farmer, Francis Hanson, whose son later became a high-ranking bishop in the Independence RLDS headquarters—after first spending time in Los Angeles. There, by a strange coincidence, the bishop had an unfortunate encounter with the subject of one of my books. Then there was Dr. Merchant in Omaha, a dentist with a wide reputation. I probably remember him because—as a child getting my teeth fixed—I accidentally bit him.

The Council Bluffs and Omaha congregations sponsored a well-attended reunion every summer at Woodbine, Iowa. I have the most vivid memory of one of the Woodbine reunions when the water tower, high up in the air, ran over and hundreds of gallons of water suddenly poured over the top of the tank.

When we moved to Independence I was, for a year, desperately homesick for Council Bluffs. It was not the church congregation that I missed so much or my friends at the Washington Avenue elementary school I attended through the fourth grade. What I was lonesome for were the Loess Hills that arose directly behind the church. Those hills were full of trails and footpaths that I knew intimately. I had grown up exploring that unique geography, and nothing in Independence could take its place.

Though Kanesville was the name of the town throughout much of the most interesting part of its history, the original name had been Council Bluffs. Lewis and Clark knew this area by that name. The Mormons arrived in 1846 and, though most moved across the river to the Nebraska side in 1847–48, enough remained on the Iowa side of the Missouri River to make it a town. The community was also known as Miller's Hollow for a brief time. But in 1848, thankfully, it became Kanesville—named for Thomas L. Kane who, in Washington, DC, helped negotiate permission for the Mormons to use Indian land along the Missouri for their winter encampment in 1846–47. Kanesville, then, became the outfitting point for the Mormon trek to Utah.

I do not know why the name did not remain Kanesville but it did not. In 1852 the city fathers (I am sure the women had little to do with it) changed the name back to the original—Council Bluffs. And I have had a warm spot in my heart for this town ever since I lived here in what is now—a very long time ago.

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Bishop George Miller: A Latter Day High Priest and Prince on the High Plains[1]

Melvin C. Johnson

"but for us who were chiefs it would not do to break friendship on account of our men doing wrong"[2]

As the Latter-day Saints and their enemies struggled for control of the Illinois side of the Mississippi River during 1845, the governor ordered General J. J. Harding to use state militia to place Hancock County under martial law. Bishop George Miller of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) believed that martial law allowed their enemies in Missouri to cross the river and begin again

> depredations, leaving us in a worse condition than we had been at any time since the church had been in the state. About this time Brigham Young proposed leaving the United States; his proposition being that, if the Mormons were left in peace, he would leave the state, taking with him all the official members, and that this exodus should begin before the springing of the grass the ensuing spring. The remainder of the fall was taken up in negotiating with the people who wished us out of the country, and the governor and his military force.

1. This essay explores George Miller's "voice" for his personal tone and mood to reveal his personal reactions toward the events of the day. As such, the paper is not an expository narrative. Therefore, I rely on Miller's narratives more than other works. The two primary first-person narratives by George Miller are his letters published in the Strangite newspaper, the *Northern Islander*, in 1855, under the title of "Correspondence of Bishop George Miller," hereafter cited as Miller "Correspondence"; and a paper authored by, presented to, and published for the Historical Society of Southern California, H. W. Mills, Joseph Smith, George Miller, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 10, no. 3 (1917): 86–174, University of California Press Stable, accessed September 1, 2012, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41168750, hereafter cited as "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla."

2. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 110.

> From this time forward all was hurry and bustle, active preparations going on for the early exodus of the Saints from the city where the God of heaven had chosen to establish them in righteousness, if they would but keep his commandments.[3]

President Brigham Young and the twelve had evaluated several plans for orderly removal of the Mormons, but much was still in flux, when, on February 6, 1846, "as many families started west for California as could conveniently ferry their wagons and effects over the Mississippi River, and I amongst others. We went eight miles out into Iowa and camped on a stream called Sugar Creek." The LDS leadership, while at Sugar Creek, disorganized and confused, convened numerous councils, and "as many changes of plans as councils."

All was not well in Zion.

According to Miller, Howard Egan told him one evening in private that captain of the guard Hosea Stout had ordered the guards to kill Bishop Miller then drop his body into the river. Miller instantly went to confront Brigham Young about Stout's supposed murder plan. A bridge guard hailed Miller, who forthwith told the guard he was the one the guard was supposed to kill. Miller then threw the startled guard "his length on the floor of the bridge. Then, passing on into the council tent, I demanded of Brigham Young what kind of order had been given the guard to kill me and have me thrown over the bridge into Sugar Creek. He said he did not know that any such order had been given."

Stout and some guards were ordered to explain to the council their behavior. Stout told the council he was joking while mustering and changing the guard, instructing them, "Let all those who pass the bridge to council go unmolested, except Bishop Miller; kill him and throw him over the bridge." He claimed that it was an idle jest that he had uttered in "his usual tone of voice, and in a public way. The guards said they did not know whether Stout had been joking or not, but could not think he was in earnest. It seemed to them a very strange order. They were inclined to think he was joking."

Bishop Miller was not so sure and continued to be unsettled about the LDS leadership's planning. And the confusion in council continued "from causes that I could not understand. One day orders would be issued to go ahead, and the next day orders would be issued to stop and lie by in camp." Not until March 4, 1846, were the pioneers ordered to move forward. They made sixteen miles and set up camp on the Des Moines River.

Weather continued to interfere, making roads of mud and sinkholes and turning the creeks and streams into raging torrents. The confused council and its contradictory orders added to the problems of the weather and the almost impassable roads. For an example, Miller recalled that one time,

3. Ibid., 142.

> the two brothers, [apostles] O. and P. P. Pratt, and a company of others and myself, had gone on ahead about eight miles, where we lay in camp a day or so, awaiting the coming up of Young, Kimball and Richards, as they had already assumed supreme authority, when a messenger arrived with orders from Brigham to return forth-with to their camps and give an account of ourselves, or they would cut us off from the church for disobedience. We got on our horses and rode back. I remonstrated at their high-handed measure.

Miller was told that the leadership had wanted the Pratt brothers and him in their council, "And in like manner our time was consumed, without our making much progress on our journey." Not until June 13, 1846, did they finally conclude the journey of almost 275 miles from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs. More muddling on took place; not until twenty-five days later, on July 6, did Miller with the smaller portion of the camp, move west.[4]

Affairs concerning the Mexican-American War then complicated even more the Mormon western escape. A military commission sent by General Stephen W. Kearny arrived at the main camp.[5] According to Miller, Kearney intended to prevent the Latter-day Saints from going to California "with the bad feelings we entertained against the general government," unless the Latter-day population "furnished a battalion of soldiers to operate with the United States against Mexico in the present war; and, if we refused compliance, we were to be forthwith dispersed in the States." In a council not attended by Miller, the Latter-day leadership agreed to enlist a battalion of Mormons for a term of service for one year. The troops would discharge at San Francisco and retain their arms, while their pay would go to church leaders to assist the LDS movement west.[6]

While Young was negotiating with the army, the Pawnees[7] were on their summer buffalo hunt, leaving only American missionaries and farmers at the Pawnee Loup village about a hundred miles to the west of Council Bluffs. Sioux raiders had sacked it, causing the Americans there to take "alarm and [send] a dispatch to the Bluffs

4. Ibid., 105, 106.

5. "New Jersey native Stephen W. Kearny was born in 1794, joined the army during the War of 1812, and served in a variety of frontier duties in the decades after that war. By 1846, he was colonel in command of the 1st United States Dragoon Regiment. When war broke out between the United States and Mexico, Kearny was promoted to Brigadier General, with orders to gather an army of volunteers around his unit and head down the Santa Fe Trail to seize the Mexican province of New Mexico." "Colonel Stephen W. Kearny," PBS Biographies, accessed July 15, 2013, http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/biographies/stephen_kearny.html.

6. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 107.

7. "The Pawnee Indians are members of the Caddoan linguistic family, which inhabited a large region in central North America stretching from South Dakota to Texas and Louisiana. The Pawnees occupied the northern portion of this domain, concentrated most heavily in the area of present-day Nebraska. Most of the Pawnee villages were scattered along the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers in the present state of Nebraska." Jeffrey D. Carlisle, "Pawnee Indians," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 14, 2013, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/bmp52.

for teams to bring them and their effects down to the Bluffs." Never one to miss a bargain, Miller agreed "to haul them and their effects" the 120 miles from the village to the (Council) Bluffs in "thirty-two wagons, and the families thereto belonging, intending to unload the wagons and camp out, and let the teams return with the missionaries to the Bluffs." The rescue train started on July 13, and nine days later began the return

> to Council Bluffs. We received in payment for hauling the effects of the missionaries their standing crop of wheat, oats and garden vegetables, together with a lot of old corn, which was all better for us than money. While the teams were gone with the missionaries' goods, we harvested and threshed our grain, shelled the corn and sacked it, all ready for a move on the return of our teams. One morning, before the dew dried off so that we could proceed to threshing, we saw persons walking in the distance, and, by the aid of a glass, distinctly ascertained that the objects were eight Indians approaching.[8]

They were Poncas, the main chief with seven other leaders of the tribe.[9] James Emmett interpreted, finding the Poncas had come to make sure that the Pawnees understood they had not attacked the village. Miller and his group "pitched a tent … and extended … hospitality toward them." While entertaining the Poncas, Miller's wagons with others returned from Council Bluffs, tripling his party to six hundred members "with written orders from Brigham Young to start forthwith for California. I had sent men to the Bluffs to bring up two cannon, six pounders, that had not yet returned, but, nevertheless, I began crossing the River Platte, as our road lay on the south side of the Loup Fork, on which we were then camped."

Miller, on August 8, received a conflicting order from President Young "to stop short where I was; to organize a high council of twelve, and preside over them in their deliberations,—the said council to manage all matters relating to my camp, as it was called, both spiritual and temporal,—and bidding us go into winter quarters, some at the place where we then were, and the others at Grand Island on the South Platte."[10]

Nine more Ponca chiefs and sub-chiefs arrived that same day of August 8, 1846, intending to further negotiations with the Pawnee. These Ponca chiefs were documented by the Mormons as:

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8. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 107.

9. "In the 1700s the Ponca Indians separated from the Omaha tribe and established villages along the Niobrara River and Ponca Creek in present Nebraska and South Dakota. There they subsisted on horticulture and bison hunts. Until the arrival of the Teton Sioux circa 1750, the Ponca's territory stretched from the Missouri River to the Black Hills. Smallpox and other diseases in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reduced their numbers. Sioux warfare forced their withdrawal to an area near the mouth of the Niobrara River." *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma Society and Culture*, s.v. "Ponca," accessed July 13, 2013, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/p/p0007.html.

10. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 107–08.

1. Buffalo Bull—head chief (also known as Little Bear).
2. Two Bulls—son of Buffalo Bull (he becomes head chief when his father dies in September 1846).
3. Black Warrior—a chief of the 2nd rank (nephew of Buffalo Bull).
4. Buffalo Chip—a chief of the 2nd rank (after Black Warrior dies in August 1846).
5. Iron Whip—principle chief of Gray Blanket Village (brother of Two Bulls).
6. White Eagle—son of Iron Whip (has hereditary leadership rites).
7. Drum—principle chief of Fish Smell Village.
8. Smoke Maker—a chief of the 2nd rank (son of the chief of the same name who was killed by the Sicangu Lakota in 1824).
9. Little Chief—son of Smoke Maker (has hereditary leadership rites).[11]

The Ponca chief did not agree with Young's directions to Miller. He advised Miller that the "big captain [Young] knew nothing about Indian customs; that the Pawnees wintered their horses at Grand Island." The Poncas told them that their animal herds would graze out Grand Island before half of the winter was over and that the Pawnees would prevent that. Once returned from their summer buffalo hunt, the Pawnees would kill the Mormon cattle, steal the horses, and thrash the Mormon travelers into the wilderness.[12]

The Poncas offered an alternative. Once the chiefs were certain the Pawnees had abandoned the village, they again bid Miller and his company of six hundred to come to the Ponca Gray Blanket Village at the junction of the Niobrara and Missouri rivers. The normal two-day pony ride took the immense cattle herd and two hundred wagons ten days to make the journey, the Mormons killing "a number of buffalo on" the route, while the Poncas contributed some supplies including food. Several Mormons later wrote about their time and experiences with the Ponca. Supposedly, Iron Whip advised the Mormons the best paths to pursue their journey west the following year.[13]

The Poncas at Gray Blanket Village were greatly excited and unsure of such a multitude of strangers. The chief calmed the villagers and gave the whites the rights to build lodges.[14]

Ponca chief Tea-Nuga-Numpa (Buffalo-Bulls-Two), had become gravely ill during the move from the Platte to the village. Many of the tribe members armed with weapons threatened the Mormons with destruction, "saying that their chief was dy-

11. Jonathan Holmes, "A Brief History of the Ponca People," American-Tribes, last modified January 24, 2009, http://www.amertribes.proboards.com/thread/555.

12. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 108.

13. Holmes, "A Brief History of the Ponca People."

14. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 108.

ing and we must have poisoned him." Tea-Nuga-Numpa spoke to his "lesser chiefs," ordering them to honor his promises to the Mormons. He said his brother would become the next chief. As the darkness fell, the chief spoke for about an hour. According to Miller, the chief told his followers that Miller "was his friend and brother, and it was for them to treat me as such." The Mormons camped in place that night. "The old chief seemed better in the morning, and we all moved up to the place of our shanties." Later in the day, the chief passed away. The Poncas mourned greatly their dead chief. Miller witnessed, "Their custom for interring their dead is for each mourner to cut up a large sod and lay them in a conical form around the body of the deceased, and the size of the mound is always in proportion to the number of mourners. On this occasion all turned out, from the least to the greatest. Their cries were very great and sore."

The Indians left shortly after on their winter hunt, taking all of the Mormon horses except for eighteen that belonged to James Emmett. The Mormons' general feelings "were in favor of raising men and pursuing the Indians and retaking our horses." Miller disagreed. If the Poncas had taken the horses, he reasoned, the whites must consider that they still were guests in Ponca country, near their village, and "that it was not advisable to break friendship with" them. Miller, remembering the chief's promise of protection, said he would "that if the brethren would leave the matter to me, I would recover the horses; and in case of failure, if I could not satisfy them, I would be responsible to them for their lost horses," to which the company agreed. Miller and James Emmett "set out to find the Ponca camp. We proceeded up the Loquocore River about one hundred and twenty miles, and came up with them." Miller and Emmett "discovered some of our horses running out among the Indian horses." The Mormon leaders were feasted four times that evening in succession at the principal chiefs' hunting lodges.[15]

Later that evening at the head chief's lodge, after ceremonial use of tobacco, Miller was invited to speak. He asked how the hunt was going.

> The chief replied that, considering the lack of horses to ride in the chase, they were making a very good hunt, and, if we would send up four wagons, he would load them with meat. I told him that we had nothing but ox teams and they would not be able to make the trip. If we took them from the rushes, they would starve, as they could not eat the cottonwood bark as the horses did. Then I thanked him for his kind offer and told him that I was very sorry that they had not horses sufficient for a successful winter's hunt, but that we were so poor we could not help him or we would gladly do it; that we had but eighteen horses, and I supposed that on account of their great lack of horses his men had taken them, as I had seen the horses among theirs; but for us who were chiefs it would not do to break friendship on account of our men doing wrong; that if I were rich I would give him the horses, but, as I was poor, I could not do it, as they all belonged to

15. Ibid., 109.

> my men. I told him further that I knew the Indians could take better care of the horses than we could and I was glad they had them; that they needed them on their hunt, and could return them in the spring in better plight than if we were to keep them ourselves.[16]

The chief's conscience overwhelmed him, making him to smite his breast and claim "his heart was sick, that [Miller's] tongue was not forked, that I looked good to him, just as I did when he first saw me; that his whole heart was sick to think that his men had taken the horses of so good a man." The chief went outside, and apparently issued orders, for the war chief went through the camp "making a long and loud harangue." The chief called Miller and Emmett outside and gave them the missing horses. Miller told the chief to keep the animals until spring, and then return them, "or buffalo robes at their option. After this we smoked, and the chief allotted us our lodging for the night. We lay down and had a comfortable night's rest. Next day, after feasting abundantly on the best of fat venison and buffalo meat, and receiving many assurances of good will, we set out on our journey home, loaded with all the meat we could carry."

The six hundred Mormons in the Miller and Emmett company living near the Ponca worried about sufficient food supplies as the winter continued. A total of eighteen provision wagons had to be sent south and east to Missouri, a round trip of 330 miles. The Mormons were worried about not having enough stores before the next year's supply distribution. As well as food concerns, several members at various times that winter received letters from Brigham Young, according to Miller, "warning them not to let me prejudice their minds against the authorities of the church." Miller and Emmett both were summoned by an express requiring them to attend to the leadership at Winter Quarters. Miller originally had been against the trip, returning from Winter Quarters but a short time before. He had traveled 180 miles on foot and did not look forward to another such trip, "and to go a second time seemed rather a task." But his son Joshua had not yet returned with the teams that had been sent earlier to Missouri and were overdue.

Miller later wrote that "Emmett and I set off, and hunted and killed our food on the way. The excellencies of this man Emmett as a skillful hunter and pioneer cannot be too highly spoken of; he was perhaps never excelled, even by the renowned Daniel Boone."

They arrived at Winter Quarters about January 28, 1847. The meeting to which Miller and Emmett, as princes of the church, were summoned apparently was the Council of Fifty: Miller noted that "This council, originally consisting of fifty-three members, of whom some twenty had gone on missions, or were by deaths and other means absent, was now swelled to a great crowd under Brigham's reign." He thought "their deliberations amounted to nothing. However I was not wholly overlooked …

16. Ibid., 110.

Brigham Young, Kimball and Richards proposed that I should come down to winter quarters, bringing with me part of my family, and take my place with Bishop Whitney in managing the fiscal concerns of the Church, and that I should be supported out of the revenues of the Church; which, however, was not done." Once the council had adjourned, Miller traveled on down the Missouri about 140 miles and met his son, who had frost bitten feet. They returned to their camp near the Poncas.

Miller reflected with considerable misgivings through winter and early spring on what he considered to be the leadership's ultimate failing, the usurpation of the powers of the dead founder, Joseph Smith. President Young intimated, Miller wrote, that the "First Presidency would be organized [and] I was greatly disgusted at the bad composition and folly of this revelation, … —so disgusted that I was, from this time, determined to go with them no longer, and to look out a place where I might support my family, and remain until the true Shepherd of God's flock should show himself to lead the Church and the Kingdom of God."[17]

Bishop Miller confessed that he had been "broken down in spirit on account of the usurpation of these arrogant Apostles, and their oppressive measures." He reckoned that he had covered seventeen hundred miles by foot that winter and early spring "to satisfy the desires of these capricious men." His son had suffered frostbitten feet on the recent trip to Missouri and back for supplies. Miller was "much depressed" and he claimed that "my physical force was also greatly abated." He "really panted for a respite for a time from such needless toil." Brigham Young, he believed, was jealous of him, afraid that Miller "should lead away a body of the saints." In Miller's absence, Young had supposedly "prophesied that [Miller as] the President of the High Priests quorum would yet lead off a large body of the saints."

When informed of the prophesy, Miller issued a counter prophesy

> that President Young had prophesied a great lie in the name of the Lord; that really and truly I would have nothing to do with his corrupt rot-heap; and when I left the leadership that if any of them (the corrupt followers of Brigham) should follow me, I would shoot them. Those sayings of mine were currently retailed through the camp, and multiplied no doubt when returned to the ears of Brigham Young.

Miller also claimed that Young had not fulfilled his promise to support Miller from church revenues. The $40,000 received from the US government for the services of the Mormon battalion

> was invested partly in dry goods and groceries, and in supplying the quorum of the Twelve Apostles and their huge families; and as there was much sickness in Winter Quarters, I was informed that many of the soldiers' wives and children actually died

17. Ibid., 111. For a fuller discussion of Young's rise to the ultimate leadership of the Latter-day Saints, consult Melvin C. Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales: Lyman Wight's Mormon Villages in Antebellum Texas, 1845 to 1858* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006), 35–37, 109–114.

> for the want of common comforts of life; and when any of them got any of the means obtained expressly for them, they got it out of the stores of goods bought with their own money, and charged to them at high retail prices, at the rate of 25 to 100 per centum, and many of them never got anything.

The battalion soldiers without families had sent their pay to support the families of their comrades, but the money, according to Miller, was supposedly appropriated for other causes. Miller allegedly would not share in the process, because he could "not eat, drink or wear the price of blood." President Young went to Miller and questioned him about the truthfulness of these statements. Miller said it was so and then said "much more." A quarrel ensued, Young exclaiming "that such like apostasy had caused Joseph's death." Miller retorted, "I told him not to presume to place himself on a parallel with Joseph—the contrast was as disproportioned as between the ox and toad." This "usurpation" of the leading apostles to Miller "was insufferable, and none but fools would bear it."[18]

Young again sent for the Miller camp at "Punka" (Ponca) Village to travel to Winter Quarters in early April 1847. The Miller Company arrived "about the time the pioneers set off west to look out a location for a permanent settlement." One of Miller's sons had arrived the night before the lead Latter-day company set off for the west, and Bishop Miller was irked to find some of his oxen missing the next morning. He believed that Young instigated some members in the forward company to rustle the livestock.

Miller, finished with Young and the move west, cast his view down the Missouri, "preparing to look out a place to settle myself for a while at least, and on or about the first of May, set out as a wanderer and pilgrim on the earth." He was without a "shepherd … not since (as I had before realized) the prophet Joseph had been killed." He traveled about thirty miles down the Missouri River looking for suitable farming land on terrain "being vacated by the Pottawatomy [Pottawatomie] Indians."[19] Hosea Stout believed Miller was set on a "'dry' job," an unfruitful adventure.[20] Young was concerned that Miller's stubbornness was putting his small company at risk from anti-Mormon mobs. The LDS authorities levied no sanction against Miller and his followers. Miller's trek would be eight months long and be quite arduous by journey's finish.

Several members of Miller's company had relatives living in Zodiac, Texas, as did Miller's polygamous family, including plural wives Sophia Wallace Leyland Miller

18. Miller, "Correspondence," 228.

19. Ibid.; Andrew Jenson, cited in Heman Hale Smith, "George Miller," *Journal of History* 2, no. 2 (April 1909): 229; Vida E. Smith, "Two Widows of the Brick Row," *Journal of History* 3, no. 2 (April 1910): 207–08; Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 111.

20. Entry for 2 April 1847. Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press/Utah State Historical Society, 1964), 1:245n40.

and her three daughters and one son; Elizabeth Boughton Miller; and Catherine Mary Fry Miller.[21]

Other members of the party included Cynthia Parker Johnson, the wife of Daniel Newell Drake, who would rejoin her parents Heber Johnson and Sally Goodale in Zodiac, in the company of her two young daughters and fourteen-year-old sister Sylvia (later the wife of John Pierce Hawley). Lucy Matilda Johnson, another daughter of Heber and Sally Johnson and sister to Cynthia Drake and Sylvia Johnson, was the polygamous wife of Joseph Aaron Kelting, a former deputy sheriff of Hancock County, Illinois.[22] It is not known if Kelting's other plural wives, Elizabeth Ann Martin and Minerva Orville Woods, were in the caravan.[23] The Keltings in company with Richard Hewitt and families were trailing the main Miller caravan by a few days. The Miller Company also included the widow Nancy Daniels and her four children; Alexander and Jeanette "Jessie" Ballantyne Hay and their children; and E. B. Hewitt with their families. Several of these families and individuals would remain with the Wightites after Miller's departure to James Strang and his colony in Michigan.[24]

A Colonel Etill of Platteville, Missouri, had sent Miller word, as "an old acquaintance, and neighbor of mine, to come or send him down some good mechanics, as he had a large amount of building that he wished to let out."[25] Miller "forthwith set off with my family to Col. Etill's.… But on my arrival" found that "Alpheas Cutler had, by false representation," stated "that I was not coming," and he "induced Etill to

21. Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 82, 92, 93, 153, 201.

22. H. Michael Marquardt, e-mail to Bill Shepard, July 24, 2013. "Bill, Joseph A. Kelting received his endowment in the Nauvoo Temple on December 24, 1845 (The Nauvoo Endowment Companies, 156). He was a high priest. Wife: Elizabeth born April 3, 1818. Plural wives: Sealed to Minerva O. Woods on January 20, 1846 (Ibid., 438); Sealed to Lucy Johnson on February 6, 1846 (Ibid., 608). He was a high priest by April 1836. Came across to what is now Utah in 1852. Have not checked who came with him."

23. "Joseph Andrew Kelting," FamilySearch, accessed July 3, 2013, http://www.familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.2.1/MC82-8CS. Kelting made the Overland Trail twice, in the Captain James A. Bay Company (1852) and the Captain Homer Duncan Company (1861), "1st Company," *Deseret News* (weekly), September 18, 1852, 2; "Duncan, Homer, [journal]," in "Church Emigration Book," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church History Library.

24. B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1930), 2:158–59; Brigham Young, manuscript history, 2 April 1847, 79, Church History Library; various subject name listings in Toni R. Turk, "Mormons in Texas: The Lyman Wight Colony," photocopy, typescript manuscript, 1987, Church History Library; various entries in 1846, Newell Knight, journal and autobiography, 1800–1847, manuscript, Church History Library; Gary James Bergera, "Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists, 1841–44," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 38, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 1–74; "Joseph Andrew Kelting," FamilySearch, accessed July 3, 2013, http://www.familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.2.1/S1N8-9S3.

25. Besides the store of an Etill, two more opened in Winter Quarters that spring, one by a Mr. Clifford and the other by a Mr. Hathaway. See Journal History, 8 February 1847. Richard E. Bennett, "'We Had Everything to Procure from Missouri': The Missouri Lifeline to the Mormon Exodus, 1846–1850," *Mormon Historical Studies* 8, nos. 1 & 2 (Spring/Fall 2007): 91–106.

let him the job. Cutler had, the same day I got to Etill's, started back to bring down workmen to execute the job he had foully supplanted me in undertaking."

Miller recalled eight years later that "I was now completely nonplussed, scarcely knowing what to do." He quickly rallied although the planting season had almost slipped by. He had five wagons but a lack of livestock, so he sold a wagon and some oxen to exist for a time. Joseph Kelting, Richard Hewitt, and their families found the Miller party, expecting to have jobs with Miller on the Etill construction project.[26]

Miller told Kelting and Richard Hewitt of his change in plans to join his son, John F. Miller, who had married a daughter of Lyman Wight, the renegade apostle. He had been ignoring Brigham Young's wishes to gather his Texas colony to the Latter-day main body. Kelting and Hewitt agreed to go with Miller, and they departed in several days following the boundary line road, with "the Indian Territory on our west and the State of Missouri on the east."

The wagon train turned west at Maysville, Arkansas, for the Cherokee Nation. The company arrived on July 9, 1847, at the Cherokee tribal capitol of Tahlequah. Miller wrote that the village was "a good place for mechanical and other labour." Miller claimed they went right to work because his labor was in demand. William Leyland, a stepson and later a ward and amanuensis of Lyman Wight, worked as a printer's devil at the *Tahlequah (OK) Cherokee Advocate*.[27] Miller and his associates constructed, according to local memories found in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* nearly ninety years later, some "of the early brick houses in Tahlequah, one of which was the veteran hotel known as the Capitol Hotel, which was recently destroyed. While they were here, they held meetings in the home of Bishop Miller, and later in the courthouse constructed by them. The teachings of the Mormons were resented by local citizens, and as a result Miller left Tahlequah in December, 1847, leaving his associates there to finish his contracts."[28]

Miller, vain as ever, remembered that he was "quite popular" among the Native Americans. Miller, Kelting, and Hewitt held Sunday meetings. The first meeting was held at the Hewitts, and by service's end "two whites came in, one a Methodist preacher and the other a merchant," who were married to "half-breed wives." The men, Miller boasted, had him preaching in the local court the next Sunday to a large congregation. "From this time on I became the popular preacher," Miller wrote. By

26. Kelting, similar to Bishop Miller, E. B. Hewitt, and John P. Hawley, is one of a very few restorationists that resided in most of the Latter Day Saint communities after the death of Joseph Smith and the removal of the main body to the West. A deputy sheriff of Hancock County, Illinois, Kelting joined the church and moved west in the spring of 1846. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 111, 112, 113; Miller, "Correspondence," 228.

27. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 143; Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 93.

28. "Missionaries of The Latter Day Saints Church in Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 13, no. 2 (June 1935): 196, accessed July 3, 2013, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/v013/v013p196.html.

the fall of 1847, Miller was preaching twice a week and enraging the emotions of the local "preaches and teachers among them."

These men implored the main chief to remember they had spent their best days as "preachers and teachers" in the Indian nations, growing old in the service of the Native Americans, never shirking their welfare, and defending the Cherokees' interests against the United States. They argued, according to Miller, that he had taken away their audiences who then crowded his meeting houses. The petitioners noted they had never preached to the native legislature, but that it had called on "a stranger, holding heterodox principles," who "had received the caresses of the principal men of the nation." Thus, the chief was asked to end Miller's preaching. Miller stated "the chief informed the petitioners that he could not constitutionally grant their prayer."

Miller claimed that because he had been told privately by a friend of the teachers' and preachers' concerns "and having been a short time to stay, I gradually broke off preaching." He and his son and the "female part of my family [had] earned twelve hundred dollars … and, having finished my contract, except some small things of minor importance, which I turned over to Kilting and Hewitt, on the fifteenth day of December of 1847, I loaded my wagons and started for Texas." Miller wrote that the Indians had urged him to stay but he did not "yield to their solicitations."[29]

The Miller company's journey "passed through the Creek, Seminole, Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians' territory," a region "undulating and in some parts mountainous. The soil, productive in wheat, rye, oats, cotton, rice and maize (or Indian corn), is better than southern Missouri and Arkansas, and more highly cultivated; and, "Miller found the Native Americans "in regard to refinement, in civil society and institutions of learning, … an age before" that of region from lower Missouri into Arkansas.[30] They crossed over the Red River and followed the Trinity River to Cedar Spring, just above Dallas. From there they passed about one hundred miles to Bucksnorts on "the falls of the Rio Brazos."[31]

In the region of Little River, the company's cattle began to fail,

> taking a disease that all northern raised cattle are liable to. They are attacked with stupidity and high fever, urinating frequently, passing apparently nothing but blood. The disease terminates in the death of the animal in about three days.

29. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 145; *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State*, compiled by the Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Progress Administration in the State of Oklahoma, The University of Oklahoma (1941), 259.

30. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 145.

31. "Bucksnort, originally Jarrett Menefee's Supply Station, was located on a 320-acre prairie owned by Thomas J. Chambers in what is now east central Falls County. The settlement, about five miles northeast of the falls on the Brazos River below the rebuilt Fort Milam." Marian Garrett Gibbs, "Bucksnort, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 5, 2013, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hvbbs.

> When we arrived at the city of Austin, I had yet alive out of my entire stock—consisting of ten yoke of oxen, eight cows and calves, and one horse—but four yoke of oxen and three cows. At this point I ascertained that my son lived west about seventy-five miles, with no house intervening. I ferried the Colorado River at this point, and the first night lost one cow and a yoke of oxen. Here I left a wagon and divided its load among the other three, and, as my family until this time had ridden in this wagon, they now walked on foot, from the least to the greatest. After having gone about thirty-five miles from the city of Austin, I could go no further for the want of teams to draw my wagons.[32]

William Leyland, Miller's stepson, and Lewis Anderson set off for Zodiac.[33] Leyland's journal recalls the general gladness as they were received with joy at George W. Bird's farm on Grape Creek, after the two young men first mistaken for local Texas German boys. They were fed and sent off to Zodiac; a rescue party of John F. Miller, Miller's oldest son, accompanied by experienced frontiersmen Orange Lysander Wight and Ezra A. Chipman, went to find the castaways. Finally, on January 30, 1848, the Miller Company arrived at Zodiac to be greeted by apostle Lyman Wight and the colony members.[34]

Miller noted that he found Zodiac to have about 150 inhabitants, "under the control of Lyman Wight, in the vicinity of a German-Dutch colony" (Fredericksburg). He wrote, "This community had a grist and saw mill, which they had, but six or nine months before my arrival, got into full operation. They had also a turning lathe, blacksmith's and wagon shop, together with comfortable houses. They furnished me a house until such time as I could build one, which I accomplished in about two months. They extended every kind of hospitality and aid in helping me build a cabin, or cabins, suitable for the convenience of my family."[35]

Wight explained that Zodiac was ruled by common-stock principles, meaning all property was held in common and under the control of the leading elders. These principles, Wight insisted, were the same as those communal precepts of the New Testament primitive, apostolic church. The Miller Company joined the Zodiac com-

32. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 145. Miller reflected further about disease and its effect on cattle and horses that he "could not myself, nor ever heard anyone else, satisfactorily account for. The malady is not alone confined to horned or black cattle, but attacks horses also. However, horses have a different kind of disease, called Spanish fever, and, in acclimating, more than half the number die; but not more than one of ten cows and oxen lives a year after coming to the country. Native cattle generally are fine looking and very healthy. And, with ordinary industry and care, no portion of the United States is better suited for the growing of every kind of cattle, the grazing being perpetual and acclimated stock uniformly healthy" (146).

33. William Leyland, journal, cited in H. H. Smith, "The Lyman Wight Colony in Texas," manuscript prepared for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1920, now in the Community of Christ Archives, Independence, Missouri, 14–15.

34. Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 94.

35. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 147.

munity once they agreed to live by its principles. Miller thought that the community was becoming prosperous. However, he evaluated Wight's lack of business acumen as a liability that had indebted the colony to Austin businesses in the sum of $2,000. Miller reneged on his commitment to live by Zodiac's economic principles, although he and Emmett had ruled by it in the Ponca village.[36]

Miller claimed that he agreed only to "let them have the use of my wagons, and other property, and money to a small amount, amounting in all to eight hundred and sixty dollars, and putting our labor with theirs until such time as I could make it convenient to leave them and go by myself." This is flatly contradicted by William Leyland, whose journal carries a statement that Miller earlier had agreed to be bound the common-stock rules of Zodiac.[37]

Bishop Miller, who had no trouble wanting to lead others, simply could not abide others' leadership. Miller justified his behavior by condemning that of Wight. Wight was a drunk, he claimed, who

> misled them by false teaching in regard to lineage and the laws of matrimony, and many other things. I took the liberty of speaking to Lyman Wight, and some few of his adherents, in regard to the corruption and errors they were running into, not doubting that I could convince them without getting their ill-will. But I soon found my mistake, and it made doubly manifest to me that, by a multitude of transgressions of the laws that God has given for the purifying and guidance of His people, the transgressors will lose the spirit that directs the mind to all truth, and become wholly darkened, and will invariably persecute those who point out to them their errors with the most bitter feelings. It was so with Lyman Wight and a number of his followers. From this time forward Lyman would, by innuendoes, allude to the acts that I had in a friendly way advised them to abstain from. I plainly saw the handwriting on the wall, and fully discovered that the war was in sight.[38]

Miller, in August, 1848, made plans to leave the colony since no one would pay him much heed. Miller would "go out empty," said Wight; he "flatly told me that I could not have a particle of my property."[39] Others were leaving Zodiac that summer and fall. William Leyland reported "false stories" (no indication that the bishop Miller was one of the tale bearers) were being spread that ended marriages and divided families. John Hawley, for instance, was one of those victims. Harriet Hobart,

36. Wight and Miller had also directed the Black River Pine Company mill town in Wisconsin as a common-stock community, and Wight did so the winter of 1844–45 at Mormon Coulee, Wisconsin. Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 26, 45.

37. Ibid., 147; Leyland, journal, cited in Smith, "The Lyman Wight Colony in Texas," 15–16.

38. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 148.

39. Ibid.

his wife, left John, allowing him to later marry Sylvia Johnson, who became his life mate for almost sixty years.[40]

Even members of Miller's own family sided with Wight against their patriarchal head, including his eldest son, John F. Miller, husband of one of Wight's daughters. The entire family of Sophia Wallace Leyland, one of Miller's plural wives, including her son, William, and her three daughters, joined the Wight household in seeking asylum from Miller. She died that November in Wight's home.[41] The Leyland and Wight families were embittered toward Miller. William Leyland could not forgive Miller for what he considered "the poor treatment" he and his mother had received as Miller's plural wife since Nauvoo. After her death, Wight eventually adopted William and cared for his three sisters. One of the Leylands' adopted brothers, Levi Lamoni Wight, wrote that he did not think "there was ever a meaner man to profess religion" than Miller. Feeling abused, Miller stubbornly continued to counsel the Wightites about their errors, in his opinion, on adoption, lineage, and marriage. The bishop wrote in his memoirs that Wight made it clear he would brook no opposition from Miller at Zodiac. A village consensus formed and encouraged Miller to leave.[42]

Miller continued to insist that he "had not joined his association, as [Wight] very well knew, and" in beginning negotiations the skilled businessman offered "that I would have the things that I had brought here, less the expense of the teams to move me up to his place." Wight called a community meeting, which, including John F. Miller (the bishop's son), decided that Miller should go away. Bishop Miller responded that "I then warned them that I would have every dime's worth that they were there combining to rob me of; that, if I had covenanted or agreed to join them, I would not draw back, but as I had not, I wanted them to distinctly understand that I was after them with warm cloths, and hot blocks, and sharp sticks, until I got the last cent."[43]

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40. Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 94; Hawley's testimony, Temple Lot Case, 454, revealed that at Zodiac "Lyman did the sealing and my father was a high priest in the church in old Joseph's time and he did the washing of the feet and the anointing of the head." Hawley, "Autobiography of John Hawley," 9, wrote concerning Harriet: "But let me say she was of a quiet disposition and made me a good housekeeper. Lyman said we was entirely divorced from each other and I was at liberty to marry again." John Hawley, in the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Western Division, at Kansas City," The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Complainant, vs. The Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri; Richard Hill, Trustee; Richard Hill, Mrs. E. Hill, C.A. Hall … [et al.] … as Members of and Doing Business Under the Name of the Church of Christ, at Independence, Missouri, Respondents (Lamoni, IA: Herald Publishing House, 1893), 451–62, hereafter cited as Temple Lot Case.

41. Leyland, journal, cited in Smith, "The Lyman Wight Colony in Texas," 15–16, 21, 22.

42. Note, however, in the Joseph Fielding journal, spring 1847, book 5, p. 126, Church History Library, that Joseph Fielding, a fellow member of the fifty with Miller and Wight as well as a fervent follower of Young, wrote in his diary that Miller "was dear to me in the office he held, he was indeed a fine man, and I hope to see him again in our midst"; Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 148; Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 96.

43. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 148.

The Wightites were having none of Miller's tantrum. Miller hired some local "Dutch" teamsters to take his family away. Miller wrote later without any evidence, that "Lyman Wight, lest I should bring evil upon them, had sent some men after me to waylay me and assassinate me on the way, urging that it was better for one man to die than for a whole community to be mobbed and suffer."[44] Wight supposedly sent another man ahead to Austin before Miller to warn the local folks that Miller was "a renegade. I, however, went ahead, not knowing where I should stop."[45]

Miller took work with a Mr. Glasscock,[46] digging "a millrace by [nine cents] the yard … this at a very low price—but I could do no better" and he was to be compensated in corn so the teamsters might be paid for moving his families. The Miller family lived in tents, and then Wight, without an explanation from Miller as to why or what, sent the Millers "an inferior light wagon and a span of mules to help myself with." Within two or three months of very hard labor, the Millers had "accumulated a little stock of provisions and three or four cows and calves, and, by cutting the millrace, sufficient to pay for hauling my family to this place and pay for the stock I had on hand, and fifteen dollars over." Then yet again Miller revealed his miserliness and unwillingness for any arrangement that had become disagreeable to him.[47]

Miller informed Mr. Glasscock that his son Joshua and a nephew had become ill, thus he could not continue the project and would seek other employment. His employer told him that he had planned on Miller to finish the work, about four or five hundred dollars' worth, and "would not have employed me at all if he had not supposed that I would finish the job. I told him that I had taken no definite amount of yards to cut, that I had been cutting his millrace by the yard, at the rate of nine cents the cubic yard, and that he had paid me for the most part of what I had done as we had agreed, and that the exposure of my family and their ill health would not permit me to prosecute his work any further."

Glasscock told Miller flatly to find a nearby house and finish the work or be sued for damages. Miller replied that only he himself could care for the family and had no time to work on the mill race. Miller moved about twenty-five miles from Austin and hoped to put in a crop. Glasscock obtained an attachment for Miller's "wagon and team to secure the damages." Miller sought legal counsel and came to the conclusion

44. Notice Miller's lifting of a reference obvious to members of the Latter Day community from the *Book of Mormon*, I Nephi 4:13, "Behold the Lord slayeth the wicked to bring forth his righteous purposes. It is better that one man should perish than that a nation should dwindle and perish in unbelief." Miller is suggesting that Wight had encouraged his assassination to protect the righteousness of the colony's people. Any regular reader of the *Book of Mormon* would immediately recognize Miller's suggestion. Since Miller was writing for the followers of James Strang, with whom he had been associating some years, earlier, he was writing for an appreciative audience.

45. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 148.

46. Probably James Abner Glasscock. Thomas W. Cutrer, "Glasscock, James Abner," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 8, 2013, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fgl09.

47. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 148.

that he should abandon "the whole concern, as I could get no security to aid me in the prosecution of my suit. Glasscock afterwards sent me about ten or fifteen dollars' worth of groceries. I now had shanties or cabins to build to shelter me froth the weather, as the rainy season had fully set in, and my tents worn out; and to augment my perplexity, I had no team to aid me, only as I hired it. And if ever a man had suffering and privation I think a large share fell to my lot."[48]

Palsy struck Mary Miller, George's wife, "that made her as helpless as an infant," for which he blamed "Wight's cruelty toward me." He sent for John F. to see his mother, for it was feared she would not survive. Miller, off to Austin searching for help in getting his family to the city and seeking to work as a builder, crossed trails on the second day with his son John F. and also Orange L. Wight. Wight had an offer for Miller: come back to the colony and take care of the Grape Creek hundred-acre farm eight miles from Zodiac. The colony would contribute livestock and additional provisions and also detail men to help "cultivate the crop, and give me half of it." Miller also claimed that the Wightites agreed to "reimburse me for the property which they had taken from me by violence and force until I should be satisfied." The bishop also would preside religiously over the Grape Creek branch of the colony.[49]

Miller soon, however, became unhappy again with Wight and company. He began looking into James Strang claims as Joseph Smith's successor. On June 12, 1849, Miller wrote to Strang about his wonderings and described his own story of the Black River Pine Company mission in Wisconsin, his church callings, and how Smith's murder changed the nature of the Wight mission to Texas. He included his arguments with Brigham Young and his subsequent travels to and through Texas to be with his son, and found himself "an isolated, frail being."

His problems with Wight personally and religiously continued to gnaw at him.

> I discovered a disposition in Wight to procrastinate in the execution of their late agreement with me, and a proposal was hinted to me that if I would join the association it would be made greatly to my interest to do so. I went to Wight, after fully weighing the whole matter in my mind, and plainly told him what I thought of his conduct and cruelty toward me and family, and said that my wife had been victimized on account of it, and that, if he did not comply with the agreement, I would take vengeance and inflict punishment upon him for all the wrongs that I had suffered at his hands, and that I would do it in a summary way. He, without further delay, complied with his agreement,

48. Ibid., 149, 150; Miller, "Correspondence," 233.

49. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 150; Leyland, journal, cited in Smith, "The Lyman Wight Colony in Texas," 19, 22; Levi Lamoni Wight, *The Reminiscences and Civil War Letters of Levi Lamoni Wight: Life in a Mormon Splinter Colony on the Texas Frontier*, American West Series, ed. Davis Bitton (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), 17.

> or put things in the way of compliance, and I fully engaged all my time with my utmost energy and skill to gather about me the means of comfort.[50]

Miller yearned for influence although the Wightites would not recognize him as he thought they should (although they gave him the leadership of the Grape Creek branch). He tried to gain a possible adherent in Richard Hewitt, who was concerned and upset about the principle of polygamy.[51] Hewitt was confused about the doctrine and its practice in Zodiac.[52] Miller remained polygamous, of course, despite Sophia Leyland's removal to the Wights, and so he attacked not the principle but how other leaders like Wight and Young corrupted it. Miller, smarting from Wight's role earlier in disrupting his marital bliss in the Leyland affair, instructed that such behavior, according to Hewitt's interpretation of Miller's teaching, as "whoring would send them all to hell." Hewitt apparently did not require Miller to reconcile "his ability to hold a grudge while hypocritically complaining about others' similar marriage practices."[53] Hewitt penciled on Miller's letter of June 12 a request asking what Strang thought about the issue. Strang printed the Miller letter but not Hewitt's questions about polygamy and invited Miller to join him in the Great Lakes area that following October. Strang's answer pleased Miller and he accepted Strang's offer. Hewitt apparently was not satisfied with Strang and did not follow Miller.[54]

Miller thought not only the Wightite church but all of the larger church, was "scatterd" and "without a shepherd that I knew of." While mourning and "almost weary of life," Miller wrote that Joseph Smith Jr. came to him in a dream state, in which "I saw Joseph Smith in the heavens in a glorified state, together with countless numbers of glorified beings shouting hallelujah, praising God and the Lamb, and bidding me welcome to the celestial abode. A thin veil separated us, and their brilliancy was whiter and brighter than the sun. Joseph spoke to me and told me that if I would come I might, but I had better not come, as my work was not yet finished on earth. Miller recorded that 'the spirit of praising God came upon me, and I shouted.'" His

50. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 150.

51. Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 97; Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 150.

52. Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 149–52.

53. Ibid., 97.

54. George Miller to James J. Strang, 12 June 1849, with addendum by Richard Hewitt, quoted in H. H. Smith, "George Miller," 230, 231, 232. I noted the following in *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 97n17: "See also John Quist, 'Polygamy Among James Strang and His Followers,' *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 9 (1989): 34. Quist attributes Hewitt's remark on 'whoring' to Miller, when it is Hewitt who is quoting Miller; the quote was directed to all Mormon congregations that practiced polygamy rather than just Wight's group. Sarah Wallace Leyland Miller did not leave with her husband in October 1849, not because she refused to do so, but because she had no choice. She had died the previous year. See also photocopies of pen-written extracts of the Voree (WI) Record, 1, 2 '1 and 2,' the Strangite church official record in the hand of Wingfield Watson, president and high priest of the Strangite church (a photocopy of a hand-copied set of notes by Van Dyke Jr., 1909), Church History Library archives."

family thought he was having a nightmare and roused him from bed. He was unable for a time to focus his eyesight.

Another time Miller wrote that he dreamed that "Joseph Smith [was] sitting in a room talking to a person whom I have since seen. Upon my entering the room Joseph looked at me, saying, 'God bless you, Brother Miller; I am instructing my successor in the prophetic office—how to manage and conduct the affairs of the church.'" The visage of Joseph's successor "was so stamped on my mind that I could not keep it from my view for a moment, and it was secretly whispered to me that I should soon hear news that would cheer my drooping spirits."

Despite his dreams, Miller claimed he remained despondent about the "scattering of the Saints" and that he had heard "of no shepherd that I believed was authorized of God to lead the church." Downcast and dejected, Miller went to his home after toiling in the heat to rest. There he found some papers "setting forth the appointment of J. J. Strang to the prophetic office, instead of Joseph Smith, de-ceased." Miller knew of Strang's claims, but he still considered the possibility of one of Joseph's sons as a possible successor. Nonetheless, he "wrote to Brother Strang a letter questioning his assumption of authority, and requested him to publish my letter." However, the day following mailing the letter to Strang, Miller "received another package" (containing the Strangite message, *The Diamond*) "from Brother Strang containing a small tract setting forth Brother Strang's appointment and calling to the prophetic office. On a close and critical reading and investigation of this tract I changed my opinions, and wrote to Brother Strang countermanding the publication of my former letter."[55]

Miller claimed further proofs of Strang's God-given duty to lead the members of the scattered Restoration, comparing him "even as Moses was to lead the Israelites out of Egyptian bondage." Wight, very happy with Miller's travel plans, urged him to take Jarvis G. Minear (at times spelled "Miner" and "Mineer"), a man who Wight thought a "knave" without principles. He had such a large family who, according to Wight in Miller's words, "had eaten much more than they had earned" (allegedly hundreds of dollars), "and he could not, consistent with the rights of the company, give him anything; … but if I would haul him away, that he would add a yoke or two of oxen to my outfit." Miller also added two yoke of oxen and an old wagon to Wight's offer to aid Minear in moving his large family. John F. Miller[56] and his family as well as the Leylands stayed in Zodiac.[57]

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55. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 151–52; Miller, "Correspondence," 232, 236.

56. John F. Miller, along with the earlier Zodiac families of William Curtis and Rodney Brace, emigrated with Noah Smithwick's wagon train to California in 1861 to avoid the tensions of the coming Civil War. I believe that George Miller was planning on joining his son's family in the San Bernardino, California, area, when the bishop died in Illinois in 1856, shortly after Strang's murder. See Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 194.

57. Smith, "The Lyman Wight Colony in Texas," 20; Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 151–52; Miller, "Correspondence," 236. Smith, "Two Widows of the Brick Row," 209.

Figure 6.1: The falls of the Brazos.

The small company got away on either the 12th or 13th of October, delayed a day because of straying horses until the following afternoon. Miller thought the delay providential because he received a letter from Strang that otherwise would have missed him; the letter, he said, "gave me much comfort." Much rain fell for the first ten days or so of the journey, with creeks and small rivers "mostly high and difficult to cross." The company's wagons fell into line behind other emigrants' conveyances to cross at the falls of the Brazos.[58]

The animals were first swum across the waters, then wagons were taken apart into "pieces and ferried … over in canoes, together with our baggage." However, Jarvis Minear, who had been responsible for several small boys to watch over the forward camp "had so managed as to let all our oxen

> stray off but one yoke." Miller, his son Joshua and a nephew managed to find and mount their horses but not until the next day were the missing cattle located about five miles away in the Brazos bottoms. Miller and the boys discovered when they returned to camp that Minear had let the single yoke of oxen wander off. They were not found. Minear and his large family Miller found to be "carless, wasteful … a cumbersome load to drag along," but decided to not abandon them because of Minear's "faith and his apparent desire to get to the church." Although gifted with money, a wagon, and two yoke of oxen, Minear exercised outwardly no recognition of Miller's "liberality" and revealed an inability in managing his talents, particularly money. Miller decided to limit no more

58. "Falls on the Brazos Park," City of Marlin Texas, accessed July 16, 2013, http://www.marlintx.net/index.aspx?NID=962.

than assisting the Minears to get to Beaver Island if Jarvis Minear but would attempt to do it.

Miller received news, after crossing the Trinity River, "that Clark Lyman Whitney, who had come from Council Bluffs to build a mill for a Mr. Overton … was there only two days in advance of me, on his return to Council Bluffs, and from thence to Salt Lake. I started on horseback the same night … to overtake him." Three days later, Miller found Whitney at Preston, on the Red River. The two old friends "had a joyous meeting. I, without ceremony, told him where I was going and … laid before him Brother Strang's appointment to the prophetic office and calling, according to the revelations relative thereto in the covenant and commandments given to the church through Joseph Smith." In the short conversation that followed, Whitney agreed that Miller was right and that "he would go with me if he had but the means to travel on. I told him I had money and would divide it with him, and when we ran out of funds we would stop" and "work for more (Whitney's family are now on the Island)."[59]

Miller returned to and brought his wagon company forward to join Whitney at Preston, where they were able to ferry the Red River into Choctaw country. The autumn rains continued falling almost daily and nightly, forcing the travelers to move slowly, in a setting becoming more uncomfortable and dangerous for the women and children. The weather, "the delicate condition of some of the" women, and the high waters forced the travelers to decide "to stop at the first good place to obtain profitable employment, and make our winter quarters."

And again the weakening of the animals aided the decision. Three of the Texas oxen died from fatigue and hunger because, having been raised on grass, they could not learn how to eat corn. The wagon party ended the season's journey on December 12, 1849, probably near North Fork Town and the Arbeka trading post several miles north of the North Canadian River in Creek and Seminole nations' territory.[60]

Miller and Company, like so many travelers north and south on the Texas Road, bought supplies at North Fork Town[61] from Texas to Illinois.[62] The Mormons found

59. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 152–53; Miller, "Correspondence," 236.

60. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 154.

61. "During the nineteenth century the Texas Road was the primary north-south thoroughfare through the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw nations of Indian Territory, presently eastern Oklahoma. The route entered Oklahoma near Baxter Springs, Kansas, and continued slightly west of south, passing near the present towns of Vinita, Pryor, Wagoner, Fort Gibson, Checotah, Eufaula, McAlester, and Durant, crossing the Red River near Colbert, and entering Texas north of present Denison." *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, s.v. "Texas Road," accessed August 4, 2013, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/T/TE023.html.

62. *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, s.v. "North Fork Town," accessed August 4, 2013, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/v029/ v029p079.pdf.

plenty of work over the winter and completely replenished their stores and their livestock. Miller, always willing to let others know who he was, soon found

> I was solicited by some of their missionaries to preach, and I consented. We had a full attendance of missionary priests, traders and some few Indians and half-breed's that could speak English. After I had done sermoning the missionaries held a council (as I was afterwards informed), in which it was agreed that it would be an injury to their cause to enter into a controversy with any of the Mormons, as they had no one amongst them able to meet us in a religious controversy, and their better policy would be to treat us respectfully and courteously, as we were esteemed industrious and intelligent men; that their true policy would be to chime in with the public opinion and avoid, if possible, any injury to their cause by indiscreet controversy with us on doctrinal tenets.

Miller claimed that they made good contacts with the Native Americans and "some of the half-breeds." Miller often spoke to them using an interpreter. He claimed that many were converted and would have been baptized except that he "did not know how to instruct them," thinking, interestingly enough, that he doubted his authority to do so for lack of authorization "by the legitimate head of the church."

Miller claimed the local inhabitants, white and Indian, "without exception," wished the Mormons to stay. As a matter of fact, Jarvis Minear did stay, because he could not pay back his expenses to Miller and the church. "We proposed helping him if he would go, but he declined to go with us, having several jobs of work on hand unfinished, and he could not get pay for them unless they were completed." Twenty-three persons made up the party: the Whitney family, Joshua L. Miller and his wife and children, and Miller's own family. On the 4th of July, 1850, the "Beaver Island or Bust" brigade began a slow route pace in warm, rainy weather. In western Arkansas, disease struck the oxen again, murrain (a tick-carried disease spread by bite to livestock) killing three of them. The party traded their remaining oxen and cattle for horses and horse-apt wagons "at a great sacrifice." Again resuming the journey, once the proper preparations and harnesses and other equipment were obtained, they traveled comfortably on into Missouri, crossed the Missouri and Mississippi rivers at Jefferson City and Hannibal, respectively, and the little company rolled on into Illinois and northeast to Voree, Wisconsin, where they arrived on September 4, 1850.

The Latter Day members at Voree acted with "manifest kindness," Miller penned, "which was indeed consoling to us after the exposure, toils and trouble incident to my journeyings, and the attendant perplexity of being without a shepherd. The sensations roused up in our bosoms by the manifest brotherly kindness of all the Saints has left a remembrance of gratitude on my mind that time can never erase." Miller and company pitched with their own human and animal toil and sweat to complete a successful harvest season. Benjamin Wright, the Strangite leader at Voree, facilitated Miller's desires to go to Beaver Island by swapping the animals and gear and har-

ness of cross country travel for the proper outfit necessary to journey on north. The Whitney family stayed on at Voree, where Clark Lyman Whitney, the family head, died the following year.

Miller exclaimed five years later in his memories that "no one" could "possibly" understand

> my gratitude to the God of heaven for my safe deliverance from the perplexity of mind and burning anxiety for respite from the misrule of the haughty and arrogant usurpers of authority in the Church and Kingdom of God, and my eager expectations of being in a week or two placed again under the guidance of the true shepherd of the flock of God's people on earth, but those alone who have passed through such ordeals as I have in the last six years, subsequent to the death of Joseph Smith, and up to the time of my arrival at Voree.[63]

In conclusion, Bishop George Miller, once reaching Strang and his community, was welcomed and took prominent leadership positions in the Strangite community and church. He helped to reorganize it the following spring and summer. Miller seemed happy there, continuing in polygamy and sealing others into the practice as well. In August 1855, Miller promised the readership of the *Northern Islander* (Voree, WI) that he would complete in the future "my narrative, as subsequent events are fraught with some of the most thrilling incidents of my life." It was a promise he could not keep. After Strang's murder the following year, Miller soon passed away in Marengo, Illinois, while preparing for a trip to California[64] and was buried with full Masonic rites.[65]

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63. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 154, 155–56; Miller, "Correspondence," 236.

64. Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales*, 98.

65. William Shepard, e-mail to author, January 9, 2013.

"That Little Children Also May Receive Instruction": Early Latter-day Saint Educational Programs for the Young

Scott C. Esplin
E. Vance Randall

Like many faith traditions, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has long used education as a means for transmitting religious values from one generation to the next. Today, the Utah branch of the faith implements a supplementary religious education program that serves approximately 750,000 high school and college-age students while sponsoring Brigham Young University, whose student population of nearly thirty-five thousand makes it the largest private religious university and the second-largest private university in the country.[1] For the Community of Christ, Graceland University serves as a smaller educational flagship. Having been recognized by the *Princeton Review* as a top Midwestern school, the four-year liberal arts university maintains two campuses, one in Lamoni, Iowa, and a second in Independence, Missouri, serving the needs of nearly two thousand students annually.[2] While specializing in traditional academic subjects like nursing and education, the school also operates a small formal seminary, training

1. "Seminaries and Institutes of Religion Annual Report for 2013," (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2013), 2.

2. "Fast Facts," Graceland University, accessed January 13, 2014, http://www.graceland.edu/about-gu/fast-facts.cfm

leaders for the work of the ministry.[3] Though the educational contributions of these two prominent Latter Day Saint traditions are relatively visible in their respective communities today, their philosophical underpinnings stem from the earliest educational endeavors in their common history. The story of the original Mormon schools explains the modern commitment of the faiths to education.

Commands instructing early members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to educate their children are common throughout the Doctrine and Covenants. As early as 1831, William W. Phelps was directed to assist Oliver Cowdery in "the work of printing, and of selecting and writing books for schools in this church, that little children also may receive instruction" (LDS D&C 55:4, CoC D&C 55:2a). Later, church leaders in Kirtland were commanded to "bring up [their] children in light and truth" (LDS D&C 93:40; CoC D&C 90:6d) while Parley P. Pratt and others in Missouri were told that "there should be a school in Zion" (LDS D&C 97:3; CoC D&C 94:2a). However, while references like these abound, researchers analyzing the educational history of the church have generally combined them with other educational directives regarding adult education and missionary preparation (see LDS D&C 88:78–80; CoC D&C 85:21b–e). In fact, in spite of the insistence that the instruction of little children "is pleasing unto [God]" (LDS D&C 55:4; CoC D&C 55:2a), most historical studies in Latter-day Saint education have focused on early adult educational programs like Kirtland's School of the Prophets and School of the Elders and Nauvoo's University of the City of Nauvoo rather than on primary and secondary education in these locations.[4] While these topics are related, especially as Nauvoo's university directed educational affairs throughout the community itself, little has been done with the actual history of education for younger children. Focusing its attention on primary and secondary schooling in the Ohio, Missouri,

3. While both Brigham Young University and Graceland University are church-sponsored schools, they differ in their approach to religious education. At Graceland, the curriculum more closely resembles other private nondenominational institutions, though Community of Christ tradition and values are prominent. Elective courses are occasionally offered in Community of Christ history and theology. At Brigham Young University, no majors are offered in religion, but all undergraduate students are required to take classes in religious education. The percentage of students from Latter-day Saint backgrounds is also significantly higher at BYU.

4. Prominent histories of Latter-day Saint education generally include thesis and dissertations devoted to the topic. Significant studies focused on pre-Utah LDS educational history include Orlen Curtis Peterson's "A History of the Schools and Educational Practices of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Ohio and Missouri, 1831–1839" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), Paul Thomas Smith's "A Historical Study of the Nauvoo, Illinois, Public School System, 1841–1845" (masters thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969), and Bruce K. Satterfield's "The History of Adult Education in Kirtland, Ohio, 1833–1837" (PhD diss., University of Idaho, 2002). Other more comprehensive studies briefly discuss early education before focusing on Utah efforts. These include James R. Clark's "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah" (PhD diss., Utah State University, 1958), John D. Monnett's "The Mormon Church and its Private School System in Utah: The Emergence of the Academies, 1880–1892" (PhD diss., University of Utah, 1984), and Leon Hartshorn's "Mormon Education in the Bold Years" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1965). Though dated, Milton Lynn Bennion's *Mormonism in Education* (Salt Lake City: The Department of Education of the The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1939) represents the first book-length treatise on the subject.

and Illinois periods of church history including formal church schools, community programs, and private classrooms, this paper will analyze how leaders and parents complied with the directive to educate youth in the church's formative years.

Philosophy of Early LDS Education

One of the earliest formal studies of the educational practices of the Mormon Church acknowledges the scarcity of research on the topic. "The data dealing with Mormon elementary education during the period 1830–1850 are very meager indeed," supervisor of Mormon seminaries Milton Lynn Bennion observed.[5] In fact, much of what is known about education for the youth of Kirtland, Independence, Far West, and Nauvoo is philosophical rather than practical. Church newspapers like Independence's *Evening and Morning Star*, Kirtland's *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, and Nauvoo's *Times and Seasons* provide glimpses into the educational belief of early church members rather than their didactic practices. Nevertheless, portraying information important to the society, they may serve as a beginning tool for analyzing early educational efforts within church communities.

The majority of the references to education in early church newspapers emphasize the parents' responsibilities for teaching their children. The first edition of the church's first newspaper, the *Evening and Morning Star*, stressed, "The disciples should lose no time in preparing schools for their children, that they may be taught as is pleasing unto the Lord, and brought up in the way of holiness." Using a reference frequently cited in church periodicals of the era, the editor quoted Moses's instructions to ancient Israel regarding the teaching of children found in Deuteronomy 6:6–8. Continuing, the editorial opined, "If it were necessary then to teach their children diligently, how much more necessary it is now, when the Church of Christ is to be an ensign, yea, even a sample to the world, for good!"[6] In Kirtland, the *Messenger and Advocate* reiterated the charge. "In the most friendly manner, but with some feelings of regret," the editors cautioned, "we shall endeavor to lay before the saints the absolute necessity of training up their children in the way they should go, that they may be saved while it is called today, for tomorrow cometh the burning. We look to

5. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, 14. Newspaper accounts from Ohio do offer a statistical glimpse into the Kirtland High School, noting as many as 130 students in attendance prior to a decision to dismiss younger students due to overcrowding, and as many as a hundred students after the reduction. W. E. M'Lellin to the Editor, 27 February 1835, *Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 5 (February 1835): 80. The lack of detailed statistical reports is not uncommon, however. For example, though Ohio passed its first school law establishing common schools in 1821, the earliest reports containing enrollment data did not appear until 1838. See William G. W. Lewis, *Biography of Samuel Lewis, First Superintendent of Common Schools for the State of Ohio* (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1857).

6. "Common Schools," *Evening and Morning Star* 1, no. 1 (June 1832): 6; see also "Children," *Evening and Morning Star* 1, no. 10 (March 1833): 77; "Children," *Evening and Morning Star* 1, no. 12 (May 1833): 93.

parents and guardians, in the church of Latter Day Saints, with intense interest, and anxious desire, for the welfare of the children under their care and direction."[7]

While the parents' role was emphasized, formal schools were also envisioned. Cautioning that "parents and guardians in the Church of Christ need not wait—it is all important that children, to become good should be taught so," Williams W. Phelps promised he would fulfill his charge to facilitate education, declaring that "those appointed to select and prepare books for the use of schools will attend to that subject, as soon as more weighty matters are finished."[8] "Although we have frequently spoke of the necessity of having children taught in all things appertaining to their welfare in this world, and that to come," church leaders lamented, "still we feel a great anxiety on the subject, seeing that many children among the disciples are deprived of, or do not enjoy the blessing of a school."[9] Reemphasizing the matter in the final issue of the *Evening and Morning Star* published in Independence, Missouri, leaders stressed, "It is folly to suppose that [children] can become learned without education.... In order to do this as it should be, it is necessary that children should be taught in the rudiments of common learning out of the best books; and then, as they grow up they can be qualified to search the scriptures, and acquire the knowledge of the Lord."[10]

As church members awaited the formal organization of schools, periodicals continued to emphasize education, outlining a blended sacral and secular curriculum. "It will be a joyful task to teach the children of Zion, the printed commandments, and all things which may tend to eternal life," the *Evening and Morning Star* remarked. However, the editorial continued with practical as well as religious advice, "Teach them also to wash themselves: to comb their hair; to be mannerly, and obedient; to be industrious; to be meek and charitable; and above all, to pray vocally and in secret." Such education should begin long before introduction into formal schooling. "Before they are old enough to think the words for themselves," the paper concluded, "let them learn the Lord's prayer, in the Book of Mormon."[11] Indeed, moral topics were continually stressed as part of the curriculum. Prioritizing the spiritual, the *Evening and Morning Star* commented, "If, then, the world, merely for gain and fame, which, to their children, can not last longer than life, train them up in science and learning, for the sake of happiness in this state of existence, how much more necessary is it, that the disciples of Jesus Christ should teach their children, not only in common learning to transact business among men, but in the knowledge of God, which points

7. "Children," *Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 10 (July 1835): 154.

8. "Common Schools," *Evening and Morning Star*, 6.

9. "Schools," *Evening and Morning Star* 2, no. 14 (July 1833): 107.

10. Ibid.

11. "Children," *Evening and Morning Star*, 77.

out their way to eternal life?"[12] Later church periodicals combined the sectarian elements of Latter-day Saint educational philosophy with secular views, publishing excerpts on educational philosophy from prominent philosophers like John Locke and Johann Surzheim.[13] Editorials praised the acquisition of "every fact possible, whether relating to occurrences in the moral or physical world" as "essentially necessary to the happiness and enjoyment of mankind."[14] Repeatedly, the earliest church periodicals declared why their children should be educated but unfortunately have offered little of value to modern researchers concerning how, if at all, these instructions were actually to be implemented.

Kirtland Schools

While the church's educational philosophy was emphasized in Independence, Missouri, through the *Evening and Morning Star*, Kirtland's larger populace and more established organization permitted it to become the first community to implement formal education for Mormon youth. Additionally, early church schools in Ohio may have been a reflection of the strong educational emphasis prevalent throughout the region. "One of the most striking facts found in the study of the history of the Ohio Valley," remarked historian D. C. Shilling, "is the early appearance of the log schoolhouse."[15] Educational efforts in Kirtland strongly reflected the New England influence on the settling of this part of the Western Reserve, as settlers transported the cultural values and practices of their former homes to these frontier communities.[16] Populated by immigrants largely from Massachusetts and Connecticut, the educational practices of these states heavily influenced education in northern Ohio. *A History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio* notes, "Wherever the indomitable Puritan pioneer pushed his way into the western wilderness there was soon to be found the monument and the symbol of his enlightenment and his principles, the schoolhouse and the church.... They came from a country of churches and school-houses, and they were not long without them in their new home. The Western Reserve was

12. "Children," *Evening and Morning Star*, 93.

13. See Locke on Education, "A Good Legacy," *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 6 (March 1837): 473–74, and Spurzheim on Education, "The Effects of Education," *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 7 (April 1837): 494–95.

14. S. W. Denton, "Young Men of Kirtland," *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 5 (February 1837): 456.

15. D. C. Shilling, "Pioneer Schools and School Masters," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (January 1916): 36.

16. Alston Ellis, "Ungraded Schools," in *History of Education in the State of Ohio: A Centennial Volume*, ed. E. E. White and Thomas W. Harvey (Columbus, OH: Gazette Printing House, 1876), 81; see also Edward Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901).

the new Connecticut in something more than a name."[17] In many ways, northern Ohio thus became an extension of New England. "New England contributed a major portion of the population of this area before 1850 and profoundly influenced its traditions," wrote Francis Weisenburger. Homes and white belfried churches patterned after those common to Connecticut and Massachusetts "gave a distinct New England atmosphere to the place.... Several villages, somewhat specialized in their intellectual opportunities, such as Oberlin and Hudson, became in reality western prototypes of the New England college community."[18]

In the earliest years of the state, schools were rudimentary, with reading, writing, spelling, and basic arithmetic forming the core of the curriculum. Textbooks included whatever the settlers brought with them from the East. These often included Murray's English Reader, Dillworth's Speller, Webster's Easy Standard of Pronunciation, and Pike's Arithmetic, together with the family Bible.[19] As populations grew, Ohio eventually "became noted for academies and small colleges." In most cases, religious sects directed such schooling beyond the elementary level, a pattern that was replicated by the Mormons in Kirtland.[20] The schools were often denominational, but not sectarian, while representing the educational philosophy of the sponsoring faith. Because secondary education existed only in the form of private schools or academies sponsored by religious organizations or philanthropists, "all denominations entered into aggressive campaigns for secondary education either to strengthen the church or to conserve its membership."[21] Across the state, Methodism, with its strong educational traditions, led the way.[22]

Kirtland typified this New England pattern of community education just three years after its settlement, opening its first school in a small log cabin in the summer of 1814. Taught by Miss Estella Crary, twelve scholars attended the first year. Five years later, a frame structure referred to as the red schoolhouse was built on the Kirtland flats, located along Stony Brook before it emptied into the east branch of the Chagrin River.[23] A schoolhouse was also erected on the Isaac Morley farm on

17. "Educational Matters," in *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Pioneer s and Most Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: Williams Brothers, 1878), 35.

18. Francis P. Weisenburger, *The Passing of the Frontiers: 1825–1850* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1941), 10.

19. Alston Ellis, "Ungraded Schools," in *History of Education in the State of Ohio: A Centennial Volume*, 89–90.

20. Robert E. Chaddock, *Ohio Before 1850: A Study of Early Influence of Pennsylvania and Southern Populations in Ohio* (New York: Columbia University, 1908), 140.

21. W. W. Boyd, "Secondary Education in Ohio Previous to the Year 1840," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (January 1916): 119.

22. John Marshall Barker, *History of Ohio Methodism: A Study in Social Science* (Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings, New York: Eaton & Mains, 1898), 223–24.

23. "Kirtland Township," in *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Pioneer s and Most Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: Williams Brothers, 1878), 246; Mark L. Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2009), 396–97, 99. Benjamin F. Johnson reports that, upon

the outskirts of town. This "small house, perhaps 14 feet square" served the educational needs of Morley's communal family organization, which included twenty-five school-age children.[24]

LDS Church growth in Kirtland during the 1830s led to participation in the town's school, as Helen Mar Whitney, for one, recalls attending Kirtland's red schoolhouse.[25] Private or family schools were also conducted during the years the church was headquartered in Kirtland. Eliza R. Snow lived with and taught the children of Joseph Smith, who himself made several references to teaching grammar to his young children in the evenings.[26] Likewise, Mary Fielding taught school and tutored pupils privately for a brief time in the fall of 1837.[27] Seeking a more permanent community education presence, church leaders began construction on a joint printing office and schoolhouse west of the temple lot early in the spring of 1834.[28] Formal organization of a Kirtland school was effected in December 1834 under the direction of a four-member board of trustees drawn from the church leadership: Joseph Smith, Frederick G. Williams, Sidney Rigdon, and Oliver Cowdery. In February 1835, the school's teacher, William E. McLellin, reported on its progress,

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arriving in Kirtland in 1833, "Some of our wagons and teams were traded for a home on what was then called 'Kirtland Flat,' close by the schoolhouse." Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1947), 15. Mark Staker reports that in 2001 T. Michael Smith of the LDS Church History Museum uncovered the schoolhouse foundations while conducting archaeology work in the area.

24. Wilford Woodruff, in Conference Report, April 1898, 57; Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People*, 46. In addition to serving as a school, the Morley schoolhouse was used for community gatherings. Most prominently, the church's fourth conference was held there in June 1831, where the first ordinations to the office of high priest occurred. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1932), 1:175–76; Levi W. Hancock, "The Life of Levi W. Hancock," L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Much later, Wilford Woodruff recalled an 1834 meeting held in the Morley schoolhouse where Joseph Smith proudly predicted the future growth of the church. Wilford Woodruff, in Conference Report, April 1898, 57.

25. Helen Mar Whitney, "Life Incidents," *Woman's Exponent* 9, no. 6 (August 15, 1880), 42. Though student-age himself during the Kirtland era, George A. Smith also later reported on one area school. Apparently speaking of the community, Smith later recalled, "We sent our children to school to Mr. Bates, a Presbyterian minister, who soon after went into courts and bore false witness against the Elders, and further testified on oath that every 'Mormon' was intellectually insane. This lesson did admonish us not to longer intrust the education of our youth to canting hypocrites." George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses* 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–86), 13:106.

26. See Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1884), 5; Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:301–02, 307.

27. Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, eds., *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1982), 58, 63–64.

28. Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People*, 427. In an 1836 letter to his wife Sally, William W. Phelps mentions meeting "in the school room under our printing office." William W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, January 1836, in Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 17 January 1836, p. 1, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church History Library.

> When the school first commenced, we received into it both large and small, but in about three weeks the classes became so large, and the house so crowded, that it was thought advisable to dismiss all the small students, and continue those only who wished to study the science of penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar and geography. Before we dismissed the small scholars, there were in all about 130 who attended. Since that time there have been, upon an average, about 100, the most of whom have received lectures upon English grammar; and for the last four weeks about 70 have been studying geography one half the day, and grammar and writing the other part. T. Burdick's arithmetic, S. Kirkham's grammar, and J. Olney's geography have been used, with N. Webster's dictionary, as standard.[29]

Helen Mar Whitney recalled that her future husband Horace had, "soon left the one taught in the red schoolhouse on the flat and attended [this school] on the hill."[30] Praising the educational attainment of the students, McLellin noted that he had "taught school in five different States … and visited many schools in which [he] was not engaged," and could say "with certainty" that he had seen students "make more rapid progress" in his Kirtland school than anywhere else. He could, therefore, "cheerfully recommend it to all those whose circumstances and situation will allow them to attend, as being a place where strict attention is paid to good morals as well as to the sciences."[31]

Two years later, the "Kirtland High School" moved from the printing office to the attic of the completed temple. Reporting on the use of the building during January 1837, the *Messenger and Advocate* noted, "During the week a school is taught in the attic story of the house, denominated the "'Kirtland High School' con[sist]ing of about 135 or 40 students under the superintendence of H. M. Hawes Esq. professor of the Greek & Latin languages." Outlining the school's organization, the paper continued, "The school is properly divided into three departments, (viz.) The classical, where the languages only are taught, the English department where mathematics, common Arithmetic, Geography, English grammar, writing and reading are taught, and the Juvenile department [where] the first principles and rudiments of an education are taught. These two departments have each an instructor assigned them. The whole is under the supervision of Mr. Hawes as principal."[32] Presumably, younger children remained in the home schools or at the town's red schoolhouse.

The school apparently served both youth and adult scholars, as indicated by the various departments and the reminiscent accounts of students. Wilford Woodruff, one of the adult students at the institution, later recalled, "I was counselled by the

29. M'Lellin, *Messenger and Advocate*, 80.

30. Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes in Nauvoo after the Martyrdom of the Prophet and Patriarch," *Woman's Exponent* 11, no. 19 (March 1, 1883): 146.

31. M'Lellin, *Messenger and Advocate*, 80.

32. "Our Village," *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 4 (January 1837): 444.

Presidency to attend the school in the temple, taught by Professor Haws."[33] Some both attended the school and served as teachers for younger students. George A. Smith recounted his experience as a nineteen-year old student at the institution:

> I went to school in the upper part of the temple, studied Whipley's Compend of History, Kirkham's Grammar, Olney's Geography, and Jacob's Latin Grammar. The school was in three departments, the first or juveniles were taught by Elias Smith; the more advanced by Marcellus F. Cowdery, and Professor Haws taught the classics. He requested me to take charge of a grammar class of beginners, preferring if I would lecture to them one hour a day, to give me my tuition free. He said I would have no difficulty as they were all beginners, and that although I had studied but a few weeks, I could keep ahead of them. But as soon as I commenced lecturing, all the scholars in the class of beginners criticized me. They bothered me many times, but I usually adjourned the class without letting them know my perplexity. I made very little proficiency in studying Latin, which I attempted for a few weeks.[34]

The inclusion of adults in the church's educational efforts in Kirtland was not lost on the neighbors roundabout. James H. Eells, a critic of the Mormons living in Elyria, Ohio, grudgingly acknowledged the Mormons' keen involvement in education, observing that, "the Mormons appear to be very eager to acquire education. Men, women, and children lately attended school, and they are now employing Mr. Seixas, the Hebrew teacher, to instruct them in Hebrew; and about seventy men in middle life, from twenty to forty years of age, are most eagerly engaged in the study.—They pursue their studies alone until twelve o'clock at night, and attend to nothing else. Of course many make rapid progress. I noticed some fine looking and intelligent men among them.… They are by no means, as a class, men of weak minds."[35]

Outside visitors to Mormon Kirtland likewise commented on the school's place within the community. Finding a religious organization that "manifested a spirit of liberality, and Christianity, which many of their bitterest persecutors would do well to imitate," one Pittsburgh area newspaper editor acknowledged the educational attainments of the township, "The third, or attic story of the temple, is divided into five rooms for schools, where the various branches of English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages are now taught to a large number of students."[36] Though these seem like ambitious offerings for a fledgling school, the curriculum was typical for the region. Describing denominational colleges in Ohio in the era, Russell M. Storey noted,

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33. "History of Wilford Woodruff," *The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 27, no. 17 (April 29, 1865): 263.

34. George A. Smith, "My Journal," *The Instructor* 81, no. 11 (November 1946): 528.

35. James H. Eells to Joshua Leavitt, "For the New York Evangelist," *New York Evangelist*, April 9, 1836, 59.

36. S. A. Davis, "Mormonism, &c.," *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 7 (April 1837): 490–91. Truman Coe likewise reported that the third floor of the Kirtland Temple was used "for an academical school." Truman Coe, "Mormonism," *The (Hudson)Ohio Observer*, August 11, 1836.

"The curriculum in these denominational colleges was always broader than the number of the teaching force would indicate. The Bible, and works on Christian philosophy and practice were always prominent; but the cultural courses in the arts and sciences formed the body of the work done. The methods of instruction consisted of the text book and recitation with what additional exposition the instructor was able or had time to offer."[37]

Though observers reported "greater progress in study in the same length of time and in so great a number of scholars" than they had ever seen, the bubble that burst the Kirtland economy in 1837 likewise ruptured the prospects of the Kirtland High School. As church leadership and membership fled the region in 1838, the school fell apart. Abandoned by the Mormons, the temple itself continued to serve the educational needs of Kirtland residents when Reverend Nelson Slater arranged a lease of the second and third stories, opening the Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary inside the Kirtland Temple in 1838.[38]

Education in Zion

While church leaders in Kirtland adapted a New England model for its educational system, communities in Missouri seem to have been influenced by the remoteness of the location as well as surrounding settlers' southern philosophies on education, a view that considered education a privately funded matter rather than one of public domain.[39] During his first visit to Independence, the lack of civilization, including the absence of schools, weighed on New England-born Joseph Smith, who remarked, "The disadvantages here, as in all new countries, are self-evident—lack of mills and schools."[40] Acknowledging that formal education was apparently scarce on the frontier, Oliver Cowdery reported teaching school in Independence the previous winter in order to support his "Lamanite mission."[41] While church members enjoyed

37. Russell M. Storey, "The Rise of the Denominational College," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (January 1916): 57.

38. "Educational Matters," in *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Pioneer s and Most Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: Williams Brothers, 1878), 39. Unfortunately, non-LDS histories of Ohio education ignore earlier Latter-day Saint efforts to operate the Kirtland High School, attributing the honor of being the first secondary school in the region to this Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary; see Boyd, "Secondary Education," 123.

39. Although schools had been established in several cities in Missouri, there was no real system of free schools during the early Mormon era. The Act of 1835 by the state legislature authorized a system of free schools, but the development of the state school system did not really begin until the Act of 1839 provided state funding for common schools. Claude A. Phillips, *A History of Education in Missouri: The Essential Facts Concerning the History and Organization of Missouri's Schools* (Jefferson City, MO: The Hugh Stevens Printing Company, 1911), 1–4, 8.

40. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:198.

41. Oliver Cowdery, Letter, 8 April 1831, in Michael Hubbard MacKay, Gerrit J. Dirkmaat, Grant Underwood, Robert J. Woodford, and William G. Hartley, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers: Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June*

only two years of peace in Jackson County, they are credited with one significant educational accomplishment during their brief tenure, the erecting of the first school in present day Kansas City, Missouri.[42] Furthermore, some formal organization was effected, as the minutes for a conference held in Independence in January 1832 report that Oliver Cowdery, William W. Phelps, and John Corrill were appointed "to superintend Schools in the Churches in this land."[43] Later that summer, William E. McLellin wrote to his "Beloved Relatives" about his having "obtained a school" in Independence, commencing to teach approximately thirty students for three months, and Levi Jackman reported, "schools were in many places."[44] Similarly, Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner recalled studying "with Sabrina Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, and two or three others in Jackson County," until they were "stopped by the mob." She subsequently "commenced teaching a few children in spelling, reading and writing" on her own for two more years.[45] Likewise, Thomas B. Marsh reported keeping a common school and teaching children in Lafayette County, Missouri, following the expulsion from Jackson County.[46]

The account of Emily Partridge, daughter of bishop Edward Partridge, characterizes the church's educational endeavor on the American frontier from a child's perspective. "About the first thing the Saints did, after providing shelter for their families was to start a school for the children," Partridge noted. Reporting a particularly memorable experience, she recalled, "The first school I remember attending was in Jackson County. It was in a log cabin and taught by Miss Nancy Carl. One day the schoolhouse was surrounded by a tribe of Indians. The door and windows were filled with Indian's faces and every crack where the chinking had fallen out, we could see Indian eyes. Our teacher went to the door and talked with the chief, but the scholars were as quiet as mice."[47] Partridge continues, recounting the family's expulsion from Independence and the opening of schools in Clay County.

With the settlement of Far West beginning in 1836, church leaders again sought to implement a formal school system. During the summer of that year, a combi-

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1831, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2013), 292–93.

42. See Alvin R. Dyer, *The Refiner's Fire* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 120–21.

43. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 234.

44. William E. McLellin to Beloved Relatives, 4 August 1832, in Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds., *The Journals of William E. McLellin* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies; Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 83; Levi Jackman, "A Short Sketch of the Life of Levi Jackman," L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

45. Mary Lightner, "Autobiography of Mary E. Lightner," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 17 (July 1926): 197.

46. Thomas B. Marsh, "History of Thomas Baldwin Marsh [by himself], *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 26, no. 25 (June 18, 1864): 390.

47. Emily Dow Partridge Young, "Reminiscences of Emily Dow Partridge Young," L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

nation schoolhouse, town hall, and county courthouse building was erected in the southwest quarter of the city.[48] Though information on schools in Far West during the church's two-year presence there is limited, records indicate that John Murdock, Zenas H. Gurley, Mary Elizabeth Lightner and Erastus Snow were among the instructors.[49] At the Far West Temple cornerstone ceremony, Sidney Rigdon emphasized that the building would have an educational role similar to the earlier Kirtland Temple, boasting that the structure would become a place "where all the sciences, languages &c., which are taught in our country, in schools of the highest order, shall be taught."[50] Other records report additional schools operating outside Far West itself, including Mary Ann Duty teaching in Kingston Township, Joseph Holbrook building a schoolhouse twenty-two feet square "in the district where [he] lived," and a school in Mirabile settlement.[51]

One humorous incident involving John Murdock's school in Far West illustrates the educational environment of the era and the fervor with which church members faced awkward matters of acceptable personal conduct in the process. In March 1838 the high council met under the direction of Joseph Smith to hear a charge brought against Murdock by one of his students, James Newberry. The teacher was charged with "unchristian-like conduct, in speaking reproachfully of youngsters," a case the council considered "most difficult." Witnesses testified that Murdock rebuked Newberry and other students for socializing with girls late at night and, in particular, "undertaking to hug a girl in an evening meeting." They acknowledged that Murdock "disapproved of evening schools and meetings on account of the young people being light minded & tended to draw away their minds from the studies." Defending their instructor, other classmates testified that Murdock "used his best endeavors for the good of the school" while Newberry and other students were in the wrong. They acknowledged that Murdock felt guilty for not having approached Newberry in private about these matters but sided with the teacher that the student did "wink and smile when the girl went to get water," while other boys would "shake their fists at Br Murdock when his back was turned" and compose verses "which served to tantalize" him. In the end, the council "decided that the charge was not sustained, but Br. James W. Newberry was in the fault in treating Br. Murdock as he did."[52] Stories like this

48. Smith, *History of the Church*, 3:30; Peterson, "A History of the Schools and Educational Practices," 73–74.

49. Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 153–56; Peterson, "A History of the Schools and Educational Practices," 75; Susan Easton Black, "The University of Nauvoo, 1841–45," *Religious Educator* 10, no. 3 (2009): 190.

50. "Oration Delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon on the 4th of July, 1838, at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri" (Far West, MO: The Journal Office, 1838), 10.

51. Joseph Holbrook, Joseph Holbrook Autobiography, L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Bertha Ellis Booth, *A Short History of Caldwell County* (Hamilton, MO: Hamilton Public Schools, 1936), chapter 5.

52. Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 153–56.

illustrate the overlap between religion and education in early Mormon communities, matters not unheard of in contemporary times as well.

Formalizing a System in Nauvoo

As was the case in Independence and Kirtland, schools in Far West enjoyed only a brief existence, forced to close by the Mormons' expulsion from the state of Missouri in 1838. In 1839, one of the first buildings constructed in what was to become Nauvoo was a stone schoolhouse. In May of 1839, Sidney Rigdon asked Eliza R. Snow to teach his family. With Illinois unwilling to provide state funding for schools until 1855, all of the schools established in Nauvoo were private, being sponsored by the church or individuals. However, because Joseph Smith envisioned something greater than a hodgepodge of private schools, he set about to systematize education in Nauvoo.[53] There the church and its leaders managed to effect the most developed educational organization during their brief six-year tenure in the city on a bend of the Mississippi.

Nauvoo's church newspaper, the *Times and Seasons*, illustrates the ambition with which the settlers set about accomplishing their educational visions. Reflecting on past frustrations, the editor of the paper expressed optimism regarding Nauvoo's educational future. "From the unsettled state of the Saints, in consequence of being driven from their inheritances, and their sudden transitions from affluence to poverty," Joseph's brother Don Carlos Smith wrote, "the education of their children has consequently been neglected.—But we hope the night of darkness has passed away, and that we behold the dawning of a refulgent morn, which shall shine upon our youthful city through the 'University' and not on our city alone, but like the king of day, will diffuse its benign and enlightening rays throughout the world."[54]

Nauvoo's lofty educational dreams depended on the success of the University of the City of Nauvoo, an institution fashioned not only to provide post-secondary education for the populace but also designed to facilitate all learning within the community. Organized to oversee all educational matters in Nauvoo, it represented the church's most formal scholastic organization among all of the Joseph Smith-era settlements. Outlining the school's mission, the first presidency declared, "The 'University of the City of Nauvoo,' will enable us to teach our children wisdom—to instruct them in all knowledge, and learning, in the Arts, Sciences and Learned Professions.

53. Brian D. Jackson, "Preparing Kingdom-Bearers: Education the Children of Nauvoo," *Mormon Historical Studies* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 59–71. For additional information regarding the condition of education in early Illinois, see John William Cook, *Educational History of Illinois: Growth and Progress in Educational Affairs of the State from the Earliest Day to the Present, with Portraits and Biographies* (Chicago: Henry O. Shepard Company, 1912).

54. "The City Council and General Bennett's Inaugural Address," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 8 (February 15, 1841): 319.

We hope to make this institution one of the great lights of the world, and by and through it, to diffuse that kind of knowledge which will be of practical utility, and for the public good, and also for private and individual happiness." Organizationally, Smith outlined that the regents of the university would supervise all levels of educational matters, from the common schools through graduation from the university, a system codified as an addendum to the Nauvoo City Charter itself.[55]

The broad reach of the university administration was facilitated through powers granted the city fathers by the Nauvoo charter, a document that the newspaper boasted contained "three charters with the most liberal provisions ever granted by a legislative assembly—one for the 'city of Nauvoo,' another for the 'Nauvoo Legion,' and a third for the 'University of the City of Nauvoo.'"[56] Elected mayor after successfully shepherding the document through the Illinois legislature, John C. Bennett outlined his vision for education in Nauvoo and the role the university would play in its organization. "All matters in relation to mental culture, and public instruction," Bennett declared, "from common schools up to the highest branches of a full collegiate course in the Arts, Sciences, and Learned Professions, will devolve upon the Chancellor and Regents of the University." The mayor called for a speedy election and installation of the chancellor and regents, so that "the wheels of education should never be clogged, or retrograde, but roll progressively from the Alpha to the Omega a most perfect, liberal, and thorough course of university attainments." Furthermore, Bennett criticized "the modern mode of education … [where] children are so instructed as to acquire a smattering of every thing; and, as a matter of consequence, they know nothing properly." He challenged the fledgling school to be "a 'utilitarian' institution," where "education should always be of a purely practical character, for such, and such alone, is calculated to perfect the happiness, and prosperity, of our fellow-citizens."[57]

In early February 1841, just a month after the passage of the city's comprehensive charter, the City Council of Nauvoo acted quickly, appointing twenty-three men to serve on the board of regents, John C. Bennett as chancellor, and William Law as registrar for the University of the City of Nauvoo.[58] On February 9, 1841, the regents likewise moved swiftly, nominating James Kelly as the school's president.[59] Less than three weeks later, John P. Greene, Charles C. Rich, Daniel H. Wells, and Vinson Knight were chosen as school wardens for each of the city's four wards, with the lat-

55. Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Hyrum Smith, "A Proclamation to the Saints Scattered Abroad," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 6 (January 15, 1841): 274–75.

56. *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 5 (January 1, 1841): 264.

57. "The City Council and General Bennett's Inaugural Address," *Times and Seasons*, 317.

58. Ibid., 319; see also Smith, "A Historical Study of the Nauvoo, Illinois, Public School System," 29.

59. "President of the University," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 8 (February 15, 1841): 320.

ter three also serving as a building and finance committee.[60] In late February 1841, the city council passed an important educational ordinance, transferring all educational powers for common schools and "all other institutions of learning" from the hands of the city council to the chancellor and regents of the university.[61]

While the post-secondary education efforts of the University of the City of Nauvoo are beyond the scope of this study's analysis, its administration of the common schools typifies the focus on elementary and secondary education in early Mormon communities. In December 1841, the *Times and Seasons* outlined the role the university played in overseeing common schools. School wardens for each of the city's wards were informed they could employ only teachers who had been certified as competent by the chancellor and registrar.[62] University faculty member Gustavus Hills and private teacher James M. Monroe served as examiners for certificates of competency while another teacher, Joseph M. Cole, assisted Sidney Rigdon as inspectors of common schools. Teachers were certified by passing examinations administered at the hands of these officials.[63] After approved to teach, three trustees were appointed to supervise each teacher. Nauvoo school files record the names of seventy-four different private and public common school teachers within the city, supervised by forty-four different trustees.[64] By controlling the certification and hiring of teachers, university personnel effectively controlled common schools.[65]

In terms of funding, though the charter enabled the city council to tax citizens to support the schools, there is no record of any taxation for education in Nauvoo.[66] Tuition in the form of cash, goods, or services kept the schools operating. Jesse Haven's advertisement in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* may have been typical of the era. "Tuition for Reading and Writing 17 cts. per week. The higher branches of Mathematics, also Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, &c., 25 cts. Tuition to be paid once a month by those who wish to remain in the school. No reduction made for occasional absence. All kinds of produce, store goods, and even money, (bogus excepted) will be taken for pay."[67] For the burgeoning population, classes were held wherever possible, including in private residences with attached schoolrooms and even in the upper room

60. "Elections by the Chancellor and Regents of the University, School Wardens for Common Schools," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 9 (March 1, 1841): 335.

61. "City Ordinances," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 9 (March 1, 1841): 336.

62. "Common Schools," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 4 (December 15, 1841): 632.

63. Smith, "A Historical Study of the Nauvoo, Illinois, Public School System," 34, 79.

64. Ibid., 80–81.

65. Oversight of common schools by the university was repeated in Utah with the creation of the University of Deseret.

66. *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 6 (January 15, 1841): 285; Smith, "A Historical Study of the Nauvoo, Illinois, Public School System," 40.

67. "Select School," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 30 (November 27, 1844): 3.

of Joseph Smith's Red Brick Store.[68] Howard Coray recalled teaching school in Joseph Smith's office as early as October 1840 and later in a "room of considerable size" built by Robert B. Thompson. He eventually taught as many as 150 students in the "music hall."[69] Joseph Holbrook reported building a home in Nauvoo in the winter of 1843 and converting one room into a classroom where his wife Hannah commenced a school.[70]

Chancellor Bennett prepared a list of books for use in the common schools of the city, which the board of regents approved. They included Town's *Spelling Book*, *Introduction to Analysis*, and *Analysis*, M. Vickar's *Political Economy of Schools*, Mrs. Sigourney's *Girl's Reading Book* and *Boy's Reading Book*, Bennett's *Arithmetic* and *Book Keeping*, Kirkham's *English Grammar*, Olney's *Geography*, and a book entitled *Help to Young Writers* (author unknown).[71] Finally, though Nauvoo was certainly Mormon dominated, schools and school administration were open to all. The *Times and Seasons* went to great effort to highlight that "it is supposed by many abroad that all of our officers are Mormons—this, however, is not the case." In addition to non-LDS officers in the Nauvoo Legion and on the city council, the paper noted that "a large portion of the Regents of the University are not members of any church—many of them are old citizens who resided here long before we were driven from Missouri. This will show to the world that although, numerically, we far exceed the remaining portion of the community in this vicinity, we are not disposed to exercise that power to the exclusion of men of sterling worth and integrity, simply because they do not believe in our religion."[72]

In addition to the organizational record that has survived from Nauvoo, poignant teacher and student reminiscences about education help recreate the educational environment of the city. One detailed account comes from the Smith's oldest son, Joseph Smith III. Recalling his youthful years in Nauvoo when "there was no public school system in Nauvoo at the time nor until after the city was incorporated," he remembered his father, "ever a friend to education," counseling with his neighbors, in employing a neighborhood teacher, Miss Wheeler.[73] Smith's memoir continues at length, detailing several of his other teachers in Nauvoo, including Julia Durfee, Howard Corey (of whom Smith recalled, "School days under the care of Teacher Corey were very pleasant and marked not only by his ability and kindness, but by the good fellowship which existed between the scholars"), Mr. Thompson, Mr. Cole,

68. Roger D. Launius and F. Mark McKiernan, *Joseph Smith, Jr.'s Red Brick Store* (Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1993), 20–21.

69. Howard Coray, Howard Coray Autobiography, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

70. Holbrook, Joseph Holbrook Autobiography.

71. "Common School Books Adopted," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 5 (January 1, 1842): 652.

72. "Officers," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 5 (January 1, 1842): 646.

73. "The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith," *Saints' Herald* 81, no. 45 (November 6, 1934): 1480, 1511.

James M. Monroe, and Eli B. Kelsey.[74] The account is full of schoolboy scuffles, punishments with switches, and jovial pranks, punctuated by lessons young Smith and others learned at the hands of Nauvoo's educators.

One of those teachers, James M. Monroe, likewise wrote about teaching the children of church members. "I think I never felt my inability and incapacity of instructing children as they should be instructed so much as I did today," Monroe summarized of his first day teaching.[75] Pressing on, he later described how he hoped to reach one of Joseph Smith's young sons, "To day Frederick was unable to comprehend the philosophy of carrying for every ten in multiplication. I have promised to explain it to him in the morning. I think I shall accomplish two ends by this operation: first, I shall teach the principle and thus render his future work more easy and delightful; and secondly, I shall, I think, gain his affections and impress upon his mind the fact that I am his friend and desire his improvement."[76] Monroe later concluded, expressing the joys of a teacher, "I am exceedingly happy … to be able to say that I have not spent this day in vain, having excited some degree of interest in most of my scholars."[77]

Luman Shurtliff captured the sacrifices made by Nauvoo parents to educate their children. He later recalled, "I was now in Nauvoo and must do something for the support of my family. I had four children old enough to go to school and as I had no way to pay their school bill I thought it best to take up a school and teach my own scholars and get something for teaching others, and would take firewood and provisions as pay. I hired a house in which to teach winter school as well as a summer term and had a good number of scholars." Acknowledging some of the difficulties he faced, Shurtliff continued, "All things looked prosperous but when I had kept school about six weeks, the measles broke out and I thought it best to dismiss for the present. Many died at this time and many were left fatherless and motherless." When the illness subsided, Shurtliff reopened his school. However, he found that only half of the students could afford to pay tuition. He concluded, "I received all those who wished to attend school whether they could pay or not. I think no scholar was rejected or kept from my school because of means to pay. I made but little above my expense but had this consolation, I was schooling my neighbors and my own children and doing good in building up the kingdom of God on the earth."[78]

Due to the formal organization effected under the umbrella of the university as well as the calculated exodus from the city, schools records like these for Nauvoo

74. Ibid., 1511–14, 1543–46,

75. James Madison Monroe, journal, 22 April 1845, Church History Library.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Luman Shurtliff, "Biographical Sketch of the Life of Luman Andros Shurtliff," L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

are much more comprehensive than those for Independence, Kirtland, or Far West. They permit an understanding of the nature of church influence on educational structure within Nauvoo better than in other church communities during Joseph Smith's lifetime. However, with Smith's passing and the subsequent Mormon diaspora, the school system he hoped would be "one of the great lights of the world" was diminished—though certainly not extinguished.[79] At a conference in October 1845 residents discussed various business items preparatory to their westward exodus the following winter. Addressing the congregation, Heber C. Kimball declared, "There is yet another piece of business of great importance to all who have families; that is, to have some school books printed for the education of our children, which will not be according to the Gentile order." Answering the call, William W. Phelps reminded the congregation of his earlier charge to author such materials.[80] Thereafter, the conference moved that "W. W. Phelps write some school books for the use of children."[81]

Conclusion

During its fifteen-year history in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints developed the educational philosophy and practice that guided the establishment of early LDS schools and formed the foundation for its subsequent curricular development. In addition to expanding learning through community adult education endeavors like the School of the Prophets, School of the Elders, Hebrew School, and University of Nauvoo, church leaders and members also provided for the education of future generations of young Mormons. Progressively driven from place to place, schools for youth were reinstituted as quickly as plows broke ground in every new settlement. The poetess Eliza R. Snow penned a tribute to the students of Nauvoo University that summarizes their labors to acquire education. Entitled "The Transformation, or The Tool and the Gem," Snow declared,

> I saw a thing of rudest form,
> From mountains' base brought forth—
> A useless gem—devoid of charm,
> And wrap'd in cumbrous earth.
>
> Its rough exterior met the eye
> With a repulsive show;
> For every charm, was forc'd to lie
> In buried debths, below.

79. Smith, Rigdon, and Smith, "A Proclamation," 274.

80. "Conference Minutes," *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 16 (November 1, 1845): 1015.

81. Ibid.

The Sculptor came.—I wonder'd, when
His pliant tool was brought;
He pass'd it o'er the gem, and then
I mark'd the change it wrought.

Each cumbrance from its surface, clear'd—
The gem, expos'd to view—
Its nature and its worth appear'd—
Its form expansive grew.

By gentle strokes, it was set free—
By softer touch, refin'd;
Till beauty, grace and majesty,
Were with i-s nature join'd.

Its lustre kindled to a blaze—
Twas Wisdom's lamp begun.
And soon the splendor of its rays
Eclips'd the noon-day sun.

That gem was chain'd in crudeness, till
The Sculptor, lent his aid;
I wonder'd at the ready skill,
His potent hand display'd

But 'twas the virtue of his tool
Of fine, transforming edge;
Which serv'd for pencil, mould and rule—
For polisher and sledge.

That *tool* requires a skilful hand—
That *gem*, no charm should bind;
That tool is *Education*, and
That gem, the *Human Mind*.[82]

Eventually the emphasis on education together with an organizational structure designed to administer it were transported around the Midwest and across the continent, from whence the formal church educational systems of today have emerged. The present public and private educational programs found in the various strains of Mormonism have taken their genesis from the educational philosophy and history of the early church in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Any study of current church education practice must account for its birth in these soils of the Restoration.

82. E. R. Snow, "The Transformation, or The Tool and the Gem," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 2 (November 15, 1841): 606.

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Early Mormon Marriage, Family, and Networks of Kinship: Begets and Horizontal Genealogy in the Case of the Later Cutlerites at Nauvoo[1]

Danny L. Jorgensen

Introduction

This essay employs genealogical information for the distinctive *sociological* purpose of describing and analyzing early Latter Day Saint networks of kinship.[2] The genealogical data, deriving from Nauvoo Mormons who

1. Portions of this essay were previously presented to the John Whitmer Historical Association, Kirtland, Ohio, September 29, 2007. I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Allen C. Christensen for commenting on this paper. The author appreciates the comments of the reviewers as well as efforts of the editor to improve this essay.

2. While employing historical data, this essay is indebted to a sociological perspective on religion; and, therefore, it may be found wanting by both historians and sociologists. The sociological viewpoint is heavily influenced by Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Doubleday, 1967). It therefore is agnostic about religious claims to truth in general and those of the Latter Day Saint religion in particular, as briefly discussed by Berger, appendices 1 and 2, 175–85. Berger (175) thereby notes that: "Whatever else it may be, religion is a humanly constructed universe of meaning, and this construction is undertaken by linguistic means." My use of descriptive terminologies, such as "Saints," as shorthand for the name Latter Day Saints, or "prophet," with reference to Joseph Smith's social role, is a part of the antipositivistic stance of a "verstehende soziologie," and it in no way advances any religious claim. This approach—deriving from the traditions of the "Geisteswissenschaften" (sciences of culture) associated with a long line of thinkers ranging from Wilhelm Dilthey, Georg Simmel, and Max Weber to Edmund Husserl, Alfred Schutz, and much of contemporary social science—characterizes most all social scientific and humanistic approaches to the scholarly

subsequently formed the schismatic Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite) and others linked with them by kinship, characteristically is historical, originating in the past. Ordinary, *vertical* genealogy supplies information about the social backgrounds of these people while *horizontal* genealogy yields data about marriage, family, and kinship connections. This information supports and documents the general conviction of *historians* that the early Latter Day Saints were bound together tightly by family and kinship, but not the *sociological* contention that divisions within religious organization often derive from underlying social differences among the membership. The Cutlerites not only were regular and typical Latter Day Saints, they were linked by kinship to the very top of the Nauvoo Mormon hierarchy.

The Cutlerites' separation from the westward-bound Latter Day Saint movement headed by Brigham Young, moreover, was part of a pervasive feature of the post-martyrdom crisis of Nauvoo Mormonism. D. Michael Quinn, endorsing the estimates of Ronald K. Esplin, emphasizes that about half of the membership did not continue west with the apostles.[3] While most schismatic organizations were small and their impact highly variable and diffuse, collectively they amounted to a significant segment of Nauvoo Mormonism. This all too commonly has been missed in the preoccupation with pointless debates over the exclusive legitimacy of one organization over another. And, it has obscured important sociological and historical considerations like the fact that the breakup of Nauvoo Mormonism commonly resulted in exceptionally painful divisions among family and kinfolk.

Familial Relations, Genealogy, and Fissiparousness
Family, Kinship, and Early Mormonism

Religion always takes a special interest in matters of vital significance for human existence.[4] Nothing is more important than human sexuality, gender, marriage, family, and kinship. These closely interrelated concerns, not surprisingly, are dominating features of the Latter Day Saint religion (or Mormonism), the new American religion formally organized by Joseph Smith Jr. and a few followers in 1830.[5] The

study of religion today. For additional discussions of the relationship between sociology and history see, for instance, Charles Tilly, "Historical Sociology," in *International Encyclopedia of the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, 26 vols., ed. J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (Amsterdam: Elsevier), 10:6753–57.

3. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 241–42, and note 316; hereafter cited as *Origins*.

4. See Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, especially 24–28, 38–39.

5. See, for example, Louis J. Kern, *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiences of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Foster, *Women, Family and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991); Foster, "Between Heaven and Earth: Mormon Theology of the Family in Comparative Perspective," 1–18 in Brent Corcoran, ed., *Multiply*

Smith family and their extended kin relations were central to the early Mormon organization with many of them—besides the founding prophet himself—performing instrumental roles.[6] Richard Bushman observes that conversions moved "along family lines," involving not only "brothers and sisters but cousins, in-laws, and uncles."[7] It was common for entire families to convert to Mormonism and subsequently recruit other relatives, eventually forming extensive networks of kinship.[8] The early Latter Day Saints consequently were solidified by marriage connections and kinship ties whereby much of the leadership and the larger community resembled extended families or clans and tribes composing, as Jan Shipps insightfully sees it, a new, religiously inspired American form of ethnicity.[9]

Early Latter Day Saint marriage, family, and kinship relationships were reflected in and legitimated by scripture and theology, a significant portion of which derived from the radical Nauvoo, Illinois, innovations of the 1840s.[10] The Saints envisioned all of human history in terms of lineage and kinship relationships—descending from

and Replenish: Mormon Essays on Sex and Family (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994); and Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformations of the Mormon Marriage System 1840–1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), especially 1–17.

6. See, for example, Lucy Mack Smith, *Joseph Smith and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Lamoni, IA: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1912); Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1929); Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984); Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945); Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith, Rough Stone Rolling: A Cultural Biography of Mormonism's Founder* (New York: Random House, 2005), especially 8–56; and Quinn, *Origins*, 212–41.

7. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 113–15.

8. See Laurence Milton Yorgason, "Some Demographic Aspects of One Hundred Early Mormon Converts, 1830–1837," master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974; Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 151; A. J. Simmonds, "'Thou and All thy House': Three Cases of Clan and Charisma in the Early Church," *Nauvoo Journal* 7, no. 1 (1995): 48–55; Rodney Stark, "Extracting Social Scientific Models from Mormon History, *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 1 (1999): 174–94; Val D. Rust, "Mormonism and the Radical Movement in Early Colonial New England," *Dialogue* 33, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 24–56; Rust, *Radical Origins: Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2004); and Danny L. Jorgensen, "The Morley Settlement in Illinois, 1839–1846: Tribe and Clan in a Nauvoo Mormon Community," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 32, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2012): 149–70.

9. Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), especially 127. Shipps (189n44) comments specifically that: "The kinship lines within the Mormon leadership group are an indication of the new Mormon ethnicity." See also, D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite," PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1976; and Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), especially 163–97.

10. See T. Edgar Lyon, "Doctrinal Developments of the Church During the Nauvoo Sojourn, 1839–1846," *Brigham Young University Studies* 15, no. 4 (Summer 1975); Larry C. Porter and Milton C. Backman Jr., "Doctrine and the Temple in Nauvoo," *Brigham Young University Studies* 32 (Winter–Spring 1992): 41–57; Donald Q. Cannon, Larry E. Dahl, and John W. Welch, "The Restoration of Major Doctrines through Joseph Smith," *Ensign* 19, nos. 1–2 (January and February 1989): 26–33 and 7–13; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), especially chapter 7; and Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2002), especially chapter 10.

Adam and Eve through Noah, Abraham, and the tribes of Israel—as specified by the genealogy of the Christian Bible, supplemented by its latest extension to the Americas with the Book of Mormon.[11] The highly unconventional image of the godhead introduced at Nauvoo was a celestial family formed by the supreme biblical God, as husband and father, his wife (or wives) as mother(s), and their children, providing a model for all families.[12] Monogamous marriage was drastically expanded to include the possibility of multiple or plural wives (polygamy or, more specifically, polygyny), like those of the Old Testament patriarchs.[13]

The innovative salvation theology of the Nauvoo Temple and related rites enabled temporal, earthly marriage and family relationships to be sealed eternally for the living and the dead.[14] The Mormons thereby became linked in extensive kinship

11. Armand L. Mauss, *All of Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), especially 1–16; and Danny L. Jorgensen, "The Latter-day Saint Doctrine of Salvation: Religious Exclusivity, Tolerance, and Accommodation," 174–90 in Jacob Neusner and Bruce Chilton, eds., *Religious Tolerance in World Religions* (West Conshohocken, PA: Templeton Foundation Press, 2008). By this genealogy humanity was divided by race, ethnicity, tribe, and lineage into three main categories: The House of Israel, God's chosen people, especially the Jews; the descendents of Cain, marked by their dark skin color due to their disobedience to God; and gentiles, meaning everyone else. Israelites were distinguished further by patriarchal tribes and lineage from Abraham, with Euro-American Mormons most commonly being identified as Ephraimites through the House of Joseph. For an interesting effort to chart Book of Mormon genealogy see http://www.mormoncharts.com/23/book-mormon-genealogy-charts/book-of-mormon-genealogy-chart/, accessed October 9, 2013.

12. For discussions of this novel God concept and the related theology see Van Hale, "The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follett Discourse," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 209–25; Hale, "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 193–208; James Talmage, *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries, Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1912); Bruce McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966); and Sterling McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965). On the Heavenly Mother see Linda P. Wilcox, "The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven," 64–77, in Maureen Ursenback Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); and Danny L. Jorgensen, "The Mormon Gender-Inclusive Image of God," *Journal of Mormon History* 27, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 95–126.

13. On Mormon plural marriage see Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989); Carmon B. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987); Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997); George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy…but We Called It Celestial Marriage* 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011); and Brian Hales, *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2013).

14. In addition to the works cited above see Lisle G. Brown, "The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and Council Chamber," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1979): 361–74; Andrew Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Crisis," master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982; Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon concept of Salvation, 1830–1900," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14, no. 3 (Spring 1974): 1–21; David John Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994); Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, eds., *Joseph Smith's Quorum of*

chains to all of humanity back to Adam and Eve. Priesthood also was connected to gender and lineage with most men being ordained to one of the lesser or greater ministerial offices. In the most decisive temple ritual—the second anointing or fullness of the priesthood—the male holders of the high priesthood were anointed kings and priests while their wives were designated as queens and priestesses.[15] Human beings thereby ultimately could achieve an exalted, godlike status in the celestial realm along side of the Heavenly Father and Mother. Jan Shipps astutely emphasizes consequently, that whereas the Mormon "unit of salvation" is the individual, the "unit of exaltation"—whereby individuals progress toward godhood—is the family.[16]

The scholarly literature on the early Latter Day Saints is full of platitudes, antidotes, and biographies concerning social relationships based on marital, family, and kinship connections. Yet, except for the relatively few studies noted above, actual networks of early Mormon marriage, family, and kinship relationships have not been described, analyzed, or interpreted in concrete, systematic detail. Cutler and his later followers were thoroughly integrated with and representative of Nauvoo Mormons. The data reviewed here on the kinship connections of Alpheus Cutler and some of his latter followers to the larger Latter Day Saint community, mostly in Illinois during the 1840s, thereby contribute toward alleviating empirical neglect of early Mormon family and kinship relations.

The Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite)

Alpheus Cutler was excommunicated from the westward bound remnant of Nauvoo Mormonism headed by Brigham Young on April 20, 1851.[17] His chief offense

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the Anointed 1842–1845: A Documentary History (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005); Samuel Brown, "The Early Mormon Chain of Belonging," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 44, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 1–52; Brown, "Early Mormon Adoption Theology and the Mechanics of Salvation." *Journal of Mormon History*, 37, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 3–52; Brown, "Believing Adoption," *Brigham Young University Studies* 52, no. 2 (2013): 45–65; and Jonathan Stapley. "Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History*, 37, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 53–118.

15. John David Buerger, "The Fullness of the Priesthood: the Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue* 16 (Spring 1983): 10–44. For the significance the anointed priesthood and the political Kingdom of God see Flanders, *Nauvoo*, chapter 10; Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967); Andrew E. Ehat, "'It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth': Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," *Brigham Young University Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 253–79; and Quinn, *Origins*, especially 105–42.

16. Shipps, *Mormonism*, 149.

17. D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *Brigham Young University Studies* 16, no. 2 (Winter 1976): 187–234; Quinn, *Origins*, 208; "Kanesville Conference Minutes," 20 April 1851, *Frontier Guardian* May 2, 1851, 1; Joseph Smith Papers, "Alpheus Cutler," accessed September 4, 2013, http://josephsmithpapers.org/person/alpheus-cutler; Danny L. Jorgensen, "Building the Kingdom of God: Alpheus Cutler and the Second Mormon Mission to the Indians, 1847–1853," *Kansas History* 15, no. 3 (1992): 192–209; Jorgensen, "Conflict in the Camps of Israel: The Emergence of the 1853 Cutlerite Schism," *Journal of Mormon History* 21, no. 1 (Spring

was lingering in Iowa, rather than continuing to the Salt Lake Valley, while pursuing "Lamanite" (or Native American) ministries in what is today Kansas. Cutler's Indian mission originally was a Council of Fifty assignment from the murdered Mormon founder Joseph Smith, and it had been re-authorized by Brigham Young and the reconstituted leadership in 1847. However, rumors about Cutler's activities resulted in a prolonged conflict with the Mormon High Council in Iowa, disfellowshipment, excommunication and, ultimately, schism. On September 19, 1853, Father Cutler, as he was respectfully known, and a few followers organized the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite) at Manti, a village they founded in southwestern Iowa. Over the next few years perhaps as many as five to six hundred former Nauvoo Mormons joined or affiliated with them.[18]

By 1860, however, approximately half of those associated with the Cutlerites had converted to the "new organization" (what eventually became the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints or RLDS), under the leadership of Joseph Smith III.[19] Less than a year after Father Cutler's death on August 10, 1864, when about a hundred Cutlerites began relocating to western Minnesota, most of the remaining Iowa members also joined the Josephites (RLDS) or dropped out of Mormonism. In Minnesota the Cutlerites founded another village, re-established their church, and formed the first government of Otter Tail County. Today there is a church building at the old town of Clitherall but no resident Cutlerites in Minnesota, and only about a dozen members at Independence, Missouri, where a second congregation was established in 1928.

Using Genealogy for Scholarly Purposes

This essay complements and supplements a previous study that examined kinship relations in the Morley Settlement, where many of Cutler's subsequent followers were located during the Nauvoo, Illinois, period of early Mormonism.[20] Viewed

1995): 24–62; and Rupert J. Fletcher and Daisy Whiting Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ* (Independence, MO: The Church of Jesus Christ, privately printed, 1974), especially 7–63; hereafter cited as *Alpheus Cutler*.

18. This estimate is based on Cutlerite records, census reports, and an extensive array of other primary source material on the people belonging to and affiliated with the Cutlerites during this period.

19. Danny L. Jorgensen, "The Scattered Saints of Southwestern Iowa: Cutlerite-Josephite Conflict and Rivalry, 1855–1865," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 13 (1993): 80–97; Jorgensen, "The Cutlerites of Southwestern Iowa: A Latter-day Saint Schism, 1846–1865," *The Annals of Iowa* 58, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 131–61; Jorgensen, "North from Zion: The Minnesota Cutlerites, 1864–1964," paper presented to the Mormon History Association, St. George, UT, May 14–17, 1992; Michael S. Riggs, "The Cutlerite Migration to Minnesota: An Epic Perilous Journey into Diaspora," 177–89, in Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer, eds., *Scattering of the Saints: Schism Within Mormonism* (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2007); Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, especially 63–79; and Biloine Whiting Young, *Obscure Believers: the Mormon Schism of Alpheus Cutler* (St. Paul, MN: Pogo Press, 2002).

20. Jorgensen, "The Morley Settlement in Illinois, 1839–1846."

together, these studies supply specific data on marital, family, and kinship linkages among Nauvoo Mormons in support of existing scholarly presuppositions about these matters. These studies also provide information useful for considering the possible similarities and differences among the later, schismatic Cutlerites and other early Latter Day Saints. More specifically, sociological theorizing about religious fissiparousness anticipates that divisions in religious organizations most commonly are provoked by underlying social differences and then rationalized ideologically.[21] Information about the kinship connection of the later Cutlerites also provides a unique view of the momentous consequences of organizational divisions for these people and their relationships.

The basic dataset used here for examining kinship relations derives from a list of names and families accumulated over nearly thirty years in the course of an effort to exhaustively gather information on the Cutlerites.[22] This essay, as well as the companion piece, advances a genealogical methodology for observing and analyzing kinship connections and supplying other information for the scholarly consideration of the subsequent Cutlerites' connections to other early Latter Day Saints. Mormons have collected extensive ancestral information for religious reasons over many years, but the deliberate use of this data for scholarly purposes is relatively recent.[23] Most scholarly uses of family pedigrees have been for describing and analyzing *vertical* social relationships, those extending backward in time for a particular individual or set of individuals, as with family lineage and ancestry. In addition to vertical genealogy, the approach featured here employs genealogy for describing and analyzing *horizon-*

21. See Danny L. Jorgensen, "Studies of Mormon Fissiparousness: Conflict, Dissent, and Schism in the Early Church," 229–52, in Newell G. Bringhurst and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Excavating Mormon Pasts: the New Historiography of the Last Half Century* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2004); Nancy T. Ammerman, "Schism: An Overview in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 13:98–102; and James S. Coleman, "Social Cleavage and Religious Conflict," *Journal of Social Issues* 12 (1956): 44–56.

22. The name list is based on the founding members of this schism as well as others very closely associated and affiliated with them in Iowa ca. 1846–1860. D. Suzanne Simonich, with my permission, posted a version of this list on the internet at http://freepages.family.rootweb.com. Also see: http://freepages.family.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~hannahslife/cutlerite_membership.htm. While the genealogical data reported here derives from many difference sources unless otherwise noted, it is verifiable at http://earlylds.com/searchform, www.familysearch.org, www.ancestry.com, or in US census records.

23. Historians have employed genealogical data for many years in portraying the biographies of important figures like Joseph Smith (as noted above) as well as for generally describing early converts and perhaps a few other populations (also as noted above). Some years ago Rodney Stark, "Extracting Social Scientific Models from Mormon History," 174-94, realized that Mormon genealogy contained a wealth of valuable sociological information, particularly when it was transformed in order to permit quantitative analysis. More recently Val Rust, "Mormonism and the Radical Movement in Early Colonial New England" and *Radical Origins*, has demonstrated very impressively the merit of exploiting genealogical data for revealing the ancestry and, thereby, the social and cultural backgrounds of the earliest Mormon converts.

tal social relationships, that is, multiple overlapping pedigrees and interconnections among contemporaries forming networks of people.[24]

Regrettably, the resulting data are much like the infamous scriptural begets whereby a perplexing array of individuals are linked together in compound chains and patterns. It is easy to become bewildered and confused in such a complex labyrinth of marital, family, and kinship relationships. This difficulty is highly resistant to any practical solution. Graphs based on network analysis commonly emphasize quantitative precision and patterns over the qualitative specificity that ordinarily is required when presenting historical materials, even for sociological purposes.[25] Genealogical charts of more than a very few horizontal kinship connections are difficult to construct, are exceptionally cumbersome and unwieldy to present, and are therefore not especially helpful in simplifying or facilitating the comprehension of complex patterns and networks of social relationships. Describing and analyzing marital, family, and kinship connections in prose is a tedious exercise in addition to being confusing and contributes nothing toward a pleasing narrative. Nevertheless, like Bible and Book of Mormon storytelling, these complex vertical and horizontal connections among the characters are imperative—no matter how dull and confusing they seem—for understanding the related social relations and thereby the underlying narratives. In this case, moreover, these data are necessary for examining scholarly claims about early Mormon kinship connections as well as the extent to which those involved in a subsequent schism were or were not integrated into early Mormonism.

The Alpheus Cutler Family

The original church, organized in upstate New York by Joseph Smith Jr. on April 6, 1830, was composed of a mere handful of people, all of them Smith relatives and close friends.[26] Most of them, like the Smiths, were established American families

24. For brief, nontechnical discussions of the use of genealogy for studies of vertical and horizontal connections among people see Amy Smith, *Tracing Family Lines: The Impact of Genealogy Research on Family Communication* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2012), especially 3–7; and Jackie Smith Arnold, *Kinship: It's All Relative*, 2nd enlarged ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1990, 2012).

25. See, for instance, David Easley and Jon Kleinberg, *Networks, Crowds, and Markets: Reasoning About a Highly Connected World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), especially chapter 2. A copy of this text was accessed October 14, 2013, http://www.cs.cornell.edu/home/kleinber/networks-book/.

26. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 143–54; Yorgason, "Some Demographic Aspects of One Hundred Early Mormon Converts, 1830–1837"; David Brion Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," *New England Quarterly* 26 (June 1953): 147–68; Rust, "Mormonism and the Radical Religious Movement in Early Colonial New England," 25–55; Dean May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830–1980," in D. Michael Quinn, ed., The *New Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 121; Parley P. Pratt, Jr. ed., *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1985, first published 1938), especially 24–34, 423–32; Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 20–30; and Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 3–24. The Youngs and, to a large extent, the Pratts conformed to the more typical pattern while the Kimballs did not, except that Brigham and Heber were close friends and distant relatives.

from New England making a marginal living by farming and a few other subsidiary-to-middling economic pursuits. The next round of converts—families like the Youngs, Kimballs, and Pratts—came from similar social and cultural backgrounds, although some of them were slightly more successful farmers and occasionally clerks, teachers, merchants, craftsman, and the like. The Cutlers were prototypical of the second wave of early Mormon converts.

Alpheus Cutler was born February 29, 1784, at Plainfield, Sullivan County, New Hampshire.[27] He was descended from English immigrants who had settled in Massachusetts, with later generations moving on to Rhode Island, and then New Hampshire. Alpheus married Lois Lathrop, the daughter of (Captain) Samuel and Lois Huntington Lathrop, in 1808. She derived from highly similar social origins although a more prominent Lebanon, New Hampshire, family. It is noteworthy that prior to 1830 the Cutlers resided within forty miles of the families of Joseph and Emma Hale Smith. The Lathrop and Hale families may have known one another, and the Smiths and Lathrops were very distant relatives.[28]

Shortly after their marriage, Alpheus and Lois moved to Upper Lisle, Broome County, New York, where three of their eleven children were born: Thaddeus (1809–96), Lois Huntington (1811–80), and Libbeus (1814–19). The rest of their children arrived following Alpheus's military service during the War of 1812 and the Cutlers migration to Chautauqua County in western New York near Lake Erie: Louisa Elizabeth (1816–54), Sally (Sara) Ann or Sally (Mavea) Maria (1818–90), William Lathrop (1821–51), Benjamin Franklin (1823–66), Clarissa Crissy (1824–51), Emily Trask (1827/28–51/52), Edwin H. (1829–37), Betsy A. (1832–43), and Phineas (unknown).

The charismatic David Wyman Patten converted the Cutlers while preaching near his former home at Orleans around 1832.[29] He miraculously healed the Cutlers' critically ill daughter Lois, leading to the conversion of eighteen people and the organization of a branch of the church. Alpheus was baptized on January 20, 1833, ordained an elder a short time later, and the Cutlers relocated to the church at Kirtland, Ohio. While the details differ, many other Mormon converts of this period were from comparable backgrounds and they told typically similar stories.

Before moving to Ohio the Cutlers eldest son, Thaddeus married Lemira (or Lemirah) Louisa Scott in 1829 or 1833.[30] Other Cutler offspring intermarried at Kirt-

27. Jorgensen, "The Old Fox: Alpheus Cutler," 312–58, chapter 7. Also see Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, 44–48. Alpheus was the eldest son of Knight and Betsy Boyd Cutler.

28. The common ancestor is Rev. John Lathrop (1584–1653), an immigrant Anglican clergyman who became a Congregationalist, from whom Lois Lathrop was about nine generations removed and Joseph Smith Jr. was about eight generations removed. This same ancestor also connected Parley P. Pratt to the Smiths and Lathrops.

29. Inez Smith Davis, *The Story of the Church* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1938), 141–42.

30. Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, 17; and Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day*

land with analogous and equally ardent Mormon families.[31] Louisa Elizabeth Cutler married Tunis Rappleye (1836), the son of John Remsen and Margaret (Peggy) Tillier Rappleye, Mormon converts from New York. The Rappleyes were solid rank and file Mormons throughout the early years of the church. They later were with the first company of pioneers to enter the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, and Tunis subsequently was employed by Brigham Young as a gardener.

Another Cutler daughter, Sally Mavea Cutler married Buckley B. Anderson, the son of Ohio converts John and Lydia Kellogg Anderson, in 1837. John Andersen died in 1860 at Nauvoo, but Buckley and Sally Anderson joined the Cutlerites. The Anderson family eventually moved to Minnesota with the Cutlerites, taking Buckley's mother with them, where they converted to the RLDS. Buckley's sister, Mary, apparently divorced her husband, Samuel Thompson, about the time he began taking plural wives at Nauvoo. One of Buckley's brothers, Henry Morton Anderson, married Aseneth A. Oakes, the daughter of Cutlerites Rueben and Eliza Murdock Oakes.

Lois Huntington Cutler, the daughter miraculously healed by Patten, married Almon Worthy Sherman (1835), and they too became Cutlerites before joining the Reorganization (RLDS). Almon's mother, (Senea) Asenath Hurlbut, was married briefly (1846–47) as a plural wife to John Smith (Joseph's uncle).[32] Cornelia Sherman, Asenath's daughter and Almon's sister, married Edmond (or Edmund) Fisher. A member of Zion's Camp, Edmond was the son of Pliny and Sally Cook Fisher, from Massachusetts. His brothers, Willard and Rufus Fisher, continued to Utah, although Willard and his family returned to Iowa and became RLDS. Edmond Fisher founded the Cutlerite town of Manti, Iowa, in 1852–53, and most of this family later joined the RLDS. Almon Sherman's brother (another of Asenath's sons), Lyman Royal Sherman, a Mormon Seventy and resolute supporter of Joseph Smith, was called to the Council of Twelve Apostles but died before his ordination.[33] He was married to Delcena Diademia Johnson.

The Johnsons were important Ohio converts to Mormonism. After Lyman Royal Sherman's death, Delcena married Joseph Smith at Nauvoo around 1842; her sister, Almera, became another plural wife of Smith about a year later.[34] Their sister,

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Saints (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2003). Lemirah probably was the daughter of Eractus and Polly Hoskins Scott, a family that originated in Massachusetts and then moved on to New York.

31. Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, 17.

32. Dale W. Adams, "Doctor Philastus Hurlbut," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 20 (2000): 76–93; also see A. J. Simmonds, "John Noah and the Hulets; and Simmonds, ""Thou and All Thy House."" Asenath Hurlbut also may have been a relative of Doctor Philastus Hurlbut, the former convert and missionary who became an anti-Mormon and played a crucial role in Eber D. Howe's publication of *Mormonism Unveiled* in 1834; she probably was related to the two Ohio Hurlbut sisters who married Whitings (discussed below).

33. Quinn, *Origins*, 580, 585–86.

34. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 288–305. Smith apparently also intended to take their younger sister Esther at age fifteen as a plural wife, but he died before she could be convinced to marry him.

Julia Ann, was married to Almon Whiting Babbitt, and Delcena later also became one of his plural wives. Babbitt, a member of Zion's Camp, was an original member of the Anointed Quorum at Nauvoo and later clashed with the Iowa High Council, but there is no indication that he was a Cutlerite. He continued to Utah and was killed by Indians while traveling to the east on church business in 1856.[35] Almera subsequently married James Reuben Barton but divorced him in 1860. The other surviving Johnson siblings all were active Mormons and continued to Utah.[36]

The Cutlers, Shermans, and Andersons moved to northern Ray County, Missouri, in 1836 or early 1837.[37] Alpheus was designated by Joseph Smith as "chief architect and master workman of all God's holy houses" (temples) in 1838. When the Mormons were expelled from Missouri, the Cutlers moved on to Illinois. Alpheus returned to Missouri in 1839 with the Mormon leadership to lay the cornerstones for a temple at Far West that they were unable to complete. At Nauvoo he performed a variety of roles, as a member of the temple building committee and high council. He was initiated into Smith's elite inner circle as one of the anointed, and he was selected for membership in the prestigious Council of Fifty. Alpheus therefore knew all of the ranking Nauvoo Mormon leaders, and he interacted regularly with many of them along with a host of other less well-known members.

Two of Alpheus and Lois Cutler's younger sons married later. Benjamin Franklin Cutler married Margaret Malvina Bouck in 1843. She was the daughter of Mormon converts Adam and Euphemia Dibble Bouck, a family that continued on to Utah. The Benjamin Franklin Cutler family resided in Missouri, and whether or not they remained Latter Day Saints (of any variety) is unknown. William Lathrop Cutler married Abigail Eliza (or Elisa) Chase, the daughter of Ezra and Tirzah Wells Chase from Massachusetts, in 1846.[38] Abigail apparently terminated the relationship since she was remarried to Adam C. Hubbard in 1848. Little more is known about William Cutler except that he died at Salt Lake City in 1851. Most of the Chase family

35. *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 401; and Richard E. Bennett, *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus 1846–1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1997), 323.

36. One brother, William Derby Johnson, who was married to Jane Brown, remained a monogamist while all of the other brothers took plural wives and produced large families. Joel Hills Johnson married Anna Pixley, Janet Fife, Lucinda Alzina Bascom, Margaret Threkeld, and Susan Bryant; Joseph Ellis Johnson married Harriet Snider, Hannah Maria Goddard, and Eliza Saunders; Benjamin Franklin Johnson married Melissa Bloomfield Lebaron, Mary Ann Hale, Flora Clarinda Gleason, Harriet Naomi Holman, her sisters Sarah Melissa and Susan Adaline, as well as Sarah Jane Spooner; and George Washington Johnson married Maria Jane Johnston and Eveline Burdick.

37. Jorgensen, "The Old Fox," 160–62; Jorgensen, "Conflict in the Camps of Israel," 29–30; Jorgensen, "Conflict in the Camps of Israel," 30; and Quinn, *Origins*, 203–6.

38. Some of the records indicate that William first married Louisa Scott. I have been unable to verify such a marriage, and it seems likely that William may have been confused with his older brother Thaddeus who married Lemira (or Lemirah) Louisa Scott.

entered plural marriage at Nauvoo. Notably, one daughter, Charlotte Chase, married Heber C. Kimball in 1844; another daughter, Diana (Diora) Severence Chase, married Brigham Young in 1846.[39]

Cutler, like most high-ranking Nauvoo Mormon leaders, expanded his family by marrying additional women following Joseph Smith's death.[40] In 1845, sixty-one-year-old Alpheus married thirty-one-year-old Luana Hart Beebe Rockwell (1814–97). She was the ex-wife of Orrin Porter Rockwell, Joseph Smith's second cousin, close friend, and body guard. Porter and his mother, Sarah, were among the original membership of the 1830 Mormon church. The family of Isaac and Olive Soule Beebe, Luana's parents, had originated in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and then moved on to New Hampshire (where they probably knew the Cutlers) and New York before joining the Latter Day Saint gathering in Ohio.

Calvin Beebe, Luana's oldest brother, was a member of Zion's Camp and the Kirtland High Council. He married Submit (Elizabeth Rockwell) Starr, and they later became Cutlerites in Iowa and joined the RLDS along with most of their children. Another brother, Isaac, also was a Cutlerite and probably joined the RLDS before his death in 1863. He was married to Phoebe (or Phebe) Wilcox and, after her death, to Serfe Kenny in 1849 and (presumably after Serfe's death) to Emily Runnion in 1858. Most of this family probably became RLDS. George (Washington) Beebe, still another brother of Luana, was married plurally to Mahala Stevens and Esther Ann Rogers, and they continued to Utah. The children and grandchildren of Isaac and Olive Beebe were distributed across Mormon factions of the period; what happened to many of them is unknown.

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39. Both women, however, apparently dissolved those marriages. Charlotte was remarried to Thaddeus Constantine Hicks in 1850, and Diana was remarried to William Montgomery Shaw in 1849. Both men later took additional wives, these families continued west, and all of them apparently remained active Latter Day Saints.

40. George D. Smith, "Nauvoo Roots of Mormon Polygamy, 1841–46: A Preliminary Demographic Report," *Dialogue* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 1–72, observes that Cutler was one of the top wife-takers among about fifteen influential Latter Day Saint leaders of this period of accelerated plural marriage activity. Alpheus Cutler and Newel K. Whitney, with six new wives each, ranked behind only Willard Richards and John Smith with seven wives, John Taylor and Samuel Brent with eight, Brigham Young with twenty-one, and Heber C. Kimball with twenty-four. Also see Christopher James Blythe, ""The Highest Class of Adulterers and Whoremongers': Plural Marriage, the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), and the Construction of Memory," *Dialogue* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 1–39, for a recent discussion of plural marriage and the Cutlerites. Kimball, *On the Potter's Wheel*, 133, indicates that the marriage of Alpheus Cutler and Luana Hart Beebe was sealed on August 9, 1845. Also see Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966); and Scott H. Faulring, "Early Marriages Performed by the Latter-day Saint Elders in Jackson County, Missouri, 1832–1834," *Mormon Historical Studies* 2, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 197–210. Faulring (204) reports that "Her marriage to Orrin Porter Rockwell ended in separation in 1842."

Before leaving Nauvoo in 1846, Alpheus took five more wives: Margaret Carr (or Kerr) McCall, the seventy-five-year-old widow of Alexander McCall (or McCaul); Abigail Carr (Kerr) Andrews, Margaret's sixty-six-year-old sister and the widow of John Andrews; Disey Caroline McCall Allen, the forty-four-year-old daughter of his plural wife Margaret and the widow of Joseph Kerr Allen; Sally (Sarah) Cox (Smith) Hutchings, the fifty-two-year-old widow of a notable Ohio Mormon, Elias Hutchings (another member of Zion's Camp); and twenty-four-year-old Henrietta Clarinda (Clorinda) Miller, the widow of Moses Cutler (no known relation to Alpheus).[41] Henrietta and her newborn baby by Alpheus died during Cutler's Indian mission in southeastern Kansas around 1851. Alpheus Cutler reportedly "put aside" the rest of these plural wives in Iowa around 1851–52 under legal pressure from Iowa authorities. Margaret Carr McCall and Abigail Carr Andrews probably died there a short time later, and Luana remained in Iowa; Sally Cox died at Salt Lake City in 1863; Disey Caroline McCall Allen was living at Salt Lake City in 1880.

Luana Hart Beebe Rockwell Cutler stayed with the Cutlerites along with some of her Rockwell children and her other two surviving children, Jacob Lorenzo (Boyd) fathered by Alpheus and Olive Luana (Perry), probably fathered by Isaac Perry. Her son, Orin P. Rockwell, married Mary Ellswick in 1861, then a plural wife, Sarah Jane Mantel; they resided in Utah by 1867. Emily Amanda Rockwell married Hiram Bates in 1849 and continued to Utah, subsequently marrying three more times. Caroline Ann Rockwell married Charles M. Davis in 1851 and remained in Iowa. They probably were affiliated with the Cutlerites before joining the RLDS. Sarah Jane Rockwell married the Cutlerite widower Marcus Shaw in 1858.[42] The Shaws were among the Cutlerites who went to Minnesota in 1865 but later joined the RLDS and returned to Missouri. Luana married Isaac Perry and then Wheeler Baldwin in Iowa, but the nature of these relationships remains unknown.

Luana went to Minnesota with the Cutlerites following Alpheus's death in 1864. She, however, moved to Utah and rejoined the Beebe family before her death in 1897.

41. Anderson and Bergera, *The Nauvoo Endowment Companies*, 579; Clare B. Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah* (Salt Lake City, privately printed, 1979), 183–86; "Autobiography of Cordelia Calista Morley Cox, 1823–1915" (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Library); and Young, *Obscure Believers*, 195–96. Sally left Kanesville in July 1849 with her son, Lymon Smith Hutchings, traveling with the Ezra T. Benson company which arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in October 1849. Sally was a member of the 17th Ward in Salt Lake City where she died in 1863. Abigail, along with some of her children and her sister, Margaret McCall, was living under the Andrews name in District 21, Pottawattamie, Iowa, for the 1850 US Federal Census (roll M432_188, page 156, image 296) two households above Alpheus Cutler. In 1856 Disey, using the Allen name, headed a household which included her sister-in-law Rachel Allen and their children at Kane, Pottawattamie, Iowa (Iowa State Census 1865, roll IA_64, line 10); much the same household is living at Crescent, Pottawattamie, Iowa, for the 1860 US Federal Census (roll M653_338, page 81, image 383). By 1880 Disey and Rachel Allen, aged seventy-seven and seventy-five, are living alone in Salt Lake City (US Federal Census, roll T9_1337, family history film 1255337, page 51.1000, enumeration district 43).

42. Shaw's first wife, Cordelia Whiting, the daughter of Charles and Martha Mana Hurlbut Whiting (discussed below), died very shortly after marrying Marcus in 1856.

Jacob Lorenzo, the son of Alpheus and Luana, who was born at Winter Quarters in 1846, was given the surname Boyd (Cutler's mother's maiden name). He married Augusta (Gusta) Alli Petterson, the daughter of Norwegian immigrants, while living in Minnesota with the Cutlerites in 1872. All five of their children (Luise Emily, Ellen Gusta, Minnie Mae, Eva Sylvia, Vera Tyrell) were born in Minnesota, but sometime after the turn of the century they moved to Utah where Jacob died in 1909 and Gusta died in 1938. Olive Luana, the daughter of Alpheus (or Isaac Perry), and Luana, born in 1850, used the Perry family name. She married Charles Adolphus Long about 1867, and the couple had three known children (Emma, Gine, and Charles). The Longs lived in Iowa where Olive most likely died; they were RLDS.

Apostle Heber C. Kimball (a member of the LDS First Presidency after 1847) married into Alpheus Cutler's family when he took two daughters, Clarissa (Crissy) in 1845 and Emily (Miranda) Trask in 1846, as plural wives.[43] Both women ended their marriages to Kimball and remarried Cutlerite men: Clarissa to Calvin Fletcher and Emily to Hiram Franklin Pratt. Both of them died during Alpheus's Indian mission, Clarissa most likely from cholera in 1851, and Emily in birthing a second child shortly thereafter. Clarissa's son, Abraham, and Emily's son, Isaac, from the marriages to Heber Kimball, however, lived among the Cutlerites in Iowa until their teenaged years when they went to Utah and rejoined their father's families.

By the time of the exodus from Nauvoo, the Cutler family was closely tied to the Andersons and Shermans as well as linked by marriage to the Rappleyes, Beebes, Johnsons, Chases, Rockwells, Smiths, Kimballs, and others. The Cutler-Sherman-Anderson family had become thoroughly integrated through marriage, kinship, friendship, and formal organizational roles with the Mormon communities in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Alpheus Cutler had become a ranking member of Joseph Smith's inner circle and, thereby, closely associated with the elite Nauvoo Mormon leadership. He continued to function as part of that leadership when the "Camps of Israel" crossed Iowa and lingered along the Missouri before pushing father west. The Cutler-Sherman-Anderson family therefore was not merely like a majority of other early Latter Day Saint converts; they were located at the very center of the kinship-based organization of the Nauvoo Mormon church.

The Whiting Clan

The most significant influx of recruits to the earliest Mormon church came from missionary activities on the Western Reserve (northern Ohio) beginning in 1830, a

43. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball,* 308; and Kimball, "Finding A Great-Great-Great Grandmother: Clarissa Cutler Kimball, 1824–1853," unpublished paper, 1979, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City; Abraham A. Kimball, *Finding a Father: Gems for the Young Folks* (Salt Lake City: LDS Juvenile Instructor Office, Fourth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series).

cultural environment that, as Marvin S. Hill underscores, was exceptionally receptive to the Mormon conversion message.[44] The converts included Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Isaac Morley, John Murdock, Edward Partridge, Fredrick G. Williams, all of them becoming prominent leaders, as well as a host of others. The huge Hulet-Whiting family was fully representative of these Ohio Mormon converts. Chancey (also spelled Chauncey) Whiting, a family member, succeeded Alpheus as the principal Cutlerite leader about 1865. His brother, (Francis) Lewis Whiting, assumed the other significant leadership position. With a few exceptions Chancey's descendants have held most of the headship positions in this Latter Day Saint schism for the last century.

The Hulet-Whiting clan from Massachusetts, as appropriately described by the late A. J. Simmonds, settled in Nelson Township, Portage County, Ohio.[45] Nine or more members of the Sylvanus and Mary Lewis Hulet family relocated in 1814. About a year later they were joined by Sally Hulet Whiting, their eldest daughter, her husband, Elisha Whiting Jr., and their five children: William, Edwin, Charles, Catherine Louisa, and Harriet Amelia.[46] These families intermarried with thirty-three others in Nelson in 1815.

About sixty of them—Hulets, Whitings, Noahs, Hurlbuts, Mills, Tillotsons, and others—were converted to Mormonism in 1831 by John Whitmer and Lyman Wight and/or Joseph Smith Jr. and Parley P. Pratt.[47]

The following Hulet marriages all involved siblings of Chancey Whiting's mother, Sally Hulet Whiting (or in other words, Chancey's aunts and uncles). In 1816 Charles Hulet married Margaret Ann Noah, the daughter of John Noah, who was excommunicated in 1832 by Joseph Smith for advancing rival prophetic claims.[48] Rhoda Hulet married Robert Frederic Mills, a member of a prominent Portage

44. See Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 31ff; F. Mark McKiernan, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer 1793–1876* (Independence, MO: Herald, 1979, originally published by Coronado Press, 1971), 25–40; and Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 71–98.

45. Simmonds, "'Thou and All Thy House,'" and "John Noah and the Hulets."

46. At least six more children were born to this couple at Nelson: Sally Emeline, Chancey, Almon, Jane Fidelia, Sylvester, and Francis Lewis. Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah*, 45–69.

47. Simmonds thinks it was Whitmer and Wight, while Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah*, 58, attributes the conversion of the Hulet-Whiting clan to meetings held in the Charles Hulet home by Smith and Pratt in May 1831, based on an eyewitness account by Catherine Hulet (Winget). Her first-person report indicates that the Whitings and Hulets were baptized around September 12, 1831, after Joseph Smith moved from Kirtland to nearby Hiram, Ohio. It is possible that Whitmer and Wight did some of the converting, Smith and Pratt completed the job (or converted others), and/or that Smith and Pratt did the baptizing after the conversions by Whitmer and Wight.

48. Leonard J. Arrington and David Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 67.

County, Ohio, family and the father of Orville Cox's (discussed below) first wife, Elvira Pamela Mills. Tryphena Hulet married Daniel Tillotson, the brother of Elizabeth Partridge Tillotson Whiting, the first wife of Edwin Whiting, one of Chancey's older brothers. Sylvester Hulet subsequently married Anna Schott Whitmer, the widow of Christian Whitmer, a Book of Mormon witness. Mary Hulet married Nathan Ayres West, a Zion's Camp participant, who became a leading member of this Mormon clan; he later married Adaline Louisa Follett, daughter of the well-known Nauvoo Mormon, King Follett.

Shortly after becoming Mormons, Sylvester and Charles Hulet led some of the family to the Latter Day Saint gathering in "Zion" at Jackson County, Missouri.[49] Lyman Wight and the Whitmers were neighbors and friends of the Hulet-Whiting family in Jackson County, Missouri. All of them, as well as Philo Dibble, Hyrum Page, King Follett, Newell Knight, and others defended the Whitmer settlement against the Missourians at the "Battle of the Blue" in 1833. Warfare is a significant source of social solidarity, especially when sealed by the blood of martyrs. William Whiting died about a year later from wounds attributed to the conflict, and other family members, particularly the young and old, perished from the hardships in Missouri.

After being driven from Missouri around 1839, much of the Hulet-Whiting clan gathered in the Lima stake at the Morley (also Yelrome) settlement in Illinois.[50] Located about thirty miles south of Nauvoo (eighteen miles north of Quincy and about eight miles east of the Mississippi River), it was populated by more than eight hundred Latter Day Saints with about 130 family names from about 1839 to 1845. Isaac Morley presided over the Lima branch along with counselors (Fredrick) Walter Cox and Edwin Whiting.[51] The son of Thomas and Editha Marsh Morley, a Massachusetts family, Isaac married Lucy Gunn in 1812 and later moved to the Western Reserve. The Morleys, along with the Lyman Wights and the family of Isaac's brother-in-law, Titus Billings, had been Campbellite followers of Sidney Rigdon. The Joseph Smith family resided temporarily with the Morleys, becoming intimate with them,

49. Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah*, 71–83, 85–96.

50. Flanders, *Nauvoo*, 140; Jorgensen, "The Morley Settlement in Illinois, 1839–1846"; and Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah*, 97–127; Donald Q. Cannon, "Spokes on the Wheel: Early Latter-day Saint Settlements in Hancock County, Illinois," *Ensign* 16 (February 1986): 62–68; and William G. Hartley, *The 1845 Burning of Morley's Settlement and Murder of Edmund Durfee* (Salt Lake City: Primer Publications, 1999, privately printed). The Cutlers also resided at this settlement before moving to Nauvoo.

51. Cannon, "Spokes on the Wheel," 62. Morley and Cox also presided over the Lima Stake; and John Murdock and Lorenzo Snow served at some point as Morley counselors. There is no definitive biography of Morley, but see Richard H. Morley, "The Life and Contributions of Isaac Morley," master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965. Also see Richard McClellan, "Sidney Rigdon's 1820 Ministry: Preparing the Way for Mormonism in Ohio," *Dialogue* 36, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 151–60, for a review of Morley's activities. Editha Marsh apparently was the cousin of Thomas Baldwin Marsh, who served as an apostle. Thomas was excommunicated in 1838–39 but rejoined the Church in 1857.

after coming to Ohio. Isaac gained considerable Mormon prominence, serving as a counselor to bishop Edward Partridge in Ohio, a patriarch in Missouri, and a member of the Anointed Quorum and Council of Fifty at Nauvoo; he later performed many other important roles in Utah.

Kinship connections among the Whiting, Hulet, and related Ohio families were extended to many other early Mormon families by the middle 1840s. Chancey Whiting, Cutler's successor, married Editha Ann Morley, the daughter of Isaac, in 1841. Another Morley daughter, Cordelia Calista, was sealed to Joseph Smith after his death, although she had rejected his 1843 proposal of a plural marriage, and she was married plurally for time to F. Walter Cox in 1846.[52] Walter Cox's first wife was (Sally) Emeline Whiting, Chancey's elder sister, a marriage that was performed by Joseph Smith at the Hurlbut's Ohio home in 1835.[53]

Walter's brother, Amos Cox, married another Morley daughter, Philena in 1841. Mary Elizabeth Cox—the sister of Walter, Amos and other Cox brothers—married Edwin Whiting, Chancey's elder brother, as a plural wife in 1846. Orville Sutherland Cox, another brother of Walter and Amos, married Elvira Pamela Mills in 1839, and then Mary Elizabeth Allen as a plural wife in 1853. Mary Elizabeth was the daughter of Joseph Steward and Lucy Diantha Morley Allen, another daughter of Isaac Morley. Mary Elizabeth, in other words, was the granddaughter of Isaac Morley, who was the father-in-law of two of Orville's brothers and the husband of one of Orville's sisters. In 1859 Orville Cox took another plural wife, Eliza Jane Losee, the sister of two plural wives (Jemima and Lydia Margaret Losee) of his brother, F. Walter Cox.[54]

Isaac Morley solidified the exceedingly complex Hulet-Whiting-Cox-Morley family connections by taking the divorced (or separated) Mary Elizabeth Cox Jackson—the sister of Walter, Amos, Orville, and the other Cox brothers—as a plural wife in 1846. He extended these kinship networks to the family of Lorenzo (a later LDS president) and Eliza Snow (Joseph Smith's best known plural wife) when he wed their sister, Abigail Leonora, as a plural wife in 1844. Apostle Heber C. Kimball became connected to the clan when he married Theresa Arathusa Morley, still another daughter of Isaac, as a plural wife in 1846. Kimball, as mentioned above, also became Alpheus Cutler's son-in-law by marrying two of his daughters, Clarissa and Emily, thereby linking the Cutler-Sherman-Anderson family to the Hulet-Whiting-Cox-Morley family.

52. See Smith, "Nauvoo Roots of Mormon Polygamy," 2–36; and the "Autobiography of Cordelia Calista Morley Cox, 1823–1915."

53. Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah*, 65

54. The Losee family, originally from Canada, resided in Michigan where they converted to Mormonism around 1840. The David and Lydia Huff Losee family moved to Lima, Illinois, in 1841. Their children included Abraham, Isaac, Mary Jane, Jemima, John, Rebecca, Sarah, Lydia, and Matilda.

On the Whiting side of the clan, two of Chancey's elder brothers, William and Charles, had married two Hurlbut sisters, Lydia and Martha Mana (respectively) years before in Ohio. The widowed Martha Mana became a plural wife of Mormon pioneer scout (Return) Jackson Redding along with her sister-in-law, Jane Fidelia Whiting, Chancey's younger sister. Sylvester Whiting, another brother, married Rebecca Ann Redfield, daughter of Kirtland, Ohio, Mormon William Redfield and, later, a prominent member of the RLDS. Only one of Chancey's surviving siblings, Catherine Louisa Whiting, who married Nelson Talcott, did not join the Mormons; however, her daughter, Sarah Jane (Jennie) married Isaac Whiting (her first cousin), Chancey's son and eventual successor.

When anti-Mormon violence erupted in Illinois, the Hulet-Whiting-Cox-Morley family watched their homes and farms at the Lima settlement burn around 1845, repeating their previous experiences in Missouri.[55] Almost all of them, along with a majority of other eventual Cutlerites, received temple endowments before departing Nauvoo. The graves of Hulet-Whiting-Cox-Morley clan members, as well as other eventual Cutlerite families, littered the Mormon trail across Iowa from the Mississippi to the Missouri River.[56] These families, much like the Cutler-Sherman-Anderson family, were located near the center of Nauvoo Mormonism and were linked together through Heber C. Kimball. Isaac Morley, like Cutler, was a member of the Anointed Quorum and Council of Fifty (after 1844). Other family members had performed important ward- and stake-level leadership roles and had become intimately and extensively connected by friendship and kinship to the Mormons in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Marriage relationships tied them to Joseph Smith, Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young, Lorenzo and Eliza Snow, as well as other ranking leaders and many rank-and-file Mormons in exceedingly complex and elaborate networks of relationship.

Other Eventual Cutlerite Families

The founding Cutlerites and those affiliated with them in Iowa included other families, some known and others more obscure, that participated more or less fully in early Mormonism. The family of Samuel and Mary Richards Badham, English converts to Mormonism, were affiliated with the Cutlerites before joining the RLDS.[57] Intermarriages among the Badhams, Richards, Beebe, Olmstead, Fisher,

55. Hartley, *The 1845 Burning of Morley's Settlement and Murder of Edmund Durfee*; and Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah*, 115–27. This seems to have been the historical basis for the events later depicted in Twentieth Century Fox's 1940 movie, *Brigham Young*.

56. Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah*, 129–39.

57. Mary Richards, the daughter of Augustus and Frances Lee Daggett Richards, was a distant relative of Willard Richards of the LDS first presidency and Franklin D. Richards, a later member and president of the apostles.

Hougas, McClenahan, Topham, Baldwin, and Liles families, some of them dating back to Nauvoo or before, resulted in a multifaceted network of kinship relationships.[58] Most of them joined the RLDS around 1860 and became the bedrock of several significant congregations in southwestern Iowa.[59]

Luman Hopkins Calkins, one of the eventual Cutlerites directly involved in the later conflict with the Iowa High Council, was married to Mehitable Russell. One of their daughters, Charlotte Ann, married Elisha Charles Whiting, the son of Charles and Martha Mana Hurlbut Whiting, linking the Calkins with the Hulet-Whiting-Morley-Cox clan. Another Calkins daughter, Mary Elizabeth, married Simon Peter Beckstead at Nauvoo. A grandson of Alpheus Cutler, Erastus (son of Thaddeus) married into the Hulet-Whiting-Cox-Morley clan by taking Martha Jane Whiting, another daughter of Charles and Martha Mana Hurlbut Whiting, as his wife.

The Zina and Triphena Simms Redfields were a family from Connecticut that had moved on to New Hampshire and then Vermont before converting to Mormonism and relocating to Ohio. Their son, William, married Mary Ann Scott, and played active roles in the Kirtland Church. William Redfield was party to but not directly involved in the subsequent conflict between the later Cutlerites and the Iowa High Council. William's sister, Hannah Franklin Redfield, married Chauncey Turner and continued to Utah. Another sister, Rebecca Ann Redfield married Cutlerite Sylvester Whiting, the brother of Chancey. The rest of the Redfield siblings affiliated with the Cutlerites before joining the RLDS in Iowa; Caroline Redfield married Squire Eggleston and Barbara Redfield married former Cutlerite Dexter Stillman.

Nauvoo Mormons Joseph and Armilla Fletcher and some of their children joined the Cutlerites. Their son, Calvin Gilmore Fletcher had married Clarissa Crissy Cutler Kimball before she died on the Indian mission. He remarried Mary Armilla Miller, the daughter of Nauvoo Mormons Edward and Clarissa Miller. The Fletchers and Millers probably joined the RLDS in Iowa. A Fletcher daughter, Christinia, married Benjamin McIntyre. Another son, Joseph Edmund Fletcher, married Sarah Louisa Muir, the daughter of James and Hannah Woodward Bass Muir. They remained Cutlerite and later moved to Minnesota where their descendants intermarried with the Whitings and Murdocks. Apparently James Muir's first wife, Julia Durfee, divorced him. She was the widow of Blakley Anderson, a brother of Buckley Anderson (of the Cutler-Sherman-Anderson family) and later married William Law, thereby becoming prominent in the RLDS community at Lamoni, Iowa.

Percy Amanda Pettibone Goddard, the widow of Daniel Goddard who died in 1841 in Illinois, was affiliated with the Cutlerites in Iowa. Her daughter, Mary Ada-

58. For example, Mary Richard Badham's brother, Newton married Julia Hougas; her brother, John married Harriet Beebe, daughter of Calvin; her sister Elizabeth married John McClenahan; and her sister Lucy Ann married Robert McClenahan.

59. Jorgensen, "The Scattered Saints of Southwestern Iowa," 80–97.

line Goddard, became a plural wife of Lorenzo Snow at Nauvoo in 1845. She was Lorenzo's cousin, her mother (Percy Amanda Pettibone) being a sister of Rosetta Lemara Pettibone, the mother of Lorenzo and Eliza Snow. Emily Haws, a former plural wife of Brigham Young, also was affiliated at least briefly with the Cutlerites in Iowa.

Daniel and Caroline Pope Murdock probably were converted to Mormonism by his first cousin, John Murdock, a prominent early Latter Day Saint missionary (father of Joseph and Emma Smith's adopted daughter, Julia), around 1833.[60] Originally from Connecticut, the Murdock family had relocated to Vermont and New York, and the Daniel Murdocks had continued west to Indiana by the time of their conversions. They joined the Mormon gathering in Missouri, and Daniel died later at Nauvoo in 1842. Caroline remarried Joseph Dobson as a plural wife in 1844 and then died during Cutler's Indian mission along with two of her children, Emer Murdock and Sarah Emily Dobson.

Caroline Murdock's son Hiram was married to Rachel Rozilla Kelsey by Brigham Young at Winter Quarters in 1848.[61] Rachel's sister Sylvia married Hiram's brother Lyman. Hiram and Lyman Murdock, who were associated closely with Alpheus Cutler as young policemen at Winter Quarters, participated in the Cutlerite Indian mission. Hiram and Rachel lost two of their three infant children to the hardships during the mission. Both Murdock brothers became leading members of the Cutlerite Church in Minnesota, along with their sister, Eliza Murdock Oakes, and other relatives. Their Cutlerite children later intermarried with the Whitings and Fletchers.

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60. See John Murdock, 1792–1871, Journal (1792–1864), typescript, Harold B. Lee Library. An Abridged Record of the Life of John Murdock, taken from his journal by himself. Containing an account of his genealogy and that of his children, as also his travels, experiences, ordinations, callings, preaching, blessings, endowments and etc.] pp. 20–211, accessed May 7, 2007, www.boap.org/LDS/Early-Saints/JMurdock.html.

61. Rachel's mother, Rachel Allen Kelsey, was born in New York to Daniel Allen and Nancy Agnes Stewart, a family originally from Massachusetts and Connecticut. She was married to Albert Putnam in 1818 (resulting in no known children) and then Stephen Kelsey in 1828 in Ohio. Stephen was born in New Hampshire to Giles and Elizabeth Burell Kelsey, a family from Connecticut. Stephen Kelsey married Charlotte Nichols in 1804, and this couple had eight children before Charlotte died in 1824. Stephen and Rachel Allen Kelsey had seven children: Rachel Rozilla, Stephen Robert, Sylvia E., Louisa (Vivian), Vina (Lavina), Diadamia (Zina), and Melissa. Stephen returned to Ohio, along with some of the children (Louisa and perhaps Vina) around 1845–47, where he married Rachel Bird. Rachel Allen Kelsey died at Winter Quarters in 1847. Her daughter, Melissa, had died at Cutler's Park the previous year. Her son, Stephen Robert, drove a wagon to Salt Lake City for Brigham Young where he married Lydia Snyder in 1851. At least one of his stepbrothers, Easton, who took plural wives at Nauvoo, also continued west. See Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 186, 191, 208, 250–58, 264–66, 274–76, 286; and Tucker and Tucker, "The Story of Rachel." Diadamia Kelsey, the sister of Rachel Kelsey Murdock, later married into the family of Peggy Campbell Patten (the widow of Charles Wetherby Patten, a nephew of the deceased apostle David Wyman Patten), who were affiliated with the Cutlerites in Iowa. Diadamia probably married one of Peggy's sons, William or Charles, but the specific details of this relationship are unknown.

Almost all of these other families connected to the Cutlerites resembled other early Mormons in important ways. They predominately were New Englanders who joined the movement in Ohio, Missouri, or Illinois and became at least active rank-and-file members of Mormon communities. Some of them had married into the Cutler-Sherman-Anderson family or the Whiting family, and some were later linked to these principal Cutlerite families. Those who married into the major Cutlerite families, especially the Fletchers and Murdocks, mostly would remain Cutlerites and continue to Minnesota following Alpheus's death in 1864. The rest, however, like a majority of those connected to the Iowa Cutlerites, would convert to the Reorganization between 1859 and 1865.

Conclusion

The findings reported here complement and reinforce the few previous studies of what is known about the ancestry and backgrounds of the early Latter Day Saints. They further document, verify, and expand the scholarly proposition that the early Latter Day Saints were bound together by marriage, family, and kinship. These data also are exceptionally revealing of the eventual Cutlerites' kinship connections within early Mormonism. The possibility that the Cutlerites were marginal Latter Day Saints, as hypothesized by the sociology of schism, can be rejected unequivocally. By the time of the 1853 Cutlerite schism these families were not just like other Mormons, they were fully integrated with the early Latter Day Saints and connected to the pinnacle of the Mormon hierarchy. They were a part of and located near the center of the elaborate kinship networks underlying the social organization of early Mormonism. There were no differences of lesser or greater significance in cultural backgrounds, status, power, or other sources of social cleavage between the founding Cutlerites and those who continued on to Utah that would account for their separation.

The consequences for family and kinship of Mormonism's post-1844 splintering have been lost for the most part in the mists of time as well as subsequent religious arguments and sparring over succession, the one true church, and apostasy. This examination of early Latter Day Saint family and kinship connections serves to reveal and underscore these mostly forgotten repercussions. In spite of strong religious differences some of these people maintained direct contact with one another when kinfolk would exchange letters (or more recently phone calls and e-mails), when missionaries would stop to visit relatives in the West or Midwest, and as more distant relatives rediscovered one another with each passing generation. The continuation and renewal of family relationships reinforces the importance of these kinship connections, past and present. Even more significantly, they provide a powerful reminder of the human side of history and sociology.

Surviving exchanges among the Hulet-Whiting-Cox-Morley clan from the turn of the century, for instance, contain communications about deaths, births, and other news, momentous and mundane. Cutlerite Sylvester Whiting, writing to his LDS sister, (Sally) Emeline Whiting Cox, in 1886, for example, asks: "Is Uncle Sylvester Hulet still living? … How is Edwin's [Whiting—his brother] health?" He concludes with "Give my love to all our family and friends."[62] In reply, Emeline reports that Uncle Sylvester is dead. Sylvester Whiting responds to Emeline with: "I am truly sorry that our family is scattered so far apart both in body and in mind for it would afford us some consolation in our old age to be near each other to comfort one another in hours of trouble, sickness and distress."[63]

In another letter to Emeline, a grief stricken Chancey Whiting, the Cutlerite leader, reports the death of his wife, Editha (Morley), noting that: "She had often expressed a wish to see her sisters, and especially her aged sister, Philena [Morley Cox]."[64] He informs Emeline that Cutlerite Lewis Denna (a Native American convert and member of the Nauvoo Council of Fifty) has been dead for two or three years, but his wife Mary is living with (Francis) Lewis and Ann Janette Burdick Whiting and able to attend Sunday meetings most of the time. Religious differences nevertheless are evident when Chancey further reports that, "Jack[son] Burdick [Ann Janette Whiting's brother and a former Cutlerite] is dead, he went with the simple headed Josephites [RLDS], who rushed down to Jackson County for the redemption of Zion and finely died there."

Many years later Jennie Hill, Edwin Whiting's granddaughter in Utah, writes Cutlerite Sarah Jane (Jennie) Whiting (Edwin's niece) in Minnesota that, "I wish you could have come to Utah to see us that we might have become better acquainted."[65] In another exchange of letters this same year from the Cox-Morley side of the family in Utah and Iowa, one of the writers remarks that: "I appreciate your correspondence more than I know how to tell you. And tonight I received two news papers you sent containing articles about our dear cousin." This letter from Utah continues, "If we only exchange letters once a year it will keep us acquainted. We are cousins even if we are 3 to 5 times removed. I think your letter is such a treasure."[66] In more recent years the exchange of letters has been supplemented by telephone conversations and e-mails. Occasional face-to-face meetings also have become commonplace among the descendants of the Hulet-Whiting-Cox-Morley clan.

62. Christensen, Before *and After Mt. Pisgah*, 433–34.

63. Ibid., 435.

64. Ibid., 454.

65. Ibid.,. 513.

66. Ibid., 516.

The organizational fragmentation of early Mormonism resulted in the socially and emotionally disturbing separation of families, kinfolk, and friends. For all of the founding Cutlerites as well as most of about four hundred other Nauvoo Mormons who affiliated with them over the next few years, it meant becoming separated and estranged from immediate family—mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, and even spouses—as well as grandparents, aunts, uncles, in-laws and close friends who had continued west. Chancey Whiting succinctly summarizes these feelings in writing his sister, Emeline Cox, that:

> I call to mind the scenes of our childhood, and the once united loving and happy family circle, with dear parents, Father and Mother, to cheer, comfort and counsel, and now to behold the wide separation with no opportunity of conversing face to face, I could weep like a child would it do any good. I can well remember many of the joyful seasons of our youthful days; But at that early period we never even dreamed of a painful separation or that miles would ever intervene to deprive us of the sweet association which tend to brighten the pathway of life, and spread its cheerful sunshine along our advancing steps to riper years.[67]

Many of them had shared the early years of hardship and trials as Latter Day Saints and some had grown to adulthood within Mormon communities. Their relationships had exceedingly deep and dense roots in the secure intimacy of Latter Day Saint kinship and friendship networks reaching back to the early 1830s and the first major influx of Mormon converts at Kirtland, Ohio.

With this reminder, however, it is not difficult to appreciate the powerful human aspects of this history and to empathize with the heartache and sorrow provoked by these divisions. Cutlerite historians later recorded a distant sense of the anguish with the comment that, "In this manner families became divided and grieving relatives bade their loved ones farewell."[68] Utah descendants Marie Jensen Whiting and Marcus L. Smith, writing in 1999, likewise expressed the sentiments of many generations of assorted varieties of Latter Day Saint kinfolk in the Midwest and the West, in observing that: "It is difficult to imagine the heartache that this family separation must have caused."[69] This then, ultimately, is why marriage, family, and kinship among the early Latter Day Saints matters, historically and sociologically.

67. Marie Jensen Whiting and Marcus L. Smith, eds., *Edwin Whiting and His Family* (Springville, UT: privately printed, 1999), 44–45.

68. Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, 45.

69. Whiting and Smith, *Edwin Whiting and His Family*, 44–45.

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The Melodious Sounds of "Baneemy's Organ"

Cheryl L. Bruno

Nineteenth-century Mormonism resonated powerfully amongst those who had deep spiritual longings. The new religion provided unique opportunities for individuals with wit and will, those searching for a vehicle into which they might pour their creative energies. A disaffected son of a Quaker family, Charles B. Thompson was just such a spiritually restless character. He played a brief role at the zenith of Mormonism's greatest creative period under founder Joseph Smith, and continued his influence in the broader context of the beginnings of the Restoration movement. Thompson's newspaper, *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ*, running from 1849 to 1854, kept alive an enigmatic character Joseph Smith had named "Baneemy." In the style of the ancient writers of pseudepigrapha, Thompson bolstered his theological views by placing them in the mouth of this prophetic figure. Thompson's creativity further expressed itself in the poems and hymns he composed and included in his publications. These conveyed his unique mystical ability and reflected doctrinal innovations found in his short-lived group, the Congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion.

Charles Thompson was born a Quaker in 1814, was baptized into the Methodist Episcopal Church at age eighteen, but within two years became dissatisfied with its doctrine. Gripped by the desire to find something more enduring and true, he closed up his tailor shop and went traveling about. His searching took him to Kirtland, Ohio, where he was promptly baptized into the faith that would be his religious home for the next decade. The ordinance of confirmation was performed on February 10, 1835, by Mormon founder Joseph Smith. In the same year Thompson was ordained to preach by Smith and Sidney Rigdon. He married in 1836 at the age of twenty-two and organized a congregation at Sandusky, Ohio, the following year. In 1838 Thompson and his young family found themselves in the midst of the persecutions in Missouri and were forced to leave the state under Governor Boggs's extermination order. Being faithful and vigorous, he was assigned to New York, where he

achieved considerable success and organized the church's Genesee conference. But while on this mission, his wife died of the exposure she had suffered when expelled from Missouri, leaving behind a five-month-old daughter.[1]

In 1840 Thompson wrote *Evidences in Proof of the Book of Mormon*, one of the first apologetic treatments of LDS scripture. This book served as his personal defense of the text, and he periodically republished it for many years thereafter. Appendix 2 of this book was an intricate acrostic, which showed the poetic side of his nature.[2] Each line of the poem started with a letter which spelled out "CHARLES-THOMPSON-AN-ELDER-OF-THE-CHURCH-OF-JESUS-CHRIST-OF-LATTER-DAY-SAINTS" (see figure 9.1). It was written in perfect iambic meter, with every other line rhyming. The phrases were footnoted to scriptural references from the Bible. The poem introduced a theme that would be repeated throughout his Mormon ministry—a call for friends and family to depart from the wickedness of the world and become a member of the Mormon church.

In 1844 Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were killed at Carthage, Hancock County, Illinois. Thompson remained in Nauvoo after the murder, at first supporting the Twelve. He was ordained a high priest and joined the Masonic lodge there,[3] an act which would have profound influence on his later religious workings. He received his endowment on Christmas Eve, 1845.[4] Thompson remarried, and was "sealed" to this second wife as well as to his tragically deceased first wife.[5] Nevertheless, he was emphatically opposed to polygamy and broke with Brigham Young, who espoused that principle.

In 1846 Thompson became a follower of James J. Strang in Voree, Wisconsin. In a poetic testimony to Strang, he rewrote the words to "Now We'll Sing with One Accord," and they appeared in the August issue of the first volume of the *Voree Herald* (see figure 9.2). Charles Thompson must have held great esteem for the Mormon poet W. W. Phelps,[6] original author of the verses, for he reworked many of Phelps's poems and songs for the use of his own congregation. Notice the several alterations

1. C. R. Marks, "Monona County, Iowa, Mormons," *Proceedings of the Academy of Science and Letters of Sioux City* 1 (1903–04): 89–90; accessed December 4, 2013, http://books.google.com/books?id=36E1AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA97&lpg=PA97&dq=%22.

2. Charles B. Thompson, *Evidences in Proof of the Book of Mormon, Being a Divinely Inspired Record* (Batavia, NY: D. D. Waite, 1841), 238–40.

3. Mervin B. Hogan, *The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge U.D.* (Des Moines, Iowa: Research Lodge No. 2, n.d.), 68. Charles B. Thompson was raised a Master Mason in Nauvoo Lodge on November 8, 1844.

4. Lisle G. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: A Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances, 1841–1846* (Salt Lake City: The Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2006), 311.

5. Ibid.

6. W. W. Phelps was the LDS Church's first editor and hymnist and was perhaps the best-educated member of president Joseph Smith's nearest associates during the 1830s. He significantly affected the articulation of LDS doctrine from 1832–36.

FIGURE 9.1: An acrostic poem by Charles B. Thompson

C ome father, brothers, sisters all
H ere take the parting hand;[1]
A nd while I do the Gospel preach,
R epent is God's command,[2]
L eave all your sins and wickedness,
E ven as Christ commands;[3]
S eek God, repent and be baptized,

T o fulfil his demand.[4]
H e will then your sins all remit,
O n you the spirit pour;[5]
M ore light than you before could get.
P rophetic gifts and power.[6]
S ealed by the spirit then in Christ,
O r by the Holy Ghost;[7]
N or will you then deny the Lord,
A nd be forever lost.[8]
N ow listen all my relatives,

E ven give heed to me;[9]
L o! Christ Jesus he hath spoken,
D ear friends, I say to me—[10]
E ven, "go and preach the Gospel,
R epentance in my name."[11] (etc.)

1. Matt. 19:29; 2. Acts 17:30; 3. Isa. 55:7; 4. John 15:26; 6. 1 Cor. 12; 7. Eph. 1:13; 8. 2 Pet. 1:10; 9. Gen. 37:5–9; 10. Isa. 66:19, Jer. 16:16; 11. Matt. 24:14, Rev. 14:6–7.

that were made in this hymn, changing the references to Joseph Smith to point to a new "prophet," J. J. Strang. These words showed how James mirrored his predecessor Joseph: they both had an angel appear to them, bestowing priesthood powers; they both translated metal plates; and the law which came through Joseph was "rigidly" enforced by Strang.

Despite Thompson's initial effusive praise, he eventually broke with Strang as well. He left the group months before Strang manifested any public interest in polygamy,[7] so it is likely that he had not yet discovered that his new leader was to take up the practice that he so despised. In his newspaper Thompson criticized Strang for his claim to ordination by an angel, his inability to translate, and for moving his headquarters to Beaver Island.[8] These differences could have contributed to the estrangement.

7. David Rich Lewis, "'For life, the resurrection, and the life everlasting': James J. Strang and Strangite Mormon Polygamy, 1849–1856," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 66, no. 4 (Summer 1983): 278. Strang began to show interest in polygamy sometime after the church conference at Voree in April 1848.

8. Charles B. Thompson to the *Gospel Herald*, 29 April 1848, in *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 2, no. 3 (March 1852): 22–24.

In 1852, Thompson would try his hand at revising W. W. Phelps's hymn once more, this time to promote the group he had founded: Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion. Instead of singing to "a prophet of the Lord," Thompson addressed the song to "the Priesthood of the Lord." And instead of "the Book of Mormon," it was instead "the Nephite record" that Joseph wrote. Thompson added eight new verses, naming "Baneemy" as the one who would lead in Joseph's absence. This kingdom would be reared by the "Presbyters of God" in the land of America. In a jibe at Strang and other would-be successors to Joseph Smith, the hymn described oracles which would keep the righteous from being deceived by the lies of "false prophets" and "false apostles."

A couple of small pronouns were changed in the last two verses. These disclose the skill and charismatic nature of Thompson as a leader and as a poet. As with some of the Book of Mormon changes to Isaiah, the eye can easily skip over these without recognizing their import. In Phelps's version and in Thompson's first revision, the stanzas refer to the "prophet of the Lord" mentioned in the first verse. But in Thompson's final version, changing the pronouns "he" and "his" to "we" and "our" brings the singer of the hymn into communion with prophets and leaders. As part of the righteous who are being gathered, "we" will rest in blessedness, and "we" will triumph over our foes. And as "we" gather home, precious indeed will be "our" years to come.

After breaking with Strang, Charles moved to St. Louis, Missouri, with his wife, Catherine, and children. There, he formed the Congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion. In 1848 he issued his first "Proclamation," which he published in a newspaper he founded. This publication was given the grand title of *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ*.

Thompson's first proclamation followed Joseph Smith's traditional message of the Book of Mormon concerning the Hebraic origins of Native Americans and the role of Joseph's "restored church" in bringing closure. But Thompson went on to state that because the Nauvoo Temple was not completed before the Smiths' murders, the "fullness of the Gospel" was therefore taken from the earth. The only alternative remaining was to support a law that had been given instead to Charles Thompson, who would direct the building of a temple and establish schools for the remaining Mormons.[9]

Thompson's rewrite of W. W. Phelps's "Now Let us Rejoice" (see figure 9.3) subtly indicated the changes he foresaw for his followers and the rest of the nations. In the first proclamation, the "day of salvation" was portrayed as being imminent. Verse 3 of Thompson's revision changed the coming "scourges and harvest" to "scourges and judgments."

Thompson's "Now Let us Rejoice" included two significant replacements. Where Phelps's hymn promised "we'll rise with the just when the Savior doth come," Thomp-

9. Charles B. Thompson, "A Proclamation," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 1, no. 1 (January 1849): 1.

FIGURE 9.2: Charles B. Thompson's changes to the hymn "Now We'll Sing with One Accord"

*Now We'll Sing with One Accord**	*The Prophet J. J. Strang†*	*Song‡*
1. Now we'll sing with one accord, For a prophet of the Lord, Bringing forth his precious word, Cheers the saints as anciently.	1. Now we'll sing with one accord, For a Prophet of the Lord; Bringing forth his precious word, Cheers the Saints as ***formerly***.	1. Now we'll sing with one accord, For ***the Priesthood*** of the Lord, Bringing forth his precious word Cheers the Saints, as anciently.
2. When the world in darkness lay, Lo, he sought the better way, And he heard the Saviour say, "Go, and prune my vineyard, son!"	2. When ***the Church in*** darkness ***was,*** Lo, he sought ***their bands to loose;*** And he ***called them, then to choose*** ***The way of Truth and Righteousness.***	2. When the world in darkness lay, ***Joseph*** sought the better way, And he heard the Savior say, Go and prune my vineyard son.
3. And an angel surely, then, For a blessing unto men, Brought the priesthood back again, In its ancient purity.	3. F***or the Prophet Joseph's dead,*** ***And the Lord through him hath said,*** ***James I've planted in his stead,*** ***To lead the Church in righteousness.***	3. And a ***Holy*** Angel then, For a blessing unto men, Brought the Priesthood unto him, In its ancient purity.
4. Even Joseph he inspires; Yea, his heart he truly fires, With the light that he desires, For the work of righteousness.	4. ***And a holy Angel then,*** ***Brought the interpreters to him;*** ***That he might translate for them,*** ***Ancient Records sacredly.***	4. Joseph ***Smith*** he ***then inspired;*** Yea, his heart he truly ***fired*** With the light that he ***desired,*** For the work of righteousness.
cont. on page 156	*cont. on page 156*	*cont. on page 156*

*William W. Phelps, "Now We'll Sing with One Accord," Hymn 173. P. M., tune: "Azalia," in *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Europe* (Manchester, Eng.: W. R. Thomas, 1840), 189–90; accessed December 4, 2013, https://archive.org/details/collectionofsacr00youn#page/188/mode/2up.
†Charles Thompson, "The Prophet J. J. Strang," *Voree Herald* 1, no. 8 (August 1846): [4].
‡ Charles Thompson, "Song, For Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 2, no. 5 (May 1852): 40.

Now We'll Sing with One Accord	*The Prophet J. J. Strang*	*Song*
5. And the book of Mormon, true, With its covenant ever new, For the Gentile and the Jew, He translated sacredly.	5. ***Even James he now inspires,*** ***Yea, his heart he truly fires;*** ***With the light that he desires,*** ***For the work of Righteousness.***	5. And the ***Nephite record*** true, With its covenant ever new, For the Gentile and the Jew He translated sacredly.
6. The commandments to the church, Which the saints will always search, (Where the joys of heaven perch,) Came through him from Jesus Christ.	6. ***In Voree the plates were found,*** ***Showing who were there cut down;*** ***Unto James the same were shown,*** ***And he translated sacredly.***	6. The commandments to the church, Which the saints will always search, Where the truths of heaven perch, Come through him from Jesus Christ.
	7. ***And the law which Joseph gave,*** ***To the Church, the Saints to save;*** ***Teaching us how we should live,*** ***He enforces rigidly.***	7. Yes, he laid the corner stone Of the kingdom of the Son, And the crown he having won, Gave his life a sacrifice.
		8. ***Now the prophet Joseph's dead,*** ***But the Lord through him hath said,*** ***A Baneemy's in his stead*** ***To do the work of righteousness.***
		9. T***hrough the Priesthood keys of light,*** ***Joseph had prophetic sight;*** ***Hyrum, too, received the right*** ***T'act in concert sacredly.***
cont. on page 158	*cont. on page 158*	*cont. on page 157*

Now We'll Sing with One Accord	*The Prophet J. J. Strang*	*Song*
		10. ***Now Baneemy has the same, Always with us to remain,*** ***Until Zion we regain,*** ***By our works of righteousness.*** 11. ***Yea, the oracles we hold,*** ***Make the righteous very bold,*** ***Although some their birth-right sold,*** ***Acting very wickedly.*** 12. ***But the kingdom will be rear'd,*** ***As the prophets have declared,*** ***By the Presbyters of God,*** ***In the land America.*** 13. ***These oracles we've received,*** ***That we be no more deceived,*** ***And from error be relieved,*** ***If we hold them sacredly.*** 14. ***Should false prophets now arise,*** ***False apostles teach their lies,*** ***They can't take us by surprise,*** ***For we know their wickedness.*** *cont. on page 158*

Now We'll Sing with One Accord	*The Prophet J. J. Strang*	*Song*
7. Precious are his years to come, While the righteous gather home, For the great Millennium, Where he'll rest in blessedness.	8. Precious are his years to come, While the righteous gather home, For the great Millennium, Where he'll rest in blessedness.	15. Precious are our years to come, While the righteous gather home, For the great millennium, When ***we'll*** rest in blessedness.
8. Prudent in this world of woes, He will triumph o'er his foes, While the realm of Zion grows Purer for eternity.	9. Prudent in this world of woes, He will triumph o'er his foes, While the realm of Zion grows Purer for eternity.	16. Prudent in this world of woes, ***We*** will triumph o'er ***our*** foes, While the realm of Zion grows Purer for eternity.

* * *

FIGURE 9.3: Charles B. Thompson's changes to the hymn "Now Let us Rejoice in the Day of Salvation"

*Now Let us Rejoice in the Day of Salvation**	*Hymn (For Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion)†*
1. Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation, No longer as strangers on earth need we roam; Good tidings are sounding to us and each nation, And shortly the hour of redemption will come: *cont. on page 159*	1. Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation, No longer as strangers on earth need we roam; Good tidings are sounding to us and each nation, And shortly the hour of redemption will come: *cont. on page 159*

*William W. Phelps, "Now Let us Rejoice in the Day of Salvation," Hymn 18. P. M., in Emma Smith, ed., *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of The Latter Day Saints*, 1st ed. (Kirtland, OH: F. G. Williams & Co., 1835), 24–25, accessed December 4, 2013, http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/collection-of-sacred-hymns-1835?p=26. The hymn tune was "Lion of Judah," accessed October 21, 2013, http://www.hymnary.org/tune/the_lion_of_judah.
†Charles B. Thompson, "Hymn," in *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3, no. 9 (October 1853): 80. The hymn tune was "The Old Oaken Bucket." Latter-day Saints now sing, "Do What is Right" to this tune.

Now Let us Rejoice in the Day of Salvation	*Hymn (For Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion)*
3. In faith we'll rely on the arm of Jehovah, To guide through these last days of trouble and gloom; And after the scourges and harvest are over, We'll rise with the just, when the Savior doth come: Chorus: When all that was promis'd the saints will be given, And none will molest them from morn until even, And earth will appear as the garden of Eden, And Jesus will say to all Israel: Come home!	3. In faith we'll rely on the arm of "Jehovah," To guide through these last days of trouble and gloom; And after the scourges and ***judgments*** are over, We'll ***reign*** with the just, when the ***"Shiloh" shall*** come: Chorus: ***We'll hail to the dawning of Zion's glad morning,*** ***So long by the Prophets of Israel foretold;*** ***And hush'd are the accents of sorrow and mourning,*** ***"Baneemy" is saying—***"All Israel: Come home."

* * *

Figure 9.4: Charles B. Thompson's changes to the hymn "A Voice From the Prophet: Come to Me"

*A Voice From the Prophet: Come to Me**	*A Voice From Baneemy, Hymn 4. P. M.†*
1. Come to me, will ye come to the saints that have died— To the next better world, where the righteous reside; Where the angels and spirits in harmony be. In the joys of a vast Paradise? Come to me. *cont. on page 160*	1. Come to me, will you come, to ***your Father of old,*** To the ***keys of the Priesthood, which the Patriarch's hold.*** Where the angels and ***righteous*** in harmony be In the joys of a vast Paradise? Come to me. *cont. on page 160*

* W. W. Phelps, "A voice from the prophet. 'Come to me,'" *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 1 (January 15, 1845): 783, tune: "Indian Hunter." This hymn appeared in the LDS hymnal from 1847 to 1948. The first four stanzas are a slight reworking—to reflect Joseph Smith's passing—of Phelps's earlier "Vade Mecum (translated) Go With Me," which was printed along with a poetic response, modeled on "The Vision," and purportedly written by Joseph Smith. See *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 6 (February 1, 1843).
†Charles B. Thompson, "A Voice from Baneemy," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 4, no. 10 (October 1854): 160.

*A Voice From the Prophet: Come to Me**	*A Voice From Baneemy, Hymn 4. P. M.†*
5. Come to me, here are Adam and Eve at the head Of a multitude quicken'd and rais'd from the dead: Here's the knowledge that was, or that is, or will be— In the gen'ral assembly of worlds: Come to me.	5. Come to me, here is Adam—***Shiloh*** at the head Of a multitude, quickened and raised from the dead; Here's the knowledge that was, or that is, or will be, In the General Assembly of worlds: Come to me.
6. Come to me; here's the myst'ry that man hath not seen; Here's our Father in heaven, and Mother, the Queen, Here are worlds that have been, and the worlds yet to be, Here's eternity,—endless; amen: Come to me.	6. Come to me, here's the mystery that man hath not known, Here's your Father the Son and the Spirit in one; Here are worlds that have been and the wor[l]ds yet to be, Here's eternity,—endless; amen: Come to me.
7. Come to me all ye faithful and blest of Nauvoo: Come ye Twelve, and ye High Priests, and Seventies, too; Come ye Elders, and all of the great company;— When you've finish'd your work on the earth: Come to me.	7. Come to me all ye faithful and ***Chosen of God,*** Come ye ***Patriarchs Prophets and Priests of the Lord,*** Come ye ***Princes*** and all of the great company;— When you've finished your work ***in the Schools:*** Come to me.
8. Come to me; here's the future, the present and past: Here is Alpha, Omega, the first and the last; Here's the fountain, the "river of life," and the Tree: Here's your Prophet & Seer, Joseph Smith: Come to me.	8. Come to me, here's the future the present and past, Here is Alpha, Omega, the first and the last, Here's the fountain the "river of life" and the Tree, Here's your ***Patriarch***-Seer—***BANEEMY:*** Come to me.

son introduced the "Shiloh," with whom the just would reign. And instead of Jesus in the last line, Thompson had Baneemy calling all Israel home.

The 1848 Proclamation had been signed by the inscrutable "Baneemy," and attested by Thompson, his agent. It is difficult for modern-day researchers to ascertain exactly who Baneemy was in the eyes of Thompson and his followers. Complete information about this character "is withheld from the world for a wise purpose in Jehovah, and will only be revealed to those who are found worthy to receive the key-words of the Holy Priesthood."[10] Nevertheless, some details about Baneemy are available in hymns and in newspaper articles.

Baneemy was a code name found in the Doctrine and Covenants. Code names were used to conceal the identity of their possessors when church members felt persecuted in the 1800s.[11] In Smith's revelation on June 22, 1834, "Baneemy" was appointed to "gather up the strength of my house," to purchase "lands in Jackson County," and to sanctify "the armies of Israel" in pursuit of "the kingdom of Zion." By the time the 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants was published, the word Baneemy had been interpreted to mean "mine elders."[12] But even though the interpretation was included in officially published scriptures, people still speculated about who the name referred to. In 1852, Thompson wrote:

> Among those who have attempted to answer this question are the following: Professor Orson Pratt … says that Baneemy is Sidney Rigdon;… Elder Orson Hyde … says that Hyrum Smith was Baneemy; … Almon W. Babbit Esq … says that Baneemy is Thomas B. Marsh. Ebenezer Robinson, Esq … says that Baneemy is nobody by Charles B. Thompson himself. And … one of Strang's Apostles … says that Baneemy is Lymon Wight.… the enquirer must necessarily doubt them all … Baneemy belongs to a superior order of Prophets; and is come as the forerunner of a more pure and glorious Dispensation.[13]

Here Thompson seems to deny that he himself is Baneemy. He does the same in the following extract:

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10. Charles B. Thompson, "Who is Baneemy?" *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 2, no. 9 (September 1852): 69.

11. Orson Pratt, "The Manifestations of God's Power, in Behalf of His People in Modern Times, Are Different From Those of Former Ages—Consecration—Order of Enoch—Tithing—Stewardships—Redemption of Zion," in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-Day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–86), 16:156. "When the Lord was about to have the Book of Covenants given to the world it was thought wisdom, in consequence of the persecutions of our enemies in Kirtland and some of the regions around, that some of the names should be changed … Sidney Rigdon was called Baneemy."

12. D&C 102:8, 1844 edition, accessed December 4, 2013, http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/doctrine-and-covenants-1844?dm=image-and-text&zm=zoom-inner&tm=expanded&p=395&s=undefined&sm=none. This is now section 105:8.

13. Charles B. Thompson, "Who is Baneemy?," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3, no. 2 (February 1853): 14–15.

> Now, where is Baneemy by this rule [the testimony of witnesses]? First, the Lord and Jesus Christ through Joseph Smith bear record of Baneemy, and of the work he should do, (see Doc. And Cov. 102 Sec. 8 par.) Secondly, "Baneemy bears record of himself," and thirdly, "Charles B. Thompson bears witness of him also." Here, without dispute, are three credible witnesses.[14]

A letter sent to Zachary Taylor, the president of the United States, on August 4, 1849, was signed "C.B. Thompson, Agent Of Baneemy, and the Fraternity of the Sons of Zion."[15] Thompson knew the identity of Baneemy was intriguing and provocative, but remained coy about revealing that information publicly.

The majority of Thompson's hymns and poems contained at least a passing reference to Baneemy, who, Thompson claimed, was Christ's messenger, ordained in 1834 with the keys of the mysteries of the kingdom and the gifts of translation, revelation, and knowledge. When Joseph Smith died ten years later, Thompson continued, he was not to have a successor as president of the church, but Baneemy would be set up as an ensign to the nations, to recover, redeem, and restore Israel.[16]

"A Voice from the Prophet: Come to Me," composed by W. W. Phelps for the dedication of the Seventies' Hall, was cast in the form of a plea from the departed Joseph Smith to those still struggling with life's problems.[17] Charles Thompson rewrote it with the title, "A Voice from Baneemy" (see figure 9.4). The hymn speaks of the realms of the dead, and when the last phrase is replaced with Baneemy, intimates that he is not a mortal living on the earth.

Thompson mentioned Baneemy's proclamation in another adaptation of a W. W. Phelps song, this one composed for the laying of the capstone of the Nauvoo Temple on May 24, 1845. The original recounted the difficulties and trials of the Mormons from the persecutions in Missouri to the martyrdom in Illinois (see figure 9.5). Instead of John C. Bennett, William Law, and Sidney Rigdon, Thompson cast the traitors as Brigham Young and James Strang (seen as seducers) and "Judas Dan," a reference to the Mormon Danites. While Phelps's was a song of triumph, written to celebrate the finishing of the temple, Thompson's was a hymn of hope, with a temple still in the future.

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14. Charles B. Thompson, "Questions Answered and Refuted," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3, no. 1 (January 1853): 3.

15. Charles B. Thompson to Zachary Taylor, 4 August 1849, in *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 1, no. 2 (April 1850): 3.

16. Charles B. Thompson, "The Appointment of Baneemy," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3, no. 5 (May 1853): 37. Baneemy was not fully endowed with the gift until the 27th day of December 1847, the day on which the church was fully disorganized and ceased to exist as a church organized by Joseph Smith.

17. B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1932), 7:330–46. The conference and dedication services lasted five days, from December 26 to 30, 1844. Fifteen quorums of seventy had equal claims, and in order for each to participate in the dedication, two quorums met in the hall each day with their families.

FIGURE 9.5: Charles B. Thompson's changes to the hymn "The Cap Stone"

*The Cap Stone**	*Hymn 12. P. M.†*
1. Have you heard the revelation Of this latter dispensation, Which is unto every nation, O prepare to meet thy God!	1. Have you heard the ***Proclamation*** Of ***Baneemy's*** dispensation, Which is unto every nation, O, prepare ***for Shiloh—Lord?***
CHORUS: We are a band of brethren And we've reared the Lord a temple, And the capstone now is finish'd And we'll sound the news abroad.	CHORUS: We are a band of Brethren, And ***we'll rear*** the Lord a temple, And the capstone ***shall b***e finished, And we'll sound the news abroad.
2. Go and publish how Missouri, Like a whirlwind in its fury, And without a judge or jury, Drove the saints and split their blood. We are a band of Brethren, &c.	2. ***We will*** publish how Missouri, Like a whirlwind in its fury, And without a judge or jury, Drove the saints and spilt their blood. We are a band of Brethren, &c.
3. Illinois, where satan flatters, Shot the prophets too, as martyrs, And repeal'd our city charters, All because we worhip'd God We are a band of Brethren, &c.	3. Illinois, where satan flatters, Shot the Prophets, too, as martyrs, And repealed ***their*** city charters, ***To fulfill the word of*** God. We are a band of Brethren, &c.
4. Bennett, Law and many others, Have betray'd our honest brothers, To destroy our wives and mothers, As a Judas did the Lord. We are a band of Brethren, &c.	4. ***Brigham, Strang,*** and many others, ***Who belied*** our honest brothers, ***And seduced their*** wives and mothers, Are as Judas to the Lord. We are a band of Brethren, &c.
5. And their chief is Sidney Rigdon, Who's a traitor, base, intriguing, And will fight at Armageddon, When the fire comes down from God. We are a band of Brethren, &c.	5. And their ***chieftain Judas Dan,*** ***Is a very intriguing man,*** ***And he will meet his fate again,*** When the fire comes down from God. We are a band of Brethren, &c.
6. While the devil such men jostles, *cont. on page 164*	6. While the devil such men ***doth claim,*** *cont. on page 164*

*William W. Phelps, "The Cap Stone," *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 14 (August 1, 1845): 991.
†Charles B. Thompson, "Hymn 12. P.M.," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 4, no. 11 (November 1854): 176.

The Cap Stone	*Hymn 12. P. M.*
With his "keys of conquest morsels, We'll uphold the Twelve apostles, With authority from God. We are a band of Brethren, &c.	***We'll take on us Baneemy's name,*** ***And*** uphold ***our father Ephraim,*** With authority from God. We are a band of Brethren, &c.
7. And we'll give the world a sample, Of our faith and works most ample, When we've finished off the temple, As a dwelling for the Lord. We are a band of Brethren, &c.	7. And we'll give the world a sample Of our Faith and Works most ample, When we've finished off ***a*** temple, As a dwelling for the Lord. We are a band of Brethren, &c.
8. And we'll feed the saints that's needing, And improve our hearts by weeding, Till we make Nauvoo as Eden, Where the saints can meet the Lord. We are a band of Brethren, &c.	8. ***We will*** feed the saints that's ***needy,*** And improve our hearts by ***mercy,*** ***And we'll make the burden easy—*** ***Then we all*** can meet the Lord. We are a band of Brethren, &c.

Phelps's "band of Brethren" uphold the twelve during the struggle for leadership after Joseph Smith's death, finish the temple, and weed out the unfaithful. In Thompson's version, the brethren endorse "Father Ephraim," who holds the authority of God. Thompson taught that he himself had been "regenerated" as Ephraim of old, the biblical character associated with the gathering of Israel in the last days.[18] His followers were known to refer to Thompson as "Father Ephraim."[19]

Thompson's hymn proclaimed Baneemy to be the head of the dispensation. What is more, followers "take on … Baneemy's name," which seems to elevate him almost to a Christlike stature. However, Thompson stated elsewhere that Baneemy was a watchman, sounding a proclamation. He was a voice crying in the wilderness, preparing the way for Shiloh to come.[20] Thompson's definition of the word "Baneemy" made a clumsy but enthusiastic and creative use of several languages:

> "Ban" signifies a proclamation or edict; a public order or notice, mandatory or prohibitory. Second,…"ee" is the initials of "ecce" (Latin) "Behold." Third,… "my" is an affix to "Banee,"

18. Marks, "Monona County, Iowa, Mormons," 97. A later addition to an 1850 revelation book read, "And now behold I send unto you my servant Charles B. Thompson in whom is regenerated my dear son Ephraim my first born with the voice of Baneemy in the name and spirit of Elias."

19. In another hymn, Thompson describes himself as "Called to a sense of duty," and that "for the sake of SHILOH I freely give up all … now I am persuaded that nothing else will do, but EPHRAIM for my portion, and holy joys pursue." Charles B. Thompson, "Hymn 3," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 4, no. 9 (September 1854): 144.

20. Charles B. Thompson, "Who is Baneemy," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3, no. 2 (February 1853): 15.

> and is a personal pronoun in the possessive case, and stands in this affix for Jehovah, our father in Heaven; whom Baneemy personates as the Father of Zion, which his name signifies in the Adamic or pure language. But as it stands in English "Baneemy," signifies, the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness.[21]

"Hail to the Lord's Anointed" was a Protestant hymn that was included in the 1841 LDS hymnal. Thompson replaced "the Lord's anointed" with "the stone and shepherd," referring to the Messiah (see figure 9.6). This was important to him, for he believed that Joseph Smith had wrongly taken upon himself that title, usurping the right to rule over the house of Israel. Quoting a verse from Doctrine and Covenants 12, "ye shall have no king nor ruler, for I will be your king and watch over you," Thompson wrote:

> Now contrary to this plain declaration, in the spring of 1844, Joseph Smith actually put forth his hand to organize a Temporal kingdom. He secretly organized a Council of 50 men … by them he was acknowledged the Shepherd and Stone of Israel. And he suffered himself to be ordained, anointed, and coronated a king, who by his royal line was to reign upon the throne of David … For this act he was smitten by the shaft of death.[22]

The original hymn was written about Jesus. Thompson's rewrite speaks instead of the Shiloh at the Second Coming, and Baneemy's is the voice that heralds him. The word "Shiloh" comes from a verse in the Old Testament with clear Messianic connotations: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be."[23] At first glance, it might not seem important that Thompson used "Shiloh" to replace references to Jesus in many of the hymns he rewrote. This would be consistent with Christian doctrine. However, his view of the Shiloh was somewhat idiosyncratic.

In Thompson's theology, Christ's kingdom was spiritual, and Shiloh's kingdom was the kingdom of the earth. Shiloh was a physical incarnation of the divine, who would come and reign during the millennium. At the end of that time, Christ would reign on a celestialized earth. This idea reflects Thompson's mystical understanding. In an article titled "Who is Shiloh?" Thompson explained:

> Jesus Christ being glorified a celestial body at the right hand of the Father could not consistently leave his celestial throne, to come and reign personally here on earth, until the earth should be celestialized … but that Shiloh whose body would not be

21. At a later date, Thompson said that the word "Baneemy" was composed of two Hebrew words Bene and Emmi, signifying my mother's sons, or my brothers.

22. Charles B. Thompson, "The Mission of Baneemy," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 2, no. 1 (January 1852): 3.

23. Gen. 49:10.

FIGURE 9.6: Charles B. Thompson's changes to the hymn "Hail to the Lord's Anointed"

*Hail to the Lord's Anointed**	*Hymn (for Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion.)†*
1. Hail to the Lord's anointed, great David's greater Son! Hail in the time appointed, His reign on earth begun! He comes to break oppression, to set the captive free; To take away transgression and rule in equity.	1. Hail to the ***stone and shepherd,‡*** Of Israel, come to reign; He'll ***in the time appointed*** His reign on earth begin! He comes to break oppression, To set the captive free: To take away transgression, And rule in equity.
4. He shall come down like showers upon the fruitful earth; Love, joy, and hope, like flowers, spring in His path to birth. Before Him, on the mountains, shall peace, the herald, go, And righteousness, in fountains, from hill to valley flow.	3. His presence like the ***showers*** Upon the fruitful earth, ***Brings love and joy*** like flowers, That spring forth into ***birth:*** Before him, on the mountains, ***Baneemy's voice shall*** go, And righteousness in fountains From hill to valley flow.
7. …The mountain dews shall nourish a seed in weakness sown, Whose fruit shall spread and flourish and shake like Lebanon.	4. …***The tide of time shall never*** ***His covenant remove;*** ***His name shall stand forever,*** ***The Shiloh from above.***

* James Montgomery, "Hail to the Lord's Anointed," written 1821, and sung to the "Ellacombe" hymn tune, accessed December 4, 2013, http://www.hymntime.com/tch/htm/h/a/i/haillord.htm. See Hymn 147. P. M., Emma Smith, ed., *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints* (Nauvoo, IL: Ebenezer Robinson, 1841), 159–60.

†Charles B. Thompson, "Hymn," in *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 4, no. 2 (February 1854): 16.

‡These words come from verse 6 of W. W. Phelps, "O God Th'Eternal Father," Hymn 57. P. M., in Smith, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns*, (1835), 76. "He is the true Messiah, That died and lives again; We look not for another, He is the Lamb' twas slain; He is the Stone and Shepherd Of Israel—scatter'd far; The glorious Branch from Jesse: The bright and Morning Star."

> celestialized until after the thousand years … would reign personally here on earth … But you must remember, that his (Christ's) kingdom is not of this world, but is purely spiritual in its nature; but Shiloh's kingdom is the empire of the earth, and is temporal in its nature.[24]

24. Charles B. Thompson, "Questions Answered and Refuted," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3, no. 1 (January 1853): 4–5.

Thompson's writings suggest that Jehovah, Jesus Christ, and Shiloh were either different beings or at least separate manifestations of the divine.[25]

One of the most beloved hymns of the Restoration, "Redeemer of Israel," was W. W. Phelps's adaptation of a well-known Baptist hymn. Phelps brilliantly capitalized on the Old Testament flavor of the hymn, adding the "shadow by day" and "pillar by night" which accompanied the Israelites' wanderings in the desert. When Thompson revised this hymn, it is evident that he was familiar with both versions (see figure 9.7). He restored the original "comfort by day" and "song in the night," left many of Phelps's changes, and added some of his own. For the congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion, for example, the Deliverer of Israel was not a king, but a prince and a shepherd.

Thompson's most striking contribution occurs in his final verse, where he presents a Trinitarian view of the Father, Son, and Spirit, adding that Shiloh is "last of the three." Reading this in the hymn suggests that Shiloh is the Holy Ghost, though how this idea fits with the rest of Thompson's teachings on the subject is certainly a great mystery.

By 1854 Thompson's group had attracted between fifty and sixty families who eventually moved to Monona County, Iowa. There they established a communal settlement they called "Preparation." At its zenith in 1858, the settlement had swelled to about five or six hundred inhabitants.[26] Several hymns printed in *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* spoke of Thompson's hopes for the community. One hymn played upon the name of the settlement and described the congregants as being "in the preparation" (see figure 9.8). The verses called the work they were involved in at Preparation "greater than has been," meaning, one assumes, greater than the restoration under Joseph Smith.[27] This piece is also doctrinal, expounding the relation-

25. Ibid., 5, 7. "Who is that is spoken of in the 14th chap. of Zachariah; and the 19th chap. of Revelations. We answer: It is Christ and Shiloh. Christ's feet will stand in that day upon the mount of olives, and the Jews will say unto him: 'What are these wounds in thy hands?' Shiloh will then go forth to fight against those nations as when he fought in the day of battle … on his head will be many crowns…being clothed with a vesture dipped in blood, his name will be called the Word of God.… When Jesus Christ comes, he will commission Shiloh to take vengeance on you, when he (Christ) shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire to the wicked, but without sin unto salvation to the righteous."

"We will admit that the new and everlasting covenant, or the preparation thereunto, commenced when we were baptized into the church, but it will not be consummated until we receive the endowments of the Priesthood, or in other words, until we receive the keywords from Baneemy and the grand keywords from Jehovah through Christ Jesus."

26. "Ecclesiastical Items, *The United Presbyterian Magazine* (February 1859): 91–92, accessed December 5, 2013, http://books.google.com/books?id=CBIEAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA49&lpg=PA49&dq=#v=onepage&q&f=false.

27. Thompson could also have had in mind Haggai 2:9, "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts," a verse referring to the rebuilding of the temple at the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity.

FIGURE 9.7: Josiah Swain's "O Thou in Whose Presence" adapted by W. W. Phelps and Charles B. Thompson.

*O Thou in Whose Presence**	*Redeemer of Israel†*	*Hymn 5. 11 & 8‡*
1. O Thou, in Whose presence my soul takes delight On Whom in affliction I call My comfort by day, and my song in the night, My hope, my salvation, my all.	1. Redeemer of Israel, Our only delight, On whom for a blessing we call; Our shadow by day, And our pillar by night, Our king, our companion, our all.	1. ***Deliverer*** of Israel, ***In whom we*** delight, On ***thee well beloved*** we call; Our **comfort** by day, And our **song in the** night, ***The Prince and the Shepherd of*** all.
2. Where dost thou, dear Shepherd, Resort with thy sheep, To feed them in pastures of love? Say, why in the valley of death should I weep, Or alone in this wilderness rove?	2. We know he is coming To gather his sheep, And plant them in Zion, in love, For why in the valley Of death should they weep, Or alone in the wilderness rove?	2. We know **thou *art now come,*** To gather **thy** sheep, And plant them in Zion in love; ***Nor then*** in the valley Of death ***will*** they weep, Or alone in the wilderness rove.
3. Oh why should I wander, an alien from Thee, Or cry in the desert for bread?	3. How long we have wander'd As strangers in sin, And cried in the desert for thee!	3. How long we have wandered, ***And*** strangers ***have been,*** And cried in the desert for thee;
cont. on page 169	*cont. on page 169*	*cont. on page 169*

*Joseph Swain, "O Thou in Whose Presence," 1791, tune: "Davis," accessed January 20, 2014, http://www.hymnal.net/hymn.php/h/687. This tune is very similar to "Dulcimer," which is used by the LDS.
†W. W. Phelps, "Redeemer of Israel," in Smith, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns,* (1841), Hymn 119. P. M., tune: "Dulcimer."
‡ Charles B. Thomson, "Hymn 5," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 4, no. 9 (September 1854): 144

O Thou in Whose Presence	*Redeemer of Israel*	*Hymn 5. 11 & 8*
Thy foes will rejoice when my sorrows they see, And smile at the tears I have shed.	Our foes have rejoic'd When our sorrows they've seen; But Israel will shortly be free. 4. As children of Zion Good tidings for us: The tokens already appear; Fear not and be just, For the kingdom is ours, And the hour of redemption is near. 5. The secret of heaven,* The myst'ry below, That many have sought for so long, We know that we know, For the Spirit of Christ, Tells his servants they cannot be wrong.	Our foes have rejoiced, When our sorrows they've seen, But Israel will ***now soon*** be free. 4. As children of Zion, Good tidings for us, ***Thy voice has revealed to some;*** ***And all of the*** just ***Have a right now to know, For*** the hour of redemption ***has come.*** 5. The secret of heaven, The mystery ***to man,*** That many have sought ***long to see;*** ***The Father, the Son,*** ***And the Spirit are one, And our*** ***Shiloh is last of the three.***

*This verse is in the Nauvoo hymnal only.

FIGURE 9.8: "Untitled,"* a hymn written by Charles B. Thompson.

1. My brethren in the cov'nants,
Of Jacob's chosen race,
Who are the recipients,
Of our Jehovah's grace.

2. O, it is consolation,
Together to unite,
And sing the great salvation,
Which now is brought to light.

3. For now the glorious kingdom
Of God is brought to earth;
The gifts of God it brings them,
So wonderful in worth.

4. The work that's now before us,
Is greater than has been;
And will be very glorious,
When there's an end of sin.

5. In this, let us be moving,
And quicken still our pace;
Each other all be loving,
And then we'll grow in grace.

6. We're in the preparation,
And must improve it well;
Or miss of our salvation,
And stumble into hell.

7. The time to favor Zion,
Approaches very near;
That which we may rely on,
Will soon to us appear.

8. If we in faith are waiting,
To see her glory shine;
Let love be unabating,
And faith and works combine.

*Charles B. Thompson, Untitled, in *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 2, no. 4 (April 1852): 32.

ship of faith and works: good deeds are necessary for salvation, and faith and works should combine.

Another hymn compared America to Israel's promised land of Canaan and described the members at Preparation as part of the prophesied "remnant" who would be gathered (see figure 9.9).

In Preparation, Thompson carried on in the traditions of both Joseph Smith and James Strang, founding an organization that was overtly Masonic in nature. The full name of Thompson's group, "The Free and Accepted Order of Baneemy, and Fraternity of the Sons of Zion" suggests this influence, patterned as it was after the fraternal organization known as the "Free and Accepted Order of Masons."

Early nineteenth-century America was saturated with Masonic language, story, and song. In one widely known and particularly self-congratulatory hymn, Masons claimed the title of "the true-born sons of Levi." Such boasting vexed those who had become involved in the new political Anti-Masonic movement. One of these was Mormon convert W. W. Phelps, a prominent journalist. Phelps substantively rewrote the Masonic hymn, calling himself a son of Zion in the title, and professing in the chorus that not the Masons but the Latter-day Saints were "the true born sons of

FIGURE 9.9: Selections from another hymn* written by Charles B. Thompson.

1. This is the land the Lord hath bless'd,
Where all the Saints should come:
This is the day for righteousness,
And Israel's gathering home.

3. Your homes along the Soldier stream,
In Preparation are;
As Canaan was by Israel seen,
With Jordan rolling there.

4. Though wicked men and Satan try
To keep you from this land;
Let them all know you'd sooner die,
Than break the Lord's command.

6. Let then the will of God be done,
In Preparation here,
That we may all unite in one,
And our Jehovah fear.

7. Then in the remnant he doth call,
Delivered, we'll be bless'd,
And from the Gentile scourges all,
We'll find a place of rest;

8. Until the mouth of God shall deign
The Mystery to reveal;
Then We'll go forth with law, divine,
Our words with blood to seal.

9. Then in the resurrection morn,
We all will live again;
And all our children will be born
Without the sting of sin.

*Charles B. Thompson, "Hymn, for Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 4, no. 3 (March 1854): 48.

Zion." Phelps re-visioned a Mormon theocratic kingdom along genealogical lines. As the root and branch of Joseph (tribe of Ephraim), Mormons were the ones to whom the promises came, those in charge of the "gathering in the latter day."

In turn, Charles Thompson published Phelps's rewrite with a few embellishments of his own for his followers to sing (see figure 9.10). Thompson's version downplayed the aspect of biblical lineage that was contained in the original and in Phelps's rewrite. Instead of connecting the trueborn sons with the root and branch of David or of Joseph, Thompson described them as "ministers of God—Jehovah," preparing the way for Shiloh. Small changes in wording transformed an anonymous watchman into the singers themselves.

Baneemy's proclamation, as described in Thompson's version of the hymn, mirrored the Masonic Royal Arch degree. In both of these, the central thematic element is the return of the Jews for the express purpose of rebuilding the Holy City and its sacred temple. Thompson taught that Jews themselves, including Lamanites, would lead the House of Israel and identify themselves as the true sons of Zion.

FIGURE 9.10: Adaptions of a Masonic hymn by W. W. Phelps and Charles B. Thompson.

*Masonic Hymn**	*Song, by a Son of Zion†*	*Hymn (for Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion)‡*
1. Come all you Craftsmen that do wish To propagate the grand design, Come enter into this bright temple, And learn the art that's most sublime. CHORUS: For we are the true born sons of Levi, There's none with us you can compare, We are the root and branch of David, The bright and glorious Morning star. 2. Come all you Mystik Knights of Malta, Forth in glittering armour shine, Rally round your cross and banners, To protect the art devine. 3. With ardent zeal I being fired, And a Knight templar wish'd to be, *cont. on page 173*	1. Wake! O, wake! the world from sleeping, Watchman, watchman what's the hour? Hark ye, only hear him saying 'Tis the last—the eleventh hour. CHORUS: For we are the true born sons of Zion, No one with us can compare, We're of the root and branch of Joseph, The bright and glorious morning star. 2. Lo! The lion's left his thicket, Up ye watchmen be in haste, The destroyer of the Gentiles, Goes to lay their cities waste. 4. Comfort ye the house of Israel, They are pardon'd, gather them; *cont. on page 173*	1. ***We'll awake*** the world from sleeping, ***And as*** Watchman ***cry*** the hour; ***For all men shall hear us*** saying, 'Tis the last—the eleventh hour! CHORUS: We are the true born sons of Zion, ***None*** with us ***that*** can compare, ***Ministers of God—Jehovah,*** ***Shiloh's way we will prepare.*** 2. Lo! The Lion's left his thicket; Up ye ***remnant,*** be in haste, The destroyer of the Gentiles Goes to lay their Cities waste. 4. ***Comforting*** the house of Israel, ***This is what we'll say to*** them; *cont. on page 173*

*"The Sons of Levi," (Liverpool, printed for Wm. Armstrong, 1815), accessed December, 2013, http://bodley24.bodley.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/acwwweng/ballads/image.pl?ref=Harding+B+25(1815)&id=10214.gif&seq=1&size=0. Also see alternate Masonic lyrics, accessed December 4, 2013, http://www.mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=31979.
†W. W. Phelps, "Song, by a Son of Zion," *The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 9, no. 8 (April 15, 1847): 126.
‡Charles B. Thompson, "Hymn, for Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3, no. 9 (September 1853): 72.

Masonic Hymn	*Song, by a Son of Zion*	*Hymn (for Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion)*
For the subversion of the Heathens, I join that bright community.	Hear the watchman's proclamation, Jews, rebuild Jerusalem.	Hear ***Baneemy's Proclamation,*** Jews rebuild Jerusalem.
5. With trembling steps I slow advanc'd, Sometimes I knock'd both loud and shrill, 'Till low a Knight in armour bright, Demanded of me what's my will !!	5. Soon the Jews will know their error, How they killed the Holy One; And they'll mourn and shout Hosanna, This is "The Beloved Son!"	5. ***We will sound aloud the tidings,*** ***Call in all of Abra'm's seed;*** ***"The Elect One"—Israel's Shepherd—*** ***Shiloh'll come in very deed.***
6. After some questions being ask'd, To which I answer'd with much fear, They told me neither Turk nor Heathen, By any means could enter here.	6. Sound the trumpet with the tidings, Call in all of Abraham's seed; Though the Gentiles may reject it, Christ will come in very deed.	6. ***Then the Jews will own their Savior,*** ***Jesus "The Beloved Son!"*** ***And they'll mourning shout Hosanna!*** ***He is "The Anointed One!"***
Chorus: For we're the true born sons of Levi, There's none with us you can compare, We are the root and branch of David, The bright and glorious Morning star.	Chorus: For we are the true born sons of Zion, No one with us can compare, We're of the root and branch of Joseph, The bright and glorious morning star.	Chorus: We are the true born sons of Zion, ***None*** with us ***that*** can compare, ***Ministers of God—Jehovah,*** ***Shiloh's way he did prepare.***

Thompson did not intend for the Presbytery of Zion to take the place of a church. Rather, he envisioned an extra-ecclesiastical body of the priesthood, organized for the purpose of completing the work of gathering preparatory to the Second Coming. Like Masonry, Thompson's system could be described as "a progressive science taught by degrees," through which God's grand design would eventually be revealed to the individual outside the context of a church organization.[28] Thompson formulated his own innovative system of degrees within priesthood schools, utilizing a catechism for instruction in the way that Masons do. For example, the three grand pillars were an important symbol in Freemasonry and were discussed in a question-and-answer format in the third degree. The Master of the Lodge asked the candidate:

> Question—What supports your Lodge?
> Answer—Three great Pillars.
>
> Question—What are their names?
> Answer—Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty.[29]

In Thompson's schools the questions were similar. For example, candidates were asked to enumerate the three grand pillars or distinguishing principles of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion. Candidates were also asked:

> Question—What are the four corner stones, or grand foundation principles of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion?
> Answer—Truth, Justice, Love and Mercy.
>
> Question—Who is the head of the Presbytery of Zion?
> Answer—Our Father in heaven, Jehovah.
>
> Question—Who is the Law-giver, and holds the Sceptre of the Kingdom of God, until Shiloh comes, and the people all gather to him?
> Answer—Jesus of Nazareth, the Anointed One.
>
> Question—Who now holds the Keys of the Kingdom pertaining to the earth?
> Answer—Baneemy, the Concealed One.[30]

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28. Charles B. Thompson, "The Word of the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob to his servants of the seed of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Having the testimony of Jesus Christ, Concerning their Organization, in preparation for the Endowments of the Priesthood, and their Regeneration in the Family of Israel," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 1, no. 2 (April 1850): 2.

29. Arturo deHoyos, ed. *Light on Masonry: The History and Rituals of America's Most Important Masonic Exposé* (Washington, DC: The Scottish Rite Research Society, 2008), 301.

30. Charles B. Thompson, "Lesson: For the Schools of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3, no. 11 (November 1853): 84.

The covenant that members took upon entering the Presbytery of Zion was remarkably similar to a Masonic obligation. For instance, initiates assumed an allegorical new name.[31] Perhaps Thompson came closest to realizing his ritual ideal in a ceremony he instituted at the August Solemn Assembly in 1856. Members were asked to give Thompson a paper bill of sale for everything they owned. As they came into a darkened room, he poured alcohol on the paper and burned it in token of their full and complete sacrifice. Two chiefs, Guy C. Barnum and Rowland Cobb, entered the room, surrendered their clothing, and were given a simple cotton smock, which Thompson named the "Garment of Holiness."[32] Barnum and Cobb then seated themselves on either side of Thompson, and the rest of the members, men and women in turn, came into their presence and repeated the ritual enactment.[33] Mormon Masons would likely have been moved by this ceremony, as it contained elements of both the Masonic initiation rite and the temple endowment.

On Charles Thompson's birthday in 1854 he wrote himself a "birth-day hymn," expressing his purpose and mission (see figure 9.11). He had come to teach a covenant of peace; and as a chosen son of Jehovah, to gather Israel.

Soon after he penned these words, Charles Thompson would begin his decline as a religious leader. By the end of the year, *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* would publish its last issue under the date of December 1854. Baneemyites were already becoming disillusioned with the hardscrabble details of their communal lifestyle. Over the next few years, increased demands and poor decisions on Thompson's part would cause his disgruntled followers to dramatically boot him out on his ear, signaling the collapse of the settlement in October 1858. Twice, Thompson endeavored to reestablish the congregation, but neither attempt was successful.

It is best to end here, then, on Thompson's fortieth birthday, a moment of crescendo—a day when he "sure [had] naught to fear." As Baneemy's agent, he had employed his poetic gift to construct hymns which inculcated unique doctrinal positions. With his lyrics, he distinguished points of theology: "Come ye Patriarchs, Prophets and Priests of the Lord!" He created memorable lines set to tunes which were already well-known and beloved among his followers: "Baneemy is saying, All

31. Charles B. Thompson, "Covenant, to be taken upon entering the Congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 4, no. 1 (January 1854): 9. The covenant to be taken upon entering the first department of the School of Faith began, "I do now most solemnly and sincerely subscribe, with my hand unto Jehovah, and surname myself Israel, that I may be called after the name of Jacob, in Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion."

32. The garment was not worn permanently, but thereafter the member retained only enough clothing as was barely necessary.

33. Marks, "Monona County, Iowa, Mormons," 105.

FIGURE 9.11: "Birth-day Hymn"* by Charles B. Thompson.

1. This day just forty years ago, My mother gave me birth:
From where the tree of life doth grow, I come to dwell on earth.

2. My mission is to teach the Law, That justifies from sin:
The kingdom which a Daniel saw, With Israel to begin.

3. The cov'nant law thereof is just, Which Israel will obey:
And in Jehovah they will trust, Who'll take their sins away.

4. The cov'nant which the Lord hath said He'd make with Jacob's race;
Of which we often sure have read, A covenant of peace.

5. I have that cov'nant come to teach, To gather Israel home:
The gospel of his word to preach, And unto all say come!

6. And now my mission I've begun, In Preparation here:
And as I'm called Jehovah's son, I sure have naught to fear.

*Charles B. Thompson, "Birthday Hymn," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 4, no. 1 (January 1854): 32.

Israel: come home." He gave his congregation affirmations to hold in their minds: "We are the true-born sons of Zion."

Despite an ignominious ending, Thompson left an important legacy. For a brief period, he provided a home for the religiously dispossessed. With proto-Randian flair, he harnessed the power of the question, "Who is Baneemy?" He kept alive the principle of gathering and of Mormon communitarianism. He introduced the idea of a priesthood group independent of the church—a uniquely Mormon variation of a Masonic idea. Charles B. Thompson played his own distinctive and irreplaceable part in the celestial harmony of the broader Restoration movement. One hundred sixty years later, it is still possible to hear the melodious tunes from Baneemy's organ.

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Book Reviews

Mark A. Scherer. *The Journey of a People; Volume 1: The Era of Restoration, 1820 to 1844.* Independence, Missouri: Community of Christ Seminary Press, 2013. xxiii, 534 pp. Introduction, bibliography, index, photographs, maps, tables, charts. Hardback two-volume set: $59.95. ISBN: 978-0-830-91381-7.

Reviewed by Lavina Fielding Anderson

This long-awaited history of Community of Christ replaces three earlier works: the much-loved but apologetic *The Story of the Church: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and of Its legal Successor, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (1st ed., 1934) by Inez Smith Davis, the popular one-volume *Our Legacy of Faith: A Brief History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (1991) by Paul M. Edwards, and Richard P. Howard's two-volume *The Church through the Years* (1992, 1993). Researched and written by World Church historian Mark A. Scherer, *The Journey of a People* deals with the historical period covered by the life of Joseph Smith Jr. The second volume, subtitled *The Era of Reorganization, 1844 to 1946*, published simultaneously with the first volume, brings the journey up through the presidencies of Joseph Smith III and his son, Frederick M. Smith, while the third volume, yet to be printed, will cover from 1946 to the present.

In many ways, this first volume must have been more challenging to write than either of the two successive volumes since publications of scholarly biographies, histories, and articles of the Joseph Smith Jr. period have mushroomed in the past two decades, making such a fast-developing target that dealing comprehensively with the scholarly literature would be impossible. The lag between writing and printing—unless Scherer had attempted the equally impossible challenge of continuous rewriting to accommodate the intensifying flow of scholarly production—imposes further limitations on how comprehensive this first volume could be.

My personal lamentation is the omission of solid quotations from "Perspectives on Church History" by Prophet-president Stephen M. Veazey. Without the solid

foundation provided by these nine thoughtfully conceived and carefully phrased principles, Scherer's task in balancing "the limitations of the historian and the liberties of the theologian in matters of faith" (xvii) would have been next to impossible. These nine principles are:

1. Continuing exploration of our history is part of identity formation….
2. History informs but does not dictate our faith and beliefs….
3. The church encourages honest, responsible historical scholarship….
4. The study of church history is a continuing journey…. Good historical inquiry understands that conclusions are open to correction as new understanding and information comes from ongoing study.
5. Seeing both the faithfulness and human flaws in our history makes it more believable and realistic, not less.
6. The responsible study of church history involves learning, repentance, and transformation. A church with a mission focused on promoting communities of reconciliation, justice, and peace should be self-critical and honest about its history. It is important for us to confess when we have been less than what the gospel of Jesus Christ calls us to be….
7. The church has a long-standing tradition that it does not legislate or mandate positions on matters of church history. Historians should be free to draw their own conclusions after thorough consideration of evidence….
8. We need to create a respectful culture of dialogue about matters of history….
9. Our faith is grounded in God's revelation in Jesus Christ and the continuing guidance of the Holy Spirit….[1]

I recognize the irony in lamenting the absence of authoritative quotations limiting the authority of history-as-doctrine and was therefore pleased to find Scherer offering six "key realities" that guided his own approach. They appear in perhaps the most important single chapter: "The Curious Relationship between History and Faith." Every reader, whether a longtime student of Latter Day Saintism or a novice, needs to read this chapter carefully and absorb the

> inexorable distinction between conclusions that arise from historical inquiry and those that come from faith…. It is impossible to say for sure what happened in the Sacred Grove in Palmyra, New York, when the young Smith put his knee to the ground…. The historian can only state that all of this is to what Smith testified.
>
> In none of these key events in the church story does the religious historian's hesitance suggest doubt that the events actually happened, but the historian is only equipped to say that records exist that testify to these events. (2–3)

1. Stephen M. Veazey, "Perspectives on Church History," accessed August 28, 2013, http://www.cofchrist.org/ourfaith/history.asp; published in the October 2008 *Herald*.

Scherer's six principles are, as already noted, that (1) the historian must work with "records," not with the event itself; (2) "The historian can only verify what an individual said happened to [him or her] and not what in fact happened"; (3) "all factors that could have influenced events and people should be considered"; (4) an overly firm "commitment" to "specific versions of their history" can result in shattered faith "when new facts come to light; (5) Joseph was "a man of uncommon spirituality, but at the same time, one of common humanity"; deciding "if and when" Joseph "strayed from the divine will at times" are the responsibility of individuals and theologians, not historians; and (6) finally, today's readers must "try to see events and people through the lens of their own times" (7–10).

Although not designed as a biography of Joseph Smith Jr., this history follows the basic outlines of Joseph's life, ending with his assassination in 1844; but Scherer stresses that the Restoration "is the story of thousands of people who individually made life-changing decisions to follow his prophetic dictates and who joined in the Latter Day Saint diaspora" (460–61).

Scherer has divided the book into three periods: early (1820–30, corresponding to Joseph's youth and Book of Mormon developments), middle (1830–39, establishing the church and moving it to Kirtland and Missouri—a particularly complicated section since the church was developing somewhat independently about eight hundred miles apart), and late (1839–44, the Nauvoo period).

It is clear that Scherer is keenly and sympathetically aware that some of this history will be painful for some of his readers as he asks them to consider a variant of the story they have loved and personally "canonized" (3). For others, Scherer's account will be pulling punches on issues that they personally want to be hard hitting. I consider Scherer's sensitivity to both audiences, and his achievement of a tone that consistently respects both of these audiences, shades in between, and what the documents do and do not say to be one of this book's most commendatory achievements. I would have no hesitation recommending it to any reader who wants to know more about Joseph Smith and the critical first fourteen years of the church he founded.

In Part 1, Scherer sets the national and regional context, identifying the forced removal of eastern Native Americans as "the single greatest moral tragedy of Joseph Smith's generation" (24). Scherer tells the well-known story of the Smith family's wanderings around New England until they reached Palmyra in a two-week journey that averaged "twenty-two miles a day" (44). Lucy and Joseph had a large family—eleven children born in twenty-four years (46)—and had to work hard to feed them. The Palmyra events include Joseph Sr.'s skills at blacksmithing and coopering, Alvin's significant contribution to the family's income, and the family disaster that Alvin's death represented, followed by their inability to make the third and final payment on their acreage.

An example of Scherer's approach is that, after describing the traditional version of Joseph Smith's First Vision, he recounts similar experiences by other religious leaders in America, analyzes the different extant versions, and spells out the limitations of history on such analysis. He devotes chapter 5 to the "mystical" and "enchantment" influences on Joseph Smith's family, including a photograph of two seer stones in Community of Christ archives (71). Chapter 6 tells the traditional story of the "coming forth" of the Book of Mormon, followed by the broader context of other influential myths of Indian origins, and the "open question" (101) of Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* and the influence of Oliver Cowdery. Scherer then summarizes the spectrum of explanations for the book's origins. Community of Christ's "current focus" on the Book of Mormon is tucked into a footnote: "Its vital message to contemporary readers" is that of a "powerful prophetic text that, in addition to its witness of Jesus Christ, warns against aspects of human societies that continue to result in economic injustice, skepticism, violence, and war" (117n106).

Chapter 7 deals forthrightly with questions about the organization of the church (Scherer finds Manchester a more convincing site than Fayette) and the lack of any legal record of incorporation.

The next seven chapters (1830–39) deal with developments in Kirtland and Missouri: the flood of revelatory pronouncement, Joseph's construction of "sacred geography" (184) accompanied by his "lack of understanding of the practical problems" (193) in trying to micromanage city planning in Missouri from Ohio, and an interesting analysis of the ways in which Mormons and Missourians "were more alike than each perceived" (204). Scherer acknowledges the traditional interpretation of the ill-fated Zion's Camp as bringing the most devoted followers to the top (which is also the traditional LDS interpretation), but he cogently acknowledges its "dark side" as well: "the limits of [Joseph's] leadership skills," its emotional and financial costs, and, perhaps most devastating, its acceptance of "the use of force, defensive if possible but offensive if necessary, to achieve their divine calling" (232–33).

Chapter 11 deals with the construction of the beautiful House of the Lord in Kirtland, a chapter which Scherer, who wrote his dissertation on material culture in Latter Day Saintism, was particularly well qualified to explain. He acknowledges the "long-standing tradition" that women had "fine china" to crush and add to the exterior coating, but finds such a story improbable, given "their extreme poverty" and the lack of "specific documentation" (241). The next chapter deals with the very costly purchase of Egyptian mummies and their accompanying papyri, which became the foundation for explaining Joseph's "position on the most important social issue in early nineteenth-century America—slavery" (261). (The RLDS Church never canonized the Book of Abraham.) Even more costly was the Kirtland Anti-Banking Society, which led to the fragmentation of the church and the evacuation of the remaining faithful to Missouri, which resulted, in the apt title of chapter 14: "Fortress

Mentality, Violence, and Expulsion from Missouri." Scherer accepts Joseph's role in sponsoring and authorizing the activities of the Danites (294–95, 417). Scherer's well-balanced analysis of this period summarizes: "From the Mormon view, their entire history had been one encounter after another of suffering at the hands of unorganized but effective citizen violence.... [However], from the perspective of the Missouri government ... the Mormons were constant troublemakers" (317–18). Joseph "allowed his frustrations to cloud his judgment" (325) and the war "ended with complete Mormon humiliation" (329).

The mingled triumphs and tragedies of Nauvoo occupy the book's last five chapters. While praising the Mormons' industry, unity, and faith that drained swamps, built another temple, launched schools, and engaged in stimulating and provocative theological experiments, Scherer also points out the Mormons' political "unreliability" (377), the "concept of plural gods" that "edged Latter Day Saintism further out of the Christian mainstream" (391), and the problematic question of Joseph Smith's role in polygamy.

This discussion is particularly sensitive since, until the last quarter of the twentieth century, denying such involvement was a key identity issue for the RLDS Church. What constitutes acceptable evidence? queries Scherer. Joseph never admitted to polygamy in public, maintaining plausible deniability to the end of his life; but "a veritable mountain of circumstantial evidence" establishes him "as the first polygamist of Mormonism" (399). The August 1835 statement on marriage canonized monogamy and is RLDS D&C 111—but does not appear in LDS editions of the Doctrine and Covenants while, in parallel fashion, LDS D&C 132 confirms "celestial" marriage (which RLDS D&C understandably does not include in its editions of the Doctrine and Covenants) but has not included the statement on marriage for more than a century.

In what I consider a superbly written solution to this difficult historical and theological problem, Scherer avoids a reconstruction of name-and-date lists of plausible wives, instead shifting to the heart-wrenching perspective of Emma Smith and the suffering caused her by this doctrine, the only one of Joseph's teachings that she opposed (407). Scherer concludes this chapter with William Marks's well-known account of Joseph's decision to authorize Marks to excommunicate polygamists who would not abandon the practice. Only days later, Joseph was assassinated, but Marks's statement acknowledged both "Smith's involvement in the doctrine and also his rejection of it.... Because of this aberrant marital practice the Latter Day Saint tradition would have to carry these events ... as their burden of history" (408–9).

The other identity issue separating the LDS and RLDS Church during much of their first century was that of lineal descent versus succession by apostolic seniority. While the LDS Church has settled even more deeply into its chosen system, the issue became moot for Community of Christ. Scherer does not review this issue, since

it properly belongs in the second and third volumes, but he documents the various iterations of the four blessings that Joseph Jr. pronounced on his son, Joseph III, as remembered by Joseph III and others. The fourth blessing, which occurred just before Joseph Jr.'s death, when Joseph III was eleven, was not a "specific appointment" to church office, as Joseph III later explained it, but "of succession by 'right of lineage'" (444).

A particularly fine discussion is chapter 17, which begins: "For such a public figure as Joseph Smith Jr., it seems ironic that secrecy was a dominant feature of his life" (417). Scherer returns to this theme in identifying a sequence of ill-advised decisions: Freemasonry, plural marriage, "secretive temple rituals," and "an underground ecclesiastical government" to elect him US president (435) that may have led to a political conspiracy that ended in his assassination.

True treasures that enrich this book are twenty-nine maps and charts by John Hamer who, with his partner, Michael Karpowicz, also did the design and typesetting. Other important supplementary materials are a list of illustrations, a preface, acknowledgments, introduction, bibliographic essay, bibliography, index, and author statement.

This history's value to Community of Christ is obvious; but I think it would be surprisingly valuable to many LDS readers as well. Because LDS Sunday school curriculum has been organized for two decades to study its four major scriptures in rotation, one each year (Old Testament, New Testament, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants), most Mormons are familiar with iconic historical moments: Joseph Smith's First Vision, the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, and the first three stops on the Mormon Trail: Kirtland, Missouri, and Nauvoo. This schedule may mean that LDS members have a generally accurate chronology of events in the first fourteen years of history; however, this strict rotation means that little time is spent in detailed study of any one event and, furthermore, that the purposes of such study are didactic and doctrinal, rather than historical.

It seems likely to me that many LDS readers will enjoy Mark Scherer as a guide in retracing this well-known journey, particularly if they are able to adopt the position explicated by President Veazey and by Scherer himself about the separation between faith and history.

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Mark A. Scherer. *The Journey of a People; Volume 1: The Era of Restoration, 1820 to 1844.* Independence, Missouri: Community of Christ Seminary Press, 2013. xxiii, 534 pp. Introduction, bibliography, index, photographs, maps, tables, charts. Hardback two-volume set: $59.95. ISBN: 978-0-830-91381-7.

Reviewed by Gary James Bergera

> ... to promote a false history is to promote a false identity, and to promote a false identity is to jeopardize authenticity.
>
> —Mark A. Scherer

Since 1995, Mark A. Scherer (b. 1950) has been serving as official World Church historian of Community of Christ (formerly Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints). He is also the author of a new three-volume comprehensive history of Community of Christ, headquartered in Independence, Missouri, of which the first two volumes have recently appeared. My review concerns only the first of Scherer's volumes, which covers the period of time shared by the two largest churches based on the teachings of church founder Joseph Smith (1805–44): Community of Christ and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah). I was invited to share the reaction to Scherer's work of one holding membership in the latter church.

Scherer's near-definitive history—which is probably as close to an "official" history as any church would want—is a major contribution to the historiography of the Latter-day Restoration community (the family of churches claiming Smith as founder). Scherer's intent is to provide a fact-based, faith-infused chronological narrative of Restoration history, specifically of Community of Christ, primarily for Community readers. That said, members of the other Restorationist churches, notably the LDS Church, would also benefit from Scherer's thoughtful, nuanced discussion.

A credentialed historian, Scherer knows his history, facts, sources, and audiences. He does not shy aware from any potentially controversial or sensitive topic and generally eschews the easy path. As a result, readers are left the surer footed. Scherer builds on and expands the work of his predecessor as church historian, Richard P. Howard, whose own history of the RLDS Church—*The Church Through the Years, Volume 1: RLDS Beginnings, to 1860* and *Volume 2: The Reorganization Comes of Age, 1860–1992* (1992, 1993)—represented at the time an equally significant accomplishment. Yet as weighty as Scherer's debt to Howard may be, Scherer's achievement stands on its own merits.

For Scherer (as for, it seems, virtually all other historians of the Restoration), the story of Joseph Smith's church, 1830–44, *is* the story of Joseph Smith, 1805–44.

This has its drawbacks, of course, as it downplays not only the contributions of other rising leaders but also, and more regrettably, the experiences of the newly converted and rank-and-file—the life blood of any organization. I question whether such loss is unavoidable—if a *People's History* of the Mormonite Restoration is, in fact, impossible—but nonetheless acknowledge the centrality of Smith's life to the history of his church(es).

On the important—especially to some readers—question of Smith as God's latter-day prophet, Scherer is clear: "blessed with a vivid imagination," Smith was "receptive to inspired thoughts" (235, 413). Scherer thus approaches Smith fully as both prophet and man, ostensibly gifted with somewhat greater sensitivity to what Scherer considers as the divine will but also subject to all the faults of fallible men and women—plus some that may especially afflict God's prophets (e.g., inflated ego, megalomania, an inability to distinguish between reality and fantasy, etc.). Never a "cynical exposé" to destroy faith, Scherer's history "is based on what current scholarship provides, and the honesty here will hopefully exemplify the never-ending search for that elusive truth" (5). History, Scherer stresses, should help one's faith journey "become an exciting exploration in faith as well as knowledge and understanding" (1). Of course, such rhetorical structuring devices privilege certain kinds of discussions. As I happen to agree with Scherer, I leave it to other readers to debate the "problems" of such framing strategies.

Scherer ably recounts the story of Smith's early First Vision, including problems of sources and chronology; the role of folk magic; the several appearances of the Angel Moroni (Nephi, in some early accounts) to Smith; the Book of Mormon and Smith's "translation" of it (Scherer sees the Book of Mormon as the product of the interplay between mind and spiritual insight, not translation); problems of Book of Mormon ancient historicity; and the organization of Smith's new Church of Christ on April 6, 1830 (in Manchester, not Fayette, New York, as tradition has it). Of these and related issues, Scherer writes insightfully: "Debating presumably minor details might seem inconsequential, so does it make any difference when weighted with the larger life of the church and its future mission? The answer is yes, because a church's authenticity is deeply rooted in its identity and its story is a key revelation of that identity" (136–37).

Leaving New York for Ohio and Missouri, Scherer devotes the lion's portion of his history to this middle period of the church's early history. In fact, not quite half of Scherer's book concerns these eight or so years, 1831–39. Scherer's analysis is balanced, especially regarding events leading up to and including the so-called Mormon War of 1838. Scherer offers an interpretation of this particularly turbulent period of Restoration history that lays blame for the bloodshed and death on both Mormons and non-Mormons. Past histories that perpetuate a narrative of peace-loving Mormons strictly as innocent victims of Satan-inspired prejudice, intolerance, and

persecution are, Scherer shows, misguided. "The violence in northwestern Missouri between the citizens and the Mormons," he writes, "should be understood as retribution followed by retribution. Fears fed by prejudice fueled the clash of cultures" (310).

As Scherer explains the Mormon perspective:

> their entire history had been one encounter after another of suffering at the hands of unorganized but effective citizen violence. Persecution seemed to follow them wherever they went. Church leaders endured vexatious lawsuits; beleaguered Saints abandoned their legally established settlements, leaving behind their personal property, which relegated them to a poverty-stricken, migratory existence. The law almost always went against them, causing great pain." (317)

And then the non-Mormon perspective:

> the Mormons were constant troublemakers. The clashes with Jackson Countians and the protests of Clay Countians [i.e., two groups of Missourians] between 1831 and 1836 marked the Mormons as disturbers of the peace. With the 1834 Zion's Camp march [to redeem Missouri for the Mormons] they entered Missouri to liberate their land of Zion in Jackson County without legal sanction. Only a timely hailstorm and the prophet's good sense to withdraw forestalled the disaster that would have come with a military engagement at the Fishing River with state militia troops.
>
> Although their strange religious beliefs might have been accommodated on the spacious American frontier, the large numbers of Mormon settlers upset the important balance of power in local politics and presented undue competition for choice land acquisition. As a remedy to the Mormon Question, the state legislature provided a good-faith attempt by creating Caldwell County as a Mormon sanctuary. Because Smith arbitrarily violated the understood agreement and encouraged church leaders to find "living space" in surrounding Missouri counties, [a] duly authorized sanctuary plan of 1836 did not work. (318)

In these chapters, Scherer carefully edges his way along a very narrow tightrope without ever once losing balance. It is an impressive accomplishment that should be required reading for anyone interested in this period of Mormon history.

I have the feeling that for some of Scherer's readers, the Nauvoo, Illinois, sojourn (1839–44) may be one period of Mormon history best forgotten, given all the problematic doctrinal innovations (plural marriage, kingdom of God, union of church and state, masonry, the temple endowment, Book of Abraham, plurality of gods, presidential succession, etc.) and events surrounding the violent death of Joseph Smith. Scherer shows no such reluctance and does not hesitate to jump in. Though I personally wish he had devoted a little more space to a discussion from an informed Community of Christ perspective of Smith's Nauvoo doctrines, especially the practice of plural marriage—a doctrine, I believe, important enough to the church's Nauvoo experience to justify extended treatment—I understand that such

topics may be difficult for some readers (who grew up being told Smith had nothing to do with polygamy), and Scherer may have considered his discussion as more of a springboard, or foot-in-the-door, for future explorations than an exhaustive treatise.

In discussing Smith's death at the hands of a mob on June 27, 1844, Scherer makes an interesting argument. He suggests that polygamy was not the primary cause, but rather Smith's misuse of government power, especially of the Nauvoo city charter's generous *habeas corpus* protections: "The greatest anger however grew from the prophet's exploitation of judicial privileges granted by his municipal charter. In the minds of area citizens, Joseph Smith Jr. had placed himself above the law during a time when people considered anti-republican behavior as a treat to their democratic institutions.... those who gathered outside Carthage Jail [Illinois] on that fateful day in late June considered the prophet's religious thinking as relatively inconsequential. Opponents of Latter Day Saintism were willing to grant basic First Amendment protection even to the Mormons; besides, there were better reasons to assassinate the leaders" (453, 456–57).

Scherer ends on a generous, humane note, writing,

> As unique as their story may be, still the Latter Day Saint narrative is about a people who bravely faced their trials and tribulations knowing that their personal salvation was at stake. Yet their human response to what they perceived as their call to fulfill God's purposes parallels so many other peoples in earlier eras of biblical and Christian history.
>
> For many today the story of Latter Day Saintism is an important source of pride (in a very positive way). An inadequate human response at times to a professed understanding of divine call does not detract from their commitment to a collective cause much greater than they are individually. The Latter Day Saints of the first generation were a scriptural people who found some solace in the heavy burdens they carried. Modern-day believers find the same solace. (467)

A final word on the editorial and production values reflected in Scherer's book. Project leader and editor, Peter Judd deserves considerable credit for his guidance and contributions. From the beginnings of Scherer's history more than a decade ago, Judd, at the time a member of the Community of Christ First Presidency, to today navigated a variety of hoops and hurdles to help shepherd Scherer's books to completion. Though largely invisible, Judd's achievement is no less tangible. In addition, John C. Hamer (assisted by Michael Karpowicz) created and oversaw much, if not all, of the design, composition, typesetting, as well as the book's maps and charts. Hamer's work exhibits a masterful grasp of the book maker's art. The typeface, point size, leading, margins, and other design details, including but not limited to choice of cloth, endsheets, paper, and binding (Smyth sewn and topped by a headband), are classical yet contemporary. Judd's and Hamer's attention to detail helps to reinforce,

without detracting from, the authority of the author's own voice. All writers should be so well served.

Scherer's new history is important, thoughtful, compelling. It deserves as wide a readership as possible.

Gary James Bergera is the managing director of the Smith-Pettit Foundation, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Mark Scherer, *The Journey of A People: The Era of the Reorganization, 1844 to 1946*, vol. 2. Independence, Missouri: Community of Christ Seminary Press, 2013. 5983 pp. Introduction, bibliography, index, photographs, maps, tables, charts. Hardback two-volume set: $59.95. ISBN: 978-0-830-91572-7.

Reviewed by David J. Howlett

In an era that has seen the precipitous decline of church-going Americans' loyalties to denominational bodies, Mark Scherer, under the direction of the Community of Christ's First Presidency, has produced a comprehensive denominational history of the Reorganization to 1946 that has apparently garnered great interest among Community of Christ members. Its first print run of five hundred copies sold out at the Community of Christ's World Conference, showing either a hunger for denominational history among church members or an interest in seeing why the volume with which it was packaged was delayed from publication for so many years. (The first volume dealt with the Joseph Smith Jr. era.) While Scherer is the official church historian of the Community of Christ, and therefore, the logical person who would write an institutional narrative, he follows a pendulum swing in American religious historiography signaled by Laurie Maffly-Kipp last December in her presidential address to the American Society of Church History. There, she called upon historians to come back to writing about organizations and denominations rather than to abandon that field in pursuit of subjects like "spirituality" and "religious studies." Denominations were important to the historical actors that we study, and they should also be important to us, she affirmed.[1] The buyers of Scherer's book apparently concur. Through the volume's relatively brisk sales, Mark Scherer has helped restore the denominational narrative as a genre within the Community of Christ.[2]

In the second volume of the series, *The Journey of a People: The Era of the Reorganization*, Scherer tries to strike a balance between two readerships or publics—Community of Christ members without training as historians and historians interested in the history of Mormonisms. He ably addresses the first audience while he offers historians a beginning point for their spade work that excavates the RLDS past. While the dual audiences that Scherer addresses might place his work within the realm of what Richard Bushman has termed "faithful history," Scherer's history cannot be taken as such if "faithful history" means special pleading for the traditional spiritual claims of the Reorganization over its competitors. At most, Scherer takes a

1. This as yet unpublished address is summarized by Elesha Kauffman, "Who Wants to Be a Church Historian?" *Religion in American History* (blog), January 7, 2013, accessed September 17, 2013, http://usreligion.blogspot.com/2013/01/who-wants-to-be-church-historian.html.

2. The last full-length denominational narrative was Richard Howard's two-volume series of essays, *The Church Through the Years* (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1992).

few swipes at polygamy, calling it an "aberrant marital practice" (63), consistently uses "Mormon" rather than "LDS" to refer to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (339), and occasionally refers to "theological extremism" in other groups (106). This is a far cry from the theological triumphalism of early twentieth-century RLDS histories—histories that were written almost exclusively for RLDS members. However, seen another way, Scherer's volume is a faithful history if that term is taken to describe histories that are plausible and interesting to both historians and members of a denomination. And historians and Community of Christ members have much to admire in Scherer's present volume.

Firstly, Scherer's storytelling is superb, as his opening vignette reveals: the reader follows the galloping trek of a harried Samuel Smith from Carthage, Illinois, to the Mormon capital at Nauvoo. Smith carries with him the searing news of the assassinations of his two brothers (4–5). Scherer's vignette echoes the writing style of Samuel Wooley Taylor's historical novel, *Nightfall at Nauvoo,* or more recent monographs written as creative nonfiction, such as Craig Harline's *Conversions*.[3] While Scherer necessarily does not maintain a creative nonfiction style throughout his text, he weaves fascinating stories throughout his tome. And, these stories could be deployed by his readers for various uses—from sermon illustrations to historiographical inquiries into the framing of events that created an RLDS collective memory.

Secondly, Scherer addresses the early phases of globalization in the Reorganization. Scores of historians have called for work on this topic, and Scherer has produced a skeletal outline of this story that could well occupy individual monographs for each decade or region. While Scherer does not place the story of RLDS missions within the context of Protestant missions more generally, he provides a starting point for that task. Community of Christ members and historians alike should be quite interested in his chapters on the rise of an international Reorganization.

Thirdly, of the four major axes for scholarly analysis in the last generation (gender, class, race, and age), Scherer highlights the category of race throughout his text, combining analysis of formal and informal church policies with the narratives of people affected by these policies. For instance, the reader encounters the tense debate in 1865 between Joseph Smith III and his apostles over the ordination of African American men to the Reorganization's priesthood. Joseph III's solution, a compromise revelation, allowed for ordination but the revelation's ambiguous wording needed further clarification (136–37). A resolution by the Council of the Twelve Apostles a year later addressed the issue of racial inclusivity at the congregational level and affirmed that segregated congregations were inappropriate "as the Author of Life and Salvation does not discriminate among His rational creatures on account of Colour neither does the [Reorganized] Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" (139).

3. Craig Harline, *Conversions: Two Families Stories from the Reformation and Modern America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).

These policies, though, would not create the end to the "prejudice of race, color, and caste" among the members as Joseph Smith III anticipated in a speech that he gave at the end of the American Civil War (135). For instance, later in Scherer's book, the reader meets Amy Burke Robbins, an African American RLDS member, who was humiliated by racist remarks by F. M. Smith, Joseph Smith III's successor and son, when Smith explained the presence of his African American chauffer at a Michigan reunion (a weeklong regional gathering of church members at a campground in the summer) that Robbins attended in the early twentieth century (506–7). In this last example, unofficial and official policies, as well as wider cultural attitudes, came together to create a paternalistic and hostile environment for faithful African American RLDS members. Scherer allows the reader to feel the human cost that racism and racialized policies caused, as well as the struggle of early Reorganized members to affirm or reject the full inclusion of African American members.

Scherer's work is not an unalloyed success. *The Journey of a People* could well be subtitled *Narratives of the Smith Family* instead of the *Era of the Reorganization*. The first hundred pages are almost exclusively about the story of the Smith family. This is both helpful and a bit unimaginative for Scherer's purposes. He ably demonstrates the importance of the Smith family for the leadership and church policies that emerged in the Reorganization era. And, he provides memorable stories of individual Smith family members that stay with the reader, such as Joseph Smith III's chance meeting with Frederick Douglass on the streets of Chicago where Joseph III expressed his admiration for the longtime activist and abolitionist (334). However, Scherer's focus on the Smith family turns his narrative into the lengthened shadow of a family. Scherer's work very well could have taken a bolder, more creative approach that minimized such traditional historical approaches and emphasized the lived religious experiences of RLDS members—a history of their sacramental lives, their life cycle experiences, or their everyday experiences of the divine. Fortress Press, for instance, has published a multi-volume *People's History of Christianity* that attempts this latter approach, rather than a simple recounting of the lives and influence of Luthers, Calvins, Leos, and Wesleys. Scherer has written an account of Smiths, apostles, bishops, missionaries, and an occasional women's leader. In this way, Scherer's work is largely a restoration of other denominational narratives that came before him. It could have been so much more—an entire reorganization of the genre of the denominational narrative.

Beyond the book's traditional focus on hierarchical leaders, Scherer's volume surprisingly lacks attention to the subject of gender. The stories of women make appearances in the text (most significantly, Emma Smith and Marietta Hodges Walker), but Scherer does not seriously think about how the church shaped notions of femininity and masculinity or how these changed over time. We do not learn when women gained the right to be voting conference delegates at the general (later world)

conference and only belatedly—in the very last few pages—does Scherer mention Fred M. Smith's serious consideration of women's ordination in the 1930s (547). (Editorials in the Reorganization's official magazine, the *Saints' Herald*, show that church leaders were considering women's ordination as early as 1919.) Furthermore, Scherer fails to recount the establishment and growth of women's organizations. Readers do learn about the establishment of church organizations for girls—such as the Orioles, an organizational equivalent to the Girl Scouts. However, Scherer does not place the Orioles within a meaningful historical horizon beyond the bounds of the RLDS Church. He could have contextualized the girls' organization as a manifestation of muscular Christianity, a movement that transformed and built countless YMCAs and YWCAs and provided the moods and motivations necessary to create troops of khaki-clad youth who camped in the woods.[4] With these omissions in mind, it goes without saying that the historiography of gender in America has not deeply influenced Scherer's telling of RLDS history.

With a lack of attention to gender, it is unsurprising that Scherer leaves aside the newest category of scholarly analysis—age. Thus, he passes on potentially groundbreaking work that could reshape how we think of RLDS history. For example, the teenager is an invention of the 1930s—the era when this age group became a socially recognized, distinct stage of life. What did it mean to be a teenager in the RLDS Church in the 1930s? Did the Reorganization's adoption of the category of "teenagers" for a portion of their population fundamentally transform the mission of the RLDS Church then and in the decades to come? After all, the Reorganization focused a great deal of time, resources, and money to shape these pubescent individuals into adult church members. These are not rhetorical questions, but questions that deserve some serious thought.

Beyond inattention to gender and age, Scherer neglects to place the era of the Reorganization squarely within the context of a wider American religious history, something that I have already mentioned in passing. When Scherer does provide a wider historical context for the Reorganization's story, he typically cites somewhat outdated political or economic history. For example, following Larry Hunt's research in the 1970s, Scherer paints F. M. Smith as the continuation of Republican reformist Mugwumpery and Taylorist managerial philosophy rather than see Smith as standing within the stream of Social Christianity, a rather diverse movement composed of Protestant and Catholics interested in "applied Christianity."[5] In the sphere of popular religious expression, Scherer neglects to compare or connect the plenitude of charismatic gifts in late nineteenth-century RLDS worship with the Holiness and

4. See Clifford Putney, "Muscular Women," in *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 144–61.

5. Paul T. Phillips, *A Kingdom on Earth: Anglo-American Social Christianity, 1880–1940* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).

emergent Pentecostal traditions of the same era. And, while Scherer does explain a bit about the Protestant Christian modernists who clashed with the equally new fundamentalists in early twentieth-century evangelical churches, he does not press this point to show how such clashes colonized RLDS theology or the divisions within the RLDS Church in the tumultuous 1920s. In short, a much larger story could have informed and been transformed by Scherer's materials.

A comprehensive history of any era can never fully satisfy the queries of specialists nor can it be truly comprehensive. However, it can lead us into further areas for examination. Scherer does that well with his book, introducing us to people we had likely never heard about whose stories should interest us—people like Wilhelm Kreisle, an RLDS member in Hitler's Germany who gave his shoes to a slave laborer and spent four years in Dachau for his act of compassion (536). We meet people like Metuaore, the first Tahitian-born RLDS bishop. We become acquainted with Gilbert Waller, the eccentric and influential British-born grocer, Democratic Party member, and RLDS pastor in Hawaii whose perceived collusion with the American imperial takeover of the island nation lost dozens of indigenous members who felt betrayed by Waller (359–62). We learn of the quasi-militaristic Great Lakes youth organization in the 1930s, Zion's Christian Legion, whose organizational schema Scherer compares to the Hitler Youth (498). Before reading Scherer's book, I thought that I knew the era of the Reorganization rather well, having written a master's thesis and a half-dozen articles about the early twentieth-century RLDS Church. However, I was astonished by how much I did not know. My experience will likely be the experience of many people who read Scherer's hefty tome.

Taken as a whole, Scherer's work reminds me that intellectual work is a form of friendship and sharing. Stories that members of JWHA have patiently researched and written about formed the basis for entire sections of Scherer's work. *The Journey of a People: The Era of the Reorganization*, then, is not simply an accomplishment of one person, but the embodiment of the connections made possible by our historical association. While that may be taken as a statement about the parochial nature of our organization, I think that it more properly reveals the continued relevancy of our labors. And for that, we should all feel justly proud of Scherer's very fine and captivating book.

Finally, Scherer's work may not be a reorganization of the RLDS denominational narrative, but it will continue to restore to Community of Christ members a sense of a collective, ongoing ecclesiastical mission, as well as to reinforce the importance of leaders to articulate that mission. And it does this not simply by its accessible contents and wonderful illustrations and maps, but by its very materiality in the homes and offices of members of Community of Christ. And that presence is important. Religious studies scholar Colleen McDannell asserts that across centuries, "Christians use religious goods to tell themselves and the world around them that

they are Christians." Similarly, "religious objects also signal who is in the group and who is not.... Religious goods not only bind people to the sacred, they bind people to each other."[6] Denominational books, as religious objects, have helped bind Community of Christ members together for generations. Like the aging hardback, navy-blue volumes of official church histories that occupied our shelves and the shelves of our parents and grandparents, Scherer's second volume, as well as his series, will be a material presence in Community of Christ domestic spaces for decades to come.

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6. Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995), 45.

Karen Lynn Davidson, Richard L. Jensen, David J. Whittaker, eds. *The Joseph Smith Papers: Histories Volume 2: Assigned Histories, 1831–1847.* Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2012. 480 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, essay on sources, index, glossary, biographical directory. Cloth $59.95; ISBN 978-1-609-08945-0.

Reviewed by Susan Staker

Be patient please. I promise that the personal flight which follows is relevant to a review of *Volume 2, Assigned Histories, 1831–1847* from the Joseph Smith Papers Project.

I retired last February from a fifteen-year stint in the software industry overseeing the creation of instructional content (help, support, videos, and so on). Before that I pursued an advanced degree in literary studies (specialty in nineteen-century and narrative theory), supported by my editorial work in Mormon studies (Sunstone and then Signature Books). Just before I was gobbled up by Silicon Valley, I was working on a Joseph Smith project of my own. I saw this project as uniting my two selves—literary critic and Mormon studies geek.

It had been difficult as I worked on my project in the mid-1990s. Friends and colleagues were being excommunicated for books and articles I had edited in my years at Sunstone and Signature. More and more I wondered how I would ever present my own project to a scholarly community—so many crucial resources at the guts of it depended on Xeroxed documents and unpublished manuscripts circulating informally on a Mormon underground. The contrast of that sad time to the period of my earliest foray into Mormon studies was deeply depressing. Before I worked for Sunstone and Signature, I had been employed by the Mormon church's historical department in the halcyon days of Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, researching women in the church and eventually co-authoring a history of the children's Primary.

On returning to Mormon studies this past year, I've had the pleasant sense that at least some things may have come full circle. Many of the primary documents that had been difficult to access in the mid-1990s were now available in handsome scholarly editions—a number of them published through BYU and the current Mormon church historians. And much of the content was available online as well. In particular I was pleased with handsome versions of the original manuscripts for Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible published through BYU and Joseph's personal documents and revelations published as part of the Joseph Smith Papers Project.

Volume 2, Assigned Histories provides a useful example of what I've recently found encouraging. The volume includes histories that were assigned or initiated by Joseph Smith in the 1830s, including texts by John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and John Corrill as well as "A History, of the Persecution, Of the Church Of Jesus Christ of

Latter Day Saints in Missouri," published in 1839 and 1840 in the *Times and Seasons* in Nauvoo. The latter history of Missouri includes installments written and historical documents assembled by Edward Partridge, Parley P. Pratt, and Sidney Rigdon.

Here is how the introduction to *Volume 2, Assigned Histories* describes its utility: "When set beside the Joseph Smith histories, the assigned histories form a useful complement, offering narratives seen through different eyes, filtered through different sensibilities, and sometimes expressing vastly different judgments and conclusions." Both John Whitmer and John Corrill had left the church by the time their histories were finished. As a result both accounts include versions of events, especially from the traumatic late Missouri period, that focus on precisely those issues that eroded their faith in Joseph Smith and caused them to separate from his church—each man found himself on the receiving end of Danite activities in Missouri, for example. It is the straightforward inclusion of these sometimes difficult voices that characterizes this volume.

John Whitmer began his history as early as 1831, already a clerk for Smith and now appointed church historian. Whitmer was something of a reluctant historian and had to be prodded from time to time to work on his history. He fell into a style of stringing together copies of the revelations and adding summary information or context. These summaries provide some of the earliest descriptions of seminal events in church history—for example the spiritual events surrounding the June 1831 conference where elders first received the high priesthood. Even for the earlier period, he typically included revelations as they appeared in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, confusing at times exactly when the summary is written. This approach is particularly striking for the man who made some of the earliest extant copies of the revelations from the first years of the church—copies which were often altered significantly in the versions published in 1835. Despite his reluctance to begin and his distinctive approach to history making, Whitmer continued working on his history after his excommunication in March 1838 until as late as 1847. His refusal to return his history after his excommunication in part occasioned the history project that became Smith's own history of the church.

John Corrill was appointed as a church historian in April 1838 in the wake of Whitmer's excommunication and was initially part of this new arc of history making. But Corrill was already distancing himself from the church by the fall of 1838—for many of the same reasons that alienated Whitmer. As the introduction to Corrill's history in *Volume 2, Assigned Histories* explains, "Corrill went on to produce a narrative history of the church, though it was not the institutional chronicle expected." A bit understated perhaps. Corrill independently published his history the following year in St. Louis with the daunting title *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, (Commonly Called Mormons:) Including an Account of Their Doctrine and Discipline; with the Reasons of the Author for Leaving the Church.*

Corrill may have been new to his calling as church historian when he left the church in late 1838 but he brought many years of close association with central leadership to his narrative. He had first joined the church in Kirtland within its first year. He had been immediately called as an assistant bishop and given numerous crucial roles in Missouri and Kirtland—all summarized usefully in the editorial apparatus surrounding the histories included in this volume of the Joseph Smith Papers. This context underscores the importance of Corrill's contemporary narrative for this early period. The annotations and supporting information provided in the volume are, as in this particular example, consistently helpful and informative. Controversial issues are acknowledged, documented with appropriate secondary literature, and contextualized in straightforward if not expansive ways. This seems an appropriate and useful approach to the publishing of such foundational documents for Mormon studies.

I've always been a fan of Corrill's narrative. It is fluid and compelling. Much more personal and expansive than the more uncomfortable and somewhat clunky text (though still useful and wonderful in its moments) created by Whitmer. Corrill impresses me with his ability to go back and capture in what seems a remarkably fair and sympathetic way his conversion to the church and his early encounters with Joseph Smith and the community gathering around him. It's easy to see this when comparing Corrill's story with another early narrative from Missouri—the letters of Ezra Booth, who accompanied Joseph and others to Missouri earlier in the decade. Like Corrill, Booth has a certain felicity with language and narrative—he can tell a compelling story. But unlike Corrill, Booth does not have this longer, more mature experience in the church, and he doesn't demonstrate the ability to separate into a writing self and a remembering self that is a bit of a time traveler. Booth's bitter ending is written into almost every word of his narrative, Corrill's has a stronger and more poignant sense of then and now.

What intrigues me in the end is how this volume of the Joseph Smith Papers came to be. Publishing Joseph's letters and his translations and his revelations and his histories is a no brainer. What else would you include in the Joseph Smith Papers. But why these "assigned histories"—nothing absolutely obvious, as I see it, here. And even once you grant the premises I quoted earlier from the introduction—assigned histories, multiple prisms—I don't see Corrill's volume as a given. No contemporary verbiage exists to confirm that Corrill's narrative was written because of his calling, assignment from Joseph Smith. It may well be much more in the genre of Booth's letters after all. Perhaps it is the impulse to stretch a bit and include Corrill that pleases me about this volume in the Joseph Smith Papers Project. An approach to history that widens the circle a bit invites a few more people in.

And then to find these documents online: http://josephsmithpapers.org/the-papers. I can search. I can copy and paste. I can cross-reference and link. Heaven for the lady who just left Silicon Valley.

I could find omissions, warts. But I don't want to right now. I'm just happy to have these primary documents available, well annotated, published, and searchable—a laudable project. And *Volume 2, Assigned Histories* is, as far as I'm concerned, a bit of icing on the cake.

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Michael G. Reed. *Banishing the Cross: The Emergence of a Mormon Taboo.* Independence, Missouri: John Whitmer Books, 2012. xiii, 171 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Paper: $19.95. ISBN 978-1-934-90135-9.

Reviewed by Don H. Compier

In his first book, based on his master's thesis, Michael Reed has already made a groundbreaking contribution to Mormon studies and religious studies in general. By focusing on the use of the cross as symbol, he provides a fresh angle on Mormon history. As he draws on diverse sources including material artifacts (such as Joseph Smith Jr.'s walking stick) and an abundance of photographs in addition to the more usual thorough review of documentary evidence, he achieves what religious scholar Jennifer Scheper Hughes has called an "affective history."[1] That is, he allows us to trace the actual devotional attitudes and practices of persons. One can make a strong argument, as Hughes does, that this focus on lived piety gets closer to the heart of the phenomenon of religion than the usual emphasis on institutions, key personalities, and doctrines.

Reed's fine work therefore represents a historiographical breakthrough. One hopes that he is blazing a new path in Mormon studies. But the importance of this study goes beyond such considerations. Reed's focus on the cross raises serious questions about the persistent complicity of Mormon teaching with the longstanding anti-Catholic bias of much of US Protestantism of all theological persuasions. And it will provide material for serious reflection in the ongoing debate about whether or not Mormonism is Christian.

Reed thoroughly demonstrates that across the decades, denunciations of the use of the symbol of the cross by Mormon authors replicate the strong anti-Catholic tenor of Protestant polemics. In short, the cross has been seen as a Roman Catholic symbol, and therefore the sign of a corrupt, apostate religion. In Reed's compelling narrative, however, initially this general tendency was counteracted by Mormonism's roots in magical and Masonic rites. He ably documents the meaning and use of the cross in those worldviews. He also shows how the desire to provide archaeological proof of the Book of Mormon offered a positive view of the cross, since people believed that it had been found at key sites such as Palenque in the Mexican state of Chiapas. And he finds photographic evidence that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, LDS ladies, like Christian persons everywhere, used the cross as jewelry. As it has throughout Christian history, such persons embraced this key symbol to represent identification with the suffering Lord. The emergence of the

1. *Biography of a Mexican Crucifix: Lived Religion and Local Faith from the Conquest to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

official Mormon anti-cross taboo, then, is a relatively recent development. Reed demonstrates how it correlated with the rise of Utah's Roman Catholic population. Once again the link between hostility toward this symbol and anti-Catholicism is unmistakable.

Reed helpfully includes a comparative chapter offering some reflections on Strangite views and a thorough review of attitudes in the RLDS Church/Community of Christ. The latter certainly have included plenty of anti-cross polemic as well. Reed offers a particularly interesting discussion of influential Graceland professor and presiding patriarch Roy Cheville's well-known hostility to this symbol. Reed nicely avoids polemics, but by simply presenting Cheville's own poorly argued and inaccurate declarations, he does much to diminish Cheville's theological reputation. This example demonstrates that anti-Catholic prejudice can be found in liberal theological circles as well. This book shows how at the same moment of post–World War II identity formation, the LDS and RLDS came to utterly opposing views on the use of the cross, the former rejecting it even as the latter embraced it. One telling detail is Reed's discussion of the decision to provide a different insignia to LDS military chaplains, thus distinguishing them from other Christian ministers in the armed forces. At the same time that Mormon leaders were insisting on the Christian nature of their movement, this practice provides evidence to those who wish to argue that Mormons are not Christians. How can they be if they reject Christianity's core symbol?

Reed believes that anti-Catholic polemics have receded in both traditions. At the official level that may be true, but I wonder if underlying attitudes have really changed so much. The popularity of Dan Brown's hackneyed novels has demonstrated the continued strength of stereotypes about Roman Catholics long after the election of John F. Kennedy. I hope that Michael Reed's most interesting book will lead to critical reflections on this persistent form of bigotry in the United States. If demographers are right, the entire southwest quadrant of our land, including the state of Utah, will within a few decades feature a Hispanic majority. At least 80 percent of this population proudly claims its Roman Catholic heritage. Improved communal relations in the future demand a reconsideration of long-held attitudes. I am grateful for Reed's contribution to this essential dialogue.

Don H. Compier has served as dean of Community of Christ Seminary, Graceland University, since 2002. His publications include a co-edited volume, *Empire and The Christian Tradition*, named best reference book of 2007 by the Academy of Parish Clergy, and monographs on rhetorical theology, John Calvin, and popular music. Committed to international education, Don has taught and consulted in many nations. He has been married to Yolanda Santos of Mexico City for thirty years, and their daughter Nancy teaches high school Spanish and French in Topeka, Kansas.

Patrick Q. Mason, J. David Pulsipher, and Richard L. Bushman, eds. *War & Peace In Our Time—Mormon Perspectives*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2012. 290 pp. Paper: $29.95. ISBN 978-1-589-58092-2.

Reviewed by Andrew Bolton

To read this book is almost to eavesdrop on conversations of intellectual Mormons disturbed greatly by the last decade of US wars in the Middle East. Here are Mormon scholars seeking to understand their scriptures and history about war and peace in the contexts of our times. I confess that sometimes the LDS Church seems like the Republican Party at prayer. Regretfully, the LDS Church has been cheerleader for unthinking US patriotism that has supported every US war for the last hundred years. However, these writers and thinkers are mostly very different, and that is why this volume is important. From pacifists to thoughtful US national security professionals, these writers provide insightful reflections on the ethics of state violence. This is an intellectual fellowship that Community of Christ scholars should also join, given our struggles and efforts to engage seriously in a peace mission. We have something to learn and also to contribute out of our own journey.

Most of the chapters in this book were given as papers at a conference at Claremont Graduate University, in Claremont, California, in March 2011. The chief organizers were Richard L. Bushman and Patrick Q. Mason. Bushman is a distinguished cultural historian of Latter Day Saintism, and author of the biography, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*. Patrick Q. Mason, now Howard W. Hunter Chair of Mormon Studies at Claremont, was working at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame at the time of the conference. Their agenda is critical of war and justifications for war from within the LDS tradition. However, they bring into dialogue others who have different perspectives, and this is a strength of this volume. I very much regret that I was not at the Claremont conference. I was invited.

I expected some treatment of the Book of Mormon but was surprised that the first five chapters of part I were perspectives focused solely on the Book of Mormon with frequent reference to this scripture through the other twelve chapters. Nevertheless, the essays are well written, with three arguing for the Book of Mormon as a pacifist text. As counterpoint another essay argues for President Bush's doctrine of offensive warfare. A further essay attempts creatively to move beyond *either* pacifism *or* just war to develop an ethical model that includes both as valid, with nonviolence as the highest preference.

In part II, Historical and Cultural Perspectives, I liked Jennifer Lindell's critical essay on Mormon treatment of Native Americans. She describes how the promis-

ing perspective in the Book of Mormon that valued Native Americans, gave way in Utah to normal pioneer attitudes and violence against indigenous peoples. Sadly, this promising and prophetic young scholar died a few weeks after giving her paper. The whole volume is dedicated to her memory. Ethan Yorgason's comparison of the opinions of US military versus Korean church members is revealing and insightful and values non-US church member perspectives. It reminds us that half the membership of the LDS Church is outside the United States.

Some of the most interesting essays for me are in part III. The first essay is a good survey of general conference addresses during times of war. D. Michael Quinn's balanced essay on J. Reuben Clark Jr. is excellent, and Quinn is always a pleasure to read. Did you know that Reuben Clark, a reluctant pacifist and member of the First Presidency, called the dropping of atom bombs on Japan "a world tragedy" and in the same 1946 conference talk condemned the firebombing of Dresden and the death of 250,000 civilians? He added, "God will not forgive us." Perhaps the most impactful essay for me is that by Boyd Jay Petersen on Hugh Nibley. Nibley, one of the greatest scholarly apologists of the LDS Church, became fiercely critical of the barbarity of war through his firsthand experiences in World War II. There are two stories in particular that are very moving in the Nibley essay. Finally, the essay on Eugene England is also very good. The prophetic peace camp in the Mormon church has to be taken very seriously when historically there are people like Clark, Nibley and England in it.

Part IV concludes with essays by an LDS chaplain and national security practitioners presenting either side of two essays dealing with the revelation that includes the phrase "renounce war and proclaim peace" (LDS Doctrine and Covenants 98, Community of Christ D&C 95:3d). However, it is an inadequate ethic that can pit Mormons strongly against Mormons dutifully serving their respective countries on different sides. That this might happen in World War I is why RLDS F. Henry Edwards was a British conscientious objector. (He later went on to become an apostle and member of the Community of Christ First Presidency.) A global LDS theology and ethic is needed, and the final essay by LDS national security practitioners does not get there.

Mormons are not all the same. I learned that 10 percent of Mormons were against the Vietnam War but lacked champions in church leadership following Reuben Clark's departure from the First Presidency. Nevertheless, Mormons can dissent about war, said LDS president Gordon B. Hinkley in 2003. This volume and the conference that it came out of were in response to dissenting Mormons troubled about the last decade of US foreign policy and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The truth is we belong together in a larger peace movement of our times.

I missed LDS feminist voices in this volume. Women and their children suffer most in war. There are critical questions to be raised about patriarchy, war, and oppression against women. What questions should be raised about the patriarchal

theology of the ideal LDS family? There are also searching questions to be asked about the militarization of the early Latter Day Saint movement and possible correlations with the development of polygamy in Nauvoo. What can we learn from Emma Smith's resistance as president of the Women's Relief Society?

In future LDS conferences and books on this subject I would also encourage engagement with other scholars outside the LDS movement who can help us think seriously about war and peace biblically and in terms of taking the early Christian witness seriously. We are not the only Christians to believe in "Restoration"! For instance, the Anabaptists do, and there are some very good Mennonite scholars. I have benefited enormously by reading Willard M. Swartley's *Covenant of Peace* and the work of Danny Weaver, as well as John Howard Yoder. Other scholars like Rene Girard and Walter Wink are very important as well, and I applaud some engagement already by Mormons with Rene Girard's work about the victim mechanism. The Book of Mormon is important but limited as a scriptural foundation. The Bible remains the foundational text of Latter Day Saintism, and the New Testament witness of Jesus is ultimately normative for all of us. Jesus is ***the*** Word that exceeds all words from all prophets. To "Hear Him!" includes hearing the words "Love your enemies" with power and authority!

So at another conference I suggest at the very least inviting some Mennonite scholars to contribute to the dialogue. As Bill Juhnke, a historian and Mennonite at Community of Christ's Graceland University, wrote thirty years ago:

As a latter-day Anabaptist, I frequently ask myself: Will it ever be possible for humankind to respond from strength with nonviolent love? Just imagine for a moment: What if the Mormons—with all their visionary leadership, their positive Zion-building energy, their organizational and administrative genius, and their opportunity in a frontier haven—had responded from strength with nonviolent love? Would they have failed miserably, losing their lives and their vision? Or would they have transformed the world?[1]

The greater Latter Day Saint movement still has the potential to transform the world. That is why I joined the movement over forty years ago in Great Britain and why I remain engaged today. This volume is a humble but significant step in this direction. This book is yeast for leavening a wider movement of fourteen million members in over 150 nations. I recommend it for your reading.

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1. William E. Juhnke, "Anabaptism and Mormonism: A Study in Comparative History," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 2 (1982): 40

Duane C. S. Stoltzfus. ***Pacifists in Chains—The Persecution of Hutterites During the Great War.*** Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. 268 pp. Paper: $29.95. ISBN: 978-1-421-41127-9.

Reviewed by Andrew Bolton

The year 2014 is the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of World War I that began on July 28 with the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo, today's capital of Bosnia. It ended with the Armistice signed on November 11, 1918, with up to fifteen million dead and a further fifty million dying from Spanish flu. The Great War changed forever the world and continues to impact us today, not least in the Middle East. World War I also seriously interrupted the church's journey as a peace church. Joseph Smith III, suspicious about violence in the light of his childhood experiences, died in 1914. His belligerent son, F. M. Smith, took over the office of church president in 1915 and joined the bellicose nationalists as the United States declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917. World War I for the United States began with conscription of all young men aged twenty-one to thirty.

The central story of *Pacifists in Chains* is the adamant refusal of four young farmers to do any military service in the US Army. All from the Hutterian Rockport colony in South Dakota, three of them were brothers: Michael, David, and Joseph Hofer. The fourth member of the draftees group was Jacob Wipf and related by marriage to the Hofer brothers. All the men were married and were fathers of young children. They were honest, hardworking, and of exemplary character. The story traces their journey from home in South Dakota to court martial at Camp Lewis in Washington State, to chains and solitary confinement in dark, wet dungeons in Alcatraz, California, and finally to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where two of the Hofer brothers died—Joseph on November 29, and Michael December 2, 1918.

This is a story of stubborn faithfulness to four hundred-year-old Hutterian church teachings that include taking very seriously, "Do not kill" and "Love your enemies." Founded as part of the Anabaptist movement in the Protestant Reformation in 1528, their spiritual cousins are the Mennonites and Amish. Their distinctiveness is that they practice community of goods and a communal life together, modelled on Acts 2 and 4. They share with Mennonites and Amish the commitment to humility, serious discipleship, and nonviolence. In some ways they are Benedictine monastics but with families. Faith, work, and prayer go together. Whilst valued for their sobriety, hard work, and skills in farming and other crafts, Hutterian history comprises times of flourishing and times of persecution and enforced migration. They came to the United States in 1874 to escape the Russian czar's suppression of their German dialect and forced conscription in the Russian army.

Duane Stoltzfus, the skilful narrator of this moving story, is a professor of communication at the Mennonite Goshen College in Indiana. He writes beautifully and his research is superb. If anything, he understates the case of the four Hutterians amidst the hyper-patriotism of the war that was sloganized to end all wars and make the world safe for democracy. Stoltzfus does an excellent job of contextualizing the Hutterian incident within the wider story of the war and the resistance and conscientious objections of others. He tells the story with humaneness and empathy for all involved, including soldiers, prison commanders, Secretary of War Baker and President Wilson. He thoughtfully makes links with US torture issues in the last decade and the experience of innocent but stereotyped Muslims in America and elsewhere. Innocent people get hurt when people oversimplify and demonize and panic out of fear as they rally around the flag and slogans. Innocent people get hurt when important protections of US constitutional rights are ignored, and the freedom to ethically dissent is suppressed.

The power of this story is the contrast of simple but profound lived-out faith with systems and powers populated by often well-intentioned people who are caught and compromised. The Hutterians are innocents abroad and veritable sheep for the slaughter in their naiveté about the affairs of men. In some ways for me they become Christ figures, first-century Christian martyrs. The significance for us of this story is that Hutterians quietly and humbly practice what the Restoration movement calls the "quest for Zion" in their peaceful, nonviolent life of all things in common. They have abolished poverty and neither need police nor army to protect themselves. They exemplify the mythical IV Nephi Golden Age of the Nephites that lasted two hundred years; like them they are "smitten but do not smite back" (IV Nephi 1:37 Community of Christ). They live what we preach and hope for in Community of Christ. The witness of these four Hutterians is disturbing but something we can learn from. No one in the end doubted their stubborn courage or principled sincerity. They are twentieth-century apostolic witnesses, and we would do well to mark and learn from them. The world would be a much better place.

Andrew Bolton (abolton@cofchrist.org) is the former Community of Christ coordinator for Peace and Justice Ministries worldwide, and presently apostle for the Asia Mission Field with over two hundred congregations in eight countries stretching from Israel to Japan.

Brandon S. Plewe, editor in chief; S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, associate editors. *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2012. 272 pp. Full-color. Cloth: $39.95. ISBN: 978-0-842-52825-2.

Reviewed by John C. Hamer

My very first presentation to the John Whitmer Historical Association ten years ago in 2004 was entitled "Mapping Mormonism."[1] Since the advent of desktop publishing and the invention of software tools like Adobe Illustrator and Photoshop a little over a decade earlier, I had been participating in the beginnings of a revolution in the way maps were being used to present history in atlases, museum displays, in videos, on computers, and online. But little of that had penetrated the field of Restoration history and, as a newcomer to that field, I proposed a few suggestions for improving the mapping of Mormonism.

Up until that time, the *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, edited by S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, was the sole comprehensive work in the field.[2] Published by Simon & Schuster in 1994, the 169-page work was divided into seventy-four "entries," consisting of a single page article by an expert on a given topic on the left, faced by a single page of maps drawn by the BYU Geography Department on the right. The maps were primarily two-color (black with blue highlights) and were entirely practical for the era. Their 8½" x 11" format would have been convenient for photocopying handouts (and, going back in time, we might also imagine for overhead projection). However, they tended to lack historical context and detail. For example, even though the overwhelming majority of the maps illustrated events of the nineteenth century, they always showed twentieth century political boundaries; although terrain is often important, especially in the mountain west, only the maps of Salt Lake Valley indicated relief features; and, beyond the early period, the focus was almost exclusively on The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with only a single map to indicate the alternate "Divergent Paths from Nauvoo" (66–67). Overall, the historical atlas seemed to suffer from a division between the "historical" and

1, Presented in a plenary session at the JWHA conference in Omaha on September 24, 2004, "Mapping Mormormism" was a visual presentation of 131 original maps. After many years and much more experience mapping the movement, I revised the presentation, explaining what I'd learned in my JWHA presidential address delivered precisely seven years later on September, 24, 2011, in Warsaw, Illinois. See "Mapping Mormonism and the Latter Day Saint Movement," in the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, 32, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2012): 1–16.

2. The *Atlas of Utah* produced by Weber State College under the direction of Deon C. Greer, Klaus D. Gurgel, Wayne L. Wahlquist, Howard A. Christy, and Gary B. Peterson, and published by Brigham Young University Press in 1981, was an even earlier work filled with magnificent maps, but it focussed solely on Utah and, of course, was not primarily a historical atlas.

the "atlas"—with historians writing the history and geographers drawing the maps and neither side fully appreciating the potential of the other.

What a difference a decade makes. If my original presentation were meant to throw down a gauntlet, Brandon S. Plewe and a vast team of expert contributors have picked it up and essentially run a marathon with their new state-of-the-art historical atlas coincidently entitled *Mapping Mormonism*. Although the project began as a revision of the *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, the new atlas is a completely different caliber of work. Still divided into a series of two-page topical spreads with an article contributed by a specialist, the maps and other graphics are now fully integrated into the text. The sheer quantity of the map work is staggering, but the quality is likewise superb. The maps now provide every kind of context: historic political boundaries, terrain, demographics, and more.

The detail is intensely rich. Individual maps are very frequently the end product of massive studies: for example, known early branches (41), settlement of Caldwell and Daviess counties (49), settlement of the greater Nauvoo region (59), and intermountain colonization (97), to cite just a few. In addition to traditional maps, there is substantial use of charts and other modern infographics, including timelines, organizational charts, 3-D landscape panaramas, city scapes, and 3-D cut-aways of key buildings like the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples. Four 3-D drawings showing the development of Temple Square in Salt Lake City from 1860 to 1900 to 1950 to 2012 are especially informative (114–117). Two effective examples of schematic maps are used to illustrate changing "Membership Distribution" of the LDS Church 1850 to the present. The first is a box graph that has the look of a geological strata cutaway showing the proportion of LDS members in different regions from 1905 to the present. This inevitably indicates a decline of Utah's dominance from over 60 percent of the total members to under 15 percent, while simultaneously showing an increase in the proportion of members living in South America from a scant trace to over 20 percent. The second in the series draws different regions by member population size, comparing 1990 with 2010. This makes it easy to see that, by membership, Pacific Island nations were significantly "larger" than the continent of Africa in 1990. Color coding for growth rate shows that while membership has increased substantially from 1990 to 2010, the rate of growth has decreased substantially (174–175).

Although the history of the Restoration generally continues to be leadership and headquarters focussed, *Mapping Mormonism* gives substantial attention to the church's periphery. There are maps of branches for early Ohio (29), North America 1831–44 (41), the Eastern States Mission 1844–45 (43), the early British Isles (47), the greater Nauvoo region 1839–46 (59), worldwide 1839–46 (60–61), continuting through to the present with detailed surveys of Stakes, Districts, temples, and Missions of the LDS Church throughout the world in 2012. Several two-page spreads are devoted to the local experience, including mapping the rise of specialized congre-

gations (155), and a beautiful timeline with small isometric diagrams illustrating the evolution (devolution?) of standard plan LDS meetinghouses (160–61).

An admirable amount of time is spent mapping the stories of the broader movement. Four pages are given over to the Succession Crisis from 1844–65, with callouts for the organizations of Joseph Smith III, James Strang, Granville Hedrick, Sidney Rigdon, William Bickerton, and Lyman Wight (64–67). Four later pages are devoted to bringing the story of Community of Christ to the present (192–195), the last of which maps the Restoratationist story. Other churches of the movement are given two pages (196–197) and the Third Convention in Mexico has its own page (219). Perhaps just as importantly, the alternate churches are sometimes included in the landscape of numerous maps outside of their dedicated topic spreads; for example, the exodus across the plains (69), the Winter Quarters region (77), and the maps of the contemporary temple lot (137), of Kirtland (138), and of Nauvoo (139). Unfortunately, too little space has been given to map out the fundamentalist Mormon experience, which certainly deserved two pages in the era of the manifestos and two pages about the present day.

Tough topics, like fundamentalist Mormonism, are not always given sufficient treatment. For example, the Mountain Meadows Massacre is given only an inset within the Utah War spread (110–111). However, many tough topics are nevertheless included—as, for example, maps of Mormon-Indian wars in Utah (100–101). Race and gender issues are underexplored. The LDS Church's decisive intervention in the Equal Rights Amendment struggle is given a single blip on a timeline (166).

All in all, however, Brandon S. Plewe, S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, Richard H. Jackson, along with their entire team of contributors, are to be commended for this monumental, spectacular achievement. *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History* is an indespensible resource for everyone interested in the history of the movement. And, at $39.95, the volume is a steal—demanding (if you have not already) that you immediately go out and purchase it.

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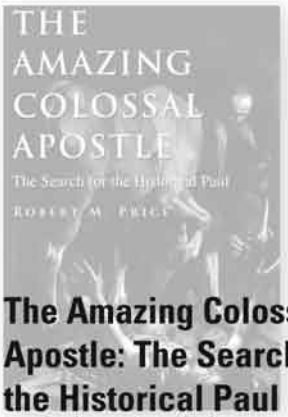

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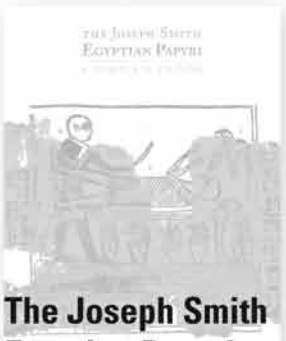

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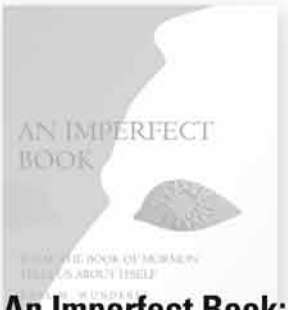

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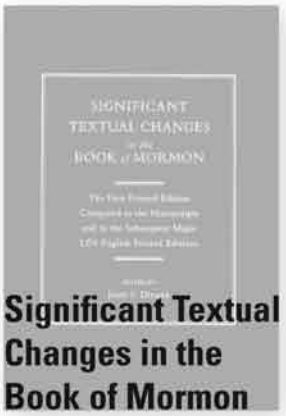

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