The John Whitmer Historical Association JOURNAL

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Edited by William D. Morain

Fall/Winter 2013
Volume 33, Number 2

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 e-mail: *anplsurg@grm.net*.

Printed in the United States of America
ISSN 0739-7852

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Fall/Winter 2013, Vol. 33, No. 2

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Our Legacy in Print

William D. Morain

On the wall of the Surgery Library where I trained years ago there hung a yellowed sign reading:

We see only what we look for. We look for only what we know.

Curious about what we at the John Whitmer Historical Association have been knowing, seeing, and looking for over our forty years of existence, I recently sat down to review the articles appearing on the Table of Contents of every single back issue of the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* to find out. While the more theological papers presented at meetings saw print in other venues, particularly *Restoration Studies*, the list should fairly reflect the historical content of JWHA meetings.

Though there have been some trends in certain subject areas, a steady underlying pattern has predominated over the years. As might be expected, the greatest number of articles were those related to the earliest days of the Mormon movement, forty-four papers in all. Close behind at forty-three were biographies, twenty-five of LDS figures and eighteen of RLDS. Next at twenty-eight were a growing series of thoughtful papers related to recent developments in the evolution of RLDS/Community of Christ historiography, liturgy, and schism.

Papers on Joseph Smith Jr., were tied with early articles on RLDS history at eighteen, followed by manuscripts on historiographic topics at seventeen. Articles on Mormon denominations other than the two largest followed at sixteen, along with contrasts/comparisons between LDS and RLDS groups at fifteen. Women's issues showed the greatest increase in publication over the past decade with ten papers in all. A handful of topics appearing less frequently included current LDS matters, polygamy, the Book of Mormon, and racial issues, among others. The most recent additions to the list included hymnody, same-sex issues, DNA analysis, and Mitt Romney.

In general, papers on LDS topics have increased proportionally over time, reflecting expanding membership and participation on the part of LDS colleagues. And much scholarly work has been represented on the part of several senior authors

whose consistent pursuits in specific research areas has been part of a lifetime focus of interest.

But nowhere did I see evidence, in the titles at least, of personal animus or uncivil confrontation of one participant against another. We'll leave that to Congress and continue doing things our own way.

Mormonism, Mitt Romney, and Race in the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Newell G. Bringhurst

During the early stages of the 2012 presidential campaign after W. Mitt Romney emerged as the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, a widely circulated *Associated Press* article posed the following rhetorical question: "Will Obama's Blackness Prevail Over Romney's Mormonism in 2012?" It further stated:

> How unthinkable it was, not long ago, that a presidential election would pit a candidate fathered by an African against another condemned as un-Christian. Yet here is it: Barack Obama verses Mitt Romney, an African American and a white Mormon, representative of two groups that have endured oppression to carve out a place in the United States."

It predicted that Obama's race and Romney's Mormonism would be factors in the upcoming campaign, "whether explicitly stated or not." The article concluded with a second rhetorical question: "How much progress has been made against bigotry? By November we should have some idea."[1]

In the November 2012 election African Americans awarded Obama over 90 percent of their vote. This essay attempts to answer two interrelated questions:

(1) To what extent did Mitt Romney's Mormon religion—specifically its problematic history relative to race, cause blacks to reject him?

(2) What role did Romney's performance as a candidate play in prompting African Americans to vote overwhelmingly for President Obama?

1. "Will Obama's Blackness Prevail Over Romney's Mormonism in 2012?" Newsone: For Black America, May 5, 2012, http://newsone.com/2006033/obama-vs-romney-2012.

Both Mitt Romney and Barack Obama sought to soft pedal their respective status as racial/religious pioneers throughout the 2012 campaign. Mitt Romney, in particular, tried to avoid any and all discussion of race. When the candidate was encouraged to run ads assailing the Reverend Jeremiah Wright, Obama's controversial one-time pastor, Romney rejected the idea. Romney's reticence was rooted in two factors: The first was his situation as a white man looking to unseat the nation's first black president; and second, the fact of the "Mormon Church's complicated racial history," specifically that it barred men of African descent from its lay priesthood prior to 1978.[2]

Romney's intentions notwithstanding, the candidate found himself repeatedly confronted with the issue of race as it involved his Mormonism. In January 2012 African American scholar Obery M. Hendricks Jr., in an online essay, "Mitt Romney and the Curse of Blackness," pointed to the candidate's LDS beliefs, which he found "deeply troubling," specifically "the sad truth" of the Book of Mormon which "says … explicitly and in numerous passages [that] black people are cursed by God and our dark skin is the evidence of our accursedness … What makes all of this more problematic is that at no time has Mitt Romney ever publically indicated that he seriously questioned the divine inspiration of the Book of Mormon teachings about race, much less" repudiating them. Hendricks urged the candidate to reject "the white supremacist legacy" of his "religious tradition."[3]

Also in January a second African American, the reverend O'Neal Dozier, declared that Mitt Romney "cannot win the presidency because Americans won't vote for a Mormon president." Dozier, a backer of rival Republican candidate Rick Santorum, further stated, "Blacks are not going to vote for anyone of the Mormon faith," adding, albeit incorrectly, that "the Book of Mormon says the Negro skin is cursed."[4]

Yet a third observer, Kyle-Anne Shiver, also writing in January 2012, warned that should Romney win the GOP nomination, he must be prepared to confront "the liberals' anti-Mormon slime machine." She further predicted that the "worst attacks on Mormonism will be based on outside perceptions of Latter-day history up to 1978" during which the LDS church was "an unapologetic racist organization, which denied any level of priesthood to any man of African descent, regardless of his skin

2. "Mitt Romney: I Would Do More For African Americans Than Barack Obama," CBS Houston, July 12, 2012, http://houston.cbslocal.com/2012/07/12/mitt-romney-i-would-do-more-for-african-america.

3. Obery M. Hendricks Jr., "Mitt Romney and the Curse of Blackness," *Huffington Post*, January 12, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/obery-m-hendricks-jr-phd/mitt-romney-curse-blackness_b_1200470.html.

4. Andrew Abramson, "Pastor at Santorum rally: Americans won't vote for Mormon president, Mormon church is racist," Post on Politics, January 22, 2012, http://www.postonpolitics.com/2012/01/pastor-of-church-where-santorum-gave-sermon-blasts-romney-saying-americans-will-not-vote-for-a-mormon-president.

color," stating that the "racist history" of the Mormon church "will become a centerpiece of the electoral battle."[5]

Such concerns prompted Religion News Service writer Daniel Burke to rhetorically ask, "Will Mormons' racial history be a problem for Mitt Romney?" Answering in the affirmative were a number of scholars whom Burke interviewed for a syndicated newspaper article published in newspapers throughout the United States in February and appearing online. Among those Burke interviewed were two prominent African American Latter-day Saints, Marvin Perkins and Darron Smith. Perkins was outspoken in noting that his church had "neither formally apologized for the priesthood ban nor publically repudiated many of the theories used to justify it for more than 125 years," warning that its failure to do so "could … become a loud distraction for" Romney. More blunt was Darren Smith stating, "the church has never done its due diligence, and … Mitt Romney is taking hell for it." Both Perkins and Smith further proclaimed that the church "was wrong" in banning blacks from full priesthood participation prior to 1978. Perkins concluded that the only way the LDS church could "overcome its racist reputation" was "by confessing that its racial teachings were wrong."[6]

LDS church's racial practices relative to African Americans—both past and present—were subjected to even more intense national scrutiny in a February 28 *Washington Post* article, "The Genesis of a Church's Stand on Race," by Jason Horowitz. Interviewed for this article was BYU religion professor Randy Bott whose comments concerning black priesthood denial generated a firestorm of controversy. Bott articulated what he claimed were the theological underpinnings of the ban, proclaiming blacks to be the direct descendents of Cain—the Old Testament arch-villain who killed his brother Abel. Bott further asserted that one of Cain's descendents was an ancient Egyptian ruler, Egyptus, who married Ham, the son of Noah, carrying the so-called "black curse" beyond the Great Deluge. Bott utilized as a proof text Mormon scripture, specifically the Book of Abraham—an LDS-canonized work stating "that all the descendants of Ham and Egyptus were thus black and barred from the priesthood." In rationalizing the ban itself, Bott claimed that "God has always been discriminatory when it comes to whom He grants the authority of the priesthood." Bott compared the black race to "a young child prematurely asking for the keys to her father's car," explaining that prior to 1978, "the Lord determined that blacks were not yet ready for the priesthood." The BYU professor then posed a rhetorical ques-

5. Kyle-Anne Shriver, "Brace Yourself for the Anti-Mormon Slime Machine," American Thinker, January 24, 2012, http://www.americanthinker.com/2012/01/brace_yourself_for_the_anti-mormon_slime_machine.html.

6. Daniel Burke, "Will Mormons' racial history be a problem for Mitt Romney?," *USA Today*, February 1, 2012, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/religion/story/2012-02-01/mormon-romney-black/52920394/1. This same article was published under the title: "Mormonism's racial history my hurt Romney," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 3, 2012. http://www.sltrib.com/sltrib/lifestyle/53422107-80/church-romney-mormon-black.html.csp.

tion: "What is discrimination? I think that it is keeping something from somebody that would be a benefit for them, right? But what if it wouldn't have been a benefit to them?" Bott further noted that the denial of the priesthood to blacks on earth—although not in the afterlife—protected them from the lowest rungs of the ladder reserved for people who abuse their priesthood powers. He concluded: "You couldn't fall off the top of the ladder, because you weren't on the top of the ladder. So, in reality blacks not having the priesthood was the greatest blessing God could give them."[7]

Professor Bott's comments generated an immediate, vigorous rebuke from LDS church spokesmen. The following day LDS church leaders authorized a media "Church Statement" cryptically stating: "The positions attributed to BYU professor Randy Bott in a recent *Washington Post* article absolutely do not represent the teachings and doctrines of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints … BYU faculty members do not speak for the Church." It continued, "The Church position is clear. We believe all people are God's children and are equal in His eyes and in the Church. We do not tolerate racism in any form." The statement did concede that "for a time there was a restriction on the priesthood for male members of African descent" carefully adding that attempts "to explain the reason for this restriction … should be viewed as speculation and opinion, not doctrine." It concluded, "We condemn racism, including any and all past practices by individuals both inside and outside the Church."[8]

Later that same day the church issued a second "Official Statement" entitled "Race and the Church: All Are Alike Unto God" explaining its past and present practices relative to black people. It proclaimed, "People of all races have always been welcomed and baptized into the Church since its beginning," stating that during Joseph Smith's lifetime, "some black males were ordained to the priesthood." But "at some point the Church stopped ordaining male members of African descent, although there were a few exceptions. It is not known precisely why, how, or when this restriction began in the Church." The restriction ended with church leaders seeking and receiving:

> divine guidance regarding the issue more than three decades ago. The origins of priesthood availability are not entirely clear. Some explanations with respect to the matter were made in the absence of direct revelation and references to these explanations are sometimes cited in publications. These previous personal statements do not represent Church doctrine.

7. Jason Horowitz, "The Genesis of a church's stand on race," *Washington Post*, February 28, 2012 http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2012-02-28/politics/35443157_1_george-romney-first-mormon-presidential-nominee-michigan-governor.

8. "Church Statement Regarding 'Washington Post' Article on Race and the Church," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Response," February 29, 2012, http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/racial-remarks-in-washington-post-article.

In conclusion it affirmed, "The Church unequivocally condemns racism, including any and all past racism by individuals both inside and outside the Church."[9]

Also contained in Jason Horowitz's seminal *Washington Post* article, but largely overlooked, was an illuminating chronicle of Mitt Romney's evolving attitudes relative to Mormonism's black priesthood ban—an in-depth discussion based on interviews with individuals, both black and white, who knew and had interacted with the candidate. Romney, as a high school student attending the prestigious Cranbrook School outside of Detroit "was well-regarded" by the school's few black students, due in part to the fact he was the son of Michigan governor George Romney, "a leading voice for civil rights within the Republican Party." One-time Cranbrook African American classmate Sidney Barthwell Jr. stated, "I knew about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and that they didn't allow blacks to ascent to the priesthood." As for Mitt, Barthwell recalled that during their high school years together, Romney never considered "African Americans as anything but equals." Romney's views relative to the LDS church's black priesthood ban "never arose" nor were discussed "as an issue."[10]

But as Horowitz chronicles, Mitt Romney was forced to confront growing controversy surrounding the Mormon black priesthood ban after returning from an LDS church mission to France and enrolling at Brigham Young University in 1969. "The priesthood ban contributed to unprecedented volatility on campus," noted Horowitz. In October of that year, fourteen University of Wyoming football players were kicked off the team in response to their threat to wear black armbands in protest against the ban in an upcoming game against BYU. Also in 1969 Stanford University, which Romney himself had attended prior to his missionary service, took a stronger stand against the LDS church, announcing a boycott of all future athletic competition with the Mormon church-owned University. Romney reacted angrily, denouncing Stanford's action as "naïve," "bigoted," and "narrow-minded." Romney, moreover, sought to defend the integrity of BYU, which he perceived as a school under siege, doing so as a leader of the Cougar Club—the school's sports booster organization. As protestors from rival schools "threw tomatoes and worse at BYU players and their fans, … Romney and other Cougar Club members reacted defiantly, calling on the school to not only stand its ground but redoubled their individual efforts at raising money for the school," recalled Dane McBride, a club member and close Romney friend. As for the priesthood ban itself, "the very notion of" of Romney or any other club member "questioning [it] was considered unseemly as well as useless."[11]

9. "Race and the Church: All Are Alike Unto God," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Official Statement," February 29, 2012, http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/race-church.

10. Horowitz, "The Genesis of a church's stand on race."

11. Ibid.

Throughout the 1970s, Romney "remained disengaged" from the priesthood ban issue following completion of his schooling first at BYU and then Harvard University. Such detachment continued even after Romney was called to the office of bishop of his Boston area LDS ward. "I don't remember conversing with" Romney concerning the priesthood ban, recalled Phillip Barlow—a longtime acquaintance, who served as his counselor in the ward bishopric. Romney's silence, Barlow further noted, was related to the fact that he "was a very practical leader, not a theologian, not a historian, not a scholar but [rather] a business genius." Romney's reaction upon hearing the 1978 news of the lifting of ban were "tears of joy," he himself recalled in a 2007 interview on Meet the Press. In that same interview Romney further stated, "My dad's reputation … and my own has always been one of reaching out to people and not discriminating based upon race." Romney also addressed the highly controversial, "prolonged Mormon debate over whether the ban resulted from divine doctrine or inherited historical racism," he himself affirmed the official LDS church view that "the ban was the word of God and thus unalterable without divine intervention."[12]

In the immediate aftermath of the Randy Bott controversy and in the wake of Mitt Romney's emergence as the inevitable Republican presidential nominee, the candidate found himself under ever-increasing scrutiny relative to the church's past policies on race. In an April 2012 National Review Online article, Kevin D. Williamson characterized "the Mormon stereotype [as] nice, clean-cut, well-mannered, earnest, sober … and very, very white" but then stated that "the taint of racism still hangs upon the Mormon Church, which did not fully incorporate black members into its ranks until 1978." It then predicted that as Romney moved forward in the general election campaign and expected presidential debates he would "have to answer some uncomfortable questions about sitting in a racist church when he was 31 years old"—having to do so "while standing next to Barack Obama." To his advantage, the article continued, Romney would "be able to point to his family's long history in the civil-rights wing of the Republican party, to the fact that Mormonism today, is, as befits a uniquely American creed, a global and multiracial phenomenon."[13]

Romney also received advice from Jeffrey Weiss in a second online article entitled "Seven Questions for Mitt the Mormon." The candidate, Weiss stated, should "be prepared to answer some questions that he has thus far deflected or ignored," among the most important "LDS teachings about racial equality." Weiss characterized the church's 1978 revelation a crucial turning point in that it proclaimed "a new and radical (in the sense of it being absolute) theological equality of all races." Weiss

12. Ibid.

13. Kevin D. Williamson, "An American Gospel," *National Review Online*, April 9, 2012, http://www.nationalreview.com/content/american-gospel.

then queried the candidate directly: How did Romney feel about the prior teaching and the new? How did all of this inform his thinking about racial issues in general?[14]

Yet a third journalist, Jacques Berlinerblau, offered his advice in a *Washington Post* essay, "How Romney Should Talk About Religion," admonishing the candidate to "reach out to conservative African Americans in swing states: One trouble spot," Berlinerblu further noted, "consists of his church's now abrogated teachings on ordination of Black clergy and interracial marriage." He urged Romney to explicitly distance himself "from former LDS teachings" on race—a move "both morally and tactically correct."[15]

A fourth writer, John G. Turner, in an August 2012 *New York Times* op-ed essay entitled "Why Race is Still a Problem for Mormons," weighed in with his own advice to LDS church leaders themselves. Turner, though a non-Mormon, was a professional historian and author of a carefully researched and written biography on nineteenth-century Mormon leader Brigham Young—the acknowledged architect of the Black priesthood ban.[16] Turner suggested that embarrassing questions concerning the LDS church's troubled racial past could be discarded or "left behind … if its leaders explained that their predecessors had confused their own racist views with God's will and that the priesthood ban resulted from human error and limitations rather than a divine curse." Such a move, Turner conceded, "would be difficult given the church's ecclesiology," but then further noted that "the abiding love and veneration most Latter-day Saints have for their leaders would readily survive a fuller reckoning with their human frailties and flaws. The Mormon people need not believe they have perfect prophets, either past or present."[17]

As if all of this was not enough, Romney himself was excoriated for his failure to sufficiently reach out to the African American community. Specifically, an April 2012 report appearing on DallasBlack.com stated that the candidate had "made little or no effort to reach out to Black voters in what is widely believed will be an extremely tight race," warning that such neglect "could cost him the White House." The article further noted that "Romney doesn't seem to have any prominent black advisors or campaign staffers." Even blunter was Joel Kotkin, characterizing the candidate's fail-

14. Jeffrey Weiss, "Seven Questions for Mitt About Mormonism," Real Clear Religion, April 9, 2012, http://www.realclearreligion.org/articles/2012/04/09/seven_questions_for_mitt_the_mormon_106469.html.

15. Jacques Berlinerblau, "How Romney should talk about religion," *Washington Post*, April 16, 2012. http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/guest-voices/post/how-romney-should-talk-about-religion/2012/04/16/gIQAEohoLT_blog.html.

16. John G. Turner, *Brigham Young Pioneer Prophet* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012).

17. John G. Turner, "Why Race is Still a Problem for Mormons," *New York Times*, August 18, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/19/opinion/sunday/racism-and-the-mormon-church.html.

ure as "just plain stupid," attributing it to the fact that Romney, along with his "generation of Mormons grew up in an all-white world."[18]

Yet another observer noted Romney's isolation from blacks in general. "Romney begins his contest with Barack Obama without any notable black endorsers, surrogates, or high ranking campaign staffers," opined an online commentator writing on KultureKritic. This critic conceded that Romney, in opposing Barack Obama, had "no chance of winning most African American voters" but warned that "neglecting them altogether would send "the wrong message to swing voters … Romney's problem isn't that blacks aren't buying his message but that he hasn't bothered to sell it to them."[19]

Responding to such concerns, Mitt Romney's campaign team made a concerted effort to reach out to black voters commencing in May 2012. The candidate travelled to an impoverished black neighborhood in west Philadelphia to hear the concerns of local educators and community leaders, explaining that "I come to learn, obviously, from people who are having experiences that are unique and instructive." Romney moreover, hired Tara Wall, herself African American and former TV journalist as senior communications advisor to approach potential African American voters. In explaining the rationale behind this effort, Wall stated, "From a messaging standpoint, we need to be able to communicate and relate to these communities about how they are being impacted by Obama's policies. It's the right thing to do, and it's an important part of the process. It's not a ploy, it's not a tactic, it's a part of who we are. We have to show up." Romney's outreach to the black community was not so much an effort to court the black vote, which campaign operatives conceded would go overwhelmingly to Obama. Rather it was designed to allay the concerns of white moderates. As noted by one political observer, "Suburban voters will be a real battleground, and upscale white voters like to think of themselves as tolerant, and they won't vote for a candidate that is seen as exclusionary, and the Romney folks must be aware of that."[20]

Romney, in fact, expanded his outreach to African Americans by accepting an invitation from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to address its annual convention meeting at Houston, Texas, in mid-July. Romney's twenty-four-minute speech drew a mixed response, both from the delegates in attendance and the media. Romney was booed for his comments directed

18. "Mitt Romney's African-American Problem," DallasBlack.com, April 11, 2012, http://www.dallasblack.com/sitepopup.aspx/communityChannel/mittsproblem.

19. "Mitt Romney's Campaign Accused of Excluding African Americans Almost Entirely," KultureKritic, July 14, 2012, http://www.kulturekritic.com/2012/04/news/mitt-romneys-campaign-accused-of-excluding.

20. Nia-Malika Henderson and Phillip Rucker, "Romney campaign begins quiet push for African American voters," *Washington Post*, May 24, 2012, http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2012-05-24/politics/35455189_1_romney-campaign-universal-bluford-charter-school-black-voters.

against President Obama's promise to create more jobs, "He will not, and his record of the last four years proves it." Also greeted with boos was Romney's assertion, "My policy will be: Number one, create jobs for the American people. I do not have a hidden agenda. And I submit to you this: If you want a president who will make things better in the African American community, you are looking at him." Likewise booed by the delegates was Romney's promise "to eliminate every expensive, non-essential program. That includes Obamacare."[21]

Other portions of Romney's speech were better received with several lines actually applauded. Among these was Romney's call for education reform, focusing on limiting educational funding to individual students and championing school choice. Sensitive to his audience, Romney acknowledged the "many pervasive issues of inequality which Black Americans deal with every day" stating that: "Many barriers remain. Old inequalities persist. In some way the challenges are even more complicated than before. And across America—and even within your own ranks—there are serious, honest debates about the way forward."[22] Also the candidate acknowledged the importance of the family. Specifically, he quoted former NAACP executive director Benjamin Hooks that the family "remains the bulwark and the mainstay of the Black community. That great truth must not be overlooked." Then Romney added, "Any policy that lifts up and honors the family is going to be good for the county, and that must be our goal. As president, I will promote strong families—and I will defend traditional marriage."[23] Romney also sought to connect with his audience through "religious references, noting the hymns" performed at the gathering along with a tribute to his father whom he described as "a man of faith who knew that every person was a child of God."[24] At the conclusion of his speech, Romney actually "received a standing ovation from many in the ballroom." Although such praise "seemed to be more in appreciation of Romney's appearance than what he said," noted one observer.[25]

Response to the speech from individuals both within and outside the NAACP convention was also mixed. Clayola Brown, the NAACP board member who had invited Romney to speak, called the speech "insensitive and quite demeaning," while a second board member, Amos Brown, criticized the address as "an insult to the

21. "Romney speech to NAACP draws boos, raises questions on strategy," Reuters, July 11, 2012. http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/07/11/us-usa-campaign-romney-convention-idUSBRE86A0SO20120711.

22. "Mitt Romney's NAACP Speech A Powerful Appeal To The Better Angels Of African-American Voters," Mediaite, July 11, 2012, http://www.mediaite.com/online/mitt-romneys-naacp-speech-a-powerful-appeal-to-the-better.

23. Joseph Curl, "Why Romney's NAACP speech matters," *Washington Times*, July 15, 2012, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2012/jul/15/curl-why-romneys-naacp-speech-matters/?page=all.

24. Kasie Hunt, "Mitt Romney NAACP Speech: Presumptive GOP Nominee Makes Pitch To Black Voters," *Huffington Post*, July 11, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/07/11/mitt-romney-naacp-speech_n_1664343.html.

25. "Romney speech to NAACP draws boos, raises questions on strategy."

NAACP."[26] Philadelphia mayor Michael Nutter, an African American, dismissed both the candidate and his speech as "a joke," further stating, "I can't take any of this stuff seriously … he's running for president of the United States. But the guy's a joke," adding that, "Black folks are not going to sit there and listen to some of that nonsense."[27]

Even more critical was Matt Taibbi, a liberal *Rolling Stone* columnist, who asserted that Romney's NAACP appearance "revealed the candidate to be not merely unlikable, and not merely a fatuous, unoriginal hack of a politician, but also a genuinely repugnant human being, a grasping corporate hypocrite with so little feel for how to get along with people that has to dream up elaborate schemes just to try to pander to the mob."[28] Also highly critical was Joan Walsh, a *Salon* magazine columnist, who found Romney's NAACP speech "unbelievably disrespectful," accusing the candidate of "being deliberately provocative" and of "sneering derisively at 'Obamacare.'"[29] Also critical but viewing Romney's speech in a more balanced manner was Bailey Perkins, a NAACP delegate from Oklahoma City, stating, "I certainly appreciate him being here at the conference, but I don't feel there was a lot of sincerity behind what he was saying. It just felt like he was here for our votes and wouldn't enact any policies on our behalf."[30]

Responding positively to Romney's presentation was Donald Lambro, writing for the *Washington Times*, who characterized it "a gutsy speech," noting that the candidate "went into the lion's den in Houston knowing he would be booed … a courageous move on his part to show he was taking his campaign for economic renewal to every corner of the country and to every interest group." Lambro, moreover, characterized it "a risky performance" that "could have ended badly." The candidate, however, emerged "as someone … not afraid to carry his message," even to those "who may be hostile toward him" proving that he is "not going to tailor his message to suit different audiences" nor "shift with the political tides."[31]

Similarly, Clarence Page, an African American columnist for the *Chicago Tribune*, gave "Romney credit for showing up to speak to the nation's oldest civil rights

26. Curl, "Why Romney's NAACP speech matters."

27. Randy LoBasso, "Nutter Calls Romney 'A Joke,'" *Philadelphia Weekly*, July 12, 2012, http://blogs.philadelphiaweekly.com/phillynow/2012/07/12/nutter-calls-romney-%E2%80%98a-joke%E2%80%99/.

28. Matt Taibbi, "Romney's 'Free Stuff' Speech Is a New Low," *Rolling Stone*, July 13, 2012. http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/blogs/taibblog/romneys-free-stuff-speech-is-a-new-low-20120713.

29. Joan Walsh, "Mitt's Real Insult to the NAACP—Pushing Voter Suppression," AlterNet, July 12, 2012, http://www.alternet.org/story/156295/mitt's_real_insult_to_the_naacp_--_pushing_voter_suppression2.

30. "Boo Man: Mitt Romney tells the NAACP he's the prez who would truly help African-Americans," Houston Culture Map, July 11, 2012, http://houston.culturemap.com/news/city_life/07-11-12-boo-man-mitt-romney-tells-the-naacp-hes-the-president-who-would-truly-help-african-americans/.

31. Donald Lambro, "Romney zeros in on African-American joblessness," *Washington Times*, July 12, 2012, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2012/jul/12/romney-zeroes-in-on-african-american-joblessness/?page=all.

organization," lauding the speech itself for presenting "a few constructive ideas to fight poverty, like school choice, free enterprise and marriage." But then Page chided the candidate for stopping short in providing details as to how Romney as president "might implement those good ideas into action." Also, "conspicuously absent from Romney's speech was any mention of the R-word, racism"—specifically, how did the candidate proposed to counter this pervasive practice?[32]

Occurring concurrently with the candidate's appearance to the NAACP were rumors of Condoleezza Rice being given serious consideration as a possible Romney vice presidential running mate. According to a July 12 Drudge Report, Rice's name had emerged "near the top of the list" of Romney vice presidential possibilities. Contributing to the emergence of Rice as a top choice were at least three factors. First was the fact that Rice was the overwhelming choice of rank-and-file Republicans, enjoying an approval rating of eight-out-of-ten party members, according to a CNN poll taken in April 2012. Second, Rice had "impressed a crowd of top Romney officials and contributors at a major weekend retreat" previously held at Park City, Utah, her speech characterized "the breakout performance of the weekend." A final factor was a statement from Mitt Romney's wife Ann, asserting that her husband was considering a female running mate.[33]

Reacting enthusiastically to Rice as a possible vice presidential candidate was Sabrina Schaeffer of Fox News, who said the choice "could inject some much needed enthusiasm into the GOP's campaign." Schaeffer further noted the Rice "could have a real impact with women voters … at a time when the women's vote is in play" by "sending a strong message to the Obama campaign the Republicans oppose the kind of cradle-to-grave policies the president has advanced in the name of 'protecting' women."[34] Equally enthusiastic was Paul Stanley of the *Christian Post Reporter*, who stated that "Rice's foreign policy experience would be a real plus for [Romney] who has not dealt with the dicey issues that confront American on a daily basis." Also appealing to voters would be Rice's personal story "as a black female whose work ethic and determination took her from humble beginnings on an Alabama farm to the inner sanctums of world leaders."[35]

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32. Clarence Page, "Romney's hidden NAACP audience," *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 2012, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-07-15/news/ct-oped-0715-page-20120715_1_romney-credit-mitt-romney-romney-white-house.

33. Sabrina Scheffer, "Condi Rice on Romney's ticket would spark big change in 2012," Fox News.com, July 13, 2012. http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2012/07/13/condi-rice-on-romney-ticket-would-spark-big-change-in-2012.

34. Ibid.

35. Paul Stanley, "Romney's Choice of Rice as VP Would Be an 'Insult' Say Conservatives," *Christian Post Reporter*, July 14, 2012, http://www.christianpost.com/news/romneys-choice-of-rice-as-vp-would-be-an-insult-say-conservatives-78233/.

In noting the dual events—Mitt Romney's Speech to the NAACP and the floating of Condoleeza Rice as a possible GOP Running mate—Sarah Seltzer, writing for AlterNet, called it Romney's "week in blackness." Seltzer then posed the following question: "If both the NAACP speech and the whole Condoleeza Rice rumor were publicity plots, what does that say about Romney's racial attitudes?"[36]

Although Rice was not chosen as Romney's vice presidential running mate—the nod going to Representative Paul Ryan of Wisconsin—the candidate continued to reach out to potential African American voters. At the 2012 Republican National Convention in late August 2012, a number of prominent African Americans were featured speakers, most notably, Condoleezza Rice herself, along with Mia Love—a black Latter-day Saint female mayor of Saratoga Springs, Utah, and candidate for US Congress from that state's Second Congressional District.[37]

During the course of the two-month general election campaign from early September to election day, November 6, the issue of race, as specifically related to Mitt Romney's Mormon faith, received little attention. But during this same period both Mitt Romney and the Republican Party were assailed for remarks and actions which were perceived as racist or, at the very least, negative to the interests of black people. Mitt Romney himself was excoriated for a remark he made, alluding to the so-called "birther controversy" involving President Obama; specifically, the candidate stated that "No one has ever asked to see my birth certificate. They know that this is the place that we were born and raised." This remark caused at least one liberal commentator to accuse Romney of resorting to "some of the basest, most despicable bigotry we can imagine." A second liberal critic, Columbia University professor Thomas Edsall, accused Romney of "Making the Election About Race," as reflected in "the racial overtones" of campaign ads the Romney campaign aired attacking Obamacare. However, in Romney's defense columnist Jonah Goldberg dismissed such comments as completely without foundation, labeling them both "ludicrous" and "ridiculous."[38]

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36. Sarah Seltzer, "Mitt Romney's Week of 'Pretending to Be Interested in Black People,'" AlterNet, July 14, 2012, http://www.alternet.org/newsandviews/article/1032384/mitt_romney's_week_of_%22pretending_to_be_interested_in_black_people%22.

37. Kathleen Parker, "The elephant in the room," *Washington Post*, August 31, 2012, http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2012-08-31/opinions/35491945_1_republicans-barack-obama-nikki-haley; "Mia Love, GOP's African American Mormon Candidate, Rocks RNC," *ABC News*, August 29, 2012, http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2012/08/mia-love-gops-African American-mormon-candidate; "Mitt Romney's Token Negroes Address the RNC," New Possibilities, August 29, 2012, http://new-possibilities.blogspot.com/2012/08/mitt-romneys-token-negroes-address-rnc.html. For an in-depth discussion of Mia Love see: Mark Z. Barabak, "Mia Love breaks the GOP mold, but can she win?," *Los Angeles Times*, May 29, 2012, http://www.ldsliving.com/story/68927-lds-politician-mia-love-breaks-the-gop-mold-but-can-she-win.

38. Jonah Goldberg, "After Romney's Birth Certificate Joke, Dems Play the Race Card," Townhall.com, August 29, 2012, http://townhall.com/columnists/jonahgoldberg/2012/08/29/after_romneys_birth_certificate_joke_dems_play_the_race_card/page/full.

More serious were charges that the Republican Party was directly involved in "efforts to diminish minority voting strength," specifically that of African Americans but also that of Hispanics. Critic Sherrilyn Ifill labeled it, "the GOP's Disgusting New Southern Strategy," asserting that acts of voter suppression were taking place in the battle ground states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Florida. This "Republican war on voting should not be viewed solely through the lens of race," Ifill further asserted but was "part of a larger attack on political participation," indeed a form of "voter fraud."[39]

Whatever the validity of such charges, African Americans voted overwhelmingly and in record numbers for Barack Obama over Mitt Romney by a margin of 93 percent to 6 percent.[40] The African American vote represented some 13 percent of the total vote cast. Whereas Hispanics, who also voted massively for President Obama by a margin of 71 percent to 27 percent, constituted just 10 percent of the total vote—this despite the fact that Hispanics are currently the nation's largest ethnic minority.[41]

In conclusion, two questions remain: First, what role did Mitt Romney's Mormon faith play in causing African Americans to reject him as a candidate? Black anxieties regarding the candidate's faith were certainly an influence as previously discussed. Other factors, however, were of equal if not greater importance. The first was the obvious fact of the President's own biracial ethnicity, which African Americans strongly identified with when he first ran in 2008 and continued to embrace during the 2012 election cycle. A second factor influencing blacks to vote as they did was the composition of the Republican Party itself—whose core base had become more white, more aged, and more socially conservative, whereas the nation at large has moved in the opposite direction, becoming more ethnically diverse, younger, and more accepting of differing lifestyles—be they of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and/or unmarried heterosexual couples. And finally, Romney as a candidate clearly failed to resonate with the overwhelming majority of African American voters, as shown in the above discussion. Romney, in fact, failed to appeal to American voters in general, due in large measure to his inability "to outline a specific agenda with broad appeal." Also the candidate fell short because he "allowed himself to be branded a corporate raider who put the interests of the wealthy above middle-income voters," who constitute the vast majority of the electorate."[42]

39. Sherrilyn Ifill, "The GOP's Disgusting New Southern Strategy," September 4, 2012, AlterNet, http://www.alternet.org/gops-disgusting-new-southern-strategy-take-vote-away-blacks-roll-back-civil-rights-movement.

40. Conversely, it is worth noting that some 21 percent of Latter-day Saints voted for Barack Obama, as opposed to 78 percent who supported fellow Mormon Mitt Romney—this representing 2 percent of the total vote cast in the election.

41. Figures drawn from *Wikipedia*, s.v. "United States presidential election, 2012," last modified May 28, 2013.

42. Phillip Elliott, "Top Republicans ready to learn from Romney, *Arizona Republic*, November 22, 2012, A29.

A second question transcending the troublesome issue of Mormonism and race involves the more significant "Mormon question" itself. Specifically, as stated during the course of the campaign, it was: Can a Latter-day Saint be entrusted with the nation's highest office? Such a concern was akin to the similarly called Catholic question posed during the 1960 presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy, seeking to become the nation's first Catholic president. When Romney commenced his presidential campaign in early 2011, many observers expected questions concerning the candidate's Latter-day Saint faith to play a central role.[43] Questions concerning Romney's faith had derailed Romney's initial bid for the presidency in 2008, with the candidate in a position similar to that of Al Smith, the 1928 Democratic Presidential nominee and a Catholic whose bid for the nation's highest office was undermined by pervasive anti-Catholic bigotry. In 2008 Romney failed to appeal to the crucial segment of evangelical Christians within the Republican Party—a weakness skillfully exploited by primary opponent Mike Huckabee, himself a former Baptist minister, in winning the crucial first-in-the-nation Iowa caucuses.[44] By contrast, in 2012 Romney enjoyed overwhelming support from white evangelical or born-again Christian voters, besting President Obama among this group by a margin of 78 percent to 21 percent. Unfortunately, this segment constituted a mere 26 percent of the total electorate. The remaining 74 percent of non-evangelicals voted overwhelmingly for Obama by a margin of 60 percent to 37 percent.[45] The Mormon question itself was of secondary importance even though the fact of Romney's Mormon faith focused increased attention on the LDS church as an institution and Latter-day Saints in general—all this helping to facilitate a phenomenon known as "The Mormon Moment."[46]

In sum, the most important factor driving the 2012 presidential campaign was neither Mitt Romney's religion nor Obama's race but rather a set of "traditional campaign issues specifically the economy, health care, taxes, and foreign affairs" which in turn determined the election's outcome.[47] Obama won decisively, securing 51.1 percent of the popular vote to Romney's 47.2 percent—a margin of 65.9 million to his opponent's 60.9 million. Obama's margin of victory in the Electoral College was even greater, with the president garnering 332 votes to Romney's 206.[48]

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43. Included in that number was this writer. See Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, *The Mormon Quest for the Presidency: From Joseph Smith to Mitt Romney and Jon Huntsman* (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2011). See, in particular "Preface: 2012: A Mormon Moment? … Or the Mormon Question Revisited," xi-xx.

44. For a good discussion of the importance of Mormon question in the 2008 presidential cycle see: Craig L. Foster, *A Different God? Mitt Romney, the Religious Right, and the Mormon Question* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2008).

45. Figures drawn from "United States presidential election, 2012."

46. For a discussion of the phenomenon see: Bringhurst and Foster, *The Mormon Quest for the Presidency*, ix-xx.

47. Jason Swenson, "Romney's bid falls short," *Church News*, November 11, 2012, 7.

48. Figures drawn from "United States presidential election, 2012."

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President Obama's RLDS Ancestor: Roots of a World Leader Were Nurtured in Deloit, Iowa

By Velton Peabody [1]

It was mid-June 1863. The American Civil War was raging. Nancy Ann "Anna" Childress (fig. 1), a central figure in this paper, was then fourteen. Under the watchful eye of a squad from the Enrolled Missouri Militia, she, her five-year-old sister Victoria, and three-year-old brother Clay were accompanying their father, John Milton Childress (fig. 2), and other prisoners from Fairmont in northeast Missouri south toward St. Louis. Childress, a Southern sympathizer, with others, had been convicted in court martial proceedings. They were being escorted under guard to St. Louis for re-hearings before sentences were carried out. The mother of Childress's children had died three years earlier, just before the opening of the war.

One can only surmise what was going through the mind of this teenage girl as she trod this uncertain road. An older brother, Newton, was away in the service of the Confederate Army, her mother was dead, her father was a prisoner and now the family was being uprooted from their farm home north of Fairmont.[2] One thing is certain. She could not look far enough down the road to see that she would one day become the wife of a missionary-minded pastor of a western Iowa congrega-

1. I wish to express my appreciation to several people who have contributed to this paper: Barbara Bernauer, Community of Christ archivist assistant, Richard P. Howard, a volunteer at Community of Christ Library and Archives, and the staff of the Midwest Genealogy Center in Independence, for assistance in locating materials; Melba (Winans) McDowell and Stacey (McDowell) Dietiker, for making their private genealogy collection available to me, and Peter Judd for constructive criticism during the writing process. Any errors or shortcomings, however, are mine alone.

2. [Arthur] Paul Winans [Jr.], comp., "Childress (Childers) Family," pp. 7–8, unpublished manuscript, copy in private collection of Melba (Winans) McDowell, Independence, Missouri.

Figure 1: Nancy (Childress) Childress, mother of Nancy Ann "Anna." (courtesy of Melba McDowell)

Figure 2: John Milton Childress. (courtesy of Melba McDowell)

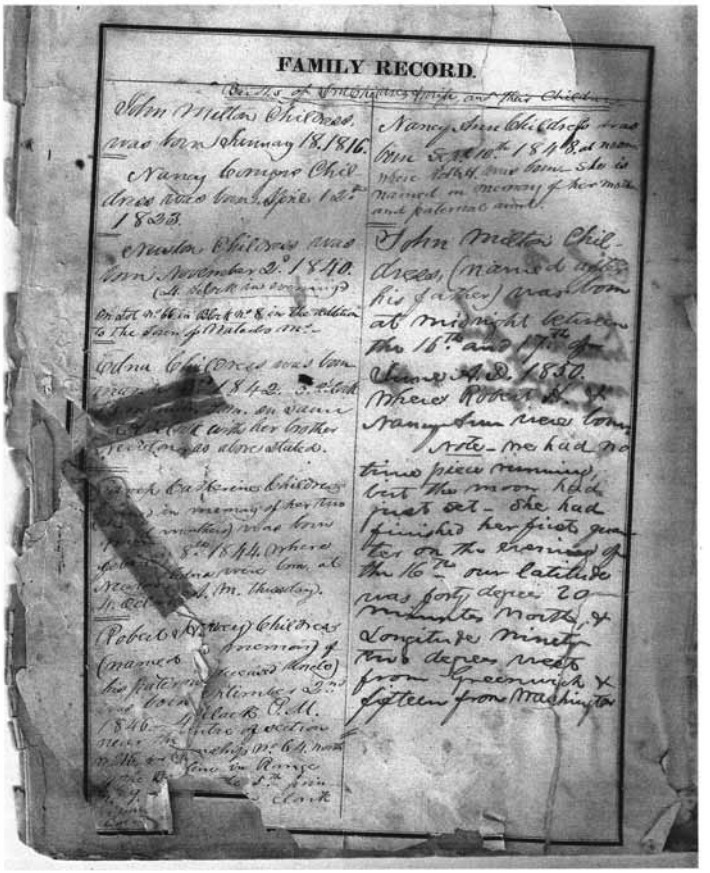

Figure 3: One of four pages from Childress family Bible reflecting birth of Nancy Ann Childress (top right) and other family members. (courtesy of LeRoy Childress)

tion of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), now Community of Christ, or that a great-great-great-grandson named Barack Hussein Obama II would become president of the United States.

This paper covers seven generations of one family, from Anna Childress's birth in 1848 to President Obama's election in 2008, a period of 160 years, with major emphasis on the early generations. It will look closely at Anna's birth family, her three marriages, her membership in the RLDS church, her son Harry Armour and granddaughter Ruth (Armour) Dunham, President Obama's great-grandmother. Individuals in the most recent three generations in this genealogical chain, including grandfather Stanley Armour Dunham and mother Stanley Ann (Dunham) Obama, are well known and will be treated briefly here.

Anna, the third-great-grandmother, was born at noon on September 10, 1848, as Nancy Ann Childress (fig. 3), the fifth child of John Milton Childress and his first

wife, Nancy Conyers (Childress) Childress. She was born on the Childress farm seven miles north of the hamlet of Fairmont, Washington Township, Clark County, Missouri.[3] Situated in the extreme northeast corner of the state, Clark County is less than a hundred miles southwest of Nauvoo, Illinois. By the time Anna was born, the Mormons' Missouri troubles were past, Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum had been slain at Carthage, Illinois, and lay buried in a secret grave in Nauvoo. Most of the Mormons had left Nauvoo, though Joseph Smith's mother, Lucy Smith, his wife, Emma, and Joseph and Emma's children remained behind in what had become a ghost town. An advance party of Mormon pioneers under Brigham Young had already entered the valley of the Great Salt Lake on July 24, 1847, a little more than a year before Anna's birth.[4]

Anna's family, who had lived in northeast Missouri since 1838, undoubtedly knew of the events surrounding the Mormon leaders' deaths at Carthage and the exodus from Nauvoo, but they were not Mormon.[5] They were Baptists, the church Anna would first join at age nineteen.[6]

John Milton Childress, Anna's father and President Obama's great-great-great-great-grandfather, was a man of accomplishment. He was born January 18, 1816, near the Licking River, Falmouth, Pendleton County, Kentucky,[7] of strong colonial and

3. Nancy Ann Childress entry, "Births of J. M. Childress & Wife, and Their Children," Family Record, Childress Family Bible. This "Family Record" apparently originated as a four-page insert in an 1833 *New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* published in New York by B. Waugh and T. Mason for the Methodist Episcopal Church. It appears to have been removed from its original 1833 Bible and is preserved with the original title page of the 1833 New Testament in an 1890 American Bible Society edition published in New York twenty-four years after John Milton Childress's death. Both the 1833 "Family Record" and the 1890 Bible were in 2013 in the possession of LeRoy Childress of Denison, Iowa, a member of Community of Christ who inherited the materials from his paternal aunt, Irma (Childress) Thorne. LeRoy Childress's great-great-grandfather, John Milton Childress, was President Obama's great-great-great-great-grandfather. For this paper, the author relied on copies furnished by Childress and copies now in the private collection of Melba (Winans) McDowell, Independence, Missouri, also a descendant of John Milton Childress. See also: Festafarian, "Children of Nancy C. Conyers," Armour Family Tree, accessed September 30, 2012, http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/7428092/person/-56487983/story/9376a4a4-4c0a-4161-a412-58d84bc3549e?src=search.

4. "Timeline: The Early History of the Mormons," PBS Online, April 30, 2007, http://www.pbs.org/mormons/timeline/timeline2.html.

5. There has been speculation on the Internet, by Zelder on Mormon Dialogue, July 27–28, 2011, http://www.mormondialogue.org/topic/55128-couple-of-questions-about-willie-martin, that Anna was a Mormon convert who stayed behind in Florence, Nebraska, after a debate over whether to push on to Utah and later joined the RLDS church, but she was too young for that to be true.

6. Nancy Turner obituary, newspaper name and publication date undetermined, but found loose in Childress Family Bible.

7. Gary Boyd Roberts, comp., *Ancestors of American Presidents* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2009), 208; Winans, "Childress (Childers) Family," 3; "John Milton Childress," ancestral file v4.19 database, FamilySearch, accessed November 23, 2012, https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.2.1/MWZY7-7XJ; *Biographical History of Crawford, Ida and Sac Counties, Iowa: Containing Portraits of all the Presidents of the United States, with accompanying Biographies; a Condensed History of Iowa, with Portraits and Biographies of the Governors of the State; Engravings of Prominent Citizens of the Counties, with Personal Histories of many of the Early Settlers and*

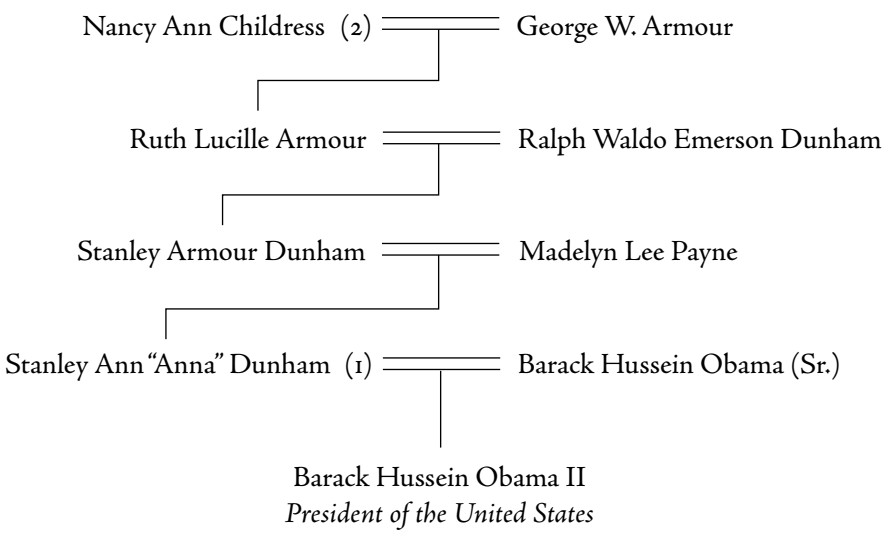

Chart 1: Selected ancestors of President Obama.

Southern stock. One ancestor had served as a private in the American Revolution,[8] and Childress exhibited strong Southern sympathies throughout life. After completing his education in Kentucky, he moved to Missouri.[9] In July 1838, as a resident of Fairmont, he was enrolled as a lawyer in nearby Lewis County,[10] and practiced law there until 1860.[11] In addition, he owned a farm and a mercantile store in Fairmont.[12]

At the outbreak of the Civil War, sentiment in Clark County, Missouri, was sharply divided. Many residents strongly favored a neutral stance, but given the strong political differences, neutrality could not be maintained. On both sides, there were advocates who spoke their minds openly. At least eight different types of state

Leading Families (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1893), 272–73; William Addams Reitwiesner, comp., "Ancestry of Barack Obama," accessed October 5, 2012, http://www.wargs.com/political/obama.html; Lillie Riney, "John Milton Childress, Sr. (1816–66)," Find A Grave Memorial #7950533, accessed October 6, 2012, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=7950533.

8. Rosemary E. Bachelor, "President Obama Descends from 14 Revolutionary War Soldiers," last modified March 25, 2013, http://suite101.com/article/president-obama-descends-from14-revolutionary-war-soldiers-a287470; Winans, "Childress (Childers) Family," 2.

9. Stacey McDowell Dietiker, *Winans Words: Genealogy related items pertaining to the descendants, ancestors and collateral family members of Arthur Paul Winans and Alice Wilma Allen Winans* (blog) March 30, 2010, http://winanswords.blogspot.com/2010_03_01_archive.html.

10. *History of Lewis, Clark, Knox and Scotland Counties, Missouri: From the Earliest Time to the Present; Together with Sundry Personal, Business and Professional Sketches and Numerous Family Records; Besides a Valuable Fund of Notes, Original Observations, Etc., Etc.*, vol. 2 (St. Louis: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1887; Marceline, MO: Walsworth Publishing Co., 1981), 41–42; Winans, "Childress (Childers) Family," 3.

11. *History Lewis, Clark, Knox*, 41–42.

12. Winans, "Childress (Childers) Family," 3.

militias were formed in Missouri for Union sympathizers alone. Recruitment for the Confederate side was rigorous. Depending on local conditions, an individual might fight for one side, the other, or not at all, and irregular or "bushwhacker" groups were common. Childress, sometimes referred to as Childers in military records and other documents, was taken prisoner three times during the war.[13] The third time, he was tried at a Fairmont court martial on charges of corresponding with the enemy, military insurgency and violation of oath. He pleaded not guilty on all charges. The court martial cleared him on the first two charges, but found him guilty of the oath violation, or disloyalty. The court banished him south of the military lines of the federal army.[14]

It is not known what happened to the Childress children immediately after June 17, 1863, when the party arrived under guard in Canton, Missouri. It is known that by June 23, the father was incarcerated in Gratiot Prison in St. Louis. His case was reviewed and adjusted to permit him to remain in the North. He was paroled to St. Louis city August 4, 1863, and a few weeks later, on October 20, 1863, he was released on oath and bond of $2,000 "to reside in some Loyal State, East of the State of Illinois and North of the Ohio River."[15] Childress appears to have complied with the residence restrictions because at the end of the war in 1865, Childress returned to Missouri from Indiana. Now fifty, broken in spirit and in health, he discovered that his property in Clark County had been confiscated. He went to live in Lewis County but survived only a short time. He died March 15, 1866, in Canton and is buried in Wyaconda Baptist Cemetery near Canton.[16]

Nancy Ann Childress Married Three Times

Nancy Ann, the daughter who became the RLDS ancestor of President Obama, was married three times (Fig. 4). It appears that she married first on February 11, 1868, in Lewis County, Missouri, to James Albert Osborne,[17] a farmer born December 16, 1850, in Lewis County. No record of a divorce has been found, but he and Anna appear to have at least separated by 1870 when she was living on August 5 at

13. John Childers/Childress entries, reel F1186, Union Provost Marshal Record, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Virginia Hanks, "They Came to Missouri: Descendants of Henry Childers of Virginia and Kentucky, Part 3," *Childers-Childress Family Association*, accessed December 1, 2012, http://original.childers-childress.com/spanningpart3.html.

17. Tavran11, "James Osburn," Schwing-Stephenson-Eurasian Royalty, accessed October 15, 2012, http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/45620697/person/63902141822?ssrc=; James A. Osbarn entry, "Missouri Marriages, 1750–1920," FamilySearch, accessed January 3, 2013, https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/V282-X28; Wilma Dunlap, comp., *Lewis County, Missouri Marriage Records*, 2 vols. (1973), 1:59. Her name appears incorrectly as "Mary Ann Childress" in vol. 1, but as "N. A. Osborn" in vol. 2:2, where her second marriage is recorded.

Figure 4: Nancy Ann "Anna" (Childress) Osborne Armour Turner (courtesy of Melba McDowell)

Figure 5: Elder James Thomas Turner. (courtesy of Community of Christ Archives)

age twenty-two as "Nancy Osbourn" with her brother Newton Childress's farm family in Lewis County, Missouri. She was listed by the census taker as "at home" and unable to read or write.[18] Osborne later married Mary Ellen Gill and fathered nine children, all born in Hannibal, Missouri. He died March 16, 1913, in Springfield, Illinois.[19]

Anna married second on November 12, 1871, in Canton, Missouri, George W. Armour,[20] the president's great-great-great-grandfather. George Armour is believed not to be related to the meat-packing Armour family.[21] He was born August 25, 1849, in Duncan Falls, Muskingum County, Ohio.[22] In 1880, he and his wife were living

18. 1870 United States Census, s.v. "Newton Childress," township 61 range 6 west, Monticello Post Office, Lewis, Missouri, accessed through Ancestry.com.

19. C. J. Palmer, "James Albert Osborne," Osborne Family Tree, accessed December 31, 2012, http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/25888517/family/familygroup?fpid=1840491178&sid=1840491363; C. J. Palmer, "James Albert Osborne [alternate spouse]," Osborne Family Tree, accessed December 31, 2012, http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/25888517/family/familygroup?fpid=1840491178.

20. Reitwiesner, "Ancestry of Barack Obama"; "Nancy Ann Childress," ancestry file 414.19 database, FamilySearch, accessed November 23, 2012, https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.2.1/MWY7-7TX ; Dunlap, *Lewis County, Missouri Marriage Records*, 2:2; "Nancy Ann Childress (1848–1924)," Familypedia, accessed September 27, 2012, http://familypedia.wikia.com/wiki/Nancy_Ann_Childress_%281848-1924%29; Nancy Turner obituary.

21. Gary Boyd Roberts, "Notes on the Ancestry of Senator Barack Hussein Obama, Jr." New England Historic Genealogical Society's American Ancestors, April 1, 2008, http://www.americanancestors.org/ancestry-of-senator-barack-hussein-obama-jr.

22. Reitwiesner, "Ancestry of Barack Obama"; Warren L. "Tuck" Forsythe, "George W. Armour," accessed December 13, 2012, http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=REG&db=townsendthos&id=13327;

in Ellington, Adams County, IL. Armour was 30, his wife 31. By then, they had four of their seven children: Minnie, 7; Harry, 6, the future great-great-grandfather of the president; Arthur 4; and Daisy, 1. Armour was listed in the census report as a farm hand.[23] He went with a company of grain threshers in 1890 to Great Bend, Kansas, to work on the harvest. Nearly everyone in the company, including Armour, came down with a fever. Unable to work, Armour headed for Illinois and made it to Quincy, where he died September 2, 1890, of typhoid fever.[24]

It appears that the widow Anna and her youngest children remained in northeast Missouri or nearby Illinois until 1897. By this time, three of her siblings were established in the vicinity of Deloit, Crawford County, in Western Iowa. Her sister Sarah Catherine "Kate" was married to elder James Turner (fig. 5), an RLDS minister and farmer outside Deloit. John Milton Childress Jr., and Robert Harvey Childress, brothers to Kate and Anna, were raising families in that area as well.

Kate died April 4, 1897, after a lingering illness,[25] and it wasn't long before Elder Turner was traveling back in his native Missouri. He and his son, Millard, left Deloit in mid-June 1897 to visit Elder Turner's mother there.[26] After their return Elder Turner attended the Galland's Grove RLDS District Conference in October[27] and preached at Deloit in November[28] before heading back to Missouri, apparently by himself, in mid-December 1897.[29] The *Denison (IA) Review* reported January 4, 1898, that Turner had returned to Deloit declaring that he "could not stand his cooking any longer and hence on the last day of the year he resolved to turn over a new leaf by arriving from Clark County, Missouri, with a cook whom he has taken into partnership for life." Actually, the parson-farmer-merchant and Anna, his former sister-in-law, were married December 21, 1897, in Clark County, Missouri, by the Reverend G. H. Cranch.[30] A record of the marriage was duly entered on the books of his Deloit RLDS church (fig. 6). Anna and her youngest son, Russell Armour, moved to Iowa and became part of the Turner household.[31]

Roberts, *Ancestors of American Presidents*, 207.

23. 1880 United States Census, s.v. "George Armour," Ellington, Adams, Illinois, accessed through Ancestry.com.

24. *LaGrange (MO) Democrat*, George Armour death notice, September 5, 1890.

25. *Denison (IA) Review*, Sarah Catherine Turner obituary, April 7, 1897, http://iagenweb.org/crawford/obituary/obitt.html.

26. "Deloit," *Denison (IA) Review*, June 16, 1897, http://iagenweb.org/crawford/newspaper/deloitnews3.html.

27. "All About Deloit," *Denison (IA) Review*, October 20, 1897, http://iagenweb.org/crawford/newspaper/deloitnews4.html.

28. "All About Deloit," *Denison (IA) Review*, November 17, 1897, http://iagenweb.org/crawford/newspaper/deloitnews4.html.

29. "All About Deloit," *Denison (IA) Review*, December 14, 1897, http://iagenweb.org/crawford/newspaper/deloitnews4.html.

30. "Marriages," microfilm roll 22, Community of Christ Archives, Independence, Missouri.

31. Mrs. S. E. Horr, "Deloit Diary," *Dennison (IA) Review*, May 22, 1907.

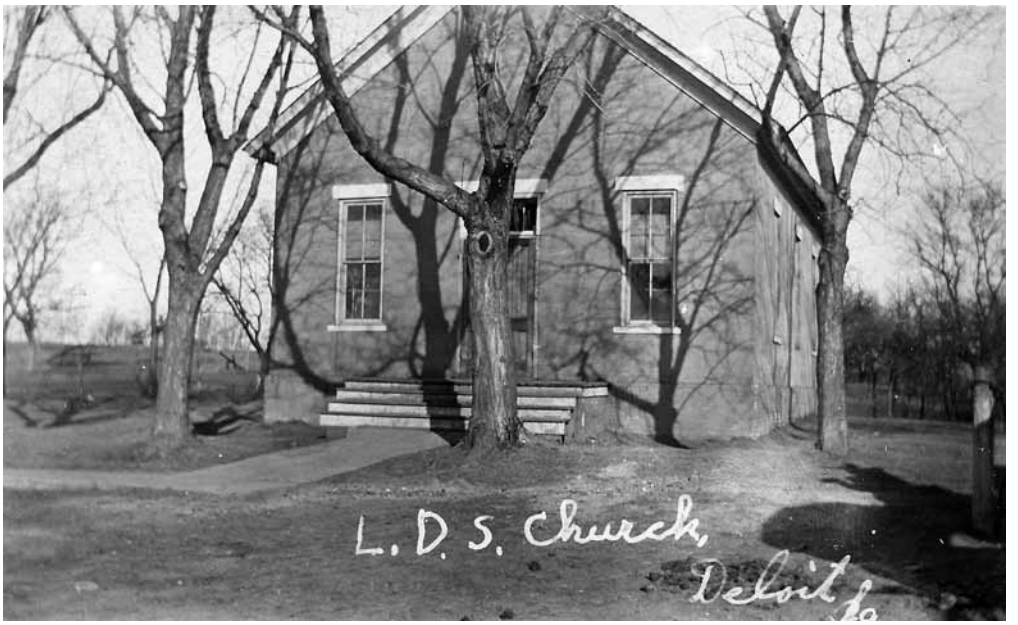

Figure 6: Deloit RLDS church. (courtesy of Lee Updike)

James Thomas Turner, who was both a great-great-great uncle and a step-great-great-great-grandfather to President Obama, was a man of many hats. He was an industrious member of the Deloit community, serving as a justice of the peace and running an eighty-six-acre farm where he produced sorghum that drew customers from miles around. But perhaps first and foremost for Turner, he was a devoted minister of the movement founded by Joseph Smith Jr. Turner was born October 9, 1840, in Scotland County, Missouri.[32] He served in the Civil War,[33] perhaps as a member of one of the many locally based home guard units that were common in northeast Missouri, where he grew to manhood.[34] He married Kate Childress, his first wife, on June 16, 1861, in Fairmont, the service performed by the Reverend William F. Chappell, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.[35] Once

32. *Biographical History*, 396–97; Pearl Wilcox, *Roots of the Reorganized Latter Day Saints in Southern Iowa* (Independence, MO: privately printed, 1989), 304; "Alexander S. Turner," Baker, Beeman, Boyer, Estep, James, McBee, Nusbaum, Shally, Turner and related families, accessed October 6, 2012, http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=gwenbj&id=I9991743; James Turner obituary, *Saints' Herald* 54, no. 22 (May 29, 1907): 483; "James Thomas Turner," Crenshaw-Bonjour Family Tree, accessed November 24, 2012, http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/16272896/person/781399619/print.

33. James Turner obituary; *Biographical History*, 397.

34. *Biographical History*, 397.

35. Marriage certifications, private collection of Melba (Winans) McDowell, Independence, Missouri; *Biographical History*, 397. The Crenshaw-Bonjour Family Tree gives the marriage date as July 31, 1861, but this appears to be based on a misreading of the marriage record. The marriage took place June 16, was certified July 13, but was not filed until February 4, 1862.

Figure 7: A mobile home sits on the site of the old Deloit RLDS church, which was demolished after it was sold in 1973. Deloit members now attend in nearby Denison. (2012 photo by Velton Peabody)

his military service was over, he and his young family lived briefly in Illinois, first in Hancock County, and then Henderson County, before relocating in 1871 to western Iowa,[36] settling near Deloit. By this time, Deloit was the home of a thriving RLDS congregation, made up largely of former members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who, for various reasons, had chosen to remain in western Iowa rather than follow Brigham Young to the Salt Lake Valley (fig. 7). The Deloit branch was one of dozens of such congregations that sprang up in western Iowa under the ministry of RLDS missionaries, who found it especially fruitful to live among longtime members of Joseph Smith's church.[37] The Turners, however, did not fit into the longtime member category, having not dropped off the Mormon Trail. In fact, they had lived in the Deloit area for six years before joining any part of the Latter Day Saint movement. James Turner was baptized and confirmed RLDS by Ira A. Goff February 10, 1877, in nearby Denison.[38] He was ordained a teacher on September 29, 1878, and was elected assistant superintendent of the Deloit Sunday school the following year.[39] He was elevated to superintendent in 1883.[40] The Galland's Grove Dis-

36. *Biographical History,* 397.

37. Barbara J. Bernauer, "Gathering the Remnants: Establishing the RLDS Church in Southwestern Iowa," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 20 (2000): 5–33.

38. "Mason's Grove [Deloit] Branch Records and Minutes, 1862–1878," 47, item 1, folder 149, Community of Christ Archives; James Turner obituary; "Mason's Grove [Deloit] Branch Records," microfilm roll 22, Community of Christ Archives.

39. "Mason's Grove Records, 1862–1878," 20.

40. "Organization and History of the Church of J. C. of L. D. S. Sunday School, Deloit, Iowa, February 10, 1902," manuscript, microfiche, with reports of local historian, Mason's Grove [Deloit], Community of Christ Archives.

Figure 8: Once a thriving town with a strong RLDS congregation that included Nancy Turner, President Obama's third-great-grandmother, Deloit has shrunk (268 inhabitants in 2011) and little business remains. (2012 photo by Velton Peabody)

trict Conference held at Deloit on June 6, 1884, was especially significant for Turner, for it was at this conference that he was assigned to serve with Goff to minister to members at Pilot Rock, taking him outside his home congregation. It was at this same conference that he heard William B. Smith, brother of Joseph Smith Jr., describe the origins of the Book of Mormon. At that conference, the Mason's Grove branch, as the Deloit congregation was then known, reported eighty-eight members and five baptisms.[41] A year later, Mason's Grove branch reported 119 members and fifteen baptisms (fig. 8). Turner was given a prime Sunday evening speaking slot at district conference and was ordained an elder June 21, 1885, under the hands of Jonas Chatburn.[42] Within two years he was deeply involved in missionary work, soon baptizing scores of converts in Deloit, but also baptizing in nearby Stockholm Township in Crawford County and North Coon in Carroll County.[43] By 1890 he was pastor of the branch at Deloit, serving as pastor for seventeen years through his first wife's lengthy illness and death all the way through his second marriage, right up to his own death on May 13, 1907. Turner and Kate had nine children. Millard, their young-

41. "Galand's [cq] Grove," *Saints' Herald* 32, no. 30 (July 25, 1885): 488–89.

42. Ibid. See also: "Galland's Grove District," *Saints' Herald* 33, no. 33 (August 14, 1886): 510, and "Mason's Grove Records 1862–1878."

43. "Mason's Grove [Deloit] Branch Minutes and Records, 1865–1899," item 2, folder 149, Community of Christ Archives.

est son, was baptized into the RLDS at Mallard, Iowa, in 1913, ordained a priest in 1928, and an elder in 1949.[44] Turner did not have children by Anna.

Turner's two wives are a study in contrasts, especially with regard to religion. Kate, according to church records, was the first member of the Childress-Turner family to join the RLDS church, being baptized January 29, 1877, in Deloit[45] about a week before her husband was baptized. Kate appears to have taken an active role in the church on numerous levels. On her death the *Saints' Herald* reported that from her baptism, she was an "earnest, consistent worker" who "at times was wonderfully blessed with the gifts of the gospel." At Galland's Grove District Conference on June 4, 1893, Kate sang a hymn in tongues and provided the interpretation. The words uttered in interpretation were soon printed in the *Saints' Herald*[46] and in 1930 were reprinted in a book by Alvin Knisley called *Infallible Proofs*,[47] as follows:

"Rejoice! For I, your God, am nigh,
Your prayers ascend to me on high;
Your weary hearts shall strengthened be
If you will put your trust in me.

"Rejoice! And do my sovereign will,
My arms of love are round you still;
My angels, too, shall guide the way,
And lead you on to endless day.

"My holy law you must obey,
And walk within the narrow way;
And I will be your shield and guide,
Whatever evil may betide.

"Ye sad and weary, worn and tossed,
Look unto me and fear no loss;
This holy promise keep in view,
That I will bring you conqueror through.

"Ye chosen servants of your God,
Go forth glad news to spread abroad;

44. "Millard J. Turner," "Deceased Membership Card Files," microfilm roll 181, Community of Christ Archives.

45. "Mason's Grove [Deloit] Branch," microfilm roll 22, Community of Christ Archives. These contemporary records indicating different baptismal dates for Kate and James appear successively, his following hers. Her *Saints' Herald* obituary published April 21, 1897, and giving her baptism date as February 1, 1877, would appear to be in error.

46. *Saints' Herald* 40, no. 27 (July 8, 1893): 429.

47. Alvin Knisley, comp., *Infallible Proofs: A Collection of Spiritual Communications and Remarkable Experiences, Professedly Divine, Received by or through Saints and Testified by them from the Rise of the Latter Day Dispensation to the Present Time* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1930), 164–65.

The field is white, the harvest reap,
No more the world in error keep.

"Go forth an d labor with your might;
My power shall ever with you be,
Yea, darkness be changed to light,
And many souls shall be made free.

"Lift up your heads, I hear your voice,
Your many sins are now forgiven;
With you my angels here rejoice;
Your names are written, too, in heaven.

"Ye who have sought the narrow way,
And yet outside the kingdom stand,
Arise! The gospel truth obey,
The day is now, the time's at hand.

"Salvation's free, 'tis free to all,
To all who do my sovereign will:
The Spirit and the Bride say, "Come"
This holy mandate to fulfill."

Once, writing to RLDS president Joseph Smith III on May 6, 1883, about her baptism, Kate stated in part, "when I rose from the water, I never experienced such happiness and joy; light seemed to burst in upon my dark and benighted mind, and I was made to rejoice; I knew that my redeemer lived, and that I was accepted of him; that Joseph Smith was a prophet of God; that the Book of Mormon was divine. Since then I have had many and lasting testimonies of the truth of this great latter day work, and I feel satisfied it is God's work, and am firmly rooted and grounded in it."[48] On her death, the *Saints' Herald* reported that "her patience and gentle kindness during her last lingering illness of eighteen months showed forth the true Christian spirit which characterized her life"[49] (fig. 9).

Turner's second wife did not join the RLDS church until June 16, 1914,[50] seven years after he had died and eight years after her youngest son, Russell Armour, President Obama's great-great uncle, was baptized.[51] Except for a record of Anna's

48. *Saints' Herald* 30, no. 21 (May 26, 1883): 325.

49. *Saints' Herald* 44, no. 16 (April 21, 1897): 256.

50. "Deloit Branch Records," microfilm roll 22, Community of Christ Archives. She was baptized in Deloit, Iowa, by Charles J. Hunt and confirmed by him and D. R. Chambers. The baptism probably took place in the Boyer River, according to custom.

51. According to "Deceased Membership Card Files," microfilm roll 122, Community of Christ Archives, Ruby Russell "Russell" Armour was born May 31, 1888, in La Grange, Missouri. He was baptized March 20, 1906, in Deloit. His future wife, Myrtle Mayme Cose of Deloit, was baptized there March 11, 1906. Both were baptized

Figure 9: Elder James Turner and his first wife, "Kate" (Childress) Turner are buried in the Deloit Cemetery, as are many of the president's other Childress relatives. (photo by Velton Peabody)

marriage to Turner and her baptism and confirmation, her name is absent from the records of the Deloit RLDS church. Unlike her sister Kate, Anna did not make the pages of the *Saints' Herald*, even in death. However, there are many references to her in the *Denison (IA) Review*. Published in the next town, the *Review* duly chronicled everything in Anna's Deloit years from a delivery of firewood from her brother Robert Childress[52] to receipt of a sample of cotton picked in Memphis, Texas, by her eldest son Harry,[53] from a bout with the grippe,[54] to a social visit by her brother Robert, who "brought her a box of nice hazelnuts."[55] One newspaper item attested to her church attendance. "The icy sidewalks have been the cause of numerous falls, although none have thus far proven serious," it reported. "But on last Sunday as Aunt

by William A. Smith. When they were married October 16, 1912, at the home of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. C. J. Cose in Sac City, Iowa, it was this Elder Smith, of Lamoni, Iowa, who was chosen to officiate, according to the *Denison (IA) Review*, October 23, 1912. After the wedding, the bride joined Russell in Rock Island, Illinois, where he had taken a job with a streetcar company and where their son, Clarence, was born. Clarence also united with the RLDS church on June 12, 1931, in Rock Island. Russell died September 29, 1958, his wife on September 11, 1968, and Clarence in June 1965, according to "Deceased Membership Files," microfilm roll 122.

52. *Denison (IA) Review*, November 27, 1912.

53. Ibid., November 1, 1911.

54. Ibid., January 26, 1916.

55. Ibid., November 28, 1917.

Ann Turner was leaving the church after Sunday school she stepped on the newly fallen snow and in trying to save herself fell backward, striking her head on the steps and rendering her unconscious. She was immediately carried into the church and in a few moments regained consciousness. She was taken home in a sleigh and at present is feeling as well as ever."[56]

Anna remained in Deloit until about 1922, when she returned to Illinois to be near her children, most of whom lived in eastern Hancock County and Rock Island. She lived with her daughter, Minnie (Armour) Roberts, at Plymouth, an incorporated village in St. Mary's Township, Hancock County, where she died at 7:30 on a Wednesday evening, May 7, 1924, after a two-day illness.[57] Her funeral was held the following Sunday at the Roberts home with the Rev. O. H. Gerstenkorn, pastor of the St. Mary's Baptist church,[58] officiating. She was laid to rest in St. Mary's Cemetery near the Baptist church.[59] Her obituary referred to her baptism as a Baptist as a young woman but did not mention her later conversion to the RLDS church, though it said she "lived a faithful Christian life until the end"[60] (fig. 10).

Harry Ellington Armour: Obama's Great-great-grandfather

Harry Ellington[61] Armour, great-great-grandfather to President Obama, was born January 10, 1874, near Ellington, Adams County, Illinois,[62] the second of the seven children of George W. and Nancy Ann (Childress) Armour.[63] Harry spent his earliest years near Ellington[64] but most of his childhood in La Grange and Canton, Missouri.[65] He and Gabriella Lee Clark, who also grew up in northeast Missouri,

56. Ibid., January 3, 1917.

57. Her death certificate indicates she died from chronic bronchitis with dilatation of the heart as a contributing factor.

58. Rev. Bob Owen, *Brief History St. Mary's Baptist Church* (St. Mary's, IL: privately printed, 2012), 7.

59. Nancy Turner obituary.

60. Ibid.

61. The origin of the middle name is unknown. It is possible that it could have been taken from his birthplace, but he could not have been named after the Ellington Stone, which was discovered by an arrowhead hunter in a shallow creek bed in Ellington Township between 1907 and 1920, well after Harry was born. The stone contains the date 1671, suggesting that European explorers were traveling in Illinois earlier than commonly believed, according to a report on "Ellington Stone" by the Program on Ancient Technologies and Archaeological Materials of the Illinois State Archaeological Survey, accessed January 19, 2013, http://www.isas.illinois.edu/atam/research/ellington/index.html.

62. Larry E. Barnes, "Harry Ellington Armour (1874–1953)," Find A Grave Memorial #32269227, accessed October 6, 2012, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=32269227.

63. Lillie Riney, "George W Armour (1849–90)," Find A Grave Memorial #7950536, accessed October 6, 2012, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=7950536.

64. 1880 United States Census Ellington, Adams, Illinois.

65. David Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012), 10.

Figure 10: Nancy (Anna) Turner is buried near St. Mary's Baptist Church in Hancock County, Illinois. (photo by Velton Peabody)

Figure 11: Gabriella (Clark) Armour. (photo from Find A Grave)

were married March 22, 1899, in the home of the Reverend G. H. Cranch in Canton, the same minister who had married Harry's mother and James Turner two years earlier. Both Harry and Gabriella had acquired sufficient education, short of college degrees, to teach elementary grades. It is not clear whether Harry ever taught. It appears from census records that Harry and Gabriella lived immediately after marriage in St. Mary's Township, Hancock County, Illinois, where he was counted as a farm worker on June 19, 1900.[66] The family moved to Kansas, settling first in West Wichita, where he was listed in 1908 as a travel agent for the S. V. Clark Coal Company.[67] In 1910, they were living in Wichita's ward 5 where Harry was employed by a coal company as a traveling salesman.[68] The family was found in Wichita also in 1915[69] in the same city at 226 Walnut. In 1920 Harry was listed as an oiler, and his father-in-law, Christopher Columbus Clark, was counted at age seventy-four as a shoemaker at his own shop. Also in the household were Harry's wife, Gabriella; their daughter, Doris, thirteen; their son-in-law, Ralph Dunham, twenty-six, an auto mechanic; their daughter, Ruth, nineteen; and grandsons Ralph Dunham Jr., three years, four months, and Stanley, one year, nine months.[70] By 1925, the Armours had relocated to El Dorado, Butler County, northeast of Wichita, where the household consisted of Harry, now fifty-one, employed at a Magnolia Petroleum Company power plant;

66. 1900 United States Census, s.v. "Harry Armour," St. Mary's Township, Hancock County, Illinois, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

67. Susan Peters, "President Obama: From Kansas to the Capital," accessed October 6, 2012, http://www.kake.com/home/misc/38157259.html.

68. 1910 United States Census, s.v. "Harry Armour," Wichita Ward 5, Sedgwick, Kansas, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

69. 1915 Kansas State Census, s.v. "Harry Armour," Wichita, Sedgwick, Kansas, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

70. 1920 United States Census, s.v. "Harry Armour," Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

his wife, Gabriella, forty-eight, housewife; daughter Doris, nineteen, a stenographer at Shelly Pipe; Marsella Hawthorne, a twenty-three-year-old boarder; and grandson Ralph Dunham Jr., nine, a student.[71]

In El Dorado, Armour family members found themselves in the midst of an oil boom. Harry Armour stood only about five-feet-eight inches and was of medium build[72] but fit into the El Dorado scene quite well. Although described in census records as a roustabout and oil pumper, he was probably of more value to his employer, Magnolia Petroleum Company, for his brainpower, being especially proficient in mathematics. If bosses needed to know how many more barrels an oil storage tank would hold, they would turn to Armour. He had developed a chart showing the capacity for different size tanks, including the amount already in each tank and how much more would be needed to top each one off.[73]

Gabriella Clark stood about five-feet-eight inches, the same as her husband (fig. 11). She was born June 10, 1876, in Laddonia, Audrain County, Missouri, a daughter of Christopher Columbus Clark and his wife, Susan Catherine (Overall) Clark.[74] She was a granddaughter of George Washington Overall, once a slave-holding farmer in Nelson County, Kentucky.[75] Armour died December 5, 1953, in Wichita. His widow died July 14, 1966, in Wichita.[76] Both are buried in Wichita Park Cemetery and Mausoleum in Wichita. [77] The Armours had two daughters, Ruth Lucille and Doris Evelyn.

Ruth Lucille Armour: Obama's Great-grandmother

Ruth Lucille Armour, a great-grandmother of President Obama, was born September 1, 1900, in Plymouth, Hancock County, Illinois.[78] As a child she thought that

71. 1925 Kansas State Census, s.v. "Harry Armour," El Dorado, Butler County, Kansas, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

72. Barnes, "Harry Ellington Armour"; Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 10.

73. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 10.

74. Reitwiesner, "Ancestry of Barack Obama"; Roberts, *Ancestry of American Presidents*, 206; "Gabriella Clark 1876–1966," Frost, Gilchrist and Related Families, accessed September 30, 2012, http://frostandgilchrist.com/getperson.php?personID=I23591&tree=frostina201.

75. Scott Fornek, "A Special Report: The Obama Family Tree," *Chicago Sun-Times*, September 9, 2007, 2B http://www.thedunhamhouse.com/obamatree.pdf.

76. Roberts, *Ancestry of American Presidents*, 206.

77. Larry E. Barnes, "Gabriella Clark Armour (1876–1966)," Find A Grave Memorial #32269273, accessed January 21, 2013, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=32269273; Barnes, "Harry Ellington Armour (1874–1953)."

78. Roberts, *Ancestry of American Presidents*, 206; Reitwiesner, "Ancestry of Barack Obama,"; Larry E. Barnes, "Ruth Lucille Armour Dunham (1900–26)," Find A Grave Memorial #32315290, accessed October 6, 2012, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=32315290; "Gabriella Clark 1876–1966."

she was born to be a schoolteacher.[79] She attended the old Wichita High School but dropped out in her junior year[80] to marry Ralph Waldo Emerson Dunham.[81]

Ralph Dunham was born on Christmas Eve or Christmas Day, 1894, in Argonia, Sumner County, Kansas.[82] He was named for one of America's greatest poets but never liked the name, never went to college, and never read Emerson.[83] Ralph was an outdoorsman and the poet's name "embarrassed him," a daughter, Virginia Goeldner, recalled.[84] His draft registration card from World War I, dated June 5, 1917, one-and-a-half years after his marriage to Ruth, describes him as tall and of medium build with dark brown hair and dark brown eyes.[85]

He and Ruth were married secretly at nine o'clock at night on October 3, 1915, in the home of a relative of his in Wichita by a minister from her Southside Baptist Church in Wichita, leaving friends and parents in the dark for a week.[86] Dunham was not quite twenty-one while his bride was barely fifteen. The couple lived at first with her parents in what was already a three-generation household.[87] The marriage was difficult from the start as she struggled with her husband's serial philandering.[88] Two years into the marriage, when he registered for the draft in 1917, the family lived in Wichita.[89] He owned and operated Little Traveler Cafe next to the Central Fire Station. By 1920 after five years of marriage, the Dunhams had added a second son, Stanley, President Obama's grandfather, and were back living with her parents in Wichita, although Dunham was now described as an auto mechanic.[90] He worked at

79. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 6.

80. Ibid., 1–2.

81. "President Obama: From Kansas to the Capital."

82. Reitwiesner, "Ancestry of Barack Obama" and TB, "Ralph Waldo Emerson Dunham (1894–1970)" Find A Grave Memorial #32649741, accessed October 4, 2012, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=32649741, say December 24, but "Ralph Waldo Emerson & Ruth Lucille Armour," accessed October 5, 2012, http://dgmweb.net/FGS/D/DunhamRalphWaldoEmerson-RuthLucilleArmour.html and Fornek, "A Special Report," 2B, give December 25 as the birth date.

83. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 6.

84. Fornek, "A Special Report," 3B.

85. "Ralph Emerson Dunham," World War I Draft Registration Cards 1917–1918, accessed January 21, 2013, http://search.ancestry.com/iexec?htx=View&r=an&dbid=6482&iid=KS-1643924-5052&fn=Ralph+Emerson&ln=Dunham&st=r&ssrc=&pid=33199642.

86. Roberts, *Ancestry of American Presidents*, 206; Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 1–2.

87. 1915 Kansas State Census s.v. "Harry Armour," Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas, accessed through Ancestry.com. Besides the newlyweds and her parents, the household included Ruth's sister and their grandfather, Columbus Clark.

88. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 2.

89. "Ralph Emerson Dunham," World War I Draft Registration Cards 1917–1918.

90. 1920 United States Census, s.v. "Ralph Dunham," Wichita Ward 5, Sedgwick County, Kansas, accessed through Ancestry.com.

Figure 12: Ralph and Ruth Lucille Dunham with sons Stanley and Ralph Jr. (photo from Find A Grave)

the Oakland auto dealership in El Dorado and in the tooling department at Boeing Aircraft[91] (fig. 12).

While living briefly in Topeka, the Dunhams rented a small white house at 703 Southwest Buchanan while he operated an auto repair shop at 1117 Southwest 6th Avenue.[92] The stately governor's mansion stood one block up Buchanan, but structurally it must have seemed a world away from the Dunhams' modest frame house with its dirty white slate shingles.[93] Topeka city directories of the period do not reflect the Dunhams' presence there, but an article in the *Topeka (KS) Daily Capital* on November 27, 1926, does. The newspaper reported that Ralph Dunham early the previous morning had discovered his wife's body in his auto repair shop where she had taken her life by swallowing strychnine poison. Events leading to this tragedy actually began several days before when Thanksgiving Day plans were being made. By their schedule, Ralph and Ruth set out by car on a forty-five-minute drive on Thanksgiving morning on their way to Malvern, Kansas. In the car, in addition to the Dunhams, were their sons, Ralph Jr., ten, and Stanley, eight, and Ralph's brother, Earl, who worked with him in the garage. All were on their way to spend the holiday with Ralph and Earl's sister, Mabel (Dunham) Whitney, and her husband, Hugh. The Dunham brothers and Hugh planned to go hunting while the women prepared the holiday meal and the children played.

The last argument between Dunham and his wife ended that Thanksgiving afternoon when he left with his hunting party. After he was out of sight, a distraught Ruth headed back to Topeka, leaving the boys with Mabel. That night she left the house at 703 Buchanan and walked in the dark toward the Palace Garage, her husband's auto repair shop. She stopped at Lawrence Drug, next door to the shop, con-

91. Fornek, "A Special Report," 2B.

92. Tim Hrenchir, "Obama's great-grandparents lived in Topeka," *Topeka (KS) Capital-Journal online*, November 25, 2011, http://cjonline.com/news/2011-11-25/obamas-great-grandparents-lived-topeka.

93. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 5–6.

cocted the story that a dog had been hit by a car and she needed something to put the animal to death. Pharmacist George W. Lawrence suggested chloroform, but she asked for strychnine instead. He complied, selling her ten grams. After reaching Ralph's office in the garage, she called her parents in El Dorado, reassuring them that she was "in the best of health" and apparently not discussing her marital troubles. Two men who kept their cars in the garage reported seeing her at Ralph's desk that night. One, the pharmacist, said he noticed her, and W. E. Briggs, who owned an auto paint shop in the same building and lived nearby, reported he saw her at 10:30 p.m. as he was putting his car away. He said she was sitting at the desk, writing, and assumed she was waiting for her husband.

When informed on their return from the hunt that Ruth had already gone home, the Dunham brothers drove to Topeka and, finding nobody at the Dunham house, began a search. They went to the garage about 2 a.m. to make a call back to Malvern and discovered the body. Ruth was taken by ambulance to St. Francis Hospital but was already dead. Dr. Herbert L. Clark, the county coroner, investigated, determining that Ruth had taken her own life by taking strychnine, dying about midnight. The letter she was seen writing, the coroner said, was a suicide note declaring she was taking her life because "her husband no longer loved her."[94]

On news of the death, Ruth's parents and sister, Doris, drove from El Dorado to Topeka on Friday morning, the day after Thanksgiving. The family and friends attempted to conceal the suicide. Doris sent a telegram to the *El Dorado (KS) Times* claiming the cause of death was food poisoning, and Mrs. Roy Reeves, a family friend, gave a similar version to the *Wichita (KS) Eagle*. "Mrs. Dunham had been feeling well up to a late hour Thursday night, and it is believed that food eaten at Thanksgiving dinner was responsible for her death," the *Eagle* said.[95]

Ruth's son Stanley, who was eight when his mother died, later told family members, including the future President Obama, that it was he who discovered his mother's body,[96] and that version has been widely accepted. But Stanley's story does not appear to stand up. "Stanley did not find my mother dead," his brother, Ralph Jr., who was ten at the time, asserted many years later. The older brother recalled some of the events of that Thanksgiving holiday, including the picnic at Malvern and the unexpected arrival of his grandparents from El Dorado the next day. He recalled that he and Stanley as youngsters had enjoyed reading Uncle Wiggily books. Milton Bradley had produced a board game based on Uncle Wiggily stories, and the boys had wanted it. Soon after the grandparents' arrival in Topeka, Ralph Jr., recalled, the grandparents gave the grandsons money and sent them to a drugstore to buy one.

94. Ibid., 4.

95. Ibid.

96. Dinesh Sharma, *Barack Obama in Hawai'i and Indonesia: The Making of a Global President* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011), 50–51.

Ralph Jr. said it was while playing this game that the boys were told their mother was dead.[97] Ruth's body was taken to El Dorado for a funeral on Sunday, November 28, at the First Baptist Church, and she was buried in section 5 of Sunset Lawns South Cemetery, across the street from an old oil refinery.[98]

Dunham lost his garage in Topeka soon after Ruth died, and he returned to Wichita, where in 1930 he was living with his parents at 1201 West Douglas. He ran a drugstore, but his personal life took some bad turns. For a time after Ruth's death, he lived with a woman in Wichita, but that relationship, like his marriage to Ruth, ended with a hunting trip. As Ralph Jr. recalled, his father went hunting one weekend, "and when he came back, the woman had taken up with another fella and they had backed up to the drugstore while everyone was away and packed up everything into the truck and moved off, and that was the end of the drugstore."[99] Dunham married a second time in 1932 to Martha Mae Stonehouse.[100] He died October 4, 1970, in Wichita,[101] followed by Martha on July 17, 1972.[102] They are buried together at Resthaven Gardens of Memory in Wichita.

After their mother's suicide, Stanley and Ralph Jr. went to live with their maternal grandparents at 402 North Washington in El Dorado. Money was tight when the boys joined the Armour family, so their father, as their guardian, obtained a $2,500 loan to help the grandparents financially. As collateral, he used a parcel of land in El Dorado's Cooper Park that had been owned by his late wife and that she had willed to Ralph Jr. and Stanley.[103]

In 1930, an extended family covering four generations lived in the Armour house. Included were four ancestors of the future President Obama: Stanley Armour Dunham, now twelve (the future grandfather "Gramps" who would help raise the president in Hawaii); Harry Armour, now fifty-six and an oil fields pumper, the president's great-great-grandfather; Gabriella (Clark) Armour, fifty-three, the president's great-great-grandmother; and Gabriella's father, Columbus Clark, the Civil War veteran now eighty-four, Obama's great-great-great-grandfather.[104]

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97. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 5–6.

98. Ibid., 4–7.

99. Ibid., 7.

100. Ibid., 7. By this second wife, Ralph had two more children, Eleanor Belle (Dunham) Berkebile (1932–2003) and Virginia May (Dunham) Goeldner (1935–), according to TBN, "Ralph Waldo Emerson Dunham."

101. Reitwiesner, "Ancestry of Barack Obama"; "Ralph Dunham & Ruth Armour"; TNB, "Ralph Waldo Emerson Dunham."

102. B Valco, "Martha Mae Stonehouse Dunham (1910–72)," Find A Grave Memorial #34382669, accessed January 22, 2013, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=34382669.

103. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 10–11.

104. 1930 United States Census, s.v. "Harry Armour," Third Ward, El Dorado City, Butler County, Kansas, accessed through Ancestry.com.

Columbus Clark, even in old age, was a commanding figure. He was six feet tall and stood erect like a soldier, his waist wrapped in a truss to control an unrepaired hernia. Regularly, he took constitutional walks in the neighborhood. He came from northeast Missouri, the same area where John Milton Childress had been taken prisoner in the Civil War. Clark had his own memories of the war. His sympathies, however, were with the Union side. In April 1864 at age eighteen, he enlisted in Company M, 69th Regiment, Missouri Militia, which was affiliated with Union forces, though not an official unit of the federal army. He served for seven months and in his advanced years loved to spin war tales, finding in these two great-grandsons an attentive audience. His favorite story recounted a time his unit surrounded a house where a Confederate bushwhacker captain was holed up. As Clark remembered it, the captain shouted, "Come in and get me if you want." Clark kicked in the door and brought the bushwhacker out without a shot, and the unit hanged him the next morning. In regaling Ralph Jr. and Stanley with these tales, Clark would wield his cane like a rifle, ordering them to march through the paces as he instructed them in proper military maneuvers. Clark died January 11, 1937, at age ninety-one in El Dorado and was taken back to northeast Missouri to be buried in Forest Grove Cemetery in Canton.[105]

By the time Ralph Jr. and Stanley reached high school age, the family lived in a crowded two-bedroom house in a circle of company homes on the outskirts of El Dorado. The brothers slept next to a washing machine on the screened-in back porch, offering some pleasant nights in the summer but some chilly experiences in the winter when boards replaced the screens. From these new quarters Harry walked to work. Ralph Jr. and Stanley drove an old Pontiac and later a new Chevy into town to attend El Dorado High School.[106] By the time Stanley graduated from high school in 1936, El Dorado's gusher days had passed, rural boomtowns had become ghost towns, and home foreclosures were common. Within days of Stanley's graduation, the Railroad Building Loan and Savings Association obtained a court order for sale of the property that had been used as collateral for his father's loan, and the land was put out for bid in a sheriff's sale.[107] After the boys finished high school and after Columbus Clark died, the Armours moved back to Wichita.[108]

105. Alice Huitt Preston, "Christopher Columbus Clark (1845–1937)," Find A Grave Memorial #33831875, accessed December 23, 2012, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=33831875.

106. Ibid., 17–18.

107. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 24–25.

108. 1940 United States Census s.v. "Harry E. Armour," Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas, accessed through Ancestry.com.

Stanley Armour Dunham: Obama's Grandfather

Stanley Armour Dunham, President Obama's maternal grandfather, like his father, married secretly in Wichita. While his bride, Madelyn Payne, worked as an aircraft inspector in Wichita, Dunham served briefly in Europe under General George Patton during World War II.[109] He dreamed of becoming a writer and took journalism courses at the University of California at Berkeley but became a furniture salesman instead. He held sales jobs in several states before moving his family to Honolulu. It was in Hawaii that Madelyn became a prominent banker and the family's chief bread winner and where daughter Stanley Ann met and married Barack Hussein Obama and gave birth to the future president.

Madelyn claimed Cherokee ancestry. At times, she would turn her head in profile to show off her beaked nose as proof of her Native American blood, but genealogical research has failed to substantiate the claim.[110] President Obama has noted his grandmother's pride in being part Cherokee but acknowledged that concrete evidence has not been found.[111] But Madelyn may have brought to the family another genetic strain of which she was unaware. A few years after her death, Ancestry.com, the largest family history resource in the world, reported on July 30, 2012, that its research team had concluded that President Obama is descended from John Punch of colonial Virginia, allegedly the first documented African slave in America. This claim has been disputed, but if it proves to be true, this is one African American bloodline that comes from Obama's American ancestors through his grandmother and mother and not through his father.[112]

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109. "Stanley Armour Dunham (1918–92)," Familypedia, accessed September 27, 2012, http://familypedia.wikia.com/wiki/Stanley_Armour_Dunham_%281918-1992%29.

110. Obama, *Dreams from My Father*, 12; Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 31–32.

111. "About Madelyn Lee Dunham (Payne) (1922–2008)," GENi, accessed October 6, 2012, http://www.geni.com/people/Madelyn-Dunham/6000000001736596601.

112. "Ancestry.com Discovers President Obama Related to First Documented Slave in America," accessed November 29, 2012, http://c.mfcreative.com/offer/us/obama_bunch/PDF/press_release_final.pdf. The line of descent from John Punch to Obama is listed in "Relationship of Barack Hussein Obama to John Punch: John Punch as the 11th great-grandfather of Barack Hussein Obama," accessed November 29, 2012, http://c.mfcreative.com/offer/us/obama_bunch/PDF/punch_tree_final.pdf as follows: John Punch to John Bunch I, to John Bunch II, to John Bunch III, to Samuel Bunch, to Charles Bunch, to Nathaniel Bunch, to Anna Bunch, to Frances Allred, to Margaret Bell Wright, to Leona McCurry, to Madelyn Lee Payne, to Stanley Ann Dunham, to Barack Hussein Obama. See also: Luke Johnson, "Obama Descendant of African Slave, According To Genealogy Research," *Huffington Post*, July 30, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/07/30/obama-slave-african-geneology_n_1721158.html; Bill Plante, "Surprising link found in Obama family tree," CBS News, July 30, 2012, http://www.cbsnews.com/2102-505263_162-57482046.html; Linda Heywood and John Thornton, "Obama Slave Report Misses Mark; Two scholars dispute assertions that a 17th-century forebear was one of the first documented slaves," July 31, 2012, http://www.theroot.com/views/account-obamas-slave-ancestry-misses-mark; Erin Aubry Kaplan, "Obama's slave link; tracing a line from the first black slave to the first black president," Op-Ed, *Los Angeles Times*, August 8, 2012, http://articles.latimes.com/2012/aug/08/opinion/la-oe-aubry-kaplan-obama-slave-ancestry-20120808.

Stanley Ann Dunham: President Obama's mother

The Midwestern girl with the odd name Stanley Ann Dunham was born at 8:34 a.m., November 29, 1942, at St. Francis Hospital, Wichita, Kansas,[113] while the father was away training with the army. A birth announcement in the Augusta newspaper gave the baby's weight as seven pounds, two ounces, but did not mention her unusual name.[114] The usual explanation for naming her Stanley Ann was that her father had wanted a son so badly that he insisted on giving her his name.[115] But Obama biographer David Maraniss uncovered another explanation. The new mother's favorite actress was Bette Davis. In the summer of 1942 while Madelyn was pregnant, the new movie, *In This Our Life*, starring Bette Davis and Olivia de Havilland, reached Kansas theaters. The actresses portrayed sisters named Stanley and Roy. Madelyn thought the idea of a woman named Stanley, portrayed by Miss Davis, was the height of sophistication, her brother Charles recalled. And thus the idea of naming her daughter Stanley was born. The fact that her husband was a Stanley was purely coincidental[116] (fig. 13). In different stages in life, Stanley Ann Dunham was known by many variations of her given name, from Stannie Ann as a child in Berkeley and as an elementary pupil in Ponca City, as Ann and Anna, but she became Stanley Ann at Hawkins Elementary School in Vernon, Texas, and stayed with that through Mercer Island High School outside Seattle, Washington. Years of being teased unmercifully as "Stanley Steamer" and "Stan the Man,"[117] especially in the lower grades, subsided. As Stanley Ann, she earned a high school grade point average of 3.35 while pursuing a challenging curriculum that included four years of French and advanced chemistry. She was seen as one of the school's brains.[118] She applied at the University of Chicago and was accepted there and worked as an *au pair* in Chicago the summer before her senior year in high school.[119] But, before she could enroll, her father decided she was too young to go so far away for school. He found another opportunity for himself in furniture sales in Honolulu, and in 1960 soon after Stanley Ann finished high school, the family was on the move again.

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113. "Stanley Ann Dunham," The Obama File, accessed January 26, 2013, http://www.theobamafile.com/_images/AnnaCleanedBirthCertificate.jpg.

114. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 67.

115. Tim Jones, "Obama's Mom: Not just a girl from Kansas," *Chicago Tribune*, March 27, 2007, http://servv89pnoaj.sn.sourcedns.com/~gbpprorg/obama/barack.mother.txt; 1 Asleep in Christ, "Dr. Stanley Ann Dunham Obama Soetoro (1942–95)," Find A Grave Memorial #3028014, accessed October 6, 2012, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=30280142; "Stanley Ann Dunham," The Obama File.

116. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 68.

117. Obama, *Dreams from My Father*, 19.

118. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 128–35.

119. Obama, *Dreams from My Father*, 123.

The sensitive, precocious only child of a boaster, storyteller, and joker who struggled through high school and flunked out of college once told her uncle, Dr. Ralph Dunham Jr., that she was the daughter of the wrong Dunham. "She felt it would have been easier if I had been her father," the uncle said. She had started reading at age five and by age ten was happy sitting in a tree poring over the pages of *National Geographic*.[120]

When Stanley Ann began studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa in the fall of 1960, she brought a curiosity, an intellectual maturity and a sharp wit honed in the coffee houses of Seattle's University District, where she loved to explore, among other topics, the values that might be derived from different cultures. She had learned to enjoy foreign films at Seattle's Ridgemont Theatre.[121] She had not dated high school boys from her school on Mercer Island, preferring boys from the mainland, especially one Italian boy with long wavy hair who lived in Bellevue. She considered him gorgeous—her Fonz.[122]

In a Russian language class at the University of Hawaii, she soon met Barack Hussein Obama, the first African student to attend the school and quickly fell under his spell. When they were secretly married in February 1961, she was already three months pregnant with his child, the future president.[123] Stanley Ann dropped out of the university for a time until after her son was born but eventually returned to earn three degrees: a BA in mathematics August 6, 1967; an MA in anthropology December 18, 1983; and a PhD in anthropology August 9, 1992.

The brown-eyed Stanley Ann measured five-and-a-half feet tall, slightly taller than average, and was described as "not fat, but a little bit heavy." Unlike the nattily dressed Obama, she paid little attention to her personal appearance and the clothes she wore.[124] While her suitor usually found himself at the center of attention, she seemed content to remain in the background.

Within a month after young Obama's birth, mother and son were off to Seattle where she resumed her education though her marriage was essentially at an end. The formal termination, however, did not come for another three years, when Barack II was three. Stanley Ann filed for divorce in January 1964 in the First Judicial Circuit, State of Hawaii, Division of Domestic Relations. She cited the usual grounds of the time, "grievous mental suffering." Obama signed for the divorce papers on January

120. Ibid., 121–22.

121. Phil Dougherty, "Stanley Ann Dunham, Mother of Barack Obama, Graduates from Mercer Island High School in 1960," HistoryLink, February 7, 2009, http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=8897.

122. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 129–30.

123. 1 Asleep in Christ, "Dr. Stanley Ann Dunham"; Dougherty, "Stanley Ann Dunham."

124. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 129–30.

Figure 13: Stanley Ann with parents Madelyn and Stanley Dunham. (photo from Familypedia)

Figure 14: Stanley Ann (Dunham) Obama and son Barack. (photo from Find A Grave)

30 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and never contested the action.[125] Judge Samuel P. King signed his final order in the case on March 20, 1964, to provide legal closure. From the time the son was an infant, except for occasional letters and a Christmas-time visit in Honolulu when Barack II was ten, the father had little contact with this part of his family (fig. 14).

At the time Stanley Ann began divorce proceedings against Obama, she was already in a relationship with another international student she had met at the University of Hawaii during her second round of studies there. This student was born Soetoro Martodihardjo, but from childhood in his native Indonesia he was known by the nickname Lolo. When he arrived in Hawaii he dropped the last name and became "Lolo Soetoro," perhaps without realizing at first that the word lolo, in native Hawaiian, means crazy.[126] Though the nickname tickled Stanley Ann's father to no end, stepson Barack II said Lolo was not crazy but possessed the good manners and easy grace of his people. But because Lolo wanted a larger family and Stanley preferred to pursue her career, their marriage soon ended in divorce.

Stanley Ann (Dunham) Obama Soetoro has been described as a "brilliant but impulsive woman"[127] who taught her African American and American Indonesian children to celebrate their divergent cultural heritages. After her second divorce she

125. Amanda Ripley, "The Story of Barack Obama's Mother," *Time Magazine*, April 9, 2008, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1729685,00.html.

126. Maraniss, *Barack Obama: The Story*, 195.

127. Kirsten Scharnberg and Kim Barker, "The Not-So-Simple Story of Barack Obama's Youth," *Chicago Tribune*, March 25, 2007, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2007-03-25/news/0703250359_1_barry-obama-sen-barack-obama-stories.

went on to complete her education, eventually turning in a thousand-page doctoral dissertation in 1992 on "Peasant Blacksmithing in Indonesia: Surviving and Thriving Against All Odds."[128] Work on this research, sandwiched between economic development jobs all over the world, took almost two decades. Through work and research, often at the controls of a motorcycle on difficult back roads in far-flung corners of the underdeveloped world, she came to be recognized as an authority on economic development, known primarily for building the Indonesian microfinance program that enabled small, credit-poor entrepreneurs to get loans.[129]

During a meal with friends in Jakarta in the fall of 1994, Stanley Ann felt a pain in her stomach that came to be diagnosed several months later in Hawaii as stemming from ovarian and uterine cancer. She died November 7, 1995, at the Straub Clinic in Honolulu. Relatives, including Barack II, scattered her ashes at Koko Head, Honolulu.[130] While sorting through Stanley Ann's belongings, daughter Maya discovered the start of a life story—two pages long. "She always did want to write a memoir," Maya said. Maybe she had run out of time, or maybe the chemotherapy had worn her out, she said. "I don't know. Maybe she felt overwhelmed, there was so much to tell."[131]

Concluding Thoughts and Observations

The idea for this paper was born out of curiosity about President Obama's RLDS ancestor. The research in primary sources and onsite in Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois, as well as in secondary sources and on the Internet, substantiate that relationship. But the research on this one line of descent from Anna Childress to the president also has uncovered a widely diverse chain of people. These include, in the direct line or through marriage, farmers, a furniture salesman, a banker, teachers, an oilfield worker, and an auto repairman. They include Democrats and Republicans, the devout and the nonreligious, Blacks and Caucasians, Baptists and members of the RLDS church/Community of Christ, among others, as well as Southern sympathizers and Union partisans. Each in his or her own way has contributed something to the makeup of President Obama and perhaps to the qualities that make him a world leader (fig. 15).

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128. 1 Asleep in Christ, "Dr. Stanley Ann Dunham." The study was published in 2009, thirteen years after her death, by Duke University Press as *Surviving against the Odds: Village Industry in Indonesia* by S. Ann Dunham.

129. Dougherty, "Stanley Ann Dunham."

130. "Ann Dunham (1942–95)," Familypedia, http://familypedia.wikia.com/wiki/Ann_Dunham_%281942-1995%29.

131. Jon Meacham, "On His Own: Cerebral and cool, Obama is also steely, and his strength comes from the absence of a father. The making of a self-reliant man," *Daily Beast*, August 22, 2008, http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2008/08/22/on-his-own.print.htm (page discontinued).

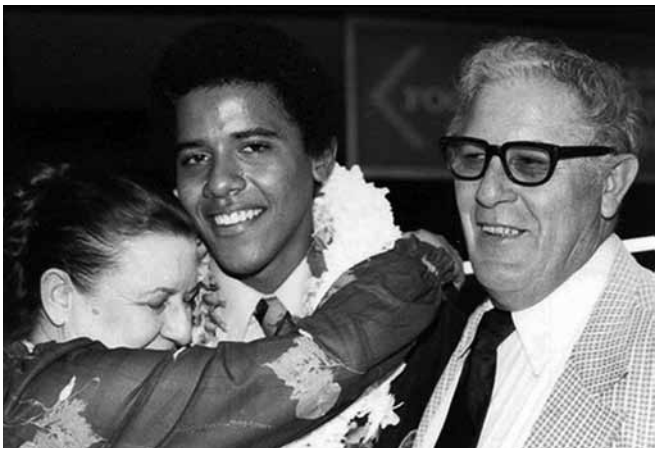

Figure 15: Barack Obama with his maternal grandparents. Obama's resemblance to his grandfather Stanley Dunham is evident. (photo from Familypedia)

Figure 16: President Obama (http://www.biography.com/people/barack-obama-12782369/photos)

Nationally recognized genealogists, including William Addams Reitwiesner and Gary Boyd Roberts, compiler of *Ancestry of American Presidents*, have come to the same conclusion this researcher has regarding the family connection between Nancy Ann Childress and the president. A few other researchers concluded before research for this paper began that Nancy Ann Childress was not only connected to the president but to the RLDS church as well, and it was their work, published on the Internet, that led this researcher to dig deeper. Rosemary E. Bachelor, a Pulitzer prize-winning journalist and genealogist, may have been the first to make a public connection tying Nancy Ann Childress to both the RLDS church and President Obama. She did so in "President Barack Obama's Mormon Ancestry," first published on the Internet October 9, 2010.[132] A report based on her work was posted the next day on a genealogy blog.[133] This was followed three days later by Dick Eastman's "Obama Seems to be Related to Everyone,"[134] "Obama's Mormon Ancestry" at Mormon Chronicles[135] and "Pres. Obama has (almost) Mormon Ancestry" at LDSLiv-

132. Rosemary E. Bachelor, "President Barack Obama's Mormon Ancestry," Suite 101, last modified March 25, 2012, http://suite101.com/article/president-barack-obamas-mormon-ancestry-a295278.

133. Posted October 10, 2010, by Jean-Yves Baxter at "Genealogy Blog" on GeneaNet, accessed February 9, 2013http://genealogyblog.geneanet.org/index.php/post/2010/10/President-Barack-Obama-s-Mormon-Ancestry.html.

134. Dick Eastman, "Obama Seems to be Related to Everyone," Eastman's Online Genealogy Newsletter, October 13, 2010, http://blog.eogn.com/eastmans_online_genealogy/2010/10/obama-seems-to-be-related-to-everyone.html.

135. "Obama's Mormon Ancestry," Mormon Chronicles, October 13, 2010, http://mormon-chronicles.blogspot.com/2010/10/obamas-mormon-ancestry.html.

ing.[136] Independently, two Childress family genealogists, namely Melba (Winans) McDowell and her daughter, Stacey (McDowell) Dietiker, both of Independence, Missouri, and both now associated with the Remnant Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, a schismatic denomination from Community of Christ, made identical discoveries. At the same time, few members of Community of Christ seem to be aware even today of this institutional connection to Obama. This may be due, in part, to the fact that Community of Christ, in contrast to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, does not place a religious significance on genealogical research, and its library and archives in Independence is not particularly equipped for genealogical research and has little genealogical material beyond its own institutional records.

Why is a connection to President Obama important to Community of Christ? After all, millions of Americans, from George W. Bush and Dick Cheney to Wild Bill Hickok and Brad Pitt, may legitimately claim to be related to the first African American president. In Nancy Ann Childress's case, it is different. She was not Obama's tenth cousin, twice removed, or some other distant relative. She was the president's third-great-grandmother, an ancestor. Her blood flows in his veins. Knowledge of this relationship probably will not lead to a rush of church members into or out of the Democratic Party. But what this connection might do is to deepen and broaden the membership's sense of the church's place in American history and its connection to a central figure on the world stage (fig. 16).

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136. "Pres. Obama has (almost) Mormon Ancestry, LDSLiving, October 13, 2010, http://ldsliving.com/story/62436-pres-obama-has-almost-mormon-ancestry.

J. Charles Jensen: Homosexual Friend of David H. Smith

Lewis Weigand

Sometimes people become footnotes or even more to history because of associations with better-known people. Charles Jensen was a true long-term friend of David H. Smith, youngest son of Joseph Smith Jr., founder of the Latter Day Saint movement. In addition to becoming a religious leader in his own right, David H. Smith had major passions as a poet and an artist. Though less famous, Charles Jensen lived a noteworthy though much less visible life. This paper will explore Charles Jensen's story, including his friendship with David H. Smith in the context of a life of faith, strong commitment to family and friends, and the challenges of living a life in what today would be called a homosexual or same-sex orientation.

Outing someone who has been dead for nearly ninety years is not an exact science. There is no direct testimony that Charles Jensen ever engaged in same-sex consummation. Indeed, the concept of sexual orientation was not part of the culture during Charles's formative years. Even the terminology heterosexual and homosexual did not appear in United States writing until 1892.[1] If Charles were aware of the concept, it would only have been late in life, if at all. Any conclusion that he possessed same-sex orientation would be based on circumstantial evidence surrounding the events of his life that people today could interpret as such. The fact that he never married could be seen as a marker for this but was by no means proof of the argument—nor is marriage alone proof of heterosexuality, for that matter.

This essay will examine a number of indicators that collectively could lead a reasonable person to conclusions about Charlie's sexual orientation. Letters sent to Charlie from David H. Smith are perhaps the most persuasive evidence. Those let-

1. D. Michael Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics Among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 33.

ters, his decline of a priesthood call, and his peculiar lack of success in business are further supportive of a same-sex orientation.

Charles was born June 17, 1847, in Copenhagen, Denmark, with the full name of James Charles Jensen. He rarely answered to this name. For formal purposes, he preferred J. Charles Jensen but his friends knew him as Charles, Charlie, or Charley. He knew little about his father. His mother, Catherine Jensen, left his father in December 1853 to find a new life for her and Charles in Utah. They arrived in Liverpool, England, on January 10, 1854, and sailed aboard the Benjamin Adams for New Orleans on February 10. They landed in New Orleans on March 22 and proceeded up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.[2]

During the overland portion of the journey, this seven-year-old Danish immigrant witnessed a significant event in western US history that he remembered for the rest of his life. On August 17 in extreme western Nebraska their Mormon wagon train approached Fort Laramie, Wyoming. A cow belonging to the train went lame and began to fall behind the wagons. Members of the Brule Sioux tribe were nearby waiting for long overdue food promised by the American government. When the cow was sufficiently behind the train, the Indians slaughtered and ate the cow. Upon arrival at Fort Laramie, the wagon master reported what became known as the "Mormon Cow Incident" to the commander. He dispatched a twenty-one-man patrol headed by a recent West Point graduate and armed with a cannon. The Sioux chief, The Bear, refused to turn over the guilty party. In the skirmish that followed, The Bear and the entire twenty-one-man army patrol were killed. In August 1855 a twelve hundred-man force from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, under the command of General Harney caught up with the Brule tribe at Ash Hollow, Nebraska. One hundred thirty-six Sioux were killed and the rest captured. The result was strained relations with the Sioux for many years, and a downtown street in Omaha was named for General Harney.[3]

The wagon train reached Salt Lake without further incident on October 5, 1854. Conditions in Utah were not as Catherine Jensen had expected. Successfully avoiding the fate of plural wifedom, she and Charles left Utah on April 17, 1857. Young Charles walked nearly the entire distance to Plattsmouth, Nebraska, where they remained briefly before moving across the Missouri River to Council Bluffs, Iowa. Charles attended school and did odd jobs to help support himself and his mother, developing a strong sense of responsibility and work ethic early in life. His most no-

2. J. F. Mintun, Council Bluffs Central Congregation History, microfiche, Community of Christ Archives. Mintun followed Charles Jensen as congregation historian and entered a five-page biography of him into the historical record.

3. James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), 139–40.

table employment as a youth was part-time work with the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* newspaper.[4]

Because many disaffected Mormons lived in Council Bluffs and western Iowa during the 1850s, the region became a prime destination in 1859 for the first missionaries from the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), now known as Community of Christ. Charles may have been among the first to come in contact with the RLDS church, but the first record of such contact appears in Joseph Smith III's memoirs. Young Joseph accepted leadership of this branch of Latter Day Saintism in 1860. In 1863, he was in Iowa for the church's semi-annual conference at the North Star branch a few miles east of Council Bluffs. He mentioned meeting a number of contacts who had dropped out of the Mormon migration and said, "Among them might be mentioned Andrew Hall, J. Charles Jensen, and mother."[5] When David Smith accompanied his elder brother Joseph on this extended trip to Iowa, David and Charles met and quickly became friends. The friendship would have a significant impact on the lives of both young men. The fact that Charles was only sixteen when he became the best friend of a young man three years his senior speaks well for his intellect. The friendship blossomed as they found they shared a common religious heritage, intellectual interests, and the experience of losing a father early in life.[6]

The mention of Andrew Hall along with Charles and his mother by Joseph Smith III was no accident. Undoubtedly, the three were together when they met the young church president. A major event in the life of Charles was the marriage of his mother to Andrew Hall in 1864. Hall had once been a member of a faction of the church led by Charles B. Thompson that settled at Preparation, Iowa, beginning in 1853. In the spring of 1854, the first Monona County elections took place and Hall was elected the county's first justice of the peace. He was among the more financially stable and respected early settlers in the county and was also among the first to defect from the Thompson faction. He joined with Hugh Lytle in July 1855 to establish the community of Belvidere in Monona County.[7] Later Hall joined the RLDS church and served in the priesthood office of Seventy.

Andrew Hall's presence provided a positive male role model for Charlie but did not result in an immediate commitment to the RLDS church for he needed time to come to his own conclusions. But once he made the decision for baptism in 1871, he was extremely conscientious in honoring his commitment. His connections with

4. Minton, Council Bluffs Central Congregation History.

5. Audentia Smith Anderson, ed., *The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith (1832–1914)* (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1979), 97–98.

6. Valeen Tippetts Avery, *From Mission to Madness* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 59.

7. Junia Braby, "Charles B. Thompson: Harbinger of Zion or Master of Humbuggery?" *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 23 (2003): 156–58.

the Smith family resulted in the baptism being performed by Joseph Smith III on October 18.[8]

Additional evidence of the relationship between Charles Jensen and the Smith family was included in an account by Joseph Smith III, published as a letter to the church's periodical the *Saints' Herald*. Nearly everyone familiar with railroad history or even general American history knows that the first transcontinental railroad was completed when the golden spike was hammered at Promontory Point, Utah, in 1869. Actually, it was complete except for the absence of a bridge over the Missouri River between Omaha and Council Bluffs. When Joseph Smith III traveled to Utah in July 1872, he needed to cross the Missouri River on a ferry. In his letter he said, "On the second of July with valise, and well filled lunch basket, I crossed the Missouri, accompanied by Br. Charles Jensen, whose aid was of value to me."[9] Certainly there were local church leaders who would have enjoyed accompanying the church president on that ferryboat ride; however, it was a decision based on personal friendship rather than hierarchy. Another of the Smith brothers, Alexander H. Smith, wrote to the *Saints' Herald* describing a train ride to Council Bluffs saying, "We changed at Chariton, and also at Creston; arrived at Council Bluffs, and met Br. Charles Jensen, who made us welcome and provided refreshments for the outward man."[10]

The most definitive evidence of Charlie's sexual orientation is found in a series of letters written to him by his close friend David H. Smith from 1872 to 1874. The two also met in person when David was traveling to and from Utah on behalf of the church. Only the letters from David to Charlie seem to have survived, and they ended as David's sanity failed, leading to his commitment at the asylum at Elgin, Illinois. The letters from David include those that were kept by Charles and later sent to David's family. They appear incomplete.[11] Reading these letters is somewhat like listening to one end of a telephone conversation. Sometimes one has a good understanding of what the party on the other end is saying—other times only a vague idea. In the exchange of letters, David and Charlie discussed a variety of topics including natural science and chemistry, religion, the arts, and finances. Their scientific interests seemed more at the *Popular Mechanics* level rather than the theoretical. The most significant discussions were of personal matters, such as their friendship and Charlie's apparent lack of romantic interests.

One undated letter may have originated in June 1872 in Sandwich, Illinois, shortly before David's mission to Utah. The beginning was in response to correspondence from Charlie. "You will doubtless be disappointed many times before you die,

8. Heman C. Smith, ed., "Necrology," *Journal of History* 18, no. 4 (October 1925): 488.

9. *Saints' Herald* 19, no. 33 (August 15, 1872).

10. *Saints' Herald* 20, no. 42 (October 15, 1873): 652.

11. Avery, *From Mission to Madness*, 232.

prepare for disappointments (original.) As to extravagance tis hard to skin a flint I am drift wood and hard to ruin thank Heaven. None of your nonsense about bad egg." David often responded to shortcomings being reported by Charles. Although the reader doesn't know precisely what Charles was concerned about, David often responded with concerns about Charles's relations with women. In this case he continued, "Appoint some young and handsome lady to embrace you for me. Thereby appoint Jennie Balogna to perform that very ceremony. (Melancholy one at that.)" After a digression, David pressed the point, "I hope Jennie will not pince (*sic*) you when she performs that ceremony as they did me at first but I attributed it to your warmth of animosity." After digressions about church and science, the topic of a lady was repeated, "Condescend to nothing really mean and low, be no hypocrite, cultivate but one and only one but see that you do have one true affectionate lady love get a healthy one and of good repute and abide by that so shall you escape unrest and future gnawing regret sharp as despair, she ought to be of good size."[12]

In a letter dated July 17, 1872, David was pleased to hear from Charles but was feeling isolated and suffering a bit of culture shock from his first couple of weeks in Utah. He reported, "I have no young friend with whom to hold holiday and I am very lonely in spite of all the excitement. No one to love." Then he drew a sad face in the letter. The letter closed, "I have had one bath in the warm spring oh if you could have been with me. I wish you were here, we would go up the mountain and spend a day rambling take a lunch basket and a bottle of pop."[13]

David turned to writing poetry as one way of coping with his isolation. An entry in his journal dated August 12, 1872, was no doubt written with his close friend Charlie in mind.

Oh I miss you gentle friend
And my soul cries out for thee
When shall my weary waiting end
That brings you near to me?

When I wander on the hills
To enjoy the flooding light
Still I miss you: were you there
Even the sunshine were more bright[14]

By the end of July, David may have overcome some of the initial loneliness and was again pressing his concern for Charlie's relations with women. He was almost scolding in tone when he said, "You are remiss in your attention to ladies, you should

12. DHS to Charles Jensen, [June] 1872, DHS Papers, Community of Christ Archives.

13. DHS to Charles Jensen, 17 July 1872, DHS Papers.

14. F. Mark McKiernan, "The Tragedy of David H. Smith," *Saints' Herald* 119, no. 12 (December 1972): 20.

cultivate acquaintance with them and overcome bashfulness study and easy affable deportment with them yet keep yourself noble, get acquainted as soon as possible with the one I recommend, nothing cultivates a man so much as conversation with ladies of intellect and refinement, marriage is not the necessary termination of such conversation mutual improvement is the main object. Now obey counsel if you wish to be benefited." David drove the point as he continued, "Do not cherish any secret paltry weakness, you understand, that will unfit you for life in reality but be a noble man." He interrupted these concerns with a request that Charles provide him the chemical composition of water and air and explain what a salt is. The last paragraph contains expressions of what they had in common, but stress in the relationship may have resulted from Charlie confiding more than David wanted to know. David wrote, "We are adapted to enjoy many things in common … You need some strong-minded electrical male friend from whom to gain by contact and conversation hence your attraction to me but don't confide too deeply in any human, but be your own noble man."[15] Charles was encouraged twice in one letter to be a "noble man." The overall tone some of the language suggests that the difficulty Charles had with women was more than bashfulness. One may wonder what Charles said about himself and his activities that David believed were less than noble. Perhaps this letter comes closer than any other suggestion that Charlie had engaged in or considered overt same-sex relationships. It also marked a crisis in the relationship between two longtime friends.

The next available letter is dated December 1, 1872. Whether there are missing letters or if correspondence from David temporarily ceased due to stress in their friendship expressed in July isn't clear. He began, "You know already the reasons of my delay in writing. I need make no excuses to you. I do not intend to drop you nor anything of the kind." He continued by asking Charles to help in the sale of a painting and how to handle the proceeds of the sale. He concluded with more of their usual scientific banter.[16]

David didn't delay sending another letter. In a letter dated December 2, he wrote that he was reminded of Charlie's scientific questions "while doing homage to bodily needs this morning." After providing his views on why starch in potatoes and other vegetables do not burst under heat, he closed with an expression of loneliness and acceptance. David appeared to desire reconciliation after his previous letters. He said, "All goes merry too merry in fact I am treated well I wish my wife was with me, I wish you were near I miss sympathy, more than any thing and isolation is hard for me to bear if you were here we could rejoice.[17]

15. DHS to Charles Jensen, 31 July 1872, DHS Papers.

16. DHS to Charles Jensen, 1 December 1872, DHS Papers.

17. DHS to Charles Jensen, 2 December 1872, DHS Papers.

An undated letter from Malad City, Idaho, may have been David's next correspondence. He was looking forward to a trip to California and was impressed by Charlie's progress. Charles, perhaps in response to David's urgings, had found a possible romantic interest in a woman who was also known to David. David wrote, "Your acquaintances with Pluma is a good thing she is a person I admire very much such acquaintances will do you good I am sure a little better than Jenny Balogna, I should say. You appoint her to kiss me well I must say you have a queer taste for representatives. If she is a proxy what must the original be?" The last couple of lines appear to be wit in response to comments in Charlie's letter.[18] Remember that in his June 1872 letter David wanted to appoint a lady to embrace Charlie as proxy for him. Charles may have been turning the proxy idea around. For someone who spent little time in the Council Bluffs area, David displayed great knowledge and interest in available women. This knowledge could diminish questions about David's own sexual orientation.

By March 14, 1873, David was battling to keep his sanity, and rumors of his defection to the Mormons were circulating in Utah territory. He again responded to expressions of weakness by Charlie. This time David answered in a manner more encouraging than scolding, "Concerning imperfections you know nothing of the real shadows of darkness I believe, at any rate rest assured that knowing as I do the depth of your affectionate nature I can readily guess the direction those imperfections would take. And at every extremity remember that one friend is yours. Cast aside every weight that besets you, and arise continually to higher manhood, and nobler deeds."[19] Alert readers of David's letters will without doubt also have guesses as to the direction of those "imperfections."

David's remaining known letters to Charles were written from Plano, Illinois, after he returned from his mission to Utah to deal with his insanity but before he was finally committed. By December 1873, his writing regarding his friend's concerns included his own concerns, "Do not fret in regard to your life Charlie throw in every little bit of duty and sunshine possible, and take heart, we all feel blue at times, and sometimes that we are wicked and useless, cast your burdens on the one strong arm every saint relies upon ... Keep me in a warm place in your heart Charlie, for I too feel the world to be cold and cheerless oft times."[20]

When he wrote his letter of February 14, 1874, David was able to clearly state his thoughts but was struggling to distinguish reality for he asked, "Do I dream it or is the same subtle evil surrounding you that I have to contend with here, it seems so at least." David was concerned that Charles would remain his friend given his problems

18. DHS to Charles Jensen, undated 1873, DHS Papers.

19. DHS to Charles Jensen, 14 March 1873, DHS Papers.

20. DHS to Charles Jensen, 2 December 1873, DHS Papers.

for he wrote, "Trust that you are for and with me as a friend, the change that you would find in me is simply a lack of health and vitality, this might prevent that even flow of spirits that you might expect." David's troubles may have allowed him to soften his position relative to Charlie and marriage. In the last paragraph, he said, "You act probably for the best in regard to marriage your choice should be your own."[21]

The last known letter from David was dated May 28 and addressed to Charles J., which incorrectly made the initial for his first name into his middle initial. David seemed to have come to terms with Charles's life decisions. He wrote, "I have been very much concerned about you of late, but begin to rest securely in regard to you, trusting your guidance in your own hands seeing that I can not get to you! My sentiments are much the same as formerly but everybody's sentiments <u>are his own</u> (David's underlining) you know. Now we would enjoy a visit from you Charlie Jensen you better believe, without any discount."[22]

David sent Charlie some undated poetry that may have been composed about this time. The death of a songbird referred to in his May 28 letter could be the bird in his poem. If so, this writing would have most likely been composed in the spring of 1874. Although sent together, the structure and content suggest that the poetry originated as two separate poems.[23] The content seems to reflect David's thoughts on his relationship to Charlie.

Thou hast wounded the spirit, that loved thee,
And cherished thine image for years,
Thou hast taught me at length to forget thee,
In secret, in silence, and tears.
. . . . . .

Though in this cold world we must smother,
  Each feeling that once was so dear,
Like that young bird I'll seek to discover,
  A home of affection elsewhere
This heart may still cling to thee fondly
  And dream of sweet memories past
Yet hope like the rainbow of summer
  Gives a promise of life at last.

As the storm passing over the ocean
  Of its ravages leaves not a sign
So thy heart will betray no emotion
  Of the grief it hath planted in mine

21. DHS to Charles Jensen, 14 February 1874, DHS Papers.

22. DHS to Charles Jensen, 28 May 1874, DHS Papers.

23. Avery, *From Mission to Madness*, 239.

Take back from my hand every token
And be as we never had met
This night my last farewell is spoken
I'll forgive thee and strive to forget.[24]

Through two years of correspondence and brief personal encounters, David H. Smith and Charles Jensen evolved a new relationship. David began trying to persuade his friend to develop relations with women that could result in marriage. After two years he grudgingly accepted that Charles's decision to the contrary was his own. Charles went from trying to meet his friend's desires to a realization that for him marriage was a futile option. David could neither agree with his friend's decision nor accept his same-sex relationships if they had indeed occurred. In turn, Charles would continue to regard his own decision as a weakness he could not overcome. Significantly, their friendship and mutual regard had survived a severe test.

Even with David's mental illness, Charles remained David's friend and a friend to the Smith family. A series of letters were exchanged between Jensen and Joseph Smith III. Joseph's letters were not as long or as personal as were David's but were very appreciative of the offers for help made by Charles. An example is the letter sent by Joseph February 23, 1878, in which he wrote, "Yours of the 21st is received. The subject of a fast and prayer day for David's recovery has been a frequent discussion in my mind, and has frequently been suggested by others, many of whom have been far less considerate, kind and true in their friendship for him than you."[25] Charles also supported Joseph's belief that contact with Spiritualism was the source of David's problems. Charles contacted Dr. P. Wilhelm Poulson in Council Bluffs who knew David. He then wrote about that visit and said, "He was talking about David's case and he thinks that while David was investigating Spiritualism in Utah an evil spirit gained control."[26] Joseph chose not to accept an offer from Dr. Poulson to help, but Charles's continued support in the Smith family's time of need was a source of comfort.

After several years of trying to care for David's worsening mental conditions, the Smith family concluded there was no alternative to confinement. David was admitted to the asylum at Elgin, Illinois, in January 1877. He remained there most of the rest of his life. Charles did not give up on his friend and even wrote to Joseph Smith III in an undated 1878 letter asking that David be released to his care.[27] Apparently the Smith family and the asylum finally agreed. RLDS missionary to Michigan, Columbus Scott, in a July 18, 1884, letter to William H. Kelley wrote that Bro. David H.

24. "Wounded Spirit," in DHS to Charles Jensen, undated, DHS Papers.

25. JS III to Charles Jensen, 23 February 1878, Miscellany, Community of Christ Archives.

26. Charles Jensen to JS III, undated 1878, Miscellany, Community of Christ Archives.

27. Anderson, *Memoirs*, 174.

and C. Jensen where here on a visit. Columbus described his impression of David as "sad." "He seems so much like Bro. Joseph, and yet, in his forlorn condition, so unlike Joseph. It is thought perhaps a change of surrounding would be beneficial to him. I see no hope for him short of a Divine interposition."[28] Eventually, Charlie came to agree with Columbus Scott's assessment and returned David to the Elgin asylum.

Charles Jensen continued as a long-term caregiver. In the mid-1890s, he moved into his parents' home at 102 West Broadway in Council Bluffs. Charles assisted his mother in the care of his stepfather Andrew Hall until his death in 1899. He remained with his mother as her health declined. After her death in 1909 he continued to live in this home alone. His extra time was then spent in church work and reading in the Council Bluffs Public Library. He did develop new friendships but didn't relate to them nearly as well as to David H. Smith. James Frank Mintun replaced Charles as district and branch historian after Charles sent his resignation to the RLDS church historian in 1923. Mintun, who knew Charles for fifty years, even wrote a poem to him. Mintun, however, provided his own explanation for why Charlie did not marry and cites Charlie as the source for it. He explained that Brother Charles expressed the "thought that he wished to remain to care for his mother while she lived, and then further expressed the thought that he guessed he had lived unmarried so long that he was without such a desire."[29] While containing a grain of truth, the statement overlooks the fact that Charles did not move back in with his mother until he was in his forties. The last phrase that he was "without such desire" is perhaps a more revealing explanation of Charlie's lack of interest in women and why he never married. Also, it does not say he ever had a desire for women.

With respect to Charles Jensen's work life, 1871 was an important year. It was then that he was both baptized and accepted into a business partnership with his stepfather Andrew Hall. The two began a furniture business known as Hall and Jensen.[30] The time seemed opportune. Business was booming in the Omaha/Council Bluffs area at this time. The railroad brought increased population into the area. Also, religious prejudice didn't seem to have a negative impact on RLDS run businesses in Council Bluffs. An 1883 Pottawattamie County history states that "many of these people who did not go to Salt Lake, moved into Pottawattamie County, Iowa, (which includes Council Bluffs) and some of them are among its most wealthy and respected citizens today."[31]

A snapshot of Charles Jensen's circumstances in the early 1870's would suggest that he was a young man of promise. In addition to being talented, he was well con-

28. Columbus Scott, to William H. Kelley, 18 July 1884, Galien, Michigan, William H. Kelley Papers, P1, box 5, f4, items 12, 13, Community of Christ Archives.

29. Mintun, Council Bluffs Central Congregation History.

30. *Saints' Herald* 72, no. 41 (October 7, 1925): 1077.

31. O. L. Baskin & Company, *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin & Co., 1883), 19.

nected to top church leadership, and his partnership with his stepfather offered entry into the business community. Given these opportunities in relation to his subsequent career, he could be called an underachiever. His sexual struggles may provide a clue to why he did not fulfill his early promise in spite of his dedication and opportunities.

J. Charles Jensen's efforts as an entrepreneur lasted about five years from about 1871 to 1875–76. The Hall and Jensen furniture store operated on Council Bluffs's principal street at 331 Broadway.[32] The reason this business failed appears to be twofold. Calvin Beebe, who operated a larger and more successful furniture store, was also RLDS and cut into a natural customer base. Also, furniture did not seem to be a passion for Charles. After the failure of the furniture store, Charles took a variety of positions, none of which related to furniture or entrepreneurship. He seemed to have made the choice to move off the fast track. His subsequent employment as a clerk in a drug store and in the Bushnell Bookstore may have been better matches for his scientific and intellectual interests. However, he never again moved into management or ownership positions.[33]

Charles Jensen had the connections, ability, and devotion that might have placed him in the leading quorums of the RLDS church. Again the explanation appears to be that this was Charlie's own choice. His friend J. F. Mintun explained that local church authorities told Charlie of an invitation to join the priesthood. Charlie, however, explained that "God had not made the call known to him."[34] In a letter to Charles dated April 2, 1872, David H. Smith wrote on this very subject. He said, "I have a lively sense of grateful memory toward you Charlie and urge again what I felt impressed before to speak to you about that you have an eye to the ministry."[35] David's reference to previous discussion suggests Charlie was considering this priesthood call during the same time period that he was struggling with his sexuality. He might well have decided that he had urges inconsistent with his perception of priesthood service. In a denomination with scattered membership and little formal policy, such a decision would have been his alone.

Regardless of why Charles elected not to accept a priesthood assignment, he proved to be a devoted contributor of his talents to the church. He held just about every position in his branch that could be held by someone without a priesthood office. He was branch secretary, historian, recorder, and Sunday school superintendent. In the Pottawattamie District, he served several years as clerk and twenty-three years

32. P.L. Polk & Company, *Council Bluffs City Directory*, for years 1870–76.

33. Mintun, Council Bluffs Central Congregation History.

34. Ibid.

35. DHS to Charles Jensen, 2 April 1872, DHS Papers.

as historian. He resigned his remaining positions in 1923 when his health would not permit him to carry out those functions in the manner he believed they should.[36]

J. Charles Jensen wrote a history of the Pottawattamie District that appeared serially in the RLDS *Journal of History* from 1918 to 1922 and a history of the Council Bluffs branch in October 1924. Like many local historians of that time, he wrote about branch reports at conferences and who held various positions. Although helpful, most of these inputs were directly lifted from conference minutes and did not represent his original work. Where Charles differed was that unlike some he didn't focus solely on faith-building subjects. He mentioned individuals and branches that had difficulties with the church. The reader can obtain a feel for how local church policies evolved. Sometimes his moral observations could come across as judgmental. In discussing Latter Day Saints who did not go west, he observed, "Most of the church membership who remained lost faith, many of them seeking solace in the intoxicating cup."[37]

Jensen didn't spare his home branch in Council Bluffs. He related the story of how its first pastor elder John Clark found himself in trouble. Many members of the branch found Clark's practice of playing the violin at Saturday night dances to be unacceptable conduct for a minister. Clark's backsliding was made worse in that these dances often lasted until after midnight, meaning they violated the Sabbath. A committee of branch elders met as a church court and rendered a judgment of excommunication. When the branch voted to accept the court action, a minority supported Clark. The next vote was to excommunicate Clark's supporters. District authorities later overturned these actions. Charles managed to work into the account several times that the hurt feelings of those treated so roughly made it impossible for them to return to the fellowship.[38]

Much of Charles's work in the church was of a nature that was not seen by most of the membership. He did much fine detail work that needed to be done but might not always be appreciated. He nevertheless did this work very conscientiously. Charles preserved many of his letters from Henry A. Stebbins, the RLDS general church recorder for many of the years that Charles was branch recorder. They dealt with many of the same sorts of problems that recorders face today. In his September 31, 1890, letter Stebbins questioned some items in Jensen's latest report saying, "[Your] report says Sr. Mair born Middleton, Hardman Co. Pa, but no Hardman County in that state. Middleton is in Dauphin County, and so I record. It seems that Brn Blair and Peterson both did baptizing on March 23d. When possible, I like to know who was spokesman in confirming each, and I mark them (underscore) with

36. Mintun, Council Bluffs Central Congregation History.

37. J. Charles Jensen, "Pottawattamie District," *Journal of History* 11, no. 3 (July 1918): 338.

38. Ibid., 356–57.

red ink."[39] These letters don't tell us much about Charlie except that he was willing to undertake these responsibilities despite the absence of specialized computer software at the time.

In the spring of 1924 Charlie's health continued to decline. As always, he was concerned to do the right thing and closed out his affairs in a tidy manner. He sold his property and disposed of most of his possessions. He planned a trip to Watts, California, to be with his foster sister Annie Booth and hoped the climate would restore his health. The Council Bluffs Central branch of the church held a social in which he was honored for his many contributions over the years. When he was invited to speak, most of his comments were quite gracious. He said, "I thank the saints for this evidence of their esteem for me, and their remembrance of me. I was baptized and confirmed by President Joseph Smith in 1871. Since that time, I have tried to serve God and the church as best that I could." Later he made a curious comment, "I have tried to meet my trials in a Christ-like way, and I still feel a deep interest in my church. Heavy have been the trials that have been detrimental to my church work during life."[40] Those who attended the social undoubtedly associated these comments with the illness that limited his church service. Charles may even have intended the remarks to convey that meaning. However, the statement says much about Charles Jensen's overall life with both his achievements and his struggles.

J. Charles Jensen made his trip to California and spent the winter there. But the warmer climate did not help his condition, and he died September 2, 1925, in the home of Sister Nelson in Council Bluffs. She cared for him in his final illness. His commitment to his church continued through his will with bequests for the Saints' Home and Children's Home in Lamoni. His obituary in the *Saints' Herald* occupied more than half a column. Among the tributes to him was a statement that "He was known as a man of integrity and uprightness."[41] Had the author of the obituary known what David H. Smith knew, would these words have been different? Perhaps, but that need not influence a contemporary assessment. Many denominations including the Community of Christ now are overcoming their early denigration of same-sex relationships. Charlie Jensen provides an early case study of one who faced his own nature as he found it and with as much dignity and integrity as he could muster.

39. Henry A. Stebbins to Charles Jensen, Stebbins Papers, Community of Christ Archives.

40. Mintun, Council Bluffs Central Congregation History.

41. *Saints' Herald* 72, no. 41 (October 7, 1925): 1077.

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The Writings of Oliver H. Olney: Early Mormon Dissident; Would-be Reformer

Richard G. Moore

The April 1, 1842, issue of the Nauvoo newspaper *Times and Seasons* carried an article attributed to Joseph Smith entitled, "Try the Spirits." The article discussed the need to detect false spirits in the world so as not to be deceived. It gave examples of the witch of Endor from the Old Testament, Simon the Sorcerer from the New Testament, and contemporaries such as the prophetess Jemima Wilson and Edward Irving and his prophecies. Near the end of the article it stated:

> We have also had brethren and sisters that have had written revelations, and have started forward to lead this church. Such was a young boy in Kirtland—Isaac Russell of Mo. and Gladden Bishop, *and Oliver Olney of Nauvoo.… Mr. Olney has also been tried by the high council, and disfellowshipped because he would not have his writings tested by the word of God; evidently proving that he loves darkness rather than light because his deeds are evil.*[1]

Who was Oliver Olney and what was his involvement with Mormonism? What caused him to lose confidence in the restored church and its leaders? What did Olney do that instigated a hearing before the high council, ultimately resulting in him being disfellowshipped from the church? What did Olney experience and witness in Nauvoo that was so troubling to him he had his name removed from church records? His journals, letters, and publications afford us an interesting view of what it was like to be a Mormon dissident in Nauvoo.

1. "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 2 (April 1, 1842): 747–48. Emphasis added.

Historian Dale L. Morgan wrote, "It would appear that Oliver H. Olney was born in England."[2] Lyndon Cook repeats this premise in his book, *The Words of Joseph Smith*. It is uncertain why Morgan came to this conclusion unless he based this theory on a journal entry where Olney wrote, "Oliver H. Olney is my name and English is my nation. I have no abiding place and blessed is my salvation."[3] He does not say that England is his nation but rather refers to English, which would lead one to believe that he used the word "nation" simply to find something that rhymed with salvation. Actually, Olney was born in the United States, likely in Eastford, Connecticut, on August 11, 1796.[4]

Little is known about Oliver Olney until his adult life. In 1820 he married Alice Johnson, the daughter of John Johnson and sister of Lyman and Luke Johnson, two of the original members of the Quorum of the Twelve. Oliver and his wife Alice were early members of the restoration movement. They likely joined the church founded by Joseph Smith while living in Ohio sometime in 1831 and moved to Kirtland, Ohio, shortly thereafter.[5]

Olney was quite involved with the church during his days in Kirtland. On December 29, 1835, Joseph Smith recorded in his journal that he attended a blessing meeting at Oliver Olney's home with his wife and parents. The journal entry reads, "A large company assembled and Father Smith arose and made some preliminary remarks … about 15 persons then received a patriarchal blessing under his hand."[6]

In the minutes of a priesthood meeting held in the Kirtland Temple on January 15, 1836, it states, "Oliver Olney was unanimously elected to preside over the Teach-

2. Dale L. Morgan, "The Olney Papers: Foreword and Calendar of the Documents," p. 1, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. This fifteen-page typescript document was written by Morgan detailing the contents of Olney's papers.

3. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, July 7, 1842. See also manuscript folder no. 5, July 7, 1842. Olney often rewrote entries with the same date at the top. It appears that he was editing his entries to prepare his writings for publication. Sometimes there was little or no change from the original. In some cases there were major changes, additions, or the new entry was completely different. Hereafter, other versions with the same date will simply be cited with the folder number and date.

4. A number of genealogical sites have Olney born in 1795, 1796, 1798, and 1800. The sites also list Olney's birthplace as Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Ohio, or Connecticut. The most common date given is August 11, 1796, and the place of birth suggested most often is Eastford, Connecticut. In the Olney papers there is a letter written to Olney where the author of the letter refers to he and Olney meeting in the land of their nativity: Connecticut. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 8, July 1, 1842.

5. When the Olneys joined the church founded by Joseph Smith, it would have been called the Church of Christ. It went through several name changes until April 1838 when it became known as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. LDS Doctrine and Covenants 115:4. This section was never included in any of the Community of Christ editions of the Doctrine and Covenants. Throughout his writings, Olney refers to it as the Church of Latter Day Saints or the Church of LDS.

6. Dean C. Jessee and Ronald K. Esplin, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals*, vol. 1: 1832–1839 (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2008), 139.

ers in Kirtland."[7] In the September 1836 issue of the *Messenger and Advocate*, Olney is listed as an elder.[8] He was ordained a seventy by Hazen Aldrich on December 20, 1836, at Kirtland, Ohio.[9]

Olney's family left Kirtland and traveled with the Mormons to Missouri where they experienced persecution and were eventually forced to leave their home and land, fleeing Missouri for the relative peace and safety of Illinois. The Olneys settled in the new Mormon community of Nauvoo, where they owned lot number 135, which was close to the river and only about half a mile from Joseph Smith's homestead.

Alice Olney passed away in Nauvoo on July 16, 1841. Her obituary found in *Times and Seasons* does not list the cause of death. It does mention, "Brother Olney is absent from home and probably knows nothing of the afflicting occurrence."[10] It does not reveal where Oliver Olney was at the time of his wife's passing. However, Wilford Woodruff's journal entry for July 15, 1841, reads, "I spent the day at Father Woodruff. Elder Olivor [*sic*] Olney spent the night with us and left us this morning."[11] Oliver Olney was in Connecticut when his wife passed away. It is not certain why he was away from home. He may simply have been visiting family in Connecticut. However, Wilford Woodruff referred to him as elder Oliver Olney, and in Olney's September 4, 1842, entry he wrote, "One year ago today I returned from a long mission in the Eastern states."[12] Olney was likely on a church mission when his wife passed away.

Oliver Olney was a faithful follower of Joseph Smith for over ten years. He suffered with the Latter-day Saints through trials, persecution, Missouri governor Boggs's Extermination Order, and the loss of home and lands. But after finding refuge in Nauvoo, Illinois, and suffering the death of his wife, Olney became troubled with what he perceived to be taking place in Nauvoo. He began to view Joseph Smith as a fallen prophet and believed the church was out of favor with God.

It is unclear when Olney first began to have misgivings about the religion he had joined, but in his 1842 writings from Nauvoo he looked back at issues that troubled him in Ohio and in Missouri. While circumstances may have bothered Olney earlier,

7. Joseph Smith Jr., *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, 1963), 2:371, hereafter cited as *History of the Church*.

8. *Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 12 (September 1836): 383.

9. "Olney, Oliver H.," Joseph Smith Papers, accessed February 18, 2013, http://josephsmithpapers.org/person/oliver-h-olney. While this appears to be a rapid movement from one priesthood office to another, evidence would indicate that this was the case.

10. "Died," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 19 (August 2, 1841): 501.

11. See entry for July 15, 1841 in Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, vol. 2 (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983), 112. Wilford Woodruff was visiting his father in Farmington, Connecticut, which is about ten miles southwest of Hartford, Connecticut. Woodruff's 22 August journal entry states that he had just heard about the passing of Alice Olney. He wrote, "Elder Olney is in Connecticut & knows not of the Death of his wife." Ibid., 119.

12. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 9, September 4, 1842.

it is also possible they became issues only in hindsight as his standing in the church became tenuous after he settled in Nauvoo.

Olney must have voiced his concerns about Mormonism and his ideas for correcting what he viewed as serious iniquity in the church, especially among its leaders. On March 17, 1842, at a Nauvoo High Council meeting, John C. Bennett preferred charges against Olney before the Nauvoo High Council "for improper conduct, for setting himself up as a prophet & revelator in the Church."[13] In Olney's personal record he reported that he was "called before the high council of twelve men and those to preside" and claimed they demanded his writings.[14]

Olney alleged that his March 1842 hearing before the high council was a result of his keeping a record of doings of church leaders, including their sins and misdeeds. The high council appears to have been aware of Olney's revelations, but there is no mention of any historical record or report of misdoings that Olney claimed to have been writing.

Olney wrote of his refusal to turn his writings over to the council, stating that he "too well knew their minds to trust them with the record that [he] had kept of the Latter Day Saints as it spoke of their foibles."[15] He continued, "Because of not getting my writings and because of my words, they from me withdrawed [*sic*] the hand of fellowship and set me afloat. I looked at my standing and said I again with the council will meet. I soon met with them with feelings that was good and took the liberty to address them in behalf of my case but they in array moved against me that I took from them my name."[16]

In the original version of the April 6, 1842, entry Olney wrote, "I have felt it my duty in days past and gone to keep a history of the doings of the Church from the rise until the present time. I have tried to be impartial in what I have wrote, but must say that I have been partial that I have moved in behalf of the saints."[17] Olney does not say exactly when he began writing this history, except for the claim that he "long [had] been a keeping [*sic*] a record of the Church."[18]

If Olney had been keeping a record of the church for a long time, it is no longer extant.[19] It is more likely that Olney began his record of the Latter-day Saints and the

13. John S. Dinger, ed., *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011), 407.

14. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 2, April 6, 1842. Also see folder no. 3, April 6, 1842.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 2, April 6, 1842. See also folder no. 3, April 6, 1842.

18. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 5, May 8, 1842. See also folder no. 3, May 8, 1842.

19. Since Olney claimed that he retained his writings and would not hand them over to church leaders, it would make sense that they would have been found along with what he wrote after his high council hearing.

foibles and iniquities of their leaders after his hearing with the high council.[20] Based on the article in an April 1842 *Times and Seasons*, it was Olney's efforts to lead the church and his unwillingness to have his revelations "tested by the word of God"[21] that resulted in Olney being disfellowshipped by the high council. This sounds more like scrutinizing Olney's revelations than checking to determine whether some record he had been keeping might prove to be damaging to the church.

The writings of Oliver Olney that are currently extant begin in April 1842. These papers are housed in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.[22] The Olney papers include what appear to be dated journal pages, letters, and rewritten entries of certain journal pages which look more like a compilation record than a daily journal. There are also some personal papers and drafts of things Olney intended to publish, including drafts of pamphlets he was preparing for publication.

Disaffected with Mormonism and its leaders, Olney published two booklets that were critical of Joseph Smith and Mormonism: *The Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed*, in 1843, and *Spiritual Wifery at Nauvoo Exposed: A True Account of Transactions in and About Nauvoo*, published in 1845. In his published writings Olney never mentions any revelations or spiritual manifestations he had personally received. However, in his personal writings he often refers to meeting with messengers sent from God. He saw his calling as that of a reformer. He was seeking to "straighten crooked places and make rough places smooth."[23] He felt it his mission to save the Mormons from being led astray by church officials.

Olney wrote that in 1839 he had been visited by the deceased Latter-day Saint apostle David W. Patten. He reported, "My mind was uneasy because of what I had seen, but I took the same course that I hitherto had until 1840 I was visited again;" this time by a group of individuals who met with him daily and "showed [him] of a work that [he] had to do to bring about the order of God."[24] He said the people he met with were a council of twelve ancient men of God known as the Ancient of Days. There are entries in Olney's record relating his many visits with this council. In some entries Olney refers to his otherworldly visitors by name:

You are to meet in person with the Ancients, with Old Father Adam and receive your anointing even with the oil of gladness that you that you may have more light

20. His claims might have been made to validate his accusations because they would have been written prior to any church discipline and would not be viewed as a bitter person trying to get even with the church.

21. "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons*, 748.

22. Special thanks to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library for providing access to the Oliver Olney Papers. There is one box containing the Oliver Olney Papers which consists of twelve manuscript folders and over 450 hand-written pages and letters.

23. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 11, November 16, 1842.

24. There are two versions of this entry, both dated July 12, 1842 and both found in manuscript folder no. 6.

that you may be enabled to go ahead in your duty and bring about the purposes of God.[25]

> The gentleman and lady that to me appeared was called Elijah and his companion that had come to turn the hearts of children to their fathers and fathers to children lest gloominess and sorrow should cover the earth.[26]

> I was visited by an ancient that lived in the days of Enoch by the name of Hipsebah that ascended with Enoch's city.[27]

> I was instructed in many good things, often visited by angels in spirit and in person. At last the Savior unto me did come.[28]

According to Olney, the most important visitations took place on June 9, 10, and 11, 1842, following his separation from the church. He wrote that these dates were "set apart long to be remembered by those that inhabit the earth."[29] It was from this point that Olney was to begin to establish the kingdom of God on the earth. In the days that followed, he chronicled being anointed with oil and having the Ancient of Days lay their hands upon his head to bless him to accomplish his work. "I received my anointing, it being a spirit of light and intelligence that on me should rest," Olney wrote. "It is another comforter that with me should dwell that should enlighten and expand my mind. It is to be with me and direct me in my doings so fast as my mind can expand. They laid their hands on me and blessed me and said to me to go about my Master's work."[30]

Olney noted that he had been called upon to warn the people of Nauvoo to "speedily repent of your doings … straighten crooked and rough paths, and that without delay." He was also instructed to write to and to be in contact with "the leaders of the Church again as [his] work [was] not finished with them."[31] He was informed that if the Mormons refused to repent, "that on them is a curse that they cannot get off."[32]

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25. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, June 19, 1842.

26. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 8, August 9, 1842.

27. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 7, July 16, 1842.

28. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, July 12, 1842.

29. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 7, July 16, 1842.

30. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, June 19, 1842. There is another entry dated June 19, 1842 also found in manuscript folder no. 6 which is completely different from the one cited.

31. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, July 16, 1842.

32. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, October 22, 1842.

Olney recorded, "A council met and ordained me to the authority of the high priesthood after the order of the Son of God to administer in temporal concerns."[33] He also wrote of receiving a special priesthood:

> The messengers of heaven, they now have assembled all as one to ordain Oliver H. Olney to the priesthood that is conferred on them by the Father and Son with the same gifts and blessing to see and to know of the doings of man as the messengers of heaven that a spirit of discernment may have power to foresee iniquity and check it in the bud as this priesthood was decreed but seldom been in force until the present time. It is only for those that have power to move as the angels of heaven in array.[34]

On another occasion Olney claimed he was "called upon by the Council of the Ancient of Days to consecrate to the Lord the temple, Nauvoo House, also the house in which they [the Ancient of Days] sit."[35] The following day Olney noted that he again received basically the same instructions. He wrote that he was "called by the Council of the Ancient of Days to consecrate to the Lord the Nauvoo House foundation that it might be preserved for a people that should make their way here from the North—the ten tribes of Israel."[36] He proceeded to the site where the Nauvoo House was being constructed and stood upon the foundation stones of that building "and consecrated it to the Lord that it might be preserved until the time should come for it to be reared up again."[37] Olney then "consecrated the brick house belonging to Brother Nurse," located one street north of where the temple was being built on the north side of the street "that it might stand a witness that the Ancient of Days condescended to meet in its loft and hold a council in honor of the will of God."[38] Olney's writings never mention him consecrating or dedicating the Nauvoo Temple which was under construction at that time.

On his forty-sixth birthday Olney penned, "A temporal kingdom is soon to be set up by order and directions of the Ancient of Days," and noted that he had been instructed to do some business to prepare the way for this to be accomplished. He was informed that "it is up the river not far off that a building was established by the Jaredites and new vamped over by the Nephites that reared a city here."[39] In the

33. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, August 4, 1842. See also folder no. 8, August 4, 1842.

34. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 11, December 6, 1842.

35. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, June 10, 1842. There are two entries for June 10, 1842, both found in manuscript folder no. 6. The words "2nd writing" are found at the top of one entry. The larger of the two, marked "2nd sitting" is where this quotation is found.

36. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, Saturday 11, (June 11, 1842).

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid. Evidently, it was in the loft of the home owned by Brother Nurse where Olney was living at the time and where the purported visits with the Ancient of Days took place.

39. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 8, August 11, 1842. There are two entries dated August 11, 1842, found in manuscript folder no. 8 which are completely different from each other.

months that followed, the area designated as a "new stake of Zion" changed locations. Eventually Olney was instructed to dedicate a new site "to establish Zion anew in the north part of Illinois near a place called Squaw Grove, as there was once a noted city that was highly extolled for piety called by the Nephites 'Coleon,' but in English is known as a place of rest."[40] Squaw Grove, Illinois, is located about two hundred miles northeast of Nauvoo and about sixty miles west of Chicago.

On several occasions it was revealed to Olney that he would be provided with the needed wealth to create the temporal kingdom that was to be established under God's direction. One revelation states, "You are now called to receive and secure the treasures of the earth to do such things as will establish such things as shown to you to do from time to time." Olney was informed, "You are called on the morrow to receive the treasures of the earth in gold and silver that was put away by the ancient Nephites on the bank of the river below this at a place where you will be shown. You are called to secure it by digging and receiving it to your care."[41] He never reported to have found anything.

Several months later, Olney received another revelation explaining to him that "money must be plenty among certain ones that is called to establish Zion." Again he was told that "treasures is many which has been layed [*sic*] away in the bowels of the earth."[42] The money he would obtain was to be used to purchase land around Squaw Grove, Illinois.[43] Again, there is no mention of him ever finding any treasure.

It is clear from Olney's writings that he saw himself as a reformer with the responsibility of rescuing the Mormons from the false teachings of fallen church leaders. At times he appeared hopeful that repentance could take place among the church leadership. Olney thought that if church leaders would call upon him, he could be of great assistance but felt doubtful he would be given the opportunity:

> I think if I for them could devise a plan I could help them much on their way. My course would be easy, simple and plain. I would first call on the Presidency; then on the Twelve; also the high counselors and some few more that says to lead; and set them to fasting and praying both by night and by day until a union could be established that they against each other would not speak or against the members of the Church. But as they look at me with a jealous eye I shall pass by them until I see a change.[44]

In July 1842 Olney wrote a letter to the authorities of the church threatening to publish against them unless there was "speedy repentance and acknowledgment to

40. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 11, December 6, 1842.

41. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 8, June 30, 1842.

42. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 11, November 15, 1842.

43. Ibid. I have yet to find any record of Olney purchasing land near Squaw Grove.

44. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, May 1, 1842. See also folder no. 5, May 1, 1842.

the world of [their] faults."[45] Olney later noted, "I have no hopes of a reformation,"[46] and "their day of reform is over and not to be recalled."[47] Olney lamented:

> I look back at the time that it was easy for them to be reformed, but when they passed by me their doom was decreed that an utter destruction would eventually be. I have labored; I sought some few to save by showing them the order of God. I, for my doing, before the council was called that they took from me my standing in the Church that I have long a been [*sic*] looked at as an enemy to the Church of Latter day Saints.[48]

Olney believed he was called by God to "put on them a ten-fold curse" and claimed he was shown "the massacre that would follow such ungodly works."[49] There are entries where Olney prophesied, "an utter destruction is decreed in the city of Nauvoo,"[50] and "demons in the shape of men will move in array both sides of the river of the Mississippi until a war of extermination will destroy the Latter Day Saints."[51] He explained that this destruction was necessary to cleanse and purify the Mormons who chose to repent; that the "war of extermination must needs be to straighten crooked places and make rough places smooth."[52]

When he decided that reformation ceased to be an option, Olney saw himself as an agent of God, called to establish the kingdom of God upon the earth. He was given names of people to fill positions in his Quorum of Twelve, high council and other leadership roles. With his negative feelings toward Mormon leadership it is surprising that the names he received by revelation to call as authorities in his organization included such church stalwarts as Orson Spencer, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, Lorenzo Snow, and Wilford Woodruff, the latter four already serving as apostles in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.[53]

There is another puzzling revelation that Olney recorded, calling him to select sixty women, thirty at that time and thirty at some future time.[54] "You are called to take those that are young or single that you see fit to take, but few that have compan-

45. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 7, July 1, 1842.

46. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 4, August 19, 1842.

47. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 7, under the heading of "letter two." No date given. See also folder no. 9, September 4, 1842.

48. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 7, written on a page dated July 16, 1842, but written on the bottom of the page upside down. It may have been recorded at a later date and this particular page used because there was space at the bottom. Also see folder no. 9, September 4, 1842.

49. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, July 12, 1842.

50. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 7. See footnote number 48.

51. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 11, November 16, 1842.

52. Ibid.

53. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 11, November 27, 1842.

54. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, June 19, 1842.

ions;… you will have five to sit with you as a presidency of female companions."[55] It is not clear for what purpose these women were being called, especially since Olney claimed to be a staunch opponent of plural marriage. He was a widower at the time he received this particular revelation and was told, "Eliza R. Snow has been raised up for you."[56] It does appear that at least one of these women was supposed to replace his wife who had passed away. He was promised, "You will have another that will have a standing on earth in the Millennium that will raise up your children."[57]

Olney's papers reveal other unique information, including the time when the Millennium would begin: "Sixteen hundred years is barely enough time to prepare for the Millennium and one thousand years of rest,"[58] and that the North Star was the abode of the Ancient of Days and "the high and low will center there at the close of sixteen hundred years from this."[59] It was also revealed to Olney that the Sabbath day, at present, was set apart "in honor of the day the Savior arose," but would from that time forth be observed "to honor the sitting of the Ancient of Days, as they on earth have took a stand to be governed by the Son of God."[60]

One entry is particularly bewildering. Olney wrote, "I am called on a journey to take into the Eastern country at Boston and there from the tomb raise up J. Adams and take her to her parents and leave her until some future time."[61] This is the only time that J. Adams is mentioned in Olney's writings. He does not mention whether he traveled to Boston or not. He provides no information as to the identity of J. Adams, nor does he give any explanation for the purpose of raising this woman from the grave.

It is likely that Olney shared many of his dreams, visions, visitations and teachings with friends and others in Nauvoo who were willing to listen. Undoubtedly, church authorities became aware of Olney's purported revelations, and it was almost certainly for that reason Olney was called before the high council.

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55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid. Olney lists by name and assigned number thirty women in this revelation. The first woman on his list is Phoebe Wheeler, whom Olney married in October 1843. Perhaps he was compiling a list of those he might be interested in concerning marriage. He also may have been considering these women to serve in leadership roles in his church.

58. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 6, October 23, 1842. See also folder no. 11, October 23, 1842, for an expanded rewrite.

59. Ibid. It appears the Olney believed that not only was the North Star the abode of the Ancient of Days, but after sixteen hundred years the Millennium would be ushered in by the Second Coming of Christ and at that time all who were worthy, high and low, would be taken to the North Star and it would become their abode as well.

60. Ibid.

61. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 8, July 28, 1842.

Following Olney being disfellowshipped from the church and after the article, "Try the Spirits" appeared in *Times and Seasons*, he remained in Nauvoo. He was very much aware of the newspaper article announcing his evil deeds and noting that he had been disfellowshipped. In his journal Olney wrote, "I as of late have been alooking [*sic*] at periodicals printed in different parts. My eye catched [*sic*] on the one of our city edited by the Prophet Joseph Smith called the Times and Seasons said to be a standard to the world. I there found my name that causes me now to express my feeling with pen, ink and paper as no other door opens to my view."[62]

It is likely at that point that Olney began writing about the Latter-day Saints with the intent of publishing his account as an exposé of all their iniquities. According to Olney, a portion of the new version of the history was taken from his custody in his absence. He said that the original account he had written was still in his care, "but of their daily doings of late, is what they took from [him], with dates, names, etc., that [he] had designed for publication, of about 130 pages."[63] Although he reported that the original account he had written was still in his possession, none of the purported original account is extant, and all of his published writings come from after his separation from the church.[64]

Prior to being called before the high council, Olney had heard or seen things that troubled him and caused him to question the veracity of the church and the integrity of its leaders. In Olney's personal writings and publications he gave a number of reasons why he had become disaffected with the church:

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62. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 2, April 6, 1842. See also folder no. 3, April 6, 1842.

63. Oliver H. Olney, *The Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed*, Hancock County, Ill., March 3, 1843, p. 3.

64. Again, all existing writings of Oliver Olney are dated after his separation from the church. Olney claimed to have been keeping a record of the doings of the church for some time. He also stated that some of his writings were stolen from his residence during his absence, but that the originals were still in his care. In the first paragraph of his *Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed,* Olney wrote, "with the best feelings I commenced *about one year ago* to write of their doings that occurred daily." Olney, *The Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed*, 3, emphasis added. Here, Olney states that he began keeping a record about one year previously. In some of his personal writings he claimed to have been keeping a record for some time prior to being disfellowshipped. With no writings earlier than 1842 in existence, I theorize that Olney may have been recording his revelations but had not been keeping a record of the iniquities of the Mormon church until he was called in by the high council. At that point he began writing his exposé of Mormonism but attempted to differentiate between his writings and those of John C. Bennett by stating that "I have wrote on principle of duty and with the best of feelings and Bennett wrote because he was mad." Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 8, August 29, 1842. Olney wanted his readers to believe that he was not writing because he had lost his place in the church but that he had been keeping this record for some time. He claimed that his record was "an impartial account" because he had long been part of the church and only desired the best for the Latter-day Saints. I believe that his claim to be writing simply to defend himself and bring things to light because he felt an obligation to do the right thing was an effort to hide his bitterness. I believe that the notion that he had kept a record earlier than 1842 is a fabrication on Olney's part to give the reader of his published works the impression that these writings were unbiased and could be trusted. As stated previously, Olney was not brought before the high council to be questioned about any historical record he was keeping or exposé he was writing, but for revelations he had claimed to receive.

First, polygamy: Olney was well aware of the rumors that were circulating around Nauvoo. City mayor and church leader John C. Bennett had sought illicit relations with some of the women in Nauvoo by convincing them that they were married to him spiritually. He assured these women that the doctrine of "spiritual wifery" had the approval of the prophet Joseph. When Bennett's actions were discovered, he lost his leadership positions, his name was removed from church records, and he left Nauvoo in disgrace.

There is no doubt that gossip, stories, and suspicions were common in Nauvoo, not only because of the Bennett scandal but also because of plural marriages that were actually being performed for and by church leaders. People were talking. Olney's journal states, "I hear of their works being many such as lasciviousness, fornication and adultery, polygamy or certain ones having a plurality of wives."[65] He also wrote that he had heard of "some of the chosen twelve a trying [*sic*] to be very intimate with females." He continued, "I thought as they had wives of their own that they might let the young girls alone."[66] Olney was skeptical of stories of proposed plural marriages simply being the trial of an individual's faith. He wrote, "they say when they cut up their rustys [slang for "going courting"], they just did it to try their faith."[67]

Olney also rejected the idea that plural marriage came as a revelation from God. He insisted that it was based on their physical desires or from Satan: "The revelations you have respecting many wives is the desire of the heart or from old Blackfoot himself."[68] Olney wrote of a vision he had seen of fishermen casting a net into the sea and fish of every kind becoming entangled in the net. He gave the interpretation as church leaders being the fishermen and the fish as women becoming entangled in the net of polygamy being practiced by church authorities. "Those of high renown went into the water and gathered a plurality of wives. I see contention soon take place as all pick for the handsome and young,… the old they let go to take others in, that caused many of them to mourn to think that they was left."[69]

Second, Olney's perceived greed of church leaders: Olney often complained that, financially speaking, there was a great difference between the leaders of the church and the rank-and-file membership. He wrote: "I look at the poor. I see them oppressed. I look at the widows. I see them rejected. I look at the orphans. I see them neglected. I look at the actual saints that is a doing [sic] the will of God. I see them neglected and counted of no worth."[70] Another entry from his writing states, "I say

65. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 7, July 16, 1842.

66. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 11, October 20, 1842. Also see folder no. 11, October 26, 1842. These appear to be drafts of an article to appear in the *Sangamo Journal* and the *Quincy Whig*.

67. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, May 7, 1842. See also folder no. 5, May 7, 1842.

68. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 5, May 13, 1842.

69. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 2, April 6, 1842. See also folder no. 3, April 6, 1842.

70. Ibid.

where is the equality among the [Saints]; some sitting in rags with barely a morsel to eat while others are arrayed in the best and a living in the best style. How, but out of the tithing of the Latter Day Saints?"[71] In addition to criticizing the practice of tithing Latter-day Saints, he also complained about the church establishing the law of consecration. Again, he saw it as leaders glutting themselves on the labor and money of church members. Olney even connected the tithing of the people with the evil of plural marriage. "Look at their houses," he remarked, "They lack in size, in rooms and convenience to accommodate their numerous wives and maidens."[72] He reasoned that more wives and bigger families would require the leaders to take more money from the church membership through tithing and consecration. The membership would sacrifice and suffer, but not the leaders of the church.

Third, Olney's perceived elitism of church leaders: Olney referred to church leaders as the "privileged few." He spoke of their fame or notoriety in the community. In addition to the privileged few, Olney saw what he called a set of office seekers: scores "of young Joseys [would-be Joseph Smiths] … of the same species of the twelve, bishops, counselors and those of high blood, say about one hundred, are privileged and the rest must stand back."[73]

Olney viewed the arrival of Masonry to Nauvoo as an unrighteous organization for the privileged few.[74] His remarks about the elite few meeting together coincides with the creation of the Quorum of the Anointed, a group of people selected by Joseph Smith to receive special ordinances and instruction. Olney was also troubled by what he considered a female chapter of Masonry. He reported that they went under a different name, connecting the formation of the Relief Society with Masonry for women, with a limited number of women being invited to join. He noted, "This society was formed under the charge of the Lady Elect [Emma Smith] and she ruled by the authorities of the Church."[75] Again, Olney felt that all of these things within the church were elitist, available only to the privileged few.[76]

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71. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, May 6, 1842. See also folder no. 5, May 6, 1842.

72. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, June 18, 1842. See also folder no. 5, June 18, 1842.

73. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 4, January 1, 1843.

74. Several places in his writings Olney stated, "I am not a Mason." Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 2, April 6, 1842. See also folder no. 3, April 6, 1842. Based on these entries, other things Olney wrote about Masons, and with no existing record of Olney's involvement with Masonry, it is highly doubtful that Olney ever was a Mason.

75. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 2, April 6, 1842, and another version in manuscript folder no. 3, April 6, 1842.

76. If Olney had been a Mason it would be reasonable for him to be upset by the establishment of a Mormon female Masonic chapter because there were no female Masons. But since Olney was not affiliated with Masonry, the question arises, "Why did he appear to be upset by what he perceived to be female Masons?" In two versions dated the same day, Olney states that the Mormons hoped to "obtain the fullness of the priesthood" through their Masonic involvement. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 2, April 6, 1842. See also folder no. 3, April 6,

Fourth, Olney believed that Joseph Smith was a fallen prophet and that church leaders had lost their authority from God. He did believe that Joseph Smith initially had been chosen by God to restore the gospel of Jesus Christ to the earth. In his personal writings he testified of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon and stated that Mormonism had initially been blessed with God's authority, the Melchizedek priesthood. Referring to the fallen Joseph Smith, Olney wrote: "I see the priesthood from him took although he does of it boast, yet it is gone that he cannot longer of it boast.… I see many by Joseph directed; he said by the authority of the Father and Son, but I said in my heart he lied."[77]

After hearing Joseph preach one morning, Olney wrote:

> He will tell them of the gospel plan. He will tell them of the state of their souls. He will tell them of being endowed with power from on high. He will reason both long and loud to show the key word of God's power. The mind that does desire to arise in the estimation of Joseph Smith, he must let him have his money and he will lead him through the golden gate of heaven. But those that kept their money back he says he will leave them far behind that they with him will have no chance to enter through the Pearly gate.[78]

On another occasion he penned, "[Mormon missionaries] preach from the Bible and say it is true, … but when [converts] get to Nauvoo we there find a change in teaching that the Bible is of not much account;… we must do as [Joseph Smith] says or he will put on us a curse."[79]

Olney came to perceive Joseph as a power-hungry individual who would establish himself as king. He believed that the plan to go to the Rocky Mountains was well underway, and that the reason for the move was strategic to the Mormon plan to take over the country. Olney referred to the Mormons as a dangerous people. He posed the question, "If they was to the Rocky Mountains as they are there designed to go, what would be the consequence if they there should form a home?"[80] He was convinced that with the influx of new members from the states and from foreign countries, the Mormons would establish a kingdom and become a powerful people. He concluded, "They will unite with the Indians as this has long been the theme by them of the leaders of the Church, that they will lead them over the American soil."[81]

1842. Perhaps Olney was bothered that he had not been invited to be involved with receiving the fullness of the priesthood while he saw that select women in the community were being offered that opportunity.

77. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 2, April 8, 1842.

78. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, May 1, 1842. See also folder no. 5, May 1, 1842.

79. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, May 13, 1842. See also folder no. 5, May 13, 1842.

80. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 7, July 22, 1842.

81. Ibid.

In Olney's eyes, it wasn't just Joseph Smith that had become corrupt. He saw most of the twelve and other church leaders as fallen people from whom God had withdrawn his spirit. Olney questioned the inspiration of church leaders, citing the church's bank in Kirtland as an example. He wrote, "I moved in accordance with the leaders of the Church of Latter Day Saints as I supposed they had wisdom as they much of it did boast. But alas their bank failed."[82] He also wondered where the gift of discernment was when John C. Bennett "was put forward as a man of God that his counsel was received by the most of the Church."[83] Olney wrote of the creation of a secret combination in Missouri called Danites[84] and of the assassination attempt on the life of former Missouri governor Boggs, which he attributed to Porter Rockwell under Joseph Smith's direction.[85] He viewed these things as evidence of the corruption of church leaders. Creative in his use of words, Olney remarked that church leaders were worse than Satan:

> I think they have outstripped the devil that he with them will not be catched where there is so much power of combativeness and not-mind-your-own-busitiveness and such feloniousness and comparativeness and perplexitiveness and lasciviousness, fornicationess, adulterousness and many other subteranesses too numerous to mention.[86]

Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor, and Orson Hyde received the brunt of Olney's negative comments about church leaders. In a letter to Orson Hyde, Olney wrote, "If any man in the Church has been unwise, it is you."[87] Olney referred to John Taylor as one of the "apostles of the Calf;" an allusion to the twelve serving a golden calf as the one designed by Aaron rather than the Lamb of God. "I see [John Taylor] on the stand a puffing and blowing and hear of his doting for writing for the

82. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, April 8, 1842.

83. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, August 13, 1842.

84. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, May 13, 1842. See also folder no. 5, May 13, 1842. The Danites were designed to be a defensive paramilitary group created by Mormons to protect themselves during 1838 mob action in Missouri. Before being disbanded, some Danites became guilty of subversive activities and intimidating Mormon dissenters. Arnold K. Garr, et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 275. Olney believed that Danites still existed as a secret combination in Nauvoo. Although a common belief among antagonists, there is no evidence that the Danite organization existed following the Mormons' expulsion from Missouri. Olney viewed the establishment of Masonry in Nauvoo as a way to conceal Danite operations. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 4, August 19, 1842. He quoted Brigham Young (speaking to a group of Mormons about those that had left the Latter Day Saints) as saying "he would cut their throats if God would give him power." Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 4, August 19, 1842. After hearing Brigham Young, Olney concluded, "I look at his agency and Danite oath and said who is safe in their hands, well knowing that several hundreds are in array to put into execution their degraded traits." Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 4, August 19, 1842.

85. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 8, August 10, 1842. See also folder no. 8, August 14, 1842.

86. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, July 7, 1842. See also folder no. 5, July 7, 1842.

87. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 12, February 5, 1843. See also folder no. 12, February 6, 1843.

press. Such preaching, such reasoning, such writing is as much as we can expect from the product of the Calf."[88]

Fifth, Olney believed he had been mistreated by church leaders, being called before the high council, having the news of his being disfellowshipped published, and having suffered other mistreatments, real or imagined. In a letter to Joseph Smith, Olney wrote, "I feel that I have been shamefully abused by many; I will say I have heard but a little from you; but, hardly a word from you has set scores a barking that I have suffered from the yelping of a dirty mess of pettish pukes; that I do not feel in duty bound to bear; but I have borne it until I will not do it much longer."[89] Olney spoke of his need "to be on the watch lest [he] come in their way and get catched [*sic*] in their snare," being "threatened by them of being put aside."[90]

Even though Olney noted several times in his journal that it was dangerous for a person considered an apostate to remain in Nauvoo and that his life had been threatened, he continued to live in Nauvoo, attend church meetings, associate, and communicate with church members and leaders for some time after he removed his name from the church rolls. He did mention that if they knew of his doings, the people would send him down the river on the back of a catfish.[91] Of course, people in Nauvoo knew church action had been taken against Olney and that he had claimed to receive revelation. The "doings" Olney was referring to was the exposé of Mormonism he was writing and preparing for publication.

Early in 1843 Olney was arrested in Nauvoo, but his arrest had nothing to do with his anti-Mormon sentiments or writing. The February 15, 1843, edition of the *Wasp* reported:

> On Tuesday evening last Oliver Olney was brought before the Mayor's court, and charged with burglary and grand larceny.... About a month ago a great excitement was created in this city in consequence of Mr. Smith's store having been broken into in the night, and robbed both of money and goods. About one thousand dollars worth of goods were stolen, and fifty dollars in money. The officers made diligent search for the goods; but apparently without effect, until, through a variety of small circumstances, suspicion attached itself to Mr. Olney; a search warrant was issued, and the goods were found in his house; he was immediately taken prisoner, and brought before the Mayor's court, where it was fully and satisfactorily proven that he was a thief. This he did not attempt to deny; but openly confessed the whole circumstance of the theft. A bill of Grand Larceny and Burglary was found against him, and as he did not procure bail, he was committed to the county jail, to await the decision of the Circuit Court.[92]

88. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, June 18, 1842. See also folder no. 5, June 18, 1842.

89. Letter to Joseph Smith located in Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 12, October 31, 1842.

90. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 11, October 8, 1842.

91. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 3, June 30, 1842. See also folder no. 5, June 30, 1842.

92. "Outrageous Theft," *Wasp* 1, no. 42 (February 15, 1843): 4.

The article went on to say that since his arrest, Oliver Olney, "a large, powerful, athletic man," had escaped and was at large at that time. The article also mentioned that "since his expulsion from the church he has been engaged in a campaign against Mormonism."[93] It is not clear how the theft and escape charges were resolved or whether Olney spent any time incarcerated for burglary.

Joseph Smith's journal entry for February 10, 1843 states:

> Oliver Olney & Newell Nurse were brought in by Sheriff J[ohn] D. Parker as prisoners for stealing goods f[r]om the store of Moses Smith on the night of the 23rd of January last. Olney confessed before the Mayors court that he had been visited many times by the Ancient of days. sat with him on the 9. 10. & 11 days of June last.—& shall sit in council with ancient of Days on Tuesday next— have had a mission from him to the 4 Quarters of the world. & have been established the 12 stakes of Zion— I have visited them all but one in the South. I have suffered much for 2 or 3 years—been without clothes & suffered much I despise a theif [*sic*] but to clothe myself— I opened the store of Moses Smith on the eve of 23d of January … and took out the goods.[94]

Olney indicated that the theft was a result of his extreme poverty. In his writings he often complained about the inequity of wealth within Nauvoo. He wrote of "hard times as money is scarce that causes some to mourn because of living in debt to one another."[95] With the death of his wife and short on finances, Olney could not take care of his children. "My companion is dead and my children is scattered one here and one there," he wrote. "Until I get through with this order of things I am not disposed much more time to spend but to publish my writings to the world. I then will settle in some pleasant grove on some rich, fertile prairie with my little family and say I have done all I could."[96] In a letter to his friends, the Chapman family, Olney reported that his children had not lived with him for one year, but he was "about to commence to keep house in a few days with my girls Mary and Laury Elisa, one fourteen the other ten."[97]

After getting some of his children back, Olney's financial situation did not improve. On November 19, 1842, Olney penned these words: "I once had a plenty and to spare that I could go and come as I pleased. But the time has arriven [*sic*] that my clothing is badly worn and my children is destitute and I am destitute of means to

93. Ibid.

94. Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals,* vol. 2: 1841–1843 (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2011), 259–60, February 10, 1843.

95. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 9, August 20, 1842.

96. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 5, July 2, 1842.

97. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 5, letter to Brother and Sister Chapman and family. No date given.

clothe, school or have a sustenance."[98] Olney, in spite of professing to despise thieves, appears to have committed a robbery for the welfare of his family.

In October 1843 Oliver Olney married his second wife, Phebe[99] Wheeler. For a time the couple lived in Nauvoo.[100] In a letter to her aunt and uncle, Phebe explained that she was very much a believer in the prophet Joseph and the church. She also declared that she and Oliver were not sure where they would ultimately settle, but it likely would not be Nauvoo.[101]

At present there is no information concerning where Olney, his family, and new wife settled or any more details about his life and writings beyond 1843. It is assumed he died in Illinois sometime between 1845 and 1848.[102] Olney had friends in the church who wrote letters to him, inquiring after his wellbeing and as to the reasons why he left the church and encouraging him to come back. He did not return to the church, nor does it appear that he was ever able to establish his own church. There is no record of his organizing his own version of Mormonism or ever having any followers, a mission he felt he had been called of God to accomplish.

Other possible motives for Oliver Olney's departure from Mormonism should be considered. These potential reasons were not listed by Olney in his writings, either because he did not recognize them or was unwilling to admit to them. An examination of possible grounds for Olney leaving Mormonism follows.

During the Kirtland era Olney may have believed he was on the fast track for church leadership. He presided over the teachers in Kirtland and shortly thereafter was ordained an elder and then a seventy in the Melchizedek priesthood. But after Kirtland no more positions of authority were offered to Olney. Two of his brothers-in-law, Luke and Lyman Johnson, were selected to be members of the Quorum of the Twelve. Other friends and acquaintances from his earliest days in the church were called to serve in positions of responsibility and notoriety. Olney may have viewed his being passed over as a sign that he was underutilized and underappreciated. This

98. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 11, November 19, 1842.

99. Listed as Phebe Wheeler or Phoebe Wheeler in Susan Easton Black, comp., *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1830–1848*, Wheeler, Phebe.

100. The couple was married in Nauvoo, and several months later a letter from Oliver Olney's second wife to her aunt and uncle was sent from Nauvoo. Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1830–1848*, Olney, Oliver H.

101. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 12, January 28, 1844.

102. Genealogical research on Oliver Olney has yet to come up with an actual date or place of death. A number of genealogical or family history websites list Olney's death sometime in 1847 or 1848. A footnote in *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes*, 408, states that Olney died in 1845. Each research site places him in Illinois at the time of his death. A few people have suggested to me that Olney actually moved back to the Kirtland, Ohio, area and died there. I have pursued that rumor but as yet have not found any information that would confirm that possibility.

would have been especially irksome to Olney if he saw others he considered less qualified than he rise in the ranks of leadership.

In conjunction with not being called to greater roles of importance in the church, Olney may have felt slighted when Joseph Smith ignored him and selected men and women from Nauvoo to participate in the Quorum of the Anointed. Todd Compton wrote, "The Quorum of Anointed (also known as the Holy Order) was the secret, elite group which founding prophet Joseph Smith organized and to which he revealed for the first time the ordinances of washing and anointing, the endowment, and the 'fullness of the priesthood'—the foundation of modern LDS temple ritual."[103] If Olney had been invited to participate with this group, he might not have viewed it as elitism.

The practice of plural marriage may have been a similar situation. Olney knew of its existence and was aware that it was being practiced by a select few. In spite of his negative comments concerning polygamy and his published public outrage at the practice, there yet exists that perplexing journal entry about choosing sixty women. Was Olney indignant at the doctrine of plurality of wives or simply irritated that he had yet again not been invited to participate with the select few? Olney's first wife passed away in 1841. As a widower was he annoyed that eligible women were being taken by men who already had wives while he remained single?

Something else that may have resulted in Olney becoming disaffected with Mormonism was the death of his first wife. Alice Olney must have been a remarkable woman. When she passed away on July 16, 1841, at age forty-one, her obituary in the *Times and Seasons* included a beautiful tribute and a poem written by Eliza R. Snow dedicated to the memory of Mrs. Alice Olney. This published eulogy stated:

> The deceased has left a large family[104] and a numerous circle of friends to mourn her loss, a loss which is easier felt than told. Of her worth in society we would freely speak could we paint it to the mind's eye in its true merits, but language would fail us to tell of her virtues, her patience, her endurance, her godly walk, and motherly care to the orphan, &c. &c. In all her afflictions and persecutions, we are confident that she never was heard to complain. She was truly a saint.[105]

It may have been that Alice Olney was a stabilizing influence in her husband's life. He did go through trials in Kirtland and persecutions in Missouri without losing his faith. Perhaps his confidence in the church and its leaders was shaken during that time, but his wife's faith kept him "in the fold." In addition, who knows what

103. Todd Compton, "Foreword," in *Joseph Smith's Quorum of the Anointed 1842–1845*, ed. Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005), ix.

104. Oliver and Alice Olney had eleven children, seven of whom lived to adulthood. In addition to the immediate Olney family, Alice's extended kin included the families of her brothers, Luke and Lyman Johnson.

105. "Died," *Times and Seasons*, 501.

emotional and psychological problems Oliver might have suffered after the loss of his wife?[106]

It appears Eliza R. Snow was a close friend of Alice Olney and was also well acquainted with Oliver Olney. In a letter from Oliver Olney to Eliza R. Snow he wrote, "I remember the covenant that I made with you, although you think I am in the fault, yet I will be a great help to you. The time will soon come that the worth of my labors will be known."[107] It is plausible that Eliza had counseled with Olney after his wife passed away and had cautioned him concerning his negative feelings about church leaders. Was Eliza aware of Olney's misgivings about the authorities of the church and worried what he might do now that his wife was gone? Was their covenant about remaining faithful in the church and not doing anything that would harm the church?

Another viable reason for Olney's dissension from the Latter-day Saints was the authorities questioning or rejecting his personal revelations. It is impossible to say what Olney had experienced. What was the source of these otherworldly manifestations he reported to have received? He certainly believed he was experiencing legitimate visitations and visions from heavenly messengers under the direction of God. His argument could have been, "Others have received revelations from heaven that have been accepted by church members; why are my revelations rejected?"

At one point Olney believed that it would be revealed to Joseph that Olney was called of God and that Joseph Smith "would unfold [his] mission that [he] might be known in the Church."[108] Olney lamented the fact that Smith did not do this. It could be argued that "being known in the Church" is what Olney really wanted—recognition, notoriety and respect. His revelatory gift was not accepted by church authorities, and instead of receiving greater positions of leadership, he lost his membership. Add to that the public humiliation of having his name published in the church newspaper as a person who "loves darkness rather than light because his deeds are evil."[109]

Olney's objectivity could be called into question because of his bitterness toward Latter-day Saint authorities and because many of his personal writings were simply a rough draft of an exposé he planned to publish. However, some insights from his writings can be considered valuable. His journal reports of rumors that were circulating around Nauvoo about the practice of plural marriage. Olney's writings substantiate the claim that the Mormons were considering removing to the Rocky Mountains years prior to the assassination of Joseph Smith. Journal entries include statements made by church leaders during public meetings concerning the Mormons'

106. Olney may have been bitter because he was serving as a missionary for the church when his wife passed way. Perhaps he thought that if Mormonism were true, his wife would not have died while he was serving the church.

107. Letter to Eliza R. Snow, Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 9, October 4, 1842.

108. Oliver Olney Papers, manuscript folder no. 9, September 4, 1842.

109. "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons*, 747–48.

need to repent of their evil doings. He expressed his views as the John C. Bennett incident unfolded. Even taking into consideration Olney's adversarial position with the church at the time, his writings still afford us an interesting view of Nauvoo from someone living in the city during a time of change and controversy in the church.

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"Marshaled and Disciplined for War": A Documentary Chronology of Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois 1839–1845

William Shepard

In 1839, H. V. Sullivan and S. M. Bartlett, the publisher and the editor of the *Quincy* (Illinois) *Whig* in their March 2 number, implored Quincyites to receive the Mormons with kindness when they were able to make their way across the Mississippi River and enter their community. Describing the Mormons as "almost without the common necessities of life," the *Whig* editorialized: "if they have been thrown upon our shores destitute, … common humanity must oblige us to aid and relieve them all in our power."[1] Thousands of impoverished and traumatized Mormons found respite in Quincy and in other areas of Illinois before making their way to Joseph Smith's gathering site at a tiny village named Commerce located fifty-seven miles north of Quincy on the Mississippi River in Hancock County.

Robert Bruce Flanders, the great Nauvoo historian, characterized Hancock County as an "out of the way place" when the Mormons began arriving in 1839. Located on the western edge of the United States, Hancock County contained only five thousand citizens.[2] In short order, waves of Mormons gathered and painstakingly

1. *Quincy Whig,* March 2, 1839, cited in Richard E. Bennett, "Quincy the Home of Our Adoption: A Study of the Mormons in Quincy, Illinois 1838–1840," in *A City of Refuge: Quincy, Illinois*, ed. Susan Easton Black and Richard E. Bennett (Salt Lake City: Millennial Press, 2000), 83.

2. Robert Bruce Flanders, "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, ed. F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1979), 152–53.

began the process of establishing a new stake of "Zion." The dramatic rise of the Mormon community was noted in the May 13, 1840, issue of the *Western World*, a newspaper published in Warsaw, Illinois, by a young and enthusiastic editor named Thomas Sharp[3] in an article quoted from the *Peoria Register* which said Commerce had been renamed Nauvoo and that "great immigration" resulted in three hundred dwellings.[4] The Hancock County population was 9,912 in the second year of the Mormon settlement.[5]

Non-Mormons, also referred to as gentiles, old settlers, or anti-Mormons, were scattered throughout the area and in Iowa Territory. Warsaw, Illinois, located fifteen miles south of Nauvoo at the site of Fort Edwards at the foot of the Des Moines rapids, was the oldest city in the county and its population was from five-to-eight hundred inhabitants in 1840.[6] Carthage, the county seat, "had only a few hundred inhabitants—except during court week."[7] Keokuk, Iowa, located twelve miles downriver from Nauvoo, numbered about 150[8] and Fort Madison, Iowa, located an equal distance upriver was possibly twice the size of Keokuk.[9] Thomas Gregg, period anti-Mormon newspaper publisher and author of books on Hancock County and Joseph Smith,[10] said villages such as Augusta, St. Mary's, Plymouth, Fountain Green, La Harpe, and Chili were scattered throughout the county.[11]

The Mormons, according to Robert Flanders, "swept in on this quiet frontier backwater like a title wave" and editorialized "Hancock County has not been the

3. Thomas Sharp was born in September 1818 at Mount Holly, New Jersey, to Methodist parents and attended Dickerson College where he studied law. After arriving at Warsaw in September 1840, he purchased the fledgling newspaper, the *Western World*, with a partner. By the time he changed the newspaper's name to the *Warsaw Signal*, in the spring of 1841, he had emerged as a rabid anti-Mormon and used his newspaper to decimate hate toward the Mormons. He would be one of the five individuals charged with the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Sharp remained at Warsaw where he served as mayor, practiced law and became a county judge. See Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 57–58.

4. "Latest from the Mormons," *Western World*, May 13, 1840, 2.

5. David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1996), 75.

6. Daniel Haskell and J. Calvin Smith, in *A Complete Descriptive and Statistical Gazetteer of the United States of America … With an abstract of the census and statistics for 1840* (New York: Sherman & Smith, 1844), 696, gives a population of eight hundred but an estimate of five hundred inhabitants at Warsaw better fits a variety of descriptions. Thanks to Erin Metcalfe for this reference.

7. Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 1.

8. Roger D. Launius, "American Home Missionary Society Ministers and Mormon Nauvoo: Selected Letters," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 39n2.

9. Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra: Mormonism Reviewed and Examined in the Life, Character, and Career of its Founder: From "Cumorah Hill" to Carthage Jail* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890), 154.

10. The best information on Thomas Gregg is John E. Hallwas, *Thomas Gregg: Early Illinois Journalist and Author*, Western Illinois Monograph Series, no. 2 (Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1983).

11. Gregg, *Prophet of Palmyra*, 154.

same since."[12] One respected Mormon historian said Nauvoo "grew from 100 in 1839 to about 4,000 in 1842, rose to about 12,000 in 1844, and stood at about 11,000 in 1845."[13] The gentiles were painfully aware Mormon influence radiated from Nauvoo as farms and clusters of Mormon homes appeared throughout Hancock and parts of Adams County. The Morley settlement or Yelrome (Morley spelled backward with an extra e) was named after Mormon patriarch Isaac Morley. Located in southeast Hancock County, it combined with predominant Mormon settlements at nearby Bear Creek in Hancock County and Lima in Adams County to form a stake of at least five hundred persons.[14] The Ramus (Macedonia) stake, located six miles northeast of Carthage, numbered about six hundred.[15] Mormons also settled at Montrose, Zarahemla, Ambrosia, Nashville, Keokuk, and Potter's Slough in Iowa Territory.[16]

Hancock County's population of over twenty-two thousand in 1845 made it Illinois's most populous county[17] but the threat of overwhelming violence forced the removal of nearly all of the Mormons in 1846. The county's population was 14,652 in 1850.[18]

Just as the offer of acceptance and assistance to the Mormons by Sullivan and Bartlett in 1839 signaled the Mormons were welcome in Illinois, their message in the October 22, 1845, *Quincy Whig* made it clear they no longer welcomed the Mormons. In a ruthless commentary, they accused Mormons of prostituting women and said Joseph Smith was guilty of adultery. After saying the Mormons stole "tens of thousands worth of property," they added that Joseph Smith's "religious professions and his impious and presumptuous claims to divinity were all a mockery."[19]

A virtual civil war existed when Sullivan and Bartlett spoke out against the Mormons. Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been murdered the previous June, and Mormons Edmund Durfee and Joshua Smith would be murdered the following month. Although the anti-Mormons maintained the murders of the Smiths were justified,

12. Flanders, "Dream and Nightmare," 153.

13. Susan Easton Black, "How Large Was the Population of Nauvoo?," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 2 (1995): 95.

14. See Danny 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 and William G. Hartley, *The 1845 Burning of Morley's Settlement and Murder of Edmund Durfee* (Salt Lake City: Primer Publications, 1999 reprint).

15. Susan Sessions Rugh, "Conflict in the Countryside: The Mormon Settlement at Macedonia, Illinois," *BYU Studies* 32, nos. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1991): 149–74.

16. See Donald Q. Cannon, "Mormon Satellite Settlements in Hancock County, Illinois and Lee County, Iowa," *The Iowa Mormon Trail: Legacy of Faith and Courage*, ed. Susan Easton Black and William G. Hartley (Orem, UT: Helix Publishing, 1997), 52–53.

17. William V. Pooley, "The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850" (doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1905), 415–16. Reprinted from the *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin History Series* 1, 287–595 by Forgotten Books, 2002.

18. *The Seventh Census of the United States, Illinois* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1854), 694.

19. "The Mormons," *Quincy Whig*, October 22, 1845, 2.

they screamed long and loud that four of their number had been murdered by the Mormons the previous month.

In the simplest sense, violence took place because the Mormons outnumbered the gentiles. As Mormons arrived at Quincy, they were treated with compassion and kindness. As their gathering gained momentum, many non-Mormons became uneasy,[20] and others disliked them from the beginning because of their reputation as religious zealots.[21]

Following neighborhood meetings, a county convention of non-Mormons was held at Carthage on June 28, 1841, in which Whigs and Democrats set aside political differences and pledged they would oppose Mormon political strength. The term "anti-Mormon" became widely used and the anti-Mormon party became a reality. Thomas Gregg, a moderate anti-Mormon, said this action was "patriotic and commendable" but fairly added "many acts of unnecessary and unlawful violence" resulted from its actions."[22] Mormon historian Marvin S. Hill characterized the old citizens as believing they were "true republicans" who stood against Joseph Smith's "consolidation of power which threatened their political and legal rights." The gentiles "saw themselves as defenders of public morality" and charged that Mormon polygamy was "outrageous licentiousness." Hill characterized the old settler's resistance to the Mormons as "first a cold war type" and then a "more violent and combative kind."[23]

Stanley B. Kimball, noted authority on Nauvoo and the Mormon trek to Utah, opined that it was at Nauvoo "the Mormons reached social as well as doctrinal maturity and became a people."[24] Mormon historian Ronald K. Esplin said Nauvoo "was and is, and will be important to the Latter-day Saints because it was the City of Joseph." Reception of the "keys" which authorized temple ordinances was the centerpiece of Smith's mission as all the "other labors were prologue." Nauvoo, according to Esplin, was the place "religious power, insight, teachings, and ritual" was revealed by God to Joseph Smith. In this context, building the temple and the reception of ordinances were essential to Mormons.[25]

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20. See Robert Bruce Flanders, in *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 19–21, about the frontier culture not wanting group immigration.

21. John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius, *Cultures in Conflict: A Documentary History of the Mormon War in Illinois* (Logan: Utah State University Press), 67.

22. Gregg, *Prophet of Palmyra*, 177–78.

23. Marvin S. Hill, "Carthage Conspiracy Reconsidered: A Second Look at the Murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 97, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 109–10.

24. Stanley B. Kimball, "The Mormons in Illinois, 1838–1846," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64, no. 1 (Spring 1971): 5.

25. Ronald K. Esplin, "The Significance of Nauvoo for Latter-day Saints," in *Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited: Nauvoo in Mormon History*, ed. Roger D. Launius and John E. Hallwas (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 19–20.

Radical anti-Mormons began burning Mormon homes in the Morley settlement after September 9, 1845, and plundering their property. As hundreds of destitute and sickly Mormons were driven to Nauvoo, the Mormons felt they had no choice but to respond to force with force as they made the temple ready for the reception of their endowments.

A Culture of Frontier Violence

Aspects of frontier violence described in this article would be considered outrageous if they occurred in modern society. Mormons and anti-Mormons in Illinois lived in a dramatically different society in which the Jacksonian philosophy of individual rights predisposed individuals to settle disputes by force when the legal system could not or would not bring satisfaction. For example, judge Thomas Ford had firsthand experience with criminals and vigilantism in Ogle County before he became governor of Illinois. Ogle was victimized by a ruthless criminal gang headed by Josh Driscoll that specialized in stealing horses. Following the burning of the new Oregon jail by members of Driscoll's gang in March 1841, Ford, who was unable to legally bring the gang to justice, was accused of advocating the formation of a vigilante group. Designated as regulators, the vigilantes captured several gang members and severely flogged them, but the criminals retaliated by murdering a regulator named Campbell in June 1841. Driscoll and a son were captured and, following a trial by the regulators, were executed by firing squad.[26]

At Bellevue, Jackson County, Iowa, located ten miles below Dubuque on the Mississippi River; a gun fight took place between an estimated one hundred persons on April 1, 1840. William W. Brown and his associates, accused of horse stealing, robbery, counterfeiting, rape, and murder, stood their ground against sheriff W. A. Warren and armed civilians. Brown was among the eight persons killed and, after being savagely lashed with horse whips, thirteen members of the gang were exiled from the area.[27]

Nauvoo was not exempt from corporal punishment. The Mormon newspaper, the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* described the robbery of up to $1,500 from the store owned by non-Mormon merchants named Roloson and Finch. A "colored person" named Chism was accused of the robbery and was taken to the woods by non-Mormons where he was "tried, stripped, and most inhumanly beaten or lacerated."[28]

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26. See Rodney O. Davis, "Judge Ford and the Regulators," *Selected Papers in Illinois History* 2 (1981): 25–36 and Robert Hugh Johns, "Three Days of Violence: The Regulators of the Rock River Valley," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 59, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 131–42.

27. Susan K. Lucke, *The Bellevue War: Mandate of Justice or Murder by Mob?* (Ames, IA: McMillan Publishing, 2002).

28. Accounts of this incident include "Robbery and Lynching," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 49 (April 3, 1844): 2; Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signa-

The fiery rhetoric of Thomas Sharp demanded violence be taken against the Mormons. One example is his reaction to the Mormon destruction of the press used to publish the *Nauvoo Expositor* on June 10, 1845:

> War and extermination is inevitable! Citizens ARISE, ONE AND ALL!!!—Can you stand by, and suffer such INFERNAL DEVILS! To ROB MEN OF THEIR PROPERTY AND rights, without avenging them. We have no time to comment, every man will make his own. LET IT BE WITH POWDER AND BALL!!![29]

The hanging of two young Mormons named William and Stephen Hodges speaks volumes about social values in Illinois and Iowa in the 1840s. After murdering two Mennonite men near West Point in Lee County, Iowa, on May 10, 1845, they were captured, tried and sentenced to die by hanging two months later at Burlington, Iowa.[30] Burlington officials had a gallows built in a ravine resembling a natural amphitheater to accommodate the expected thousands of attendees.

An estimated eight-to-ten thousand persons gathered at Burlington on July 15 to watch the brothers die. Bands played, politicians made their pitch, and picnics were enjoyed. Among the steamers which brought multitudes of men, women, and children to Burlington was the *New Purchase*. The *Burlington Hawk-Eye* commented it arrived late "with a large multitude from Nauvoo."[31] The editors of the *Hawk-Eye* noted "Never have we seen more decorum or better behavior exhibited at a public execution."[32] The *Bloomington Herald* disagreed. Refusing to acknowledge the many females who watched the hangings were "ladies"—the editor said females watched the execution "with as much reflection as they would watching a circus or a traveling menagerie."[33] A man named Henry Smith remembered Stephen dying quickly as his neck was broken and William struggling in agony as he choked to death. He noted: "The crowd gazed on the gruesome spectacle with horrified interest."[34]

As modern society is struggling to find ways to reduce the number and caliber of guns, Mormons and gentiles had no such compulsions. Gun ownership was not ostracized; it had been an integral part of the culture of Illinois from its statehood

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ture Books, 1989), 461–62; and Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1950 edition), 6:284–85.

29. *Warsaw Signal* "Extra," June 14, 1844, emphasis retained.

30. Bill Shepard, "The Notorious Hodges Brothers: Solving the Mystery of Their Destruction at Nauvoo," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 26 (2006): 272–74.

31. "The Execution," *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, July 23, 1845, 2.

32. Ibid.

33. "Execution," *Bloomington Herald*, July 19, 1845, 1.

34. "An Old Time Letter Discovered Telling of the Hodges Tragedy," *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, January 25, 1914, 1.

in 1818.[35] Harry W. Gibson, author of "Frontier Arms of the Mormons," explained "the six years spent [by the Mormons] in Illinois were marked by numerous efforts to both broaden and expand their arms base."[36] Mormons and anti-Mormons considered personal weapons a necessity following the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

Purpose of article

This article will present select chronological documentation of actions, attitudes, and events which contributed to multi-faceted violence between the Mormons and anti-Mormons in Hancock County, Illinois, from 1839 through 1845. In addition to citing accounts of historical attitudes and events in order of occurrence, qualifying information by a variety of historians will be added for substance. This article is not an attempt to attach blame on any of the participants—the goal is to place the Mormon-gentile relationship in the perspective of a frontier environment in which mid-nineteenth-century attitudes predisposed individuals or groups to respond to what they considered to be violations of their rights with sarcasm, intimidation, and violence. In the end, the reader can determine, if possible, who was noble, who was not honorable, and who demonstrated the frailties which define humanity.

An explanation about source materials is in order. Certain charges by Mormons and anti-Mormons must be evaluated by the reader for relevancy and intent. For example, the *Warsaw Signal* of September 22, 1841, contained a letter from William Harris, dated September 3, describing his anti-Mormon "lectures" in Iowa. In an account designed to increase anti-Mormonism among the gentiles, he maintained he was harassed continually by the Mormons and alleged Mormon men and women were so drunk they "were scarcely able to stand."[37] Ludicrous as this allegation seems, it was printed as fact and was doubtlessly accepted as factual by some anti-Mormons. A speech by apostle Heber C. Kimball, apparently designed to harden Mormon feelings against their gentile enemies, delivered at the the April 8, 1845, general conference, included the statement he would rather his family "would go to hell" than Warsaw or Carthage because the gentile towns were "not fit" for the society of the Mormons.[38]

35. See Robert B. Howard, *Illinois: A History of the Prairie State* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1972), 110–11 and Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois From 1830–1850*, 267.

36. Harry W. Gibson, "Frontier Arms of the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (Winter 1974): 7.

37. "Mormonism at Montrose," *Warsaw Signal*, September 22, 1841, 2.

38. "Speech Delivered by Heber C. Kimball as reported by G. D. Watt," April 8, 1845, *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 13 (July 15, 1845): 970–73.

Expressions of hostility; whether they are considered to be true, partially true, propaganda or simply mean spirited are all part of this cultural conflict which culminated in the deaths of at least four Mormons and four anti-Mormons.

Chronological Documentation

May 30, 1839—Mormon apostle Wilford Woodruff recorded: "The spirit of mobocracy increases in Montrose & the Ioway &c."[39]

Mid-1839—George Miller, of Macomb, McDonough County, Illinois, said his cattle were maimed, fences were torn down, and his neighbors harassed him with petty lawsuits when they learned he had become a Mormon.[40]

June 2, 1839—Wilford Woodruff recorded "The spirit of the mob or of a lawless bandity [*sic*] was manifest this morning. One was walking in front of our houses at [Montrose, Iowa] with a drawn sword while others were riding on horseback with flags strung upon poles crying out the Mormons are despised, &c & also threatning [*sic*] the lives of others."[41]

October 29, 1839—Joseph Smith began his journey to Washington to present hundreds of Mormon affidavits to federal officials to obtain redress for Mormon losses suffered in Missouri.[42]

December 29, 1839—President Martin Van Buren told Joseph Smith he could not intervene in the affairs of Missouri and force the state to pay redress.[43]

March 4, 1840—The US Senate Judiciary Committee denied the Mormon request for redress.[44]

July 7, 1840—Mormons Alanson Brown, James Allred, Benjamin Boyce, and Noah Rogers were kidnapped from an area below Warsaw for alleged stealing and removed to Tully, Clark County, Missouri, where they were beaten and otherwise brutalized.[45]

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39. Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff Journals*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1985), 1:337.

40. *Correspondence of Bishop George Miller with the Northern Islander From his first acquaintance with Mormonism up to near the close of his life. Written by himself in the year 1855* (Burlington, WI: Wingfield Watson, 1916), 6. Above written June 22, 1855, Saint James, Beaver Island, Michigan.

41. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff Journals*, 1:338.

42. Kenneth W. Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830–1846* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 154–55. See Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1992).

43. Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:40.

44. Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 82–83.

45. Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:154–60. See affidavits of Alanson Brown and James Allred in *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 9 (July 1840): 141–42 in which they maintained they were innocent of the charge of stealing.

July 13, 1840—Mormons at Nauvoo appointed a committee to draft resolutions which condemned the kidnappings as a gross violation of their rights and a condemnation "of the outrageous conduct of the citizens of Missouri." They submitted the resolutions to governor Thomas Carlin and asked him to "take such steps as you may deem best calculated to repair the injuries which your memoralists have sustained; that you will vindicate the injured laws of the state."[46]

July 24, 1840—In a letter to governor Lilburn Boggs of Missouri, H. M. Woodyard and other Missouri citizens charged Joseph Smith with teaching that Mormons could steal from the Missourians until $300,000 was recovered.[47]

July 25, 1840—A statement in the *Quincy Whig* responded to reports of Mormon stealing with the logic every society has bad men.[48]

July 29, 1849—Thomas Sharp said, in the *Western World*, the kidnappings of Mormons was "a high handed and daring violation of the rights and laws of this State."[49]

September 12, 1840—The *Quincy Whig* reported that no sooner had agents of Governor Carlin, sent to protest to Governor Boggs about the Mormon kidnappings, returned to Quincy, two agents dispatched by Governor Boggs arrived at Quincy "with power to demand of Gov. Carlin, *Joseph Smith, jr.* and *Sidney Rigdon*, two citizens of this State,—as runaway criminals from Missouri." The *Whig* speculated:

> Should they be given up, and the Governor of Missouri should protect them from a mob, they could never expect justice in a trial under the laws of Missouri. The prejudices against their Society, origination in foul injustice and *official* persecution, so deeply affect the minds of the people of Upper Missouri, that a trial for crimes alleged against them, would be mere mockery—a farce.[50]

September 15, 1840—The *History of the Church* said "The demand it seems has been complied with by Governor Carlin and an order issued for their apprehension; accordingly our place has recently received a visit from the sheriff for these men [Joseph Smith and five other Mormons] … but they were gone from home, and the sheriff returned, of course without them."[51]

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46. Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:156–60.

47. H. M. Woodyard and others to Lilburn W. Boggs, 24 July 1840, Missouri Historical Society Library, cited in Kenneth W. Godfrey, *Causes of Mormon Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839–1846* (doctoral dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967), 157. Woodyard was one of the alleged kidnappers.

48. *Quincy Whig*, July 25, 1840, cited in Godfrey, Ibid., 158.

49. "Shameful Outrage," *Western World*, July 29, 1840, 2.

50. "The Mormons," *Quincy Whig*, September 3, 1840, 2, emphasis retained. This "extradition attempt" is under reported and is not well understood.

51. Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:198. Historian J. Christopher Conkling, in *A Joseph Smith Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979), 147, said "Mormon attempts to obtain redress from Missouri and the uproar

October 1840—The *Quincy Whig* acknowledged "the Mormons hold in their hands a fearful balance of [political] power.... Should they ever become disposed to exert their influence for evil, which may Heaven prevent, they would surround our institutions with an element of danger, more to be dreaded than an armed and hundred-eyed police."[52]

October 3, 1840—At general conference, Joseph Smith announced a committee was being formed to investigate stealing at Nauvoo.[53]

October 4, 1840—At general conference, a resolution authorized Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett, and Robert B. Thompson to draft a bill for the incorporation of Nauvoo. A second resolution authorized Bennett to be a delegate at Springfield, Illinois, and urge passage of a charter for the city of Nauvoo.[54]

October 17, 1840—Oliver Walker was tried by the high council on a charge of slander for stating:

> That in the church at Nauvoo there did exist [a] set of pilferers, who were actually thieving, robing, plundering, taking and unlawfully carrying away from Missouri certain goods and chattles, wares and property and that the act and acts of such supposed thieving &c. was fostered and conducted by the knowledge and approbation of the heads & leaders of the church, viz; by the Presidency and High Council.[55]

October 24, 1840—William Gregory was tried by the high council for stating he had "spread abroad certain slanderous reports and insinuations that go to carry an idea that much pilfering, pillaging, plundering, stealing &c. is practiced by members of said church and that such practice is known to and tolerated by the heads and leaders of the church (or certain of them)."[56]

November 1, 1840—The Mormon newspaper, the *Times and Seasons*, acknowledged Nauvoo had been "infested by a gang of thieves" and "all kinds of property" was missing.[57]

November 2, 1840—The Mormons rejected Democratic President Martin Van Buren and voted for Whig William H. Harrison for president. Social historian An-

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caused by the kidnapping of Mormons is thought to have influenced Governor Lilburn Boggs of Missouri to ask Illinois Governor Thomas Carlin to return Joseph Smith and other Mormons to Missouri for prosecution because they were considered fugitives from justice."

52. *Quincy Whig*, October 1840, cited in Launius, "American Home Missionary Society Ministers and Mormon Nauvoo," 16–17.

53. "Minutes of a general conference ... Oct., 3rd 1840," *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 12 (October 1840): 185.

54. Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:205–6.

55. John S. Dinger, ed., *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011), 381–82. Walker protested "he was not able to defend himself" and the trial was put off "until the next April conference." Ibid., 382. I have not located a record of Walker being tried on this charge.

56. Ibid., 382–83. Minutes said the charge was sustained and the defendant made satisfaction. Ibid., 383.

57. "Look out for Thieves," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 1 (November 1, 1840): 204.

nette P. Hampshire explained the Mormon bloc voting left some area gentiles with "a sense of outraged powerlessness."[58]

December 6, 1840—The Illinois State Legislature granted a charter to Nauvoo which was scheduled to become law on February 1, 1841.[59]

December 15, 1840—The *Times and Seasons* identified Mormons James R. Bingham, Alanson Brown, David Holman, and Artemus Johnson as "notorious thieves."[60] Alanson Brown was one of the four Mormons who were kidnapped to Missouri in July 1840.

January 15, 1841—"An act to incorporate the City of Nauvoo" was published in the *Times and Seasons*.[61] The *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History* explained:

> The Charter contained 28 sections and authorized a council composed of four aldermen, nine councilors, and a mayor. It granted the formation of a municipal court, only the third such created in Illinois, and the mayor served as its chief justice with the aldermen doubling as associate justices. The city court possessed the power to issue writs of habeas corpus.[62]
>
> Section 13 said the city council could "pass such ordinances as may be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers specified in this act; *Provided* such ordinances are not repugnant to the constitution of the United States, or of this State."[63] James L. Kimball, a historian respected for his early research on the Nauvoo Charter, explained the Mormons interpreted the above to mean they had a "government within a government," or, in other words, "the Saints possessed a government based not upon the *laws* of Illinois but only upon the Constitution of Illinois and the Constitution of the United States."[64] In a second venue, Kimball explained "Ordinances passed by the Nauvoo City Council could also be in direct violation or disregard of state law and still

58. Annette P. Hampshire, *Mormonism in Conflict: The Nauvoo Years* (New York: Edwin Mellon Press, 1985), 64–65. See Steve LeSueur, "Mixing Politics with Religion: A Closer Look at Electioneering and Voting in Caldwell and Daviess Counties in 1838," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 33, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2013): 184-208, for the Mormons' traditional allegiance to the Democratic Party.

59. See Jeffrey N. Walker, "Habeas Corpus in Early Nineteenth-Century Mormonism: Joseph Smith's Legal Bulwark for Personal Freedom," *BYU Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (2013): 32 and James L. Kimball Jr., "A Wall to Defend Zion: The Nauvoo Charter," *BYU Studies* 15, no. 4 (Summer 1975): 494. Thomas Ford maintained John C. Bennett, "flattered both sides with the hope of Mormon favor and both sides expected to receive their votes." Ford, *History of Illinois*, 263.

60. "Beware of Thieves," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 4 (December 15, 1840): 256.

61. "An Act to Incorporate the City of Nauvoo," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 6 (January 15, 1841): 281–86.

62. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan, *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 824. Jeffrey Walker emphasized the charter authorized the Nauvoo City Council to establish a court system (sec. 16) and explained "The Municipal Court shall have power to grant writs of habeas corpus in all cases arising under the ordinances of the City Council." Walker, "Habeas Corpus in Early Nineteenth-Century Mormonism," 32.

63. "An Act to Incorporate the City of Nauvoo," 283, emphasis retained.

64. Kimball, "A Wall to Defend Zion: The Nauvoo Charter," 495, emphasis retained.

be valid in Nauvoo provided they did not conflict with the specific powers granted [by] the federal and state governments by their constitution."[65]

Section 24 authorized a university and section 25 provided for the formation of a "body of independent Military men to be called the Nauvoo legion."[66] The Nauvoo City Council implemented the legion in the first week of February 1841 with the unique division into two cohorts; the horse and foot troops. Joseph Smith was designated the rank of lieutenant general and age limits were set at eighteen to forty-five years.[67] Although the legion has traditionally been numbered at approximately five thousand, a recent study arrived at an estimated figure of 3,226.[68]

April 6, 1841—Thomas Sharp was in attendance when the Mormons celebrated the anniversary of the church, laid the cornerstones for the temple, and had a grand parade of some 650 militias. Mormon historians Richard Bennett, Susan Black, and Donald Cannon said Sharp "could not tolerate military power intertwined with religious zeal."[69] Non-Mormon historians John Hallwas and Roger Launius added the event helped Sharp realize the Mormons were "threats to the established democratic order of the young American republic."[70]

May 19, 1841—Sharp published two articles which were mildly critical of the Mormons. He made observations about John C. Bennett's meteoric rise in the Mormon community and reported discontent among newly arrived Mormons from England. He warned the Mormons that if they "step beyond the proper sphere of a religious denomination and became a political body" he would "take a stand against them."[71]

June 2, 1841—Joseph Smith, in a May 26 letter to Sharp, told the Warsaw editor to cancel his subscription and called the *Signal* "the filthy sheet—that tissue of lies—that stink of iniquity," closing with, "Yours, with utter contempt." Sharp printed Smith's letter and, in his response, reminded Smith he owed $3.00 on his subscription and said "Come, Josey, fork over, and for mercy's sake don't get a revelation that

65. James L. Kimball Jr., "The Nauvoo Charter: A Reinterpretation," in Launius and Hallwas, *Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited*, 41.

66. "An Act to Incorporate the City of Nauvoo," 284.

67. Hamilton Gardner, "The Nauvoo Legion, 1840–1845," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 54, no. 2 (Summer 1961): 181–97.

68. Richard E. Bennett, Susan Easton Black, and Donald Q. Cannon, *The Nauvoo Legion in Illinois: A History of the Mormon Militia, 1841–1846*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 99. Marvin S. Hill, in *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 111, said Smith's role as lieutenant general led non-Mormons "to focus their hate" on him as that rank was the highest in the United States at that time.

69. Bennett, Black, and Cannon, *The Nauvoo Legion in Illinois*, 171. The Mormon celebration is outlined in "Celebration of the Anniversary of the Church," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 12 (April 15, 1841): 375–77.

70. Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 55.

71. "Appointment" and "The Mormons," *Warsaw Signal*, May 19, 1841, 2.

it is not to be paid."[72] Historian Marshall Hamilton said after this encounter "Sharp attacked the church in print at every possible opportunity."[73]

June 4, 1841—Joseph Smith made a courtesy call on governor Thomas Carlin at his home at Quincy but was unaware Carlin had received a demand from governor Thomas Reynolds of Missouri that he was a "fugitive from justice." After he was arrested by a posse dispatched by Carlin the following day at Bear Creek, Smith prevented his extradition to Missouri by obtaining a writ of habeas corpus from Calvin Warren, "the master in chancery for the Adams County Circuit Court."[74] A trial was scheduled before judge Stephen A. Douglass at Monmouth, Illinois.[75]

June 9, 1841—After concluding the Mormons were becoming "a political church," Thomas Sharp warned if Joseph Smith controlled the majority of Hancock County votes the non-Mormons would lose their elective franchise.[76]

June 10, 1841—Judge Douglass essentially ruled the Missouri writ had expired and was thereby illegal. John Dinger editorialized: "The trial is very important in the development of habeas corpus in Nauvoo, even though it did not involve a Nauvoo-issued writ. It showed the Mormons that they had a powerful legal device at their disposal."[77]

June 16, 1841—Thomas Sharp attacked the "high minded politicians" who courted the Mormon vote and said the *Signal* represented individuals unshackled to a "political and military Church."[78]

Late summer 1841—Joel Hills Johnson, president of the Ramus stake, reported widespread dissention as influential members formed a secret society which featured drinking, secret oaths and stealing from the gentiles.[79]

November 18, 1841—After five of the malcontents at Ramus were jailed at Monmouth, Illinois, in early November for stealing, Brigham Young and Willard Richards conducted a trial at Ramus in which the five accused thieves and two of their supporters were excommunicated.[80]

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72. "Highly Important," *Warsaw Signal*, June 2, 1841, 2.

73. Marshall Hamilton, "Money-Diggerville"—The Brief, Turbulent History of the Mormon Town of Warren," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 9 (1989): 54–55 and Marshall Hamilton, "Thomas Sharp's Turning Point: Birth of an Anti-Mormon," *Sunstone* 13, no. 5 (October 1989): 20–21.

74. Walker, "Habeas Corpus in Early Nineteenth-Century Mormonism," 36.

75. John S. Dinger, "Joseph Smith and the Development of Habeas Corpus in Nauvoo," *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 142.

76. "The Mormons," *Warsaw Signal* 2 (June 9, 1841):2.

77. Dinger, "Development of Habeas Corpus in Nauvoo," 143-44.

78. "Our Position—Again," *Warsaw Signal*, June 16, 1841, 2.

79. *Autobiography of Joel Hills Johnson*, typescript, pp. 9–10, L. Tom Perry Special Collection and Manuscript Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

80. "Proceedings of a meeting of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, held at Ramus, Nov. 18th, 1841," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 3 (December 1, 1841): 616. Those excommunicated were Joseph Holbrook, Alanson

December 1, 1841—The *Times and Seasons* devoted four pages to statements by members of the hierarchy which pledged to eliminate Mormon thieves.[81]

December 4, 1841—At the suggestion of Hyrum Smith, the Ramus stake was discontinued and became a branch.[82] The *History of the Church* noted the branch donated "nearly a thousand dollars' worth of property … for the Temple."[83]

December 20, 1841—Joseph Smith announced the Mormons would vote for Democrat Adam W. Snyder for governor in the August 1842 elections.[84] Thomas Sharp sarcastically acknowledged the Mormon vote "has created great shaking amongst the dry bones of the politicians."[85]

April 23, 1842—The second Mormon newspaper, the *Wasp*, edited by Joseph and Hyrum's brother William Smith, defiantly announced Mormons "SHALL VOTE, *when and for whom we please*."[86]

April 30, 1842—William Smith, announced in the *Wasp*: "Just returned from the *Promontory of Noses*, Thom-ass C. Sharp, the redoubtable Editor of the 'Warsaw Signal,' having made some very important discoveries in relation to the bumps on his far-famed proboscis. The length of his snout is said to be in the exact proportion of seven to one compared to his intellectual faculties."[87]

May 6, 1842—Lilburn Boggs, ex-governor of Missouri, was shot at Independence, Missouri, and was not expected to live.[88]

May 14, 1842—D. W. Kilbourne, a vehement anti-Mormon postmaster at Montrose, Iowa, wrote Governor Reynolds he had no doubt the Boggs's shooting was done by "some of Joes [Joseph Smith's] minions at his instigation."[89]

Brown, William H. Edwards, Joseph Telford, and Finley Page for stealing and Thomas and William Edwards for supporting the alleged thieves. Joseph Holbrook said he became involved in stealing because: many of the brethren were much put to it for clothing, etc." Joseph Holbrook Autobiography, typescript, pp. 51–52, L. Tom Perry Special Collection.

81. *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 3 (December 1, 1841): 615–19. These documents also included the trial of the Ramus thieves and the account of the cashiering of Daniel Smith and Joseph Holbrook from the Nauvoo Legion for stealing.

82. See Lyman D. Platt, "Early Branches of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints 1830–1850," *Nauvoo Journal* 3 (1991): 26–27. According to Platt, the name of Ramus was changed to Macedonia in 1843.

83. Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:469. Historian Michael S. Riggs speculated this donation may have included items stolen from the gentiles. See Michael S. Riggs, "From the Daughters of Zion to 'The Banditti of the Prairies': Danite Influence on the Nauvoo Period," *Restoration Studies* 7 (1998): 98.

84. "State Gubernatorial Convention," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 5 (January 1, 1842): 651.

85. "Jo Smith's Proclamation," *Warsaw Signal*, January 26, 1842, 2.

86. "Great Mass Convention of the People of Hancock County," *Wasp* 1, no. 2 (April 23, 1842): 3.

87. "NOSE-OLOGY," *The Wasp* 1, no. 3 (April 30, 1842):2, emphasis retained.

88. Robert Nelson, *Enemy of the Saints: The Biography of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs of Missouri* (Baltimore: Publish America, 2011), 127–29.

89. Warren A. Jennings, ed., "Two Iowa Postmasters View Nauvoo: Anti Mormon Letters to the Governor of Missouri," *BYU Studies* 11, no. 3 (Spring 1971): 276–77.

May 21, 1842—After the *Quincy Whig* acknowledged the person who assaulted Boggs was thought to be a Mormon, S. M. Bartlett repeated the rumor, that Smith "prophesied a year or so ago" that Boggs would die by "violent means."[90] Joseph Smith responded in the *Wasp* he did not prophesy Boggs's death and said he assumed he "fell by the hand of a political opponent."[91]

June 17, 1842—William Law, then the second councilor to Joseph Smith, challenged non-Mormons to bring forth proof Mormons were guilty of criminal offenses.[92]

July 2, 1842—Joseph Smith publicly announced Mormons wanted independent non-Mormons to participate with them in the political process.[93]

July 5, 1842—After breaking with Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett initiated a violent attack on Smith and the Mormons in newspapers and personal appearances. In the July 5 *Sangamo Journal* of Springfield, Illinois, he charged a system of multiple wives existed at Nauvoo and Smith actively propositioned women. He said Smith prophesied the death of Governor Boggs and sent Orrin Porter Rockwell "to fulfill prophesy."[94]

July 5, 1842—To prevent the extradition of Mormons to Missouri, the Nauvoo City Council passed "An Ordinance in Relation to Writs of Habeas Corpus":

> Sec. 1. … no Citizen of this City shall be taken out of the City by any Writs, without the privilege of investigation before the Municipal Court, and the benefit of a Writ of Habeas Corpus, as granted in the seventeenth Section of the Charter of this City … Be it understood that this Ordinance is enacted for the protection of the Citizens of this City, that they may in all Cases have the Right of Trial in this City, and not be subjected to illegal Process by their Enemies.[95]

July 20, 1842—Lilburn Boggs filed an affidavit accusing Joseph Smith as "accessory before the fact of the [his] intended murder." He applied to the new Missouri governor, Thomas Reynolds, to make a demand on Illinois governor Thomas Carlin "to deliver the said Joseph Smith commonly called the Mormon Prophet to some person authorized to receive and convey him to the state and county aforesaid, there to be deal with according to law."[96]

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90. "Assassination of Ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri," *Quincy Whig*, May 21, 1842, 2.

91. "Mr. Bartlett," *The Wasp* 1, no. 7 (May 28, 1842): 2.

92. "Much Ado about Nothing," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 17 (July 1, 1842): 831–32.

93. "To the Citizens of Hancock County," *The Wasp* 1, no. 12 (July 2, 1842): 2.

94. "To the Editor of the Journal," *Sangamo Journal*, July 5, 1842, 3, cited in Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 116–21.

95. Dinger, "Habeas Corpus in Nauvoo," 147.

96. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 2 Journal, 1832–1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 499–500.

July 22, 1842—Governor Reynolds forwarded Boggs's affidavit along with a demand for the arrest and extradition of Joseph Smith to Governor Carlin. The demand specified Smith was not only a "fugitive from Justice," he was an "accessory before the fact, to an assault with intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell on Lilburn W. Boggs."[97]

August 1, 1842—Adam W. Snyder died during the campaign and was replaced by judge Thomas Ford. In becoming governor, Ford carried 73 percent of the Hancock vote.[98] Pro-Mormon Thomas H. Owen from Carthage and William Smith, were elected representatives in the Thirteenth General Assembly of Illinois. John D. Barnett, a non-Mormon who served on the Nauvoo City Council, was elected county commissioner and William Backenstos, became sheriff of Hancock County.[99]

August 6, 1842—Thomas Sharp cuttingly printed "the old citizens of Hancock County are the humble subjects of his Royal Highness, Joe Smith. We are now totally deprived of one of the dearest rights of Freemen—the Elective Franchise."[100]

August 8, 1842—Joseph Smith and Orrin Porter Rockwell were arrested at Nauvoo by an Adams County deputy sheriff and his assistants. The Nauvoo Municipal Court tried and freed Smith and Rockwell on a writ of habeas corpus and the lawmen left Nauvoo in confusion and bitterness.

That afternoon, Hyrum Smith, as deputy mayor, convened the Nauvoo Municipal Court which issued a resolution which gave the court sweeping powers to examine how a writ was issued and the authority to void it if it violated the state or federal constitutions. It also authorized the municipal court to determine if the writ was malicious or constituted persecution.[101] Smith and Rockwell went into hiding.

August 13, 1842—Thomas Sharp recounted the failed arrest attempt in the *Signal*:

> Our citizens were in hopes that the scamp would be taken or else make open resistance; no determination of the affair could be less satisfactory than the one which has taken place. If he had resisted, we should have had the sport of driving him and his worthy

97. Ibid., 503–4. George R. Gayler, in "A Social, Economic, and Political Study of the Mormons in Western Illinois, 1839–1846: A Revaluation" (doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1955), 194, determined "No conclusive proof was given that a group of Mormons was responsible for the assassination attempt."

98. Theodore Calvin Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns, 1818–1848* (Springfield: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1923), 127. Ford took office on December 2, 1842.

99. William Backenstos was brother of Jacob B. Backenstos who would later support the Mormon cause in the legislature and as sheriff. Joseph Smith officiated at the wedding of William and Clara M. Wasson, daughter of Emma Smith's sister on October 4, 1843, at the Mansion House. Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 417.

100 "Where is the Remedy," *Warsaw Signal*, August 6, 1842, 2.

101. Dinger, "Habeas Corpus in Nauvoo," 147–51.

clan out of the State *en masse*, but as it is we are mortified that there is not efficacy in the law to bring such a scamp to justice.[102]

August 24, 1842—Governor Carlin explained to Emma Smith by letter he was bound by law to honor Governor Reynolds's demand for the arrest and extradition of her husband to Missouri. He assured her, if Joseph submitted "to the laws of Missouri" he would "receive the fullest justice."[103] In a letter to Emma on September 7, Carlin told her "it is most absurd and ridiculous" to believe the Nauvoo Municipal Court could overturn "writs issued by the courts or the executive of the state." He emphasized the Mormon practice of nullifying writs "is a gross usurpation of power that cannot be tolerated."[104]

September 1, 1842—Reverend William M. King, founder of the Plymouth, Illinois, Presbyterian Church, reported to American Home Missionary Society representatives the Mormons "carried the election in August and our county is entirely under their control." He commented on the failed attempt to arrest Joseph Smith and said "no person in this region" doubts Smith sent Orrin Porter Rockwell to kill Lilburn Boggs.[105]

September 17, 1842—Thomas Sharp said it was his opinion "Joe cannot be taken" because the Mormons can indefinitely keep him hidden.[106]

November 14, 1842—An additional ordinance, designed to allow Joseph Smith to resume a normal routine, was passed by the city council. The ordinance guaranteed the right of any person "detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter" to secure a writ of habeas corpus. Persons attempting to serve an "illegal Writ" could be fined at least $500 for each writ and be imprisoned from six-to-twelve months.[107]

December 8, 1842—In his inaugural address, Governor Ford suggested the Nauvoo Charter be modified so the inhabitants of Nauvoo would have "no greater privileges than those enjoyed by others of our fellow citizens."[108]

December 9, 1842—After Representative Davis of Bond County urged the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter,[109] representative William Smith responded that the

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102. "Recent Attempt to Arrest the Prophet," *Warsaw Signal*, August 13, 1842, 2. Sharp printed the ordinance in the August 20, 1842, *Signal* and said he did so to show how the "holy brotherhood at Nauvoo set at defiance the civil authorities of the State." "An Ordinance," *Warsaw Signal*, August 20, 1842, 2.

103. Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:130–31.

104. Ibid., 153–55.

105. Launius, "American Home Missionary Society Ministers and Mormon Nauvoo," 23–25.

106. "Joe Smith—Omission," *Warsaw Signal*, September 17, 1842, 2.

107. See Dinger, *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes*, 120–28, for the content of this nineteen-section ordinance.

108. *Sangamon Journal* (Springfield, Illinois), December 15, 1842, 1, cited in Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Volume 2*, 498n3.

109. Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:201.

Nauvoo Charter was similar to that of other chartered cities and, after elaborating on other objections to the Mormon charter, alluded to the voting strength of the Mormons.[110] The House vote was 46 to 13 against repeal and the Senate voted 22 to 13 to table the repeal measure.[111]

December 15, 1842—Joseph Smith, in the *Times and Seasons*, said the Mormons had not gone beyond their "chartered privileges," or had "violated the Constitution of the State, or that of the United States."[112]

December 17, 1842—Governor Thomas Ford urged Joseph Smith to come to Springfield and stand trial to determine if he could legally be forced to return to Missouri in accordance with Governor Reynolds's demand.[113]

December 29, 1842—A statement in the *Iowa City Standard*, of Iowa City, Iowa, said "Much feeling exists upon the subject of the extraordinary powers granted to the Mormons; and a strong effort is on foot to bring about a repeal" [of their charter].[114]

January 4, 1843—Joseph Smith was tried in the US District Court presided over by Nathanial Pope at Springfield and efforts to forcibly extradite him to Missouri were considered illegal as he had been in Illinois at the time of the attempted assassination. Smith returned to Nauvoo to a glorious reception.[115]

February 25, 1843—Reverend King of Plymouth, Illinois, in a letter to "Dear Brethren" said "repeated acts of theft" throughout the county was unsettling to the community.[116]

March 1, 1843—L. B. Fleak, the anti-Mormon postmaster at Keokuk, Iowa, informed Governor Reynolds he heard rumors Mormons may attempt to assassinate him.[117]

March 2, 1843—The Illinois House of Representatives voted to repeal the Nauvoo Charter but the movement died in the Senate by a single vote. The March 15, 1843, *Wasp* recounted the near repeal in depth and openly wondered how one session of the Legislature will "grant a charter to a city with "PERPETUAL SUCCESSION" and another session take it away.[118]

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110. "Speech of Mr. SMITH of Hancock County, on the resolution of Mr. Davis of Bond, to repeal the Nauvoo charter, delivered in the House of Representatives, December 9, 1842," *Wasp* 1, no. 37 (January 14, 1843): 1–2.

111. Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 307.

112. "Remarks on Chartered Rights," *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 3 (December 15, 1842): 41–43.

113. Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:205–6.

114. "Illinois," *Iowa City Standard*, December 29, 1842, 2, cited in Dinger, "Habeas Corpus at Nauvoo," 167.

115. Dinger, "Habeas Corpus at Nauvoo," 156–62. See "The Release of General Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 4 (January 2, 1843): 59–61.

116. Launius, "American Home Missionary Society Ministers and Mormon Nauvoo," 22–23.

117. Jennings, "Two Iowa Postmasters," 287–88.

118. *Wasp* 1, no. 46 (March 15, 1843): 2, emphasis retained.

March 29, 1843—The *Wasp* published the statements by Mormon leaders in the December 1, 1841, *Times and Seasons* which said the leadership would not tolerate Mormon thieves.[119]

April 2, 1843—George Rockwell, a Warsaw druggist, wrote his father about his perception of the Mormons:

> Under their city charter they pass laws in direct violation of the Constitution and laws of the State. They number some 8 or 10 thousand, mostly a lawless set, and had it not been for their political influence in favor of loco-focoism [Democrats] their leader Joe Smith would long before now have expiated for his crimes on the Gallows.[120]

April 6, 1843—Hyrum Smith told the conference a former church member named David Holman told him a band of men, "pretending to be strong in the faith" had united with non-Mormons thieves to form a secret society bound together by secret oaths. This group allegedly stole from non-Mormons and made bogus (counterfeit) money.[121] Hyrum's address, printed in the *Times and Seasons*, excluded "If they did not remain steadfast they ripped open their bowels and gave them to the cat fish and they are the very Gadianton robbers of the last days."[122]

June 17, 1843—Governor Ford, for unknown reasons, honored Governor Reynolds's request to extradite Joseph Smith and issued an arrest warrant for his arrest.[123]

June 23, 1843—Sheriff Joseph H. Reynolds of Jackson County, Missouri, and constable Harmon T. Wilson of Carthage, Illinois, arrested Joseph Smith at Dixon, Lee County, Illinois. The following day, Smith managed to obtain a writ of habeas corpus from a local master in chancery which prevented his being taken to Missouri. Prominent Whig lawyer Cyrus Walker, who was in the area electioneering to become representative for Congress, agreed to defend Smith after he was promised his vote.[124] Ironically, because of abusive treatment to Smith, Reynolds and Wilson were charged by Lee County officials with "false imprisonment" and were placed under bond by the Lee County, Illinois court. They then had to obtain a writ of habeas corpus. A second writ was issued to Smith because Judge Caton at Ottawa was absent and Smith, Walker, and his "captors" set out for Quincy to appear before judge Stephen A. Douglas. In order to prevent being waylaid and taken to Missouri, Smith

119. "Special Conference," *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 12 (May 1, 1843): 184. See "Thieves! Robbers!! Villains!!!," *Wasp* 1, no. 48 (March 29, 1843): 2–3.

120. George Rockwell to Dear Father, typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collection.

121. "Special Conference," *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 12 (May 1, 1843): 180–84.

122. Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 346.

123. George R. Gayler, "Attempts by the State of Missouri to Extradite Joseph Smith, 1841–1843," *Missouri Historical Review* 58, no. 1 (October 1963): 32.

124. Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:439–43.

sent a message to Nauvoo for Militia general Wilson Law to meet the party at Monmouth with an armed force.[125]

June 29, 1843—Mormons sent to intercept Smith became increasingly desperate after they could not locate him and feared he was in danger of being removed to Missouri. One party led by Wilson Law approached the village of Oquawka on the Mississippi River in Henderson County and charged "full speed" into the community "with drawn swords" and "pistols cocked."[126] Smith was not there but the citizens were terrified and resentful.

After the Mormon mounted forces made contact with the Smith party, the group started for Nauvoo. Historian John Dinger said the city council passed an ordinance "to protect Joseph Smith from arrest." The ordinance required visitors "to give their names, former residence, for what intent they have entering or are tarrying in the city, and answer such other questions as the officer shall deem proper or necessary."[127]

June 30, 1843—Joseph Smith, Joseph Reynolds, Harmon Wilson, and a multitude of Mormon rescuers arrived at Nauvoo and Smith is alleged to have told the municipal court "The writ of habeas corpus granted by the Master in Chancery at Dixon was made returnable to the nearest court having jurisdiction; and you are that court." Unsurprisingly, he was freed by the Nauvoo court.[128] Smith received a hero's welcome and his history said "Reynolds and Wilson started for Carthage, in company with Lawyer Davis, of Carthage, threatening to raise the militia and come again and take me out of Nauvoo,"[129]

July 1, 1843—The *Times and Seasons* lead article was a detailed review of wrongs committed against the Mormon people by citizens of Missouri. The theme was to call attention to the bloody deeds and oppression inflicted on the Mormons and the article defiantly asked "Shall Joseph Smith be given into her hands illegally?"[130]

July 29, 1843—Governor Ford refused to honor another extradition request by Governor Reynolds which asked him to use the Illinois militia to arrest Joseph Smith.[131] This decision may have been motivated by a political deal manipulated by Democrats to keep the Mormons from voting for the Whigs. Thomas Ford acknowledged Jacob Backenstos, a Democratic leader in Hancock County, "sent a messenger to Springfield to ascertain positively what the governor would do if the Mormons voted for the Democratic ticket." Ford said he learned in October 1846 "a prominent

125. Ibid., 5:444–48.

126. Albert Perry Rockwood Journal cited in Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:445. See John Lee Allaman, "Joseph Smith Visits to Henderson County," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 46–55.

127. Dinger, "Habeas Corpus in Nauvoo," 163.

128. Smith, *History of the Church,* 5:456–73.

129. Ibid., 73.

130. "Missouri vs Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 16 (July 1, 1843): 241–43.

131. Gayler, "Attempts by the State of Missouri to Extradite Joseph Smith," 34–35.

Democrat of Springfield" told Backenstos "that if the Mormons voted the democratic ticket, the militia should not be sent against them."[132]

August 1, 1843—An argument took place between Joseph Smith and Walter Bagby, a Hancock County tax collector, at Nauvoo over the sale of one of Smith's lots. The *History of the Church* said Bagby called Smith a liar and picked up a rock to throw at him. Smith became "so enraged" he "struck him [Bagby] two or three times" and then sought out Alderman Newel Whitney and paid a fine.[133]

August 2, 1843—The *Nauvoo Neighbor* contained qualifying information about Democrat Joseph P. Hoge and Whig Cyrus Walker who were running for the office of representative in the sixth district in Illinois. A short editorial, presumably written by editor John Taylor, said it would be senseless for the Mormons to divide their vote.[134]

August 5, 1843—Hyrum Smith and William Law addressed a political meeting about the upcoming election. Hyrum said the Mormons should vote for Hoge and Law responded that they should vote for Walker because Joseph had promised him his vote.[135]

August 6, 1843—Joseph Smith told the Saints at the temple stand he had promised Cyrus Walker his vote. He added, however, his brother Hyrum had told him "it would be better for this people to vote for hoge [*sic*] & I never knew Hiram [*sic*] say he ever had a revelation & it failed."[136] William Clayton, personal secretary of Joseph Smith, indicated Joseph said "Hyrum had a manifestation that it was for our interest to vote for Hoge."[137]

August 7, 1843—The sixth district was composed of Hancock and eleven other counties. In Hancock County Hoge polled 2088 votes or 74 percent of the vote—

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132. Ford, *History of Illinois*, 317–18. Donna Hill, in *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Midvale, UT, Signature Books, 1977), 331–32, identified the "prominent Democrat" as Mason Brayman, a lawyer and confidant of Ford, who visited Nauvoo on July 7, 1843, and met with Smith and others. Omer (Greg) W. Whitman and James L. Varner in, "Sheriff Jacob B. Backenstos: 'Defender of the Saints,'" *Journal of Mormon History* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 155–56, said Backenstos went to Springfield and met with Brayman. Backenstos returned to Nauvoo with a July 29, 1843, Brayman letter for Joseph Smith which said that Governor Ford "was influenced by no unkind feelings" for the Mormons.

133. Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:523–24. In Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 405, under date of August 13, said Smith "seized him [Bagby] by the throat to choke him off" after Bagby used "abusive language" and picked up a stone to throw at him. Additionally see, George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 113–14; Jacob B. Backenstos's affidavit about this encounter is in Newell K. Whitney Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collection, fld. 14, Business papers of Newell K. Whitney; and D. Michael Quinn, "The Culture of Violence in Joseph Smith's Mormonism," *Sunstone* 164 (October 2011): 26.

134. "For the Neighbor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 14 (August 2, 1843): 2.

135. Conkling, *A Joseph Smith Chronology*, 197.

136. Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds. and comps., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The contemporary accounts of the Nauvoo discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Orem, UT: Grandin Book Company, 1991), 236–37.

137. Smith, *The Journals of William Clayton*, 114.

Walker polled 733 or 26 percent of the vote. The district vote was 51 percent Hoge—47 percent Walker. The Mormon vote was essential to Hoge's victory.[138]

Historians Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster said the Mormon vote for Hoge "enraged local Whigs" and "led to a major escalation of Mormon/non-Mormon conflict."[139]

August 12, 1843—When Mormon Robert D. Foster, who had been elected county school commissioner, went to Carthage to post bonds and be sworn in, he was harassed by over two dozen heavily armed anti-Mormons.[140]

August 15, 1843—Reverend B. F. Morris of Plymouth wrote a "Brother Badger" the Mormons "elect whom they please and have taken the entire government of the County into their hands." He observed the people "swallowed down the [Hyrum's] revelation and obeyed it."[141]

August 19, 1843—An anti-Mormon meeting took place at Carthage and a committee of six, which included Walter Bagby, was appointed to formulate articles against the Mormons.[142]

September 6, 1843—Anti-Mormons reconvened and established a preamble, resolutions and coordinators for each electoral district. Resolutions charged Joseph Smith with being a pretended prophet and that a crisis existed in the county because of his disregard for the law. Nauvoo's city council was accused of enforcing ordinances not authorized by law and that the Mormon use of habeas corpus was unlawful. Mormon leaders were charged with encouraging stealing from the gentiles and protecting thieves from gentile justice. Resolutions said the Nauvoo Legion kept Smith in power and the non-Mormons elected by the Mormon vote were "base creatures" who reduced the anti-Mormons to a "servile class." The anti-Mormons pledged to assist the Missourians in capturing Joseph Smith.

In a preamble, the anti-Mormons said Joseph Smith "*has* committed violence upon the person of an officer, [Walter Bagby] because that officer dared honesty to do his duties according to law."[143]

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138. Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 140.

139. Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, *The Mormon Quest For The Presidency* (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2008), 19.

140. Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 403.

141. Launius, "American Home Missionary Society Ministers and Mormon Nauvoo," 26. Charlotte Haven, a non-Mormon resident of Nauvoo, characterized the manner in which the Mormons voted for Hoge as "sheep following the bell sheep over a wall." Charlotte Haven, "A Girl's Letters from Nauvoo," September 8, 1843, *Overland Monthly* (December 1890): 636.

142. Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:537–38.

143. Ibid., 6:4–8, emphasis retained. John Hay, former secretary to Abraham Lincoln and diplomat, as a child was raised at Warsaw, Illinois. His anti-Mormon article, "The Mormon Prophet's Tragedy," *Atlantic Monthly* 24 (December 1869): 672, contained the statement "He [Smith] had brutally assaulted and beaten a county officer in the streets of Nauvoo."

October 15, 1843—Joseph Smith prophesied "anguish and wrath and tribulation and the withdrawing of the spirit of God from the earth await this generation, until they are visited with utter destruction."[144]

November 29, 1843—A memorial was submitted to the US Congress asking for redress of the Mormon losses in Missouri from 1833 in Jackson County through the forced exodus from Caldwell and Davies counties in 1838.[145] The memorial was not acted upon.

December 2, 1843—Mormons Daniel Avery and his son Philander from the Bear Creek area were kidnapped by a group of Missourians from Clark County and Levi Williams and others from Green Plains in Adams County, Illinois. Daniel and Philander were forcibly taken to Clark County, Missouri, where Philander managed to escape, but his father received brutal treatment. Daniel was released on a writ of habeas corpus on December 25, 1843.[146]

December 8, 1843—The Avery kidnappings spurred the Nauvoo City Council to pass their most severe ordinance. Titled "Special Ordinance in the Prophet's Case, vs. Missouri," the ordinance authorized punishment of persons found guilty by the city council of attempting to arrest Joseph Smith to "imprisonment in the city prison for life."[147] This ordinance was repealed on February 12, 1844.[148]

December 21, 1843—The Nauvoo City Council passed "An ordinance to prevent unlawful search or seizure of person or property by foreign [i.e. outside] process in the city of Nauvoo."[149]

December 23, 1843—A Mormon memorial to Congress requested territorial status be granted to Nauvoo. This memorial was not acted upon.[150]

December 26, 1843—The house of David Holman was pillaged and then burned at Ramus.[151] This is the same individual who was identified as a "notorious thief" on December 15, 1840.

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144. Ibid., 6:58. This prophecy is connected with the belief that the restored gospel would be rejected by the American nation (gentiles) and God would remove the priesthood and present it to the Jews. See William Shepard, "The Concept of a 'Rejected Gospel' in Mormon History," *Journal of Mormon History* 34, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 130–81.

145. Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:84–88. See Lyman D. Platt, "1843 Petition to the United States Congress," *Nauvoo Journal* 1, (1989): 31–52.

146. Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:99, 123, 145–48 and Dinger, "Habeas Corpus at Nauvoo," 164–65.

147. Dinger, "Habeas Corpus at Nauvoo," 165.

148. Ibid.

149. Dinger, *The Nauvoo City and High Council* Minutes, 194; Gayler, in "A Social, Economic, and Political Study of the Mormons," 128, said "The reason for the ordinance was to prevent the search by Gentiles for stolen or missing goods in the city of Nauvoo, and to protect the inhabitants from seizure of their persons by legal authorities outside of the city."

150. Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:125–30.

151. Ibid., 6:133.

January 17, 1844—In addition to the usual anti-Mormon accusations, Joseph Smith was charged as "the most foul-mouthed blackguard that ever was commissioned by Satan to vex and torment the children of men" at an anti-Mormon meeting at Carthage.[152]

January 18, 1844—Mormon Nelson Judd was shot at by two anti-Mormons.[153]

January 29, 1844—Joseph and Hyrum Smith, members of the Twelve Apostles and Marshall John P. Greene met and evaluated the field for the upcoming presidential race. After rejecting Martin Van Buren and Henry Clay, Joseph was nominated and agreed to be a candidate for president.[154]

January 29, 1844—Responding to anti-Mormon resolutions, governor Thomas Ford said he would interfere "against those who shall be the first transgressors."[155]

February 21, 1844—The heading to a Thomas Sharp article reflected his dislike for Joseph Smith: "To JO SMITH—Prophet—Candidate for the Presidency—Mayor of Nauvoo—Lieutenant General of the Legion—President of the Church—Tavern Keeper—Grog Bruiser—c. &c."[156] A second article said the Nauvoo Charter was "one of the most fruitful causes of the animosity existing between the Mormons and the non-Mormons."[157]

March 1844—Mormon William Adams remembered arriving at New Orleans and taking the Mormon steamer the *Maid of Iowa* to Nauvoo. He said anti-Mormons screamed obscenities at them when they landed for supplies; others attempted to burn their vessel and some shot at them.[158]

March 26, 1844—A Mormon memorial to Congress requested authorization to raise one hundred thousand armed volunteers to protect US territories from "foreign aggressors." This memorial was not acted upon.[159]

May 6, 1844—Mormon dissident Francis Higbee sued Joseph Smith in the circuit court in Carthage in a civil case for $5,000. After an appeal to the Nauvoo Municipal Court, the suit was discharged and Higbee was assessed court costs. [160]

June 7, 1844—The only issue of the *Nauvoo Expositor* was edited by Sylvester Emmons, a gentile attorney and member of the Nauvoo City Council,[161] and the *Ex-*

152. "Meeting of Citizens at Cartage," *Warsaw Message*, January 17, 1844, 2.

153. Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:179–80.

154. Ibid., 6:187–88.

155. "[Governor Ford's address to] the Citizens of Hancock county, Mormons and all," *Warsaw Signal*, February 14, 1844, 2.

156. "To Jo Smith," *Warsaw Signal,* February 21, 1844, 2.

157. "The Nauvoo Charter," Ibid.

158. *Autobiography of William Adams*, typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collection.

159. Smith, *History of the Church,* 6:275–77.

160. Dinger, "Habeas Corpus in Nauvoo," 165–66.

161. See Gregg, *Prophet of Palmyra,* 237.

positor was published by dissenters William and Wilson Law, Francis and Chauncey Higbee, Robert and Charles Foster, and Charles Ivins. Historian J. Christopher Conkling divided the contents into three categories. "Religion" included Joseph Smith becoming a fallen prophet after introducing the belief in plurality of wives, plurality of gods, and sealing for eternal life. "Politics" included combining church and state, abuse of habeas corpus, and Smith's entering the presidential race. "Morality" included that Smith "taught secretly and denied openly" the doctrine of polygamy.[162]

June 10, 1844—After hours of debate and study the Nauvoo City Council passed a resolution declaring the *Expositor* a nuisance and directed Marshall John P. Greene and members of the Nauvoo Legion to destroy the press.[163]

June 12, 1844—A warrant was issued by justice of the peace Thomas Morrison for the arrest of Joseph Smith and others involved in the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. Smith was arrested by constable David Bettisworth at Nauvoo, but following an appeal to the Nauvoo Municipal Court on a writ of habeas corpus he was released.[164]

June 13, 1844—When Bettisworth returned to Carthage, the frantically mad anti-Mormons complained to Governor Ford and prepared for war.[165]

June 17, 1844—In response to a June 15 demand by Levi Williams, a radical anti-Mormon at Green Springs, to the members in the Lima stake that they give up their arms,[166] Joseph Smith responded by messenger that they should ignore Williams's demand.[167]

A Nauvoo justice court, presided over by Daniel H. Wells cleared Joseph and Hyrum Smith and fifteen others of criminal activities during a trial for their involvement in the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor.*[168]

Joseph Smith placed the city of Nauvoo under martial law,[169] and Hyrum Smith advised Brigham Young and other apostles in the eastern states to return to Nauvoo.[170]

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162. Conkling, *A Joseph Smith Chronology*, 226.

163. See Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:433–50; Dallin H. Oaks "The Suppression of the Nauvoo Expositor," *Utah Law Review* 9 (Winter 1965): 862–903; Dinger, *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes*, 251–66; and Hallwas and Launius, Cultures *in Conflict*, 149–56.

164. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:453–58. The court would dismiss charges for the other the defendants the next day.

165. See Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 16.

166. Smith, *History of the Church*. 6:471.

167. Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph* Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 591.

168. "Justice Court, June 17, 1844," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 8 (June 19, 1844): 5.

169. Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:493.

170. Ibid., 6:486–87.

June 18, 1844—Martha McConnell Walker of Fountain Green, in a letter to Martha Walker, described the non-Mormon desire that Governor Ford have Joseph Smith arrested:

> And if he don't give them leave they [anti-Mormons] are determined to take the law into their own hands and bring them justice or clear them out which would be better. And now the drums are beating on every side, guns firing and Alan [husband Alexander?] and brother A. have just left this day with provisions ammunition and all for Carthage. They are to try which, them or the Mormons are the strongest.[171]

June 19, 1844—The *Warsaw Signal* reported the town was in a "constant state of excitement" as business was suspended and the men were preparing for war. Thomas Sharp caught the anti-Mormon hysteria permeating the area:

> In Carthage and Green Plains, the citizens are all in arms, and as far as we can hear, throughout the county, every man is ready for the conflict. In Clark County, Mo. we understand that many are holding themselves in readiness to march as soon as wanted. From Rushville we have just learned by express that 300 men have enlisted for the struggle. McDonough County is all alive and ready for the word of command. From Keosauqua, Iowa we have just received intelligence by resident of that place that the citizens are in arms in our behalf, and only wait for our call. From Keokuk and the river towns we learn that all are arming.... Joe is evidently much alarmed, but he has gone too far to back out. He must toe the mark, or run. Compromise is out of the question.... Capt. Grover last week obtained from Quincy 59 muskets. Men and arms are promised from St. Louis, and everything betokens prosperity to our enterprise.... To our friends at a distance we say come! We are too weak in this county, without aid to effect [*sic*] our object, come! You will be doing your God and your country service, in aiding us to rid the earth of a most Heaven daring wretch.[172]

June 23, 1844—Unitarian minister George Moore of Quincy "said nothing is being talked about but the Nauvoo news" and described the militia preparing to go "to the seat of war."[173]

June 24, 1844—Joseph Smith and a party of Mormons started for Carthage but in accordance with orders from Governor Ford, he accompanied members of the militia back to Nauvoo to supervise the surrender of arms furnished to the Nauvoo Legion.[174] The legion surrendered three cannons and "about two hundred forty small arms." The Mormons retained their personal weapons.[175]

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171. Susan Sessions Rugh, *Our Common Country* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 43.

172. "The Preparation," *Warsaw Signal*, June 19, 1844, 2.

173. Donald Q. Cannon, "Reverend George Moore Comments on Nauvoo, The Mormons, and Joseph Smith," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 12.

174. Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:555.

175. Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 377.

June 25, 1844—Governor Ford sent Captain Singleton of Brown County to Nauvoo to take charge of the Nauvoo Legion. Singleton later reported to Ford he called out the legion for inspection and two thousand armed Mormons assembled within two hours with their personal weapons. Ford concluded "they had a sufficiency of private arms for any reasonable purpose."[176]

June 27, 1844—Among numerous studies about the murders at Carthage jail see Smith, *History of the Church*; Keith Huntress, "Governor Thomas Ford and the Murderers of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 20, no. 1 (Fall 1979): 41–52; Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*; Leonard, *Nauvoo*, and Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*.

An example of the non-Mormon fear of Mormon retaliation is found in a letter of Martha McConnell Walker, at Fountain Green, which was located two miles from the large Mormon stake at Macedonia: "The word came to the Green [of the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith]. None went to bed that night. There they lay on the floor on their guns. Our men loaded theirs and set them in reach. You may guess there was two eyes unclosed that night."[177]

Despair felt by the Mormons is present in the account of William Clayton in which he recorded a prayer of vengeance and his observation "Some few can scarce refrain from expressing aloud their indignation at the Governor and a few words would raise the City in arms & massacre the Cities of Carthage & Warsaw &c. lay them in ashes but it is wisdom to be quiet."[178]

June 30, 1844—Vilate Kimball wrote her husband Heber about the emptiness at Nauvoo:

> I saw the lifeless bodies of our beloved brethren, when they were brought to their almost distracted families. Yea, I witnessed their tears and groans, which were enough to rend the heart of adamant. Every brother and sister who witnessed the scene felt deep sympathize [*sic*] with them, yea, every heart is filed [*sic*] with sorrow, and the very streets of Nauvoo seem to mourn.[179]

July 10, 1844—Anti-Mormons initiated a propaganda campaign to justify their role in the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. An article in the July 10 *Warsaw Signal*, written by Thomas Sharp, captures the essence of the anti-Mormon strategy as it listed alleged Mormon criminal acts and rhetorically asked "Can any commu-

176. Ford, *History of Illinois*, 337.

177. Rugh, "Conflict in the Countryside," 164. The letter to Martha Walker was started on the sixteenth and was completed at a later date.

178. James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 141–42. The Mormon response to the martyrdom was one of dismay, sorrow and anger. See Shepard, "The Concept of a 'Rejected Gospel' in Mormon History," 139–42.

179. Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, eds., *A Woman's View: Helen Mar Whitney's Remembrances of Early Church History* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1997), 237–38.

nity long endure such a series of grievances and outrages on justice, and not become exasperated?" After answering "No," Sharp said "the God of Nature has planted, even in the meanest reptile, the disposition to turn when trampled upon; our grievances could not be passively endured; and hence resentment and animosity took possession of every bosom." Maintaining the anti-Mormon efforts to obtain regress were denied, Sharp said the law of nature authorized violent acts when the law would not protect individual rights. The long harangue included:

> Now we put the question to every generous man; is it not better that the blood of two guilty wretches, whose crimes had long awaited the vengeance of Heaven, has been shed and thus by cutting off the fountain head to dry up the stream of corruption; or would it have been better that they had escaped, as they inevitably would have done through the meshes of the law, and thus brought on a conflict, in which not only hundreds of valuable lives would have been lost, but the blood of the innocent mingled with that of the guilty.[180]

August 5, 1844—The Mormon slate for county offices included a neutral non-Mormon officer in the Illinois militia named Minor Deming[181] for sheriff, Mormon ally Daniel H. Wells was nominated for coroner, Mormon George Coulson was nominated for a second term as county commissioner, and pro-Mormon Jacob C. Backenstos[182] and Mormon A. W. Babbitt were the choices for state representatives. All Mormon or Mormon-backed candidates won overwhelming victories.[183]

August 8, 1844—Franklin Worrell, lieutenant of the Carthage Greys at Carthage, who allegedly helped facilitate the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith,

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180. "The Act, and the Apology," *Warsaw Signal*, July 10, 1844, 2. Thomas Ford, in *History of Illinois*, 330–31, said that in addition to radical anti-Mormons who wanted the destruction of the Mormons, "The county contained a goodly number of inhabitants in favor or peace, or who at least desired to be neutral."

181. Peter Crawley, in *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church Volume One 1830–1847* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1997), 267, gave biographical information about Deming:

> M. R. Deming was considered a "Jack Mormon" by the anti-Mormons that are a non-Mormon who was friendly with the Saints. But what they perceived to be friendship was merely his simple conviction that "The Mormons should be treated like other people." Born in Litchfield, Connecticut, February 24, 1810, he came to Hancock County in 1838 after teaching in Ohio, and by 1844 he was a brigadier general in the Illinois militia. In the August 1844 election, the solid Mormon vote elected him sheriff of Hancock County.

182. Jacob Backenstos was born in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, in 1811 and, according to his biographers, arrived in Sangamon County, Illinois, by 1838. As a protégé of Stephen A. Douglas, he was appointed clerk of the court of Hancock County and moved to Carthage about 1841. A stanch Democrat, "In 1843 he became the local manager of the state Democratic Party machine" and with Mormon support served in the Illinois legislature in 1844–45. The Mormon vote elected him sheriff of Hancock County in 1845. In that capacity, he was hated by area gentiles because of his defense of the Mormons. He served as an officer in the US Army in Mexico and in Oregon. After resigning his commission in June 1851 he entered politics and engaged in land speculation. In September 1857, perhaps in response to political and financial concerns, he committed suicide. Whitman and Varner, "Sheriff Jacob B. Backenstos: 'Defender of the Saints,'" 150–78.

183. For a breakdown of vote totals see Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 43n28.

wrote his brother-in-law Thomas Gregg and bemoaned the election results. He took particular interest in the election of Minor Deming as sheriff because he reportedly said in a campaign stop at Nauvoo said "if they would elect him [sheriff] he would bring all persons concerned in the death of the Smiths to Justice &c. &c." Worrell added "I hope Deming will attempt to arrest some of the Mob[.] If he does—we will then have some sport—no mistake." His mind-set was clear as he said "I am *Mad—yes mad* as the Devil—Damn Such a Set of MISCREANTS as we have in this country."[184]

August 13, 1844—An article in the *Times and Seasons*, presumably written by the editor John Taylor, spoke about non-Mormons and the Mormon vote: "It would seem from all past experience in our case, that partizans [*sic*] and politicians, while *they love our votes, they hate our influence and prosperity*, and therefore, after they have obtained their aims and ends, leave us among the missing."[185]

August 22, 1844—Sheriff Minor Deming, in a letter to his parents, talked about the anti-Mormons in Hancock County:

> We have had war, murder, politics and animosity bitter and desperate in Hancock, without stint for the last three months.... The exterminators [anti-Mormons] are of the two more fanatical than all who have enough daring or humanity to oppose them.... The Mormon question since the murder of the Smiths has become political and the venum [*sic*] of party spirit breathes in detraction.... There were some 2 or 300 engaged in the murder and they with their friends and the alliance of the Whig party in the county, who mean to sustain and protect the murderers, make a strong party that by threats, violence & desperation aim at supremacy above the law and justice.[186]

September 7, 1844—The anti-Mormons issued a circular on September 7, 1844, which called for a "Grand Military Encampment" to be held by militia companies from Illinois, Iowa and Missouri at Warsaw beginning September 7 and advertised the event as a "wolf hunt." Governor Ford interpreted this as a means of harassing the Mormons and intervened with state militias.[187] Wolf hunts were cancelled, the participants fled, and the Whig press lampooned the governor for wasting the state's money.[188]

September 18, 1844—Thomas Sharp published an article titled "Mormon thieves" in the *Warsaw Signal* which alleged extensive Mormon stealing. Mormon historian Peter Crawley explained Sharp listed "every allegation of horse stealing and

184. Annette P. Hampshire, "Thomas Sharp and Anti-Mormon Sentiment," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 72, no. 2 (May 1979): 94, emphasis retained.

185. "The Next President," *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 15 (August 15, 1844): 617, emphasis retained.

186. Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 271.

187. Ford, *History of Illinois*, 364–67.

188. Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 38–39.

petty larceny that he could find against the Saints." He repeated the column thirteen more times in 1844, and in the December 18 *Signal* he asked anti-Mormons "to send in reports of Mormon misdeeds to be forwarded to the Illinois Legislature which would meet at the end of the month to take up the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter."[189]

September 23, 1844—Sheriff Deming asked the Mormon hierarchy "for a Mormon posse" to use in arresting anti-Mormons Thomas Sharp and Levi Williams. His request was denied. "Arms and ammunition," sent by the St. Louis Mormons, was received at Nauvoo.[190]

December 17, 1844—During Governor Ford's address to the Illinois Legislature about "the disturbances in Hancock" he said he "had investigated the charge of promiscuous stealing, [in Nauvoo] and find it to be greatly exaggerated" and opinioned stealing was proportionately less at Nauvoo than in St. Louis or other western cities. The governor said anti-Mormons told him the Mormons were a "lawless, infatuated, and fanatical people," but he found that not to be the case.[191]

January 18, 1845—One of the key issues in the debate at Springfield about repealing the Nauvoo Charter was the issue of alleged Mormon stealing. To counter these claims, the *Nauvoo Neighbor* "Extra" was published containing testimonials that Mormons did not authorize stealing from the gentiles. The document included minutes of a January 13 meeting of the Nauvoo City Council which said Mormons were victims of anti-Mormon propaganda which made it appear thieves were openly tolerated in Nauvoo, and their stealing activities were sanctioned. The council acknowledged transient thieves could not be totally controlled and acknowledged "some such characters [thieves may be] prowling in and around our city."[192] The preamble of a Nauvoo citizen's meeting on January 14 maintained the *Warsaw Signal, Quincy Whig,* and the *Alton Telegraph* were decimating hateful information designed to destroy the Mormon people. It denied Mormons sheltered thieves and prevented stolen items from being recovered. It announced five hundred police officers were being added at Nauvoo, and fifty delegates would visit area communities to correct the

189. Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*, 291–92. Marshall Hamilton in "From Assassination to Expulsion: Two Years of Distrust, Hostility, and Violence," *BYU Studies* 32, nos. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1992): 232, added:

> The Warsaw Signal included articles headed "Mormon Thieves" in eight of the fourteen issues published from September 18, 1844, until the end of the year. Beginning on Christmas Day 1844 and running for several weeks into 1845, Sharp included a special column heading with the words "Mormon Stealings" rendered in ornate block lettering, followed by a quotation from the "Mormon Book of Doctrine and Covenants" (64:27–28) which purported to justify thefts from non-Mormons.

190. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:274.

191. "Message from the Governor in Relation to the Disturbances in Hancock County," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 35 (January 1, 1845): 1–2.

192. "Proceedings of the City Council," *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 1 (January 15, 1845): 773–74.

impression that Mormon authorities tolerated stealing.[193] The final portion was a testimony of Joseph A. Kilting, a deputy sheriff of Hancock County, who maintained that the Mormons did not authorize stealing. Rather, he said, a few non-Mormon thieves in Nauvoo, screening themselves as Mormons, transported stolen items from Nauvoo to gang members in Iowa.[194]

January 26, 1845—Representative Almon Babbitt informed the Mormons that the Illinois Legislature would repeal the Nauvoo Charter.[195]

Joseph Young, Brigham's brother and president of the Seventies, said at a meeting of the Seventies, he had been complained to by non-Mormons about the character of some elders in his quorums who were thieves. He mentioned thieves who were in good standing, thieves in the penitentiary and thieves who had rejoined the Mormons after serving time in prison. He said "I want every man who steals, cut off & sent down to hell.... If there is a man in these Quorums who steal I will cut them off & publish them in the Neighbor. We have always taught them to be honest virtuous & upright—the honest, pure & good I want in a body by themselves ... here the lives of thousands are jeopardized by these rascals—they will call you brother & pilfer your property."[196]

January 27, 1845—Joseph Young returned to the subject of removing thieves from the Seventies and said he intended to "ferret out the thieves" as some brethren were connected with a body of "consecrating thieves, who pretend to say that they have a right to steal from the Gentiles." John D. Lee advised against making hasty decisions, and Brigham Young indicated Joseph Smith was patient with "corrupt individuals," and explained if a man is stopped "in his course," it "would be taking away his free agency." He advised being charitable and patient with each other and "above all never blast each other's characters, rather hide each other's faults with the mantle of charity; or when but few know our faults they seem but few, but expose them and they become multitudes."[197] There is no record of any Seventies being removed from the quorums at this time.[198]

January 29, 1845—The bill to repeal the Nauvoo Charter passed the council of revision and became law. Despite the valiant efforts of Jacob Backenstos and Almon

193. "Meeting of the Citizens," Ibid., 774–75.

194. "To the Public," Ibid., 775–76,

195. Smith, *History of the Church,* 7:365.

196. "Jany. 26. 1845 Quorum of 70. In the 70 hall 10 a. m.," typescript, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, series 9, box 12, fld. 2, pp. 3-4 in Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

197. Smith, *History of the Church* 7:365–67.

198. It is possible Young's response may have motivated by the statement of Joseph Smith on October 29, 1842, "but if they would bear with my infirmities and the infirmities of the brethren, I would likewise bear with their infirmities." Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:181. Smith referred to this general teaching on July 23, 1843: "Notwithstanding my weaknesses, I am under the necessity of bearing the infirmities of others, who, when they get into difficulty, hang on to me tenaciously to get them out, and wish me to cover their faults." Ibid., 5:516.

Babbitt to stop or alter the repeal process, it passed the Senate on December 19 by an eleven-vote margin, and the House approved the Senate bill on January 19 by a 75 to 31 margin.[199] During the debate about the charter, Backenstos passionately attacked the anti-Mormons of Hancock County in a manner that made him their eternal enemy. A sampling of his charges includes:

> I charge them of having called public meetings and loudly and strongly threatened the extermination of the Mormon population, and all those who would not join in their wicked schemes.
>
> I charge them with having assembled, with dirks, pistols, bowie knives, and clubs, to intimidate and resist the county commissioner's court of Hancock, when in the due exercise of their public functions.
>
> I charge them with having sent emissaries to the State of Missouri to procure aid to carry out their base and wicked designs.
>
> I charge them with having committed murder without a parallel for its atrocity and cowardice on the annals of American history.[200]

Almon Babbitt's approach was not so confrontational. He said other cities "transcended their chartered rights" and asked the same standard of fairness be applied to Nauvoo. He implored, "If the privileges of the Nauvoo charter are too extensive, if it grants power exceptionable, repeal those provisions, and leave them in possession of their just rights."[201]

January 30, 1845—The anger and defiant spirit of the Mormons was signaled to Representative Babbitt by the Mormon poetess Eliza Snow "If the Legislature of Illinois are disposed to strip us of our covering (the charter) and leave us naked, exposed to the chilling blasts of mobocratic [*sic*] fury which already begun to blow—if 'it must needs be,' we hope to die like noble spirits, and live again to see the robes of state dripping with the blood of innocence."[202]

February 14, 1845—Father Isaac Morley reported anti-Mormons had concealed property in the Morley settlement and returned with county lawmen who had a search warrant. Five Mormons were arrested for larceny.[203]

February 19, 1845—The *Warsaw Signal* contained a letter from an unnamed non-Mormon resident from the Lima area in Adams County describing the recent arrests and jailing of Warren Snow, Abraham Losa, Amos Cox, and Joseph Huff at Quincy. It additionally referred to arrests of five unidentified Mormons and edi-

199. Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 466–67.

200. "Remarks of the Honorable Mr. Backenstos, in the House of Representatives, January, 1845, Against the Senate Bill, for Unconditional Repeal of the Nauvoo Charter," *Journal of History* 7, no. 4 (October 1914): 444–46.

201. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Chris of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 2:483–84.

202. "Copy of a Letter, to A. W. Babbitt Esq. at Springfield," *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 4 (March 1, 1845): 822–23.

203. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:373–74.

torialized, "This Mormon scheme of sending out fifty missionaries to convince the world that they are honest and don't steal; but want all thieves punished are working admirably."[204]

February 24, 1845—Brigham Young and a company of nine Mormons took a trip to Macedonia. They were armed with "forty-six rounds, loaded pistols."[205]

February 28, 1845—Sheriff Minor Deming told John Taylor there was an outstanding writ for his arrest at Carthage. Taylor's response included, "if any man comes to me with a writ of that kind, and does not immediately depart; he or I have to bite the dust, for I carry the instruments with me, and will blow him through as quick as I can; and I have a number of good fellows who will back me up in it."[206]

April 7, 1845—Mormon Lorenzo Snow arrived at Nauvoo with a six-pound cannon for the militia.[207]

April 8, 1845—Mormon apostle Heber C. Kimball, at general conference, told the assembled thousands that the Saints gathering to Nauvoo should "bring their firelocks" and have them "well cleaned and loaded, and primed, so they will go off the first shot." This, according to Kimball, equated to "being shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace." He then called the citizens of Warsaw "the meanest people that ever God suffered to live." Kimball said he had witnessed Warsaw men interacting with Mormon women in a manner he interpreted to mean their intent were "for the purpose of destroying the females." Seeing these encounters made Kimball wish he "had the preparation of the gospel" to deal with them. After this tirade, Kimball "proposed to withdraw fellowship from the Gentiles eniquity [*sic*] which was done by unanimous vote." The clerk concluded, "Now they are disfellowshipt."[208]

Brigham Young, following Kimball, said "that, by martyring the Prophet and Patriarch, the Gentiles have rejected the gospel."[209]

Governor Ford advised the Mormons to be cautious in responding to anti-Mormon violence. He specified "Do nothing which will allow your opponents to say that you have begun a war. Place them clearly in the wrong and keep them so."[210]

April 23, 1845—The *Nauvoo Neighbor* contained an article titled "Our Rights," that was presumably written by John Taylor, which maintained that Illinois granted Nauvoo a "perpetual succession" charter which they could not lawfully repeal. The

204. "Brethren in Trouble," *Warsaw Signal*, February 19, 1845, 2.

205. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:375–76.

206. Dean C. Jessee, ed., "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal—January 1845–September 1845," BYU *Studies* 23, no. 3 (Summer 1983): 41.

207. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:395.

208. "Speech delivered by Heber C. Kimball," April 8, 1845, *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 13 (July 15, 1845): 970–73. Thomas Sharp printed Kimball's speech on the front page of the October 22, 1845 *Warsaw Signal*.

209. "The Conference," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 50 (April 16, 1845): 2.

210. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:397.

author advised Mormons not to give themselves up to the state lest they suffer the same fate as Joseph and Hyrum Smith and specified "neither should civil process come in to Nauvoo" until the federal government forced Missouri and Illinois to grant redress to the Saints.[211]

May 10, 1845—Mormons William and Stephen Hodges, Artemus Johnson, and Thomas Brown murdered two Mennonite men near West Point in Lee County, Iowa. When the brothers retuned to Nauvoo they threatened Brigham Young's life after he told them to turn themselves over to the law. Mormons assisted Iowa officials to capture the brothers, and the *Nauvoo Neighbor* incorrectly announced "Let it be known … that these *two young Hodges are not Mormons*."[212]

May 30, 1845—Land developer Mark Aldrich, senator Jacob C. Davis, editor Thomas Sharp, lawyer W. N. Grover, and state militia colonel Levi Williams, the accused murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, were found "not guilty" of murdering Joseph Smith after a five-day trial at Carthage.[213]

June 4, 1845—The *Nauvoo Neighbor*, commenting on the above acquittal, stoically said the Mormons "would refer the case to God for a righteous judgment."[214]

June 4, 1845—Heber C. Kimball said Isaac Morley reported that two members, Warren Snow and Dominicus Carter from the Morley settlement, had been jailed at Carthage for sealing and passing counterfeit money. According to Kimball, Bishop Haywood said they were guilty.[215]

June 12, 1845—An affidavit for continuance was filed on account of the absence of material witnesses in the case of William and Stephen Hodges. Three of the would-be witnesses, John and Aaron Long and Judge Fox, former members of the William W. Brown gang at Bellevue, Iowa, and current criminal associates of the Hodges, wanted to testify that the brothers were with them at Nauvoo but were not able to testify as the continuance was denied.[216]

June 17, 1845—Two additional Hodges brothers, Ervine and Amos, joined with Mormons William A. Hickman, Return Jackson Redden, W. Jenkins Salisbury, and gentiles William F. Louther and R. Blecher to transfer land valued a $1,000 to pay for attorneys to defend William and Stephen Hodges.[217]

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211. "Our Rights," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 51 (April 23, 1845): 2.

212. Shepard, "The Notorious Hodges Brothers," 264–66, emphasis retained.

213. See Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 163–90. Governor Ford said this decision polarized the Mormon and anti-Mormons to the point "no man could be convicted of any crime in Hancock; and this put an end to the administration of the criminal law in that distracted county." Ford, *History of Illinois*, 369.

214. "The Carthage Assassins," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 5 (June 4, 1845): 2.

215. Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 119–20.

216. Shepard, "The Notorious Hodges Brothers," 266.

217. Bonds & Mortgages, vol. 2, 1844–1848, pp. 66–67. Original in Hancock County Court House, Carthage, Illinois. Microfilm no. 954,776, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. With the exception of W. Jenkins

June 24, 1845—An anti-Mormon leader named Samuel Marshall apparently picked a fight with sheriff Minor Deming over a land sale at the court house in Carthage. In the process of being physically assaulted, Deming, who only recently started carrying a pistol because he felt threatened, shot and killed Marshall. Deming turned himself in to the coroner, Daniel H. Wells, and was arrested and charged with manslaughter.[218] Mormons secured his release by posting bail.[219] John Taylor reported that Deming acted in self-defense as Marshall was striking and cursing him. He felt bad for Deming's family but opined that his actions were not wrong as Marshall "was a mobber and a wicked man."[220]

The trial for the accused murders of Hyrum Smith was scheduled to begin on June 24. Judge Richard M. Young adjourned the trial for one day when "no one appeared for the prosecution.[221]

June 25, 1845—Judge Young ordered the "case be dismissed" after "no one appeared for the prosecution and the defendants be discharged." [222]

July 4, 1845—Colonel George Davenport, an elderly pioneer and fur trader, died after being accidently shot at his home at Rock Island, Illinois, while being robbed by gentile associates of the Hodges.[223]

June 27, 1845—A year after the Smiths' murders, members of the Twelve Apostles met together to pray that God would avenge the "blood of the prophets." Historian D. Michael Quinn documented that a formal "prayer of vengeance" was offered.[224]

July 2, 1845—The *Quincy Whig*, commenting on the death of Samuel Marshall, characterized him as an honorable old citizen who was "honest, upright and correct in all his dealings." Sheriff Minor Deming, according to this account, was not only "elected by the Mormon vote;" he was vain, conceited and pompous.[225]

Salisbury, brother-in-law to Joseph and Hyrum Smith, these individuals were criminal associates of William and Stephen Hodges. See Shepard, "The Notorious Hodges Brothers," 266–67.

218. Thomas Gregg, *A History of Hancock County, Illinois* (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman & Co., 1880), 339. Hallwas and Launius, in *Cultures in Conflict*, 271–72, cite a letter from Deming's father-in-law Peter Barnum on July 31, 1845, which described Marshall as "a very large stout man of violent temper" who had previously abused Deming when transacting business. Marshall was characterized as Deming's "sworn enemy."

219. Gregg, said the bail was $5,000. Ibid. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:432, said bail was posted by "wealthy brethren who went to Carthage and became sureties on the bond … the sum required was ten thousand dollars." This account said Hancock officials specified the Mormons had to use property as sureties that were outside Nauvoo and said property was evaluated at its lowest cash value which the church history interpreted to mean bail was actually $20,000.

220. Jessee, "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 59.

221. Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 191.

222. Ibid.

223. See Shepard, "The Notorious Hodges Brothers," 271.

224. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 179.

225. "Horrid Murder," Quincy Whig, July 2, 1845, 2.

July 21, 1845—William and Stephen Hodges were sentenced to die by hanging during their trial at Burlington, Iowa. Their older brother Ervine was in attendance and publically threatened that he would disclose all he knew about Mormon stealing if Brigham Young did not help free his brothers.[226]

July 22, 1845—Ervine threatened Brigham Young's life after he refused to help free his brothers. About ten p. m. that night he died after being savagely cut with a bowie knife. His dying words included that his assailants were "men whom he took to be friends from the river." It is evident that he was murdered by a Mormon gang member named Return Jackson Redden to keep him from telling gang secrets.[227]

July 31, 1845—Relatives of Minor Deming wrote "We think he [Deming] is more likely to be assassinated than to be condemned by the Court."[228]

August 4, 1845—Non-Mormons Ethel B. Rose was elected treasurer, and Chauncey Robison was elected school commissioner by the Mormon vote.[229]

August 4, 1845—Hostility between Mormons and anti-Mormons boiled over at Warsaw when some forty Mormons came to vote out of their precinct. According to the *Warsaw Signal,* the Mormons, being fortified by liquor, cursed Warsaw citizens and a fist fight followed. Anti-Mormons, who the *Signal* admitted had been drinking, attacked a Mormon owned grocery store, and shots may have been fired.[230]

August 6, 1845—After saying "Colonel Backenstos has acted honorable with all the citizens of Hancock County," the *Nauvoo Neighbor* urged his election as sheriff.[231]

August 11, 1845—A special election was called to select a new sheriff for Hancock County. Jacob B. Backenstos received 2,334 votes, and his opponent received less than a third as many.[232] The *St. Louis New Era* angrily said, "The elections in that place are a ridiculous farce. When people are arriving by the shipload from England, and banded together against the balance of the community, they necessarily become odious and dangerous to the surrounding community."[233]

August 16, 1845—The *Lee County Democrat* of Fort Madison, Iowa, said the activities of the Hodges brothers and the murder of Colonel Davenport convinced them that a horde of scoundrels used Nauvoo as a base of operations. It labeled the

226. Shepard, "The Notorious Hodges Brothers," 268.

227. Ibid., 268–69.

228. Peter Barnum to Ezra Starr Barnum, 31 July 1845, copy of original in Western Illinois University Archives and Special Collections, Macomb, Illinois.

229. Rose and Robison were heavily criticized because of their former ties to the anti-Mormon party and were called "Jacks" or "Jack Mormons." See "The Late Election," *Warsaw Signal*, August 13, 1845, 3–4.

230. "The election—Great Doings in Warsaw," *Warsaw Signal*, August 13, 1845, 1–2. LeSueur in "Mixing Politics with Religion," 187-88, explained that violence frequently occurred at voting sites in frontier America.

231. "The Election," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 14 (August 6, 1845): 2.

232. Gregg, *History of Hancock County*, 339.

233. *New York Observer*, August 30, 1845, 3, citing a *St. Louis New Era* article.

Mormon membership as "ignorant followers," and warned them to get rid of their current leaders or their neighbors "will scatter you once more."[234]

Early September 1845—The Morley settlement combined with Mormon settlements at Bear Creek and Lima, contained some five hundred Mormons and was designated the Lima stake. The fact the Saints were dispersed over a relatively large area, and their being over twenty miles from Nauvoo left them vulnerable to anti-Mormon attack. Real and alleged stealing by Mormons, statements by John C. Bennett about alleged Mormon misdeeds, the anti-Mormon belief they were unable to participate meaningfully in the electoral process, and the presence of radical anti-Mormons made violent confrontation a certainty.[235]

Andrew Jenson, an early Mormon historian, said in the *Historical Record* that the village of Green Plains, located some two miles west of the Mormon settlement at Bear Creek and seven miles northwest of the Morley settlement, was known by the Mormons "as a mob headquarters."[236] Levi Williams, one of the five accused murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, lived at Green Plains. Dallin Oaks and Marvin Hill labeled Williams "as the leading actor" in the anti-Mormon movement and cited his kidnapping and harassment of Mormons. As commander of the Fifty-Ninth Regiment of the Illinois militia, he used his position to bully members of his command to oppose the Mormons and became recognized as the military leader of the anti-Mormons.[237] Williams was a part-time Baptist minister and a leader of the group of men from Illinois and Missouri who kidnapped Daniel and Philander Avery in December 1843.[238]

September 9, 1845—During an anti-Mormon meeting at the school house at Green Plains, alleged to be a discussion of Mormon stealing, several rifles were fired into the building. No one was hurt but this was portrayed as a "Mormon attack" and was used as justification to open hostilities against area Mormons.[239]

September 10, 1845—As Isaac Morley had been removed to Nauvoo in February 1845, Solomon Hancock, who had been designated by the Nauvoo hierarchy to

234. "Hodges," *Lee County Democrat*, August 16, 1845, 2.

235. Ford, in *History of Illinois*, 407, said "The mob at Lima proceeded to warn the Mormons to leave the neighborhood, and threatened them with fire and sword if they remained. A very poor class of Mormons resided here, and it is very likely that the other inhabitants were annoyed beyond further endurance, by their little larcenies and rogueries."

236. Andrew Jenson, *Historical Record* (December 1889): 967, cited in Hartley, *The 1845 Burning of Morley's Settlement and Murder of Edmund Durfee*, 27.

237. See Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 58–59.

238. Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:123.

239. Thomas Gregg, in *Prophet of Palmyra*, 332, said it was "extremely probable" anti-Mormons shot into the schoolhouse. Thomas Sharp, in his unfinished history, acknowledged "he had never been able to ascertain" who fired the shots. See Roger D. Launius, "Thomas Sharp's Unfinished History of the Mormon War, 1845," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 31.

be the presiding authority, communicated with Brigham Young about the start of house burnings at the Morley settlement. In a September 13 letter, he described the start of the anti-Mormon plan to drive the Mormons from that area of the countryside. In a rather uncoordinated beginning, radical anti-Mormons set two houses and some outbuildings on fire and reportedly shot at Mormons.[240]

Minor Deming died at Carthage. The cause of death was listed as congestive fever.[241]

September 11, 1845—Hancock's letter of the 13th told about additional burnings and the renewal of gunfire. It is not known if the gunfire was intended to intimidate or kill. Whatever the case, Hancock wrote, "The mob is determined to destroy us."[242] William Clayton said the Lima Saints were directed to attempt to sell their possessions to the non-Mormons and were notified wagons would be sent "to fetch away the women and children & grain."[243]

September 12, 1845—Hosea Stout recorded, "the mob are still burning houses and that 400 teams had gone down to move the Saints to the city who had their houses burnt up."[244]

September 13, 1845—The *Quincy Whig* demanded the burnings be halted. It acknowledged Mormon stealing but said, "do not visit their sins upon defenseless women and children."[245] A representative account of the methods of the mob is described in Sarah Ann Evarts's affidavit:

> a number of men … ordered this despondent, who was laying sick at the time with the ague and fever, together with the balance of the family including five persons, two of whom, besides myself, being sick, to get up immediately and leave the house, and immediately commenced carrying the furniture and things [out] of the house. She remonstrated with them; told them she was sick; that she could not safely get up and go out but all to no purpose, they assisted her out and immediately set fire to the house, and also the barn which were then burned to the ground; also about four hundred bushels of wheat thrashed out and stacks of grain were burned.[246]

240. Jessee, "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 90.

241. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:439. The *Warsaw Signal* said "since Dr. Marshall was murdered by him he had become utterly odious, and was never spoken of except in terms of abhorrence; but he is gone now, and we have no desire to follow him into the grave." "Death of Minor R. Deming," *Warsaw Signal*, September 17, 1845, 2.

242. Jessee, "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 90. See also "MOBBING AGAIN IN HANCOCK," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 19 (September 10, 1845): 2. Date should be September 12 as it was published late.

243. Smith, *The Journals of William Clayton*, 181.

244. Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:62,

245. "Mormon disturbance," *Quincy Whig*, September 17, 1845, 2.

246. Sarah Ann Evarts deposition to Daniel H. Wells, 17 September 1845, cited in Jessee, "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 94.

Thomas Ford said "Mormons fled to Nauvoo in a state of utter destitution, carrying their women and children, aged and sick along with them as best they could. The sight of these miserable creatures aroused the wrath of the Mormons of Nauvoo."[247] As many of the anti-Mormons fled to avoid the expected Mormon retaliation, Ford said Mormons "sallied forth from Nauvoo and ravaged the country, stealing and plundering whatever was convenient to carry or drive away."[248]

Sheriff Backenstos asked Brigham Young for forces to "suppress the mob," but he was told to appeal to the non-Mormons "to sustain their own laws." Backenstos issued a proclamation, the first of five, which defined the penalties for arson, demanded the house burnings stop and called upon law abiding citizens to serve as posse comitatus.[249]

September 14, 1845—Brigham Young said the mob could continue burning houses "until the surrounding counties should be convinced that we were not the aggressors."[250]

September 15, 1845—Young received a letter from Sheriff Backenstos asking that two thousand men be kept in readiness to serve as his posse. He told the sheriff to be patient, but the first regiment, second cohort of the Nauvoo Legion met and elected officers.[251]

Gentiles Ethel B. Rose and Chauncy Robison, elected to offices by the Mormon vote, left Carthage after being warned out by the anti-Mormons.[252] Sheriff Backenstos suffered a similar fate and spent the night at Warsaw.[253]

September 16, 1845—Backenstos was traveling from Warsaw back to Carthage in a carriage when he was pursued by the Mormon-hating Franklin Worrell and a small company of men. When the sheriff encountered a group of homeless Mormons being escorted by Mormon hard cases, Return Jackson Redden and Orrin Porter Rockwell, he said he warned his pursuers to draw back and when one raised his rifle he authorized Rockwell to use deadly force. Rockwell shot Worrell in the lower chest and he died shortly thereafter.[254] Hosea Stout exclaimed, "Thus fell one of that fiendish gang of desperadoes & one of the worst enemies we had."[255] The *Quincy Whig* maintained Worrell did not realize it was Backenstos in the carriage

247. Ford, *History of Illinois*, 407.

248. Ibid., 410.

249. Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*, 316–17. This broadside, "Proclamation *to the citizens of Hancock county*," was printed in the June 10 (but published on June 12) Nauvoo *Neighbor*.

250. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:443.

251. Ibid., 444–45.

252. Hampshire, *Mormonism in Conflict*, 245.

253. Whitman and Varner, "Sheriff Jacob B. Backenstos," 158.

254. See the standard Mormon account of this incident in Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:446–47.

255. Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:64.

and said Worrell's rifle was slung over his shoulder. His last words, according to this source, uttered seconds before the bullet struck were, "why that is Backenstos." The *Whig* concluded, "the murder was dictated by malice and not by necessity."[256] Thomas Sharp, in the *Warsaw Signal*, said Worrell was riding across the prairie with friends when "some Mormons concealed in the hazel rough … fired upon him." Sharp said Worrell had no part in the house burnings and wrote under the enlarged and blackened heading, "**MURDER OF ONE OF OUR BEST MEN"—**"Poor Frank, he was one of the noblest spirits in our country, and his death has kindled and will kindle a flame that can never be quenched until every Mormon has left the vicinity. REVENGE, REVENGE, Fellow Citizens is now the word."[257]

Twenty-four-year-old Phineas Wilcox, accompanied by his stepfather Orrin Rhodes, both non-Mormons, took a load of wheat to Nauvoo to be milled. He spent the night with a Mormon named Ebenezer Jennings whose wife had some unknown connection with Wilcox.[258]

Brigham Young and ten members of the hierarchy signed a document addressed to Colonel Levi Williams that the Mormons would leave Nauvoo in the spring if the anti-Mormons would cease hostile operations.[259]

William Clayton noted that about "7 o'clock [p. m.] Backenstos with an escort of from fifty to one hundred men started for Carthage to fetch B[ackenstos]'s family and Deming[']s family to Nauvoo."[260] A momentous decision was made before Backenstos left Nauvoo—the hierarchy decided to meet force with force as the *Manuscript History of Brigham Young* attests:

> Nauvoo, Sept. 16, 1845—An epistle to the saints in Ramus
>
> Beloved Brethren: Our counsel to you is That if the mob come to disturb you, at The first aggression on yourselves or property Give them the cold lead or obey the Sheriff's Counsel.
>
> Brigham Young W. Richards Clerk[261]

256. "The Troubles in Hancock County," *Quincy Whig*, October 1, 1845, 2.

257. "Murder of One of Our Best Men. To Arms! To Arms!!," *Warsaw Signal*, September 17, 1845, 2, emphasis retained.

258. Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 278–79.

259. The document was titled *Proclamation: To Col. Levi Williams, and the mob party, of whom he is the supposed leader, who have been and are still engaged in burning the houses and property of the peaceable citizens of Hancock county*. See Crawley, *Bibliography of the Mormon Church*, 318–19.

260. Smith, *The Journals of William Clayton*, 183.

261. *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, September 16, 1845, holograph, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Brigham Young, in *Brigham Young Journal* no. 4, September 1844 to February 3, 1846, September 16, 1845, typescript, LDS Church History Library, said "to the brethren to put a stop to the mobs burning your property shoot the first man who attempts." Mormon Warren Foote, presumably at Macedonia, remembered the directive from Brigham Young as he recorded the phrase "to give them cold lead if they came to molest us." *Warren Foote* Autobiography, L. Tom Perry Special Collection.

Backenstos said in a proclamation, "On the night of the 16th, I raised an armed force of mounted men to march to Carthage, to rescue my family and others threatened."[262] He did not say his posse was composed of Mormons, but Hosea Stout recorded, "Just after dark Genl Miller went with a party of about one hundred men with the sheriff to take his family from Carthage to Nauvoo as she was in the hands of the mob party."[263] The posse reached Carthage that night and established military law. Mormon George Laub, a member of the posse, said "Carthage was occupied for twelve days."[264] During this unhappy period Mormons occupied the courthouse, weapons were confiscated, and passes were issued for the few gentiles who had not fled to other states or counties. An account of a non-Mormon lawyer named Jason S. Sherman about events during this period of occupation included, "Other parties with or without official authorization, were out plundering night and day taking horses from before the eyes of their owners in some instances, and driving cattle from farms into Nauvoo, where they were slaughtered and salted down for the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."[265]

Hosea Stout said Brigham Young gave orders that the firing of guns at Nauvoo be stopped.[266]

September 17, 1845—Orrin Rhodes returned to Nauvoo to connect with Phineas Wilcox but after days of searching concluded he had been murdered and his body concealed.

Another gentile death took place after Backenstos's posse left Carthage and proceeded to the Bear Creek area. Anson Call recorded how they encountered house burners and the wild chase which followed which culminated in the killing of a man he said "torched the firebrand to my father's house the same morning"[267] The *Nauvoo Neighbor* said the mob had burned seventy or eighty houses thus far but the sheriff and his posse "cured three to day and one yesterday of *mob fever*."[268] In spite of inflated accounts, Samuel McBratney, a young Irish teamster, was the only person killed

262. Jacob Backenstos, *Proclamation No. 3. To the citizens of Hancock County, Ill. and the surrounding counties*. Broadside printed in *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 20 (September 17, 1845): 3.

263. Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:64.

264. Eugene England, ed., "George Laub's Nauvoo Journal," *BYU Studies* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1978): 163–64. This general account was acknowledged by Hosea Stout. Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:66.

265 Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 288–91. Leonard, in *Nauvoo*, 533, said "Some Latter-day Saint farmers acknowledged that while moving their own cattle and belongings from outlying settlements to Nauvoo, herders sometimes unintentionally gathered up livestock not their own. After advertising for three days to seek legal owners, they butchered the cattle in Nauvoo." He did not specify the nature and location of the advertisements.

266. Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:64.

267. Ethan Call and Christine Shaffer Call, eds., *The Journal of Anson Call* (Afton, WY: privately printed, 1986), 33–34 and Gwen Marley Barney, *Anson Call and the Rocky Mountain Prophecy* (Salt Lake City: Call Publishing Co., 2002), 134–39.

268. "Further Particulars of the Mob," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 20 (September 17, 1845): 2.

by Backenstos's posse. The *Quincy Whig* said McBratney could have been taken alive but was killed while begging for his life.[269] The *Warsaw Signal* said McBratney was tortured and his throat was cut. It added he was well liked, quiet and industrious.[270]

Brigham Young told the assembled second cohort that if they encountered the enemy they should "be sure and shoot right" and "if you die—die like Deming." This advice followed Young's threat to punish Mormons who would not quit "holloings, [*sic*] beating of drums & firing of Guns" in Nauvoo.[271]

Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, plural wife of Brigham Young, recorded, "The Brethren are all at the stand armed and equiped [*sic*].[272]

September 18, 1845—Alexander Daubenheyer was allegedly returning to the Camp Creek area after taking supplies to anti-Mormons at Carthage when he disappeared. After his horse returned home rider less, an extensive search was made by the non-Mormons, but his body remained undiscovered until after September 30. He had been shot through the back of his head and buried under prairie grass near the Nauvoo-Carthage road.[273] Daubenheyer's grave is located in the center of the Tull Cemetery, located nine miles north and one mile east of Nauvoo. His birth date, "March 13, 1793" is given, but the date of his death is strangely listed as "Sept. 45." Graphically engraved between these dates is the caption "Killed by the Mormons."

September 19, 1845—Eudocia Baldwin Marsh remembered Backenstos's posse coming to her family's farm near Carthage in search of weapons. Aware of the posse's intentions, her brothers had hidden muskets of the Carthage militia along with family rifles and shotguns in a corn field, and they were not discovered. She described the posse as scraggy looking and being heavily armed with guns, swords, pistols, and bowie knives. No weapons were discovered but the family considered the posse to be thugs.[274]

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269. "The Troubles in Hancock," *Quincy Whig*, October 1, 1845, 2.

270. "Another Brutal Murder," *Warsaw Signal* "Extra," September 18, 1845.

271. Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:65.

272. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., "All Things Move in Order in the City: The Nauvoo Diary of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1979): 319. On September 18, she noted "When I cast mine eyes out, what do I behold, every brother armed his gun upon his shoulder." Ibid.

273. This general information comes from an anti-Mormon article titled "The Mormons in Hancock County: Facts in Regard to the Turbulent Times—Gentiles Have Been Sadly Misrepresented," in the *Dallas City Review*, July 24, 1902, 4. The article concluded "One more crime has been committed through Mormon bigotry." Thomas Ford, in *History of Illinois*, 409, said "the Mormons murdered a man by the name of Daubenheyer, without any apparent provocation." Thomas Gregg noted, in *Prophet of Palmyra*, 332, that on Daubenheyer's "road home" he "passed an encampment of the Sheriff's *posse*, and the belief was that he had been waylaid and killed by them."

274. Eudocia Baldwin Marsh, "Mormons in Hancock County: A Reminiscence," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64, no. 1 (Spring 1971): 60–61.

Thomas Bullock recorded a Mormon was "shot through carelessness" while drilling with Mormon forces near the temple.[275]

September 22, 1845—Influenced by residents of Quincy, delegates from nine western Illinois counties—not including Hancock—gathered at Quincy and formulated proposals which urged the Mormons to leave Illinois and forwarded them to Brigham Young at Nauvoo.[276] This group would be referred to as the Carthage convention when they met at Carthage on October 1–2.

September 23, 1845—A meeting of citizens at Quincy urged acceptance of the Mormon proposal submitted to Colonel Levi Williams on September 16 which said the Mormons would leave in the spring if hostile actions against them ceased.[277] The Quincyites reasoned that if the non-Mormons left, the Mormons would soon be in conflict with other individuals not of their faith. The only answer, according to the assembled, was for the Mormons to promise to "seek a location elsewhere." Resolutions included that if major conflict occurred, "the strength and sympathy of an overwhelming majority of the people will be arrayed against them." A delegation was appointed to take the preamble and resolutions to Nauvoo.[278]

September 24, 1845—A document signed by Brigham Young was presented to six members of the Quincy committee which maintained that Mormons did not respond to the house burnings until they were "compelled by the authorities of the county" to defend themselves. The Mormons pledged to "leave this county next spring, for some point so remote, that there will not need to be a difficulty with the people and ourselves." The document also thanked the people of Quincy for their "hospitality in former days still causes our hearts to burn with joy" and said "Mormon prayers ask for blessings on their heads." This proposal hinged on cooperation in selling property, halt in vexatious lawsuits, a halt to house burnings and other acts of harassment.[279]

Norton Jacob noted members of the Quincy delegates were angry over the deaths of McBratney and Worrell and said, "The Devil appears to be much enraged at the Saints, a pretty good sign that [we] are doing the will of God."[280]

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275. Greg R. Knight, ed., *Thomas Bullock Nauvoo Journal* (Provo, UT: Grandin Book Company, 1994), 9. Knight explained in 9n38, "nearly 600" Mormons were drilling when Isaac C. Pippen "was accidentally shot" in the abdomen. On September 20 Hosea Stout recorded Brigham Young as saying Pippen died as a martyr. Brooks, *Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:69.

276. Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 302.

277. Minutes of this meeting were published in the October 1, 1845, *Quincy Whig*. Parts of the meeting were published in Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:451–53.

278. "The Troubles in Hancock," *Quincy Whig*, October 1, 1845, 2.

279. This document was printed in the October 1, 1845, *Quincy Whig* and "To whom it may concern, September 24, 1845," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 22 (October 1, 1845): 2–3.

280. Ronald O. Barney, ed., *The Mormon Vanguard Brigade of 1847: Norton Jacob's Record* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005), 49.

September 25, 1845—The *Burlington Hawk-Eye* opined that the Mormons would be driven from Illinois if they participated in additional disturbances.[281]

Backenstos in his fifth proclamation said that many Mormons in the "infected area" said their cattle were stolen by the mob.[282] Although under reported, it is clear Mormons not only extensively had grain and other foodstuffs burned, they also had cattle and numerous other items stolen. For example Perrigrine Sessions recorded on October 6, 1845:

> although hundreds of the Saints were drove in from the surrounding cutry destitute of a place to lay their heads or provisions to subsist upon having their crops of graine ditroyed their beef and pork stolen and their furnature destroyed with their houses which increases the suffering of the Widow and the Fatherless and those that were as many were sick and dieing as it was a sickley season.[283]

September 26, 1845—Governor Ford sternly warned anti-Mormons from Missouri and Iowa by letter from Springfield not to enter Hancock County and, "if taken in any act of war or mischief, they will be chastised in a most summary manner."[284]

The Quincy committee rejected elements of the Mormon's September 24 proposal that stipulated non-Mormons help the Mormons sell their property but agreed that "lawsuits and vigilante actions should end."[285]

September 28, 1845—Governor Ford, responding to pleas from both gentiles and Mormons, determined that neither party was capable of maintaining the peace. He dispatched General John J. Hardin,[286] Major William B. Warren, a Whig clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court, Attorney General James A. McDougal, and US Congressman Stephen Douglas along with four hundred militias to restore order in Hancock County. After arrival at Carthage on September 28, they disbanded the Mormon forces, restricted bodies larger than four persons from assembling in the countryside and urged the gentiles to return from their self-imposed exile.[287]

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281. "Late from the Mormon War," *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, September 25, 1845, 2.

282. All five of Backenstos's proclamations are printed in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 22 (October 1, 1845): 1-2.

283. Donna Toland Smart, ed., *The Life and Missionary Diaries of Perrigrine Sessions, 1814–1893* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies and Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2002), 88–89. Quoted without revision.

284. "A Proclamation by the Governor of the State of Illinois," September 26, 1845, *Warsaw Signal*, October 15, 1845, 3.

285. Leonard, *Nauvoo,* 535.

286. Hardin, a prominent Whig of Jacksonville, Illinois, and former member of the legislature effectively used his militia to separate the combatants and, according to Thomas Ford, deserves considerable credit for facilitating the Mormon exodus from Illinois. Ford, *History of Illinois*, 411. Hardin was a brigadier general in the Mexican War and was killed in February 1847 in the Battle of Buena Vista. When Hosea Stout learned of his death, he remembered him as "coming to Nauvoo to hunt dead men" and remarked his death is "a joy to me." Brooks, *Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:253.

287. Ford, *History of Illinois*, 410.

September 30, 1845—During the occupation of Carthage by Backenstos's Mormon posse, non-Mormons drafted a proclamation containing an extensive list of alleged wrongs committed by the Mormons. This document contained the standard charges against the Mormons, such as stealing, illegal actions by the city council and the pledge to help force the Mormons from Illinois. It also maintained the actions of radical anti-Mormons, such as the murders of the Smiths and house burners, were not condoned by the majority of non-Mormons. Some of the alleged injustices by the Mormons are similar to Mormon complaints about the alleged wrongs done them by the non-Mormons. A sampling includes: gentiles received no protection under the law, gentiles have been imprisoned illegally, Mormons issued vexatious writs against the gentiles, gentiles were denied due process of law, Mormon witnesses perjured themselves when testifying against the gentiles, and Mormons trampled on the gentile's beloved institutions.[288]

Ford's delegation and militia arrived at Nauvoo on September 30. After sternly informing the hierarchy that they would enforce the peace by martial law if necessary, General Hardin asked Brigham Young if he knew of any crime being committed in Nauvoo. Young responded "he knew nothing of the kind" but told Hardin, "he had reliable information" hundreds of Mormon homes "had been burned in the south part of the county and probably if the militia would go there, he would find the persons who done it." The Mormon proposal to the Quincy committee was freely discussed, and the militia searched for the bodies of Phineas Wilcox and Alexander Daubenheyer in the temple, Masonic Hall, Nauvoo House, and the stable of the Mansion House.[289] The delegation headed by Hardin acted as a mediator between the Mormons and the Quincy committee.

October 1, 1845—The *Quincy Whig* stated: "the Mormons and old settlers cannot remain in that county … to prevent bloodshed, and the sacrifice of many lives on both sides, it is their [Mormons] duty to obey the public will, and leave the State, as speedily as possible."[290] A second Mormon pledge to leave Nauvoo in the spring was taken by Hardin's representatives to the Quincy committee, which agreed to the proposal.[291]

October 2, 1845—An article in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* said the actions of the house burners "was deprecated by all and upheld by none" but qualified this by say-

288. Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 291–94.

289. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:447–48. Edward Everett, a member of Hardin's militia from Quincy called the Quincy Riflemen, remembered his unit marching into Nauvoo "with loaded rifles and [we] were prepared to use them." Edward Everett, *Narrative of Military Experience in Several Capacities* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., 1906), 185.

290. "The Troubles in Hancock," *Quincy Whig*, October 1, 1845, 2.

291. Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 538.

ing the murder of "much loved citizens [by the Mormons] cancelled the sympathy people had for the victims of the house burnings."[292]

General Hardin, along with William B. Warren, Stephen A. Douglas, and J. A. McDougal, emphasized to the Mormons, "Should you not do so [leave Nauvoo] we are satisfied, however, much we may depreciate violence and bloodshed, that violent measures will be resorted to, to compel your removal, which will result in most disastrous consequence to yourselves and your opponent, and that the end will be your expulsion from the state."[293]

October 4, 1845—Hardin reported to Governor Ford that efforts to locate Phineas Wilcox were futile. He reported a Mormon named Caleb Baldwin said in an affidavit that Wilcox appeared to be scared, as he had been in the mob at Carthage when the Smiths were killed. He said Wilson was "not of much account" and "was a roguish looking fellow." Baldwin added he assumed Wilcox had "run off home." Hardin observed, "The Question still remains unanswered, "What has become of Wilcox? I think he has been killed."[294]

October 6, 1845—Perrigrine Sessions recorded that many of the workmen on the temple "carried small armes [*sic*] with them all the time and all kept their muskets where they could put their hand[s] on them at a moments warning."[295]

October 7, 1845—On the second day of general conference, Hosea Stout said Hardin's militia arrested "Daniel Smith and another man [Thomas Gardner] for stealing" and removed them from Nauvoo.[296] This is the same Daniel Smith who was cashiered from the Nauvoo Legion for stealing on December 4, 1841.[297]

October 8, 1845—Norton Jacob said Brigham Young began the conference by "denouncing such characters" [those arrested on the 7th] in the most severe terms & took measures to [have] them cut off from the Church."[298] Thomas Bullock added that Young warned the brethren not to receive any stolen goods into their house,"[299] and general Charles C. Rich told Hosea Stout there was "some who were now tak-

292. "The Mormon Troubles," *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, October 2, 1845, 3.

293. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:450–51. A second meeting of the Carthage convention met at Carthage on October 1–2 and accepted the Mormon proposal they would leave in the spring. Hallwas and Launius, in *Cultures in Conflict, 305*, called a resolution "remarkable" which stated: "That we utterly repudiate the impudent assertion so often and so constantly put forth by the Mormons, that they are *persecuted for righteousness sake.* We do not believe them to be a persecuted people." emphasis retained.

294. "John J. Hardin to His Excellency Thos. Ford, Governor," *Illinois State Register*, October 17, 1845, 2.

295. Smart, *The Life and Missionary Diaries of Perrigrine Sessions*, 89.

296. Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:81. This is repeated in Barney, *Norton Jacob's Record*, 53 and Knight, *Thomas Bullock Nauvoo Journal*, 16.

297. See footnote 80.

298. Barney, *Norton Jacob's Record*, 53.

299. Knight, *Thomas Bullock Nauvoo Journal*, 17.

ing cattle &c from our enemies and … wanted me to find out about it & have it stopped."[300]

George A. Smith, addressing the conference, said he was very upset about excessive shooting in Nauvoo. He said "you wake up in the night, but you hear them cracking away. You can hardly walk the streets, but sometimes a bullet will whistle over your head." He motioned "that this conference discountenance all firing in the city, by any man, by night or by day, in every possible manner." Motion was seconded and carried.[301]

Heber C. Kimball told the assembled that there had been many recent complaints "of some of the neighbors having had their cattle shot." A motion was made, seconded and passed that shooting cattle will result in the guilty party being excommunicated. Brigham Young reported someone had shot and killed the cow his wife had raised with tender care.[302]

The *Quincy Whig* reported that some of General Hardin's militias had observed that in "almost every yard in Nauvoo, was a steer or cow chained on a stake," and they were unsure "whether the property of the *Saints* or the Gentiles."[303]

October 15, 1845—The *Warsaw Signal* announced the finding of Alexander Daubenheyer's body in the Camp Creek area "in a ditch about a quarter of a mile from the residence of a Mormon by the name of Rice, at whose house a Mormon guard was stationed during the recent disturbances."[304]

October 16, 1845—Hosea Stout said he went to colonel Theodore Turley's house to see "a lot of 100 muskets … which had just been purchased at New Orleans for the Nauvoo Legion."[305]

October 22, 1845—An Orrin Rhodes deposition printed in the *Warsaw Signal* told of his extensive search for his stepson in Nauvoo and his conclusion that Phineas Wilcox was murdered after being identified as a spy.[306]

October 24, 1845—The Nathan Bigelow family at Camp Creek, located five miles from Pontoosuc, in northeast Hancock County, was told by mobbers to move or they would return and burn their home. A son was able to locate Major Warren at Carthage and Lieutenant Edwards of the Quincy Riflemen, and five militias were dispatched to protect the Bigelow family. They arrived at eleven p. m. and Edwards

300. Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:81.

301. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:475-76.

302. Ibid., 7:476.

303. "The Hancock Troubles," *Quincy Whig*, October 8, 1845, 2.

304. "Murders During the Late Disturbance," Warsaw *Signal*, October 15, 1845, 3.

305. Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 1:5.

306. Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 279–80.

unwisely entered the house without knocking. Nathan Bigelow, thinking him a mobber, shot him twice.[307] Lieutenant Edwards survived and Bigelow was not charged.

Thomas Bullock recorded seven houses were burned at the Morley settlement.[308]

October 25, 1845—Sheriff James I. Bradley of Rock Island, Illinois, attempted to arrest Return Jackson Redden at Nauvoo "as accessory to the murder of Col. Davenport." Redden was decoyed to a wharf as the steamer *Sarah Ann* arrived, but he fought off the sheriff and his assistants as they attempted to drag him on board the steamer. Mormons responded to his cries for help and injured Sheriff Bradley and former Mormon apostle Lyman E. Johnson, his assistant. The *Sarah Ann* departed without Redden.[309]

A. W. Babbitt reported that the brethren who went to Carthage to give testimony about the house burnings were not allowed to testify.[310]

November 4, 1845—A good deal of mystery surrounds the death of Mormon Joshua Smith. Other than the *Manuscript History of Brigham Young* and its transposed form in *History of the Church*, 7:514, no primary documentation has been located. The manuscript history reads:

> Joshua Smith died. He was born in Nobleborough, Kennebeck (now Lincoln) County, Maine Feb. 13th 1788. He was the son of Stephen and Miriam, and the eldest of four pair of twins, all boys, who lived to be men except one. Joshua was baptized at Kirtland, by John Smith in June 1836. He was poisoned by the militia while at Carthage where he was summoned to attend court; the militia ~~while at Carthage~~ <searched him> and found a knife under his arm and arrested him, and while under arrest they gave him dinner, where no doubt he received the poison, he soon became very thirsty, and vomiting followed until death; he said, he had been poisoned by the militia and at a post mortem examination by Drs. John M. Bernhisel, Lucius P. Sanger and <Jesse> Brailey the suspicion was confirmed; he was a good man and his name will be registered among those who wear a martyr's crown.

He was second counselor to Samuel Williams, president of the Elders' Quorum, at the time of his death.[311]

307. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:485–86.

308. Knight, *Thomas Bullock Nauvoo Journal*, 21.

309. *William Shepard and H. Michael Marquardt, "Lyman E. John*son: Forgotten Apostle," *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 133–35.

310. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:486.

311. *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*.

November 12, 1845—The *History of the Church* reported, "Brother Rice's farm house on Camp Creek was burned,"[312] and the following day noted that Samuel Hick's house, also at Camp Creek, was burned.[313]

November 15, 1845—Sixty-seven-year-old Edmund Durfee, an active Mormon since 1831 and father of thirteen children, was the second known Mormon fatality. His property at the Morley settlement was partially burned on September 10, and during a second burning attempt the following day his children were shot at by anti-Mormons. Durfee and his family had no choice but to join the exodus to Nauvoo. November 15 found Edmund and family members digging potatoes and gathering corn from his land and, like others whose homes had been burned, gathered at the Solomon Hancock farm. About midnight, Durfee and others, who had been sleeping in the barn, awoke to a fire threatening their sleeping quarters. A deposition by James Woodland said when the Mormons were attempting to contain the fire, they were fired upon by six individuals. Durfee died instantly after being shot in the chest.[314]

November 16, 1845—Attorney Mason Brayman, sent to Hancock County by the governor to negotiate a settlement between Mormons and anti-Mormons, wrote an unknown recipient about the unsettled situation. He told of accusations of recent Mormon stealing and the charge they "continue to send out spies, patrols, and armed companies prowling about the prairies and interrupting travelers." In addition to telling of the death of Edmund Durfee, he explained that some "twenty-five" anti-Mormons took the family of a Mormon named Rice into "custody" on November 12 and, after removing the furniture from their home, held them captive until the "home was in a blaze." Brayman said "This is the house in which the Council is Said to have been held, by which it was voted to murder Daubenmeyer [*sic*]."

Brayman also told about a secret anti-Mormon group determined to abuse the Mormons to the point at which a collision would occur which would result "in the expulsion from the State [of the Mormons] at once."[315]

November 19, 1845—The *Warsaw Signal* contained three articles about the murder of Edmund Durfee. What appears to be the first article contained minutes of a meeting of Warsaw citizens on November 17 which denounced Durfee's murder and demanded that the anti-Mormons abstain from violence.[316] A second article similarly said "We hope … that the Anti-Mormons will leave no stone unturned & spare no exertion, to ferret out and deliver to the hands of justice, the perpetrators—

312. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:522.

313. Ibid., 7:530.

314. Ibid., 7:528–30. See Hartley, *The 1845 Burning of Morley's Settlement* and "Murder and Arson, Edmund Durfee Shot-Two Houses Burned," *Nauvoo Neighbor* "Extra," November 19, 1845.

315. Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 295–96.

316. "Public Meeting," *Warsaw Signal*, November 19, 1845, 2.

let them be whom thy may!"[317] In what appears to be an article added after considerable thought, the *Signal* suggested Durfee had been selected by anti-Mormons to die for unspecified reasons and the fire was set for the purpose of getting him in the open.[318]

November 26, 1845—The *Quincy Whig* passed on the story by a "gentleman down from Lima" that five drunken anti-Mormons from that community were suspected of murdering Edmund Durfee. This account said Durfee "was a very unpopular person in the neighborhood, and had caused himself by his outrageous acts, to be generally detested." The alleged "outrageous acts" were not disclosed but the account concluded that Durfee was not murdered because he was a Mormon but because of his undisclosed actions. This article urged anti-Mormons "to curb the passions of the turbulent and prevent acts of aggression of every kind upon the Mormons." If the Mormons did not leave in the spring, the *Whig* guaranteed "the strong arm of power" would guarantee eviction.[319]

December 3, 1845—The *Warsaw Signal* announced "The persons accused of participation in the burning of Rice family home, were all dismissed. The Mormon witnesses, who testified against them, we successfully impeached."[320]

December 11, 1845—Orson Pratt returned to Nauvoo from his eastern mission with "four hundred dollars' worth of Allen's revolving six-shooting pistols (alias pepperboxes)."[321]

About mid-December 1845—Joseph Fielding recorded, "you may see 12 &c wherever they go with six shooter Pistols in their pockets."[322]

About Christmas 1845—The Nathaniel Bigelow family maintained a tenuous hold on their property at Camp Creek and on one occasion had to hide in the fields as the mob fired guns into the air and screamed insults. Nathaniel was poisoned while eating with a neighbor named James Porter but survived after being administered to and vomiting a mass of putrid matter.[323]

Epilogue

Nathaniel Bigelow's poisoning was not the end of conflict between Mormons and the gentiles. Attitudes, if anything, hardened, but both sides appeared to be weary

317. "Murder," *Warsaw Signal*, November 19, 1845, 2.

318. "Murder of Durfee," *Warsaw Signal*, November 19, 1845, 2, emphasis retained.

319. "Mormon affairs—Murder of Durfee, &c.," *Quincy Whig*, November 26, 1845, 3.

320. *Warsaw Signal*, December 2, 1845, 2.

321. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:543.

322. Andrew F. Ehat, ed., ""They Might Have Known That He was Not a Fallen Prophet,'—The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1979): 159.

323. Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., "Reminiscence of Mary Gibbs Bigelow," in *In their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 228–38.

of the stresses associated with being on the brink of total war. Anti-Mormons made plans to expel the Mormons by force if they did not leave in the spring, and Mormon pronouncements about impending judgments on the nation for rejecting the gospel and murdering God's prophet thundered from the pulpit and press. Miraculously, no additional deaths occurred. The Mormons concentrated on completing the temple, administering endowments, and preparing for the trek west. Anti-Mormons, satisfied that they were victorious over what they perceived as Mormon heresies and political piracy, seemed content to savor their victory.

Violence exploded in what is known as the Battle of Nauvoo in September 1846 but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

Conclusions

My research shows that the anti-Mormon community was fueled by a relatively small group of radicals who were able to keep other anti-Mormons in a state of high anxiety while committing murder, arson, and all sorts of mayhem to achieve the banishment of the Mormons. The great majority of the gentiles did not like the Mormons but did not burn houses, poison, or fire their weapons in anger.

The Mormon domination of county politics in and of itself guaranteed non-Mormon anger. The policy of bloc voting was disastrous for them. Robert Flanders wrote: "The Church had tried to use its political power, actual and potential, as both a promise and a threat; the Saints got little in return but a fear and hatred that was soon to prove fatal to them."[324]

Social values, seasoned by old settlers from the southern states, would have made it difficult for gentiles to live harmoniously with a numerically superior Mormon population in the best of circumstances. Added to that, the perceived threats of the Nauvoo Legion, the Mormon use of habeas corpus, religious differences, and the theocratic leadership of the Mormons pushed Mormons and the anti-Mormons past the point of being able to coexist. The murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, repeal of the Nauvoo Charter, and the burnings in the countryside guaranteed open conflict. John Hallwas and Roger Launius were correct—this is a story about "Cultures in Conflict."

Historian Theodore Calvin Pease, professor of history at the University of Illinois, summarized his understanding of the violent course pursued by the anti-Mormons:

After full allowance is made for the violence and perhaps the greed of the opponents of the Mormons in Illinois, it must be admitted that they saw clearly how terrible an excrescence on the political life of the state the Mormon community would be, once it had attained full growth. Because legal means would not protect them

324. Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, 240.

from the danger they used violence. The machinery of state government was then, it must be remembered, but a slight affair; and to enforce the will of public opinion, the resort to private war, thought to be deplored, was inevitable.[325]

About Stealing

The Mormons were charged with obscene amounts of stealing. The accuracy of these claims will never be known but, in my opinion, Mormon stealing has been greatly overestimated. I find solace in E. B. Young's *A History of Round Prairie and Plymouth* in eastern Hancock County, where it is acknowledged Mormons were thought to be the ones stealing in their area, but after their 1846 departure the stealing continued.[326] A Jacob Backenstos statement to the Illinois House of Representatives criticizing the old citizens said, "I charge them with having reported that their property was stolen by Mormons, when there was not the slightest evidence to that effect."[327] Thomas Ford remembered being deluged by gentile claims of Mormon stealing but found them not to be true. He cited this example:

> But they [anti-Mormons] insisted that sixteen horses had been stolen by the Mormons in one night, near Lima, in the county of Adams. At the close of the expedition, I called at this same town of Lima, and upon inquiry was told that no horses had been stolen in that neighborhood, but that sixteen horses had been stolen in one night in Hancock County. This last informant being told of the Hancock story again changed the venue to another distant settlement in the northern edge of Adams.[328]

There were Mormon thieves and gentile thieves. Joseph Smith attempted to remove them from the society he created. This does not alter the fact that stealing from the gentiles during his Nauvoo ministry damaged the reputation of the Mormons. For example, Susan Sessions Rugh described conflict within the Ramus stake in 1843 by a few malcontents who rebelled against the presiding authority of the stake and stole from gentiles. She noted, "Like a pebble dropped in a pond, such internal dissensions spread in widening rings to effect the reputations of Mormons in the county."[329]

Throughout the period of settlement Mormons and gentiles were victimized by transient thieves, and the Mormons were usually blamed when they stole from the

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325. Theodore Calvin Peace, *The Frontier State 1818–1848* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987 reprint of *The Sesquicentennial History of Illinois*, 1918), 362.

326. E. B. Young, *A History of Round Prairie and Plymouth* (Chicago: George J. Titus Book and Job Printer, 1876), 65.

327. "Remarks of the Honorable Mr. Backenstos," 444.

328. Ford, *History of Illinois*, 331.

329. Rugh, "Conflict in the Countryside," 159–60.

gentiles.[330] A group that stole from both Mormons and gentiles contained the Hodges brothers and their Mormon and gentile criminal associates. This is the group Hyrum Smith told about at general conference on April 6, 1843, who were not only bound together by secret oaths, but that they would kill members who disclosed gang secrets. In addition to the four Hodges brothers, I have identified fewer than a dozen Mormons who belonged to this hardened criminal element. Gentile membership may have included an equal number who apparently stayed at or near the waterfront when potential "business" brought them to Nauvoo. This group had no support among the hierarchy and kept a low profile.

Some Mormons stole because of their extreme poverty after being plundered in Missouri and others rationalized that stealing from the gentiles was permissible as they recalled the Missouri Danite practice of stealing from the gentiles. The Mormon relationship with the non-Mormons reached an all-time low when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered and, if possible, the relationship became more intolerable with the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter. Brigham Young's apparent reluctance to remove Mormons with questionable reputations from the Seventies may reflect this reality. The house burning in the Lima stake set the stage for an unknown number of anti-Mormons to steal from the Mormons. The counter-offensive by Sheriff Backenstos and his Mormon posse set the stage for reprisal stealing by an unknown number of Mormons.

Bill Shepard is a longtime member of the John Whitmer Historical Association and is past president for 2008–09. He was stimulated to present a balanced account of the interaction between the Mormons and non-Mormons after two visits to Nauvoo in 2011. He is grateful for help on this article furnished by H. Michael Marquardt and Joseph Johnstun. With H. Michael Marquardt, he has written *Lost Apostles: Forgotten Members of Mormonism's Original Quorum of Twelve* which will be published by Signature Books in late 2013.

330. See Dennis Rowley, "Nauvoo, A River Town," *BYU Studies* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1978): 255–72.

The Role of "Prophet": Variability within the Smith-Rigdon Movement

Steven L. Shields

Religious history, and especially the history of the Smith-Rigdon Movement,[1] is filled with countless examples of competing prophetic expression that has caused nothing but confusion and division. That Joseph Smith Jr., was "prophet" is strictly a statement of faith. It is also only through faith that one can argue that James J. Strang was both "prophet" and "true successor" to Smith. For some, Thomas S. Monson is the "only true and living prophet on the earth today." For others, Stephen M. Veazey is "prophet," but without claims of exclusivity.

Not all people believe that everyone who claims to be "prophet" is such. There are many who have claimed to be "God's prophet," but their claims have gone unheeded or mocked by those faithful to others. Brian David Mitchell and Warren S. Jeffs are classic contemporary examples in the Smith-Rigdon Movement.

The idea of "prophet" has been shaped differently by various expressions of the Smith-Rigdon Movement. It is institutionalized in the largest two denominations, the Utah-based Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Missouri-based Community of Christ. In both denominations "prophet" is both an office and function, embodied in one person, as well as the administrative president of the organization. However, the holder of the title "prophet" is also more than "prophet" because the death, retirement, or resignation of the person who embodies "prophet," while sad, is not a loss to the institution overall, as a successor can quickly be put in place.

In other denominations of the Smith-Rigdon Movement, "prophet" has remained more in line with the charismatic nature of the biblical model. Many of the smaller denominations hold that God "speaks when, where, and through whom" God choos-

1. For an explanation and rationale of my use of "Smith-Rigdon Movement," see my paper "Proposing an Academic Name for the Movement," *Restoration Studies* 13 (2012): 47–60.

es.[2] This is true of the family of denominations that have their roots in the Church of Christ (Temple Lot). Each of the four men to be discussed below had been leaders or members of that denomination.

In the earliest years of his ministry, Joseph Smith Jr., was a charismatic prophet more in line with the biblical model; the administrative role developed gradually. The freewheeling charismatic expression of experiential primitivism that appealed to the stream of mysticism of the earliest members eventually was replaced by institutional authoritarianism. "Prophet" was both monopolized and institutionalized. That is, no other person but Smith could be "prophet" for the community and give charismatic or ecstatic utterances. With his loss, only one other could succeed him.[3]

Mysticism had a strong appeal for many of Joseph's earliest followers. However, as the church became more institutionalized and authoritarian, the ensuing tension fueled the soon-to-emerge dissent and fragmentation. Many of the key people from the earliest years became disaffected—Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and the Whitmer family, to name a few. The tension between the two streams may also account, in part, for what happened at Joseph Smith's death in 1844. The succession crisis, then, might be understood in the context of conflict between the older mysticism-based charismatic stream and the institutional authoritarian stream. I believe this is a topic that warrants further study.

Brigham Young's argument to the conference in Nauvoo, Illinois, on August 8, 1844, that the twelve remain in their place as a "second presidency," was a logical argument based on institutional authoritarianism. His position was that even though the charismatic prophet was gone, the institution of the church could continue. Brigham Young was not a charismatic prophet; he was an institutional one. Strang, on the other hand, appealed to the mystical charismatic of the original church, reporting angelic ordination and eventually translating added ancient records. For several years Strang was Young's strongest rival.[4]

The early Community of Christ was based on institutional authoritarianism, but retained elements of the charismatic mysticism that drove the early years of the movement. This is evidenced by the church's insistence that Joseph Smith Jr. could be succeeded only by his son. The tension between the mystic charismatic and institutional authoritarian exploded in the 1920s with the "Supreme Directional Control" controversy.[5] Frederick M. Smith, then Community of Christ prophet-president, re-

2. http://www.churchofchrist-tl.org/basicBeliefs.html, accessed July 11, 2011. "Articles of Faith and Practice," 10.

3. For a discussion of this topic, see Mark Lyman Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People: The Historical Setting of Joseph Smith's Ohio Revelations* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2009), 74–191.

4. Vickie Cleverley Speek, *God Has Made Us a Kingdom: James Strang and the Midwest Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006).

5. Richard P. Howard, *The Church Through the Years, Vol. 2* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1993), 221–42.

drafted his role by further institutionalization of "prophet." I believe most of those who left Community of Christ and transferred their membership to Granville Hedrick's tiny Church of Christ[6] were not just bucking authoritarianism, but were those for whom charismatic mysticism still had appeal.

Granville Hedrick and others formally organized the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) in central Illinois in 1863. Many members had been baptized during the original church era. They had continued to meet in local branches, and had examined the claims of those who contended for succession in the aftermath of Smith's death. They were the first faction to return to Independence, Missouri, in 1867.[7]

It was to that Church of Christ, whose membership by 1920 was one hundred or fewer, that three thousand or more disaffected Community of Christ members transferred in protest against "Supreme Directional Control."[8] With an overwhelming majority of members who joined in reaction against Community of Christ leadership and the role of "prophet" as it was being shaped, the Church of Christ soon adopted a model incorporating both governance and "prophet." The church was to be governed solely by twelve apostles, with no one person named as "prophet." The charismatic spirit was to decide "prophet," and that was not to be limited to a single person.[9]

Beginning in 1927, at least four men from the Temple Lot church tradition have claimed visits from John the Baptist, aka "the Messenger." Otto Fetting reported thirty messages from 1927 to 1933 and Thomas B. Nerren at least one hundred between 1933 and 1943 or 1944.[10] William A. Draves reported visits from the Messenger from 1937 to 1994, and Wilbur McCumber described more than forty from 1944 to about 1956. Each of these men claimed to have served only as the Messenger's scribe[11] in presenting messages reportedly from God.

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6. In 1918, Community of Christ and the Church of Christ jointly adopted an agreement that permitted members of either denomination to transfer simply to the other. For a detailed explanation see 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), 47ff.

7. Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*, 4th ed. (Restoration Research: Los Angeles, 1990), 76–77. Granville Hedrick was a member of the "original" church; that is, the church founded and led by Joseph Smith Jr. The "original church" era ended in the weeks after Smith's death when his church fragmented into several competing groups. Hedrick (1814–81) was baptized c. 1843. The denomination unofficially attaches "Temple Lot" to its name to distinguish it from others called "Church of Christ." In the beginning, however, the church retained the name of the original church as it had been in the 1840s—Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The headquarters is located in Independence, Missouri, on a two-and-a-half-acre tract of land known as the "Temple Lot."

8. Addams, *Upon the Temple Lot*, 54.

9. http://www.churchofchrist-tl.org/basicBeliefs.html, accessed July 11, 2011. "Articles of Faith and Practice," 10.

10. The date of Nerren's final reported message is unknown due to lack of written evidence, except that observers, such as Gerald Hall, recollected that it was "about" that time. Gerald Hall, typescript on file, 1975.

11. In my lifelong study of the various churches discussed in this paper I have made many friends among their leaders. I respect their beliefs, and their right to believe according to the dictates of their consciences. I real-

Neither Fetting, Draves, Nerren, nor McCumber claimed the title or role of "prophet" but by any definition functioned as such, particularly with the plenary view of inspiration to which they and believers in the messages subscribe. Regardless, such a role is, by its nature, charismatic and as such, has a strong appeal to the mystic side of the human experience. Authority is granted by those who see the person as different from ordinary humans, and such person is treated by others as especially endowed with spiritual powers or exemplary character. Such charismatic authority rests mainly on the individual so identified, and the absence of that leader causes the authority to diminish or dissolve.[12]

In the mid-1920s, Otto Fetting[13] (1871–1933) transferred his membership from Community of Christ to the Temple Lot church and became one of the first called to be an apostle when the quorum was reconstituted in 1926 after a fifty-year break. Thomas B. Nerren (1878–1967)[14] also transferred his membership at the same time. Wilbur McCumber[15] likely transferred his membership from Community of Christ during the period and followed Fetting and Nerren. Upon rejection by the Temple Lot church of the Fetting's twelfth message, he, Nerren, and others led a group of more than a thousand church members out of the Temple Lot church to form a separate organization, the Church of Christ,[16] in 1929–30.[17]

William A. Draves[18] (1912–94) joined the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) in 1929, having been previously baptized at age ten in Community of Christ and at age thirteen in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Draves united with Otto Fetting's organization through baptism in 1931.

Fetting and Draves are the best-known charismatic prophets to emerge from the Temple Lot church tradition while Nerren and McCumber are scarcely remembered.

The Temple Lot tradition comprises a group of twenty or more separate, identifiable denominations, of which at least ten are still in existence. With rare excep-

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ize that many of these friends may find my analysis painful and possibly offensive for which I apologize. My purpose is simply to underscore the importance of something that all of them find important in the structure of their church organization and their spiritual lives.

12. "Charismatic Authority" from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charismatic_authority, accessed June 14, 2011.

13. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration* 4th ed., 131.

14. Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*, 5th ed., forthcoming.

15. No biographical information about McCumber has been discovered except that he became an apostle in Nerren's denomination in 1939.

16. Most of the groups with roots in the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) use "Church of Christ" as either their sole name, or the emphasized part of their name as a denomination. These are not to be confused with the churches of Christ that are part of the Stone-Campbell movement.

17. Addams, *Upon the Temple Lot*, 94ff.

18. http://elijahmessage.net/files/BRIEF_HISTORY_wadraves.pdf, accessed July 13, 2011. Draves's given name was "Wilhelm," but he adopted the English version "William" early in life. This probably had something to do with the First World War and a certain European leader.

tion, all the denominations have used or continue to use the identical statement of "Articles of Faith and Practice," adopted in 1925 by the Church of Christ.[19] These denominations each follow the administrative practice of having a quorum of twelve apostles leading the church and supported by a quorum of seven bishops.

The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) renounced all the Fetting Messages in 1936. Two denominations believe only the thirty messages recorded by Otto Fetting, both named "Church of Christ" and both headquartered in Independence. One denomination accepts the earliest messages reported by Fetting, the messages recorded by Thomas B. Nerren, and the messages brought by Wilbur McCumber (Church of Christ at Zion's Retreat, Schell City, Missouri). There are at least three denominations that accept all of Fetting's reported messages and most of Draves's messages (The Church of Christ With the Elijah Message Established Anew 1929; The Church of Christ with the Elijah Message; and The Church of Christ with the Elijah Message, the Assured Way of the Lord—all three with headquarters in Independence).

Otto Fetting reported that an angelic messenger first visited him at his home in Port Huron, Michigan, at 5:30 a.m. on February 24, 1927.[20] He later reported that the messenger was John the Baptist. The first twelve messages were published in the Temple Lot church periodical.[21] Between 1927 and his death in 1933, Fetting reported a total of thirty visits from John the Baptist.

Fetting was an apostle in the church. However, the messages he brought were not inspired utterances in the occasional charismatic sense. He reported that the Messenger dictated the messages to him, Fetting merely transcribing the words.

This was a marked departure from Joseph Smith's description of the need to study the message out in the mind and then put into human words. This was how Smith depicted "translation," which apparently paralleled his characterization of revelation. As much is declared in the Doctrine and Covenants 6, 8 and 9 and demonstrated by Smith's own revisions of the text of the Book of Mormon and sections of the Doctrine and Covenants.[22]

In a sense, the Temple Lot church departed from its own position as described in its "Articles of Faith and Practice" by allowing Fetting to predominate as "prophet." The difference between the declarations of Fetting (and his successor message reporters) and traditional ecstatic prophetic utterances was that Fetting claimed to be only a scribe; thus the words themselves came directly from on high. This seemingly reduced other prophetic utterances to a lesser or secondary category.

19. Addams, *Upon the Temple Lot*,62.

20. *Word of the Lord* Message 1. *Word of the Lord* is published by at least six different denominations, in varying editions.

21. *Zion's Advocate* 4, no. 5 (May 1927): 69.

22. Richard P. Howard, *The Church Through the Years*, vol. 1 (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1992), 115–20, 193–96.

When the twelfth message came in the summer of 1929, Fetting and some others took the meaning of one verse to be that all who wished to remain members of the church must be rebaptized. He and several others immediately complied, but the disagreement over rebaptism split the church. By the spring of 1930, Fetting and those agreeing with him (as many as a thousand) were meeting separately from the Temple Lot church and soon were organized as a separate denomination, also called "Church of Christ."[23]

Thomas B. Nerren was called as an apostle in Fetting's Message 20 (April 8, 1930) and helped to organize several congregations in Europe. He was on a mission trip in western Canada early in 1932 when he reported that a "heavenly messenger" had awakened him and told him to go to Independence to seek reconciliation with the Temple Lot church, which he did. He was received into full membership, and his priesthood office of elder was restored. He then returned to his home in Denver, Colorado, where he persuaded at least one of Fetting's congregations to reconcile and return to the Temple Lot fold.[24] Wilbur McCumber followed Nerren, having been appointed an apostle in a Nerren message in 1939. William A. Draves, of Nucla, Colorado, remained in the Fetting fold even after Fetting's death in 1933.

Those who followed Otto Fetting believed him to be a "living prophet." The first issue of the new church paper, "Voice of Warning," declared in an editorial, "in these last days God has sent his angel, John the Baptist, to lead, direct, protect and prepare a people to enter into their promised land and receive their Savior there.... It is easy to believe the messages of prophets long since dead, but the living prophet has ever been an astonishment and a subject of ridicule for his day."[25]

Otto Fetting died on January 30, 1933. One week later, on February 5, 1933, Thomas B. Nerren, then faithful and active in the Church of Christ (Temple Lot), reported that John the Baptist visited him and gave a message. In that message, Nerren reportedly was told that Fetting "heeded not my commands or my pleadings with him; but became angry and took the reins in his own hands and did not love his brothers ... and divided my church, causing many of my people to err ... and he has been removed."[26]

Thomas B. Nerren reported only a handful of visits from the Messenger between 1933 and 1936, and I have not found any evidence that he proclaimed or published those messages contemporaneously. In any event, there is no evidence that the leaders or members of Church of Christ (Temple Lot) knew about them. They would

23. Bert C. Flint, *An Outline History of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot)* (Independence, MO: The Board of Publications, Church of Christ, 1953), 142.

24. "Another Witness Testifies," *Arimat* 3, no. 2 (May 1940).

25. "Editorial," *The Voice of Warning* 1, no. 1 (July 1930): 1.

26. "Another Witness Testifies," *Arimat* 3, no. 2 (May 1940).

not likely have been as enthusiastic about Nerren's messages as they had originally been about Fetting's.

Fetting's earliest messages had dealt with building a temple on the church property in Independence. The Temple Lot church declared in 1936 that Fetting's messages had proven unreliable, "Therefore, in the interest of spiritual progress for the church, be it hereby declared that we consider ourselves justly absolved from any supposed allegiance to those messages as being the work of God. Our present temple plans are not based wholly upon said messages.... And our continued work of building the temple shall not conform to any specifications supposed to have been given by John the Baptist to Otto Fetting.."[27] The repudiated messages would be Messages 1 through 11, since the Temple Lot church had already rejected Message 12 in 1930 and would not have considered any of Fetting's reported messages thereafter.

Thomas B. Nerren and his congregation in Colorado, since 1932 back in the Temple Lot church, called on Elmer E. Long (a former Community of Christ member who had transferred to the Temple Lot church) to meet with them in the fall of 1936. Long had resigned his apostleship in the Temple Lot church immediately following their repudiation of Fetting's messages. Long became instrumental in helping Nerren's congregation determine a future course of action.

Following several meetings, a "Declaration of Faith and Purpose" was drafted and adopted. The document affirmed the signers' belief in the principles of the "Restoration movement of 1820 to 1830," declared their allegiance to the "Articles of Faith and Practice" but, in decrying the Temple Lot church's repudiation of Fetting's messages, declared it their "aim and purpose to carry on the gospel work."[28]

Thomas B. Nerren reported more than 100 visits by John the Baptist between 1933 and the early 1940s. The messages were published in the church's paper, the *Arimat*, and in three-volume booklet form, copies of which have not been found.[29]

By 1946 the church had become divided over the issue of congregating in Missouri. Nerren's reported message of August 19, 1940, confirmed the bishops' purchase of land at Schell City, Missouri, for the building of a "place of refuge," but Nerren subsequently, for reasons unknown even to his own followers, refused to make the move and, in fact, spoke against both the move and the purchase of the land. The group at Schell City continued nonetheless, taking over the publication of the church paper and moving the headquarters to Missouri.[30]

For a time, part of the denomination was under the leadership of Nerren at Denver, Colorado, and another part under bishop James A. Hedrick and some apostles

27. Quoted in Addams, *Upon the Temple Lot*, 128.

28. Leona Nerren, "The Raising Up of a Remnant," *Arimat* 2, no. 11 (February 1940).

29. Nerren's autobiography was published under the title, "The Prophecies of Men," *Arimat* 3, no. 8 (November 1940): 154–55. The booklets were advertised for sale in the pages of the periodical.

30. James A. Hedrick, "Why Schell City?" *Arimat* 5, no. 12 (August 1944): 1ff.

at Schell City, Missouri. The congregations from Cranston, Rhode Island, and Independence, Missouri, also moved there. The congregations at Delavan and Allen's Grove, Wisconsin, became independent in 1966 but subsequently died out.[31] Nerren died in 1967, and any remaining members in the church at Denver have vanished, if indeed there were any by 1950.

An apostle in the church, Wilbur McCumber, reported messages and visits from John the Baptist beginning in 1944 and continuing through October 1956. However, the momentum in the church and the possibilities for growth were seemingly long past. The church at Schell City, numbering no more than fifty, was rocked by division in the early 1970s. One faction eventually repudiated all vestiges of Smith-Rigdon restorationism. Those still faithful to the Fetting, Nerren and McCumber messages likely number fewer than twenty-five or thirty.[32]

After Otto Fetting's death in 1933, his church continued on with his reported thirty messages published in a book entitled, *The Word of the Lord*.[33] However, in less than a decade the church divided again. In 1937, a young elder in the church, William A. Draves, reported that the Messenger visited him and gave what is now known as Message 31. Between 1937 and June 1943, Draves reported thirty-one messages.

The leaders and members of the church were not fully convinced of the validity of Draves's reported messages, and several congregations in the southern United States distanced themselves from the main body. By the early 1950s, the "southern group" had formally coalesced into a separate organization.

By 1943 others in the church had repudiated Draves's reported messages, but a significant number of members accepted them. Church leaders were also divided, leading the two groups to begin operating as separate organizations.

The denomination from which both Draves and the "southern group" separated has dwindled to no more than a few dozen members. Weekly meetings are no longer held at its headquarters in Independence, Missouri.[34] The church periodical, the *Voice of Warning*, since 1930 published monthly, is now issued only once or twice a year.

The so-called "southern group" is formally known as the Church of Christ Restored and maintains headquarters in Independence, Missouri, though most of its membership is in Louisiana and Mississippi. It publishes the *Gospel Herald* monthly and reports several hundred members.

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31. Milton Funk, the pastor, died in 1987. The congregation numbered no more than twenty members in 1966.

32. Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*, 5th ed., forthcoming.

33. Except for Message 17, about which Fetting wrote: "The Messenger came to me November 17, 1929, at my home, 814 Pine Street, Port Huron, Michigan, and gave me further instruction relative to the plans and construction of the Temple, which I was commanded to withhold until further instructions." None of the church leaders I have interviewed in any of the denominations are aware of the location of the text of this message.

34. Marsha Stonehocker, e-mail to author, December 29, 2007.

Both "Thirty Messages" denominations still believe the possibility of future visits from the Messenger but declare they are not worried that the Messenger has not been reported since 1933. Members and leaders occasionally give inspired messages during worship gatherings and other meetings.

William A. Draves, from the first in 1937 to the last in 1994, reported ninety messages. His church became known generally as the Church of Christ with the Elijah Message. Through the 1950s into the 1980s the church seemed to have great momentum. At one time with its overseas missions the church claimed as many as fifteen thousand members (with only two thousand in the United States). For them, William A. Draves was a credible successor "prophet" to Fetting. One small split took place in the church in the 1960s when one congregation in Missouri became independent.

The church, however, was rocked with division beginning in the mid-1990s when William A. Draves and some of the membership walked away from the church headquarters on Lacy Road in Independence to establish a separate organization. The Lacy Road group suffered another split in 1996, but the breach has recently mended with most leaders and members returning to Lacy Road. Moreover, those who followed Draves out of headquarters in 1994 split again in 2003. In part, the disagreement was over whether or not new apostles must be "called" in a message, or could be "called" only by revelation. All of the Elijah Message churches combined may not currently be able to claim more than a few hundred members (not including claimed membership in Africa or India).[35]

After the Fetting church rejected Draves's messages, no other messages were forthcoming in either of the two denominations that accept only Fetting's thirty messages. When Thomas B. Nerren changed his mind about the move to Missouri in the mid-1940s, he stopped reporting visits from the Messenger. McCumber's reported messages were contained within the small group in Missouri and never widely publicized. No reports of the Messenger have been made in that group since McCumber's last reported message in the 1950s. Among those who accept the messages brought by Draves, the Messenger has been silent since Draves's death in 1994. This is a matter of concern for each of the church leaders with whom I have spoken.[36]

From one perspective, it would seem that although the family of denominations subscribed to the idea that prophecy was not limited to one person, several of the denominations put an overt amount of trust or faith in messages being presented by one particular person. That person, whether Fetting, Nerren, Draves, or McCumber,

35. While many of the denominations claim, or have claimed, as many as "thousands" of followers in countries in Africa, or in India, there is good reason to question the sincerity of belief in the messages among those contingents. Personal experience strongly suggests that financial support from the United States may be the most important motivation for membership.

36. Interviews with James Parker, Leonard Draves, and Paul Savage between 2005 and 2011.

was a "prophet" in the classical definition, even though members of the church may not have used that designation.

The problem that arose was that so much of the various churches' reliance was centered on the messages that when the Messenger's visits stopped being reported, the role of "prophet" was seemingly lost. With no one in any of the churches able persuasively to represent the Messenger, the churches lost momentum. They may also have lost a sense of spiritual vigor and relevance to their believers despite their hope for the charismatic to reemerge in tangible ways. The longer the Messenger is absent, the more difficult it seems to be to attract new members. All of the churches struggle with maintaining the status quo by replacing long-time members who die.

The denominations following Fetting's tradition seem not to have been able to get away from individual, successive plenary expressions of the prophetic. Despite the numerous expressions of charismatic inspiration couched as spiritual messages or revelations (but not dictated and written messages), those expressions have been reduced to a secondary, seemingly less-authoritative category than that of the messages brought by Fetting, Nerren, Draves, or McCumber. I suspect that printing the messages as a book of scripture lent an elevated importance to the scribal prophet over the charismatic prophet. Confusion and dissent stole the momentum from Fetting's and Draves's efforts.

The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) on the other hand, after a decade dealing with Fetting's messages and then repudiating them, has never since put trust in any single person's proclamations of a prophetic nature. They have stayed the course in holding to the principle of the Articles of Faith and Practice that God is not to be limited to whom God speaks. This is probably more zealously adhered to now than during the early years when Fetting was an apostle. This type of institutionalization of the role of prophet avoids some of the problems inherent with embodiment of that role in a single person. The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) has maintained momentum. In fact, the denomination has more than recouped the losses in membership when Fetting and his followers separated. They report a sizeable mission presence in the Yucatan, Philippines, and other nations. Membership is estimated to be eight thousand or nine thousand.[37]

In the aftermath of the death of their founding charismatic prophet, Community of Christ and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints institutionalized the role while still allowing charismatic expression to emerge from time to time. By institutionalizing the role with only one person at a given time as "prophet,"[38] "proph-

37. Interview with William A. Sheldon, September 23, 2009. See also R. Jean Addams, "The Church of Christ (Temple Lot), Its Emergence, Struggles and Early Schisms," *Scattering of the Saints: Schism within Mormonism*, ed. Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2007), 223.

38. Despite the understanding that all the members of the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are collectively and individually "prophets, seers, and revela-

et" is much more than the specific individual and continues successively through a progression of individuals over time. Without institutionalization of "prophet," the church must wait for the charismatic to reappear, and the longer the wait, the less likely momentum can be maintained.

"Prophet" is an essential ingredient of the Smith-Rigdon Movement. "Prophet" is central to the community of believers. I believe the presence of "prophet" is a determining factor in the longevity of a given community, whether "prophet" is charismatic or institutional. Seemingly insurmountable problems occur when an individual is understood as "prophet" in an exclusive manner but is not authoritatively succeeded by another.

The Temple Lot church assertively dealt with the problem by going back to its roots, repudiating Otto Fetting as "prophet" and institutionalizing its position that God can speak to or through anyone in a non-exclusive manner. Community of Christ and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have dealt with the problem by insuring single-person succession of "prophet" in perpetuity.

The groups that accept Fetting's, Nerren's, McCumber's, or Draves's reported messages, however, are caught between a stated position and actual practice, hopefully awaiting the Messenger to visit a new "scribe" to record further divine communication. The problem is that the disunity among the message-believing churches insures the difficulty that any new claims of visits will be met with extreme prejudice.

I think it is clear from the several examples within the Smith-Rigdon Movement, that "prophet" is something that is not simply external to the believing community. It is the believers themselves who imbue "prophet" with meaning and give shape and texture to just what "prophet" is that can transcend the human limits with charismatic speech. In that sense, "prophet" is essential to the faith culture of the Smith-Rigdon Movement, without which the movement itself has little or no substance.

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tors," only the president of the church is considered to be "the" prophet.

church's International Headquarters in Independence, Missouri. An earlier version of this paper was presented at Sunstone Symposium in Ogden, Utah in August 2011.

William T. Blue: A Lonely Spokesman for Black Saints

William D. Russell

The numbers of African Americans in the Reorganized Church[1] were few until recent years. The church usually followed respectable middle-class American opinion on matters of race, as Roger Launius argues convincingly in his book *Invisible Saints*,[2] a title likely inspired by Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*.[3] During the Reconstruction period (1865–77) after the American Civil War (1861–65), the church made a reasonable effort to convert African Americans, and the earliest congregations were apparently not segregated by race. But the reform impulse dimmed in the United States after the Reconstruction period. By the closing years of the nineteenth century the South had gradually moved toward strict racial segregation. Church leaders came to favor segregated congregations in the South, bowing to racial prejudice in the larger society as well as in the church. Church leaders concluded that, especially in the South, integrated congregations could not be successful. Launius concluded that by 1881 the church had adopted an informal policy of segregation in its congregations in the South and had a policy of using blacks to minister to blacks in the rest of the church as well.[4] Launius concluded that "the ideals of racial justice could not be squared with the realities of bigotry in society and that some compromise had to be reached."[5]

1. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints until April 6, 2001, when the name was changed to Community of Christ.

2. Roger D. Launius, *Invisible Saints: A History of Black Americans in the Reorganized Church* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1988).

3. Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Random House, 1952).

4. On January 15, 1989, Launius discussed his book in a lecture at the RLDS Stone Church in Independence which was published under the title, "Comments on *Invisible Saints:* A Personal Essay on Self-Discovery," in *Distinguished Author Lectures, Volume I, 1988–1989* (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1989): 33.

5. Launius, "Comments," 41.

While Joseph Smith Jr., advocated a gradual emancipation of slavery in his political platform when he ran for president of the United States in 1844,[6] he had earlier been supportive of the institution of slavery, especially when the members were doing significant missionary work in the South in the late 1830s. In his long-lasting and widely read classic, *Mormon Doctrine*, LDS apostle Bruce M. McConkie (1915–85), who believed racial segregation was divinely favored, cited some of Smith's teachings. For example, McConkie writes that "Cain, Ham, and the whole negro race have been curses with a black skin, the mark of Cain."[7] McConkie also says that "Racial degeneration, resulting in differences in appearance and spiritual aptitude, has arisen since the fall," again quoting Joseph Smith in Moses 5 and also Abraham 1:20–27. McConkie also notes that Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon "explains why the Lamanites received dark skins and a degenerate status."[8]

McConkie also has this to say:

> However, in a broad general sense, caste systems have their root and origin in the gospel itself, and when they operate according to the divine decree, the resultant restrictions and *segregation* are right and proper and have the approval of the Lord. To illustrate: Cain, Ham, and the whole negro race have been cursed with a black skin, the mark of Cain, so they may be identified as a caste apart, a people with whom the other descendants of Adam should not inter-marry. (Gen. 4, Moses 5)[9]

The LDS church did not withdraw *Mormon Doctrine* from sale until 2010.[10]

When the first two African American appointee ministers retired,[11] George H. Graves in 1908 and William H. Fuller in 1925, the post-Civil War status of the former slaves in the United States had sunk to its low point.[12] African Americans had

6. See Smith's political platform in Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, *The Mormon Quest for the Presidency: From Joseph Smith to Mitt Romney and Jon Huntsman* (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2011), appendix A, "General Smith's Views," 325–37.

7. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 114, citing Moses 5; reissued by Deseret Book in 1979, one year after the declaration lifting the ban on denial of the priesthood to anyone of any portion of African blood. McConkie also says that "Racial degeneration, resulting in differences in appearance and spiritual aptitude, has arisen since the fall," again citing Moses 5 and also Abraham 1:20–27. McConkie also notes that Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon "explains why the Lamanites received dark skins and a degenerate status (2 Nephi 5:21).

8. 2 Nephi 5:21, LDS edition.

9. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 114.

10. See Stirling Adams's article, "The End of Bruce R. McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine*," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, 32, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2012): 59–69.

11. In the RLDS church, the term "church appointee" referred to a full-time minister, hired by the church leaders in Independence and paid out of general church rather than local funds.

12. George H. Graves and William H. Fuller came from different backgrounds. Graves was born in 1847 in Niagara, Ontario, Canada, while Fuller was born a slave on January 1, 1851, in Fayetteville, Georgia. See Launius, *Invisible Saints*, 166, 175, 184. On George H. Graves's career in the church see Roger Launius, "George H. Graves: First Black Missionary," *Saints' Heritage: A Journal of the Restoration Trail Foundation* (1988): 11–31.

become more or less invisible in the larger society as well as in the church, and church leaders did not hire another African American appointee until Richard Hawks in 1978.[13]

Joseph Smith III was eleven when his father was murdered at the Carthage, Illinois, jail in 1844. Launius writes: "In some respects concerning the race issue, Smith was fortunate that he was never closely associated with his father in church leadership capacities. This left him free to make decisions on the subject [of race] without regard to historical precedent."[14] "Young Joseph," as he was often referred to in his early years as church president, may not have noticed, or perhaps he explained away, the racist passages in the Three Standard Books of scripture in the RLDS church.[15]

Joseph Smith III became the church president on April 6, 1860. One year later the United States was plunging into the Civil War. Young Joseph sided with Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans, and as the war was coming to an end in 1865, people were asking what would be the status of the former slaves now that they were free. Apparently that question was on the minds of some church members, and Joseph responded to requests for guidance by issuing a statement that was canonized thirteen years later as section 116 of the RLDS Doctrine and Covenants. This statement stressed the importance that the gospel be preached in every land and that "men of every tongue shall minister before me." It goes on to say, "Therefore it is expedient in me that you ordain priests unto me, of every race who receive the teachings of my law."[16]

Two qualifications in the revelation have received discussion over the years. First, the fact that it says "priests" led conservatively inclined members to think that black men should be ordained only to the Aaronic offices of priest, teacher, or deacon, and not to the higher level offices such as elder and high priest. Although that did occur in some locations, the church generally did not limit their ordination to the Aaronic order. But ordinations to the office of elder were few in the first half century or so. Secondly, section 116 also states, "Be not hasty in ordaining men of the Negro race to

13. The only history of the African American experience in the RLDS church is Roger D. Launius, *Invisible Saints*. Two journal articles are: Arlyn R. Love, "The First Presidency's Response to the Civil Rights Movement," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 4 (1984): 41–50 and William D. Russell, "A Priestly Role for a Prophetic Church: The RLDS Church and Black Americans," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1979): 37–49. Richard Hawks also became the first African American Seventy in the Reorganization (Elijah Abel was ordained a Seventy during Joseph Smith Jr.'s lifetime) and the first African American president of Seventy and is at this time the only African American to have ever served as Campus Minister at Graceland College (since 2000 Graceland University).

14. Launius, *Invisible Saints*, 112–13.

15. Launius reviews the racist passages in RLDS scriptures on pages 42–44. See also Lester E. Bush Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: A Historical Overview," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1973): 11–68 and Russell, "A Priestly Role," 37–49.

16. Community of Christ Doctrine and Covenants 116:1bc.

offices in my church."[17] For those who felt that the church should go slower ordaining blacks than whites, others have responded that the church should not be hasty in ordaining any group of people of whatever race or class.

But by the late 1870s the humanitarian zeal of the Republican Party on race had faded, and so did that of Joseph Smith III, at least by the 1890s. By then the situation for African Americans had diminished significantly. There was a dramatic increase in the number of lynchings in the South. In 1895 Booker T. Washington gave his widely acclaimed speech in Atlanta, promising that American blacks just want to be productive citizens and don't want to marry your daughter or be politicians. Perhaps Washington's statement gave the Supreme Court the idea that "separate but equal" public accommodations do not violate the Constitution, as that is what they ruled in 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*.[18] Few white people saw any problem with racial segregation. Joseph III also moved toward that view.[19] Launius concluded that because of the lukewarm position of Joseph III, "no blacks were ordained to the office of elder until George F. Crawley in 1893."[20]

According to Roger Launius, by 1881 the church had adopted an informal policy of segregation in its congregations in the South and had a policy of using blacks to minister to blacks.[21] He concluded that "the ideals of racial justice could not be squared with the realities of bigotry in society and that some compromise had to be reached."[22]

In the first century of the Reorganized church, 1852–1952, debates raged between the RLDS in the Midwest and the Latter-day Saints in Utah. The *Saints' Herald*, especially in the nineteenth century, carried reports of actual debates from time to time, and as reported in the *Herald*, it seemed that the RLDS advocates always got the best of their LDS foes, whether LDS, Disciples of Christ, or any other.[23] But during that first century, the RLDS speakers and writers saw no need to criticize the LDS church's policy on race. It could have been seen as one of those "fundamental differences" between the two churches, but it apparently wasn't very important, much less "fundamental." Race did not become a significant issue for RLDS church leadership until the US civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s when signifi-

17. Community of Christ Doctrine and Covenants 116:4a.

18. *Plessy v. Ferguson* 163 US 537 (1896).

19. Russell, "A Priestly Role," 41.

20. Launius, lecture, 45n6. Launius adds a long note citing Joseph Smith's memoirs in the *Saints' Herald* 84, no. 30 (July 24, 1937): 944.

21. Launius, "Comment," 33.

22. Ibid., 41.

23. Many debates were with either the LDS or Disciples of Christ. See Wayne Ham's 1986 presidential address in the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, "Truth Affirmed, Error Denied: The Great Debates of the Reorganization," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 7 (1987): 3–11.

cant numbers of Americans and RLDS members became sensitive to the fact that America had treated its African Americans citizens very badly. Presidents Israel A. Smith (1946–58) and W. Wallace Smith (1958–78) were very slow coming to accept the legitimacy of efforts to insure racial equality.

Russell F. Ralston, a missionary Seventy who served for several years in Utah, published a book in 1960, *Fundamental Differences Between the LDS and RLDS Churches*. Ralston was perhaps the first RLDS author to publish the assertion that the differing treatment of African Americans was another sign of the superiority of the RLDS church.[24]

It appears that the first African American baptisms in the RLDS church occurred in 1866, one year after the Fifteenth Amendment freed the slaves and after Joseph Smith III's May 4, 1865, revelation allowing ordination for African American males that became section 116 in the Doctrine and Covenants. In the July 1, 1866, *True Latter Day Saints Herald*, Joseph Smith III reported that William A. Litz and Calvin Beebe, laboring in Alabama, had baptized fourteen African Americans, who had "obeyed the word under the preaching of Bro. Beebe and … Brother Litz."[25]

Caroline Booker and her husband Benjamin were early converts. They had been slaves owned by William Booker, a church member. After emancipation in 1865 Benjamin and Caroline apparently were hired by Booker to work for them. Family tradition holds that Caroline was working around the house one day and happened to observe William Booker's son being administered to by a church missionary. Apparently the boy was miraculously healed.[26] Caroline immediately wanted to be baptized into the Reorganized church, but her husband was opposed. He feared her baptism would be "misconstrued as an attempt to muscle into white society." She finally convinced her husband to join, too, and they both were baptized by a missionary, G. R. Scogin, on July 13, 1868.[27]

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24. Russell F. Ralston, *Fundamental Differences* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1960); reprinted in 1998 by Price Publishing Company, Independence, Missouri. Ralston added four pages on the race issue at the end of this book. Ralston at the time was a Seventy who had spent a significant amount of time in Utah. In 1964 he was ordained an apostle and served in the Council of Twelve Apostles until his retirement in 1976. Only five years later, in 1965, Aleah Koury wrote another book comparing the beliefs of the two churches. Koury did not include race as one of the differences to be lifted up: Aleah G. Koury, *The Truth and the Evidence* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1965). The title is revealing: on each issue it appears that he began knowing the truth—the RLDS position was correct—and then he marshaled the evidence in support of that truth. To no one's surprise, the RLDS prevailed on all the issues raised. At the time I asked Aleah why he was writing this book so soon after Ralston's book. His answer was that his book would be more friendly to the LDS than Ralston's. Both men were called into the Quorum of the Twelve soon after their missionary service in Utah.

25. Joseph Smith III, "Pleasant Chat," *True Latter Day Saints Herald* 10, no. 1 (July 1, 1866): 1.

26. William T. Blue, a descendant of Benjamin and Caroline Booker, relates this story in "The First Negro Saint," *Stories of the Restoration* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1953): 70–73. We probably don't know if Caroline Booker was the first of the sixteen blacks reported to have been baptized in 1866.

27. Launius, *Invisible Saints*, 137.

Launius reports that by 1880 there were pockets of African American members in the church, the largest number in the area around Toronto. There were also some black members scattered in Kansas and Maine. And probably due in part to the missionary labors of Elders Litz and Beebe, there were also some black members in a few congregations in southern Alabama and northern Florida. It appears that was about the only place in the South where there were black members in those days. Early on, there were no racially segregated churches for African American members in southern Alabama and northern Florida. This racial integration probably reflects the fact that in the first three decades or so after the Civil War, the South hadn't developed the rigid system of racial segregation known as "Jim Crow."[28]

In the early decades after the Civil War blacks were voting and some were elected to public office, including twenty-two to the halls of Congress—two Senators and twenty Representatives.[29] Thus it would have been possible in the early years after the Civil War for white congregations in southern Alabama and northern Florida to have black members without suffering persecution from their neighbors. By approximately the turn of the century, however, when Jim Crow laws came into being in many southern states, integrated churches would have been difficult to maintain.

While theoretically, churches as religious institutions are free under the First Amendment of the US Constitution to admit blacks if they see fit, it would not have been easy for a white congregation to defy local social norms. As Roger Launius indicates in his *Invisible Saints* and in his published lecture about his experience writing the book, the church was not willing to move beyond the norms of conventional American society during this time.

Launius concluded that by 1881 the church had adopted an informal policy of segregation in its congregations in the South and had a policy of using blacks to minister to blacks.[30] He concluded that "the ideals of racial justice could not be squared with the realities of bigotry in society and that some compromise had to be reached."[31]

The period 1890–1945 was the low point in the history of African Americans after emancipation in 1865.[32] The optimism of the Reconstruction period (1865–77)[33]

28. The classic study of the rise of Jim Crow in the Deep South is C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

29. In those days US Senators were chosen by state legislatures. Both Senators represented Mississippi. Hiram Revels was appointed in 1870 to fill out the last year of the seat that had become vacant. Bruce was chosen by the Mississippi legislature in 1874 and served a full six-year term.

30. Launius, Lecture, 33.

31. Ibid., 41.

32. It is often thought that President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 freed the slaves, but that was only a threat. It was the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1865 that legally freed the slaves.

33. "Reconstruction" in this context refers to the period in which southern states had Republican governments. After the Civil War, a Republican coalition composed of the emancipated slaves, "carpetbaggers" (Northerners who fought for the Union and returned to the South after the war and supported the Republican Party) and

faded as reaction set in, including the organization of the Ku Klux Klan shortly after the war ended. Using violence and intimidation, the Klan and other whites kept many African Americans from voting. The election of African Americans to public office declined, and by 1901 there were no more blacks in either house of Congress.

Lynching of African Americans also became more frequent. In the last sixteen years of the nineteenth century more than 150 blacks were lynched per year, on average, mostly in the Deep South but some in the upper South and the Midwest. These blacks were usually murdered by white mobs. White men had no reason to fear prosecution for their crimes.[34] In response to this oppression, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was organized in 1909. Men like the scholarly Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the first African American to earn a PhD at Harvard University, led the organization as it battled, using educational activities and lawsuits, to bring a greater level of justice for blacks. In 1919 the NAACP published a book, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889–1918*. In the nineteen-teens they began a long series of successful lawsuits, culminating in the historic school desegregation case of *Brown v. Board of Education* 249 US 294 (1954).

After World War II more white Americans became concerned about the way African Americans were being treated, and some church members began to advocate that the church do something about it. Wilford Winholtz of Independence, Missouri, and others pushed for passage of general conference resolutions affirming racial equality. A resolution was passed in 1948, the first one since 1875. The 1875 resolution was approved during the Reconstruction years, decades before laws in the South required racial segregation and denied the vast majority of African Americans the right to vote. The vast majority of RLDS members were not from the southern United States and therefore normally reflected northern views on race.

The 1875 resolution opened with this statement: "It is the opinion of this assembly that the gospel is to be offered to all mankind, irrespective of color, nationality, sex, or condition in life.[35] The 1948 resolution is similar and shorter than the 1875 affirmation. The entire resolution is as follows: "All men are God's creatures. He cre-

"scalawags" (a term of reproach referring to Southerners who supported the Republican Party). The period of Reconstruction was not the same for each state. In each state, when the Democrats ousted the Republican Party from control of the government, the state was considered by southern whites to have been "redeemed." The Democratic governments were "Redeemer governments."

34. The Emmett Till case illustrates the problem. Till was a fourteen-year-old who came from his home in Chicago to visit family in Money, Mississippi. In a store, he was dared by other black kids to "talk fresh" to a white woman in the store. When he did, he paid with his life. The two men who murdered him were quickly acquitted when they came to trial. The sheriff treated the two men like you would treat celebrities as he escorted them between the jail and the courtroom. This story is well told in the first episode of the highly acclaimed film series, narrated by Julian Bond and produced and directed by Judith Vecchione, "Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years" (Blackside, Turner Home Entertainment, 1987).

35. General Conference Resolution 171 (April 10, 1875), *World Conference Resolutions, 2002 Edition* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 2003), 15.

ated of one blood all nations and races, and in the presence of God divisions of race are transcended; 'There is neither Greek nor Jew … Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all, and in all.'"[36]

When the civil rights movement became prominent in the United States after the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the 1955–56 Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott, the number of concerned RLDS members increased, along with the increase in public support for equal rights for African Americans. This led to a stronger resolution on race at the church's 1956 General Conference. Numerous articles were published in church periodicals during this period.[37] The First Presidency, however, was very slow responding affirmatively to the civil rights movement, as was documented by Arlyn Love in his 1984 article in this journal.[38]

In July 1960, one month after graduating with my BA in religion from Graceland College in Lamoni, Iowa, I began work as a member of the editorial department at

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36. General Conference Resolution 963 (October 8, 1948), *World Conference Resolutions, 2002 Edition* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 2003): 38.

37. Stride published the following: Carol Freeman Brady, "Desegregation's Challenge to You" (pilot issue, 1956); Marian Blumenschein, "Racial Integration through Friendship" (November 1956); Deam Ferris, "What Is Color" (May 1958); Katherine Owens, "A Testimony on Race" (May 1956); Dale F. Ward "Brothers' First Meeting"; Barbara Howard, "The Gospel is Not 'For Whites Only,'" (August 1959); Wilford Winholtz, "Christ's Message Was for All the Races" (December 1960); William D. Russell, "Our Number One Domestic Problem" (October 1965); William T. Blue Sr., "A Negro Pastor Looks at Brotherhood" (April 1961); Louise Scott Wrigley, "Yes, We're Integrated" (December 1961); Melvin Fowler, "An Anthropologist Looks at Race" (February 1962); Lynn Weldon, "Probing Our Prejudice" (March 1962); William D. Russell, "Taxation without Representation" (May 1965); William D. Russell, "Discrimination in the Administration of Justice" (June 1965); Deam Ferris, "Interracial Marriage" (October 1963); Gladys Forbes, "Why I Marched" (November 1963); Sara Baker, "We Bought in a White Neighborhood" (September 1964).

Articles in the *Saints' Herald* were: Lucille Oliver, "The Worth of Souls" (February 17, 1958); Roger Yarrington, "Negro Lessons in Christianity" (November 24, 1958); Minnie F. Armstrong, "Let Us Help Make People Free" (December 1, 1958); Roy Vandel, "Brotherhood—A Christian Duty" (August 27, 1959); Mrs. Herman Eliason, "Prayer Helps Change Racial Prejudice" (January 11, 1960); Ethyle D. Woodruff, "IF Ye Love Me" (May 9, 1960); Roger Yarrington, "Civil Obedience is Required of Saints" (August 29, 1960); W. Wallace Smith, "States Rights and the Constitution" (November 1, 1962); Roy Muir, "Let's Teach Our Children to Love: (June 1, 1963); Paul A. Wellington, "The Restoration Attitude towards Race" (November 15, 1963); Roy Muir, Blood, Sweat and Prayers for Christian Brotherhood" (February 15, 1964); Katherine J. Owens, "How Much Love?" (February 15, 1964); Carroll Thompson, "You Can Do Something about Prejudice" (April 15, 1964); George W. Buckner, "Voter Registration: The Church's Business" (September 1, 1964); Reed W. Holmes, "The Right of a Dark-Brown Skin" (September 15, 1964); Paul A. Wellington, "The Test of Brotherhood" (February 15, 1965); Joe Pearson, "Discrimination in Housing" (April 15, 1966); Verne Sparkes, "Sinful Man and the Civil Rights Dilemma" (October 15, 1966); Lloyd R. Young, "A Perspective on Racism" (July 15, 1968); Bob Smith, "The Churches and White Supremacy in America" (July 15, 1968); and these six editorials by William D. Russell: "Deny Tax Exemptions to Segregated Churches?" (September 15, 1962); "Discrimination in Capital Punishment" (March 1, 1963); "Can Intolerance Beget Freedom?" (April 1, 1963); "Ten Years Later" (May 15, 1963); "Martin Luther King: Satan or Saint?" (July 1, 1963); "They Died for a Cause" (May 1, 1965).

In the church's quarterly publication sent to all college students, *The University Bulletin*, were the following articles: Dick Ankeny, "This Problem of Integration" (Summer 1957); Harley A. Morris, "Where the Solution Lies" (Summer 1957); William D. Russell, "We Are on the Move Now" (Spring 1965).

38. Love, "The First Presidency's Response ," 41–50.

Herald Publishing House, the official publishing arm of the RLDS church. My main assignment was editor of the church's youth magazine, *Stride*. I was also an assistant editor of the *Saints' Herald*. It was a great job for a twenty-two-year-old kid, just out of college.[39]

During my first week on the job, managing editor Roger Yarrington suggested that I go to see Carl Mesle in his office at church headquarters for ideas about topics, and especially names and addresses of people in the church who might be good authors of articles for *Stride*. Carl was in charge of ministry to college and university students as well as armed forces personnel, and he was well-connected with the newly emerging RLDS professional associations. It was no doubt Carl who suggested that a man who might write a good article for *Stride* was elder William T. Blue Sr., the pastor of the Belmont Street Mission in Pensacola, Florida, a racially segregated congregation. Segregation was the rule in the American south, and it was strictly enforced, sometimes with violence, including lynching. The First Amendment of the US Constitution guarantees "the free exercise of religion," but only a very few Protestant congregations in the Deep South defied the norms of their community by integrating.

"Brother Blue," as he was usually called by church members, wrote a very moving article entitled, "A Negro Pastor Looks at Brotherhood." I spoke glowingly of this article to friends at church headquarters, like Dick and Jim Lancaster, Clifford Buck, Howard Booth, Dick Hughes, and Athol Packer. Soon word got back to apostle Arthur Oakman, whose apostolic field included states in the Deep South. One day the phone rang in my office. The conversation went something like this:

"Brother Russell, this is Arthur Oakman, speaking."

"Oh, hello Brother Oakman, how are you doing?"

"I understand that you have an article by Brother Bill Blue that might be highly controversial."

"Oh, it's a great article. I'm sure you'll love it. In fact, I could send you a Xerox copy of it if you would like to read it."

"Well, I probably shouldn't be in the position of advising on articles," said Oakman.

Later that day I told managing editor Roger Yarrington, about the phone conversation. "Oh, don't ever send an article to the First Presidency or any of the Twelve

39. I owe a huge debt to the late Roger Yarrington for giving me the greatest professional break of my life. Of course Roger, the new managing editor at the church's publishing house, was only twenty-nine at the time, so perhaps, at twenty-two, I didn't seem so young to him. And Carl Mesle was extremely helpful to me by connecting me with many professional people in the church who wrote articles for *Stride* during my four years as editor, 1960–64. One person Carl connected me with was William T. Blue Sr., the result being his April 1961, article in *Stride*, "A Negro Pastor Looks at Brotherhood" (April 1961).

before it is published," Roger urged. His attitude was to let them complain after the article is published. I was glad I hadn't sent the article to Apostle Oakman.

I chose Brother Blue's article for the lead in the April 1961 issue of *Stride*. I don't know what Oakman thought of it, as I didn't hear from him again on the matter. In the four years I was editor of *Stride*, no article gladdened my heart as much as this one. Certainly Brother Blue's article helped embolden me to see our church publications as needing to address the sin of racial segregation and discrimination. If a man like Bill Blue was willing to take risks as he has, when he lives in danger every day, especially if he speaks up like he did in this article, then I should be willing to take the lesser risk that I have, being white and living more or less in the North.[40]

Bill's 1961 article in *Stride* magazine was published just as the civil rights movement was getting into high gear.[41] The sit-ins and freedom rides had recently occurred in various southern cities. In two years the Birmingham demonstrations and the March on Washington would capture the nation's attention and lead to the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In 1965 the Selma-to-Montgomery march would lead to the Voting Rights Act of that year. These two laws are often regarded as the most important congressional actions on race during the years of the civil rights movement.

The 1968 World Conference was being held during the week that Dr. King was murdered,[42] and Brother Blue introduced a motion, seconded by Dale Volskay, entitled "Implementation of Racial Brotherhood." The motion passed with minor amendments.[43] Adopted by the conference on April 6, the birthday of the church, this resolution stated: "That this Conference go on record as commending those who have moved out with specific programs of compassionate witness of the gospel to all racial and ethnic groups and to the Negro in particular." The resolution asked that "stakes, districts, branches, and members be called upon to reach out with a greater expression of Christian love to share this message of faith, hope, and brotherhood with all racial and ethnic groups around and among us.... that this restored gospel might truly provide a pattern of Zionic brotherhood to the world."[44]

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40. I say "more or less," because I was from Michigan and I regarded Independence, Missouri, as kind of a southern town.

41. Most historians date the civil rights movement as beginning in a serious way with the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, *Brown v. Board of Education* and the 1955–56 bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, begun by Rosa Parks and led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., but in the early years of the 1960s the tempo increased with the sit-ins and freedom rides, the Birmingham demonstrations, the march on Washington, and the Selma-to-Montgomery march of 1965.

42. April 4, 1968.

43. The resolution Blue and Volksay offered was entitled, "Implementation of Racial Brotherhood," *1968 World Conference Bulletin*, 269 and 287, but as published as Resolution 1075 in *World Conference Resolutions* it is entitled, "Gospel to Racial and Ethnic Groups."

44. World Conference Resolution 1075 (April 6, 1968), in Community of Christ, *World Conference Resolutions, 2002 Edition* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House), 51.

William Taft Blue was born March 22, 1910, with his middle name that of the Republican president at the time. Possibly the Blue family were Republicans, as were most African Americans until the Depression or later. It was the party of Lincoln back then. Bill's grandfather, Ephraim Blue,[45] was born a slave in the year of emancipation, 1865. Bill reports that during the time when his great-grandfather was still a slave, he was fed in a trough like a pig.[46] But he didn't go to school. He worked for white people, and they didn't appreciate blacks being educated. During the years of slavery in the United States, customs and laws forbade blacks from being educated.[47] A literate black could be a threat to the way of life in the slave culture. "They would beat you if they caught you trying to read."[48] Bill Blue only went to school for three years because he chose to work to help support his grandparents' family. He received an eighth grade certificate because he was performing at that level.[49]

William Blue's family on the maternal side got their name from their slave masters, the Bookers. As a result, there are Bookers of both races in the church today.[50] When Bill was a child, they held church services in his grandfather's living room and later in his aunt's living room when he was a young adult.[51] "In my early years, I wanted to go to heaven when I die," Blue recalled in a 1999 interview with RLDS church historian Mark Scherer. "So I thought to do that I would have to be in the RLDS Church.… my grandmother and all my kindred were members of the church. And there was no question about whether I should join or not."[52] Being a member of the RLDS church sometimes brought tension to the family. Since the Blue family was affiliated with a predominately white church, they were called "white folks' niggers" by some blacks.[53]

Blue recalls that he learned to read by reading to his grandmother from the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the church's magazine for children, *Stepping Stones*. His grandmother insisted that the children make contributions toward the building of the Auditorium, the church headquarters building in Independence, which was finally completed in 1958, three decades after construction had be-

45. Ephraim Blue married Sallie Booker.

46. Blue, "A Negro Pastor," 2.

47. Recall that when Frederick Douglass was a slave, the wife of his owner began teaching him to read, but when her husband found out, he made her quit teaching Frederick. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960); originally published in 1845.

48. David R. Brock's Eulogy at the funeral of William T. Blue Sr., 2007.

49. Blue, "A Negro Pastor," 2.

50. Gwendolyn Hawks Blue, telephone interview with William D. Russell, September 3, 2009.

51. William Taft Blue, Oral History by Mark Scherer, October 28, 1999, pp. 8–9.

52. Ibid., 25.

53. Ibid., 4.

gun. She would always send their tithing money to Independence even though they were in need of shoes and clothes.[54] Bill remembers a tithing statement of ten cents.

Bill Blue married Carrie Bell Armstrong on November 6, 1932.[55] They had three children, William Taft Blue Jr. (born 1934), Robert Alexander (born 1936), and Gwendolyn Elaine (born 1947).

Bill was ordained a priest in 1947 at the age of thirty-seven.[56] After he was ordained to the priesthood he was asked to offer a prayer at the white congregation, and he remembered that "some of the members resented it."[57] Soon he was pastor of the segregated black mission which was known until 1958 as the "Colored Mission."[58] He served as pastor for most of the next twenty-one years. They were able to move from meeting in homes to a church building when they built the Belmont Street Mission, which was on a different side of town from the large brick church where the whites worshipped. "I think I baptized about twenty individuals," Blue recalls. About fourteen were relatives.[59] District president Warren Chelline told *Saints' Herald* editor Roger Yarrington that "Brother Blue is doing a wonderful work." In a 1959 letter to Roger Yarrington, assistant editor of the *Saints' Herald* at the time, Warren Chelline wrote, "We are especially proud of the fine leadership and pastoral qualities of our Elder William T. Blue."[60]

Israel A. Smith, church president from 1946 until 1958, once visited in Bill and Carrie's home. As a young man in the Navy, future church president Wallace B. Smith preached at the Belmont Street Mission.[61] Some of the white priesthood members came to the Belmont Street Mission on occasion to preach, but these occasions were few.[62] On the other hand, Bill was never invited to preach at any of the white churches.

The only white congregation in Pensacola was called "The Pensacola Branch," while the black congregation was "The Belmont Street Mission," as though the black congregation was not part of the RLDS church in Pensacola. Brother Blue recalls that when blacks attended the Pensacola Branch, "they would designate an area for us to sit.... A line or rope was hung there." Gwendolyn recalls that she felt excluded,

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54. Ibid., 26.

55. Gwendolyn Hawks, e-mail to author, March 14, 2010.

56. Blue, oral history, 8.

57. Ibid., 4.

58. Warren Chelline, district president in Pensacola, to Roger Yarrington, assistant editor of the *Saints' Herald,* 30 July 1959. Chelline ws the minister assigned for several years to Pensacola by the church leadership in Independence.

59. Blue, oral history, 7.

60. Warren Chelline to Roger Yarrington, 30 July 1959.

61. Telephone conversation with the author.

62. Gwendolyn Blue e-mail to the author, August 5, 2012.

being confined to the back of the church.[63] The white saints said "it was because of the law." Gwendolyn recalls sitting in those seats which were roped off, wondering, "if someone representing the law was going to burst in here" if we were not sitting in the designated area.[64] Bill didn't believe the claim that the laws required segregation in churches. After all, the First Amendment gives Americans "the free exercise of religion," and the Episcopal Church in Pensacola had a mixed congregation."[65]

One time Brother Blue went to hear a missionary who came to the Pensacola branch to preach. The presiding elder called him aside and told him not to sit in the sanctuary. "You go back in the hallway where they won't see you. We are trying to do some missionary work among the people."[66] The reasoning was that potential white converts would be offended by his presence in the sanctuary, and a missionary opportunity would be lost. "That really hurt me," Blue recalled many years later at the age of eighty-nine.[67]

Once in the 1950s Bill drove sixty miles to a priesthood-and-wives dinner in Mobile, Alabama, with his wife Carrie and his aunt Henrietta Booker. When it came time to eat he was told, "Brother Blue, you wait until the rest of them eat and we will fix you a table."[68] The three of them had to eat in the corner of the church.[69]

In order to attend reunion or other church camps, the Blue family and other African American families would have to go as cooks or custodians.[70] It was permissible under the social mores of the segregated South if blacks were doing work that servants normally do. Gwendolyn recalls, "Legally, the premise was that you could be here if you are employed. That was the only way you could mix the races."[71] But they could not attend as regular campers. Therefore Gwendolyn and her brothers could only attend church camps if they were accompanied by their parents working as servants at the camp.[72]

In 1954 or 1955, when Gwen was about seven or eight years old, the youth at a church reunion (family camp) were going to the public pool to swim.[73] Gwen recalls: "I was standing there waiting to get on the bus and they drove off and left me." Her

63. Barbara Howard, interview in Lamoni, Iowa, October 18, 2012, recalled Gwendolyn saying this.

64. Blue, oral interview, 18; daughter Gwendolyn sat in on the interview with Mark Scherer and occasionally added information, such as this comment.

65. Blue, "A Negro Pastor," 4.

66. "The people," of course, refers only to white people, but not African Americans.

67. Blue, oral interview, 18.

68. Ibid., 19.

69. Ibid.

70. Blue, "A Negro Pastor," 21.

71. Blue, oral interview, 21.

72. Presumably blacks could have been hired as custodians and thereby attended meetings at the camp.

73. Blue, oral interview, 21.

father, forty-five years later, recalled: "This brought tears to my eyes … She was in her bathing suit, ready to go to the pool, and the youth leader came and told her she couldn't go. That really broke my heart."[74] Church appointee minister John Darling and his wife Beatrice came up to Gwendolyn and comforted her. About forty years later Gwendolyn, by then a high priest and a member of the church's Standing High Council, was preaching at the church's rest home in Independence and told this story. She didn't realize that John Darling was in the congregation until he introduced himself after the service. Gwen was delighted to see this man who had shown such compassion for her in that difficult situation many years ago.[75]

One time some white church teenagers had agreed to pick up Bill Jr., to go to an activity. But their parents told them, "Don't you invite that nigger! Don't you pick him up."[76] Bill Jr., waited and waited but they didn't come to pick him up. Bill Sr., said "This was another heartbreak; they would do my son like that."[77]

It might not be too surprising to know that some church members, including priesthood, were members of the Ku Klux Klan in those days. In the 1960s at Herald House I had a long correspondence with elder Joseph E. Phillips, who claimed that a majority of the priesthood in his Eros, Louisiana, congregation were members of the Ku Klux Klan. I don't know if there were that many KKK men in the Eros congregation, but I presume Elder Phillips was a Klansman.[78] And his nephew, the late Barney Fuller, who grew up in the Eros congregation with his uncle Joseph, told me in a conversation about ten years ago that he wouldn't be surprised if his uncle Joseph's statement was true.

Sometimes appointee ministers the church assigned to the Deep South were men from the North who were not comfortable with racial segregation. Apparently John Darling was in that category. Warren Chelline was as well. Chelline was the church appointee assigned to Pensacola in the late 1950s when a Ku Klux Klan incident occurred near Pensacola. A speaker at a Ku Klux Klan rally held across the state line in Alabama identified himself as an elder in the RLDS church working in the tire business in Alabama. Dressed in his Klan robe, the elder and the other minister condemned the traditional enemies of the KKK—Negroes, Catholics and Jews, as well as the Supreme Court, President Eisenhower, progressive education,

74. Blue, oral interview, 22.

75. Gwendolyn Blue, in William Blue, oral interview.

76. Blue, oral interview, 23.

77. Ibid.

78. Elder Phillips's nephew, Barney Fuller, my friend from our days as students at Graceland, told me he had no reason to doubt his uncle's claim regarding RLDS men in the Klan.

foreign aid, communism, the mental health program, "and a variety of other individuals, groups, and programs."[79]

Chelline was the district president in Pensacola and was very disturbed by this article, so he wrote a letter published five days later in the *Pensacola News* saying the church didn't support this man's views,[80] citing General Conference Resolution 995, passed just two years earlier, in 1956.[81] Chelline quoted the following from that resolution:

"The gospel is for all mankind. It knows no distinction of race or color."

"The possibility of sharing the gospel has always been influenced by racial, social, economic, educational, and political factors. This is still true."

"The social patterns are changing in the direction of closer integration by the various groups comprising the total population. It is difficult to imagine segregated churches in a society that teaches the gospel of Jesus Christ."[82]

Chelline wrote that "the elder involved has no status in this area, and steps are being taken to withdraw from him his ministerial privileges."[83] Some local Saints were not happy with this and wrote to church headquarters in Independence wanting Chelline removed from his Pensacola assignment.[84] Crosses were burned on Chelline's lawn. Church officials told Chelline to come to Independence for a couple of weeks while the controversy blew over. When later the church transferred him to Sacramento, California, Chelline was disappointed as he wanted to stay in Pensacola and deal with racism there.[85]

When Bill Blue's article was published in *Stride* in 1961, the City of Pensacola and its schools were still segregated seven years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision had ruled that racial segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional.[86] And so was the RLDS church in Pensacola. In his article Bill regretted that the church has been reluctant to face the racial problem, especially on the local and district level, and he noted that he had an excellent vantage point to understand the issue. He acknowledged that General Conference Resolution 995 in 1956 is "excellent," affirming that "the gospel is for all mankind. It knows no distinction of race or color." But he noted that "in the church we *do* continue to make distinctions along this line,

79 Charles Daw, "New Invisible Klan Empire Only Shadow of Old Self?" *Pensacola News* November 18, 1958. Chelline later told *Saints' Herald* editor Roger Yarrington that the author of the news article is a member of the church and very unsympathetic to the Klan. Chelline to Roger Yarrington, 30 July 1959.

80. Blue, oral interview, 38.

81. In the early 1960s Warren Chelline mailed me these clippings from the *Pensacola News*.

82. Warren H. Chelline (letter to the editor), "Leader Quotes Stand to Show Elder Violated Its Principles as Klan Speaker," *Pensacola News*, November 23, 1958.

83. Chelline letter in the *News*.

84. Blue, oral interview, 21.

85. Chelline told me this in a conversation in my office at Herald House in about 1964.

86. *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 US 483 (1954).

and they result in policies and procedures that illustrate the alleged inferiority of darker-skinned people."[87] He pointed out that while we have segregated congregations for whites and blacks, the US Supreme Court has labeled segregation as immoral.[88] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., often referred to the 11:00 a.m. hour on Sunday as the most segregated hour of the week in America.

Brother Blue wrote that it is not easy to be a Christian and be a faithful member of the church, "but it seems tremendously harder for a Negro in America's beloved Southland. We feel so 'left out.' When a Negro takes his seat in a 'white' congregation, he feels the impact of 235 years of slavery and 95 years of near bondage with more than a few misgivings."[89] He said that "When we are ignored (almost as if we are invisible it seems, as our brethren stare right through us) it widens the breach and defeats the very purpose of our being there at all."[90]

Brother Blue asked the reader to imagine being in the shoes of the Negro members. "Imagine how it would be if *you* were greeted gingerly at the church entrance, then ushered to a pew reserved (with or without special 'colored' signs) for *you*, solely because you are considered inferior. None of your lighter-skinned brethren will sit in the same pew with you, either for fear of what their friends might say or their own unsaintly taboos. Could *you* worship freely and ignore such a condition? Would *you* be able to insulate yourself, as *we* have to do, and withdraw into a protective shell?"[91]

Blue acknowledged that sometimes the shell or crust they develop is "melted away, as some of our brethren allow God's grace to help them minister, but those experiences of fellowship at the Lord's altar are so rare."[92] But he believed that "*our* church should be leading the way."[93] Most active church members in those days believed the RLDS church was the "one true church of Jesus Christ." With that belief it can be shocking when members came to realize that the leaders of the one true church compromised on issues of significant moral importance, like racial equality and integration of congregations. Blue's reaction, "We should be leading the way," is natural, given the "true church" belief that was still wildly held in the RLDS church at the time. It could lead to disillusionment.

Gwendolyn graduated from Booker T. Washington High School in 1964, which was still segregated a decade after the Supreme Court declared racially segregated

87. Blue, "A Negro Pastor," 3.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., 3–4.

90. Ibid., 4.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

public schools violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the US Constitution.

Gwendolyn and her brother William Jr., attended Graceland College in Lamoni, Iowa, which at the time was primarily a two-year college: William Jr., in 1953–55 and Gwendolyn in 1964–66. When Bill Jr., was at Graceland the only other African American students were Katherine Frisby from Detroit and Charlotte Willis from Battle Creek, Michigan. When Gwendolyn came to Graceland as a freshman a decade later in the fall of 1964, there were only three other African American students: Frieda High and Jo Leah Ivy, both from Chicago, and Robert Gaither from nearby Aurora, Illinois. Both Bill Jr., and his sister Gwendolyn went to the University of Kansas after two years at Graceland and they completed their baccalaureate degrees there.[94] After graduation they both remained in the Kansas City area, choosing to live in the North rather than return to the Deep South.

In the 1960s Bill Sr., and his wife Carrie began thinking about moving north, encouraged by Kansas City stake president David Bowerman, who told him, "you could be a real help to the church" in Kansas City.[95] So Bill and Carrie moved to Kansas City in 1969. Their three children were grown by this time.[96]

Blue had done bricklaying in Florida and again when he relocated in Kansas City. The family rented a home in Parade Park at Truman Road and the Paseo. The next year they bought a house at 7212 Bellefontaine in Kansas City. "It was just in the midst of white flight," Gwendolyn recalls. "The people in this area were moving elsewhere."[97] At first the Blue family attended the Eastview Congregation, but Stake President Bowerman suggested they attend the Meyer Boulevard congregation because it was closer to their home. "Whites were leaving the area so he thought this was an opportunity for blacks to attend Meyer Boulevard."[98] Gwen recalls, "When we started at Meyer Boulevard we were the first black family, but there were other black families that came in later."[99] Meyer Boulevard remained a racially mixed congregation with a white majority.[100]

Kansas City was far from a racial paradise in 1969, but Bill recalls that it was "far removed from the segregation that I had experienced in Florida."[101] In Florida he

94. Blue, oral interview, 14.

95. Ibid., 4.

96. Bill and Carrie had three children: William Taft Blue Jr. (b. 1934), Robert Alexander Blue (b. 1936), and Gwendolyn Elaine Blue (b. 1947).

97. Blue, oral interview, 28.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., 29.

100. I was the speaker at a Sunday morning service at the Meyer Boulevard church in 1971, and was delighted that Bill Blue Sr. and Bill Blue Jr., were present.

101. Blue, oral interview, 16.

had never been asked to preach at a white RLDS congregation even though he had been the pastor at the all-black congregation for two decades. But when he moved to Kansas City, there was a great demand for him to preach at various congregations. He had a deep voice, perfect for preaching, public prayer and reading scripture aloud.[102] Bill thought that part of the reason that he had so many early preaching invitations was that "some people had never experienced a black minister." During his first month in Kansas City, "I preached at four different congregations."[103]

When Bill Blue Sr. first spoke at Meyer Boulevard, there was standing room only.[104] Bill recalls never seeing a black face when preaching at various congregations. "I said, 'Don't you have any black friends? If so, why can't they be attracted to this church?'"[105] Bill didn't mind saying this from the pulpit. He recalled, "That might be the reason why I lost my popularity,"[106] as the number of preaching invitations declined. Wife Carrie was often concerned that Bill was too outspoken. Gwendolyn tends to think that he didn't lose popularity, but that after he had spoken at many area congregations it would naturally be awhile before they would invite him back since these invitations tend not to be repeated very soon, even for popular preachers, with so many priesthood members with preaching experience in the Kansas City area. Also, perhaps the novelty of having a "black preacher" was diminishing.

In his 1999 oral interview by church historian Mark Scherer, Blue recalled that "At the time they were trying to bring me up here, they were almost saying that they would put me under appointment." When he applied, he received "some promising letters from the church." But he didn't get appointed.[107] Gwendolyn did not know that her father had been encouraged and had applied for appointment until thirty years later in this interview with Mark Scherer.[108] Had he been appointed, he would have been the first African American appointee minister in the church in many years.[109] Nearly a decade later, in 1978, Richard Hawks became the first African American appointee in more than half a century.

In the interview Scherer asked Blue about the church today, and he replied, "I think the church has been kind of nonchalant" (on race). "They have not been putting forth any real effort toward the black community." In the early 1980s the church

102. When Blue was about ninety years old, he read a scripture from Isaiah at a Peace Colloquy at the Community of Christ Temple in Independence. His deep voice was so impressive, it seemed to me like Isaiah himself was reading it.

103. Blue, oral interview, 30.

104. Ibid., 28.

105. Ibid., 32.

106. Ibid., 33.

107. Ibid., 31.

108. Ibid., 32.

109. Launius, "Comment," 41.

decided to sell the Meyer Boulevard congregation. Bill said, "It was a very strategic place to minister to the black community. So they sold it over my objection."[110] "I went to [apostle] Joe Serig's office and put in my protest to him. He wanted a guarantee that the congregation's financial offerings would pay the cost." Bill Blue said it was a matter of maintaining a church presence in this community."[111] He then prepared a resolution for the stake conference opposing this sale, but was told by the leaders that he couldn't do that. "Well, I'll just speak against the resolution to sell Meyer Blvd."[112] He took his resolution to the office of the First Presidency. Howard (Bud) Sheehy "was in the office at the time and I gave him one of my copies."[113] Bill doubted that Sheehy shared it with President Smith or his other counselor, Alan Tyree.[114]

At the stake conference, Bill spoke against selling Meyer Boulevard. The vote was so close they had to vote a second time. But Bill lost and they sold Meyer Boulevard to the Methodists "for the meager sum of a hundred and twenty thousand dollars," as Bill recalls.[115]

Elder Blue had a deep, impressive voice that added a certain authority to his public ministry. I heard him read a scripture at a Peace Colloquy at the Independence Temple in about 2004 when he was eighty-four years old. It sounded like we were hearing the voice of the prophet Isaiah himself. Blue's voice was so compelling I felt as though he would command attention even if he were reading a paper on the agricultural policies of the Calvin Coolidge administration. Barbara Howard, longtime editor on the staff at the church publishing house, recalls one of the most powerful sermons she has ever heard was one in which Bill Blue stressed the importance of integrity.[116]

After moving to Kansas City in 1969, Bill Blue would continue to "labor in the vineyard" for another thirty-eight years,[117] until his death on November 27, 2007, at the age of ninety-seven.[118] In Kansas City Bill was ordained a high priest and later an evangelist. He was ordained an evangelist by presiding evangelist Duane Couey, a former member of the First Presidency, 1966–80.

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110. Blue, oral interview, 33.

111. Ibid. Bill says that Apostle Serig "almost threw me out of his office. He just got up and got involved in something else."

112. Blue, oral interview, 33.

113. Ibid., 3.

114. Ibid., 35.

115. Ibid.

116. Barbara Howard in a conversation with Bill Russell at Graceland in October 2012.

117. "Laboring in the vineyard" has been a common phrase in the RLDS church for those doing serious missionary or pastoral work for the church.

118. Gwendolyn Blue, e-mail to author, August 5, 2012.

In Kansas City Blue did not have an official role in the Kansas City Stake, but he was the unofficial spokesman for many years when leaders wanted to hear the black perspective. Many people called on him for guidance and counsel when addressing personal issues. He took his role of "patriarch" seriously and I believe many saw him in that role. He participated in witnessing weekends in Oklahoma, a preaching series in Detroit, and was active in what became known as the Black Ministries Task Force.[119]

Blue went on a trip with other church leaders in 1975 to Haiti, where the church has a huge membership, and gave over fifty patriarchal blessings. He later served as a delegate for Haiti at several world conferences.

Brother Blue went to Detroit when he was in his nineties, around the year 2002, to serve as camp pastor for the week-long Camp Personality, a camp for children six-to-fourteen years old. Camp director Clinton Moore recalls that Brother Blue was a real asset for the camp. "He was Camp Chaplain and visited each cabin in the evening, participating in devotions and teaching children how to pray and give blessings on the food at meal times. He solicited campers and staff to participate in the morning worship services. He particularly stressed God's love for all … and that they were persons of worth."[120] This was a valuable teaching opportunity for children who often struggle with self-worth.

Gwendolyn recalls that neighbors knew him as "Rev. Blue," and he performed marriage ceremonies for nonmembers as well as some members.[121] He also offered the opening prayer for the Kansas City City Council meeting on at least one occasion.[122]

Prior to the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, the church rarely, if ever, drew the contrast between the RLDS church's ordination of African American men and the LDS denial of the priesthood to anyone with any measure of African blood. But with the arrival of the civil rights movement, the LDS exclusion of blacks became prominent in the news, and the RLDS church began to draw attention to it. For example, the editor of the *Saints' Herald,* Roger Yarrington, published an editorial entitled, "Mormon Race Views Enter Political Arena" when George Romney was first running for governor of Michigan in 1962 and was already being discussed as a possible presidential candidate in 1968.[123] Some church leaders in Independence recognized that Bill Blue could be an important symbol of the RLDS openness to African Americans. So Bill was on more than one occasion used to help draw the contrast.

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119. Ibid., March 14, 2010.

120. Gwendolyn Blue, e-mail to author, March 14, 2010.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. R. Y. [Roger Yarrington], "Mormon Race Views Enter Political Arena," *Saints' Herald* 109, no. 20 (May 15, 1962): 348.

For example, when the First Presidency held their pre-world conference luncheon for reporters who would be covering the 1970 conference, they invited Elder Blue to give the invocation. Bill had no connection with the media, and the invocation could have been given by any one of the RLDS leaders in attendance. Clearly Brother Blue was invited to present a black face to the media who sometimes didn't understand he differences between the two churches.[124] When the public relations people were on the phone with Roy Muir, public relations director at Graceland, asking who was coming down for the dinner, Roy indicated that it was just himself and Bill Russell (I was writing an article for the *Christian Century* on the 1970 conference,[125]) to which the church public relations person asked, "Is Richard Hawks coming?" Muir indicated that Richard, a Graceland student at the time, was not involved with the Graceland publications in any way. Muir concluded they wanted Richard to come to show another black face to the reporters. Muir did not ask Hawks to attend. Eight years later Richard became an appointee minister.

Bill's wife Carrie Bell Armstrong Blue died on June 2, 2000. Sons William Jr., and Robert preceded their parents in death. Robert died at age 42 and Bill Jr., at 61.[126] Daughter Gwendolyn Hawks-Blue survives. In many ways she has continued and extended her father's work. She lives in Kansas City and has been a member of the World Church's Standing High Council since 1996[127] and the Kansas City Stake High Council for the three years prior to 1996. In 1990–92 she chaired the World Church's eight-member Human Diversity Committee, which sponsored a resolution on "Human Diversity" that was adopted by the 1992 conference. World Conference Resolution 1226 is the clearest official statement the church has made regarding prejudice and discrimination. The resolution stated, in part, that "human beings often fear, hate, and abuse each other because of ignorance about such factors as socioeconomic status, culture, race, gender, age, size, sexual orientation, and mental or physical disability." It went on to encourage "a spirit of openness and peace within our congregations where all persons may find acceptance and the opportunity to share their giftedness."[128] This resolution has received new attention in recent years as the issue of the status of homosexuals in the church has become quite visible. I

124. I recall this luncheon, as I was invited because I was reporting on the conference for the *Christian Century* which appeared in its June 18, 1970, issue. After the article appeared, I received a long letter from my former professor and mentor, presiding patriarch Roy Cheville, who was very unhappy with my account. He didn't cite any specific errors; it seemed that he simply wished I had written the article along the lines of his long letter.

125. William D. Russell, "Reorganized Mormons Beset by Controversy," *Christian Century* (June 18, 1970): 769–71.

126. Gwendolyn Blue, e-mail to author, August 5, 2012.

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128. "Human Diversity," World Conference Resolution 1226 (April 10, 1992), in Community of Christ, *World Conference Resolutions, 2002 Edition*, 85–86.

was a member of that committee, and as I recall, while many of us contributed to the language used in the resolution, the primary author was Gwendolyn.

One particularly sour note for Gwendolyn came when her first priesthood call was brought up, not long after section 156 (1984) opened the door for women's ordination. When the recommendation for her ordination as an elder came up at a Kansas City Stake conference, the members present voted overwhelmingly in favor of her call. Gwendolyn knew her husband Raymond was initially opposed to her call, and she had delayed for a year allowing her call to come to the stake conference for approval. When she finally agreed to let the call be presented to the 1987 Kansas City Stake Conference, she was not sure if Raymond would vote in favor or not. After a short statement of acceptance of the call by Gwendolyn, stake president Bill Barnhard called for the vote. "My vision was blurred by tears as I looked at Raymond Hawks, my husband at that time, and my children as members of the conference voted." She did not notice how any of the other people voted. "Raymond's hand did not go up in support of my call and my son Timothy, who had begun to raise his hand, stopped in mid-movement as he looked with a confused expression at his dad."[129] Sadly, her husband Raymond voted against the recommendation. Gwendolyn did not know this was coming and recently wrote of this experience in *Restoration Studies*.

Writing in 1989 while Wallace B. Smith was president, Roger Launius suggested that the RLDS presidents have been practical men concerned about the church's stability and growth. As a result they have been a little slow to implement racial policy.[130] "The Reorganization has pursued a divided legacy in race relations, one part emphasizing the ideal and the other the practical,"[131] Launius stated: "Practical considerations have always impinged on the church's implementation of its official policy of complete racial integration."[132] Launius concluded further that "the institutional policy of the movement toward the race issue … has been in virtually all particulars a reflection of the mores of American polite society."[133]

In conclusion, one might wonder why Bill Blue would remain in a church in which he had experienced so much racism. In his 1999 interview he told Mark Scherer: "The conclusion I reached was that it was just as much my church as it is theirs [the racists]."[134] So he remained a faithful servant until his death.

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129. Gwendolyn Hawks-Blue, "Response to My Call to Priesthood Service," a portion of "Initially Rejected: Pioneers Reflect on the Early Struggle for Women's Ordination," introduction by William D. Russell, *Restoration Studies* 7 (2012): 25.

130. Launius, "Comment," 30.

131. Ibid., 28–29.

132. Ibid., 29.

133. Ibid., 28.

134. Blue, oral interview, 26.

William D. Russell is a founding member of the John Whitmer Historical Association and the past president of both the Whitmer association and the Mormon History Association. He is widely published in Mormon studies, including a recent book, *Homosexual Saints: The Community of Christ Experience*.

Perla Wild, Foe of Women's Silence

Dan Kelty

> Please don't consign these few rambling thoughts to the scrap-basket with the chaff, because indited by a woman's pen. We know Paul says we shall keep silence in the church. He says if we would learn anything we should ask our husbands at home, and that we shall be in submission to them. Well, we did ask husband at home, and he thought as we did on the subject and told us to sit down and write our thoughts for the columns of the *Herald*. Have we not then fulfilled the law? Woman is surely as deeply interested in the plan of salvation as man.[1]
>
> —*Perla Wild*[2]

Perla Wild: The Early Years

Cynthia **Permela** Shumway **Wild**ermuth was born in the third-largest Latter Day Saint settlement in Hancock County, Illinois, on November 23, 1841. Ramus Stake offered a hopeful future for the Mormons who had just crossed the Mississippi River in 1839 looking for their chance to again build a Zionic community.[3]

1. Perla Wild, "A Word Fitly Spoken," *Herald* 18, no. 3 (February 1, 1871): 73–75. The official magazine of the RLDS church, now known as Community of Christ, began publication in 1860 as *True Latter Day Saints' Herald*, in 1877 as the *Saints' Herald*, in 1972 as *Saints' Herald*, and in 2001 as *Herald*. For simplification, all footnotes will be cited as *Herald*.

2. Perla Wild was the pen name for Cynthia Permela Shumway Wildermuth.

3. For this paper, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is the name of the denomination until 1860 when a reorganization of the leadership occurred which led to incorporation as Reorganized Church of Jesus

Otis and Sally Shumway lost two of their three young daughters to typhoid during the "Kirtland March" of 1838, and baby Cynthia, whose middle name "Permela," meant "precious," added joy to their household.[4] Their two boys married and left within the next two years, but Cynthia had cousins and many friends to play with on the family farm. The marriage of Alanson Shumway to Nancy Larkey brought the Shumways lifelong friendship with the Edward Larkey family.

The name of the town Ramus was changed to Macedonia in 1843 and grew to over five hundred residents. However, dissent among the membership brought several changes in leadership when a friend of the Shumway's, David Dutton, became president pro-tem of the branch.[5] John Smith, uncle of Joseph Smith, became presiding elder in 1843, and the branch became a peaceful state once more.

Joseph Smith was killed in Carthage, eleven miles to the south of Macedonia, on June 27, 1844. The church leadership cut the Duttons off from the church for not supporting the twelve in August 1845, following which Otis and Sally were excommunicated on March 22, 1846.[6]

Childhood

While the main body of the church packed to move west with the twelve, the Larkey, Shumway, Dutton, and other families headed east to seek a new Zion in Voree, Wisconsin. Cynthia spent the next two years in Salem, Kenosha County, just south of Voree. The family got into trouble with James J. Strang by supporting the cause of Francis Gladden Bishop in 1848. This fellowship led the families to again leave this body of the church and move west to Jackson County, Iowa, where the Larkey family had formed a community of church members that supported none of the factions.

Larkey's small community "was already what might be called a model settlement—a settlement of intelligent men and women, a schoolhouse that did credit to its founders at that early date, a place for divine worship, a Sunday school, and a well-organized literary society of good grade, all of which were already in evidence in 1850."[7]

Christ of Latter Day Saints. The shorter name, Reorganized church will often be used in this paper.

4. Donald Q. Cannon, "Spokes on the wheel: Early Latter-day Saint Settlements in Hancock County, Illinois," accessed March 26, 2013, http://www.lds.org/ensign/1986/02/spokes-on-the-wheel-early-latter-day-saint-settlements-in-hancock-county-illinois?lang=eng&query="spokes+on+the+wheel".

5. Lyman D. Platt, "Early Branches of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints 1830–1850," *Nauvoo Journal* 4 (1992): 3–50; accessed March 26, 2013, http://www.mormonhistoricsites.org/publications/nj_1991/Platt.pdf.

6. The "twelve" refers to the twelve apostles who took control of the Nauvoo church upon the death of Joseph Smith.

7. Levi Wagoner, "Larkey Settlement: History of Brandon and Farmers Creek Townships Prior to 1850," *Annals of Jackson County, Iowa* 5 (May 1907): 62.

John Whitmer Historical Association attendees at the Hill of Promise 2008.

Cynthia thrived on the farm surrounded by the group of church members. The family read their scriptures and the temperance-promoting *Arthur's Home Magazine*.[8] They also started receiving the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* in 1860 through the donation of a subscription by Edmund C. Briggs, an apostle in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS). This enabled them to keep track of the church and its progress. Otis and Sally were rebaptized into the Reorganized church in 1860.

Cynthia was developing her own spiritual life. At age seven she may have witnessed her mother's ordination to the high priesthood and her appearance at an assembly called by the bishop on the Hill of Promise at Voree, in April 1844.[9]

According to Eli Wildermuth, who would later become her husband, Cynthia began using a peep stone in 1857. She would use the gift to help with work on the farm and to "see" her brother Aurora, who had left the family in 1846 to march with the Mormon Battalion to California.[10]

8. Perla Wild to Dear Editors, 25 May 1882, Lamoni, Decatur Co., Iowa, *Arthur's Home Magazine* 50, no. 9 (September 1882): 556.

9. Richard L. Saunders, "Fruit of the Branch: Francis Gladden Bishop and His Culture of Dissent," in *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*, ed. Roger D. Launius (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 112.

10. Eli Wildermuth, August 13, 1915, "a history of a peep stone," letter in the collection of Barbara Bronson Hutchinson.

Adulthood

Cynthia's entry into majority coincided with her entry into her church home. James Blakeslee baptized her into the Reorganized church in 1862. Missionaries C. G. Lamphear and Eli Wildermuth organized the Butternut Grove branch with Otis as president on February 12, 1863, while Eli was a young widower with two children, Twilight and Cora Ida. Blakeslee had been a charter member of the "New Organization" which would later become the Reorganized church.

Cynthia shortly submitted her first poem to the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald*. This was the second woman-offered poem accepted by the church editors for inclusion. Lydia M. Scofield's poem, "Practice What You Preach"[11] had appeared just eight months before in February. Cynthia's poem, "Preach the Gospel," was printed on October 15, 1863.[12] This poetic call for the ministers to preach the gospel was a plea for a dedicated force of individuals to spread the word. As she found this quality in Eli, Judge Hempstead of Dubuque, Iowa, married the two on September 12, 1863.[13]

The newlyweds moved to Richland County, Wisconsin, and worked the Wildermuth farm. Cynthia then traveled to Inland, Iowa, where she delivered her first child, Aurilla Sallie, on July 9, 1864. Eli soon followed her to Inland and began teaching school.

Early Writing

Although "Perla Wild" is cited in the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* card index catalogue with two early poems, "Love" and "Praise to God," they could not be found in a recent search.[14] Cynthia began a movement to add a section to the *Herald* for the reading interest of children. The editor published his approval with the following entry: "A space in the Herald for articles for the children of the church, will be allowed, until such time as it is found injurious to the cause."[15] In 1867, "Little Folks" appeared in volume 11, number 6. Later, Cynthia's first short story, "Trying to Do Better," appeared under the pen name "Wild r Muth" in 1868, a year following the birth of her first boy on July 28, 1867.[16]

In "Trying to Do Better," the mother served as the main moral guide to the family. The father worked outside the home while she brought the lessons, both written and oral, to the youngsters. Two of the three children were named Henry and

11. Lydia M. Scofield, "Practice what You Preach," *Herald* 3, no. 8 (February 1863): 168.

12. C. P. Shumway, "Preach the Gospel," *Herald* 4, no. 8 (October 15, 1863): 128.

13. "Married," *Herald* 4, no. 7 (October 1, 1863): 112.

14. Perla Wild, "Love" and "Praise to God," *Herald*, possibly reprinted in 1864.

15. Editor, *Herald* 11, no. 6 (March 15, 1867): 90.

16. Wild r Muth, "Trying to do Better," *Herald* 14, no. 1 (July 1, 1868): 11–14.

Florence Russell, after Cynthia's nephew and niece. Father brought home a copy of the *Latter Day Saints' Herald* in the story and then exited the scene, thus promoting the theme of the woman's pre-eminence in raising young church members. She concluded the piece with a moral, "Now children, are any of you making resolutions to do better? I hope you will think if you have not *some* fault that you can leave off."[17]

The year 1869 was bittersweet for Cynthia. Her third baby, Susan, was born February 3 but died in two days. In response to President Joseph Smith III's prospectus for *Zion's Hope* on June 15, the periodical's first issue appeared on July 1 with a masthead designed by David Hyrum Smith.[18] The second issue contained Perla Wild's touching short story, "How to Be Unhappy," which ran for three installments.[19] She also submitted a poem, "Come to the Sunday School."[20]

Perla followed with "Two Little Friends" and an enigma puzzle.[21] The latter was a riddle-like game that called for sleuths to provide the answer and send it to the magazine; a prize would be awarded in a later issue. She continued her contributions to *Zion's Hope* with short stories: "Clara's Desire for Learning," "Clara's Progress," "Birthday Presents," and "Little Susan."[22] Her poems included "Excelsior," "Thoughtless Girl," and "Our Little Hope."[23] The *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* published two of her poems, "Angel Choir" and "Faith Hope and Charity,"[24] in volume 16.

In 1870 *Zion's Hope* published three of her articles: "Try to be Somebody," "Obedience," and "Mark Nelson's Morning Prayer and What Came of It," and two poems: "Baby" and "Little Truant."[25] With the birth of Ermine Clarissa on June 8, 1870, she now had three young children at home. That same year the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* published her piece, "Example and Precept," dealing with temperance and

17. Ibid., 14.

18. Joseph Smith III, "Pleasant Chat," *Herald* 15, no. 12 (June 15, 1869): 367–68.

19. Perla Wild, "How to be Unhappy," *Zion's Hope* 1, nos. 2–4 (July 15,–August 15, 1869): 5, 11, 15.

20. Perla Wild, "Come to the Sunday School," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 2 (July 15, 1869): 8.

21. Perla Wild, "Two Little Friends," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 4 (August 15, 1869): 14; "Enigma #9," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 6 (September 15, 1869): 24.

22. Perla Wild, "Clara's Desire for Learning," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 7 (October 1, 1869): 26; "Clara's Progress," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 8 (October 15, 1869): 29; "Birthday Presents," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 17 (March 1, 1870): 65; "Little Susan," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 23 (June 1, 1870): 89.

23. Perla Wild, "Excelsior," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 14 (January 15, 1870): 56; "Thoughtless Girl," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 15 (February 1, 1870): 58; "Our Little Hope," *Zion's Hope* 1, no. 21 (May 1, 1870): 84.

24. Perla Wild, "Angel Choir," *Herald* 16, no. 7 (October 1, 1869): 216; "Faith Hope and Charity," *Herald* 16, no. 8 (October 15, 1869): 249.

25. Perla Wild, "Try to be Somebody," *Zion's Hope* 2, no. 1 (July 1, 1870): 3; "Obedience," *Zion's Hope* 2, no. 10 (November 15, 1870): 28; "Mark Nelson's Morning Prayer and What Came of It," *Zion's Hope* 2, nos. 21 and 3, no. 1 (May 1, 1871 and July 1, 1871): 82, 89; "Baby," *Zion's Hope* 2, no. 7 (October 1, 1870): 28; "Little Truant," *Zion's Hope* 2, no. 17 (March 1, 1871): 66.

family role modeling. In response to the article, husband Eli wrote a letter to the editor renouncing his many years of smoking.[26]

Controversy

The *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* editors printed an article by "X" in the May 1, 1870, issue entitled "Confession," discussing sin and other theological concerns, placing particular emphasis on the discussion of rebaptism.[27] It stressed the RLDS missionaries' argument that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was wrong in its rebaptism of all who entered the Salt Lake Valley. In support of the "X" article, Joseph Smith III wrote, "We give it cheerful endorsement; and recommend to the saints for study. Tis a word fitly spoken."[28] This quote angered Perla, as her family had a long tradition of being baptized and rebaptized, depending upon the path that church theology was taking them at the time. Otis and Sally had originally been baptized in 1832 by elder John P. Green in New York. Otis was then rebaptized at Wiota, Wisconsin, in 1842 by William O. Clark, and in 1843 both Otis and Sally were again rebaptized at Macedonia, Illinois, as part of the reorganization of the branch.[29]

Accordingly, Perla wrote her own rebuttal in 1871:

> The leading article, entitled "*Confession*," from the pen of "X," in the *Herald* for May 1st, comes to us recommended to a careful reading, and styled, "A word fitly spoken-"[30] We gave it not only one, but two careful readings. And with all due respect to editorial sanction, wisdom, experience, and all that we are candid to declare that we cannot see it in that light.[31]

Her challenge to "X" ended with the passage presented at the beginning of this paper in which she paraphrased Paul's admonishment for women to defer to their husbands in matters of religion. Her response prompted an article in the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* by Elder R. Smith called "Rebaptism":

> I saw an article in the *Herald* of May 1st, 1870, entitled confession, written by X, which was recommended to a careful reading. This recommend, it appears, was appreciated by Sister P. W., and husband, who in a reply published in the *Herald* of February 1st, 1871, say "*we are candid to declare that we cannot see it in that light*."[32]

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26. Perla Wild, "Example and Precept" *Herald* 17, no. 8 (April 15, 1870): 225–30; E. M. Wildermuth to Br. Joseph, 28 March 1870, Inland, Cedar Co., Iowa in *Herald* 17, no. 9 (May 1, 1870): 280.

27. X, "Confession," *Herald* 17, no. 9 (May 1, 1870): 257–65.

28. Joseph Smith III, editorial, *Herald* 17, no. 9 (May 1, 1870): 273.

29. Julia Short, "Biography of W. O. Clark," *Journal of History* 6, no. 2 (April 1913): 141; Platt, "Early Branches."

30. Smith, editorial, 273.

31. Wild, "A Word Fitly Spoken," 73.

32. Elder R. Smith, "Rebaptism," *Herald* 18, no. 13 (July 1, year): 386.

In return, Elder E. Stafford offered his own article, rebutting Smith and titled "Rebaptism":

> I do not wish to enter the arena of controversy respecting "rebaptism," but desire to make known a few thoughts as they occur in reading Br. R. Smith's article, in reply to Sister Perla Wild on that subject.[33]

The discussion was dropped but rekindled in 1925 when Samuel Burgess, church historian and president of Graceland College, wrote an article called, "Rebaptism" which summarized the various articles:

> In the *Saints Herald* for February 1, 1871, Mrs. Perla Wildermuth, who wrote over the pen name "Perla Wild," questions some of the conclusions of this article on "Confession," and alleges that Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were rebaptized and that likewise all who passed through the Missouri trouble needed rebaptism. Then, on July 1, in the same volume, page 385, Elder R. Smith writes directly upon rebaptism, and very strongly approves of the position taken in the article on "Confession." … The subject is continued in the *Herald* for September 1, 1871, on page 522 by Elder Stafford. Elder R. Smith had not made it clear that rebaptism would follow expulsion.… The following year… there is a very brief answer by Mrs. "Perla Wild."[34]

Perla had replied in 1871 stating:

> I had intended to answer R. Smith's article on rebaptism at length; but sickness in our family has forced delay till an abler pen than mine undertook the task, and rendered my efforts unnecessary. My grateful thanks to our worthy brother E. S.
>
> I will answer a direct question propounded by R. Smith, however. He says, first, "Now sister have you known an elder in the Reorganized Church to rebaptize any one? Second, did he say, 'I rebaptize you' or 'I baptize you?'"
>
> I answer, I have known a goodly number of persons rebaptized by elders in the Reorganized Church,—rebaptized to all intents and purposes, because their former baptism was legal and true, and they had never been expelled from the church.
>
> Secondly, I did hear an elder say, "I REBAPTIZE YOU," and I have the oral testimony of three others who were witnesses of the same. It was in Fox River, Illinois, and the elder officiating was our beloved and honored president Joseph Smith, time, August, 1863.
>
> Anything more, Brother R. S.[35]

Following Perla's article in 1871 there appeared a piece entitled, "The Holidays," which began, "The holiday times are past; but a few words on the subject in behalf

33. E. Stafford, "Rebaptism," *Herald* 18, no. 17 (September 1, 1871): 522.

34. Samuel Burgess, "Rebaptism," *Journal of History* 17, no. 2 (April 1927): 155–56.

35. Perla Wild, "Rebaptism a Reply to R. Smith's Question," *Herald* 19, no. 4 (February 15, 1872): 107–8.

of the little ones will not, we trust, be in vain."[36] Like "X" in the article on confession, this item was signed by "P." Sometimes pen names are used for writing outside of the author's field or to have more works accepted by a magazine for publishing. No other author in the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* from 1860–76 had "P" as a signature, and the style of the piece leads this author to conclude that Perla was "P." Who then was "X"? Other articles are found in the *Herald* and in *Zion's Hope* suggesting that "X" was a pen name for Marietta Walker. If they are the same "X," then the two women discussing rebaptism would have been doctrinally unacceptable since the prevailing male-only practice when discussing theology required that women remain silent.

Perla was less productive in her submissions to *Zion's Hope* in 1871, publishing only one article, "Naming the Baby," and two poems, "Old Trundle Bed" and "Little Betsy, Queen of Autumn."[37] However, she wrote letters urging church members to subscribe to *Zion's Hope*, as the low subscription list was leading the editors to consider closing down the periodical.

Perla made two commitments to keep the magazine afloat. First she began a program called "Roll of Honor" in which children and Sunday school classes could contribute their small financial mites to the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* to sustain the paper. S. Aurilla Wildermuth was the charter contributor to this fund with cousin Florence P. Russell following.[38] The program has continued within the Community of Christ, known today as "the birthday offering."

The second commitment would be best described later in her 1890 obituary:

> And when our paper, the *Saints Herald* was struggling in its infancy and not self-supporting, she told the Lord that if he would bless her efforts she would give half the earning of her pen to the *Herald* office fund. The Lord did bless her, and she sent a good many dollars there to help it on its struggles in the mission of love and truth to the scattered saints.[39]

Perla's article, "Love and Duty," appearing in *Ladies Home Magazine*, carried Perla's warnings against infidelity and the need for forgiveness.[40] What she earned for this article is not known, but RLDS apostle Charles Derry was known to have earned a check for $5.00 for similar submissions of his own.

Perla continued writing for the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* and *Zion's Hope* through 1872, offering her reply to Smith's rebuttal of her article and four additional

36. P is the possible pen name of Cynthia Permela Shumway Wildermuth. P, "The Holidays," *Herald* 18, no. 3 (February 1, 1871): 75–76.

37. Perla Wild, "Naming the Baby," *Zion's Hope* 3, no. 6 (September 15, 1871): 22; "Old Trundle Bed," *Zion's Hope* 3, no. 6 (September 15, 1871): 24; "Little Betsy, Queen of Autumn," *Zion's Hope* 3, no. 8 (October 15, 1871): 32.

38. "Roll of Honor," *Zion's Hope* 3, nos. 12–13 (December 15, 1871–January 1, 1872): 48, 52.

39. "Died," *Herald* 37, no. 35 (August 30, 1890): 575.

40. Perla Wild, "Love and Duty," *Ladies Own Magazine* 4 (March 1872): 52.

articles entitled, "Talks with the Sisters," covering food, etiquette, clothing, and other important topics for homemakers of the period.[41]

In the *Zion's Hope*, she offered two poems, "Ruth's Wish or the Child of the Storm" and "Snow."[42] She penned four additional articles entitled "Dandelion Charm," "How Johnny Learned Definitions," Katy Herman's Lesson," and "Proving It True."[43] A short story called "Hasty Resolutions" followed in the late spring.

In 1873 Perla wrote less while other family members took up the slack. She had four children to rear with one more on the way. When the birth announcement in the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* erroneously stated that her infant was female, Perla sent a letter informing the editors that the child was a boy named Lester Otis.[44] She was able, however, to contribute a geography puzzle to *Zion's Hope*. Eli and the children became regular contributors to the youth magazine with Eli's "Physiology" appearing in a five-part series. Aurilla and cousin Florence again wrote letters describing birthdays and the desire to be baptized. Cousin Ada M. Hunter, living with the Russells, contributed her comments on country life.

In 1875 the Wilton branch, where the Wildermuths worshipped, was undergoing a shift in leadership. Its name was changed to Inland branch because the membership came from that area and because the eastern Iowa members were feeling a need to become their own sub-district. They had previously been part of the Kewanee district, which stretched far into the middle of Illinois. With Eli, Ed Larkey, Lester Russell, and J. F. Adams in this part of the district, they felt the church activities could progress independently.

Perla contributed a new series to the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* called "Around the Hearthstone," that dealt with domestic issues.[45] The two articles in the series were chattier in style but pointed toward the need for adults to be the guiding light of children. She also sent another geography puzzle to *Zion's Hope* and began a story, "Cloud and Sunlight," that continued in twenty-four parts through 1874 and 1875.[46]

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41. Perla Wild, *Herald*, 19, no. 10 (May 15, 1872): 292–94; no. 11 (June 1, 1872): 332–33; no. 16 (August 15, 1872): 486–88; no. 20 (October 15, 1872): 621–23.

42. Perla Wild, "Ruth's Wish or the Child of the Storm," *Zion's Hope* 3, no. 14 (January 15, 1872): 53; "Snow," *Zion's Hope* 3, no. 15 (February 1, 1872): 59.

43. Perla Wild, "Dandelion Charm," *Zion's Hope* 4, no. 1 (July 1, 1872): 24; "How Johnny Learned definitions," *Zion's Hope* 4, no. 2 (July 15, 1872): 5; "Katy Herman's Lesson," *Zion's Hope* 4, no. 3 (August 1, 1872): 9; "Proving it True," *Zion's Hope* 4, no. 6 (September 15, 1872): 22.

44. "Born," *Herald* 20, no. 6 (March 15, 1873): 187; Correction, *Herald* 20, no. 8 (April 15, 1873): 242.

45. Perla Wild, "Around the Hearthstone," *Herald* 21, no. 22 (November 15, 1874): 687 and 22, no. 5 (March 1, 1875): 161.

46. Perla Wild, "Cloud and Sunlight," *Zion's Hope* 6, nos. 8–22 (October 15, 1874–May 15, 1875): 29, 38, 46, 50, 53, 57, 62, 65, 70, 77, 81, 86 and 7, nos. 1–14 (July 1, 1875–January 15, 1876): 1, 5, 11, 18, 22, 29, 34, 38, 42, 45, 51, 54.

Her daughter Aurilla also sent a suggestion that the magazine should offer a column containing domestic tips for the family. Her column, "Workshop," began with a recipe for Christmas cookies[47] and followed with a piece in "Workshop" on making a footstool.[48] The girls' submitted pudding, Siberian jelly, and graham bread recipes. Perla also wrote a poem, "Angel Nettie," and two articles, "Once More" and "Pen Pictures for Real Life."[49]

Other problems were complicating her life in 1875. The *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* was losing subscribers, and her father Otis was failing in health. She sent a letter to *Zion's Hope*, defending the writing of fiction for the entertainment and education of the church youth.[50] Part of this concern was voiced in a resolution supported at the RLDS Northern Illinois District summer conference where the following resolutions were adopted:

> That we consider the reading of dime novels, and what is commonly known as light literature, together with the generality of sensational story papers as being extremely pernicious and hurtful, and that we do advise the saints to neither patronize such publications nor permit them in their families.
>
> That we do not consider such articles as "Cloud and Sunlight," "What is it Worth?" and other stories written by the editors and contributors of *Zion's Hope*, as belonging to the above named class of literature; and as children will read fiction, we prefer that they should read such as teach good morals and the doctrine of the Church.[51]

Several readers also offered their opinions concerning fiction, particularly Perla's work. She began "Rest Haven" in 1875 but initially failed to forward it for printing. Once finished, it appeared as a ten-part piece, running through July 1876.[52] "Rose Merrills" followed in seven parts, along with a memorial poem to Ruthie Agan, one of the children of the Inland branch.[53]

Educational pieces were popular. Perla offered a geography puzzle for the youth to ponder. Aurilla Wildermuth and Florence Russell tried their hands at puzzles, offering Bible enigmas and anagrams. Ermine Clara Wildermuth submitted a word square for publication, and cousin Mabel Mattie Russell sent a letter describing life

47. S. Aurilla Wildermuth, "Workshop, Christmas Cookies," *Zion's Hope* 6, no. 15 (February 1, 1875): 60.

48. P. W., "Workshop, to Make a Footstool," *Zion's Hope* 7, no. 4 (August 15, 1875): 16.

49. Perla Wild, "Angel Nettie," *Zion's Hope* 7, no. 15 (February 1, 1876): 58; "Once More," *Zion's Hope* 7, no. 8 (October 15, 1875): 29; "Pen Pictures for Real Life," *Zion's Hope* 7, no. 11 (December 1, 1875): 41.

50. Perla Wild, "In Defense of Fiction," *Zion's Hope* 7, no. 2 (July 15, 1875): 5.

51. "Northern Illinois District," *Herald* 22, no. 14 (July 15, 1875): 445.

52. Perla Wild, "Rest Haven," *Zion's Hope* 7, nos. 14–24 (January 15–June 15, 1876): 53, 57, 61, 66, 69, 74, 78, 81, 90, 94 and 8, nos. 1–2 (July 1–15, 1876): 3.

53. Perla Wild, "Rose Merrills," *Zion's Hope* 8, nos. 8–16 (October 15, 1876–February 15, 1877): 29, 35, 42, 46, 51, 58, 62; "In Memorium Ruthie," *Zion's Hope* 8, no. 8 (October 15, 1876): 29.

in the area. Cora Wildermuth, Eli's daughter by his first wife, also sent a letter to the magazine.

Perla wrote a geographical poem for the *Saints' Herald* in 1877 called "Our Trip to Buffalo," detailing a pleasant excursion of the family from Inland to West Buffalo to visit church folk, probably the Jerome Ruby family.[54] Jerome Eli Eugene Wildermuth, named after Eli's missionary partner, had arrived on June 16, 1876. Jerome Ruby was a well-known river pilot who provided free passage to the RLDS missionaries on his boats between Davenport, Iowa, and Nauvoo, Illinois.

But the joys of church fellowship would be muted when the family returned from Buffalo to Inland through a major tornado. Perla described the experience vividly in a unique poetical style that she would later use in describing her new homes and areas of residence.

Writings on Zion

The pages of the *Saints' Herald* were filled with discussions on the subject of "the gathering" in the late 1870s. Members had begun to relocate into Decatur County, Iowa, later to be named Lamoni. The mission to Salt Lake City by Jason Briggs brought arguments for and against moving the church back to Independence, Missouri.

Briggs promoted a symbolic interpretation of Zion as a gathering place, while Perla took a literal stance on the subject. When she wrote "Shall We Gather Home to Zion" in the spring, apostle T. W. Smith would be chosen to write a rebuttal to her argument.[55] Heman Smith later wrote about the controversy between Briggs and the presidency, leading to his withdrawal from the RLDS church.[56]

The concept of living in Zion was appealing to Perla and her family. They dreamed of moving to Independence as her parents had done in 1838. On April 28, 1878, her mother Sally Shumway died of heart disease and nervous prostration. Perla's tribute followed:

Mother, mother, dearest mother,
Must we, can we, give thee up!
Though thy gain, how can we bear it,
Oh! The bitter, woeful cup.
Then to see our aged father
Thus bereaved and crushed with grief,

54. Perla Wild, "Our Trip to Buffalo," *Herald* 24, no. 19 (October 1, 1877): 290–91.

55. Perla Wild, "Shall We Gather Home to Zion," *Herald* 24, no. 2 (January 15, 1877): 21–22; T. W. Smith, "Shall We Gather Home to Zion, a Reply," *Herald* 24, no. 6 (March 15, 1877): 84–85.

56. Joseph Smith and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints 1872–1890*, vol. 4 (Lamoni, IA: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, 1908), 213–15.

Give us patience, Heavenly Parent,
Gracious comfort and relief.[57]

As her father Otis was living with the Russells, Eli and Perla packed their belongings and children into a boxcar in the fall and took the train to Blue Rapids, Kansas. The newly organized town and church branch were only 161 miles west of Independence, 200 miles closer than Inland had been.

During this period Perla penned only one short story, "What I'll Do," and added several editorial comments about her fiction.[58] She was pleased with the fine church in Blue Rapids and the chance to work with elder John Landers who presided over the branch. Eli procured a store as they planned their future. But when the wintry cold and wind of the Kansas plains gave all of the children flu and other illnesses, the family's life deteriorated. As one of the children described it, "That last winter in Kansas was a hard one. Jerome had measles, several others had diphtheria, Lester and Mina had very bad throats. Lester had been ill nine days and there seemed to be no hope for his life."[59]

In 1879 word came in the *Saints' Herald* of Otis Shumway's passing. Perla shared her joy and grief that the many brothers and sisters who had been lost on the church trails were all together with her parents.[60]

Tis done, the last, no other grief
like this can bow us down,
The only thought brings relief,
the savior claims his own.
Our mother has but lately passed
into that land so fair;
five children saved among the blest,
have gone before here there.
Now father's gone; oh, happy they!
United ne'er to part.
That we may meet them all one day,
dear lord, they grace impart.[61]

Perla's fret over the loss of her father and the illness of the children was shared in the article, "Stepping Stones and Stumbling Blocks," which reflected her trying life and the comfort that her religious faith and church magazines brought her. The ar-

57. Perla Wild, obituary poem for Sally Shumway, *Herald* 25, no. 20 (October 15, 1878): 175.

58. Perla Wild, "What I'll Do," *Zion's Hope* 10, nos. 1–3 (July 1–August 1, 1878): 2, 5, 11.

59. Barbara Bronson Hutchinson, typescript, Wildermuth Papers.

60. The Shumway's had gathered to Kirtland in 1832, trekked to Far West in 1838, fled to Nauvoo in 1838–39, moved to Voree in 1846, and then to eastern Iowa in 1850.

61. Perla Wild, obituary poem for Otis Shumway, *Herald* 26, no. 7 (April 1, 1879): 112.

ticle opened, "If one feels like rejoicing and thanking God for any special blessing and silent gratitude and earnest prayer will not suffice to give vent to the exuberance of joy welling up in the heart, the *Herald* and *Hope* are most appropriate escape valves."[62] It ended with a quote from the newly penned hymn by David Hyrum Smith,

> Let us shake off the coals from our garments
> And arise in the strength of the Lord
> Let us break off the yoke of our bondage
> And be free in the joy of the Word[63]

She followed that work with another fictional ten-part piece called "Nil Desperandum" that explained her hope for the joys of Zion and Christian living.[64] She continued to promote the reading of *Zion's Hope* through her piece, "Plea for the Little Hopes."[65]

Daughter Barbara added to the family's quest:

> Came spring and grandpa Eli wanted to try living in Zion. So, packing the family into a covered wagon, they started for Independence in the spring of 1880. Finally arriving they found the few saints who had returned to Missouri, were having to live very cautiously, lest they arouse the old spirit of persecution. So Eli decided to go to Lamoni, Iowa."[66]

Perla had a bit of time to write while packing. She did no *Saints' Herald* writing but offered two poems, "Anne's Garden" for *Zion's Hope* and "The Lost Tribes of Israel"[67] for the family. She wrote two stories, "Boy's Convention" and "What the Girls Did," and an editorial, "Watch and Work and Pray."[68]

On October 10, 1880, a baby girl, Anna Florence, was added to the family with the possible distinction of being the first female born in Lamoni. The family lived in a small house south of the train depot. Although the well was sour and the land was swampy, David Dancer helped the family through the year, bringing baskets of food and cloth to make clothes. Perla worked at developing a Sunday school program.[69]

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62. Perla Wild, "Stepping–Stones and Stumbling Blocks," *Herald* 26, no. 2 (January 15, 1879): 53.

63. David Hyrum Smith, "Let Us shake off the Coals from Our Garments," *The Saints' Harp* (Lamoni, IA: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1870), hymn 75.

64. Perla Wild, "Nil Desperandum," *Zion's Hope* 11, nos. 7–17 (October 1, 1879–March 1, 1880): 25, 29, 33, 37, 42, 50, 54, 57, 62, 66.

65. William Street, "Plea for the Little Hopes," *Zion's Hope* 11, no. 20 (April 15, 1880): 77.

66. Hutchinson, Wildermuth Papers.

67. Perla Wild, "Anne's Garden," *Zion's Hope* 12, no. 21 (May 1, 1881): 86; "Lost Tribes of Israel," Charlotte Gamel—Wildermuth Family, accessed March 29, 2013, http://www.charlottegamel.com/?page_id=236.

68. Perla Wild, "Boy's Convention," *Zion's Hope* 12, nos. 9–10 (November 1–November 15, 1880): 34, 37; "What the Girls Did," *Zion's Hope* 12, no. 24 (June 15, 1881): 97 and 13, no. 1 (July 1, 1881): 1; "Watch and Work and Pray," *Zion's Hope* 12, no. 17 (March 1, 1881): 34, 37.

69. "History of Lamoni Sunday School," *Sunday School Exponent* 11 (December 1911): 213.

Eli was given a mission assignment to northern Missouri and was travelling while the family enjoyed the new experiment in Zionic living. Perla found time to write "Maplewood Manor" in seven parts and to produce another historical puzzle.[70]

Eli again tried farming in 1881, renting a place near Pleasanton, Iowa, but this did not work out. They therefore moved to Oakdale, Nebraska, where Eli's brother Edwin C. and Julia Wildermuth had settled. The move occurred sometime in late 1882, as Perla had written a letter from Lamoni the previous May 25, speaking of her youthful love for *Arthur's Magazine* and how her life was centered in its philosophy. Although she had not been able to carry a subscription over the years, in the environment of Lamoni she could again read the paper.[71]

Other contributions to *Zion's Hope* came in 1882 with fourteen more installments to "Maplewood Manor," a very popular work. Many comments were received by readers, both for and against the story. On one occasion Perla wrote a letter to *Zion's Hope* regarding a recent interruption in the story's serialization:

> It is not because I am discouraged in consequence of repeated criticism, which "Maplewood manor" has not appeared in the *Hope* for some time. One chapter was lost, and I did not know it for some weeks, because I have not, until within a short time, remained in one place long enough to correspond with the *Herald* office.[72]

She also addressed the criticism of the series:

> While I am sorry that some are disposed to censure, yet still I shall endeavor to picture life as it is, as I ever have done. If the average boy of the period, aye and girl, too, does not use bywords or occasionally a slang term, I am not as observant as those who constitute themselves judges.[73]

She also submitted her only rending of a holiday poem called "Christmas Faith," echoing the "Holiday" article submitted to the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* back in 1871.[74]

Later Years

Life in Nebraska proved as disastrous as it had been in Kansas. Charles Derry wrote, "On June 20, [1883] wife and I started for Nebraska. Wife went on to Colum-

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70. Perla Wild. "Maplewood Manor," *Zion's Hope* 13, nos. 12–23 (December 15, 1881–June 1, 1882): 45, 54, 59, 67, 74, 78, 82, 90; 14, nos. 2–19 (July 15, 1882–April 1, 1883): 5, 9, 15, 22, 31, 35, 39, 43, 47, 51, 54, 59, 62, 67, 69, 74; 15, nos. 1–13 (July 1, 1883–January 1, 1884): 1, 7, 10, 14, 26, 35, 37, 46, 50.

71. T. S. Arthur, *Arthur's Home Magazine* 50, no. 9 (September, 1882): 556.

72. Perla Wild, "letter," *Zion's Hope* 14, no. 24 (June 15, 1883): 95.

73. Ibid.

74. Perla Wild, "Christmas Faith," *Zion's Hope* 14, no. 13 (January 1, 1883): 49.

bus, I stayed at Fremont and preached, then went to Oakdale, visited 'Perla Wilde' and husband, that is, Brother and Sister Eli Wildermuth."[75] By this time, Perla had become well noted as an author and was loved by many church youth. "Maplewood Manor" continued with eight more parts.

Mabel, the last Wildermuth child, was born in Oakdale in 1885. Because the winter was harsh, they moved to Nebraska City to live with the Mark Forscutt family for the holidays and beyond. This brought cheer to the Wildermuths for they had had to burn straw for heat earlier in the year.

Perla submitted a new feature to the *Saints' Herald* in 1886 named "Mothers Home Column."[76] The initial submission dealt with respect toward wives by quoting noted secular authors to support her statements. She concluded the piece with a salute to Gail Hamilton, a strong women's suffrage supporter.[77] The second column offered a recipe for bread making and solicited others' contributions to add to the dialogue on homemaking.[78]

Her own work was no easier, as *Zion's Hope* had again become in danger of closing in 1887. However, by 1888 it was stronger than ever, and a new older youth magazine, *Autumn Leaves*, was issued with a poem, "Little Katie Haden"[79]

Perla was praised in a letter from B. H. Case, an old friend from Blue Rapids, describing the family now living in Springdale, Arkansas.[80] She herself sent a letter to the *Saints' Herald* describing the landscape of her new home. She also described "Arkansaw" with a poem in the second volume of *Autumn Leaves*. In the poem she used the detailed lyrical style previously employed in the poem "Trip to Buffalo" to describe the beautiful mountains and woodlands.[81]

Her last "Mothers Home Column" was sent from Springdale, Arkansas, in 1890, describing the warmth and happiness of their new home and the beauty of the countryside.[82]

Perla contracted influenza in February 1890 and began to suffer headaches and right ear pain. As described in her obituary:

> Hopes were entertained for her recovery, as she felt so much better that she wrote several articles of manuscript for the press; but was taken worse Saturday morning, the

75. Charles Derry, "Autobiography," *Journal of History* 8, no. 2 (April 1915): 166.

76. Perla Wild, "Mothers Home Column," *Herald* 33, nos. 13 and 32 (March 27 and August 7, 1886): 196, 485.

77. Ibid., 196.

78. Ibid., 485.

79. Perla Wilde [*sic*], "Little Katie Haden," *Autumn Leaves* 1, no. 9 (September 1888): 390–91.

80. B. H. Case to editor, *Herald* 36, no. 10 (March 9, 1889): 149.

81. Perla Wilde [*sic*], "Arkansaw," *Autumn Leaves* 2, no. 4 (April 1889): 153–54.

82. Perla Wild, "Mothers Home Column," *Herald* 37, no. 11 (March 15, 1890): 164.

Eli Mozart Wildermuth and children. Standing from left to right: Jerome (Eli Eugene), Flo (Ann Florence), Lester (Otis); seated: Mini (Ermine Clarissa), Rilla (Aurilla Sallie), Eli, and Cora Ida

> disease settling on the inner brain. She was unconscious for some twelve or fourteen hours before passing away.[83]

Two long obituaries were penned in her remembrance. The *Saints' Herald* treated her contributions to the church and society, while Marietta Walker wrote about her literary importance.

The family was devastated. Eli sent the younger children to relatives and moved to Plano, Illinois, where he became superintendent of the Sunday School Association for the local branch. He remarried Jane Cooper in 1893.

Elsie Florence Andes Doig Townsend later wrote of her mother Florence (Perla's daughter) when the latter had been ten years old:

> In an old Conestoga (a prairie schooner) her [Anna Florence's] mother had died. Florence remembered the lack of food, the loneliness, and the desolate emptiness of these days and nights. Her father, Eli Wildermuth, was unable to care for all the children without his wife, as well as do the missionary work on such a small income. Therefore, for about a year Florence lived with her sister Mina and family, then was put in a home to work for her own living. She continued to do this until she had finished her high school years, graduating in 1901.[84]

83. "Died," *Herald* 37, no. 35 (August 30, 1890): 375–76.

84. Elsie Doig Townsend, *Always The Frontier* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1972), 52.

Lester Otis returned to Lamoni and served various missions for the church he loved. Jerome went into the mission field, opening up the activity in Fargo, North Dakota, in 1906.

When Aurilla was married to John H. Moore, the Moores took the youngest children into their home in Necedah, Wisconsin. The family later organized a "religio" group and published "The Breezy Banner." Perla Moore, Perla's granddaughter, contributed several articles to *Autumn Leaves* and its successor, *Vision*, in the early twentieth century.

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Appendix

Joseph Smith III, "Pleasant Chat," *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* 15, no. 12 (June 15, 1869): 367–68.

For "Zion's Hope" we also ask a strong effort. Every friend of progress in the church, every lover of the truth, every father, every mother, every brother, every sister, is materially affected by the teaching and training of the children of the household to which each separately belongs.

A corner, or column in the Herald, is insufficient to meet the great want felt in this direction, and to give success to any new enterprise engaged in by us as a people, it is requisite that the object for which we especially strive in that enterprise be worthy; and the effort persistent.

We do not desire to quote scripture voluminously to prove that the saints should educate their children, for this is conceded.

The tendency of the age is toward light reading, to counteract the evil growing out of this taste, it is essential that a united public opinion should pronounce against it, and should declare in favor of that which combines the elements for instruction and entertainment

The young mind must be fed with that which is conducive to a healthy growth, vigorous minds may be expected.

If fed with that which does not enrich, there is no growth. Neither can we expect our faith to be correctly understood by the rising generation, unless we take some pains to inculcate its principles by precept, and example.

There are some who are fearful of, and object to, anything sectarian. If then it be desirable to procure proper mental aliment for the young, and it cannot be found in the current publications of the day, as a progressive people, we must furnish within the reach of all, that which is not liable to the above objection.

By adopting the paper plan, we will, in a cheap, interesting, and useful manner, accomplish the end desired. And while it is not intended to take the place of books, it will be, if properly conducted, a valuable auxiliary to such books as the church may ultimately issue, as well as to those now in use by the schools.

We shall be disappointed, if, when this project is started, we receive a faint support, a feeble secondary effort, where we should have a hearty co-operation, a strong, reliable and firm support.

The terms for the Sunday School paper will be fifty cents per Vol., until further notice. It will be published semi-monthly, the first number to be issued on the 1st of July. To clubs of ten and upwards to one address, or of fifteen and upwards to separate addresses, we will allow a discount of ten per cent.

Ermina (Mina) Clarissa (Wildermuth) Bronson, Mabel (Wildermuth) Higgins, and Anna Florence (Wildermuth) Andes Martha Andes Van Spyk album

Specimen copies will be furnished on application, when published. To those who have applied, we will send as early as possible.

Contributions and subscriptions are both required, and confidently looked for in such supplies as shall justify our efforts in behalf of "Zion's Hope,"—our rising generation.

M. Walker, "Editor's Corner," *Autumn Leaves* 3, no. 9 (September 1890): 437.

We are pained to learn, by letter from Sr. Rillie S. Moore, her daughter, of the death of Sr. Wildermuth; perhaps better known to the Saints by her nom de plume of "Perla Wild." Oh, how plaintive is the wail of sadness from the heart of this lonely bereaved one! "Our darling mother has passed away, and oh, how lonely we are!" If the prayers of Saints and faithful friends can comfort, then will not this bereaved family be left comfortless. Sister Wildermuth has been an occasional contributor to the columns of our various departments of work, but for some years, because of poor

health and pecuniary embarrassments, she has not been able to give the time and attention she formerly gave to the pen.

"Arkansaw," in vol. 2, No, 4, *Leaves,* is a poem of pathos and beauty seldom excelled. Had circumstances, of birth, education and social surroundings favored our sister she might have entered upon a brilliant career, as a writer. Her perceptive faculties were of rare acuteness and her descriptive ability very seldom surpassed "God knoweth best," and to the mourning ones we say, Let the thought that your loved one has entered upon a state of existence, where every disability which cumbered her life here is removed, comfort you. God has use for all her talent and she will know neither weariness nor pain in its application; but having tasted the bitter here, she will know the blessedness, the peace of service there, where she shall rest from all sorrow and pain, yet serve the Master in glad freedom from everything which hindered here. To unselfish hearts there is comfort in this thought. It cannot give the loved one back—we mourn their loss, but remembering that *ours* is the pain, theirs the rest, joy and peace, can we not be strong to endure? May God the source of all comfort and peace be with the bereaved ones to comfort and sustain.

"Cynthia Wildermuth obituary," *Saints' Herald* 37, no. 35 (August 30, 1890): 375–76.

Cynthia Permela Wildermuth was born November 23, 1841, at Macedonia, Hancock County, Illinois and died August 12th, 1890, aged 48 years, 7 months and 13 days. She was the daughter of the late Otis and Sally Shumway, and the wife of elder Eli M. Wildermuth. She was born, matured and brought up in the Church; was baptized into the Reorganized Church of Christ at Amboy, Illinois, in 1862, by elder James Blakeslee. She is no doubt known and remembered by all the Saints, especially the younger ones, and the children of the Saints – the little Hopes, for she was "Perla Wild," who wrote so many pleasing stories for Zion's Hope, and that the little ones loved to read so well. She it was, if I mistake not, who first suggested the idea of a children's paper for Zion's Hopes. She first begged a column in the Saints Herald for the children, and wrote many pieces for that. She originated the Roll of Honor that used to be in the Hope in order to stimulate the dear little Hopes to assist in supporting the Hope in its infancy, and sent the first twenty-five cents ever sent to that column. And when our paper, the Saints Herald was struggling in its infancy and not self-supporting, she told the Lord that if he would bless her efforts she would give half the earnings of her pen to the Herald Office fund. The Lord did bless her, and she sent a good many dollars there to help it on in its struggles in the mission of love and truth to the scattered saints. Her whole heart seemed to be wrapped up in the success of our church papers. Her mind and faith were strong: but her poor frail body was weak; she had very poor health. Seven children survive her and mourn

the loss of their beloved mother. Four of the children belong to the church. She was attacked about February 1st, which settled in the right side of her head and ear. She suffered much, but patiently, without a murmur until the Master took her home. She was married, September 12, 1863. Hopes were entertained for her recovery, as she felt so much better that she wrote several articles of manuscript for the press; but was taken worse Saturday morning, the disease settling on the inner brain. She was unconscious for some twelve or fourteen hours before passing away.

Book Reviews

Brian C. Hales, *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*, 3 vols. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2013. 638 pp. 602 pp. 332 pp. Introductions, appendices, bibliographies, indexes, photographs, tables, charts, graphs, maps. Hardback: (vol. 1) $36.95. ISBN: 978-1-589-58189-0. (vol. 2) $36.95. ISBN: 978-1-589-58548-5. (vol. 3) $26.95. ISBN: 978-1-589-58190-6.

Reviewed by Gary James Bergera

Polygamy is an interesting thing because it serves as a Rorschach test. People project onto Joseph Smith and the polygamists their own sense about human nature.
—Richard L. Bushman, May 14, 2007[1]

Brian C. Hales's provocative three-volume study of Mormon prophet Joseph Smith's practice of plural marriage is notable for two reasons. It provides references to, and significant quotations from, virtually all known sources regarding Smith's polygamy; and it offers thought-provoking interpretations of some of polygamy's especially controversial aspects. These include: Smith's relationship with Fanny Alger in Kirtland, Ohio; sexuality in Smith's polyandrous marriages; and the extent of John C. Bennett's knowledge of Smith's plural marriages. In fact, almost 40 percent of volumes 1 and 2 (minus the chronology and bibliography) are devoted to these three topics.

Hales reveres Smith as a prophet of God and sees him generally as a reluctant polygamist who only fully embraced polygamy after having been visited a third time by an angel—possibly brandishing a flaming sword (1:186–98).[2] Smith's relation-

1. Bushman, accessed March 2, 2013, http://www.pewforum.org/Politics-and-Elections/Mormonism-and-Politics-Are-They-Compatible.aspx; also quoted in Hales, 1:26 (Hales interprets Bushman's observation as applying to the work of other historians).

2. At the LDS-oriented website Mormon Scholars Testify, Hales cites a portion of the following quotation attributed to Joseph Smith as being "also my [Hales's] testimony of him [Smith]: "[Smith speaking:] … I have had no revelation from the devil; I made no revelations; I have got nothing up of myself. The same God that has thus far dictated me and directed me and strengthened me in this work, gave me this revelation and commandment on

ship with Alger, a young woman who did housework for the Smiths, was a marriage (though not a "sealing").[3] Five or six years later in 1841, when Smith began to contract additional plural marriages—now sealings—with civilly married women, he did not engage, according to Hales, in sexual relations with any of his polyandrous wives—at least, not while they remained married to their first husbands (to have done so would have constituted adultery). Smith's polyandry, Hales argues, was strictly "ceremonial" and not "sexual" (1:308). Finally, as Hales interprets his sources, Bennett did not possess any significant "insider" information regarding Smith's plural marriages, despite Bennett's claims. Though he may have occasionally stumbled,[4] Smith comported himself, Hales believes, as entirely obedient to God's commands and not to "expand his sexual opportunities" (1:xii).

Hales, assisted by researcher Don Bradley, is to be complimented for his commitment to unearth, catalogue, verify, and describe every known, surviving reference to Smith's practice of plural marriage. For students of Smith and polygamy, Hales's direct quotations, bibliography, indexes, and some illustrations and appendices alone are more than worth the price of the three volumes. Hales is also to be applauded for his willingness to revisit, expand, and encourage the discussion of Smith's sexual life. In addition, Hales succeeds, I believe, in correcting some past misunderstandings, my own included.[5] That said, I find that Hales's study sometimes exhibits a defensiveness of Smith that impacts his conclusions about some of the more potentially discomfiting elements of Smith's doctrine.[6] Hales faults a too heavy reliance on "secular" approaches that emphasize libido as a primary motivating factor in Smith's polygamy. Hales's own approach, in places, strikes me as just as problematic: "The

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celestial and plural marriage and the same God commanded me to obey it." http://www.mormonscholarstestify.org/793/brian-c-hales. Hales reprints the entire article containing the alleged Smith statement as appendix F (2:393–408; see also 2:407 and 3:281).

3. According to Hales, marriage "sealings" (for time and eternity) only took place after the Old Testament prophet Elijah restored the sealing power to Joseph Smith in 1836 (1:121n48, 204–9). LDS scholars Gregory A. Prince and Charles R. Harrell both document that Smith's understanding of the relationship of Elijah to various Mormon priesthood ordinances, including sealing, evolved very gradually and never developed as fulsomely for Smith as some later LDS writers suggest. See Prince, *Power from On High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 35–45; and Harrell, *"This Is My Doctrine": The Development of Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), 75–78. Hales is aware of this problem but writes as if the connection between Elijah and sealing were understood earlier and more clearly than Prince and Harrell demonstrate (see, for example, 3:86–89).

4. Hales's only criticism of Smith concerns his treatment of civil wife Emma Hale Smith while he was attempting to practice plural marriage (2:39, 86).

5. For example, I now tend to agree that Mary Ann Frost Stearns Pratt was probably not one of Smith's polyandrous wives (see 1:622–23). On the other hand, I am not persuaded that Esther Dutcher and Mary Heron should be counted as two of Smith's plural wives (see 1:424–25; 1:460–73; 2:338). In each case, the skimpy evidence is, for me, unconvincing.

6. Hales himself criticizes some historians for making "assumptions" about Smith's motives, which they then treat "almost as documented evidence" (1:410).

key component—to acknowledge that God commanded Joseph to practice plural marriage irrespective of other factors … —requires faith" (2:87). The implication, as I read it, is that only those with faith in Smith as God's prophet can fully understand the beginnings of Mormon polygamy.

Early on, Hales admits the challenges confronting any attempt to grapple with Smith's doctrine of plural marriage: the dearth of primary sources, particularly from Smith himself,[7] and the necessary reliance on later reminiscences (see 1:17–19)[8]—accounts that are so problematic as to be of very questionable worth or usable only with the utmost caution and skepticism.[9] Hales cites LDS historian Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's warning: "by omissions, by evasions, or by outright untruths we reshape events to our liking,"[10] but not the rest of her caveat: "The idea that the whole truth can be told is itself a fiction. In the attempt to re-create the past, the writer selects only those bits which seem to fit a particular audience, a specific occasion, a definite purpose, a significant moment. Each recounting of the same event may well be different."[11]

Equally sobering are the comments of Elizabeth Loftus, author of *Eyewitness Testimony*: "During the time between an event and a witness's recollection of that event … the bits and pieces of information that were acquired through perception … are subject to numerous influences. External information provided from the outside can intrude into the witness's memory, as can his own thoughts, and both can cause dramatic changes in his recollection. People's memories are fragile things." "To be cautious, one should not take high confidence [in recollections] as any absolute guarantee of anything." "Most people, including eyewitnesses, are motivated by a desire to be correct, to be observant, and to avoid looking foolish. People want to give an answer, to be helpful, and many will do this at the risk of being incorrect."[12] Hales

7. If one relied solely on Smith's own public statements regarding polygamy, one would conclude that he never practiced it and condemned all attempts to do so.

8. Hales notes that Smith's "personal teachings regarding plural marriage are … sparse," and that except for a "few entries in William Clayton's journal and the revelation on celestial marriage (now [LDS] D&C 132), everything is filtered through recollections from Nauvoo polygamists" (3:149–50; see also 3:69). In fact, *everything* concerning polygamy attributed to Smith is filtered through someone else, including the scribes who recorded/copied Smith's revelation (including LDS D&C 132), Smith's sermons and letters, etc.

9. For the same reason, Hales discourages the scholarly study of Brigham Young's controversial teachings on Adam-God: "it seems that drawing absolute conclusions regarding his [Young's] actual meaning, without additional clarification from Brigham Young himself, is unwise and, in reality, impossible" (3:133–34n30).

10. Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), viii, quoted in Hales, 1:21.

11. Ibid., xix.

12. Loftus, *Eyewitness Testimony* (1979; repr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 86–87, 101, 109. Novelist André Aciman adds: "Everyone has reasons for altering the past. We may want to embellish or gloss over the past, or we may want to repress it, or to shift it just enough so as to be able to live with it." "How Memoirists Mold the Truth," *New York Times*, April 7, 2013, SR 8.

recognizes these obstacles when he writes of one early polygamy participant that in fashioning her autobiographical statements, she was motivated by a "desire not to appear as a second-class or inferior wife" (1:435). Such motivations, conscious or not, cloud the factual reliability of all of Hales's primary documents.

Despite such warnings, Hales sometimes treats his sources and arguments—as I read them—in ways that leave me wondering if he has adequately weighed the weaknesses and compromised nature of his evidence. In fact—again, as I read him—Hales sometimes seems more willing to accept as reliable statements supportive of Smith than statements he reads as critical. Though he writes that early statements are more "desirable" than "later recollections" (1:21; also 1:227n35), in practice, he sometimes privileges the latter. I believe a case in point is his treatment of Smith's relationship with Fanny Alger.[13] The more contemporary the account of Smith and Alger, the more Smith's involvement is interpreted as an extramarital affair.[14] However, Hales tends to privilege later statements, which support the idea of a marriage (1:151), over earlier statements, which he dismisses as unreliable, the product of ignorance or misunderstanding or of animosity towards Smith. Of course, I do not suggest early sources are always more accurate, simply that one should not dismiss one late source while accepting another late source, without sufficient justification. I find nowhere in Hales's discussion a uniformly applied set of criteria for determining the reliability of his sources, and consequently cannot tell how he arrives at his decisions regarding the facticity of after-the-fact statements from Smith supporters and polygamy advocates.[15]

In treating the work of past scholars, Hales occasionally displays a degree of what I interpret as condescension (see his use of "antagonistic," "cynical," "emotional," etc., at 1:14, 407, 430, 439). I find an example of this in Hales's treatment of George D. Smith's *Nauvoo Polygamy: "… but we called it celestial marriage"*[16]—a work, I believe, Hales misrepresents by suggesting that the author "seriously considered" Jo-

13. Some of Hales's treatment of Alger depends on a document in LDS historian Andrew Jenson research notes that Hales attributes to Eliza R. Snow (1:111–16). Hales cites Snow's biographer Jill Mulvay Derr as concurring that the handwriting on the Jenson document appears to be Snow's. In response to my query, Derr added, "I am not a handwriting expert and Snow's handwriting is distinctive but not entirely unique." Derr, e-mail to author, May 24, 2013, used by permission.

14. See, for example, the third column in Hales's chart at 1:125, also 1:136–40.

15. As near as I can tell, the closest to such an explanation is the following sentence from the Introduction: "Attempting to evaluate each document in its respective context to determine credibility and potential usefulness, I have included both contemporary sources and those written three and even four generations later" (1:xi; see also 3:83: "Is it fair or wise to assume the speaker [i.e., one of Smith's contemporaries] was strictly recounting Joseph Smith's ideas? Probably not. However, to speculate that their ideas were completely unrelated to the Prophet's teaching is equally unrealistic").

16. First edition published 2008, second edition 2012; both published by Signature Books, Salt Lake City. I note that I am a longtime acquaintance of George Smith, and worked at Signature Books when Todd Compton's book was published.

seph Smith's "carnal drives" as "essentially the only motivators" in restoring polygamy (3:28).[17] Hales references only the most negative reviews of Smith's book, giving the impression that these represent the majority judgment (see 1:17n55). Hales does not mention the positive reviews and fails to note that Smith's study was named the 2009 Best Book by the John Whitmer Historical Association (though Hales does mention Todd Compton's best book awards from the Mormon History Association and John Whitmer Historical Association in 1997 for his treatment of Joseph Smith's plural wives [1:16]). Hales also critiques the work of historian D. Michael Quinn in an ongoing exchange of unpublished papers between the two men.[18] As Quinn has not yet shepherded his own views into print, I wonder about the appropriateness of Hales's summarizing Quinn's position even as he attacks it (see, esp., 1:339–44).

Additionally, Hales sometimes misstates the work of other writers despite having been corrected by them. For example, Hales misreads my published characterization of John C. Bennett's followers as "worthy" of Bennett's "teachings" as a serious judgment of their moral state and not, as I informed him more than once, as ironic (1:564). In another instance, Hales implies that Carrie A. Miles, a social psychologist, fabricated a reference in her 2011 published article on Mormon polygamy, when, in fact, an editing mistake misplaced a couple of quotation marks in Miles's essay (1:269n46).[19] Hales also contends that Miles misunderstood Smith's promises of unconditional exaltation to those who accepted his plural marriage proposals (ibid.), when the issue, as Hales knows, is very much unsettled (more below). In other areas, Hales's analysis—again, as I read it—sometimes comes across as mind-reading.[20] He also periodically asserts conclusions before "proving" them. Repeated frequently enough, such assertions take on the aura of "proven" statements. This may be most present, I find, in his discussions of Smith's alleged sexual polyandry and of Bennett.

For Hales, the lack of any surviving record regarding sexual activity between Smith and his polyandrous wives is plausible evidence of no sexual activity (see chap. 11–16). He does not entertain seriously the alternate interpretation that Smith married already-married women to conceal the paternity of possible plural children and

17. Later, Hales writes that libido was a likely factor in Mormon polygamy: "It is probable that emotional and physical attraction played part in some of [Joseph Smith's] plural relationships … If romantic feelings were unimportant and entirely absent, then Joseph Smith would have been abnormal" (3:245; also 2:81n65).

18. The debate—regarding sexuality in Smith's polyandrous marriages—has its origins in a session at 2012's Mormon History Association annual conference and has continued in privately, but relatively widely circulated revised versions of each other's papers.

19. See Miles, e-mail to author, March 25, 2013.

20. For example, of George Smith's study of Nauvoo polygamy, Hales alleges: "No attempt is made to see polygamy through the eyes of Nauvoo participants, all of whom would probably have disagreed with George D. Smith's descriptions" (1:17). Later, Hales asserts that women involved in Joseph Smith's polyandrous marriages would have had "only one interpretation" for being involved sexually with two husbands: "marital infidelity and a violation of their marriage vows" (1:391); and also that "In 1892, Church members would have considered sexual polyandry to be adultery" (1:437).

that his married wives had compelling reason to avoid mention of legally adulterous sexual behavior. Hales also uses the absences of Smith's polyandrous wives and of his youngest wife as witnesses at the Temple Lot hearings of 1892 as evidence that their possible testimony of no sexual activity would have weakened the argument that Smith, in fact, practiced polygamy (see 2:24, 297–98). It is equally plausible that the women's testimony of sexual activity would have been too inviting of censure and condemnation to publicize widely, and were deliberately excluded from testifying.

In the case of John C. Bennett, Hales tends to portray Bennett as something of a chimera of Bernie Madoff and Hugh Hefner. Hales admits that during this period, 1840–41, Joseph Smith "was forced to look outside the structure of the general Church leadership in his first introductions to both eternal and plural marriage" (1:224). He adds that Smith sometimes discussed plural marriage with "outsiders," citing, as an example, Cyrus Wheelock, which Hales finds "puzzling because after hearing of the explosive doctrines, he [Wheelock] was empowered to expose the Prophet if he chose to do so" (1:229). Hales does not allow Bennett, who for a time was demonstrably closer to Smith than Wheelock, the same opportunity. Bennett was many things—a charismatic scoundrel, a political trouble-shooter, a con man and liar, an intelligent orator, a self-serving opportunist, etc.—but not to evaluate Bennett's appeal blinds Hales and his readers to the very qualities that Smith and others found, at least for a time, so seductive. Hales also misstates Bennett's departure from the church in 1842, insisting that Bennett was excommunicated (see, for example, 1:3, and esp. 1:526–30), when the historical record is clear that Bennett resigned and then later was expelled in a public act of damage control by church leaders.[21] An even greater, and more mystifying, misstep is Hales's ignoring the sexual escapades of Joseph Smith's younger brother William Smith, who was an active participant in Bennett's excesses and whose blood ties to Joseph lent the impression of an official imprimatur to Bennett's enterprise. Hales knows this,[22] and his not treating William's involvement seriously misrepresents the situation regarding Bennett.

In a similar vein, Hales does not address Joseph Smith's equating of secret-breakers with liars,[23] Smith's "cutting off the influence" of those whom he considered

21. Hales is not alone in perpetrating this error. See H. Michael Marquardt's review of *Journals, Volume 2: December 1841–April 1843*, ed. Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson (2011), in *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 32 (Fall/Winter 2012): 252–56, esp. 254.

22. Hales provides a list of church members "incriminated" in Bennett's sexual practices. William Smith's name is missing. See 1:561; compare 2:34–35. Hales later identifies one of the "incriminated"—Lyman O. Littlefield—as "learn[ing] of plural marriage during this period, but not from Joseph Smith" (2:175). The source, direct or indirect, of Littlefield's knowledge was Bennett.

23. On January 3, 1844, Smith, as mayor, spoke to the Nauvoo, Illinois, city council "on [the] Spiritual wife system and explained, The man who promises to keep a secret and does not keep it he is a liar and not to be trusted." John S. Dinger, ed., *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011), 203.

as traitors,[24] and the known instances of Smith's own misrepresentations in regards to plural marriage.[25] Nor does Hales fully explore the meaning for Smith's followers of his plenary status as God's prophet. "It was not my prerogative to call him in question," Brigham Young said of Smith, "with regard to any act of his life. He was God's servant, and not mine. He did not belong to the people but to the Lord, and was doing the work of the Lord, and if He should suffer him to lead the people astray, it would be because they ought to be led astray."[26] Hales gives equally insufficient attention, in my opinion, to the ramifications of Smith's famous 1842 "Happiness" letter, which served as Smith's plural marriage proposal to Nancy Rigdon. Smith's letter, which Hales accepts as genuine, explicitly sanctions a "spirit"-based rather than a "letter"-based approach to morals and ethics: "That which is *wrong* under one circumstance, may be, and often is, *right* under another" (1:478; emphasis in original). Also, I believe that Hales's treatment of Smith's 1843 revelation on plural marriage (LDS D&C 132)—which is clearly polygamy-centered—interprets portions in ways that mitigate, if not alter, Smith's intent (see 2:64–73; 3:105–7, 203–5).[27]

Hales's defense of Smith—as I read it—leads to more than a handful of contradictory assertions. For example, he states that Smith did not require his plural wives "to take vows of silence" regarding their marriages (1:601). However, he later quotes one of Smith's wives as stating that she "was forbidden by the Prophet" to make her marriage known to others (2:3), and another as stating that Smith specifically asked her if she could "keep a secret" before proposing marriage (2:9). Hales writes that "there is no known evidence that Joseph Smith taught that all men and women, irrespective of the time and place they existed, must practice plural marriage in order to be exalted" (3:192), while also commenting that "plural marriage was openly acknowledged and understood as a commandment" (3:7) and quoting Smith loyalist

24. At the same Nauvoo City Council meeting, Smith stated: "Where a man becomes a traitor to his friend or country who is innocent, treacherous to innocent blood, I consider it right to cut off his ~~innocent~~ influence so that he could not injure the innocent" (ibid., 204). Hales does not explore how Smith's statement could have been implemented in responding to the Church's "liars" and "traitors."

25. Joseph's and older brother Hyrum's denials to the Nauvoo city council that Joseph's 1843 revelation on plural marriage had any modern application are examples of this (see Dinger, *Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes*, 241, 255). Hales writes that Joseph's statements "contain[ed] elements of exaggeration" (1:494). Elsewhere, he adds: "Scriptural examples demonstrate that occasionally deception was permitted or required in order to serve God's purposes" (2:189). He also notes: "it appears that Joseph Smith used careful language to secretly defy public laws that contradicted directives that he accepted as divine commandments" (1:388).

26. Quoted in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, ENG.: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855–86), 4:297–98.

27. Plural marriage is both weft and warp of Smith's entire revelation. Smith's legal wife, Emma, is commanded to "obey" this "law" or be denied entrance "into my glory." The revelation promises exaltation "if ye abide in my covenant"; explains that adultery is impossible with wives who have been "appointed" to a man by a "holy anointing"; states that Smith has absolute power to seal, as well as to remit/retain sin, on earth and in heaven; and announces that Smith's exaltation has been "sealed" upon him and that his own—unspecified—sins have been forgiven.

and future LDS church president Wilford Woodruff as explaining that plural marriage had been "commanded by God through Joseph Smith … [as] a necessity for man's highest exaltation" (3:218). Hales's argument against John Bennett's status as a "polygamy insider" acknowledges Bennett's thirty-nine weeks' residence as a paying boarder with the Smiths in their three-room home from 1840 to 1841 but suggests that the Smith house "may not have been as cramped as described" (1:550n17). Later, however, in treating the case of Eliza R. Snow as one of Smith's wives, Hales contends that the same Smith house "would have been very crowded even with Eliza's presence" (2:90). Hales also writes that, "as far as records indicate," Smith never used the terms "spiritual wifery" or "spiritual wives," which, Hales asserts, were probably introduced by Bennett (see 1:184n3, 560). Yet Hales quotes Smith's own plural wives and other contemporaries as referring specifically to "spiritual wives as they called them in that day" (2:12), to "spiritual wives, as we were then termed" (2:197), and to "spiritual wifery" (2:38).[28] Given the lack of documentation concerning Smith's practice, it is equally plausible that Bennett took the terms from Smith as that Smith's wives and followers took the terms from Bennett. Hales's entire argument against Bennett rests, in my opinion, on Hales's narrow definition of what constitutes a polygamy "insider" and is fueled by the fear that Smith's teachings may have been somehow influenced by Bennett or that Bennett's behavior may have had some origin in Smith's teachings (see 1:573).

In addressing the question of whether Smith sometimes promised unconditional exaltation to any of his plural wives, including their own families, as an inducement and reward,[29] Hales writes that such promises were nonscriptural and that any wife who claimed such a promise was mistaken (see 2:22). Thus, when Helen Mar Kimball years later quoted Smith as telling her: "If you will take this step [i.e., plural marriage] it will ensure your eternal salvation and exaltation and that of your father's household and all of your kindred," Hales concludes that Kimball misremembered Smith's words (2:27; 3:198–99).[30] Yet Smith explicitly promised another of his recent plural wives: "she shall come forth in the first reserrection to recieve the same and verily it shall be so saith the Lord if she remain in the Everlasting covenant [i.e., plural marriage] to the end as also all her Fathers house shall be saved in the same Eternal glory and if any of them shall wander from the fo^a^ld of the Lord they shall not perish but shall return saith the Lord and be saived ~~in~~ and by repen-

28. In one case, Hales dismisses a source's use of "spiritual wife" in recalling an earlier event as "a somewhat dubious assertion after fifty years" (1:260).

29. For Charles Harrell's discussion of this, see Harrell, *This Is My Doctrine*, 326–27.

30. Elsewhere, Hales doubts that another of Smith's plural wives correctly recalled her marriage to Smith as being for "time and eternity," as she remembered, and instead believes that the marriage was for "eternity" only (2:283). "Too much weight should not be placed on exact terminology," Hales argues, "especially given the distance of these recollections from the alleged event" (1:129).

tance be crowned with all the fullness of the glory of the Everlasting Gospel."[31] Smith promised this same girl's father that because of their plural marriage there "shall be crowned upon your heads and honor and imortality and eternal life to all your house both old and young … it shall be upon you and upon your children after you from general to generation."[32] In fact, because of Smith's guarantees of exaltation, Brigham Young quashed attempts to discipline William Smith for his sexual practices because, according Young, Joseph Smith had "got a promise" that William was "bound to be saved."[33] Such promises had become one of the church's better-known secrets by June 1844, when the dissident *Nauvoo Expositor* referred publicly to "the doctrine of unconditional sealing up to eternal life, against all crimes except that of sheding innocent blood."[34] Smith himself was not afraid to disagree with scripture. There are "Ma[n]y things in the bible," he said in 1843, "which do not, as they now stand, accord with the revelation of the holy Ghost to me."[35]

One of the biggest issues I have with Hales's study concerns his attempt to explain Smith's rationale for restoring polygamy. Polygamy is nowhere specifically commanded in the Old Testament despite its practice by some Old Testament patriarchs. Yet according to Hales, Smith taught that polygamy was a part of the "restitution of all things" (3:67, esp. chap. 3). In practice, Smith's restitution only included certain "things" practiced in the Old and New Testaments. Hales writes that Smith "never gave a specific reason why God commanded its [polygamy's] practice in the 1840s" (3:216), yet also states that Smith "taught that the design of plural marriage was 'to multiply and replenish the earth'" (3:217). Both the Book of Mormon in 1830 and Smith's 1843 revelation on plural marriage seem not to mince words that the purpose of polygamy was to "raise up seed" (Jacob 2:30) and that plural wives "are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth … for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men" (LDS D&C 132:63). The intent of Smith's doctrine is clear: to reproduce and provide bodies for children. Hales understands the implications of this for Smith's polyandrous marriages, so insists that Smith first understood polygamy to be a commandment to be obeyed in principle but not in

31. Smith, Blessing upon Sarah Ann Whitney, March 23, 1843, LDS Church History Library; quoted 1:508–9.

32. Quoted 3:196. Hales insists that "unless the Prophet [Joseph Smith] was declaring a new precept with everlasting ramifications, a single plural sealing was incapable of providing all of the blessing mentioned" (ibid.).

33. Young, quoted in "Minutes [of trial of George J. Adams]," 15 March 1845, typescript in D. Michael Quinn Papers, Special Collections, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; original in LDS Church History Library. Kimball's father, Heber C. Kimball, understood that such rewards attended his daughter's plural marriage, and promised her "immortal glory" which "no one shall take … away. They shall be thine in time and in eternity." Kimball, Blessing upon Helen Mar Kimball, May 28, 1843, LDS Church History Library.

34. "Resolutions … Resolved 2nd," *Nauvoo Expositor,* June 7, 1844, [2]; see also Austin Cowles, Affidavit, May 4, 1844, in *Nauvoo Expositor,* [2].

35. Quoted in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 211.

actual practice, and later had to be threatened by an angel to sexually consummate his marriages (1:214–17). Thus, despite Hales's documentation of sexual activity in Smith's first two plural marriages (2:379–82), Hales writes that Smith's next handful of plural marriages, almost all of which were to already-married women, were meant to satisfy the letter of God's command, were strictly "ceremonial" and for eternity only, and were in no way "sexual." Hales does not explain how and why Smith moved from sexually consummated marriages, to "ceremony"-only/eternity-only marriages, and back again to "sexual" marriages while still fulfilling the reproductive intent of plural marriage.

Hales's work highlights the hotly contested terrain that is the scholarly study of Joseph Smith's plural marriage doctrine. His three volumes contain an embarrassment of information and provocative analysis. Though he adopts what I believe is an unnecessarily defensive posture, reads his sources sometimes differently than I, and crafts interpretations with which I disagree, Hales is a writer to be taken very seriously. He is bold, courageous, innovative, and thoughtful. He raises questions, and proposes answers, that force us to revisit and reconsider some very complex subjects. More and more, the story of Joseph Smith and polygamy strikes me as an utterly alien world, of which all that remains, it seems, are fading lipstick traces on frayed cocktail napkins.

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Earl M. Wunderli. ***An Imperfect Book: What the Book of Mormon Tells Us about Itself.*** Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2013. 386 pp. Index, notes, maps, illustrations, appendices. Paperback $32.95. ISBN: 978-1-560-85230-8.

Reviewed by William D. Morain

Reading this book brought to mind that old Swiss adage, "If you see something on top of the Matterhorn with all the characteristics of an elephant, you don't ask what it is but rather how it got there." For Earl Wunderli, that metaphor has been made flesh in a lengthy quest to discover how to explain the Book of Mormon's perch on such exalted heights for nearly two centuries with so many missing pieces of provenance strung along the way. Fortunately, his quest has been richly rewarded with the present volume, *An Imperfect Book: What the Book of Mormon Tells Us about Itself.*

Drawing on his legal background, Wunderli has applied a strict evidentiary approach in his scrutiny of the Book of Mormon. Restricting his analysis to the internal evidence within the book itself to the exclusion of other sources of information, he presents an overwhelming case that the Book of Mormon was authored solely by Joseph Smith in the early nineteenth century.

Wunderli's book is exemplary in all respects. The writing is clear and unstilted, the paper and font easily readable, the documentation voluminous, and the section summaries well crafted. The book is organized with an overview and seven topical chapters, followed by four appendices of proper names and several maps and illustrations.

The strength of the book is the author's exhaustive database of words, phrases, and events portrayed in the Book of Mormon, indexed personally by hand before the computer over the space of a decade. Restricting himself to the evidence of the words on the page, the author's conclusions are clear and compelling—and refreshingly free of the copout of spirituality.

Wunderli posits that Smith had a comprehensive knowledge of the King James Bible (KJV) as evidenced by the vast number of scripture phrases that he has casually peppered through the book. The characteristic KJV phraseology and sentence structure are paralleled with several familiar Bible stories as well (Saul's and Alma's conversions, Salome's and Akish's dances for the king in exchange for beheadings, and both Jesus figures feeding the multitudes). But Smith carried a simple view of who wrote the Bible that is at variance with later (and in some cases earlier) scholarly studies concluding (1) that Moses did not write the Pentateuch and (2) that the Old Testament was not compiled until long after 600 BCE when Lehi's family allegedly went to sea. Smith copied exclusively from the KJV, including over one hundred anachronistic New Testament quotes in the first two books of Nephi alone, none of

which could have been on the "brass plates." Wunderli reemphasizes the inappropriateness of Smith's Deutero-Isaiah quotes as well.

The author's database reveals a total of 5,250 different words in the Book of Mormon, of which twenty-seven were idiomatic for the book. The nine most common (*behold*, *yea*, *even*, *forth*, *O*, *cast*, *hearken*, *wo*, and *lest*) are used interchangeably by Nephi, Jacob, Mormon, Moroni, and Jesus, and there appears to be no language evolution in the idiom for over a thousand years. In Wunderli's words, "The Book of Mormon speaks with a consistent voice throughout.... [Any] changes are subtle and proceed in a consistent way, specific to when Joseph Smith dictated a given portion of the Book of Mormon, unrelated to whichever prophet may be speaking or what the internal chronology is" (317). Book of Mormon Jesus's idiom is very different from that of KJV Jesus, especially with those twenty-seven common words; in particular, the former Jesus speaks of eight "abominations," a word KJV Jesus never utters. In addition, all thirteen alleged Book of Mormon authors used "and it came to pass" indistinguishably a total of 1,414 times, strongly suggesting the phrase as a common prose narrative device of a single author. Noting the similarity of usage of the twenty-seven common words across all writers, Wunderli remarks that there are "so many that the stamp of a single writer seems all but certain" (122).

The author highlights numerous anachronistic words and phrases in the Book of Mormon including, among others, "Alpha and Omega" (used by Jesus as translated from the Greek in the KJV), "Lamb of God" (from John), and four uses of "Christians" in Alma (first used in Acts at Antioch). Of the 304 named persons in the Book of Mormon, seven have identical names and fourteen nearly so between Jaredites and Nephites, though centuries apart in time. Naming the son for the father was unknown in the Old Testament but very common in the Book of Mormon and in early nineteenth century America. Though extremely rare for two men to have the same name in the Bible, this occurs 32.5 percent of the time among Nephites and 35.8 percent among Jaredites. Many names from the Bible are introduced into the Book of Mormon with just one or two letter changes, including all three women's names. Wunderli also notes that most Book of Mormon names are readily pronounceable by English speakers, unlike the known New World native names of the period.

Wunderli devotes a full chapter to Book of Mormon prophecies. He notes that 25 percent of these are for events that will occur within the Book of Mormon itself. Another 40 percent are for world events that occur before Joseph Smith's era. The remainder concern the end of the world and are congruent with the Christian eschatology of Smith's time. Notably, the only secular name given in a prophecy is that of Joseph Smith himself. Wunderli points out that the only three specific prophecies for the post-1830 world all have been rendered false by events (that Smith would be protected from harm, that Jews would convert to Christianity to regain their homeland, and that a third sacred book would appear).

The author emphasizes that xenophobia in the Book of Mormon was wide and deep. In addition to the well-known dark skin prejudice typical of Smith's time, the book's florid anti-Catholicism was likely reinforced by the presence of Irish laborers building the Erie Canal in Smith's neighborhood. The book's widespread anti-Semitism is problematic because the alleged Book of Mormon authors were supposedly Jews themselves. In truth, the noblest group in the book is the Gentiles who will one day drive out the Lamanites. As Wunderli states, "God deals with groups, more than individuals, and shares the racial and religious views of white Protestants in frontier America.... The Book of Mormon, like Puritan writings before it, placed America in the center of a sacred pageant and working-class people in central roles, affirming everything they did as blessed" (191–92).

Wunderli describes a seemingly endless cascade of curiosities that appear in the Book of Mormon. Some characters live upwards of two hundred years. People who have not yet been born are quoted at length. Although Zerahemnah is scalped in the ancient narrative, this British-introduced practice would not be adopted by Native Americans until several hundred years hence. Wunderli describes a sizable number of slips in the narrative that are obvious mistakes in dictation as well as numerous contretemps and bizarre occurrences in several of the Book of Mormon's stories. These he describes as "thoughtless mistakes in an unedited manuscript. Some of them seem overly imaginative, but Joseph's religious beliefs were mainstream for his time and place and consistent within the book. What more could we expect since he preceded Darwinism, higher criticism, DNA, and so much that we have learned since then" (226).

I was impressed with the thoroughness and courtesy that Wunderli has accorded to apologetic defenders of the Book of Mormon, four in particular. He describes John Tvedtnes's claim of Hebraisms in detail but notes that the Book of Mormon claimed to have been written in Egyptian rather than Hebrew, and those "Hebraisms" actually originated in the KJV and appear with some frequency in the Book of Commandments and Smith's personal writings as well.

Wunderli describes John Welch's chiasmus claims with examples but notes that the inverted parallelism has been achieved only by considerable selection of phrases within highly repetitive passages to give the appearance of symmetry. Wunderli similarly analyzes the limited-geography model of John Sorenson and the Jaredite extinction theory of Hugh Nibley, giving both a thorough review and describing their considerable difficulties. And with all four apologists the criticism remains free of animus and couched exclusively upon the preponderance of intrinsic evidence.

Wunderli remarks that Mormon's knowledge of heliocentric astronomy would have been most untimely without the complex analyses of Galileo, Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton. But Creationist historicity remained a critical theme in the Book of Mormon with enormous theological dependence on a literal Adam and Eve. As

Wunderli notes, "Whoever wrote the Book of Mormon lived after Copernicus and before Darwin" (290).

As other authors have noted, the theology in the Book of Mormon was not significantly different from that within Smith's own religious environment. The book's traditional Protestant views of the trinity, of the afterlife, of baptism, and of good/evil were all vastly different from the innovations Smith would later introduce in eschatology, resurrected angels, dietary proscriptions, priesthood divisions, temple matters, and location of the Garden of Eden. As Wunderli notes, "Ironically, Mormonism in its present form, organizationally and doctrinally, is essentially divorced from the theology and perspective of the Book of Mormon" (315).

Wunderli summarizes by describing the narratives of the Book of Mormon as repetitive, simple, epic and mythic, "like reading a good novel.... This is the stuff of fiction" (318). He stresses that his evidentiary approach is justified by the fact that the book itself claims an artifactual basis, deriving from metal plates with an alleged provenance. As such, it is fair game to be exhaustively examined by traditional scholarly measures without any absolving crutch of spiritual license. As the author concludes, "There is no virtue in believing what is demonstrably untrue" (327).

A marvelous work and a Wunderli.

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John G. Turner. *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012. viii, 500 pp. Photographs, notes, index. Hardback: $35.00. ISBN: 978-0-674-04967-3.

Reviewed by Susanna Morrill

John G. Turner's biography of Brigham Young is a masterful and compelling interpretation of the second leader of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Turner does not spend much time analyzing the psychology or inner life of Young, though he gives enough on those subjects to allow readers to draw their own conclusions. Rather, Turner's book is a cultural (and sometimes political) history of a religious group, the West, and mid-nineteenth-century America. This is a history that is focused through the lens of the life of an extraordinary and controversial individual. Throughout the book, Turner shows how Young and his church were in continual conversation with their contemporary religious and cultural contexts. Turner argues that Mormons and Young were quite similar to other Americans in, for example, their knee-jerk racism, ready reliance on violence and vigilantism, and focus on theological perfectionism. But he simultaneously demonstrates how Young's leadership of the Mormon community, conditioned by his early family life and experiences in his church, shaped this group into something that was distinct within the American landscape.

In this approach, Turner follows recent scholarship on Mormonism that aims to "de-exceptionalize" Mormons and the Mormon experience. We see this trend in, for instance, Richard Bushman's biography of Joseph Smith, Samuel Brown's book, *In Heaven As It Is on Earth,* or Matthew Grow's biography of Thomas Kane (all excellent companion pieces to Turner's book). Turner and scholars such as these are moving away from the kind of exceptionalist assumptions that Young instilled in his followers with his millennial vision of a chosen people living in a kingdom of God on earth. This exceptionalist template has seeped into even the most objective of Mormon histories—even histories by non-Mormons. As scholars of Catholicism did a few decades ago, scholars of Mormonism are working to make Mormon Studies less of a cut-off pool of work and more of a stream that flows out of and back into the wider research on American religious history. Turner's biography moves us strongly in this direction.

Turner's subject is fascinating but elusive. Turner highlights how Young appeared to his followers and closest associates as a sometimes unpredictable bundle of contradictions: alternately pugnacious and playful; publicly intolerant and abusive, yet privately caring to those he had disputes with; undeniably dedicated to his faith, but pragmatic in making compromises to assure its continued existence; able to successfully relocate his church across the plains into an arid, inhospitable region, but

continually unsuccessful in creating large scale, self-sufficient industries in this same region; singing in tongues at one worship service, and preaching about the correct ways to irrigate in another; given to using coarse language and imagery, yet intolerant of anyone who took God's name in vain. Comparing the leadership of Smith and Young, Turner notes that: "the Latter-day Saints never adored Brigham Young to the extent they had his predecessor, and Young—alternately social and sullen—did not crave their company and affection to the extent Joseph had" (118). While an unrelentingly public man after he joined the church and especially when he took on the role of "Israelite judge or patriarch" to his people in Utah, he was a man no one knew intimately, not even his monogamous or polygamous wives (176). Turner writes, "Young had several close associates with whom he discussed matters of church business, but many of his own difficulties he unburdened to no one" (118). In Turner's portrait, Young emerges as a man intent on practically instituting Joseph Smith's religious vision and caring for those who followed this vision, even to the sacrifice of family life and personal closeness with his associates.

Turner convincingly points out certain moments in Young's life that seemed to condition his leadership approach: being kicked out of his house at age sixteen when his father remarried, Smith's death amid growing dissension, and violence perpetrated against Mormons in Missouri and Illinois. Turner argues that Young's relationship with Joseph Smith was "the most significant and formative relationship in his life" (33). After having profound and ecstatic experiences during his first encounters with Mormonism, Young was unrelentingly loyal to Smith because, Turner suggests, Young felt that he had found the ultimate truth in Smith's system of theology, ritual, and community life. Still, Young had enough distance on Smith to see his flaws. When he took up the leadership of the church, Young was determined not to repeat these perceived mistakes, as he focused on running a practical, pragmatic church with a hierarchy that was completely loyal to him. In Mormonism, Turner suggests, Young found the anchor he had been in search of his whole, difficult early life; he would spend the rest of his life trying to perfect and defend it.

Turner convincingly clarifies the role of Young in several controversial chapters of Mormon history: the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Utah War of 1857, and the institution and early practice of polygamy. In his interpretation of these events, Turner takes the prudent middle path, arguing, for instance, that Young did not specifically order the attack on the Fancher-Baker party, but that his violent rhetoric, his open sanction of violence against non-Mormons and dissenters, and his association with known murderers such as Orrin Porter Rockwell created the conditions that led to the tragedy. As Turner writes: "Young had sown the wind, and American emigrants reaped the whirlwind" (275).

Through his objective, measured, and detailed portrait of Young, Turner effectively makes the argument that this leader—a leader more respected and feared than

loved by his associates and followers—influenced Mormonism in profound and lasting ways. He created a community that obediently looked to its religious hierarchy for direction, that established its identity partly on the marginalization of Native Americans and African Americans, that depended on ritual temple work and the practical building up of a "kingdom of God" in order to activate an earthly and eternal network of relationships, that prized common sense theology rather than abstract theological speculation. Turner's cultural historical biography helps to explain the legacy of early Mormonism that contemporary Mormons are still embracing and, sometimes, still struggling with, a legacy profoundly American, yet distinctively Mormon.

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John J. Hammond. *The Quest for the New Jerusalem: A Mormon Generational Saga*, 4 vols (each volume carries its own title). Xlibris Corporation, 2011–12. Paperback: $20.84. ISBN: 978-1-462-87364-7. E-book: $9.99. ISBN: 978-1-477-15088-7.

Reviewed by Henry H. Goldman

Professor Hammond has written a comprehensive work on Mormon history and, more precisely, of his own family's roots. I found the work to be interesting and a bit more personal than most family histories. He tells the story from the perspective of a professional historian (he earned a doctorate in political science and, since retiring from Kent State University, has been engaged in historical research).

From my point of view, the most useful of the four volumes are volume 2, *The Creation of Mormonism: Joseph Smith Jr. in the 1820s* and volume 3, *A Divided Mormon Zion: Northeastern Ohio or Western Missouri?* Hammond writes well and his narratives are well documented. I found volume 2 to be particularly interesting to my current research and material in volume 3 has been useful, as well.

As with many family-related histories, the amount of data provided can become overwhelming; therefore, only bits and pieces can be derived without becoming involved with extraneous information. Latter Day Saints of all stripes will find useful information in each of the four volumes. Volume 1 titled, *Family and Mormon Church Roots: Colonial Period to 1820*, describes the origins of the Hammond Family and carries to story of the church into the 1820s. Volume 4 describes the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri and the subsequent diaspora. Volume 4's title is *An Inaccessible Mormon Zion: Expulsion from Jackson County* [Missouri].

This set of history books will be of interest to those who continue to study Latter Day Saint history and have a desire to learn as much as possible about the early church and its subsequent dissolution. As an example of Hammond's understanding of that "dark and cloudy day," see his treatment of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), now called "Community of Christ" (4:306, 416, 432). This work is highly recommended.

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John S. Dinger, ed. *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes.* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011. 700 pp. Appendices, notes, index. Hardcover: $49.95. ISBN: 978-1-560-85214-8.

Reviewed by Steven L. Shields

The minutes of the Nauvoo city council and the high council make for fascinating reading. They paint a picture of Nauvoo, Joseph Smith, and church government like nothing else. John Dinger has done a monumental job with this book and has provided a generally accessible and valuable tool for historians of the Smith-Rigdon movement.

This volume is, in fact, three different books and needs to be read and understood clearly as such. First, one book is the city council minutes, the second is the high council minutes, and the third is Dinger's added material, whether in footnotes or interpolated text. The twenty or more pages of biographical sketches of the various leaders (either city council or high council) are helpful for reference. However, without source material identified, it is hard to check the facts or find more information. The same is true for the biographical sketches found throughout the footnotes, helpful as they are to place a name into the setting.

Two key themes emerge for me from a thorough reading of the two sets of council records. First, mixing church and state at Nauvoo. Most key leaders of the church were members of the city council—members of the twelve and bishops with all the members of the presidency. The second was Brigham Young's takeover of the church at Nauvoo and how the Standing High Council (referred to in the book as the Nauvoo "stake" high council) was supplanted by the Traveling High Council (otherwise known as the council or quorum of twelve apostles).

Of course, Joseph Smith wanted a blending of church and state in his vision of what he believed ought to make up the "city of Zion." He had tried and failed several times before to achieve this dream. But even at Nauvoo, Smith only partially succeeded. His bungling of the *Nauvoo Expositor* affair brought the whole thing crashing down around him. The rationale proposed by Smith and his city council members for the *Expositor's* destruction is weak by any standard. If criticism in a free press is a "public nuisance," where does one go to voice opposing views? As the minutes of the city council show, Smith had become the embodiment of the law. This extreme conflict of interest was not lost on outside observers.

I was confused by the layering of various rough drafts over the top of the final, officially recorded version of the minutes of both bodies. True, the editor explains that he has done this. But I had a hard time remembering and following the list of various diacritical markings. This made it difficult to sort out just what was the final version. My more than two decades of serving as secretary for various church and

secular bodies suggests to me that adding rough draft notes back into the final record can only create confusion.

I found many unexplained references throughout Dinger's material in the book. For example, in several of the biographies "RLDS," "Reorganization," and "Strangite" are mentioned but without further clarification. Why not tell the reader what these terms mean? Why not explain that Brigham Young's succession was not a clear-cut proposition, and that several viable leaders emerged after the death of Joseph Smith, Junior? By default, the book promotes the cause of Brigham Young and his loyalists as the only "right" solution. "The church" prior to Joseph Smith's death is clear as to which body one is referring to. After his death, however "the church" means something different from the various contending factions the original church broke into, but for the editor clearly means the Brigham Young faction only.

There are other confusing references in the biographies, such as that of Newel K. Whitney (lxxvii). Dinger states that Whitney was a member of "Rigdon's Disciples of Christ" congregation. Beyond the fact that the denominational name is anachronistic, no further explanation is offered (Campbell's and Rigdon's movement was called "Reformed Baptist," though members may have been referred to as "disciples" of Christ. The denominational name is a later convention). To add to the confusion, the biography of Lyman Wight, immediately following Whitney's, states that he was a member of "Rigdon's Campbellite" congregation. Yet both Wight and Whitney belonged to the same congregation.

I am hard pressed to understand the reason for adding chapter titles, which are not part of the original documents. Dinger has created these, pulling them from some phrases in the minutes for that year (whether city council or high council). Yet, he doesn't point the reader to where he's pulled his "title" from and why he thinks the title is the general theme for the actions of the body for the entire year. Nor is justification given to why a chronological minutes book should have themes retrospectively added. The annual records are of two bodies that met and dealt with particular matters of the day and were not long-term planning bodies. Choosing such themes by retrospectively imposing later turns of events does not let the documents stand on their own.

Such editorial license skews a natural reading of the minutes as the year unfolds. This occasionally serves only to see the minutes through the singular lens of a perspective that emerges much later one institution's view of the story. Were such thematic descriptions of the annual minutes needed, they might be done after the fact as a summary end note, highlighting the key issues and perhaps drawing closing analysis.

The chapter numbering is also confusing since they are numbered in succession from the first of the city council minutes. This gives an impression of continuity that does not exist. Further, the high council was organized before the city council, and its

meetings began more than a year before the first city council meeting. Yet, the high council minutes are in the second section of the book.

I think there is also possible confusion introduced by the dividing page between the city council minutes and the high council minutes. The page reads "Minutes of the Stake High Council" when it probably ought to read "Minutes of the Nauvoo High Council." Although brief commentary has been included in the front matter of the book, modern LDS readers are apt to retrospectively project their modern understanding on what was going on in Nauvoo.

The role of the Standing High Council in the original church has been long-forgotten or obscured in most renderings of the history of the movement. Unlike contemporary LDS stakes, the Nauvoo High Council was pre-eminent in church government, whose actions were often for the entire denomination and not just a local jurisdiction. The minutes reflect this clearly on many occasions. The minutes also make it clear that although other stakes contemporaneous with Nauvoo had high councils, all were subject to the council at Nauvoo. This was the same at Kirtland. Even some writers of modern histories of Nauvoo do not clearly explain this.

Partially helpful in setting the stage for understanding the role of the Nauvoo High Council and its preeminence is William G. Hartley's 1991 *BYU Studies* (32:1) paper titled "Nauvoo Stake, Priesthood Quorums, and the Church's First Wards." Such a background of understanding is surely important to frame the minutes in proper context.

How Brigham Young and his loyalists in the twelve overthrew the authority of the Standing High Council and made the Traveling High Council the pre-eminent decision-making body for the denomination goes without notice in this book. An unfortunate byproduct of this rubric of interpretation is found in the editor's notes that refer to those who rejected Brigham Young's leadership as having "left the church." Perhaps there has been a study of which I am unaware, but it would be interesting to explore the dynamics of relationships to understand why it was that only those members of the twelve who were with Brigham Young in England supported his takeover of the church at Nauvoo.

I had difficulty understanding the guiding principles for inserting "missing text." Such pieces of "missing text" that Dinger notes with brackets are not consistent throughout the book, nor is it clear that text was actually missing. For example, throughout the minutes of the high council, he consistently inserts "the" in brackets in an attempt to make complete sentences according to modern American grammatical usage (such as, "The high council…"). Yet, "the" was not inserted in the city council minutes in the same fashion. While it may not be wrong to do so, adding "the" is not always necessary. But why was "the" added sometimes and not others? How does one judge if the text is actually "missing" in the first place? "Minutes" are typically "brief" records of the actions of a body and do not need to be in full, grammatically com-

plete sentences. Minutes also reflect the writer's expression and the cultural frame of reference. By adding text that is not necessarily missing, does the modern reader lose some of the flavor of times long past?

One example of so-called missing text is on page 346. The record originally (seemingly) read "…such as do will be disfellowshipped…." Dinger changed this to read "..such as [those who] do [so] will be disfellowshipped…." The original is grammatically correct, but the emendation is grammatically questionable and awkward. "Such as do" could be replaced by "those who do so," but that is not what the editor did. Even so, it would not be replacing missing text but revising the original text. The purpose of such a book ought to be to preserve the best original reading of the minutes in their original grammatical conventions. Doing so has the added benefit of offering insight into life in early 1840s frontier America.

Often, there is added "missing text" that has no foundation or supporting evidence. For example, on page 517 Dinger asserts that "a significant portion of Kimball's remarks were omitted from the minutes…." However, no evidence in the minutes suggests that anything was omitted at all. In fact, Kimball's added remarks were published a month later in the *Times and Seasons* (October 1, 1844, p. 663). I think that asserting the text was missing from the original minutes or was somehow left out, and relying on a later published version as the accurate record of the meeting is not helpful.

In another case, again on Rigdon's trial, Dinger adds full phrases to Brigham Young's comments, but nowhere could I find the source for the "missing text." For example, on page 521 Brigham Young is recorded as having said, "Sidney has done as much when he arrived from Missouri…." Dinger changes this to read, "Sidney has done as much [as was needed to show his unworthiness] when he arrived from Missouri…." In the same report he adds other material but states in a footnote for those items that he pulled them in from a published report elsewhere. This is indeed a mysterious way to edit a document. It calls into question the particular policies of Brigham Young and his loyalists in the twelve who clearly changed the records of the meetings when they later published the purported records in the *Times and Seasons*. The policy seems to have been a deliberate attempt to promote the Brigham Young faction against all others, even though it's clear from the minutes that Brigham Young's and the twelve's ascendancy was not a done deal.

Is the editor serious about his "missing text" and can it be justified with evidence? Or is the missing text added to fit the editor's paradigm of how the story came to be told in just one of the several possibilities?

Dinger's reliance on accounts published many years later in the LDS version of the "History of the Church" for "missing text" is also surprising for that can hardly be considered either a primary or objective source. At the most, the editor might have remarked that the published version differs from the official minutes. Then perhaps

the editor could have offered some comparative examples (from which an objective reader could draw conclusions) and raise the question about why that might be.

Does using as "backup" only those published sources under the control of Brigham Young and his loyalists show a bias of perspective that does not further our understanding of Nauvoo and particularly the succession crisis? Of course, tracking down the records, the recollections, and the arguments of others is more difficult. But such documents are available and may have helped bring more balance to the commentary and notes in the book. The book begs for a "minority report" and not just the perspective of Brigham Young's faction.

The Nauvoo era is an important one in the development and history of the movement and needs to be looked at carefully, unfettered by faith perspective. All positions of the contending leaders, both before and after Joseph Smith's death, need to be looked at as objectively as possible, allowing for the distinct possibility that might does not necessarily make right! Despite what I think are some shortcomings, Dinger's book, read judiciously, makes a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the problems that emerged in the church at Nauvoo and how they contributed to the death of Joseph Smith and the fragmentation of the movement into dozens of competing denominations.

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