

A Bibliography of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri

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Basic to the study of the history and philosophy of any religion are the books produced by that faith during its formative years. Especially is this true of Mormonism, for the printing press played a vital part in the Church's progress as well as its reversals. Mormonism literally commenced with a book. By means of the press its claims were advertised and its message spread, and twice during the first decade its adherents were driven from their homes in part because of what they had put in print.

A Mormon press became a reality with the conversion in June, 1831, of William Wines Phelps, a New York newspaperman. A month after his baptism Phelps was designated "a printer unto the church"; and in September, a conference of the Church in Ohio directed Phelps to purchase a press and type in Cincinnati for the purpose of publishing a newspaper in Independence, Missouri, newly appointed as the gathering place for the Saints.¹ It appears that Phelps started for Missouri about the middle of October.² On November 20, 1831, Oliver Cowdery, who had been called to assist Phelps,

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¹Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1949), 1:217. (Hereafter designated H.C.)

²See "Journal History," October 1831; USHC. (Hereafter designated "J.H.")

left for Independence, arriving January 5, 1832.³ Three weeks later Cowdery wrote to Joseph Smith, "We expect soon to be ready to print and hope that Brother Martin [Harris] can supply the paper."⁴ At the end of February, 1832, a prospectus for the Mormon newspaper *The Evening and the Morning Star* was published; and in May the Mormon press did a bit of job work, printing, ironically enough, a circular for Lilburn W. Boggs announcing his candidacy for lieutenant governor of Missouri.⁵ On May 29, 1832, the Church leaders in Missouri gathered at the printing office on the second floor of W. W. Phelps's house on Liberty Street, "120 miles west of any press in the state," and Edward Partridge dedicated the building and its apparatus to the Lord.⁶ Finally, in June, 1832, the Mormon press, under the firm name of W. W. Phelps and Company, began issuing *The Evening and the Morning Star*, a monthly newspaper directed to the Saints, and the *Upper Missouri Advertiser*, a weekly community newspaper. For over a year this little press was in operation, until the printing office was destroyed by the local Missourians July 20, 1833.

The history of the *Star*'s press subsequent to the destruction of the printing office is itself rather interesting. Late in 1833 it was sold to Messrs. Kelly and Davis (for \$300 against the \$1,000 owing the Saints' attorneys), who used it to print the *Upper Missouri Enquirer* in Liberty, Missouri.⁷ In 1845 the press was sold to William Ridenbaugh and employed in founding the St. Joseph *Gazette*. Fourteen years later Ridenbaugh sold the press to a Captain Merrick, who used it in publishing the first Colorado newspaper, the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*.⁸

Seven weeks after the *Star* office was razed, the leaders of the Church met in Kirtland, Ohio, and resolved to establish another press in Kirtland under the firm name of F. G. Williams and Company, to continue the *Star* in Kirtland until it could be moved again to Missouri, and to publish, as soon as practicable, a Kirtland periodical entitled the *Latter-day*

³Heman C. Smith, ed., "The Book of John Whitmer," *Journal of History* 1 (1908), 135.

⁴"J.H.," 27 January 1832.

⁵No copy of this circular is extant. It is described in the *Columbia Missouri Intelligencer*, 2 June 1832, p. 2.

⁶*The Evening and the Morning Star*, June 1832. (Hereafter designated E.M.S.) "J.H.," 29 May 1832. L. O. Fanks, "The Evening and the Morning Star," *Missouri Historical Review* 43 (1949), 319ff.

⁷H.C., 1:470.

⁸Banks, 319ff.

Saints' Messenger and Advocate.⁹ On October 1, 1833, Oliver Cowdery left Kirtland for New York with \$800 in borrowed money to purchase a press and type.¹⁰ The new press reached Kirtland about the first of December; Cowdery and Newell K. Whitney began distributing the type on the fourth; and on the eighteenth the elders gathered at the printing office and after dedicating it to the Lord, took the first sheet of the resurrected *Star* out of the press.¹¹ For four years the Kirtland press operated, producing some of Mormondom's most important books.

Late in 1834 the Kirtland press was moved to its permanent location adjacent to the Kirtland Temple. It was housed on the upper floor of a two-story building, the lower floor of which was used for the School of the Prophets.¹² In November, 1835, at the peak of its production, the printing office employed four journeyman printers and typesetters and three apprentices and still was not able to meet its deadlines.¹³ At this time the operation was further enlarged by the addition of a bindery.¹⁴

Originally the Kirtland press, like the Independence press, was essentially owned by the Church. In April, 1834, however, ownership of the printing office was transferred to Oliver Cowdery and F. G. Williams, who did the Church's printing on a contractual basis, still under the firm name of F. G. Williams and Company. The firm was dissolved and bought out by Oliver Cowdery in June, 1836. Eight months later the printing office was transferred to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon; and three months after that it was transferred to William Marks, a new convert in New York, with Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon operating the office.¹⁵ These changes and the frequent pleas to the subscribers of the *Messenger and Advocate* to pay their past-due subscriptions suggest that the printing office operated on the brink of financial collapse for

⁹H.C., 1:409.

¹⁰H.C., 1:418. Oliver Cowdery to Elizabeth Ann Cowdery, Kirtland, 1 January 1834, "Cowdery Letterbook"; CSmH. (Hereafter designated "C.L.")

¹¹H.C., 1:448, 465.

¹²H.C., 2:169. Max Parkin, "The Nature and Cause of Internal and External Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio between 1830 and 1838" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966), p. 332n.

¹³W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, Kirtland, 14 November 1835, as quoted in "J.H.," 14 November 1835.

¹⁴Oliver Cowdery to Warren A. Cowdery, 22 November 1835, "C.L."

¹⁵Doctrine and Covenants 104:28-29. *Messenger and Advocate*, pp. 329, 458, 496. (Hereafter designated M.A.) H.C., 2:475, 486.

much of its life.¹⁶ Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon left Kirtland for Far West, Missouri, January 12, 1838. Three days later the press was attached for an indebtedness of the First Presidency and sold at auction to a Mr. Million, an apostate Mormon. Shortly after midnight January 16, 1838, the printing shop caught fire and all its contents were destroyed.¹⁷

Just how the Saints obtained a press in Far West, Missouri, is a mystery. A letter from Oliver Cowdery to his brother Warren, written at Far West, February 4, 1838, suggests that W. W. Phelps was then attempting to acquire a press.¹⁸ By the tenth of May a press was in Far West and was being assembled by Oliver Cowdery, who at this point was out of the Church.¹⁹ The July, 1838, issue of the *Elders' Journal* discusses the press but provides little additional information:

It is indeed somewhat unexpected to us, to be able to commence printing the Journal again so soon, but the general interest felt in it by the Saints in general, soon, in a degree, repaired the loss which was suffered in the burning of the press in Kirtland; and another establishment, by the exertions of the Saints in Far West, has been obtained, sufficiently large, to print the Journal; and soon will be greatly enlarged, so as to do all the printing necessary for the whole church.

We have no doubt, but liberal minded men will continue to aid with their means, until the establishment will be sufficiently supplied with means to make the largest of the kind, anywhere in the region of country where it is located.

Only a prospectus, two issues of the *Elders' Journal*, and Sidney Rigdon's Fourth of July oration in pamphlet form issued from the Mormon press in Far West before the difficulties with the Missourians in October, 1838, stopped its operation. At the time of the Mormons' surrender at Far West, the press and type were buried in a Brother Dawson's yard and the following spring were dug up and hauled to Nauvoo, where they were used to print the *Times and Seasons*.²⁰

The fifty-one items described below are the Mormon "books" of the New York, Ohio, and Missouri periods, when the Mormon presses at Independence, Kirtland, and Far West

¹⁶See for example *H.C.*, 2:434 and *M.A.*, p. 329.

¹⁷Parkin, p. 322.

¹⁸Oliver Cowdery to Warren A. and Lyman Cowdery, 4 February 1838, "C.L."

¹⁹Oliver Cowdery to Warren A. and Lyman Cowdery, 10 May 1838, "C.L." *H.C.*, 3:16-17.

²⁰*H.C.*, 4:398.

were in operation. More precisely, they are the books produced by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in support of the Church, before the Nauvoo press commenced regular operation in November, 1839. Thirty-one were published by the Independence, Kirtland, and Far West presses. The remaining twenty were printed on commercial presses in other cities.

Here the term *book* includes any item with one or more pages containing printed text bearing on some doctrinal point or historical incident. Not included are printed elders' certificates, printed receipt forms, or bank notes.

An attempt has been made, of course, to be complete; but to claim completeness would be naïve. Several of the items described below, for example, have come to light only in the last three or four years; and it is to be hoped that other books will be discovered as attic trunks are opened and garages are searched.

No attempt has been made to locate every existing copy of a given book. Instead, the twenty-four institutional libraries listed below have been surveyed; and those owning a particular book are indicated at the end of the discussion of that book.

Many have contributed to this bibliography. Especially do I acknowledge with gratitude the contributions and assistance of Chad J. Flake, Brigham Young University Library; Paul Foulger, Dean Jessee, Jeff Johnson, and Janet Jensen, LDS Church Historian's Library; and Richard P. Howard, RLDS Church Department of History. In addition, I am grateful for the help of Joan Hofman, Yale University Library; William Matheson, Library of Congress; Grant T. Dean, Chicago Historical Society; Richard Colles Johnson, Newberry Library; Roger D. Bridges, Illinois State Historical Library; Ellen Oldham, Boston Public Library; Howard Peckham, William L. Clements Library; Mrs. Oliver Howard, State Historical Society of Missouri; Mrs. Fred C. Harrington, Missouri Historical Society Library; James Mooney, American Antiquarian Society; Lewis M. Stark and Maud D. Cole, New York Public Library; Laura L. Chace, Cincinnati Historical Society Library; Kermit J. Pike, Western Reserve Historical Society Library; Howell J. Heaney, Free Library of Philadelphia; Edna Sue Herzog, DeGolyer Foundation Library; and Charles Shetler, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library.

Census

CsmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CtY	Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.
CU-B	The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
ICHi	The Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.
ICN	The Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
IHi	Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Ill.
MB	Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
MH	Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.
MiU-C	The William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
MoHi	State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
MoInRC	RLDS Church Department of History, Independence, Mo.
MoSHi	Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, Mo.
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
NjP	Princeton University Library, Princeton, N. J.
NN	New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.
OCHP	Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio
OCIWHi	Western Reserve Historical Society Library, Cleveland, Ohio.
PP	Free Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
TxDaDF	DeGolyer Foundation Library, Dallas, Tex.
UPB	Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.
USIC	LDS Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City, Utah
UU	University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
WHi	State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library, Madison, Wisc.

1. The book of Mormon: an account written by the hand of Mormon, upon plates taken from the plates of Nephi. . . . By Joseph Smith, Junior, author and proprietor.

Palmyra [New York]: Printed by E. B. Grandin, for the author, 1830.

iv[5]-588[2] pp. 18.5 cm.

Little of what ultimately was the manuscript of the Book of Mormon had been produced when Oliver Cowdery arrived April 5, 1829, at Harmony, Pennsylvania, where Joseph Smith was staying with his wife's parents. Two days later Cowdery began writing Joseph Smith's dictation, and the work on the manuscript proceeded with little interruption until about the first of June. At this point, David Whitmer invited Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery to move their labors to his father's house in Fayette, New York, and during the month of June they continued working on the manuscript at the Whitmer home in Fayette, completing it about the first of July, 1829.²¹

With the manuscript near completion, efforts were directed toward its publication. A copyright was secured June 11, 1829. Egbert B. Grandin, publisher of the *Palmyra Wayne Sentinel*, was approached early in June about printing the book. Initially, Grandin refused, and he published the title page of the Book of Mormon in the *Wayne Sentinel*, June 26, 1829, with the comment, "It is pretended that it [the Book of Mormon] will be published as soon as the translation is completed." Following Grandin's refusal, an application—also unsuccessful—was made to Thurlow Weed, publisher of the *Rochester Telegraph*. Elihu F. Marshall, a Rochester book publisher, was solicited next, and Marshall agreed to publish the book upon suitable security. With a publisher in hand, Martin Harris again went to Grandin, urging him to do the printing because of the convenience of a local printer. Grandin relented, agreeing to print and bind in leather 5,000 copies for \$3,000. As security, Martin Harris gave Grandin a mortgage on his farm, dated August 25, 1829, wherein Harris agreed to pay the \$3,000 within eighteen months. As a matter of fact, Harris sold his farm for \$3,000 in April, 1831, apparently to pay Grandin.²²

When the original dictated manuscript was completed, Oliver Cowdery supervised the production of a second manu-

²¹H.C., 1:32ff. M.A., pp. 14-15. David Whitmer in *Kansas City Journal*, 5 June 1881, as quoted in Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1960) 1:222.

²²H.C., 1:71. John H. Gilbert, "Memorandum, made . . . Sept. 8th, 1892, 'King's Daughters' Free Library, Palmyra; microfilm, UPB. Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York, 1867), pp. 50-53. Thurlow Weed, *Autobiography* (Boston, 1884), pp. 358-59. Larry C. Porter, "A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1971), pp. 86-90.

script copy to be used by the printer. This printer's manuscript, copied from the original by several people, embodies numerous spelling corrections but, like the original, is totally free of punctuation. (Seventy-two leaves—about a third—of the original dictated manuscript are held by the LDS Church Historian's Library; the entire printer's manuscript is in the possession of the RLDS Church.)²³

The printing of the Book of Mormon took place on the third floor of the building that housed a bindery on the second floor and Grandin's Palmyra Book Store on the first. According to John H. Gilbert, who set the type for the Book of Mormon, the printing began in August, 1829. The printer's manuscript was delivered to the typesetter by Hyrum Smith a few pages at a time. All the punctuation and paragraphing was supplied by Gilbert as he set the book in type. Generally, the printing was monitored by Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and Martin Harris, with Cowdery doing the bulk of the proof-reading. Joseph Smith was in Pennsylvania most of this time and had little to do with the actual printing of the Book of Mormon.²⁴

In January, 1830, excerpts from the Book of Mormon appeared in the *Reflector*, a small Palmyra newspaper published irregularly by Abner Cole, alias "O. Dogberry," and printed at Grandin's shop. The January 2, 1830, issue of the *Reflector* contains what is now 1 Nephi 1:1 through 1 Nephi 2:3; the January 13 issue, 1 Nephi 2:4-15; and the January 22 issue, Alma 43:22-40. When Cole's piracy was discovered, Joseph Smith was sent for in Pennsylvania; and armed with the copyright, he persuaded Cole to cease printing parts of the Book of Mormon text.²⁵

The *Wayne Sentinel* for March 19, 1830, indicated that the Book of Mormon would be ready within the week, and seven days later the *Sentinel* announced that the Book of Mormon was "for sale, wholesale and retail, at the Palmyra Book Store."

The 1830 Book of Mormon was originally bound in full

²³Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Liverpool, 1853), p. 143. Richard Howard, *Restoration Scriptures* (Independence, Mo., 1969), pp. 26-40. Dean Jesse, "The Original Book of Mormon Manuscript," *BYU Studies* 10(1970), 259-78.

²⁴Gilbert, pp. 50-53. Lucy Smith, pp. 148-51. Howard, pp. 26-40.

²⁵Lucy Smith, pp. 148-51. *Reflector*, 2-22 January 1830. See also Russell Rich, "The Dogberry Papers and the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 10 (1970), 315-20.

brown calf with a black leather label on the spine stamped "Book of Mormon." The testimonies of the three and of the eight witnesses appear on both sides of the leaf following page 588. A preface, occupying pages [iii]-iv and appearing only in the first edition, explains the loss of the initial 116 pages of manuscript taken from the plates of Mormon and the injunction not to retranslate that portion but to begin the translation with the plates of Nephi. The copyright notice appears on the verso of the title page.

A number of variants of the 1830 Book of Mormon are known. Janet Jensen of the LDS Church Historian's Library has found some forty points in the text where variants occur. For example, in some copies page iv is numbered *vi*; on page 81, line 20, the phrase *Holy One* appears as *Holy one* in some copies; the word *carcases* on page 91, line 9, also appears as *carcasses*; *Judges* on page 231, line 6, is rendered *judges* in some copies; and so on. No pattern to these variants has emerged, and it is likely that none will. Most probably, certain corrections were made at various times while a particular signature was being printed, and the entire run saved, thus giving rise to a number of variants of that signature; and the books were assembled from sheets in several stages of correction, producing a large number of printing variants. To date, Janet Jensen has examined about fifty copies of the 1830 Book of Mormon, no two of which are the same.

In July, 1884, William Kelley, Alexander H. Smith, and Thomas W. Smith, a committee appointed by the RLDS Church, compared the printer's manuscript with a copy of the 1830 Book of Mormon. They discovered some three hundred differences, mainly typographical errors in the printed Book of Mormon or errors in the manuscript, corrected in the printed book. A tabulation of these differences is published in the *Saints' Herald* for August 23, 1884.

CsmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, ICHi, ICN, MB, MH, MiU-C, MoHi, MoInRC, MWA, NjP, NN, OClWHi, PP, TxDaDF, UPB, USlC, UU, WHi.

2. [Prospectus for The Evening and the Morning Star.]

[Independence, Mo., 1832.]

Broadside?

No copy of this prospectus is known to have survived. Its existence is inferred from the reference to the "prospectus, which was published last winter," in the article "To Man," appearing in the first issue of *The Evening and the Morning Star*, and from the comment in Joseph Smith's history that he received a copy of the prospectus in March, 1832.²⁶

Fortunately, the text of the prospectus was added to the Kirtland reprint of *The Evening and the Morning Star* (Item 16), appearing on the first page of the reprinted *Star*. Dated February 23, 1832, and undoubtedly written by W. W. Phelps, it announces that the *Star* will discuss the revelations of God and provide the Saints with beneficial information "without interfering with politics, broils, or the gainsaying of the world." The prospectus further states that the *Star* will be issued monthly, at one dollar a year, until it seems proper to publish it more often. Parenthetically it mentions that "a supplement will be published weekly, if required, containing the advertisements of Jackson county, &c.," anticipating the *Upper Missouri Advertiser*.

3. The Evening and the Morning Star. Independence, Mo., June 1832—July 1833, and Kirtland, Ohio, December 1833—September 1834.

Monthly. 2 vols. (24 whole nos.) 192 pp. 31.2 cm.

The first Mormon newspaper had its conception at a mid-September, 1831, conference in Ohio when

Brother W. W. Phelps was instructed to stop at Cincinnati on his way to Missouri and purchase a press and type, for the purpose of establishing and publishing a monthly paper at Independence, Jackson county, Missouri, to be called [*The*] *Evening and [the] Morning Star*.²⁷

William Wines Phelps was no stranger to the world of journalism. Before his conversion to Mormonism in June, 1831, he had edited or published three newspapers, the most recent of which was the anti-Masonic *Ontario Phoenix* in Canandaigua, New York. That July he had been designated "a printer unto the church," and subsequently Oliver Cowdery was

²⁶H.C., 1:259.

²⁷H.C., 1:217.

called "to assist W. W. Phelps in conducting the printing business of the Church."²⁸

Shortly after the first of the year, Phelps and Cowdery were in Independence; and by the end of February, 1832, the new press was in operation enough to issue a prospectus for *The Evening and the Morning Star* (Item 2). The first number of the *Star* appeared in June, 1832, to the joy of its supporters. "Delightful, indeed," Joseph Smith recorded in his history,

was it to contemplate that the little band of brethren had become so large, and grown so strong, in so short a time as to be able to issue a paper of their own, which contained not only some of the revelations, but other information also,—which would gratify and enlighten the humble inquirer after truth.²⁹

Fourteen monthly issues were edited and published by Phelps in Independence from June, 1832, to July, 1833, before the Mormon press was destroyed July 20, 1833.

The power of the press was much too important to the leaders of the Church for them to allow the *Star* to die, particularly with the Mormon side of the Jackson County difficulties to be aired. Consequently, on September 11, 1833—seven weeks after the destruction of the *Star* office—during a council in Kirtland, the leaders of the Church resolved to establish a new press in Kirtland under the firm name of F. G. Williams and Company and to continue the *Star* in Kirtland under Oliver Cowdery's editorship until it could be transferred to Missouri.³⁰ About the first of December, 1833, Oliver Cowdery and Newell K. Whitney reached Kirtland with a press; on the fourth they began distributing the type; and on December 18, 1833, the first sheet of the *Star* printed in Kirtland was taken out of the press.³¹ Ten monthly issues of the *Star* were published in Kirtland between December, 1833, and September, 1834, making a total of twenty-four issues in two volumes.

Each issue of the *Star* consists of eight royal-quarto pages, printed in double columns. None of the pages are numbered for the first twelve issues; but beginning with the thirteenth issue, the pages are numbered consecutively from [97] to 192.

²⁸Doctrine and Covenants 57:11. *H.C.* 2:176n.

²⁹*H.C.*, 1:273.

³⁰*H.C.*, 1:409.

³¹*H.C.*, 1:448, 465.

The first fourteen issues of the *Star*, published by Phelps in Independence, include the earliest authorized printings of revelations given to Joseph Smith.³² The first issue commences with the "Articles and Covenants of the Church of Christ" (now Section 20); and throughout these fourteen issues are published all or parts of twenty-three revelations, each subsequently incorporated into the Doctrine and Covenants.

In addition to the revelations, Phelps included in the *Star* doctrinal discussions, instructions for the Saints, letters from the elders in various parts of the country, and bits of national and foreign news, particularly the catastrophic, which he saw as foreshadowing the Second Advent. Each issue but one contains hymns on the back page, a number composed by Phelps himself, and several which have remained Mormon favorites.

On January 14, 1833, Joseph Smith wrote to Phelps,

We wish you to render the *Star* as interesting as possible, by setting forth the rise, progress, and faith of the Church, as well as the doctrine; for if you do not render it more interesting than at present, it will fall, and the Church suffer a great loss thereby.³³

In response, Phelps inserted in the April, 1833, issue of the *Star* a brief summary of the history of the young Church entitled, appropriately enough, "Rise and Progress of the Church of Christ"; and in each of the succeeding three issues he included articles or lengthy letters on the progress of the Church and the experiences of the elders abroad.

The fourteenth issue of the *Star*, July, 1833, contains an article, "Free People of Color," that does little more than repeat the laws of Missouri regarding the emigration of free blacks into the state. But a more pointed editorial comment appears on page 111 of the same issue:

As to slaves we have nothing to say. In connection with the wonderful events of this age, much is doing towards abolishing slavery, and colonizing the blacks in Africa.

According to the February, 1834, *Star Extra*, Phelps published these articles to scotch the rumors that the Mormons were

³²The apostate Ezra Booth published a series of letters in the *Ravenna Ohio Star*, October-December 1831, that includes extracts from some of the revelations to Joseph Smith. See also E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio, 1834), pp. 175-221.

³³H.C., 1:317.

tampering with the Jackson County slaves. Their effect, however, was to ignite the fears and hatreds of the local Missourians, leading immediately to the destruction of the *Star* printing office, and ultimately to the removal of the Saints from Jackson County.

The ten issues published in Kirtland reflect the change in editor. For example, they contain no revelations, and the articles which are included are generally longer and better arranged than in the earlier issues. But of course, Oliver Cowdery was presented with "hot copy," and eight of the ten Kirtland issues of the *Star* include detailed—and historically important—discussions of the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County. Three long serial articles, "Millennium," "Faith of the Church," and "The Gospel," all written by Sidney Rigdon,³⁴ commence in this portion of the *Star* and continue into the *Messenger and Advocate*.

The circulation of the *Star* was small, probably no more than a few hundred copies; and apparently by September, 1834, relatively few files existed. (Only two complete files are extant today.) Consequently, the entire twenty-four issues were reprinted in Kirtland between January, 1835, and October, 1836 (Item 16), so that a larger part of the Church membership could become acquainted with, and preserve for their children, this first collection of Mormon writings.³⁵

CsmH, MoInRC[nos. 1-14], USIC.

4. The Upper Missouri Advertiser. By W. W. Phelps & Co. Independence, Mo., June 27? 1832—July 1833?

Weekly. 46.4 cm.

Only a single issue of the *Upper Missouri Advertiser* is extant: no. 3, dated July 11, 1832. A notice in this issue announces that "*The Advertiser* will be published weekly at Independence, at the rate of seventy-five cents a year, till the sheet is printed on both sides—then one dollar a year: in advance.—Advertisements the customary prices." Presumably the first issue appeared two or more weeks before July 11, 1832. The Saints' petition to Daniel Dunklin, September 28, 1833, refers to "the stoppage [on July 20, 1833] of *The Even-*

³⁴M.A., p. 26.

³⁵E.M.S., p. 192.

ing and Morning Star, a monthly paper, and the *Upper Missouri Advertiser*, a weekly paper," indicating that the *Advertiser* was published until the Mormon press in Independence was destroyed.³⁶

The prospectus of *The Evening and the Morning Star* (Item 2) suggests the possibility of a supplement. And the July, 1832, issue of the *Star* refers to the *Advertiser*, published "in connection with the *Star*," commenting that "it will contain sketches of the news of the day, politics, advertisements, and whatever tends to promote the interest of the Great West." Thus, the *Upper Missouri Advertiser* was intended to be a community newspaper, serving the non-Mormons as well as the Mormons, whereas the *Star* was directed primarily to the Saints.

The surviving number consists of a single sheet, 46.4 x 24.1 cm., printed on one side in three columns. It includes news items regarding various parts of the world taken from other newspapers, legal notices, and a list of letters remaining at the Independence Post Office, in addition to an ad soliciting job printing, a notice that Wynkoop Warner has opened a new tavern, and a notice that Peter Whitmer, Jr., has opened a tailoring business in the upper room of Colonel Boggs's house, opposite Warner's Tavern. One further glimpse into the contents of the *Advertiser* is provided by the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* for December 11, 1832, which reprints an article in the *Advertiser* concerning the return of a Captain Bent from a trading expedition to Santa Fe.

MWA[no. 3(11 July 1832)]

5. Be it known, that I, [blank space] Of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, having become a member of the church of Christ, organized according to [first two lines of print].

[Independence, Mo., 1832?]

Broadside 31 x 19.2 cm.

Be it known, that I, [blank space] Of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, bishop of the church of Christ,

³⁶H.C., 1:412.

organized according to law, and established [first two lines of print].

[Independence, Mo., 1832?]

Broadside 31 x 19.2 cm.

Ordinarily, printed deed forms would not be included in this bibliography. However, these two forms, printed on the *Star* press, convey such a clear picture of the way the law of consecration as initially conceived was intended to work that they are included here.

The first form conveys property from the Church member to the bishop of the Church. The printed portion indicates that the property is to be used "for the purpose of purchasing lands and building up of the New Jerusalem, even Zion, and for relieving the wants of the poor," and that the member forever releases all rights to it. The second form comprises a lease of property from the bishop to the member. The printed text provides that the leasee agrees to pay all the taxes and to pay yearly to the bishop any surplus income from the property over and above the needs of his family. The lease is to be binding during the life of the leasee, unless he transgresses and is expelled from the Church, in which case the property is forfeited back to the bishop. If the leasee becomes unable to earn a living, he is to be supported by the bishop. Upon the death of the leasee, the lease then applies to his widow until her death, or, if both parents are dead, to the children until they become of age. Both forms provide spaces for the names of the bishop and the member, and for a description of the property under consideration, to be entered in manuscript.

Generally the terms of these two agreements are consistent with the outline of the law of consecration in chapter 44 of the Book of Commandments. The intent of the law, of course, was that those with considerable property would convey to the bishop more than they leased back; and from the surplus thus created the bishop would lease property to those with none and finance the programs of the Church.

None of the five pairs of these forms in the LDS Church Historian's Library bears a date, even though they are filled out in manuscript to particular people. The Historian's Library does have a completely manuscript copy, made in 1862, of

Joseph Knight's deed dated October 12, 1832. The two forms filled out to Titus Billings are reprinted in *History of the Church* 1:365-7, with no distinction between the printed and manuscript portions.

USIC[Edward Partridge Mss.]

6. The Evening and the Morning Star Extra.—July 16, 1833.

[Independence, Mo., 1833.]

Broadside 21.5 x 16 cm.

Rushed off the press in an effort to dispel the local Missourians' wrath over the article "Free People of Color" and Phelps's editorial in the July, 1833, issue of the *Star*, this *Extra* declares that the purpose of the article was actually to prevent free people of color from emigrating into the state, and further, that "none will be admitted into the Church." Copies "were posted up in the village of Independence, at sundry times, and immediately pulled down by the mob."³⁷ One suspects, however, that the *Extra* itself was counterproductive, despite its overreaching disavowal; for it repeats the comment in Phelps's editorial, "in connection with the wonderful events of this age much is doing towards abolishing slavery," that certainly was offensive to the slave-holding Missourians.

The text of the *Extra* is printed in Joseph Smith's history (*History of the Church* 1:378-9) with a couple of unimportant—yet perplexing—changes.

USIC

7. A book of commandments, for the government of the Church of Christ. Organized according to law, on the 6th of April, 1830.

Zion [Independence, Mo.]: Published by W. W. Phelps & Co., 1833.

160 pp. 11.5 cm.

Three months after the Church was organized, Joseph Smith and John Whitmer began to arrange and copy the

³⁷*E.M.S. Extra*, February, 1834.

revelations that Joseph Smith had received up to that time.³⁸ And during this early period, manuscript copies of certain of these revelations were distributed to a few of the Church members.³⁹ With the prospects of a Mormon press came the possibility of printing Joseph Smith's revelations and making them more widely available to the Church membership. At a conference in Hiram, Ohio, November 1-2, 1831, six weeks after the decision to establish a press in Independence, it was agreed to print the revelations—more than sixty at this point—in book form under the title "Book of Commandments," in an edition of 10,000 copies. And Oliver Cowdery was delegated to carry the manuscript revelations to Missouri for printing.⁴⁰ In the afternoon of the first day of this conference, the preface to the Book of Commandments (now Section 1) was revealed through Joseph Smith, and two days later he received the revelation known as the "Appendix" (Section 133), which was to conclude the book.

For two weeks following the conference, Joseph Smith reviewed and arranged the manuscript revelations.⁴¹ Two additional revelations related to the Book of Commandments were given him at this time, the first (Section 69) directing John Whitmer, the official Church recorder and historian, to accompany Oliver Cowdery to Missouri; and the second (Section 70) calling Joseph Smith, Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, Sidney Rigdon, and W. W. Phelps to be "stewards over the revelations and commandments." This group, subsequently known as the "Literary Firm," was to assume the responsibility for publishing the revelations. Their support was to come from the proceeds of this publishing venture and any profits over and above what was needed for their support were to be paid into the bishops storehouse.

Cowdery and Whitmer left Kirtland November 20, 1831, arriving in Independence January 5, 1832.⁴² That April, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and others journeyed to Independence, bringing with them paper for the Independence

³⁸H.C., 1:104.

³⁹Orson Pratt, for example, remarks in the *Seer*, March 1854, p. 228, that he had personal copies of the revelations. The LDS Church Historian's Library has three small manuscript notebooks that belonged to private individuals and that contain revelations.

⁴⁰H.C., 1:221-22, 229.

⁴¹H.C., 1:235.

⁴²Heman C. Smith, p. 135.

press.⁴³ On April 30, 1832, the publishing of the revelations was again taken up:

A council meeting of the Literary Firm was held in Zion, Jackson County, Mo. There was present: Joseph Smith Jun, Sidney Rigdon, John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, Wm. W. Phelps and Jesse Gause (one of the President's Counselors). The Council ordered that 3000 copies of the Book of Commandments should be printed as the first edition. . . . Brother Wm. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer were appointed to review the Book of Commandments and select for printing such as should be deemed by them proper, as dictated by the spirit, and make all necessary verbal corrections.⁴⁴

It would appear that the revelations of Joseph Smith were originally recorded on individual pieces of paper such as those now in the Brigham Young University's Whitney Manuscripts Collection. Mary Rollins Lightner remembered the brethren at her home in Independence discussing the revelations before they were printed, and recalled that the revelations "were in large sheets, not folded."⁴⁵ Ultimately, a printer's manuscript was made, from which the Book of Commandments was set in type. The RLDS Church owns four leaves of this printer's manuscript, in the handwriting of John Whitmer and bearing the marks of its usage by the typesetter.

The Book of Commandments was in the press by December, 1832.⁴⁶ Five months later the *Star* published the "Appendix" with the comment that

the book from which this important revelation is taken, will be published in the course of the present year, at from 25, to 50 cents a copy. We regret that in consequence of circumstances not within our control, this book will not be offered to our brethren as soon as was anticipated. We beg their forbearance, and solicit an interest in their prayers, promising to use our exertions with all our means to accomplish the work.

Early in June, Phelps was far enough along in the printing to write to the Church leaders regarding binding the Book of Commandments and shipping copies to Kirtland. In re-

⁴³H.C., 1:266.

⁴⁴"J.H.," 30 April 1832.

⁴⁵"Diary of Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner," pp. 5-6; typescript, UPB. See also Chad J. Flake, "The Newell K. Whitney Collection," *BYU Studies* 11(1971), 322-28.

⁴⁶E.M.S., December 1832.

sponse Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams advised,

First, as respects getting the Book of Commandments bound, we think it is not necessary. They will be sold well without binding, and there is no bookbinder to be had that we know of, nor are there materials to be had for binding, without keeping the books too long from circulation.⁴⁷

By July 20, 1833, the first five signatures, comprising 160 pages of the Book of Commandments, had been printed. That afternoon a large body of Missourians swarmed into the *Star* office, throwing the press and type out of an upper story window before pulling down the building. Close by, Mary Elizabeth Rollins and her sister Caroline watched the destruction; and in a heroic moment the two girls rescued some of the Book of Commandments sheets. Years later Mary Rollins described the incident:

When the mob was tearing down the printing office, a two story building, driving Brother Phelps' family out of the lower part of the house, they (the mob) brought out some large sheets of paper, saying, "Here are the Mormon commandments." My sister, 12 years old (I was then 14) and myself were in a corner of a fence watching them. When they spoke about them being the commandments, I was determined to have some of them. So while their backs were turned, prying out the gable end of the house, we ran and gathered up all we could carry in our arms. As we turned away, two of the mob got down off the house and called for us to stop, but we ran as fast as we could, through a gap in the fence into a large corn field, and the two men after us. We ran a long way in the field, laid the papers on the ground, then laid down on top of them. The corn was very high and thick. They hunted all around us, but did not see us. After we were satisfied they had given up the search, we tried to find our way out of the field. The corn was so tall we thought we were lost. On looking up we saw some trees that had been girdled to kill them. We followed them and came to an old log stable, which looked like it had not been used for years. Sister Phelps and family were there, carrying in brush and piling it up on one side of the stable to make their beds on. She asked us what we had. We told her and also how we came by them. She took them and placed them between her beds. Subsequently Oliver Cowdery bound them in small books and gave me one.⁴⁸

⁴⁷H.C., 1:362.

⁴⁸Mary E. Rollins Lightner to the Editor, 12 February 1904, *Deseret Evening News*, 20 February 1904, p. 24. See also "Diary of Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner."

(Mary Rollins's copy of the Book of Commandments is now in the DeGolyer Foundation Library, Dallas, Texas.)

Some time later when the press had been moved from the street and Edward Partridge had apparently recovered from his tarring and feathering, a second batch of Book of Commandments sheets was salvaged by John Taylor, a twenty-year-old Mormon convert of seven months from Kentucky:

In 1833 at the time of the destruction of the printing press in Independence, Jackson Co. the printed sheets of the Book of Commandments and the pied type and press were thrown in an old log stable by the mob. I asked Bp. Partridge if I might go and get out some copies of the Book of Commandments. He said it would most likely cost me my life if I attempted it. I told him I did not mind hazarding my life to secure some copies of the commandments. He then said I might go. I ran my hand into a crack between the logs and pulled out a few at a time until I got as many as I could carry, when I was discovered. A dozen men surrounded me and commenced throwing stones at me and I shouted out "Oh my God must I be stoned to death like Stephen for the sake of the word of the Lord." The Lord gave me strength and skill to elude them and make my escape without being hit by a stone. I delivered the copies to Bp. Partridge who said I had done a good work and my escape was a miracle. These I believe are the only copies of that edition of the Book of Commandments preserved from destruction.⁴⁹

Sets of sheets of the Book of Commandments were saved in other ways. William E. McLellin, for example, reportedly said that to compile his copy he gathered up the leaves as they blew about the street.⁵⁰ And it is apparent from the letter of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams to W. W. Phelps, June 25, 1833, that at least one copy of the fourth signature was sent to Kirtland.⁵¹ Copies of the other signatures were undoubtedly sent also.

⁴⁹Statement of John Taylor dictated to Leo Hawkins and George A. Smith, Salt Lake Cit, 15 April 1858; MS, USlC. See also "J.H.," 20 July 1833. For biographical information on John Taylor (not to be confused with the third President of the Church), see "Family Group Record of John Taylor (1812-1896)," Genealogical Society Library Salt Lake City; F. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), p. 1203; and *In the Circuit Court of the United States . . . the Reorganized Church . . . vs. the Church of Christ . . . Complainant's Abstract of Pleading and Evidence . . .* (Lamoni, Iowa, 1893), pp. 188-94.

⁵⁰*Saints' Herald* 31(1884), p. 563.

⁵¹H.C., 1:364.

The salvaged Book of Commandments consists of 160 pages. The phrase "Copy Right Secured according to Law" appears on the verso of the title page. The revelations, received by Joseph Smith between July, 1828, and September 11, 1831, are arranged essentially chronologically in sixty-five chapters numbered with roman numerals, and occupy pages [3]-160. Curiously enough, the title page occurs in three states:

- state a: without a border,
- state b: with border of fleur-de-lis-like figures,
- state c: with a border of point-to-point diamonds.

The reason for the different title pages is not known. Perhaps Phelps had been experimenting, and because only a limited number of sheets were rescued, all varieties of the title page were used to compile complete sets of the five signatures. The surviving copies of the Book of Commandments occur in a diversity of bindings, many obviously homemade, a reflection of the salvaged nature of the book.

Despite some argument to the contrary (e.g., David Whitmer's *Address to All Believers in the Book of Mormon* [Richmond, 1887], p. 5), it is clear that the Book of Commandments was incomplete at the time the Mormon press was destroyed. The "Appendix," which was to be the final chapter of the book, is not included. Moreover, the printer's manuscript owned by the RLDS Church shows that the last page of the Book of Commandments ends three-fourths of the way through chapter 65; the manuscript includes the latter half of this chapter and bears the printer's "take sign" around the word *Ephraim*, the last word on page 160, leaving fifteen manuscript lines of the chapter unprinted.

Just what the completed Book of Commandments would have contained is, of course, conjectural. Eight revelations printed in the *Star* do not appear in the Book of Commandments. Presumably all these were to have been included.⁵² The RLDS Church's printer's manuscript contains two others (Sections 66 and 81) that are not printed in either the *Star* or the Book of Commandments. If the Book of Commandments was to have contained all the sections that appear in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants and that were received

⁵²*E.M.S.*, p. 189.

by Joseph Smith after chapter 65 of the Book of Commandments and before the "Olive Leaf" (Section 88)—the latest revelation included in the *Star*—then twenty-one additional chapters were intended for the finished book. It would seem, therefore, that the completed Book of Commandments would have contained at least ten, and possibly as many as twenty, additional chapters.

Parts or all of fifteen revelations in the Book of Commandments appear in the *Star*; in each case the two printings are the same. All of the chapters in the Book of Commandments are reprinted in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, but with substantial changes.

CSmH[a], CtY[b], CU-B[b], DLC[b], ICN[a], MoInRC[a, b,c], NN[b], TxDaDF[b], UPB, USlC[a], UU[a]

8. [Handbill dated December 12, 1833.]

[Liberty, Mo.? 1833?]

Broadside?

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

[Kirtland, 1834.]

Broadsheet 31.7 x 24.2 cm. In two columns.

No copy of the Missouri printing of the December 12, 1833, handbill (Item 8) has been located. Its existence is established, however, by several contemporary references. The "Second Petition to the President of the United States," dated at Liberty, Missouri, April 10, 1834, refers to the handbill, a copy of which accompanied the petition.⁵³ In a letter written February 10, 1834, Oliver Cowdery remarks:

I received a long circular, or handbill, this evening from Zion, written by our brethren in that country and printed; I shall have it set out, and sent, *Extra Star*.⁵⁴

And the *Star Extra* (Item 9) that reprints the handbill contains two references to the original.

An educated guess can be made about the place the hand-

⁵³H.C., 1:483.

⁵⁴O. Cowdery to S. W. Denton, Kirtland, 10 February 1834, "C.L."

bill was printed. After the *Star* office was destroyed, the press was put into operation by Messrs. Kelly and Davis, who began publishing the *Upper Missouri Enquirer* in January, 1834. The *Enquirer* advertised for job printing in its January 25 issue. And W. W. Phelps did have some business with this shop, as shown by Oliver Cowdery's inquiry of January 21, 1834, about Phelps's dealings with "the new office in Liberty."⁵⁵ So it seems probable that the original handbill was printed at the shop of the *Upper Missouri Enquirer* in Liberty, Missouri, late in December, 1833, or in January, 1834.

The February, 1834, *Star Extra* (Item 9) contains, together with two comments by Oliver Cowdery, editor of the *Star*, the reprinted text of the Missouri handbill entitled " 'The Mormons' so called," and signed Parley Pratt, Newell Knight, John Carrill [Corrill], December 12, 1833. Beginning with a brief reference to the Mormon emigration into Jackson County, the handbill recounts the events leading up to the destruction of the *Star* office, the agreement of the Mormons to leave Jackson by April 1, 1834, and their violent expulsion in November, 1833. This account largely agrees—at a number of points word for word—with the corresponding part in Parley Pratt's *History of the Late Persecution* (Item 51), making it clear that Parley Pratt actually wrote the handbill and used it five years later in composing his *History of the Late Persecution*. It is a bibliographical milestone, therefore, signaling the entrance into print of one of Mormondom's most gifted writers. The *Extra* itself is a valuable source, supplying some details of the Jackson County difficulties not readily available elsewhere.

Item 9: USIC

10. Verily, I say unto you, concerning your brethren [first line of text].

[Kirtland? 1834?]

Broadsheet 32 x 19.5 cm. In two columns.

11. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, who have assembled [first line of text].

⁵⁵O. Cowdery to W. W. Phelps and J. Whitmer, 21 January 1834, "C.L."

[Kirtland? 1834?]

Broadsheet 32 x 22 cm. In two columns.

12. Behold, blessed saith the Lord, are they [first line of text].

[Kirtland? 1834?]

Broadside 24.6 x 17.8 cm. In two columns.

The first of the two broadsheets above (Item 10) consists of the revelation given to Joseph Smith December 16, 1833 (now Section 101), explaining the loss of Mormon lands in Jackson County, Missouri. Only the text of the revelation is contained in the broadsheet; there is no title, imprint, or additional explanatory text. It would appear that this was printed late in December, 1833, or early in January, 1834. The *Painesville Telegraph* for January 24, 1834, printed the revelation (as in the broadsheet except for modifications in punctuation and paragraphing) preceded by the comment that

soon after the above accounts [of the Mormon removal from Jackson County] were received at the head quarters of the Mormon Prophet, in this county, the following document (which they call a revelation) was printed and privately circulated among the deluded followers of the imposter Smith.

The second broadsheet (Item 11) consists of two revelations to Joseph Smith: what is now Section 88:1-126, the "Olive Leaf," revealed December 27, 1832; and Section 89, the "Word of Wisdom," Mormondom's rule of health, received February 27, 1833. The identical type faces and overall similarity in format, together with the differences (differing column widths and center rules), suggest that the two broadsheets were printed about the same time, but not as a pair, on the Mormon press in Kirtland. In any case, the second broadsheet was printed after December 18, 1833, when the Kirtland press began operation.

As far as is known, none of the three revelations included in these two broadsheets appeared earlier in print, with the exception of the last three paragraphs of the broadsheet version of the "Olive Leaf" which were printed in *The Evening and the Morning Star*, February, 1833, with a few minor

differences. All three revelations appear in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants (as Sections 97, 7, and 80, respectively) textually the same as in their broadsheet printings. In the 1835 and subsequent editions of the Doctrine and Covenants, however, additional material is added at the end of the broadsheet text of the "Olive Leaf." That material appears in the present edition as verses 127-41. Presumably this added portion was not a part of the "Olive Leaf" as originally sent to W. W. Phelps by Joseph Smith January 14, 1833,⁵⁶ for when he printed the extract in the February, 1833, *Star*, Phelps remarked that this was the "concluding paragraph of a late revelation." A part of the added portion was published separately in the March, 1833, issue of the *Star*.

The broadside (Item 12) contains the text of the revelation now printed as Section 59. Revealed to Joseph Smith August 7, 1831, it outlines a standard of conduct for the Saints, with emphasis on the observance of the Sabbath. In format the broadside is similar to the broadsheets, except that the text begins with an enlarged boldface letter "B" and is divided into numbered verses. Again only the text of the revelation is printed, without a title, date, or additional material. This revelation appeared earlier in the *Star* (July, 1832) and as chapter 60 in the Book of Commandments. Its text in the Book of Commandments (which also commences with a boldface "B") is identical to that in the broadside, including an identical division into numbered verses. It also appears in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants (as Section 19) with one grammatical change, a number of changes in punctuation, and a different versification. There is little doubt that the broadside is a Kirtland imprint: the boldface "B" is the font of the Kirtland press rather than that of the Independence press, and the center rule is the same as that in the second broadsheet. Since the broadside employs the earlier text in the Book of Commandments and generally follows the format of the two broadsheets, it was probably printed early in 1834, about the same time as the broadsheets.

Items 10 and 11: UPB

Item 12: USlC

13. Sidney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery.

⁵⁶H.C., 1:316.

Dear Brethren,—[Signed and dated at end:] Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery. Kirtland, Ohio, May 10, 1834.

[Kirtland, 1834.]

Broadsheet 31.5 x 19.4 cm.

This important document was actually written by Oliver Cowdery; it is copied into his letterbook, now in the Huntington Library, under the title, "Circular to the churches, written by Oliver Cowdery." Generally overlooked by historians in the past, it is vital to an understanding of Zion's Camp inasmuch as it expresses the Mormons' assumptions and expectations at the outset of the expedition.

Dated five days after Joseph Smith and the main body of Zion's Camp left Kirtland, the circular states that upon the arrival of the Camp in Missouri, the brethren there will inform the governor, Daniel Dunklin, that they are ready to move back upon their Jackson County lands. "The Governor is bound to call out the Militia and take them back," the circular continues, "and has informed our brethren of his readiness so to do, previous to this time." The circular goes on to explain that after the militia has escorted the Mormons back to their lands, the Jackson County Saints together with Zion's Camp will be enough to "maintain the ground" after the militia has been discharged.

Mainly, the circular is an appeal to those in the various branches of the Church to join Zion's Camp and contribute funds to sustain the Saints in Missouri until new crops can be put in and harvested. Additional men are needed, the circular explains, so that Mormons moving between Missouri and Ohio can do so in groups large enough for their protection, and so that a sufficient number of Saints in Missouri can be maintained when some need to return to Kirtland.

USIC

14. The Evening and the Morning Star Extra. Kirtland, Ohio, August, 1834. An appeal. [Signed at end:] W.W. Phelps, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, Edward Partridge, John Corrill, Isaac Morley, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, Newell Knight, Thomas B. Marsh, Simeon Carter, Calvin Beebe. Missouri, (United States.) July, 1834.

[Kirtland, 1834.]

Broadsheet 32.9 x 25 cm. In two columns.

This appeal was composed by the leaders of the Church in Missouri in July, 1834, and sent to Kirtland for printing.⁵⁷ It was published both in the August, 1834, issue of the *Star* and as an extra. Copies of the *Extra* were mailed to various newspapers and reprinted in some (e.g., the *Columbia Missouri Intelligencer* and *Boon's Lick Advertiser* for October 11, 1834).

Alluding to the events accompanying the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County and the futile attempts to obtain redress, the appeal quotes from the Book of Commandments to show that the Saints are forbidden to obtain redress by the shedding of blood, and asks the leaders of the nation for a peaceful restoration of the Mormons' rights to own land in Jackson County and to worship as they please. It further declares that a "gathering" has begun in Missouri for the purpose of building a holy city, and urges an honest examination of Mormon principles. In conclusion it pleads for peace and for the protection of the Saints wherever they might be.

Both texts of the appeal in the *Extra* and in the August, 1834, *Star* are printed from a rearrangement of the same type setup.

USIC

15. Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate. Kirtland, Ohio, October 1834—September 1837.

Monthly. 3 vols. (36 whole nos.) 576 pp. 23 cm.

At the council meeting in Kirtland, September 11, 1833, where the decision was reached to establish a press in that city, it was also resolved that the *Star* would be continued there temporarily and at some future time a Kirtland periodical would be commenced entitled the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*.⁵⁸ One year later the twenty-fourth issue of the *Star* (September, 1834) announced the implementation of this decision:

⁵⁷Heman C. Smith, p. 295.

⁵⁸H.C., 1:409.

As this number closes the second volume of the *Star*, the publishers have thought proper to issue another paper entitled *The Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, upon the same size sheet, in octavo form, for the more easy and convenient purpose of binding

As the Evening and the Morning Star was designed to be published at Missouri, it was considered that another name would be more appropriate for a paper in this place; consequently, as the name of this church has lately been entitled the church of the Latter Day Saints, and since it is destined, at least for a season, to bear the reproach and stigma of this world, it is no more than just, that a paper disseminating the doctrines believed by the same, and *advocating* its character and rights, should be entitled "MESSENGER AND ADVOCATE."

In October, 1834, the first number of the *Messenger and Advocate* appeared, and for the next three years it issued monthly from the Mormon press in Kirtland. As with its predecessor, one dollar purchased a year's subscription.

Oliver Cowdery continued as editor of the *Messenger and Advocate* for the first eight issues. In May, 1835, he was replaced by John Whitmer, apparently because of Cowdery's increased responsibilities resulting from his appointment as an assistant president of the Church in December, 1834.⁵⁹ Whitmer served as editor for the next ten issues, June, 1835, to March, 1836. Despite the statement in Oliver Cowdery's valedictory in the May, 1835, *Messenger and Advocate* that John Whitmer would conduct the paper from Missouri, Whitmer remained in Kirtland during the time he was editor and was active in the printing office.⁶⁰ W. W. Phelps was also in Kirtland during this period, and it is apparent from his diary and from the number of articles in the *Messenger and Advocate* signed with his boldface initial "P" that Phelps performed a substantial part of the editorial labors.⁶¹ Oliver Cowdery again assumed the editorial chair in March, 1836, presumably because of the return of Phelps and Whitmer to Missouri; and the *Messenger and Advocate* listed him as editor for ten issues, whole numbers 19-28 (April, 1836—January, 1837). It was Oliver Cowdery's brother, Warren

⁵⁹H.C., 2:176.

⁶⁰H.C., 2:227, 234, 238, 243-44, 277-78, 281, 283, 291, 304, 356, 364, 411, 430, 434, 436. W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 14 November 1835, as quoted in "J.H.," 14 November 1835.

⁶¹"Diary of W. W. Phelps" (1835); MS, USIC.

A. Cowdery, however, who carried the editorial burden during this period.⁶² He officially became the editor with the February, 1837, issue (whole number 29), serving until the *Messenger and Advocate* ceased publication in September, 1837.

The changes in ownership of the Kirtland printing office are reflected in the *Messenger and Advocate's* publishers. F. G. Williams and Company is listed as the publisher of the first nineteen numbers, and Oliver Cowdery as "editor and proprietor" of whole numbers 21-28. J. Smith, Jr., and S. Rigdon appear as publishers of the next two issues, and William Marks is listed as publisher and proprietor of whole numbers 31-34. No publisher is indicated for the last two numbers.

Each issue of the *Messenger and Advocate* consists of sixteen pages, octavo in size, printed in double columns. The entire file comprises three volumes of twelve numbers each, the whole continuously paged. The paper was a monthly, but on a number of occasions it appeared very late, a fact that must be kept in mind when one attempts to date a particular event from its pages. The first issue, for example, carries an apology for its delay. And in a letter to his wife, November 14, 1835, W. W. Phelps remarks that "the 'Messenger and Advocate' has been and is yet five or six weeks behind its time."⁶³ This delay continued, for the January, 1836, issue contains a letter dated February 1. The first issue of the third volume indicates that the publishers had hoped to begin publishing the *Messenger and Advocate* as a semi-monthly, but abandoned the idea because of so many unpaid subscriptions.

The prospectus of the *Messenger and Advocate*, printed in the last issue of the *Star*, announced that the authors of communications published in the *Messenger and Advocate* would be identified by name. During the first eight issues this policy was fairly well followed. Starting with the ninth issue, however, a number of articles and hymns are signed with the initials "P," "C," and "R," in boldface, designating W. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, and Sidney Rigdon, respectively. From the nineteenth issue on, frequent contributions of Warren A. Cowdery occur signed with a "W."

⁶²M.A., p. 569.

⁶³W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 14 November 1835.

The *Messenger and Advocate* is a basic source for the study of the Ohio period of Mormonism. In its pages are found doctrinal essays, official statements of the Church leaders, announcements and minutes of conferences and meetings, news of the progress of the Church in Kirtland and elsewhere, responses to anti-Mormon attacks, and letters from the elders in outlying branches of the Church. Eight of the first thirteen numbers, for example, print letters from Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps that contain the first published account of the birth of Mormonism.

CsmH, CtY, CU-B [v. 1-2], MH [v. 1-2], MiU-C, MoInRC, NN, OCHP, OCIWHi [v. 1], UPB, USIC, UU

16. Evening and Morning Star. Independence, Mo. and Kirtland, Ohio, June 1832—September 1834. [Kirtland, January 1835—October 1836.]

2 vols. (24 whole nos.) 384 pp. 24 cm.

The final number of *The Evening and the Morning Star* (September, 1834) announced in a prospectus that the entire two volumes of the *Star* would be reprinted by F. G. Williams and Company in octavo format suitable for binding, and that at least two numbers of the reprint would be issued each month, commencing that November, at two dollars for the two volumes, payable in advance. Despite the positiveness of this announcement, the first issue of the reprinted *Star* did not appear until January, 1835. Four more issues came off the press during the next five months; only one further issue appeared during the nine months following, undoubtedly because of the printing of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants and the 1835 hymnal; and then between April and October, 1836, the remaining eighteen issues were reprinted, completing the two volumes.

Oliver Cowdery conducted the reprinting of the *Star*: his name appears as the publisher of the last thirteen issues of the reprint, and a statement at the end of the first reprinted issue regarding changes in the revelations is signed by him as editor of the *Messenger and Advocate*.⁶⁴

⁶⁴See also O. Cowdery to N. K. Whitney, 4 February 1835; Whitney MSS, UPB.

The reprinted *Star* bears a shortened name: *Evening and Morning Star*. It consists of twenty-four sixteen-page octavo issues, in double columns and continuously paged, the format of the *Messenger and Advocate* rather than of the original *Star*. More important, the content of the reprint differs from that of the original. First there are additions: the text of the prospectus of *The Evening and the Morning Star* (Item 2) is added to the first reprinted issue; the first and third reprinted issues contain statements regarding changes in the revelations; four hymns not in the original are added to the fifth and sixth issues; the fifth reprinted issue contains an apology for its delay because of the printing of "a book of much importance" (the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants); and the seventh reprinted issue includes both an assurance that the reprinting will soon be completed and an announcement that a bindery will shortly be established. There are also omissions: the article "Worldly Matters" is deleted from the first reprinted issue, and "Hosea Ch. III" and the poem, "The Body Is but Chaff," from the second. Generally much of the material appearing in the original is rearranged in the reprinted *Star*; for example, the minutes of the May 3, 1834 conference at which the name of the Church was changed, originally printed in the twentieth number of *The Evening and the Morning Star*, are in the twenty-second issue of the reprint.

The more difficult problem, however, involves textual changes. A curious one occurs in the article, "The Gathering," in the sixth issue. Here the population of the Jackson County Saints is originally given as 465 Church members and 345 nonmembers and children, while in the reprint these figures are changed to 472 and 358, respectively. The most significant changes, of course, are those in the printed revelations. Apart from numerous grammatical improvements, these changes mainly reflect additions to the Church's governmental structure and adjustments in the implementation of the law of consecration. The prospectus for the reprint as well as the statements in the first and third reprinted issues pass these changes off simply as corrections of typographical and copying errors. But this seems less than candid in view of the letter of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams, June 25, 1833, that mentions typographical errors

in the Book of Commandments and lists only four obvious and minor ones.⁶⁵

CsmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, MH, MiU-C, MoHi, MoInRC, NN, OCIWHi, UPB, USIC, UU

17. Northern Times. Kirtland, Ohio, February 1835—
Weekly. 54 cm.

The idea of a Mormon political newspaper dates as early as 1833. On November 29, 1833, Oliver Cowdery wrote to Horace Kingsbury that "we shall print the *Democrat* in this place [Kirtland], as circumstances render it impossible to print it elsewhere. We shall draw a Prospectus soon."⁶⁶ And six days later Joseph Smith wrote to Edward Partridge, "We expect shortly to publish a political paper, weekly, in favor of the present administration . . . for thereby we can show the public the purity of our intention in supporting the government under which we live."⁶⁷ Not until over a year later, however, did these hopes materialize. In February, 1835, the *Northern Times* appeared, to a chorus of derisive welcomes from other local newspapers (e.g., the *Painesville Telegraph*, February 20, 1835, and the *Chardon Spectator and Geauga Gazette*, February 21, 1835). The *Chardon Spectator* subsequently remarked that the *Times* had previously appeared as "two little black half sheets, under the same title, just before our late [fall, 1834] election."⁶⁸ Whether this refers to a *Northern Times* prospectus or an abortive attempt to launch the *Times*, or is simply a *Spectator* error, is not known.

Only three complete issues of the *Times* and fragments of two others are extant, spanning the period August 7, 1835, to January 13, 1836. The exact date of the first issue and the length of the newspaper's life are unknown. The surviving issues indicate that the *Times* was a six-column, four-page weekly, printed on the Kirtland press by F. G. Williams and Company, with Oliver Cowdery as its first editor.⁶⁹ In May,

⁶⁵H.C., 1:364.

⁶⁶O. Cowdery to H. Kingsbury, Kirtland, 29 November 1833, "C.L."

⁶⁷H.C., 1:450-51.

⁶⁸*Chardon Spectator and Geauga Gazette*, 28 February 1835, as quoted in Max H. Parkin, "Mormon Political Involvement in Ohio," *BYU Studies* 9(1969), 489.

⁶⁹*Northern Times*, 9 October 1835. *Painesville Telegraph*, 20 February 1835.

1835, Frederick G. Williams was appointed to edit the *Times*; but it is apparent from Oliver Cowdery's correspondence that Cowdery remained the guiding spirit, and from W. W. Phelps's diary that, at least in June, 1835, Phelps was doing much of the editorial work.⁷⁰

A partisan newspaper reflecting the Democratic inclination of the Mormons, the *Times* printed local and national news, editorialized on local, state, and national political questions, and endorsed candidates for public office. The issues of October 2 and 9, 1835, urged the local residents to the polls to vote the Democratic ticket in the upcoming county election and prominently displayed an ad supporting Martin Van Buren for president and Richard M. Johnson for vice-president, thirteen months before the national election.

CtY [v. 1, nos. 27-28(2,9 Oct. 1835)], UPB [v. 1, no. 19(7 Aug. 1835) first leaf], USIC [v. 1, no. 36(2 Dec. 1835) and v. 1, no. 42(13 Jan. 1836) first leaf]

18. Parley Parker Pratt.

A short account of a shameful outrage, committed by a part of the inhabitants of the town of Mentor, upon the person of Elder Parley P. Pratt, while delivering a public discourse upon the subject of the gospel; April 7th, 1835.

[Kirtland? 1835?]

11 pp. 18.7 cm.

While the other members of the newly called Quorum of the Twelve Apostles were preparing for their first mission as a quorum, Parley Pratt visited the town of Mentor, five miles northeast of Kirtland, on a preaching expedition, with disastrous results. This little pamphlet describes the incident.

The first section tells of Parley's return to Mentor in order to fill an appointment to preach two days after his initial visit. Commencing his discourse on the steps of the Campbellite meetinghouse, Parley was soon greeted by the local band who played as loudly and competitively as they could. When it became apparent that their music would not

⁷⁰H.C., 2:227. O. Cowdery to John A. Bryan, 15 October 1835, "C.L."; O. Cowdery to William Kennon, 15 October 1835, "C.L."; O. Cowdery to R. M. Johnson, 30 October 1835, "C.L." "Diary of W. W. Phelps."

drive him from the meetinghouse steps, the musicians pelted Parley with eggs, thereby hastening the close of his sermon.

The second section of the pamphlet contains a summary of Parley's discourse on the occasion; the third includes a few editorial remarks; and the fourth provides another account by one who signs himself "A New Englander."

A brief description of the incident is also given in Parley Pratt's *Autobiography* (1874), pages 138-39.

One's expectation that the pamphlet was printed on the Mormon press in Kirtland is confirmed by a comparison of the pamphlet's type face with that of *The Evening and the Morning Star*; for example, the characteristic type of the phrase *town of Mentor* in the pamphlet's title agrees with that of the word *Prospectus* on the last page of the *Star*.

USIC

19. Parley Parker Pratt.

The Millennium, a poem. To which is added hymns and songs on various subjects, new and interesting, adapted to the dispensation of the fulness of times. . . .

Boston: Printed for Elder Parley P. Pratt, author and proprietor, 1835.

52 pp. 14.7 cm.

The preface of this first book of Mormon poetry explains that "The Millennium was written in about two months, while journeying the distance of ten or twelve hundred miles, and preaching almost daily, and also attending seven or eight missionary conferences of the elders of the church." This clearly refers to the missionary journey of the Twelve Apostles that extended from May 4 to September 26, 1835, during which Parley Pratt twice visited the city of Boston.⁷¹

The book is comprised of "The Millennium," a long narrative poem in six chapters (pp. 9-30); eleven hymns (pp. 31-52); and a preface (pp. 5-7) that seems to have been written mainly by someone other than Parley Pratt. "The Millennium" outlines the major gospel events from the dis-

⁷¹Parley Pratt, *Autobiography* (New York, 1874), pp. 138-40. *H.C.*, 2:222, 283.

persion of Israel to the millennial reign of Jesus Christ, and is more important as an early expression of Mormon thought than as a piece of poetry.

Each item in this 1835 publication is reprinted in Parley Pratt's less rare *Millennium and Other Poems* (New York, 1840). Parts of "The Millennium" are included in his *Voice of Warning* (1837), pages 121, 159, 168-71, and 192. Eight of the eleven hymns appear in the first European Mormon hymnal, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns* (Manchester, 1840). And one of these hymns, "Ye Chosen Twelve, to You Are Given," is maintained in the current LDS hymnal.

DLC, USIC

20. Theology. Lecture first On the doctrine of the Church of the Latter Day Saints. Of faith.

[Kirtland, 1835.]

Broadside 36 x 26 cm. In three columns.

This broadside comprises the first of the seven "Lectures on Faith" that begin the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. A comparison of broken type shows that the broadside was printed from a rearrangement of the same type setup used to print the first lecture in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. And the few changes that occur between the two suggest that the broadside is the earlier printing. The Doctrine and Covenants was in the press in June, 1835, so the broadside was apparently struck off about this time for advanced distribution.

Only a single copy of this item is extant, in the possession of William Powell, a private collector in California. (Photocopies are at UPB and USIC.)

21. Doctrine and covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints: carefully selected from the revelations of God, and compiled by Joseph Smith Junior, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams, [Presiding Elders of said Church.] Proprietors.

Kirtland, Ohio: Printed by F. G. Williams & Co. for the proprietors, 1835.

iv[5]-257, xxv pp. 15 cm.

A second effort to publish the revelations in book form was specifically launched at a meeting of the High Council at Kirtland, September 24, 1834. After some preliminary business,

the council then proceeded to appoint a committee to arrange the items of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, for the government of the Church of Latter-day Saints. . . . These items are to be taken from the Bible, Book of Mormon, and the revelations which have been given to the Church up to this date, or that shall be given until such arrangements are made.

Councilor Samuel H. Smith nominated President Joseph Smith, Jun., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams to compose said committee, which was seconded by Councilor Hyrum Smith. The Councilors then gave their vote in the affirmative, which was also agreed to by the whole conference.

The council then decided that said committee, after arranging and publishing said Book of Covenants, have the avails of the same.⁷²

In May, 1835, W. W. Phelps was added to this committee.⁷³ Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Phelps, of course, were members of the original Literary Firm that undertook the publishing of the Book of Commandments. Frederick G. Williams, Church printer and a scribe to Joseph Smith, as well as one of the First Presidency, apparently was added to the firm in March, 1833.⁷⁴ Phelps's correspondence and a reference in Joseph Smith's history make it clear that the publishing of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants was also the Literary Firm's enterprise.⁷⁵

A printer's manuscript for the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants has not been found. The manuscript volume "Kirtland Revelations," now in the LDS Church Historian's Library, contains a number of the revelations printed in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. In addition, it bears some corrections in the handwriting of Joseph Smith that are consistent with the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, as well as the notation "To go

⁷²H.C., 2:165.

⁷³H.C., 2:227. "Diary of W. W. Phelps."

⁷⁴Doctrine and Covenants, Section 92.

⁷⁵H.C., 2:434. W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, Kirtland, 16 September 1835, as quoted in "J.H.," 16 September 1835.

into the covenants” by a few of the revelations. These facts suggest that “Kirtland Revelations” was used in the preparation of a printer’s manuscript. (Incidentally, Oliver Cowdery’s copy of the Book of Commandments bearing his handwritten corrections for a second edition surfaced momentarily thirty years ago.)

A notice in the fifth issue of the *Evening and Morning Star* indicates that the Doctrine and Covenants was in the press in June, 1835. By August 17, 1835 (when Joseph Smith and Frederick G. Williams were in Michigan), it was complete enough that it could be presented by Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and W. W. Phelps to a general assembly of the Church for approval. The August, 1835, issue of the *Messenger and Advocate*, which includes the minutes of this August 17 General Assembly, announced that “the Doctrine and Covenants . . . is nearly ready for sale. At any rate it may be expected in the course of a month, as one thousand copies have already been delivered to the binder.” By mid-September the first copies were delivered by the Cleveland binder. Writing to his wife from Kirtland, September 16, 1835, W. W. Phelps remarked,

We received some of the Commandments from Cleveland last week. I shall try and send 100 copies to the Saints in Zion this fall by Brother William Tippetts; he starts next week. I know there are 100 Saints who will have their dollar ready when he arrives for a book. We put them at a dollar in order to help us a little, considering how much we have lost by the Jackson mob. I would not be without one for \$5.00. . . . David Whitmer and Samuel H. Smith have been appointed general agents for the literary firm to take and sell books among the extensive branches of the Church etc.⁷⁶

The book’s preface (pp. [iii]-iv), signed by Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams, February 17, 1835, alludes to the “aversion in the minds of some against receiving anything purporting to be articles of religious faith,” and defends the book as a needed statement of the beliefs of the Latter-day Saints, who have been so widely misrepresented. (Years later David Whitmer, in his *Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, 1887), described his

⁷⁶W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 16 September 1835.

opposition to the Doctrine and Covenants because it enunciated a creed for the Latter-day Saints.)

The first main part of the book (pp. [5]-74) is occupied with the seven "Lectures on Faith." These lectures, delivered before the school of the Elders in Kirtland during the preceding winter, cover such basic doctrines as the necessity and effect of faith; the attributes of God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost; man's relationship to God; and the nature of salvation; with supporting citations from the Bible, Book of Mormon, and in some cases, the Book of Commandments. Three of these lectures appeared earlier in print, the first as a broadside (Item 20) and the fifth and sixth in the May, 1835, *Messenger and Advocate*. Exactly who authored the lectures is not clear, although Sidney Rigdon is a possibility. In any case, their final form bears the influence of Joseph Smith, who in his history remarks, "During the month of January [1835], I was engaged in the school of the Elders, and in preparing the lectures on theology for publication in the book of Doctrine and Covenants" The "Lectures on Faith" were maintained in the various LDS editions of the Doctrine and Covenants until 1921.

The second main part of the book (pp. [75]-257) contains 100 revelations spanning the period July, 1828, to March 28, 1835, as Sections 1-4 and 6-100 with two sections erroneously numbered 66; the minutes of the organization of the first High Council, February 17, 1834, as Section 5; an article on marriage and an article on government and laws in general as Sections 101 and 102; and the minutes of the August 17, 1835, General Assembly. The sixty-five chapters in the Book of Commandments are reprinted in the Doctrine and Covenants with substantial changes consistent with those changes made in the revelations in reprinting *The Evening and the Morning Star*. Ten of the chapters in the Book of Commandments are combined into three sections of the Doctrine and Covenants, so that fifty-eight sections actually comprise that portion originally published in the Book of Commandments. Traditionally, the articles on marriage and government have been attributed to Oliver Cowdery. These were read at the General Assembly of August 17, 1835, and accepted as part of the Doctrine and Covenants. The article

⁷⁷H.C., 2:180.

on marriage appeared in all LDS editions until 1876, while the article on government is still included as Section 134. The minutes of the General Assembly occur only in the 1835 edition. An index comprises pages i-xxiii, and page xxv contains errata.

Apparently the changes in the printed revelations troubled a certain few of the brethren. At a meeting of the High Council at Far West, April 24, 1837, David W. Patten charged Lyman Wight with teaching false doctrines, among others that "the book of Doctrine and Covenants was a terrestrial law; and the Book of Commandments (a part of the revelations printed in Jackson county) was a celestial law." Wight was censured for these teachings, and directed to acknowledge his error to the churches where he had preached.⁷⁸

CsmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, ICHi, ICN, IHi, MH, MiU-C, MoInRC, MWA, NjP, NN, OCHP, OCIWHi, TxDaDF, UPB, USiC, UU

22. A collection of sacred hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints. Selected by Emma Smith.

Kirtland, Ohio: Printed by F. G. Williams & Co., 1835.

iv[5]-121, v pp. 11 cm.

The first Mormon hymnal has its beginnings in the revelation through Joseph Smith to his wife Emma, July, 1830 (Section 25), in which she is directed "to make a selection of hymns." Apparently Emma complied, for ten months later, at a conference in Independence, Missouri, May 1, 1832, it was "ordered that W. W. Phelps correct and print the hymns which had been selected by Emma Smith in fulfilment of the revelation."⁷⁹ The destruction of the press in Independence delayed the printing of the hymns, and it was not until the printing of the Doctrine and Covenants was completed that Phelps again turned his attention to the hymnal. On September 11, 1835, Phelps wrote to his wife Sally, "I am now revising hymns for a hymn Book."⁸⁰

⁷⁸H.C., 2:481-82.

⁷⁹H.C., 1:270. (Cf. "J.H.," 30 April 1832.)

⁸⁰W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 11 September 1835; Microfilm F110 at Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City.

Three days later at a meeting of the Church authorities in Kirtland, Phelps's efforts were officially sanctioned when it was "decided that Sister Emma Smith proceed to make a selection of Sacred Hymns, according to the revelation; and that President W. W. Phelps be appointed to revise and arrange them for printing."⁸¹ Quite clearly the prime responsibility for the hymnal rested on Phelps.

Ebenezer Robinson, the typesetter in the *Messenger and Advocate* office, remembered fifty years later that the hymns were printing at the same time as the Doctrine and Covenants.⁸² What this means, most likely, is that the printing of the hymns commenced shortly after the completion of the printing of the Doctrine and Covenants, probably around the middle of September. The printing proceeded slowly. Writing to his wife on November 14, 1835, Phelps complained of the backlog in the printing office, remarking that "the hymn book is not likely to progress as fast as I wish."⁸³

Two hymns, "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning" and "The Glorious Day Is Rolling On," both in the 1835 hymnal, are printed in the January, 1836, *Messenger and Advocate*; and even though the February, March, and August 1836, issues of the *Messenger and Advocate* print hymns, none of these is included in the hymnal. The implications are that the hymnal was still in the press when the January, 1836, *Messenger and Advocate* was issued (sometime in February), but was finished soon after.

The hymnal contains ninety hymns (pp. [5]-121) following a preface (pp. [iii]-iv) that was certainly written by Phelps. As in all the Mormon hymnals prior to 1889 (except the 1844 Little-Gardner hymnal), only the words are printed; no music is included. Of the ninety hymns, forty-two had appeared earlier in *The Evening and the Morning Star*, the *Evening and Morning Star*, and the *Messenger and Advocate*. Helen Hanks Macare has found thirty-four to be of Mormon authorship: twenty-six by W. W. Phelps, three by Parley P. Pratt, one by Thomas B. Marsh and Parley Pratt, and one each by Eliza R. Snow, Edward Partridge, Philo Dibble, and William C. Gregg. Seventeen of the borrowed hymns are

⁸¹H.C., 2:273.

⁸²*Return*, June 1889, p. 88.

⁸³W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 14 November 1835, as quoted in "J.H.," 14 November 1835.

by Isaac Watts.⁸⁴ And because of the predominance of Baptist hymns among those borrowed, Ms. Macare suggests that "the hymnal would appear to be based on a Baptist book, perhaps on one current among the Campbellites."⁸⁴ Twenty-nine of the hymns—almost a third of this first collection—appear in the present LDS hymnal.

CsmH, CtY, MiU-C, MoInRC, TxDaDF, UPB, USIC, UU

23. References to the Book of Mormon.

[Kirtland? 1835?]

iv pp. 17.5 cm. In double columns.

This four-page item is usually found tipped into a copy of the 1830 Book of Mormon. Typographically it closely resembles the products of the *Messenger and Advocate* press; for example, the Old English type in the word *References* matches that in the word *Index* on page i of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. Since it does apply to the first edition, it was undoubtedly printed before the second edition of the Book of Mormon went to press in the winter of 1836-37. And in view of the activity of the Kirtland School of the Elders and the Mormon press in 1835, it was probably printed about this time.

Its title is misleading. Rather than being a set of references, it is really a book-by-book outline or an extended table of contents for the first edition of the Book of Mormon. (The collector should note that the presence of this item in an 1830 Book of Mormon doubles the value of the book!)

CsmH, CtY, CU-B, ICN, MoInRC, MWA, NN, OCHP, OClWHi, UPB, USIC

24. Extract from the new translation of the Bible, It being the 24th chapter of Matthew; but in order to show the connection we will commence with the last verse of the 23rd chapter, viz. [At end:] Published for the benefit of the Saints.

⁸⁴Helen Hanks Macare, "The Singing Saints: a Study of the Mormon Hymnal 1835-1950" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1961).

[Kirtland? 1835?]

Broadside 31.5 x 20 cm. In two columns, within an ornamental border.

This broadside prints Matthew chapter 24 as revised by Joseph Smith in the spring of 1831.⁸⁵ Two manuscripts containing this text are in the possession of the RLDS Church: the original manuscript (NT 1), and a copy made by John Whitmer in the summer of 1831 with later corrections by Joseph Smith (NT 2).⁸⁶ The broadside differs at a number of points from both NT 1 and NT 2, but generally follows NT 1.⁸⁶ It also differs from the version of Matthew 24 in *The Holy Scriptures* (Plano, 1867) that employs NT 2 with a small number of insignificant improvements, and from the version in the *Pearl of Great Price* (Liverpool, 1851) that mainly follows NT 1 but embodies three significant modifications written into NT 2.

Considerable debate has taken place over the date this broadside was printed. Some have suggested that it was published in Nauvoo in 1842 or 1843 to refute the teachings of William Miller that the Second Advent would be April 3, 1843; and it is so entered in C. K. Byrd's *Bibliography of Illinois Imprints* (Chicago, 1966), no. 782. On the other hand, there are reasons for believing that it was printed earlier. Of all the early Mormon presses, the typeface of the *Messenger and Advocate* press most closely resembles that of the broadside. In addition, the text of Joseph Smith's revision of Matthew 24 is printed in John Corrill's *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints* (St. Louis, 1839) exactly as in the broadside except for one omission and improvements in punctuation and capitalization. Corrill introduces the text with the peculiar phrase, "the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, but in order to shew the connection, I will commence with the last verse of the twenty-third chapter, viz," suggesting that he took his version from the broadside. These considerations together with the activity of the Mormon press in 1835 have led me to list this broadside tentatively as an 1835 Kirtland imprint.

⁸⁵Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures* (Independence, Mo., 1969), pp. 84ff.

⁸⁶I am grateful to Richard P. Howard for detailed comparisons of the manuscripts with the broadside.

The two extant copies of the broadside differ in the ornamental border. But a comparison of broken type shows that the textual portions of both were printed from the same type setup.

CtY, UPB

25. The Twelve Apostles. [The Seven Presidents of the Seventy Elders. The First Seventy Elders. The Second Seventy Elders.]

[Kirtland? 1836?]

Broadside 31.2 x 20 cm. Within an ornamental border.

The names of the Twelve Apostles and the seven presidents of the First Council of the Seventy, as initially chosen in February, 1835, are listed in this broadside together with those of the First and Second quorums of Seventies. A product of the *Messenger and Advocate* press, it was apparently printed after the Second Quorum was selected, February 3, 1836, and before the excommunication of Charles Kelley, one of the First Quorum of Seventies, on May 23, 1836.⁸⁷

UPB, USIC

26. Prayer, at the dedication of the Lord's House in Kirtland, Ohio, March 27, 1836,—By Joseph Smith, jr. President of the Church of the Latter Day Saints.

[Kirtland, 1836.]

Broadsheet 28 x 18.4 cm.

A detailed account of the dedication of the Kirtland Temple appears in the *Messenger and Advocate* for March, 1836. And a rearrangement of the same type setup used to print the dedicatory prayer in this issue of the *Messenger and Advocate* was also used to print the broadsheet entered here. In his diary now in the LDS Church Historian's Library, under the date Saturday, March 19, 1836, Oliver Cowdery records:

I met in the President's room, Pres. J. Smith Jr. [,] S. Rigdon, my brother W. A. Cowdery & Elder W. Parrish, and

⁸⁷H.C., 2:391, 442-44.

assisted in writing a prayer for the dedication of the [Lord's] house.

The prayer appears in all the LDS editions of the Doctrine and Covenants since 1876 as Section 109, differing at two or three points from the text in the broadsheet.

USIC

27. Oliver Cowdery.

Supplement of J. Seixas' Manual Hebrew Grammar, for the Kirtland, Ohio, Theological Institution.

New-York: Printed by West & Trow, for J. Smith, Jun., S. Rigdon, O. Cowdery, 1836.

vi[7]-31[1] pp. 15 cm.

The imprint date and pagination of this entry are taken from a note by the late Dale Morgan, who twenty-five years ago examined a copy at the RLDS Church Library that has since disappeared. The only presently known copy, at the Brigham Young University Library, lacks the lower fifth of the title page, deleting the date of publication; it also collates 2 p.l. [7]-31[1], so possibly it is missing the second or third leaf.

The elders in Kirtland were deeply involved in the study of Hebrew in the early part of 1836. Between January 26 and March 29, 1836, they were instructed by a professional teacher, Joshua Seixas; but after this there was little apparent activity in Hebrew study.⁸⁸ Precisely when this *Supplement* was published is not clear. It is asserted in the preface that the book was prepared expressly for the Kirtland elders, suggesting that it was published about the time Seixas was conducting his course.

The preface (pp. [7]-8), written by Oliver Cowdery, indicates that the lessons in the book were abridged by Seixas from his *Manual Hebrew Grammar* (two editions: Andover, 1833 and 1834), and arranged in book form by Cowdery as a help to the beginning student. The main portion (pp. [9]-27) consists of this series of grammatical lessons, and

⁸⁸H.C., 2:355ff.

the first chapter of Genesis, in Hebrew, runs from the verso of page 31 to page 28.

UPB

28. Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate—Extra. Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio, July 25, 1836. To John Thornton, Esq., Peter Rogers, Esq., Andrew Robertson, Esq., James T. V. Thompson, Esq., Col. William T. Wood, Doct Woodson J. Moss, James M. Hughes, Esq., David R. Atchison, Esq. and A. W. Doniphan, Esq. Gentlemen,—[Signed at end:] Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Jr., O. Cowdery, F. G. Williams, Hyrum Smith.

[Kirtland, 1836.]

Broadside 54 x 20 cm. In three columns.

At a public meeting in Liberty, Missouri, June 29, 1836, a report was issued by a committee of nine (named in this entry's title), listing sources of conflict between the citizens of Clay County and the Mormons and urging the Mormons to leave the county in order to avoid civil war. On July 1, a large group of Mormon elders met and agreed to move to another part of the state. The following day the citizens of Clay again met in Liberty and, acknowledging the Mormons' response, resolved to assist them in finding a new location.

A letter from Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, F. G. Williams, and Hyrum Smith to the committee of nine in response to their report comprises the *Messenger and Advocate Extra* listed here. Praising the committee's candor and acknowledging the hospitality of Clay County, the letter replies to the various allegations and defends the Missouri Saints, not in an attempt to dissuade the committee from acting in conformity with "the resolutions offered to the people of Clay county, on the 29th ult. but from a sense of duty to a people embarrassed, persecuted, and afflicted."

The August, 1836, *Messenger and Advocate* reprints the minutes of the three meetings, the report of the committee of nine, and the letter to the committee. The textual portion of the *Extra* is printed from a rearrangement of the same type setup used to print the letter in the *Messenger and Advocate*.

National Archives (photocopies at MoInRC, UPB, USIC)

29. Orson Hyde.

A prophetic warning to all the churches, of every sect and denomination, and to every individual into whose hands it may fall. By O. Hyde, preacher of the gospel, and citizen of the United States. [Dated at end:] Toronto, August, 1836.

[Toronto, Canada? 1836?]

Broadside 46.2 x 29.8 cm. In three columns.

Orson Hyde's *Prophetic Warning* constitutes a bibliographical milestone: it is the first genuine Mormon missionary tract. The text of *A Prophetic Warning* also appears in the July, 1836, issue of the *Messenger and Advocate*, where it is dated June 16, 1836, presumably the date of writing. It would seem, therefore, that the place and date printed at the end of the broadside refer to the place and date of publication, implying that the broadside was printed in Toronto during Hyde's mission to Canada, August—October, 1836.

A Prophetic Warning commences with an argument that the Second Advent is yet to come and asks if the Christian world is prepared. It then shows that an apostasy from the primitive church was foretold by the New Testament writers and argues that the churches of the day have strayed from the teachings of Jesus. Outlining the events at the Second Coming, it concludes with an appeal to its readers to repent and be baptized by the authority of Jesus Christ. And even though it urges baptism by someone with authority, nowhere are the Latter-day Saints specifically mentioned. A final paragraph announces Orson Hyde's intention to publish an exposition of the ancient prophecies in book form, under the same title as the broadside.

Ten months after it was published in Canada, *A Prophetic Warning* was widely distributed in New York City. Writing from New York, June 28, 1837, three days before he and Elders Hyde, Richards, Fielding, Goodson, Russell, and Snyder sailed for the first British mission, Heber C. Kimball remarked,

We have spent most of two days of distribiting brother hides [Hyde's] prophetic warnings in the city we did up

about one hundred and fifty in letter form and directed to Every preast of Every profession in the city.⁸⁹

It is conceivable, of course, that this refers to an unlocated second printing. A revised version of *A Prophetic Warning* was published under the title *A Timely Warning* in England in 1839 (Item 47), and twice more in the early 1840s.

MoInRC

30. Parley Parker Pratt.

[Doth our law judge a man before it hear him?]

[Kingston, Canada, 1836.]

Broadside?

31. Parley Parker Pratt.

[Printed handbill advertising two meetings.]

[Toronto, Canada, 1836.]

Broadside?

Neither of the foregoing two items got out by Parley Pratt is located. Our knowledge of them comes from his *Autobiography* (1874), pages 173-80.

As Parley Pratt was about to return to Kirtland in October, 1836, after missionarying in Canada that spring and summer, his Canadian friends urged him to meet a Mr. Caird, an Irvingite, whose teachings seemed consistent with Mormonism and who was creating something of a stir in eastern Canada.⁹⁰ Caird was in Kingston at the time, and although Parley had a vivid dream that his efforts would be in vain, he delayed his trip home and took the steamer from Toronto to Kingston. Upon arriving in Kingston, Parley attempted to contact Caird but was ignored. That evening he went to hear Caird preach and was astonished to hear Caird slander the Mormons. "Next morning," Parley explains in his *Autobiography*,

we published a printed handbill with a statement of his lying . . . and a statement of our doctrine as Latter-day

⁸⁹Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, New York City, [29] June 1837; microfilm, USIC. (Cf. *H.C.*, 4:314.)

⁹⁰Typed extracts from the *Toronto Constitution*, 21 September 1836; Pratt MSS, USIC.

Saints. . . . We circulated the handbills in the streets by hundreds, and then sent plenty of them by mail to our friends in Toronto. The bill was headed: "*Doth our law judge a man before it hear him?*"

Both Caird and Parley Pratt returned to Toronto, where Caird's friends urged him to meet with Parley. But Caird refused and continued to misrepresent the Saints in his public discourses. "I now applied to Wm. Lyon McKenzie, a printer and editor [of the *Toronto Constitution*], in King Street," Parley continues in his *Autobiography*,

for some large public halls or rooms of his . . . and we put out a bill, advertizing two meetings, and pledging to the public that we would prove to a demonstration that Mr. Caird, who was now preaching in this city, was a false teacher, whom God had never sent, and that no believer in the Bible, who listened with attention, should go away unconvinced of that fact, or the truth of the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Twice Parley preached above the *Constitution* printing office, satisfying his friends that he had fulfilled his pledge in the handbill, but with no effect on Mr. Caird.

32. Messenger Extra. Kirtland, Ohio, December, 1836. Minutes of a meeting of the stockholders of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank; held on the 2nd day of November, A.D. 1836. When the following preamble and articles were read three times by Orson Hyde, and unanimously adopted.

[Kirtland, 1836.]

Broadside 32 x 17.5 cm. In two columns.

33. Messenger, Extra.—March, 1837. Minutes of a meeting of the members of the "Kirtland Safety Society," held on the 2d day of January, 1837.

[Kirtland, 1837.]

Broadside 48 x 20 cm. In two columns.

The initial organizational meeting of the Kirtland Safety Society was held on November 2, 1836. Articles of agreement were drawn up, Oliver Cowdery was dispatched to Philadelphia to purchase plates to print notes, and Orson Hyde

was delegated to obtain a bank charter from the state legislature in Columbus. Hyde failed to secure the charter, so the stockholders convened, two months after the first meeting, to annul the old constitution and to adopt new articles of agreement, this time for a note-issuing joint-stock company rather than for a chartered bank.⁹¹ Brief minutes of these two meetings, together with the articles of agreement, comprise the two extras listed here.

At both meetings Sidney Rigdon was chairman; Oliver Cowdery was the clerk of the first, while Warren Parrish was the secretary of the second. Generally the two sets of articles of agreement are the same, the second obviously a modification of the first. The first set of articles specifies the name of the company as the "Kirtland Safety Society Bank," while the second modifies the name to "Kirtland Safety Society Banking Company"; and where the first set refers to the institution as the "bank," the second avoids "bank" in favor of "firm" or "company." Both articles capitalize the company at "not less than four million dollars." The second articles eliminate the office of chief clerk provided for in the first; and while the president is implicitly the principal officer in the first set of articles, the cashier appears to be the principal officer in the second. (Until they withdrew about the first of July, 1837, Joseph Smith was cashier and Sidney Rigdon was president.) The major change in the articles of agreement is the addition, in the second set, of two articles dealing with the issuance of bank notes, the first added article binding the stockholders for the redemption of the notes. In addition, the March, 1837, *Extra* includes a list of 187 stockholders.

The minutes of the November 2 meeting do not appear to have been printed elsewhere. The January 2 minutes are included without the list of stockholders in the January, 1837, issue of the *Messenger and Advocate*, and with that list in the March, 1837, issue. In fact, the March *Extra* is printed from the same type setup used to print the minutes in the March, 1837, *Messenger and Advocate*.

Items 32 and 33: USIC

⁹¹H.C., 2:467-68, 470. See also R. Kent Fielding, "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland, Ohio," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27(1959), 331-56; Max Parkin, "Conflict of the Mormons," pp. 213-25.

34. The book of Mormon: an account written by the hand of Mormon, upon plates taken from the plates of Nephi. . . . Translated by Joseph Smith, Jr.

Kirtland, Ohio: Printed by O. Cowdery & Co. for P. P. Pratt and J. Goodson, 1837.

1 p.l. [v]-vi[7]-619[2] pp. 14.6 cm.

A second edition of the Book of Mormon was contemplated as early as the summer of 1833. The letter of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams to W. W. Phelps and others, June 25, 1833, remarks, "As soon as we can get time, we will review the manuscripts of the Book of Mormon, after which they will be forwarded to you."⁹² And the July, 1833, issue of *The Evening and the Morning Star* notices the intention to publish a new edition of the Book of Mormon "at no very distant period."

The destruction of the Independence press and the publishing of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, the 1835 hymnal, and the *Evening and Morning Star* delayed a new edition until late in 1836. But during the winter of 1836-37, a second edition of the Book of Mormon was printed.⁹³

The preface of the 1837 edition (pp. [v]-vi), signed by Parley Pratt and John Goodson, indicates that inasmuch as the first edition was out of print they had obtained the rights to publish 5,000 copies of the Book of Mormon. It further states that in preparation for a new edition, the first edition was "carefully re-examined and compared with the original manuscripts" by Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery.

Richard Howard has found that more than 2,000 changes were written into the printer's manuscript of the 1830 Book of Mormon and incorporated in the second edition, and over 1,000 other changes occur in the 1837 edition that were not recorded in the manuscript.⁹⁴ It would appear, therefore, that the 1837 Book of Mormon was printed from the corrected printer's manuscript of the first edition; and in addition to the changes made by Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery when they compared the first edition with the manuscript, further changes were made (by Oliver Cowdery?) as the

⁹²H.C., 1:363.

⁹³*Return*, August 1889, p. 115; May 1890, p. 258.

⁹⁴Howard, pp. 41-49.

book was being set in type. Most of the changes are grammatical and stylistic. A few, however, have theological implications (e.g., those where "God" or "Eternal Father" on p. 25, line 3; p. 25, line 10; p. 26, line 9; and p. 32, line 9, are changed to "Son of God" or "Son of the Eternal Father").

The testimonies of the three witnesses and of the eight witnesses appear on the two pages following page 619. A note at the end explains that although the original intention was to publish both the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants in one volume, as mentioned in the preface, the publishers were induced to abandon that idea because the two books together "would make a volume, entirely too unwieldy for the purpose intended, that of a pocket companion."

In some sense the 1837 Book of Mormon is the parent of the present LDS edition. From it was printed the first (1841) of a sequence of British and Salt Lake City editions that culminated in the present one. Consequently, the current LDS edition of the Book of Mormon does not embody some of the changes incorporated by Joseph Smith in the 1840 Nauvoo edition (e.g., that in 2 Nephi 30:6).

CSmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, ICHi, ICN, MH, MiU-C, MoInRC, MWA, NjP, NN, OCHP, OCIWHi, UPB, USIC, UU, WHi

35. Newell Kimball Whitney, Reynolds Cahoon and Vinson Knight.

To the Saints scattered abroad, the Bishop and his Counselors of Kirtland send greeting. [At head of title:] Kirtland, Ohio, September 18th, 1837. [Signed at end:] N. K. Whitney, R. Cahoon, V. Knight.

[Kirtland, 1837.]

Broadside 52 x 32.5 cm. In four columns.

Apostasy, proliferating lawsuits, and a massive onerous debt confronted the authorities of the Church as they met with the Saints in the Kirtland Temple, September 17, 1837. Newell K. Whitney, the bishop in Kirtland, announced to the assembly that "the time had arrived when it became necessary for him to travel," and the conference decided that the bishop and his counselors should send abroad their

memorial to the Saints.⁹⁵ The bishopric's memorial was issued as the above broadside the next day—evidence of the urgency of the situation.

Primarily an appeal for financial assistance directed to the Saints outside Kirtland, the memorial begins by outlining the various circumstances that contributed to the penury of the Church in Kirtland and suggests that the appropriate way to finance the work of the last days is to tithe the Saints, foreshadowing the revelation of July 8, 1838 (Section 119). It points out that the salvation of the Saints depends on the building up of Zion and her stakes, linking the well-being of Kirtland with that of Zion; and it urges the Saints to see clearly their responsibility and respond favorably to the appeal by gathering up their means and sending it on to the leaders of the Church.

The text of the broadside also appears in the *Messenger and Advocate* for September, 1837, and both the broadside and its text in the *Messenger and Advocate* are printed from a rearrangement of the same type setup.

UPB, USIC

36. Parley Parker Pratt.

A voice of warning and instruction to all people, containing a declaration of the faith and doctrine of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, commonly called Mormons. By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. . . .

New-York: Printed by W. Sandford, 29 Ann-St., 1837.

x[11]-216 pp. 14.7 cm.

Fleeing from the strife and apostasy that characterized the Church in Kirtland in 1837, Parley Pratt reached New York City late in July and immediately began to preach and write.⁹⁶ And before the summer passed, he had produced a Mormon classic, the *Voice of Warning*. In a letter to Don Carlos Smith, dated New York, October 3, 1837, Parley announces his new book:

Besides other labors, I have in two months past written 216 pages, which with the assistance of Eld. Elijah Fordham

⁹⁵H.C., 2:513.

⁹⁶Pratt, *Autobiography*, p. 184.

who has been laboring faithfully with me, is now issuing from the press and the first will be bound and ready for sale tomorrow or the next day, three Thousand copies are printed, it is entitled *A Voice of Warning*.⁹⁷

No other Mormon book, apart from the "standard works," has had the impact of the *Voice of Warning*. A basic missionary tool throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, it has passed through numerous editions in a number of languages.

Opening with a series of Biblical examples of the fulfillment of ancient prophecy, the book next discusses those prophecies that foretell the establishment of a new covenant, the gathering of Israel and rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the events at the second coming of Jesus. The third chapter discusses the Kingdom of God, arguing mainly that repentance and baptism by those with authority from God are necessary for entrance into this kingdom. The Book of Mormon is the theme of the next chapter, which, quoting from the Old Testament (including Ezekiel 37), argues that America is a promised land to the seed of Joseph, that the Lord revealed himself to Joseph's seed, and that a record of these revelations would come forth in the last days. And here it is suggested that the American Indians are a remnant of Joseph's seed. At this point the book interposes, as chapter five, a proclamation urging its readers to repentance and baptism. The sixth chapter takes up the resurrection and redemption of the earth, arguing that the earth will be restored to its original form at the time of creation. Analyzing the resurrection of Jesus, it infers that the saints will be resurrected with perfected bodies of flesh and bone and will dwell forever with the Messiah on the redeemed earth. Further, it argues both that America is a promised land and that it is the location for the New Jerusalem. The central concept of the seventh chapter is that God deals with various generations by direct revelation, and that his revealed word to one generation does not necessarily apply to those in past or future generations. God has spoken to men in the nineteenth century, the book declares, and it challenges its readers to heed those men. The closing chapter compares, in two

⁹⁷*Elders' Journal*, pp. 8-9. In his *Autobiography*, Pratt states that 4,000 copies constituted the first edition.

columns, certain doctrines of God with the corresponding doctrines of men.

Throughout, the *Voice of Warning* reflects Parley Pratt's complete conviction and certainty, epitomized by the following assertion in the opening pages: "No believer in the Holy Scriptures, who reads it with attention, shall close this volume without being fully convinced of the great and important truths contained therein."

CSmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, ICHi, ICN, IHi, MB, MiU-C, MWA, OCIWHi, UPB, USIC, UU, WHi

37. Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter Day Saints. Kirtland, Ohio, October—November 1837, and Far West, Mo., July—August 1838.

1 vol. (4 whole nos.) 64 pp. 25 cm.

The August and September, 1837, issues of the *Messenger and Advocate* carry a prospectus signed by Sidney Rigdon announcing a new periodical, the *Elders' Journal*:

As the Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate . . . is to be closed with the present volume which closes in the month of September, and as the publishers of that paper have declined publishing any more for the present, at least[,] A large body of the elders of the church of Latter Day Saints have united and rented the printing establishment, for the purpose of publishing a paper with the above title. This paper is intended to be a vehicle of communication for all the elders of the church . . . through which they can communicate to others, all things pertaining to their mission, and calling As there have been many desires expressed by the elders of said church, to have a periodical of this kind published; it is hoped that the present proposals will meet with their most unqualified approbation

The JOURNAL will be edited by Joseph Smith Jun. and printed once a month . . . at one dollar a year *in advance*: and should the subscription list justify, it will soon be published semimonthly at two dollars a year.

Implicit in this announcement is a dissatisfaction with the *Messenger and Advocate* under Warren A. Cowdery that had been printing ponderous articles on ancient history, philosophy, and world events, to the exclusion of news of

the progress of the Church. And with the appearance of his article in the July, 1837, *Messenger and Advocate* criticizing Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon for their parts in the Kirtland Bank fiasco, Warren Cowdery himself became offensive to the Church leaders. (An allusion to this appears in the second issue of the *Elders' Journal*: "We calculate to pursue a different course from that of our predecessor in the editorial department.—We will endeavor not to scandalize our own citizens"; and a specific condemnation of Warren A. Cowdery occurs in the fourth issue of the *Journal*.) Consequently, two things were accomplished by terminating the *Messenger and Advocate* and beginning under Joseph Smith's editorship a periodical with a new name and objective: the official Church organ was made more appealing to potential subscribers, and its control was brought into more congenial hands.

Beginning in October, 1837, two issues of the *Journal* were edited by Joseph Smith and printed and published by Thomas B. Marsh in Kirtland. A notice on the back page of each directed all correspondence to Don Carlos Smith, who performed the bulk of the editorial labors for these two numbers.⁹⁸ The second issue contains the minutes of the two Far West conferences, November 7 and 10, 1837, and most likely did not appear until after Joseph Smith returned to Kirtland from Far West about December 10. A month later Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon left Kirtland for the last time, insuring that no further issues of the *Journal* would be published there.

On April 30, 1838, a prospectus (Item 38) was issued announcing that the *Elders' Journal* would be revived in Far West on the same terms as before, with Joseph Smith as editor and Thomas B. Marsh as publisher. Two additional issues were published in Far West in July and August, 1838, before the outbreak of violence against the Mormons permanently ended the *Journal's* life. The third and fourth issues bear a slightly different name: *Elders' Journal of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*; and the fourth issue includes "an extract of revelation given, Far West, April 26th, A. D. 1838" (Section 115), officially naming the Church.

⁹⁸H.C., 4:393.

In size and format the *Elders' Journal* conforms to the *Messenger and Advocate*: each issue contains 16 pages, in double columns, the four numbers continuously paged. The *Journal* consists almost entirely of letters from the elders abroad and minutes of conferences and council meetings. The third issue contains an interesting—and now famous—series of questions and answers by Joseph Smith. The fourth issue, rather a harbinger of the calamity to befall the Mormons within the month, includes the minutes of the fourth of July celebration and a vitriolic denunciation of the Mormon dissenters.

CsmH, CtY, CU-B, ICHi [no. 1], MH, MiU-C [no. 1], MoInRC, NN, OCIWHi [nos. 1-2], UPB, USIC, UU

38. Prospectus for the Elder's [sic] Journal, of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints. [Dated at end:] April 30, 1838.

[Far West, Mo., 1838.]

Thirteen lines of text, following the title, printed on the upper right-hand third of a sheet folded to 40.6 x 25.9 cm.

This prospectus announces the resuscitation of the *Elders' Journal* at Far West. Presumably it was printed on the face of a large folded sheet so that it could be used to gather the names of subscribers. The prospectus is also printed in the July, 1838, issue of the *Journal* where it is dated April 26, 1838.

USIC

39. Parley Parker Pratt.

Mormonism unveiled: Zion's Watchman unmasked, and its editor, Mr. L. R. Sunderland, exposed: truth vindicated: the Devil mad, and priestcraft in danger! By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. . . .

New-York: Printed for the publisher, 1838.

47 pp. 18 cm.

40. Parley Parker Pratt.

Mormonism unveiled: Zion's Watchman unmasked, and its editor, Mr. L. R. Sunderland, exposed: truth vindicated: the Devil mad, and priestcraft in danger! By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. . . . Second edition.

New-York: Published by O. Pratt & E. Fordham, 1838.

47[1] pp. 18 cm.

41. Parley Parker Pratt.

Mormonism unveiled: Zion's Watchman unmasked, and its editor, Mr. L. R. Sunderland, exposed: truth vindicated: the Devil mad, and priestcraft in danger! By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. . . . Third edition.

New-York: Published by O. Pratt & E. Fordham, 1838.

47[1] pp. 18 cm.

Parley Pratt's *Mormonism Unveiled* marks another bibliographical milestone: it is the first of a vast number of pamphlets written in reply to anti-Mormon attacks. In this tract, Parley responds to an eight-part article in the New York *Zion's Watchman*, edited by La Roy Sunderland, that appeared between January 13 and March 3, 1838.

All three editions of *Mormonism Unveiled* were printed from the same type setup, with a few changes. The title page is slightly different in each edition. The second and third editions contain Parley Pratt's poem, "A Lamentation on Taking Leave of New-York," on the verso of page 47, which is blank in the first edition. Moreover, the second and third editions occur in two states: the first state is characterized by the presence of *derfections* in the last line of page 38 and *THIER* in the last paragraph of page 43, which are corrected to *perfections* and *THEIR* in the second state. Interestingly enough, the second edition of *Mormonism Unveiled* at Yale and the third edition at the LDS Church are of the first state, while the second edition at Brigham Young University and the third edition at the Bancroft Library are of the second state. The implication is that all three editions were printed about the same time, and the books comprising the second and third editions were

assembled simultaneously from sheets of both printings. The pamphlet bears the date March 24, 1838, on page 47, and Parley Pratt left New York for Missouri that April; so it would seem that all three editions of *Mormonism Unveiled* were printed about April, 1838. And as the second and third editions were published by Orson Pratt and Elijah Fordham, these were probably printed after Parley left New York City.

The pamphlets originally appeared with paper wrappers. Eighteen years ago Edward Eberstadt and Sons, the New York booksellers, offered for sale a copy of the first edition with original printed wrappers (Catalogue 134, item 451). Traces of the original yellow wrapper can be seen on the Brigham Young University copy.

Sunderland's article, also published as the pamphlet *Mormonism Exposed and Refuted* (New York, 1838), adopts the approach of Alexander Campbell's *Delusions* (Boston, 1832) and E. D. Howe's *Mormonism Unvailed* [sic] (Painesville, 1834). It attacks the Book of Mormon by pointing to grammatical errors and alleged inconsistencies, contradictions, and plagiarisms. And by referring to a number of passages in the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants and *Voice of Warning*, it attempts to show that Mormonism is absurd, fraudulent, and inconsistent with the Bible. The eighth installment of the article repeats the Spaulding-Rigdon theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon, originally propounded by E. D. Howe. With considerable enthusiasm and a touch of vitriol, Parley's *Mormonism Unveiled* responds to the bulk of Sunderland's objections. And in replying to the Spaulding-Rigdon theory, the pamphlet details Parley Pratt's conversion and his part in first introducing Mormonism to Sidney Rigdon.

Item 39: OClWHi, UPB, USIC

Item 40: CtY, MH, MoInRC, UPB

Item 41: CU-B, MH, USIC, UU

42. Sidney Rigdon.

Oration delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon, on the 4th of July, 1838, at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri. . . .

Far West: Printed at the Journal Office, 1838.

12 pp. 18.8 cm.

The Fourth of July celebration in Far West in 1838, signaled the beginning of the end of the Mormon community in Missouri. Forming in a long procession at 10:00 a.m., the Far West Saints, accompanied by Dimick Huntington's band, marched to the excavation for the new temple, where the four cornerstones of the temple were laid by the Church authorities. The crowd then moved to the speaker's stand to hear Sidney Rigdon deliver the day's oration, "at the close of which, there was a shout of hosanna."⁹⁹ Subsequently, Rigdon's oration was printed in pamphlet form on the Mormon press at Far West, and according to Ebenezer Robinson, who printed the pamphlet, a copy was furnished the editor and printed in the *Liberty Far West*.¹⁰⁰

Six years later, Jedediah M. Grant acknowledged that Sidney Rigdon's Fourth of July oration "was the main auxiliary that fanned into flame the burning wrath of the mobocratic portions of the Missourians."¹⁰¹ Not only was the speech inflammatory, but it was put into print to be read and reread, galvanizing the Mormons as well as the Missourians.

While Grant lays the responsibility for the oration squarely on Rigdon, it is clear that it must be more broadly shared. Ebenezer Robinson, in his reminiscences, asserts that "President Rigdon was not alone responsible for the sentiment expressed in his oration, as that was a carefully prepared document, previously written, and well understood by the First Presidency, but Elder Rigdon was the mouth piece to deliver it."¹⁰² And a notice in the August, 1838, issue of the *Elders' Journal*, signed by the editor—Joseph Smith—announces that the oration is available in pamphlet form, and commends it to the Saints:

We would recommend to all the saints to get one, to be had in their families, as it contains an outline of the suffering and persecutions of the Church from its rise. As also the fixed determinations of the saints, in relation to the persecutors, who are, and have been, continually, not only threatening us with mobs, but actually have been putting

⁹⁹*Elders' Journal*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁰*Return*, November 1889, pp. 170-71. The *Union Catalog* lists no file of the *Far West* for this period.

¹⁰¹Jedediah M. Grant, *A Collection of Facts, Relative to the Course Taken by Elder Sidney Rigdon* . . . (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 11. See also *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 October 1844):667. (Hereafter designated T.S.)

¹⁰²*Return*, pp. 170-71.

their threats into execution; with which we are absolutely determined no longer to bear, come life or come death, for to be mobed any more without taking vengeance, we will not.

The bulk of the oration is inoffensive enough. Beginning with a statement of respect and loyalty to American political and governmental institutions, it moves to a discussion of the persecution endured by the Church, identifying separated Church members as a significant class of persecutors. It includes a description of the temple under construction in Far West, one part of which is to be devoted to worship and the other to the education of the Saints. It is only in its closing moments that the oration becomes extreme. Proclaiming that persecution will be no more endured, it declares that henceforth when a mob disturbs the Saints,

it shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them, till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us; for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses, and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed.

The text of the oration is reprinted in James H. Hunt's *Mormonism: Embracing the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Sect* (St. Louis, 1844), pp. 167-80.

ICHi, MH, UPB, USIC

43. David White Rogers.

A collection of sacred hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints. Selected and published by David W. Rogers.

New-York: C. Vinten, Printer, 63 Vesey-Street, 1838.

iv[5]-118, ix pp. 10 cm.

David W. Rogers, a New York chair maker, came into contact with the Mormons in the winter of 1837-38 while Parley P. Pratt was proselytizing in New York City, and outfitted a room for a meeting place for the little congregation of New York Saints. On Christmas Day, 1837, Rogers was baptized into the Church by Parley P. Pratt. And in November, 1838, he traveled to Quincy, Illinois, meeting the first groups of Mormon refugees from Missouri. During

the next six months Rogers involved himself in the negotiations to purchase land in Illinois and Iowa, assisted the Saints—including Parley Pratt's family—to move from Missouri, and carried messages to Joseph Smith in Liberty Jail. Rogers settled with the Saints in Nauvoo; and when the Mormons began vacating the city in 1846, he remained to assist in the city's defense. In 1850 he emigrated to Utah, establishing his home in Provo. Rogers served a mission for the Church in Canada in the mid-1850s, and in 1873 he was ordained a patriarch. On September 21, 1881, David Rogers died in Provo, thirteen days before his ninety-fourth birthday.¹⁰³

Hymnals were always in short supply, particularly in the outlying branches of the Church, so it is not surprising that Rogers, a man apparently of some means, would undertake to publish one for the New York Saints. According to Rogers's dedicatory hymn, the idea of the hymnal came to him in a dream.

Rogers's hymnal clearly shows the influence of the 1835 Emma Smith hymnal. The preface is verbatim that of the 1835 hymnal, and forty-nine of the eighty-nine hymns comprising Rogers's collection are taken from the 1835 hymnal. (Rogers's hymns are numbered 1 through 90, with "Awake, O Ye People" appearing twice as no. 7 and no. 51.) Five of the remaining forty hymns are from Parley Pratt's *The Millennium, a Poem* (Boston, 1835) (Item 17). Twenty-four others are clearly of Latter-day Saint authorship: in addition to the dedicatory hymn (no. 90) written by Rogers and signed "DWR," thirteen are signed with the initials "DW," eight with "RB," and two with "EC." DW, RB, and EC have not been identified; it is possible that these initials represent only part of the names, and that DW, for example, is actually Rogers himself.

Unfortunately Rogers's initiative brought him difficulty. At the October, 1839, General Conference in Commerce, Illinois, it was resolved "that a new edition of Hymn Books be printed immediately, and that the one published by D. W. Rogers be utterly discarded by the Church."¹⁰⁴ Six months

¹⁰³Pratt, pp. 186, 245. Early Church Information File, Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City. "J.H.," 17 March 1839; 18 April 1839, p. 2; 4 September 1844; 19 May 1852, p. 1; 29 November 1855, p. 1; 6 October 1857; 31 May 1873. *The Provo Territorial Enquirer*, 1 October 1881, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴H.C., 4:14.

later, Thomas Grover presented charges against Rogers to the general conference, one of them "for compiling a hymn-book, and selling it as the one compiled and published by Sister Emma Smith." The next day Rogers's case was taken up, and it was resolved that he "be forgiven, and the hand of fellowship be continued towards him."¹⁰⁵

None of the hymns Rogers added to Mormon hymnody appear in the later authorized LDS hymnals, presumably the result of the official action taken at the October, 1839, General Conference.

CtY, DLC, MiU-C, USIC

44. Ephraim Owen, Jr.

Mormons. Memorial of Ephraim Owen, Jr., late of Green county, Indiana, now of Davis [sic] county, Missouri, asking of Congress to afford protection to the people called Mormons, in the enjoyment of their civil rights as citizens of the United States; and complaining of loss of property, &c. December 20, 1838. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed. [At head of title:] 25th Congress, 3d Session. Doc. No. 42. Ho. of Reps.

[Washington:] Thomas Allen, print., 1838.

5 pp. 23 cm.

Ephraim Owen was baptized into the Church by Reynolds Cahoon and Samuel H. Smith in Green County, Indiana, September 4, 1831, during the missionary journey appointed to these two elders by the August 12, 1831, revelation to Joseph Smith (Section 61:31-35). Owen remained in Indiana with a small branch of Saints until he moved to Missouri in June, 1838, one of the first Mormon settlers in Daviess County. He was involved in the difficulties in Daviess to the extent that Adam Black identified him as one of the group of Mormons who had ridden up and conferred with Black at his house August 8, 1838. Moving with the Mormon refugees into Illinois, Owen read a paper of his—conceivably a version of his memorial—at a meeting in Quincy, Illinois,

¹⁰⁵H.C., 4:105-6.

March 9, 1839, convened to solicit aid for the emigrating Saints. At the general conference of the Church at Commerce, Illinois, October 5, 1839, it was "voted that Ephraim Owen's confession, for disobeying the word of wisdom be accepted." A month later Owen and many others presented claims for their losses in Missouri, his amounting to \$5,711.18. At this point Ephraim Owen seems to fade from view, no mention of him appearing in Church records subsequent to 1839.¹⁰⁶

Owen's memorial is a curious document, apparently an independent and individual effort. Several other petitions and memorials were drawn up during this time, none of which seem to have involved Owen. For example, at a meeting of the high council and some of the Twelve Apostles in Far West, December 19, 1838, Edward Partridge and John Taylor were appointed to draft a petition "to the general government, and send it by mail."¹⁰⁷

The memorial deals with the difficulties in northern Missouri during the summer and fall of 1838. It asserts that initially the Mormon settlers were welcomed by the Missourians in Daviess County, but that after the election-day fight between Mormons and Missourians in Gallatin August 6, 1838, the Missourians moved their families out and began advertising that the Mormons were driving them from the county, causing considerable excitement on both sides. Peace was temporarily restored with the arrival of David R. Atchison and state militia. Following this, the memorial claims, the Missourians in Daviess began selling out to the Mormons, but stopped after word came that the Mormons had been driven out of Carrol County. The memorial briefly summarizes the events following the battle at Crooked River, culminating in the expulsion of the Mormons from the state. It estimates the Mormon loss at \$1,332,000, and in conclusion, calls for a congressional investigation and the restoration of Mormon rights.

CtY, CSmH, DLC, ICHi, ICN, MH, MoSHi, MWA, NjP, NN, OCIWHi, TxDaDF, UPB, USIC, WHi

¹⁰⁶"J.H.," 13 August 1831, p. 2; 19 November 1834; 28 August 1838; 9 March 1839; 5 October 1839; 29 November 1839, p. 12. E. Owen, Jr., *Mormons. Memorial* . . . [Washington, 1838]. *H.C.*, 3:64, 275.

¹⁰⁷*H.C.*, 3:240-41.

45. Francis Gladden Bishop.

A brief history of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints, from their rise until the present time; containing an account of, and showing the cause of their sufferings in the state of Missouri, in the years 1833-38. And likewise a summary view of their religious faith. By Francis G. Bishop, a minister of the order.

Salem [No. Carolina]: Printed by Blum & Son, 1839.

14[1] pp. 18 cm.

Baptized and ordained an elder in the Church July 2, 1832, Francis Gladden Bishop immediately began traveling and preaching in the eastern states and Canada. In February, 1836, he was among those chosen for the Second Quorum of Seventies, and by 1840 he had preached the gospel in fourteen states and baptized 123 into the Church. Bishop is mainly remembered, however, for his schismatic activities. As early as 1835 he was temporarily disfellowshipped for teaching erroneous doctrine; and in March, 1842, he was "removed from fellowship" for receiving his own revelations. Little is known about Bishop during the next six years. In 1848, however, he had some contact with James J. Strang; and about 1850 he began organizing his own little church in the Kirtland area and publishing in its behalf. Although he did not personally visit Utah, he was successful in attracting a small following there, bringing upon himself the anathemas of Brigham Young and Parley Pratt from the Salt Lake pulpit in March, 1853. Eventually Bishop gathered a group of followers in Iowa, where he presumably died sometime before 1878.¹⁰⁸

In a letter dated February 4, 1840, Bishop describes the events surrounding the writing of his pamphlet. Commenting that he had been preaching for two years in Virginia and North Carolina, he explains,

When in North Carolina, a most unwarranted and unparalleled persecution was raging against the saints in Missouri, meanwhile misrepresentations touching the troubles in Missouri and our faith were spreading in every direction through

¹⁰⁸H.C., 2:241, 285; 4:550. T.S. 1(March 1840):77-78. Brigham Young et al., *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London, 1885-86), 1:181-86. Dale Morgan, "A Bibliography of the Churches of the Dispersion," *Western Humanities Review* 7(1953), 255-66.

the papers of the day and by letters from hostile Missourians. . . . It was during this that I published a small pamphlet, for the purpose of correcting the misrepresentations, which had prejudiced the public against the Latter Day Saints, and then circulated this pamphlet gratis by mail in almost every direction, this had the desired effect for as the pamphlet circulated prejudice and hostile feelings seemed to abate on every side, as I had no means of obtaining all the particulars of the Missouri persecuion, but few particulars are in the pamphlet, and as it was extremely difficult to obtain confirmed facts, likewise in it are some few mistakes, but I believe nothing of any particular consequence.¹⁰⁹

Even though the Library of Congress catalogues the place of publication as Salem, Massachusetts, Bishop's presence in North Carolina and the name of the printer on the title page make it clear that the pamphlet was printed by John Christian Blum in Salem, North Carolina.¹¹⁰ Generally a propaganda piece, the pamphlet begins with an overview of the Mormon experience in Jackson and Clay counties, briefly describes the settling of Caldwell County, and then presents a condensed and somewhat garbled account of the conflict between the Mormons and the Missourians in Daviess and Caldwell counties. Bishop describes the Haun's Mill massacre, for example, as occurring on "Splawns creek" and involving a company of Saints traveling to the interior of the state, with thirty-five Mormons killed in the encounter! The text concludes with a summary of Latter-day Saint beliefs. A poem, "The Murder in Missouri," occupies pages 13 and 14; and on the recto of the leaf following page 14 appears a notice that Bishop intends to publish a small work entitled *A Scriptural Illustration of the Peculiarities of the Religious Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Also a Choice Selection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs*.

DLC

46. Benjamin C. Elsworth.

A collection of sacred hymns, for the Church of Christ of the Latter Day Saints. Selected and published by Benjamin C. Elsworth.

¹⁰⁹T.S. 1 (March 1840):78.

¹¹⁰Mary Barrow Owen, *Old Salem North Carolina* [Winston-Salem, 1946], p. 118.

[N.p.:] Printed for the publisher, 1839.

iv[5]-152, vii pp. 10.5 cm.

Little appears recoverable about Benjamin C. Elsworth. On November 16, 1836, presumably soon after his baptism, he was ordained a teacher by John E. Page at a conference at South Crosby, twenty-five miles north of Kingston, Canada. Fifteen months later in Kirtland he was ordained a member of the Second Quorum of Seventies. It would seem that most of Elsworth's life in the Church was spent in eastern New York. In a letter to the editors of the *Times and Seasons* written from Palermo, Oswego County, New York, October 18, 1840, Elsworth indicates that he had been laboring in that area and had baptized 100 or so during the preceding year. At a conference in Port Ontario, Oswego County, New York, March 14, 1841, Elsworth was charged with some undisclosed offense, and the charge sustained. Yet when those appointed to serve in the various missions of the Church were listed in the April 15, 1844, issue of the *Times and Seasons*, he was among those assigned to New York. One year later, however, Elsworth was excommunicated from the Church. Following his excommunication he joined James J. Strang, rising to the office of apostle in Strang's church. But in October, 1847, Elsworth was excommunicated from the Strangite church "for teaching and practicing the spiritual wife system."¹¹¹

Since Elsworth is known to have been laboring in the vicinity of Oswego County, New York, during the latter part of 1839, it is probable that his hymnal was published in that area. In 1840 an edition of Parley Pratt's *History of the Late Persecution* was printed at the office of the *Oswego County Democrat* in Mexico, Oswego County, New York; and it is conceivable that Elsworth's hymnal was printed there also.

Elsworth's hymnal is almost totally based on the two earlier ones. Again the preface is verbatim that of the 1835 hymnal. Elsworth's collection contains 112 hymns in all, 88 from David W. Rogers's hymnal (the only hymn in Rogers's collection that Elsworth does not include is Rogers's own

¹¹¹M.A., pp. 446-47. "J.H.," 13 February 1838, 18 October 1840, 14 March 1841, 15 April 1844, 5 January 1847. T.S. 2(15 November 1840): 219-20. "Record of the Seventies, Book A (2nd Quorum)," p. 20; MS, USIC. F. Henry Edwards, *History of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints*, 6 vols. (Independence, Mo., n.d.), 3:41-42, 44.

dedicatory hymn), and 17 others from the 1835 hymnal. Of the remaining 7 hymns, 4 are published in the *Messenger and Advocate*, 1 is a part of Parley Pratt's "Millennium" that appears in the *Voice of Warning* (1837), page 121, and 2 are standard protestant hymns. Interestingly enough, the two protestant hymns, Charles Wesley's "Come Let Us Anew Our Journey Pursue," and "Farewell, All Earthly Honors I Bid," are maintained in the current LDS hymnal.

CtY, MoInRC, USlC

47. Orson Hyde.

A timely warning to the people of England, of every sect and denomination, and to every individual into whose hands it may fall. By an Elder of the Church of Latter Day Saints, late from America. Preston, 19th August, 1837. [Dated at end:] May 4th, 1839.

Manchester: Reprinted by W. R. Thomas, Spring-Gardens, [1839].

Broadside 50 x 38 cm. In three columns, enclosed in an ornamental border.

A Timely Warning is a revision of Orson Hyde's *Prophetic Warning* published in 1836 (Item 29). The two are virtually identical for the first half of the text. In the second half, *A Timely Warning* eliminates the references to the more morbid occurrences predicted for the last days and is less severe in condemning the sectarian clergy, but adds a comment on the clergy's tendency to cry "false teachers" at the Latter-day Saint elders without seriously considering their claims. And unlike *A Prophetic Warning*, *A Timely Warning* clearly identifies itself as a Latter-day Saint tract.

This broadside, published a year after Orson Hyde returned to the United States from the first British mission, suggests that there was an earlier British edition of *A Timely Warning*. The title is dated Preston, August 19, 1837 (a month after Hyde first arrived in England), and the colophon reads: "Reprinted by W. R. Thomas." (italics added). No copy of an 1837 English edition, however, has been found.

Two later English editions of *A Timely Warning* are extant, one a Manchester broadside printed in 1840, and the

other an eight-page pamphlet printed in Orford-Hill in the early 1840s.

USIC

48. John Portineus Greene.

Facts relative to the expulsion of the Mormons or Latter Day Saints, from the state of Missouri, under the "exterminating order." By John P. Greene, an authorised representative of the Mormons.

Cincinnati: Printed by R. P. Brooks, 1839.

iv[5]-43 pp. 21.3 cm.

49. John Portineus Greene.

Facts relative to the expulsion of the Mormons from the state of Missouri, under the "exterminating order." By John P. Greene, an authorised representative of the Mormons.

Cincinnati: Printed by R. P. Brooks, 1839.

iv[5]-43 pp. 21.3 cm.

At a conference of the Church held in Quincy, Illinois, May 6, 1839, John P. Greene, a brother-in-law of Brigham Young, and a prominent elder, was appointed to go to New York City and preside over the Church in that area. In addition, he was commissioned to publicize the Mormon expulsion from Missouri and to collect funds for the relief of the destitute Saints. A month later Greene departed on this mission, and as a part of his campaign to publicize the plight of the Saints, he published his *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons*.¹¹²

The two states of this pamphlet were printed from the same type setup, with a few insignificant internal differences in addition to the change in title. For example, the fourth page is numbered *v* in the first state (Item 48) and *iv* in the second state (Item 49); the word *Vide* at the bottom of page 11 in the second state appears as *Vdie* in the first; and the phrase *at a* in the first line of page 43 in the first

¹¹²H.C., 3:347. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1901-36), 2:633-36.

state reads *a ta* in the second. So it is not clear which is the earlier state. The two are also arranged differently in signatures: the first collates A-C⁶, D⁴, and the second collates [A]-E⁴, F². Both states were originally issued in paper wrappers; in the first state the title page is reprinted within a border on the front wrapper while in the second the wrapper is plain.

It appears that the pamphlet was printed late in June or in July, 1839. Greene had sent copies back to Quincy by August 5, and the pamphlet includes a resume of a meeting in Cincinnati that he addressed June 24, 1839.¹¹³

Greene's *Facts* is a fundamental source, for it contains primary documents relating to the Mormon difficulties in Missouri as well as Greene's own firsthand observations. The principal part of the pamphlet consists of the "Memorial to the Legislature of Missouri," signed by Edward Partridge, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Theodore Turley, Isaac Morley, George W. Harris, John Murdock, and John M. Burk, December 10, 1838, with a considerable number of annotations by Greene. This memorial is a summary of the Mormons' experiences in Missouri, beginning with Jackson County, and emphasizing, of course, their mistreatment at the hands of the Missourians. It was presented by John Corrill to the Missouri House of Representatives on December 19, 1838, evoking considerable debate in the House.¹¹⁴ Adding detail and examples to the events summarized in the memorial, Greene's annotations comprise 60 percent of the pamphlet, and include, for instance, Joseph Young's account of the Haun's Mill massacre, Governor Boggs's extermination order, General Clark's November 6, 1838, speech, and the petitions of Caleb Baldwin, Lyman Wight, Joseph Smith, Alexander McRae, and Hyrum Smith to Judge Tompkins, March 15, 1839. (Three or four years ago the original manuscript of Joseph Young's account turned up among the effects of Evan M. Greene, oldest son of John P. Greene, and is now owned by a private collector in California.)

Item 48. CSmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, ICN, IHi, MiU-C, MoSHi, MWA, NN, TxDaDF, USIC, WHi

¹¹³F. D. Richards to Phineas and Wealthy Richards, Quincy, Ill., 5 August 1839; MS, UPB.

¹¹⁴H.C., 3:238-40.

Item 49: CtY, ICHi, IHi, MB, MH, NN, MoHi, OClWHi, UPB, USIC, UU

50. John Taylor.

A short account of the murders, robberies [sic], burnings, thefts, and other outrages committed by the mob and militia of the state of Missouri, upon the Latter Day Saints. The persecutions they have endured for their religion, and their banishment from that state by the authorities thereof. By John Taylor, Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints. [Caption title.]

[Springfield, Ill., 1839.]

8 pp. 25.5 cm.

John Taylor (the third President of the Church) and Wilford Woodruff left Nauvoo August 8, 1839, enroute to their mission in the British Isles. At Macomb, Illinois, they were joined by Zebedee Coltrin and there the brethren were given a horse and a saddle. On August 16 the three reached Springfield, Illinois, where John Taylor engaged the printing of 1,500 copies of his *Short Account*. Four days later Elder Taylor sold the horse and saddle to pay the printer, and the three elders continued their journey eastward. Some of the pamphlets were given to Coltrin to sell, the earnings to be used to support Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Woodruff while their husbands were in Europe.¹¹⁵

John Taylor's pamphlet is important because it is the statement of a participant, a fact established in the opening paragraph. After outlining the election-day fracas in Gallatin, the pamphlet describes the encounter with Adam Black and prints Black's affidavit, which John Taylor claims he had before him at the time of writing. It further charges that Black himself incited anti-Mormon excitement because he coveted Mormon property. The events leading up to the destruction of the Mormon colony at DeWitt, which John Taylor witnessed, are related in detail. After summarizing the anti-Mormon activity in Daviess County and the battle at Crooked River, the pamphlet describes the Haun's Mill

¹¹⁵"Diary of Wilford Woodruff," 8-20 August 1839; MS, USIC. B. H. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor* (Salt Lake City, 1892), pp. 67-69.

massacre, the coming of the militia to Far West, the Mormon surrender, and the subsequent depredations of the mob. And it concludes with General Clark's speech to the Far West Saints November 6, 1838.

A note at the end explains that the account was written at the request of the editor of the *St. Louis Gazette*, but that after he refused to print it, John Taylor elected to publish it himself in pamphlet form.

CSmH, MH, USlC

51. Parley Parker Pratt.

History of the late persecution inflicted by the state of Missouri upon the Mormons, in which ten thousand American citizens were robbed, plundered, and driven from the state, and many others imprisoned, martyred, &c. for their religion, and all this by military force, by order of the executive. By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. Written during eight months imprisonment in that state

Detroit: Dawson & Bates, Printers, 1839.

v[7]-84 pp. 18.6 cm.

For eight months following the surrender of the Mormons at Far West, Parley Pratt languished in Richmond and Columbia jails before finally escaping on July 4, 1839. During this time he devoted himself to composing an account of the Mormon sufferings in Missouri. Writing to his wife, Mary Ann Pratt, from Columbia, June 8, 1839, Parley explains,

I am now finishing the journal of my life and sufferings, beginning where I left off when you took the writings away with you last winter. If I stay here long I want These writings in order to prepare them and those I am now writing for publication. I intend when I am set at liberty, to make the publication of my journal, with the history of all our sufferings the first business of my life. for I Intend the world shall know the unparalleled proseedings of this State. for thank God I begin already to enjoy the Liberty to speak and write, a priviledge which relieves my full heart like the steem blowing from an over charged boiler.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶Parley Pratt to Mary Ann Pratt, Columbia, 8 June 1838; MS, USlC.

The writings Mary Ann Pratt took away the preceding winter were a part of the manuscript that Parley and Mary Ann smuggled out of Richmond Jail while she was staying with him there. As Parley describes it in the pamphlet (pp. 66-68), the guards were aware of his writing, and he feared that they were about to search the cell and confiscate the manuscript. At this point Mary Ann and her six-year-old daughter, Mary Ann Stearns, were ascending the ladder from the dungeon below the cell when the trapdoor in the cell floor fell, hurting the child slightly and causing her to scream and cry. Seizing the opportunity, Parley cried out to the guards that his little girl was dreadfully injured. And with the manuscript secured under her dress and her daughter in her arms, Mary Ann Pratt rushed past the baffled guards amidst the wails of the injured child and the shouts of the anxious parents.

Eight weeks after his escape Parley left Nauvoo for his mission with the Twelve Apostles in England. About the first of October he reached Detroit, where he remained with his parents for two weeks. During this stay in Detroit he published his *History of the Late Persecution*, bringing it out of the press October 10, 1839.¹¹⁷

Parley Pratt was among the Missouri Saints expelled from Jackson County, fought at Crooked River, and was one of six Church leaders taken captive at the surrender of the Saints at Far West. Thus his *History of the Late Persecution* is indispensable to a study of the Missouri phase of Mormonism.

After a bit of editorializing in the preface (pp. [iii]-v), the pamphlet takes up the Mormon conflict in Jackson County at the destruction of the *Star* office, rehearses the events leading up to the expulsion of the Saints, and touchingly describes their exodus into Clay County. It then moves to the celebration of the fourth of July, 1838, at Far West, which Parley describes approvingly, and recounts the events in Caldwell and Daviess counties which ended in the expulsion of Saints from the state. The pamphlet includes detailed accounts of the treatment of the Mormon prisoners, their trial before Austin A. King, and Parley's subsequent prison experiences, concluding with his harrowing escape from Columbia Jail.

¹¹⁷T.S. 1 (January 1840):43. Pratt, *Autobiography*, pp. 323-26.

History of the Late Persecution was twice reprinted in 1840: in Mexico, New York, as a forty-page pamphlet under the same title; and in New York City as a hardback entitled *Late Persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints*.

CtY, USIC

In November, 1839, the first regular issue of the *Times and Seasons* came off the press in Nauvoo, Illinois, marking the beginning of what might be considered from a bibliographical point of view the Nauvoo period of Mormon history: November 1839—December 1847. This era witnessed a veritable explosion of Mormon writing that produced some of Mormondom's most fascinating books. These books are the subject of a subsequent article.



Frederick G. Williams, a photograph of a painting by courtesy of the Historical Department of the Church.