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Sources on the History of the Mormons in Ohio: 1830-38

(Located East of the Mississippi)

STANLEY B. KIMBALL*

This study of the source materials on the Mormon Ohio period restricts itself almost exclusively to sources located east of the Mississippi. For a fairly comprehensive listing of source materials found west of the Mississippi, especially in Utah and California, the reader should consult Max E. Parkin's 1966 study, *Conflict at Kirtland*. For an extensive list of all kinds of printed primary and secondary sources he should also see Eva L. Pancoast's 1929 thesis, "Mormons at Kirtland," and Robert Kent Fielding's 1957 dissertation, "The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," as well as Parkin.¹

The following analysis is based largely on materials discovered by sending out more than 350 letters to individuals and institutions—especially to institutions listed in *A Directory of*

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¹Parkin, *Conflict at Kirtland*, Salt Lake City, 1966 (privately reproduced in mimeograph form), this study was originally a 1966 M.A. thesis at Brigham Young University titled "The Nature and Cause of Internal and External Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838"; Pancoast, "Mormons at Kirtland," unpublished M.A. thesis, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, 1929; Fielding, "The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1957.

Information Resources in the United States, Historical Societies and Agencies in the U.S. and Canada, National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections, A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States, and Subject Collections plus many personal friends and contacts.

One hundred and forty-three responses were received containing information about a great variety of items held in seventeen collections, mainly in Ohio. Though few in number the documents discovered are important, for most have not been utilized heretofore, and many may have been unknown.² I would like to think that this listing will encourage further and deeper study of this germinal period of Mormon history.

My material on contemporary newspapers is based on information found in the *Union List of Newspapers*, Edwin Alden & Bro.'s *American Newspaper Catalogue*, and *Newspapers on Microfilm*.

This study does not concern itself with one very important body of primary sources—Mormon imprints of the Kirtland era. These materials, including such books as *The Book of Doctrine and Covenants*, and the newspapers—the *Elders' Journal*, the *Evening and Morning Star*, *Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, and *Northern Times*—deserve a separate study, which will be taken up in the next Institute of Mormon Studies issue on the Ohio period (*BYU Studies* 11:4, Summer 1972).

One or two comments on the geography of the area may be helpful. Kirtland is in the old Western Reserve, an eight-county area of northeastern Ohio. Up to 1840 most of the places connected with the Mormons were in Geauga and Portage counties. In 1840 Lake County was cut off Geauga County and, as will be evident from the following information, many important documents are today in Lake County. One other oddity, while

²In addition to the studies cited elsewhere in this article, the following are recommended: Livingston Wright, "The First Shrine of Mormonism," *Ohio Magazine*, 1 (1906), 164-166; William J. McNiff, "The Kirtland Phase of Mormonism," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 50 (1941), 261-268; Willis Thornton, "Gentile and Saint at Kirtland," *Ohio Historical Quarterly*, 63 (1954), 8-33; R. Kent Fielding, "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland, Ohio," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 27 (October 1959), 331-356; and Max H. Parkin, "Mormon Political Involvement in Ohio," *BYU Studies*, 9:4 (Summer 1969), 484-502. Although little effort has been made to list printed primary source materials, special mention should be made to Eber D. Howe, *Autobiography and Recollections of a Pioneer Printer*, (Painesville, Ohio: Telegraph Steam Printing House, 1878) and C. G. Crary, *Pioneer and Personal Reminiscences* (Marshalltown, Iowa: Marshall Printing Co., 1893), both of which are larded with references to the Mormons in Kirtland.

Kirtland is today in Geauga County, Kirtland Township is in Lake County.

I. LETTERS

In the Lake County Historical Society (Mentor, Ohio) there are three letters: (1) Priscilla Martin, St. Albans, Ohio, August 15, 1836, to her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Whitney, Kirtland Mills, Ohio. The letter is mainly personal, but there is one reference to a

Mr. Kimball the man you requested to call on us was hear the 11th of July and I think he is a godly man he appeared as such hear he went up to see Phebe and preached in fayettsville and was much liked by them all Ben says it is the most reasonable preaching he ever heard on his return from there he came hear again and I think he was pennyless by his talk I washed a little for him and lent a little chang for he told me that god wod pay me four fold and left his blessing with me and prayed[?] with us and finely I felt myself more than payed when he left the house.

The addressee may be the same Samuel Whitney who was baptized a Mormon in October, 1835, in Kirtland and the "Mr. Kimball" may very well be Heber C. Kimball, who was on a mission from June to October of 1836.

(2) Stillman Perkins, Casenovia, [N.Y.], March 3, 1837, to Samuel Smith, Ashtabula, Ohio, regarding general business matters and containing the following information about Joseph Smith: "The receipt for the hundred dollars and the account of Joseph Smith for rent I have in my possession. You may inform me what you wish to do with them. . . . As near as I can find out about that account of Joseph Smith for rent there has nothing been done about it." The addressee probably is the brother of Joseph Smith.

(3) P.M. Hitchcock, n.p. [Painesville, Ohio?] February 14, 1884, to Mr. Hayden regarding the sender's father who tried to collect a debt from Joseph Smith by threatening "to levy on the temple." The writer records that Sidney Rigdon responded, "Allright let him sell the Temple. I don't think any but Mormons would buy it, and its true no one will take it away." The addressee is most likely Amos Sutton Hayden, author of *Early History of the Disciples of the Western Reserve*, Cincinnati, 1875.

Two Sidney Rigdon letters are at the Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland). (1) To any gentleman of business in Cleveland, Kirtland, Ohio, March 15, 1837, recommending "our much respected Citizen, Mr. Reuben Haddock who is desirous of obtaining articles to some account in the mercantile line as also provisions" (2) To John Crowel of Warren, Ohio, dated Nauvoo, Illinois, May 15, 1843, concerning the family troubles of a Mrs. Brooks who was apparently originally from Ohio and boarded with Rigdon's family in Nauvoo.

Among the A. C. Williams papers, c. 1888-1903, at the Western Reserve Historical Society are several letters from Arthur B. Deming, an ardent anti-Mormon of Painesville, Ohio. Deming was the son of Miner R. Deming, one-time sheriff of Hancock County, during the Mormon era in Illinois. According to correspondence with the Western Reserve Historical Society, "Apparently Deming was collecting statements from persons about Mormons. Included is one he had prepared for a Mrs. Hanson, once of Willoughby, Ohio, to sign, care of A. C. Williams. Mrs. Hanson was Williams's mother-in-law; also letters from the Rev. W. M. Paden, Salt Lake City, 1900, against the seating of Apostle Smoot in the U.S. Senate. Paden was of the Ministers' Association of Utah."

The Historical Society also has a letter from Willard Emery, Madison, Geauga County, Ohio, July 20, 1838, to his parents at Andover, New Hampshire. Emery had recently arrived in Ohio and was informing his parents of the journey. He reports that "We visited the great Mormon Temple that was built by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon two Mormon leaders. They profess to have revelations from the Lord and declared to the people all around that the Lord had given them the land all around in the vicinity of the Temple and that the fullness of the Gentiles should be brought in for their use and benefit."

Apparently he witnessed the July 6 exodus of the Kirtland Camp of Zion, the last group of Mormons to leave Kirtland for Missouri; for he records that, "A few days since between six and seven hundred more of them left with seventy loaded waggons and seventy cows, all started in one day together for the promised land."

The Library of Congress has a small group of Albert Brown Papers, consisting of ten items (1831-53) which are chiefly letters to his relative Amos L. Underwood concerning the diffi-

culties of the Mormons in Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa. Brown, a high priest and a member of Zion's Camp, followed Brigham Young west to Utah.

II. DIARIES, JOURNALS, AND REMINISCENCES

The Library of Congress has thirteen boxes of 468 manuscripts made by the Works Project Administration's Historical Records Survey during 1935-37. A twenty-five page inventory by an unknown compiler of these manuscripts gives the titles, date, and place of transcription and initials of the transcriber, but the brief titles make it difficult to determine which would contain information on Ohio.

The Library of Hiram College (Hiram, Ohio) has several manuscripts: (1) A five-page typescript, "Short History of the Foundation of the Mormon church based on personal memories and facts collected by Hartwell Ryder, Hiram, Ohio, at the Age of 80 years," copied by Minnie M. Ryder in 1903-04, from the manuscript written by her uncle, Hartwell Ryder. Hartwell was the son of Symonds Ryder, an apostate enemy of Joseph Smith and the alleged leader of an anti-Mormon mob at Hiram. The manuscript refers in general to the origin of the Church and to some early events in Hiram. Perhaps the most important part is the author's refutation that his father was the leader of the mob which tarred and feathered Joseph Smith at Hiram during March 1832; "for I can well remember that my father was sick in bed until late the next morning."

(2) A thirty-eight page typescript manuscript, "An Episode in the Thirties," by Abraham Garfield (son of James A. Garfield) in 1934. This manuscript was written "specifically for Uncle Joe." Presumably, therefore, it is based on the memories of his uncle, Joseph Rudolph, son of Zeb and Arabella Rudolph of Hiram. It is a well-written account of some alleged experiences of Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon when they first came to Hiram.

(3) A twelve-page typescript manuscript, "The Mormons in Portage County: 1830-1832," by Gerald V. Stamm dated March 15, 1939—an unimportant study based on secondary studies.

The Western Reserve Historical Society has a two-page statement by Lucia A. Goldsmith, of Painesville, Ohio, n.d. titled "Sidney Rigdon, the first Mormon Elder" but which concerns

mainly a critical account of the author's hearing Joseph Smith preach in the Kirtland Temple.

The same society also has a three-page statement (n.p., n.d.), "About the Mormons," written by a Mr. Fowles (father of B.C. Fowles of Russellville, Arkansas) who had been a shoemaker in Chardon (nine miles from Kirtland) during the Mormon era. Part of the document is thoroughly anti-Mormon, but Fowles does write the following favorable description of Joseph Smith:

Smith was a very fine looking man viewing him with full face—but not as good looking from a profile view. He was a hard worker, wrote considerable, enjoyed the fullest confidence of the sect. He was a very entertaining man—would interest an audience in a remarkable degree—and was quite popular with those who had dealing with him. He was close in money matters—would drive a sharp bargain—always having the *advantage* on his side. He was nevertheless a friend to the poor & needy & many a weary foot sore traveller has been the recipient of his bounty—He was temperate in his habits—rarely indisposed—and usually in an excellent humor.

About Brigham Young Fowles wrote:

Brigham Young was a young man when the Mormons were at Kirtland but remarkably intelligent.—He was quite handsome. Wore whiskers, while Smith was always closely shaved. He was considered one of the very ablest in the sect, in fact I heard it stated at the time that he was the best preacher.

The Lake County Historical Society has a two-page statement by A. G. Riddle, n.d. n.p., regarding Judge Ruben Hitchcock and "the famous trial of the State vs. Joe Smith, for conspiring to murder [Grandison] Newell" in 1837.

III. COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP RECORDS

The most important primary sources east of the Mississippi are the *Record Books* and the *Execution Docket Books* of the Court of Common Pleas (1806-79), *Land Records*, *Deed Books* (1799-1839), and *Tax Duplicates* (1830-39) in the Geauga County Court House (Chardon, Ohio). They are invaluable for any understanding of the many and speculative land and business transactions which many Church leaders and members engaged in, the building of that "Zion," the United Order, diffi-

culties arising out of the question of whether Mormon leaders had the right to perform marriages, the Kirtland Safety Society, suits to collect debts, and various other civil disputes between Mormons and non-Mormons.³ The County Marriage Records (1805-51) are also important. (Brigham Young's marriage to his second wife, Mary Ann Angell, on Feb. 18, 1834 is recorded there for example.)

In the Lake County Court House (Painesville, Ohio), records of the Court of Common Pleas (Journal of entry, Document no. 60) tell the story of the February 1880 case between the LDS and RLDS churches for ownership of the Kirtland Temple. (The RLDS won.)

Of particular importance is the two-volume Kirtland *Township Minutes and Poll Book* for the period 1817-1838 and 1838-1846 which is located in the Lake County Historical Society. "The Mormons never were mentioned as a group. The only citings were the attempts to get rid of the community before it got started through Poor Laws and about 1837 when there was an obvious attempt with some success to enter local politics."⁴ Among the references to the Mormons in these volumes are the following:

On October 29, 1831, the families of Joseph, Hyrum, and William Smith were considered likely to become public wards and were to be asked to leave town by the Overseers of Poor. On January 13, 1831, the families of Sidney Rigdon and Doct. [?] Williams were put on the list of the Overseers of Poor.

On April 4, 1836, four tied local elections were recorded: Oliver Cowdery and Thomas W. Donovan for Clerk of Elections; Turner Shephard, Samuel Booth, and Frederick G. Williams for Overseers of Poor; Jerome Bump and Isaac Slamen for Constable; and, finally, Edward Gillett, Lory Holmes, Oliver Harman, Jr. for Fence Viewers. These four ties were decided by the casting of lots. The winners were Donovan, Shephard, Bump, Holmes, and Harman.

It is more than likely that the court houses of the several counties in the Kirtland area contain information about the Mormons, but one would almost have to search personally in their holdings to find it. Fortunately there is a typescript, "In-

³Perhaps the best analysis of these particular public records is contained in Fielding's dissertation.

⁴I am indebted to Mrs. M. A. Prusha of Chesterland, Ohio for this information regarding these minute books.

ventory of the county archives of Ohio," for each of four counties in the Kirtland area—Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake, and Trumbull.

IV. KIRTLAND SAFETY SOCIETY AND OTHER FINANCIAL RECORDS

The Chicago Historical Society owns the original Stock Ledger (and Index to the ledger) of the Kirtland Safety Society, on the fly leaf of which is written the following:

"Cleveland, Ohio, April 10, 1885

This Stock ledger has been secreted since the Bank failed in 1837 and was found by Arthur B. Deming (son of Gen. M. R. Deming under whose charge Joseph and Hiram Smith were killed by a mob in the Carthage Jail in Illinois June 27th, 1844) while securing evidence as to the true origin and early history of Mormonism." (Cf. Deming letters mentioned above.)

The ledger is 287 pages long and shows the entries for 200 persons including Joseph Smith, Emma Smith, Joseph Smith, Sr., Lucy Smith, Hyrum Smith, Jerusha Smith, Samuel H. Smith, George A. Smith, Brigham Young, Lorenzo Young, Erastus Snow, Lorenzo Snow, Heber C. Kimball, David Whitmer, Sidney Rigdon, Wilford Woodruff, Parley P. Pratt, Truman O. Angel, Reynolds Cahoon, Vinson Knight, Oliver Cowdery, Luke Johnson, and Elija Able, a negro convert.

This source has been little used, if at all, and throws much light on this complicated phase of Mormon history. Fielding, in his study, wrote "Details concerning the operation of the Bank are unknown. No records have been preserved, and all of the principal parties to it either say nothing, or, are very general in their accounts."⁵ And Parkin stated that "The amount of specie paid in was never disclosed, but most of the stock was paid in the form of land owned by stockholders which consisted of 180 charter members."⁶ One reason for the fact that this source is relatively unknown is that few would suppose such an item to be in Chicago.

This unique document deserves a study in itself. The following cursory analysis of this ledger reveals that the 200 individuals subscribed for various numbers of shares (from 3,000 to 5) with the face value of from \$150,000 to \$50 and paid for

⁵Fielding, "Growth of the Church," p. 191.

⁶Parkin, *Conflict at Kirtland*, p. 215. The ledger does not bear out the statement that the stock was paid for by land.

them in cash amounts varying from \$4,887.00 paid in by Joseph Smith to \$.52 by Alex Valier.

The grand totals eloquently reveal the inherent weakness of the project—200 persons subscribed to 79,420 shares worth at face value approximately \$3,854,000 at \$50 par value per share which was paid for with only \$20,725 in specie. Heber C. Kimball, for example, subscribed to \$50,000 worth of shares for only \$15 in cash. Other important Mormons paid in correspondingly small sums: Brigham Young, \$7.00; Lorenzo Snow, \$7.97; Wilford Woodruff, \$5.25; Erastus Snow, \$5.25. A few others, however, were able to come up with larger amounts: Parley P. Pratt, \$102.00; Hyrum Smith, \$169.00; Vinson Knight, \$262.00; Emma Smith, \$315.00; Joseph Smith, Sr., \$323.00; and W. J. Peterson, \$785.00.

The Journal of the Senate of the State of Ohio contains some new and valuable information regarding the Mormon efforts to secure a charter for the Kirtland Safety Society Bank. Until now about all we knew about such an attempt was through Joseph Smith who recorded early in November 1836, that Elder Orson Hyde was sent "to Columbus with a petition to the legislature of Ohio, for an act of incorporation," which "because we were 'Mormons' the legislature raised some frivolous excuse on which they refused to grant us those banking privileges they so freely granted to others."⁷ Fielding, who used both *The Journal of the Senate of the State of Ohio* and *The Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio* for that period could find no further information about this application.⁸

Apparently the Mormons tried again to secure a charter, for on February 10, 1837, the following amendment to a bill pertaining to the regulation of banks in Ohio was presented to the Ohio Senate:

Mr. Medary moved to amend the bill by adding the following as an additional section.

Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Benjamin Adams, Nehemiah Allen, Benjamin Bissel, Horace Kingsbury, Newel K. Whitney, Warren A. Cowdery, Hiram Smith, Oliver Cowdery, H. A. Sharp, and their associates, are hereby made a body corporate, under the name of the Kirtland Safety Society

⁷Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* . . . , 6 vols.: Introduction and notes by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City, 1902-12), 2:468.

⁸Fielding, *Growth of the Church*, pp. 162-206.

Bank, to be established in the town of Kirtland, in the county of Geauga, the capital stock of which, shall be three hundred thousand dollars; upon which question,

Mr. Medary called for the Yeas and Nays and they were ordered; when the same was taken and lost. Yeas 11, Nays 24. . . .⁹

The Ohio Historical Society has two exceedingly rare promissory notes. The first, dated September 1, 1837, for \$269.81 borrowed from the Bank of Geauga, Painesville, is signed by thirty-two men. Few extant documents bear so many signatures of so many important Mormons. Among the signers are Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, Brigham Young, Noah Packard, Josiah Butterfield, and Reynolds Cahoon. The failure of the Kirtland Bank undoubtedly occasioned the signing of this note.

The second promissory note signed by Hyrum Smith, dated Kirtland, January 30, 1838, is for \$20.16 "due Lewis Robbins . . . to be paid in Land . . . in the State of Missouri in Caldwell Co.," is good evidence that Missouri lands served as surety for notes contracted in Ohio.¹⁰

Of the many Kirtland Bank notes scattered throughout the country, some are located in the following repositories: The Dawes Memorial Library of Marietta College, (Marietta, Ohio) has a \$10.00 bank note dated March 1, 1837, signed by J. Smith, Jr., cashier and S. Rigdon, President. Yale University Library's Western Americana Collection has a \$1.00 banknote made out to Orson Pratt or bearer and signed by Joseph Smith, Jr., cashier and Sidney Rigdon, President. The Boston Public Library has a \$10.00 note, dated March 8, 1837, signed by Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and others. The Western Reserve Historical Society has one of the few complete sets of Kirtland Bank notes in denominations of one, two, three, five, ten, twenty, fifty, and one hundred dollars, all signed by various members of the Church, the majority bearing the names of Joseph Smith as cashier and Sidney Rigdon as president. Some, especially the three dollar ones, are overprinted so that Kirtland Safety Society Bank becomes the Kirtland Safe-

⁹*Journal of the Senate of the State of Ohio*, (Columbus, 1837), pp. 365-366. See also the *Painesville Telegraph*, February 24, 1837, which reports on the Senate sessions.

¹⁰These notes are described in detail by Kenneth W. Duckett, *Echoes* (the Association of the Ohio Historical Society), 2 (January 1963), 1.

ty Society anti-Banking Co.¹¹ The New York Public Library has a \$1.00 note in its William Berrian Collection.

V. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

In the Chicago Historical Society is a certificate of ordination certifying that, "Sylvester B. Stoddard has been received in to this church . . . and has been ordained an elder . . .," signed Joseph Smith, chairman, and F. G. Williams, clerk, Kirtland, Ohio, October 13, 1836. On the reverse side it is countersigned by Thomas Burdick, recording clerk. Stoddard later served in a bishopric in Nauvoo and as a missionary to Maine in 1844. He became embittered afterward, however, left the Church, and returned to Kirtland.

The Lake County Historical Society has various other important collections: census records, indexed cemetery records, genealogies and scrapbooks of Lake County families, and a large map collection. This society also has a deed regarding land which Joseph Smith sold to Samuel Whitney, Sr., dated April 10, 1837, Geauga County and signed by J. Smith, Jr., Emma Smith, Hyrum Smith, and V[inson] Knight.

Mr. D. W. Garber of Stockton, California, has a valuable collection of Jacob Myers papers.¹² Myers was a millwright who erected mills for the Mormons in various places, including Ohio. Included in these papers (which cover the period 1816-1856) is a "Patriarchal Blessing of Jacob Myers by Joseph Smith, Sr., dated at Kirtland, September 13, 1835. Mr. Garber also has a Kirtland Safety Society Bank note, dated February 10, 1837, and signed by J. Smith, Jr., and S. Rigdon.

The Ohio State Library has a huge collection of miscellaneous cemetery, census, family, bible, church, and marriage records for three counties in the Kirtland area—Cuyahoga, Lake, and Portage—which was brought together by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress has a collection of fifteen maps of Ohio for the period

¹¹Described in *Transactions of the Western Reserve Historical Society . . . Annual Report for 1922-23*, pp. 57-58. See also Robert R. Murray, "Mormon Money," *Lawyers Title News* (July 1967) and Lynn Glaser, "The Mormons' Anti-bank," *Numismatic News*, (January 1968).

¹²Since this collection is west of the Mississippi, it is somewhat out of place here. I first learned of it, however, when Mr. Garber still lived in Perrysville, Ohio, so I am including it.

1830-38 the study of which would be requisite to Mormon movements at that time.¹³

There is one letter at the Ohio Historical Society which gives some indication as to how suspect the Mormons were at times as they traveled between their two centers in Ohio and Missouri. (Joseph Smith, for example, crossed Illinois enroute to Missouri in 1831, 1832, and 1834.) Our attempts to preach to the Indians was particularly suspect during the 1832 troubles in Illinois with the Sac and Fox Indians and their chief, Black Hawk.

In June 1832, Joseph Antrim of Vermillion County, Illinois, wrote to his uncle and aunt in Pribble County, Ohio, about Black Hawk and the Mormons. In reference to the latter he wrote:

I will inform you that we have a new sort of people in our Country who call themselves mormanites the preach up that they righteous and they wicked should be separated & the were agoing to build a new Jerusalem away out in they plains meaning they grand frontier. . . . It is suspected that there new Jerusalem is a fort & and the themselves are brittish spies the have large ironbound boxes that is supposed to be loaded with guns and ammunition and also coffins that is loaded with the same. . . . The also tell the indians that the are the dissendant of the children of israel and that the shall be restored again that the lord will fight there battles for them. . . .

The reference to "brittish spies" is, of course, occasioned by the fact that during the War of 1812 Black Hawk fought for the British.

VI. THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

There appears to be little about the Mormons in Ohio in the National Archives. One possible source would be in the land entry records of the General Land Office or of the Post Office Department. A letter from Richard S. Maxwell, assistant director of the Social and Economic Records Division stated, "In order to make an effective search of the records it would be necessary to have more information, such as the names of Federal agencies that may have been involved with the Mormons, names of persons who contacted the Government or

¹³All students of this period of Mormon history should consult Edwin Scott Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York, 1962).

dates and subjects of events. Only a person thoroughly familiar with early Mormon history would be able to determine if our holding were pertinent to such a search.”

There may also be some reference to the Mormons in the United States District or Circuit Court of Ohio records contained in the Federal Records Center in Chicago. (Correspondence to date, however, has failed to locate anything.)

VII. NEWSPAPERS

During the time the Mormons were in Ohio there were at least 188 newspapers published by Mormons and non-Mormons in more than 70 communities. Of these 57 were published in 27 communities within a 75-mile radius of Kirtland—mainly in the old Western Reserve. (These figures do not include whatever newspapers were published in adjacent Pennsylvania—only 40 miles east of Kirtland.) A rough breakdown by distance is as follows:

- 0-10 miles: Kirtland, Chardon
- 11-20 miles: Painesville
- 21-30 miles: Jefferson, Mantua, Ravenna, Hudson, Cleveland
- 31-50 miles: Lorain, Elyria, Medina, Cuyahoga Falls, Warren, Ashtabula, Conneaut
- 51-70 miles: Sandusky, Huron, Milan, Norwalk, Wooster, Canton, Lisbon, Carrollton
- 71-75 miles: Millersburg, New Philadelphia, Wellsville.

Collectively this body of newspapers is a huge cache of primary sources. Since it is beyond the scope of this article to do much with these newspapers, I can only indicate to what extent they have been mined and suggest that there is yet much work to be done in Ohio newspapers. As the following table shows, Pancoast, Kent, and Parkin together cited only twenty of the more than fifty contemporary Ohio newspapers published within a seventy-five mile radius of Kirtland.

NEWSPAPER	NO. OF CITATIONS	YEARS
Ashtabula Journal	2	1830
Chardon Spectator	13	1832-35
Cincinnati Advertiser	1	1834
Cleveland Daily Gazette	2	1837
Cleveland Herald	1	1831
Cleveland Liberalist	1	1837
Cleveland Observer	1	1837

Dayton Democratic Herald	1	1838
Elders' Journal	5	1837-38
Evening and Morning Star	4	1832-34
Harrison Telegraph	1	1832
Messenger and Advocate	31	1834-37
Millennial Harbinger	3	1830-35
Northern Times	3	1835
Ohio Free Press	1	1836
Ohio Star	13	1831-32
Painesville Republican	5	1836-37
Painesville Telegraph	52	1830-38
Western Courier	1	1831
Western Hemisphere	1	1837

VIII. ARTIFACTS

In the Western Reserve Historical Society Museum there is a small iron safe which is supposed to be the safe which was used by the Kirtland Safety Society while it was in existence in 1836 and 1837. This safe is made of iron, decorated with large black knobs, stands on four wheels and measures 25x24x29 inches. The only marking on the safe is on the door-knob—it reads DELANO PATENT, N.Y.

A Jesse Delano (1780-1867) began a hardware store in 1815 and went into the manufacturing of iron-chests about 1825. The Kirtland Safety Society could have ordered this safe directly from New York, but it is much more likely that they secured it in nearby Cleveland. The only proof that this safe is indeed that of the Kirtland Safety Society is on p. 49 of the museum's "Museum Accession Book: Vol. 1, 1894-1924," where it is recorded, "One iron safe once owned in Kirtland, by Joseph Smith, the Prophet, donated Dec. 8, 1900 by Mrs. Charles Morely, Cleveland."

The same museum also has an oval shaped drop-leaf table of the Country Sheraton style (very fashionable at that time) which may have belonged to Joseph Smith in Kirtland. This was acquired by gift from Laurence H. Norton, 1941.

IX. VARIA, ESOTERICA, ETCETERA

This section is a potpourri of odds and ends which ought to be noted somewhere. The American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio, for example, has the following material regarding Professor Joshua Seixas who taught Hebrew in the Mormon "School of the Prophets" during 1836 in Kirtland. A three-page

typescript manuscript, "Joshua Seixas, Hebraist," by Rabbi D. de Sola Pool; an excerpt from a letter from N. Taylor Phillips to Mr. Robert S. Fletcher, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, dated September 20, 1933, regarding the former's published article on Seixas; and two pieces of correspondence between Lauritz G. Peterson of the LDS Church Historian's Office and Rabbi Malcolm H. Stern of Norfolk, Virginia, during May 1954.¹⁴

As is generally well known, the famous Rev. Solomon Spaulding "Manuscript Found," or "Manuscript Story," which for a season was considered to have been the source of the Book of Mormon, (a theory now discredited by all serious-minded students) is located in the library of Oberlin College. (This pertains to Ohio only because the president of Oberlin College discovered the manuscript while on vacation in Hawaii in 1844 and brought it back to his college, and because Spaulding wrote it while living at Conneaut, Ohio, during the years 1810-12.)

Lorenzo Snow, fifth president of the Mormon Church, was a student in the 1830s at Oberlin College, and the office of the College Archivist has an alumni file on him, but it contains no primary source materials, only correspondence from the 1930s on.¹⁵

The Library of Congress has a two-volume corrected typescript manuscript, William H. Whitsitt's "Sidney Rigdon, Real Founder of Mormonism, 1793-1876," which contains some pages pertinent to Ohio.

The drawings and photographs of the Kirtland Temple made in 1934 by the Department of Interior's Historic American Buildings Survey are also housed now in the Library of Congress. It is listed as HABS, measured drawings—17x28 inches, 22-25 Kirtland (Mormon) Temple, six sheets.¹⁶ The Library of the Department of the Interior itself has no documents on the Mormons in Ohio.

The original weathervane of the Nauvoo temple shaped in the form of a prone Angel Moroni, may have been in Cincin-

¹⁴See also Leroi C. Snow, "Who Was Professor Joshua Seixas," *Improvement Era*, (February, 1936), pp. 67-71.

¹⁵There is some information about both Lorenzo Snow and Joshua Seixas in Robert Samuel Fletcher's *A History of Oberlin College . . .*, (Oberlin, Ohio, 1943), pp. 222, 368-370.

¹⁶Most of these drawings were published in *The Architectural Forum*, (March, 1936).

nati, Ohio, for over one hundred years. This vane cannot be completely authenticated, but there is considerable evidence that the original was somehow acquired by the Salem Evangelical and Reformed Church of Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1867. This badly damaged figure has been replaced and the older one was acquired by Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. in 1968 and is now at Nauvoo, Illinois.

The Popular Cultural Center of Bowling Green, Ohio, has materials relating to the Utah Gospel Mission in an anti-Mormon movement in the 1900s. The Ohio Historical Society has a Thomas L. Strong letter, May 1853, Pleasant View, Utah, to James S. Elliott in Ohio, relating mostly to girls, but also giving prices of agriculture products.

Though hardly falling within the geographical limits of this study, it should be noted that the Genealogical Society of Salt Lake City, Utah, has an enormous collection of materials on Ohio (it takes thirty-one inches of thinner than normal catalogue cards to list them), many of which are primary. There is little evidence that anyone studying the Mormons in Ohio has really utilized this trove. (Unaccountably, this society, which has teams of full-time microfilmmers roaming the world, has copied most of the county records of Ohio except those counties near Kirtland—Ashtabula, Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake, Portage, and Trumbull. This anomaly is soon to be corrected.)

For a little comic relief, I would like to pass on the following. One of my correspondents advised me regarding the "Wyrick Holy Stones" discovered near Jackstown, Ohio, and currently at the Johnson-Humrickhouse Museum, Coshocton, Ohio, and stating that "These fraudulent artifacts are believed to be authentic by the Mormons." These interesting stones are indeed on view in this museum. It seems, however, that they are fakes planted around 1860 in a desperate effort by someone to prove that the mound-building Indians of Ohio were in some way connected with the lost ten tribes of Israel. The allegation that Mormons believe them to be authentic is gratuitous.¹⁷

¹⁷For a detailed account of the finding of these stones see E. O. Randall, "The Mound Builders and the Lost Tribes," *Ohio Historical Quarterly* 17 (April 1908), 208-218. Since the publication of the Book of Mormon, Mormons are usually credited with accepting any fact or fancy relating American Indians to the Old World. For a recent serious and related article see John H. Wittorf, "Joseph Smith and the Prehistoric Mound-Builders of Eastern North America," *Newsletters and Proceedings of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology*, (October 1970), 1-9.

X. NEGATIVE DOCUMENTATION

Among the many institutions which reported having nothing regarding the Mormons in Ohio were, rather surprisingly, the following sixteen. Except as mentioned above, there is apparently little or nothing in the National Archives. Furthermore, negative replies were received from the following institutions: Ohio Genealogical Society, Mansfield; Cleveland Public Library; The Shaker Historical Society, Shaker Heights, Ohio; Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland; Morely Library, Painesville, Ohio; Early Settlers Association, Cleveland; Ohio State University Libraries, Columbus; Ohio University, Athens; The State Library of Ohio, Columbus; Kent State University, Chardon; The Geauga County Historical Society, Burton (Kirtland is in this county);¹⁸ the Portage County Historical Society, Ravenna (Hiram is in this county); William L. Clements Library of Early Americana, University of Michigan; The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; The Archaeological Society of Ohio, Plain City; and the Smithsonian Institution.

¹⁸While this society has no primary sources, it has published a *Pioneer and General History of Geauga County* (Columbus, 1953) which does give some information about the Mormons in that area.