In Search of Zion: A Description of Early Mormon Millennial Utopianism as Revealed Through the Life of Edward Partridge

D. Brent Collette
Brigham Young University - Provo

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IN SEARCH OF ZION: A DESCRIPTION OF EARLY MORMON MILLENNIAL UTOPIANISM AS REVEALED THROUGH THE LIFE OF EDWARD PARTRIDGE

A Thesis
Presented to the Department of History Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts

by
B. Brent Collette
August 1977
This thesis by D. B. Collette is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Eugene E. Campbell
Eugene E. Campbell, Committee Chairman

Leonard Arrington, Committee Member

Date
July 19, 1977

Ted Warner, Department Chairman

Typed by: Verena Eastley
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Finally a special acknowledgement of appreciation should be given to the members of my family: parents and brothers, who have sacrificed so much for me, including the gift of a second opportunity to live;* and, a wife whose love, confidence, and patience make life beautiful and complete. To these special people that I love so much, go my thanks eternally.

*On May 18, 1971, my older brother, Craig donated one of his kidneys to me; this sacrifice allowed me to end a three year sojourn on an artificial kidney machine and begin a new life, with new perspectives and strengthened values.
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

America, the scene of Thomas More's sixteenth century book, *Utopia*, has long represented the envisionment of Utopian ideals and dreams. Early Americans felt a great sense of pride in their accomplishments, and more so, a sense of ambition and optimism in their future expectations. Harriet Martineau, author of *Society in America* (1837), observed that Americans "... have realized many things for which the rest of the civilized world is still struggling."  

It should also be noted that the Antebellum Era is often referred to as the Romantic Revolution in America,

... a period of extravagant youth, given over to a cult of romanticism that wrought as many marvels as Aaron's rod. In the South, in New England, and on the western frontier, it laid hold of men's minds, consuming the stubble of eighteenth-century harvest, sweeping away the drab realisms of a cautious past and offering in their stead more alluring ideals."

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2 Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, Ed. by Seymour Martin Lipset (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1962), p. 355. Harriet Martineau was a French writer who visited the United States in the mid-1830's. The original of this work was published in 1837.

Men had a vision of what they could attain—a vision of potential. The war for independence had been won and re-won. American ideals had asserted themselves in such a manner that they took on the credibility of religious doctrine, and America's destiny perceived as under "Divine Providence."

This attitude was reflected in a "dynamic optimism." Men not only realized the possibilities of attaining "the good life," but the aspirations of this era were so optimistic that the realization of perfection seemed only a matter of time. The scope of this philosophy was much larger than just the creation of an American utopia; the divine providence and destiny of America, it was believed, concerned all mankind. Here was to be created the model for the rest of the world. Americans viewed themselves as setting standards and ideals of freedom and human dignity which would inspire an image for other nations to follow.4

In 1831, anticipating and preparing for the advent of the Savior, the young enterprising Mormon Church undertook to establish a millennial utopia, known as "Zion," or "The New Jerusalem," in Jackson County, Missouri. The established Missourians, however, took violent exception to the Mormon intruders, who to them represented a threat to established social, economic, political and religious conventions. The result was a confrontation which forced the Mormons not only out of Jackson County, but eventually out of the then existing boundaries of the United States.

The Mormons were not particularly novel in their preparation for the millennium, nor unique in their attempt to create an ideal society to aid in its realization. This was an era replete with such attempts. Nor was the response of the Missourians against them particularly unique; many "would be" social utopias met with similar opposition and persecution. But rather, in many features this Mormon ordeal paralleled the experiences of numerous contemporary utopian schemes. This is particularly true in the efforts and sacrifices made by thousands who became "true believers" caught up in the excitement of the millennial fervor.

Many researchers have endeavored to analyze the features of Mormon utopianism as an institution. Here, the primary intent is to examine its effects on the life of a devoted adherent and principle administrator, Edward Partridge. As one of the first members of the Latter-day Saint faith, his life is a representation of the struggles, persecutions and sacrifices of early Mormon history. As a leader, he was the subject of many of the instructions and pronouncements of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, a volume of "revelations" cannonized by Mormondom. And as the first Bishop of the Church, he was specifically designated to administer the Mormon scheme for utopia, known as the Law of Consecration and Stewardship. He was, therefore, the first administrator of the Zion economic system under the Prophet, Joseph Smith, and as such much of his life is scenario of the

---

5Early editions of the *Doctrine and Covenants* were published under the title, *Book of Commandments*.
projects development and scope, revealing many definitive insights into this utopian scheme. His biography serves readily as a case study for exploring the compelling influence and transforming nature of the millennial fervor so prevalent during this era of American history.

Notwithstanding the significant role that Edward Partridge played as a shaper of Mormon history, the literature concerning his life is very sketchy and fragmented. As noted in the bibliography, he was the subject of numerous brief articles, and notes, and was mentioned in many journals kept by his contemporaries, but prior to this work no comprehensive biography had been completed.
Chapter 2

ESTABLISHED IN PAINESVILLE

When Mormonism found Edward Partridge, he was almost thirty-seven years old and a well-established hat manufacturer in Painesville, Ohio. Painesville was ideal for his business, far enough into the frontier to provide the needed fur trade, and yet close enough to the more populated centers for markets. The shores of Lake Erie were just two miles from the Partridge home, and provided the trade connections for both furs and products.

Edward had learned the hatter trade as an apprentice to a man named Governor who operated a hat shop near his home town of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. At age 20, having completed four years of apprenticeship, he went to New York and became a journeyman hatter to Asa Marvin. As the business expanded he entered a partnership with Mr. Marvin in establishing a new shop in Clinton, near Albany. Soon afterwards, again in the interests of expansion,

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Partridge moved to Painesville, to establish another shop. Partnership developed into ownership as he bought out the interests of his former employer and operated the Painesville factory on his own.  

His business was apparently very prosperous and allowed him to accumulate a handsome property. By 1830, in addition to his hat shop and tools, he had built a spacious home, a good barn, and owned two lots adjoining the public square, one of which was an orchard, and a third lot of twenty wooded acres on the outskirts of town.  

He had married Lydia Clisbee, who was also from Massachusetts, but following the death of her mother in 1814, she, three sisters and a brother had moved to Ohio to live near their mother's family. Her father remarried, but upon the failure of the second marriage, he also had settled in Ohio.  

By 1830 the Partridges had a family of five daughters all of whom had been born in their Painesville home. Eliza Maria, their eldest, was then ten years of age.  

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5 Ibid., pp. 2-3.  
Partridge was inclined to both universalism, \(^5\) and unitarianism, \(^6\) but followed his wife in 1828 in joining the Campbellite Church of "The Disciples" headed in northeastern Ohio by Sidney Rigdon. Rigdon's followers were styled "Rigdonites" by the unbelievers, but Lydia Partridge reflects on this time when Edward joined her as part of the "Rigdonites" as a period of "much happiness."\(^7\) To all outward appearances, the Partridge family seemed happy, prosperous and respected.

**Mormon Contact**

In the fall of 1830 four missionaries\(^8\) from the newly organized Mormon Church came through Painesville, Ohio, and called upon Edward Partridge. Their message was quite simple: Christ's Church had been restored to the earth through a contemporary prophet in preparation for the advent of the Savior. This message fit the general construction of millennialism and universal restoration of which Partridge had been an advocate. But to this skeptical Yankee businessman from Massachusetts, the reality of

\(^8\) Universalism is the belief that all souls will eventually find salvation in the grace of God.

\(^9\) Unitarianism rejects the doctrine of the Trinity and holds that God is a single being.

\(^10\) Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 5.

\(^11\) These four missionaries were part of what is known in Mormon history as the Lamanite Mission. It was composed of Parley P. Pratt, Ziba Peterson, Oliver Cowdery, and Peter Whitmer, Jr. For additional information see *Journal History*, Oct. 17, 1830.
such a phenomenon seemed just too improbable. Accordingly, his first response was to resist the new religion. He reported to the missionaries that, "he did not believe what they said, but believed them to be imposters." Oliver Cowdery, one of the four, said he was "thankful there was a God in heaven who knew the hearts of all men," and the four elders went their way. Later, Edward was touched by their message, and sent an employee to obtain a copy of the Book of Mormon, the reported scriptural proof of their pronouncements.

Not much is known about additional contact between the missionaries and the Partridgesc than to note that, like Edward and his family, Parley Pratt, one of the missionaries, had also been a Campbellite and knew their pastor, Sidney Rigdon. It is also known that the Elders preached before Rigdon's congregation, and it is quite likely that the Partridges were present. Several members, including Sidney Rigdon and Edward's wife, Lydia, were subsequently converted. Lydia recounted her conversion in these simple terms: "I was induced to believe for the reason

12 Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 5.
14 Sidney Rigdon was formerly a Baptist minister who joined with Alexander Campbell and Walter Scott in establishing the "Disciple" movement. Rigdon's congregation was located in Mentor, Ohio, near Painesville.
that I saw the Gospel in its plainness as it was in the New Testament, and I also knew that none of the sects of the day taught these things." She was subsequently baptised in the fall of 1830 by Parley P. Pratt.  

Investigating the Prophet Joseph Smith

Notwithstanding the conversion of his wife and his pastor to Mormonism, Partridge was rather cautious and refused to be baptised until he had met the man who claimed to be a prophet. It was with this intent that he proposed to make a winter's trek to New York.  

The new religion, in some respects, had taken Painesville and much of Northeastern Ohio, by storm. Many had accepted the restoration doctrine with open arms; others, like Partridge were cautious, some skeptical, and still others, even antagonistic. But regardless of one's personal stand, the new religion was the "talk of the region." When it was made known that Partridge intended to journey to New York and see Joseph Smith, many of his friends encouraged him in this venture and expressed an eagerness to learn of his appraisal. It also appears that Sidney Rigdon had a great deal of influence in persuading Partridge to make

16Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 5.
17History of the Church, 1, 128.
18Journal History, Nov. 15, 1830.
this winter trip, he desiring to meet the Prophet and receive a
heavenly directive. Accordingly, in early December 1830, Edward
Partridge and Sidney Rigdon embarked on their trek to New York to
investigate the Mormon leader.20

When they arrived in New York they went first to Manchester,
where the Smiths had labored to maintain a farm. By this time,
however, to avoid persecution Smith had fled from Manchester to
Harmony Pennsylvania, and then to Fayette, New York, where he had
established a small branch or congregation of the church.21

Notwithstanding the absence of Smith, as part of his
investigation, Partridge walked about their farm and according to
Lucy Mack Smith, mother of the Prophet, "observed the good order
and industry which it exhibited." He then called upon some of the
Smith's former neighbors and friends, who characterized the Smiths
as "unimpeachable" at least until they had been deceived by their
son, Joseph, and his story of a golden Bible.22

Partridge and Rigdon then journied to Fayette, arriving
in the evening of December 10, 1830.23 When they arrived, a
meeting was underway, with Joseph Smith speaking before a small

20History of the Church, I, 129.

21Lucy Mack Smith, History of Joseph Smith, with notes by
Preston Nibley (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Willis, Inc., pub-

22Ibid.

23At this time Smith was residing in Fayette, New York,
with Peter Whitmer, a close family friend. See History of the
Church, I, 169.
congregation. When he finished his discourse, "he gave all who had any remarks to make, the privilege of speaking." Partridge arose, introduced himself, and briefly disclosed the events and findings of his day. He recounted his conversations with the Smiths' former neighbors and friends and how he had found their honesty to be unquestioned except concerning religion.

"I believe your testimony," he said, "and I am ready to be baptized. If, Brother Joseph will baptize me."

"You are now," replied Joseph, "much fatigued, Brother Partridge, and you had better rest today and be baptized tomorrow."

"Just as Brother Joseph thinks best," replied Mr. Partridge. "I am ready at any time." 24

Accordingly, Edward Partridge was baptized the next day, December 11, 1830, by Joseph Smith, in Seneca River, Fayette, New York.

Called to the Ministry

It was customary among early Mormon adherents to seek personal directives from the Lord through their Prophet, Joseph Smith. Consequently, following his baptism, Partridge requested Smith to seek the mind and will of the Lord concerning him. The resulting instruction was recorded as the 36th section of the Doctrine and Covenants.

Thus saith the Lord God, the Mighty One of Israel:
Behold, I say unto you, my servant Edward, that you are blessed, and your sins are forgiven you, and you are called to preach my gospel as with the voice of a trumpet:
And I will lay my hand upon you by the hand of my servant Sidney Rigdon, and you shall receive my Spirit, the

Holy Ghost, even the Comforter, which shall teach you the peaceable things of the Kingdom:

And you shall declare it with a loud voice, saying:
Hosanna, blessed be the name of the most high God.

And now this calling and commandment give I unto you concerning all men--

That as many as shall come before my servants Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith, jun., embracing this calling and commandment, shall be ordained and sent forth to preach the everlasting gospel among the nations--

Crying repentance, saying: Save yourselves from this ungodly generation, and come forth out of the fire, hating even the garments spotted with the flesh.

And this commandment shall be given unto the elders of my church, that every man which will embrace it with singleness of heart may be ordained and sent forth, even as I have spoken.

I am Jesus Christ, the Son of God; wherefore, gird up your loins and I will suddenly come to my temple. Even so. Amen.25

In accordance with this directive, Partridge was confirmed a member of the "Church of Christ" and given the Holy Ghost by

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25 Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, Section 36. In addition to the admonition to preach the Gospel this section contains several doctrinal directives which are worthy of note:

1. The Lord here refers to himself as "the Mighty one of Israel," a title used by Isaiah when the Lord announces his intentions to avenge his enemies, purge Israel from iniquity, and restore the Judges, counselors and righteousness of the faithful city, with the indignation of his anger, and with the flame of a devouring fire, with scattering, and tempest, and hailstones.

2. There is also a very important doctrine of the church expressed here concerning the Lord instructing Edward Partridge that when an authorized servant, in this case Sidney Rigdon, performs a legal and authorized ordination or administration that it should be regarded as if the Lord himself had placed his hands upon one's head.

3. That through this procedure of laying on of hands, Edward Partridge would receive the Holy Ghost which would teach him the "peaceable things of the Kingdom."

4. That it was the obligation of all those who embraced the gospel to be ordained, preach the gospel and cry repentance among the nations.

5. The statement "Gird up your loins," which directs one to prepare for a journey, or for a work.

6. This is the first mention of temples in this dispensation.
Sidney Rigdon. Four days later, again, under the hands of Rigdon, Partridge was ordained an Elder, a Priesthood office, which, according to Mormons, enables a man to exercise the primary functions and administrations of the Church.

Smith was apparently very favorably impressed with Partridge and spoke of him as "a pattern of piety, and one of the Lord's great men." References concerning Smith are conspicuously missing in the Partridge papers; however, as a result of this trip and meeting with Joseph Smith, his doubts had been allayed and the testimony he had received in Painesville affirmed. Partridge would prove his confidence in this man, who was fully twelve years younger than himself, by the sacrifices and labors of the rest of his life.

Heritage of A Zion Builder

Many generalizations are applied to the utopian builders of the Antebellum Era who so boldly aligned themselves with the new religious schemes of the American frontier. Such terms as deluded fanatics, unstable transients and lazy visionaries are typical. They are also characterized as the lower class poor who were without family heritage or economic substance. But the life and character of Edward Partridge refutes such assertions.


27 See preface to Doctrine and Covenants, Section 35.

Edward Partridge was part of what may be termed an "old and established" family of colonial New England. The Partridge family traces their American genealogy back to William Partridge,\(^2^9\) who emigrated from Berwick\(^3^0\) in Scotland in 1640 and settled in Hatfield, Connecticut. Recalling that this was only twenty years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth,\(^3^1\) the Partridge Family definitely warrants the title "Old American."

William married Mary Smith in 1644 and a year later had a son named Samuel. At 22 years of age, Samuel married Whittscole Crow and began a career that would truly merit the "established" title for the family. They moved to Hatfield, Massachusetts in 1687 where he became the judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Probate Judge and Colonel of a Hatfield Regiment. They also had a family of eleven children which included a son named Edward, born in 1683.\(^3^2\)

Edward married Martha Williams in 1707 and among their three children was a son named Oliver born in 1712. Oliver graduated from Harvard College and became a member of the first Colonial Congress at Albany in 1765. He married Anna Williams,

\(^2^9\) Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 61. Spelling was changed from Partrigg to Partridge, by Samuel Partridge.

\(^3^0\) Berwick is a city on the English side of the Tweed River which separated England and Scotland.


\(^3^2\) Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 61.
the daughter of the Reverend William Williams of Weston, Massachusetts in 1734, and fathered thirteen children including Edward's father, William, born in 1753.33

The old and established title however was warranted from more than just the Partridge line. Edward's heritage included the royalty of England thorough his mother Jemima Bidwell. Her genealogy had been traced back through her great grandfather, John Haynes, the Colonial Governor of Connecticut (1639-1653), to King Edward III of England.34

Yet in spite of royalty, judges, and magistrates the most predominant characteristic of Edward's heritage is the preponderant number of ministers within the family. Edward's mother, Jemima was a daughter of the Reverend Adonijah Bidwell, a graduate from Yale in 1740,35 and the granddaughter of the Reverend Ebenizer Devotion, a graduate from Harvard in 1704. Jemima's mother, Naomi Taylor was the daughter of the Reverend Edward Taylor a graduate of Harvard in 1671. And Edward's grandmother, Anna Partridge, as already noted, was the daughter of the Reverend William Williams of Weston Massachusetts. This religious bent of the family also was carried into Edward's generation. His sister Emily married the Reverend J.W. Dow, and another sister, Mercy, married Samuel

33Ibid.
34Ibid., pp. 63-66.
Whitney with whom she went to the Sandwich Islands as a lifelong missionary.36

It was into this old and established New England family of apparent religious inclinations that Edward Partridge was born August 27, 1793, in Pittsfield, Birkshire County, Massachusetts.37 Yet, notwithstanding the established and staunch religious credo of his family, as Edward matured, he did not readily align himself with their religious tenets. In this light, his family must have regarded him as a religious maverick, for "he saw no beauty, calmness, or loveliness in the character of God as represented by the teachings of the various religious sects."38

In spite of this apparent rejection of the established denominations of his time, he did not reject or lose faith in the concept of a supreme being. He later reported to Joseph Smith that in his youth,

... the Spirit of the Lord strove with him a number of times, insomuch that his heart was made tender, and he went and wept; that sometimes he went silently and poured the effusions of his soul to God in prayer... 

Nevertheless, religion does not seem to have been the primary concern of young Partridge. He appears to be much more involved with learning a trade and establishing himself in a productive and profitable career.

37 Ibid., p. 63. See also "Patriarchal Blessing," Appendix X.
38 History of the Church, 1, 128.
39 Ibid.
Chapter 3

THE ZION IMPERATIVE

From its earliest conception the realization of "Zion" became a principle objective of Mormonism and its followers.  
"Zion" was the vision of a better world, "A land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey, upon which there . . . [would] . . . be no curse when the Lord cometh." This was to be the "ensign unto the people" of every nation under heaven, and the gathering place for those who wished to escape the calamities and destruction which were to befall the wicked in the latter days.

Adventism

In the Book of Mormon the Saints were told that a "Zion" empire was established among the ancient Americans following the Lord's visit to this continent. This utopia persisted for more than 150 years before its disintegration. But even more significant to this collection of early Mormons was the message found

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1 Doctrine and Covenants, Section 14:6.
2 Ibid., Section 38:18-20.
3 See Doctrine and Covenants, Section 63:32-36 and Section 64:41-43.
4 Joseph Smith, Jr., Book of Mormon, 4 Nephi v. 3.
within the Book of Mormon reporting that the New Jerusalem of the latter days would be located in America, and must be established before the Lord's second coming. This became an imperative upon the Saints.

This concept of adventism placed a sense of urgency upon their mission, and apparently, Edward Partridge was highly influenced by this belief. In an undated letter written to his family in Massachusetts, Partridge warned:

It is difficult to ascertain the precise age of the world to a year; but enough is recorded to show the careful examiner, that almost 6000 years have rolled away. Say 5990 odd, and yet most people appear to be in the dark upon this subject.

I know that many suppose that great destructions await the wicked before the commencement of the seventh thousand year, but they believe that time is about 160 years ahead. How this calculation ever came to be generally received, is a mystery to me, when the dates one put down from time to time in the bible so that anyone can make their own calculation. It appears to have been a trick of the devil intended to cheat this generation and lead them carefully down to hell.

This seems typical of the influence of adventism upon many of the early Mormon adherents. It was these concepts, perhaps more than any other factor, which became the primary motivator in the life of Edward Partridge. He had been given the vision of a better world, an idealistic utopia, and these great expectations provided the impulse and motivation for future directions. This is the key to understanding the events of the next several years.

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6 Letter, Edward Partridge to his family, undated, Salt Lake City, Church Archives, Partridge Manuscript File.
Mission to Massachusetts

Filled with the enthusiasm of his new found religion and the admonition to share it with others, Partridge set out to visit his family in Massachusetts. This journey and mission would prevent him from being home during Christmas, but he was convinced that he must convert his entire family to his new found religion.

His last visit to Massachusetts had been five years earlier when he and Lydia had brought the older children to visit their grandparents. Surely he hoped this visit would be as pleasant. His unexpected arrival was met with warm greetings and hospitality, but upon hearing of this conversion to Mormonism and his desire for them to follow him, his family and relatives concluded that he must be "deranged in his mind" in order to give himself over to such fanaticism and delusion. So convinced of his instability, to insure his safety, they arranged to have his younger brother, James Harvey Partridge, accompany him on his return trip to Ohio.

Such a cold rejection by family and relatives would dampen the enthusiasm of the ordinary convert, but to the true believer, adversity is an expected obstacle, overcome by more and more

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7 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 36:1.


9 During the next several days Partridge visited other family members living in the Massachusetts area. Among these was his grandfather, the Reverend Adonijah Bidwell, a Congregational pastor in Tyringham. He also turned a deaf ear to Edward's message. See Ranny journal, p. 5.

10 Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," pp. 5-6.
zealous efforts. Consequently, during the slow trek back to Fayette, Edward Partridge more fully recounted the message of the restoration to his younger brother and convinced him to join the Church also.11

The response of his family members was surely a bitter disappointment, but apparently did not dampen his resolve to share the gospel message with them. For the next several years he penned a series of letters in an attempt to persuade them to embrace the "restored church," as it was often called.12 During a mission to the eastern states in 1835, he again spent several days with his relatives, but still to no avail.13 With the apostasy of his brother, James, Edward was to be the only representative of the Partridge family to gather with the Mormons.14

12 Partridge Manuscript File, Folder #4.
13 Partridge Manuscript File, Folder #5.
14 There is some discrepancy in the records concerning the younger brother, James Harvey Partridge, accompanying Edward on this return trip. Lydia Partridge records that James accompanied Edward all the way to Painesville, Ohio, where he stayed with the Partridges for some time, and, she reports, "joined the church but never gathered with the Saints." Edward's daughter Eliza makes a similar report in her diary.

Other records, however, report that Edward returned to Fayette and then subsequently made the trip to Ohio with Joseph and Emma Smith, and Sidney Rigdon. No mention is made of James Harvey being with them at this time. However, it seems to be only a matter of simple omission through oversight. James Harvey, at best was insignificant to this episode. If he was baptized, he soon afterwards left the Church and returned east. It is therefore quite likely that Joseph Smith and others simply failed to make note of his accompaniment. On the other hand, the fact that one of Edward's brothers had spent some time in the Partridge home and had also joined the church, would be of great significance to Lydia and Eliza Partridge and become part of their records.
Gather to Ohio

In early January 1831 the church held a conference in Fayette. It is not known if Partridge returned from Massachusetts in time for this January conference, but he was there in time to learn the news that the church had been directed to gather to Ohio.

The church was then nine months old and boasted a membership of approximately 250 "Saints." They were divided into five separate branches, three of which were in Ohio: Kirtland, Mentor (near Painesville) and Harrensville. At this time there were only 15 elders including Edward Partridge.

John Whitmer had been sent by the Prophet to preside over the Kirtland Branch, but in mid December he had written Joseph requesting immediate assistance. It was subsequently announced at the January conference that the church would initially gather to Kirtland, Ohio. To Partridge, this must have been a pleasing development to have the Saints gather so near his home town of Painesville.

In response to this announcement, Joseph Smith and his wife, Emma, Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge began their trek to Ohio in the latter part of January. Upon their arrival they

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15 History of the Church, I, 140.
16 Doctrine and Covenants, Section 37:1.
17 Partridge Manuscript File, Folder #3.
18 History of the Church, I, 145.
immediately began preparations for the expected arrival of the rest of the Smith family and the entire Colesville Branch of the church.

With headquarters for the gathering established about nine miles from Painesville, many of the immigrating Saints used the Partridge home as a temporary stop-over. The same convenient trade connections which allowed Edward's business to prosper now brought the Saints to the shores of Lake Erie and through his home town for the gathering. But with the influx of the immigrating Saints came also exposure to the measles for the Partridge children. Consequently, much of that spring and summer was spent in concern for their welfare. This would not, however, diminish or mitigate the hospitality of the Partridges toward their visitors. Mother Smith recounted in her history that when she and the remainder of the Smith family arrived in Ohio, Joseph took them to the Partridge home where they "found a fine supper prepared for the entire company.""21

The hospitality of Northeastern Ohio towards the Mormons on the other hand, had diminished considerably since the four missionaries had preached of the restoration just a few short months before. While Partridge and Rigdon had been east visiting the Prophet, in New York, the anti-Mormon elements had done much

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21 Smith, History of Joseph Smith, p. 207.
to consolidate their strength throughout the area. Alexander
Campbell, whose following was greatly diminished by the Mormon
success, had been particularly active. The Painesville Telegraph,
the local newspaper, published by E.D. Howe, was now publishing
anti-Mormon sentiments. 22

Partridge was, therefore, to face disappointment again,
when he made his report to his old and intimate friends who had
been so anxious for him to travel to Fayette and investigate
Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon. When Partridge recounted his
experiences and conclusions to them, they, like his parents and
relatives pronounced him mad, and rejected his assessment of
Smith and the new religion. 23

Called to be Bishop

But Edward Partridge was not given much time for concern
over Campbell's displeasure, nor his repudiation by friends and
relatives. 24 Three days after their arrival in Ohio (February 4,
1831) a revelation was announced in which he was called to be the
first Bishop. 25

22Ivan J. Barrett, Joseph Smith and the Restoration: A
History of the Church to 1882. (Provo, Young House, Brigham Young


24Ibid., p. 7.

25Journal History, June 3, 1831. John Corrill and Isaac
Morley were ordained Assistants to Bishop Partridge by Lyman Wight.
Partridge was also made a High Priest.
And again, I have called my servant Edward Partridge, and I give a commandment, that he should be appointed by the voice of the church, and ordained a bishop unto the church, to leave his merchandise and to spend all his time in the labors of the church;

To see to all things as it shall be appointed unto him in my laws in the day that I shall give them.

And this because his heart is pure before me, for he is like unto Nathanael of old, in whom there is no guile.23

This calling seems to be quite an unforeseen development in the life of Edward Partridge. Apparently his expectations were simply to return to Ohio, resume his business and family enterprises, and practice his new found religion among his friends and with his family. But his expectations were not to curb or to minimize his commitment. Partridge had aligned himself with a movement that would absorb his entire remaining life. All else, family, friends and business, would be secondary to the cause of the Gospel and the realization of "Zion."

26 Doctrine and Covenants, Section 41.9-11.
Chapter 4

THE UTOPIAN SCHEME

America had long proven fruitful ground for the birth of utopian dreams; perhaps because here their realization seemed an actual possibility. This had been the implied location for Thomas More's "utopia" and the "pot of gold" for seekers throughout the western world. Consequently, the early 19th century was replete with attempts to establish utopian communities.1 "Emerson wrote Carlyle that anyone you met in the street might produce a new community project from his waist coat pocket."2

Within the church this trend of utopianism had been evident in a "common stock," communitarian practice by a group known as "the family," living on the Isaac Morley farm near Kirtland.3 The members of this group were encouraged by Smith to abandon this practice and await the "more perfect law of the Lord."4

1Horwitz, Communes in America, p. 13.
3Barrett, Joseph Smith and the Restoration, pp. 156-167.
4History of the Church, 1, 146-147.
The church had been anticipating the future establishment of their millennial utopia from its very conception, and had been instructed that the "law" or economic foundation for the community was forthcoming and would be revealed as the Saints gathered to Ohio. The calling of Edward Partridge as Bishop, although his duties and responsibilities were not yet fully known, was understood to be a primary step in the disclosure of this economic law for the envisioned Mormon Utopia.

The Law of Consecration and Stewardship

Five days after the calling, the first of several directives concerning his new position was announced by Joseph Smith (Feb. 9, 1831). Here was revealed the fundamentals of the law of Consecration and Stewardship, the heart of the Zion economic system. This law envisioned four principle objectives:

1. Economic equality;
2. Socialization of surplus incomes;
3. Freedom of enterprise; and,
4. Group economic self-sufficiency;

All of these were now the primary responsibilities of Bishop Partridge. It was later stated by Joseph Smith that he sought

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8. Ibid., Section 42:30-39.
to "so organize the church as to make the brethren free from every encumbrance under the celestial kingdom," or in other words to establish this community as an autonomous economic unit.

The initial procedure of this economic scheme was a phase known as consecration. The act of consecration was a legal process of relinquishing to the Church all claim to properties both real and personal which were in turn used to supply initial working capital for Zion enterprises and objectives.

The doctrinal foundation and philosophical rationale for this practice trace back to the basic concept that "the earth and everything on it belongs to the Lord," and that individuals or families were simply entrusted with a particular "stewardship" for their livelihood. A stewardship was a parcel of land, property, or responsibilities and duties granted or assigned by the church to individuals and families for their sustenance. The development of this stewardship was the personal responsibility of the steward as the manager of his estate.

... every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property, or that which he had received by consecration, as much as is sufficient for himself and family.

This collection and redistribution of property afforded the opportunity to provide an equalized economic footing among...

10 *History of the Church*, I. 239.
11 * Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 42:30-31.
12 Ibid., Section 104:11-18. See also Section 42:32.
13 Ibid., Section 42:32.
"stewards" within the community. As the stewardship or business enterprise became productive to the point of yielding more than that required to support the steward and his family, the excess was relinquished or "reconsecrated" to the church.

And again, if there shall be properties in the hands of the church, or any individuals of it, more than is necessary for their support after this first consecration, which is a residue to be consecrated unto the bishop, it shall be kept to administer to those who have not, from time to time, that every man who has need may be amply supplied and receive according to his wants.14

This socialization of surplus thorough annual reconsecration assured the continuance of working capital within the system and maintained the economic parity of the stewards.

A storehouse was also to be established as a central collection point for these economic transactions.15 The storehouse has traditionally been looked upon as a giant produce warehouse and grainary from which the members of the Zion community could mutually draw for their needs. But this oversimplification is rather misleading. The storehouse was in actuality the center of all economic transactions within the community. From this central collection "bank," capital was invested in developing individual stewardships, making community improvements, or providing social services which may be deemed necessary; such as education, purchasing additional lands,

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14Ibid., Section 42:33.
15Ibid., Section 42:34.
constructing public buildings, supporting the clergy, and caring for the needy. 16

It is important to note at this point that the Law of Consecration and Stewardship was more than just an economic scheme for the temporal goals of the Zion Community. This economic commitment and objective was as sacred and as binding as any of the religious rites of this people, for if they did not wholly receive this plan, they would be "cut off." 17 It was, therefore, viewed as a privilege to so organize themselves in accordance with the laws of the Lord. 

As Bishop, it was Edward Partridge's responsibility to manage the total function and operation of this economic system, and see to the realization of its lofty goals and objectives. Initially, he would receive the consecrated properties in behalf of the church. Then, in conjunction with the member, or "steward," he would ascertain the best possible vocation for that particular steward and grant an "inheritance" or stewardship accordingly. He was also required to establish budgetary guidelines under which each family would operate, and then receive as an annual consecration any excess produced by that steward. 18

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16 W. Roger Grant, "Missouri's Zion Communities," Missouri Historical Review, LVI (October 1971), p. 27.
17 Doctrine and Covenants, Section 51:2.
18 Ibid., Section 51:3.
As Bishop he was also charged, along with the agent of the church, with the management of the storehouse, which, as already noted, was the central financial institution for the entire community. In short, all initial transactions involving the flow of capital within the Zion society were to be established and maintained by the Bishop.¹⁹

This was a paramount responsibility and evidently Bishop Partridge was a bit hesitant in embracing the call, for incorporated into the revelation concerning his duties was a rather curt admonition to the new Bishop to retain his position.

And again, I say unto you, that my servant Edward Partridge shall stand in the office whereunto I have appointed him. And it shall come to pass, that if he transgress another shall be appointed in his stead. Even so. Amen.²⁰

Partridge's hesitant response to this call was not wholly unjustified. Notwithstanding his prosperity and business enterprises, he would be required to "leave his merchandise"²¹ and devote himself entirely to this church position.²² In this light, it is remarkable that a man of such independence and self-sufficiency, would be receptive to such an obligation at all. Joseph Smith had been known to him for less than two months when this summons came to so alter his life. Yet, Edward Partridge

¹⁹ Ibid., Section 51:8.
²⁰ Ibid., Section 42:10.
²¹ Ibid., Section 41:9.
²² Ibid., Section 54:14.
die receive this call, and ultimately sacrificed his every earthly possession for its fulfillment.

**Trial Run at Thompson**

The utopian scheme as well as the Bishop himself were seen to undergo a trial. With the rapid influx of Saints from New York, particularly the entire Colesville Branch relocating to Ohio in May 1831, the need for a comprehensive economic system became acute. Land for the settlement of the New York Saints had been acquired in Thompson from Leman Copley and Ezra Thayre as their consecrations to the church. Bishop Partridge was charged with the responsibility of granting property allotments to the immigrating members and caring for the moneys and other possessions of the church.

Desiring further instruction, Partridge requested Joseph Smith to inquire of the Lord. This inquiry resulted in Section 51 of the Doctrine and Covenants which further outlined the organizational pattern for Zion economics. The emphasis of this section dealt with the distribution of properties in portions equated to

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23 *History of the Church*, I, 173.

24 Ibid., I, 180-181.


26 *History of the Church*, I, 173.
the "stewards' wants and needs," without however, losing sight of the goal of economic equality.

It was further specified that each Zion community was to be an autonomous unit, providing for its own membership. If money or products were to be transferred from one branch of the church to another, presumably it would be negotiated similar to a financial loan from one bank to another (interest free however).

The Bishop's role is further clarified here, particularly as the administrator of the Zion bank or storehouse.

And again, let the Bishop appoint a storehouse unto this church; and let all things both in money and in meat, which are more than is needful for the wants of this people, be kept in the hands of the Bishop.

In connection with this responsibility it was again reiterated that the office of Bishop was a position of full time employment, giving him the right to draw upon the storehouse for his own livelihood.

The Thompson settlement was to serve as a school for the new Bishop and a pattern or example to him for future Zion implementation. It was also understood from the outset that this was only to be a temporary location, with "Zion" to be sought

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27 Doctrine and Covenants, Section 51:3.
28 Ibid., Section 51:9.
29 Ibid., Section 51:10-12.
30 Ibid., Section 51:13.
31 Ibid., Section 51:14.
32 Ibid., Section 51:16.
elsewhere. Yet, notwithstanding the impemence of this project, the Thompson Saints were instructed to "act upon this land as for years." 33

But the realization of any harmonious economic success was cut short as disputes arose concerning the legal ownership of the Thompson properties. Leman Copley and Ezra Thayre who had consecrated their land for the settlement of the Colesville Saints, now brought legal suit against the church to be restored to their properties. The laws of the church prohibited such a procedure, 34 but the civil authorities of Geauga County, Ohio, upheld the suit and returned the property title to Copley and Thayre, thus annulling the Thompson enterprise. 35

Dislocated before any real progress could be made, the Thompson experiment was abandoned and the Colesville branch, under the "leadership of Navel Knight was directed to "journey into the regions westward, unto the land of Missouri." Here they were advised not to attempt to live by consecration and stewardship for the time being, but to "seek ... a living like unto men." 36

It should be noted that the entire Thompson episode was only six weeks in duration at the very most. This was a rather

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33 Ibid., Section 51:16-17.
34 Ibid., Section 42:37.
35 History of the Church, I, 180-181.
36 Doctrine and Covenants, Section 54:8-9.
brief and trouble-filled "schooling" for Bishop Partridge from which few fruitful precedents could be drawn. The overriding lesson derived from this experience was the need to secure gifts or consecrations by legal deed to ensure binding and permanent consecration, thus preventing future stewards from being "disinherited" from their stewardships due to the apostasy of others. This procedure became a primary focus and responsibility for Bishop Partridge in administering Zion economics in future locations.

Called to Missouri

On the 3rd of June, 1831, the fourth General Conference of the Church was held in Kirtland. Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Edward Partridge and several others were ordained High Priests by Lyman Wight. Bishop Partridge delivered an exhortation and "then blessed those who were ordained in the name of Christ, by the laying on of hands." John Corrill and Isaac Morley were also ordained assistants to the Bishop under the hands of Lyman Wight, thus completing the organization of the first Bishopric of the Church.37

During this conference, Bishop Partridge, among other leaders, was commissioned to journey to Missouri where the land of Zion had been designated. Surely, this call to venture west was not wholly unforeseen, but it must have been rather foreboding.

37Journal History, June 3, 1831.
to Bishop Partridge. With the Thompson project, which had been his responsibility, now relocating in the West, and Zion, the center stake for the gathering, designated in Missouri, he must have had a premonition that his farewell to Painesville would be permanent.

Moreover, this was a rather inopportune time for Bishop Partridge to be leaving town. His entire family had been stricken with the measles as a consequence of having so many visitors during the past several weeks. Eliza, his eldest daughter, had also contracted lung fever and was not expected to survive her illness. It was believed that to leave her now would mean that he would never see her alive again. Concerning this expedition, Lydia Partridge noted that

... the unbelievers thought he must be crazy or he would not go. And I thought myself that I had reason to think my trials had commenced, and so had, but this trial like all others was followed with blessings for our daughter recovered.\textsuperscript{38}

In accordance with the call, on the 19th of June Edward Partridge bid farewell to his family and what he thought to be a last goodbye to his eldest daughter, and set out for the "Promised Land."\textsuperscript{39}

Approximately 30 Elders had been appointed to make this pilgrimage in search of Zion, but only 6 men including Bishop Partridge accompanied the Prophet. The others were sent by

\textsuperscript{38} Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 6.

\textsuperscript{39} History of the Church, I, 188.
various routes to serve as missionaries along the way. Their
general destination was Jackson County on the western border of
the state of Missouri, approximately 900 miles from Kirtland.40

CHAPTER 5

IN SEARCH OF ZION

Jackson County had been founded in 1826 with Independence, the County Seat of Justice, established a year later. This small frontier town was situated on a rolling bluff about three miles south of the Missouri River, and about twelve miles east of the western boundary of the United States. With the vast open wilderness stretching out to the west, Independence had become the jumping off point to the plains and the great southwest toward Santa Fe. By 1831 and the arrival of the first Mormon settlers, the town probably numbered about three hundred inhabitants who were primarily centered about a single street lined with 15 or 20 hewed log houses, two or three merchant stores and the brick country courthouse. 1

The journey to Missouri took almost a month. The small expedition traveled by wagon, canal boats, and stages to Cincinnati, where they boarded a steamer conveying them through Louisville, Kentucky, and on to St. Louis, Missouri. From here, Joseph Smith Martin Harris, W.W. Phelps, Joseph Coe, and Edward Partridge set out on foot across the Missouri Prairie for Independence, arriving about

the middle of July. Sidney Rigdon, with A.S. Gilbert and his wife, who had been part of this expedition, remained behind in St. Louis to secure other transportation. They traveled by water and arrived in Independence a few days behind the first group.  

Establishing Zion

Soon after the arrival of the Mormon leadership in Independence a revelation was announced which affirmed that they had found "the land of promise and the place for the center stake of Zion." Bishop Partridge was then told through revelation that this wilderness town was to be his home and that preparations should be made as soon as possible to relocate his family to Independence.

It must have been with some anxiety that Partridge received this call, for it meant the abandonment of everything he had achieved in Painesville as a successful business in exchange for a life which at best promised several years of intense sacrifice and hardship. But as soon as this revelation had been announced, Edward Partridge and the other brethren appointed to "plant themselves in Zion," began the work of settlement. Immediately a series of special conferences was held to designate leaders and dedicate particular locations for the gathering.

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2 *Journal History*, June 19, 1831.
3 *History of the Church*, 1, 188.
4 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 57:103.
5 Ibid., Section 57:14-15. See also Section 53:14, 24-25.
Bishop Partridge was charged with the responsibility of arranging for the settlement of the Colesville branch which had been directed to locate in Missouri following their dislocation from Thompson. He helped them to settle in the Kaw Township, twelve miles west of Independence on the very borders of the Indian Reserve. On the second of August, in a brief ceremony, the foundation log for a house in Kaw township was laid in place by twelve men who symbolized the twelve tribes of Israel. At the same time, Sidney Rigdon offered a prayer and exhortation to dedicate the land of Zion for the gathering of the Saints. In this prayer, those present were obligated to pledge themselves vocally to keep the law of God in this land and to receive it as their "inheritance" from the Lord with thankful hearts.  

The next day, August 3, 1831, Edward Partridge accompanied Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, W.W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris and Joseph Coe on a search for the precise location of the Temple lot. An earlier revelation had indicated that the sacred ground lay westward a short distance from the Courthouse in Independence. Accordingly, these seven men walked out across the range and at a point designated by Joseph Smith, they dedicated a tract of land to the Lord for the building of the temple for the latter-day gathering.

On August 4, 1831, the day after the dedication of the temple lot, the Saints in Jackson County again gathered in Kaw

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6History of the Church, 1, 196.

7Britton, Missouri Historical Society, p. 186.
Township for the First General Conference of the church in the land of Zion. The opening prayer for this conference was offered by Bishop Partridge. Thirty-one members were present to hear Sidney Rigdon give an exhortation on obedience to the requisition of heaven, followed by a specific charge in the name of Christ to members of the church who were now commissioned to remain in Missouri.  

During the conference most of the leaders Partridge had accompanied west were designated to return to Ohio. Even W.W. Phelps and A.S. Gilbert who were to settle with their families in Missouri now planned to return to the East in order to conclude their business obligations and make better preparations for settlement on the frontier.  

An Eternal Farewell  

The day following the conference, Edward Partridge penned a letter to his wife and family in Painesville to inform them that he had been commanded to settle in Missouri, and, due to the coming land sales schedule for December, would not be returning home with the rest of the leaders as he had anticipated. He also requested his wife to communicate a message to his friends in Painesville. Apparently, when he had left home in mid-June a  

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8Ibid.  
9Journal History, August 4, 1831.  
10History of the Church, 1, 206.  
11See Appendix D for full text of this letter.
temporary farewell to his friends seemed all that was necessary; but now, in the light of his assignment in Zion, he directed his wife, in a very forthright manner, to bid his friends and acquaintances an eternal farewell, unless they should be willing to forsake all for the sake of Christ, and be gathered with the Saints of the most high God. 12

His experiences in Missouri seem only to have strengthened his resolve and his vision of the Zion community and the millennial significance of his position. Outwardly, he also appeared very confident and optimistic, but included in this letter was a very important clue to a deeper understanding of the character of this seeker after Zion. With this opportunity to confide in his wife he revealed a degree of humility which almost borders on a lack of personal confidence.

You know I stand in an important station, and as I am occasionally chastened I sometimes fear my station is above what I can perform to the acceptance of my Heavenly Father. I hope you and I may conduct ourselves as at last to land our souls in the heaven of eternal rest. Pray that I may not fail. 13

Westward Trek

Within this letter he also attempted to advise his wife concerning the best time for his family to undertake their journey to Missouri. A trip that fall would mean traveling without him, and then only to face the hardships of a long winter under very adverse conditions. Furthermore, he anticipated that by spring he would

12 Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy." pp. 6-7.
13 Ibid., p. 7.
have an opportunity to return to Ohio himself to close his business enterprises and sell his personal properties, at which time he could bring his family west.

However, notwithstanding the additional hardships that would be entailed in a late autumn trek to Missouri, Lydia and the Partridge children, along with Sister Isaac Morley and her children, joined the returning company under the charge of A.S. Gilbert and W.M. Phelps. At this time the five Partridge girls were all under 12 years of age, and baby Lydia was less than a year old. Sister Morley's family also consisted of five young children in addition to three girls who elected to travel with them.14

The farm was sold for what was described as "a very disappointing amount," and the remainder of the Partridge holdings were left under the management of a member of the church and family friend named Harvey Redfield.15

The expedition set out from Ohio much later than had been planned and was confronted with the ice and storms of early winter. They traveled by steamboat down the Ohio River and then up the Missouri to within one hundred miles of their destination. Here, the ice flows forced them to leave the steamer. While the rest of the expedition set out across land, the Partridge and Morley families being without their husbands took refuge in a small hut owned by a Negro family.


15Partridge Manuscript File.
They had two rooms and they let myself [Lydia Partridge] and Sister Morley have one. There were no windows but there was a door and a fireplace. We were very comfortable considering the circumstances. We were obliged to stay there about two weeks, when a man was hired to take us to Independence. Sister Morley had five children and I had five besides two girls who were traveling with us, and I believe there was another girl making fifteen, all piled into a big Kentucky wagon with what things we could get in also.

The weather was very cold, so much so that one day we could not travel. That day our husbands met us, and there was great rejoicing in our little camp.16

It had been just one year since Edward Partridge had embarked on his trip to New York in order to meet Joseph Smith and further investigate the Church of Christ. And already his life had undergone some incredible changes. From his comfortable setting in Painesville, Ohio, he and his family were now on foot in western Missouri living with several other families in an open and unfinished log cabin. He had abandoned his prosperous business enterprises, home, farm and properties in Ohio, in order to follow the directives of the church. He was estranged from his parents, relatives and friends who considered him mad to alter his life so abruptly and pursue such fanaticism.17 From a skeptical investigator of a year previous he was now the first Bishop of the Church and as such, "the head of the church in Zion."

During the first winter the Saints in Missouri primarily subsisted on cornbread and bacon. Considering that the Partridges were a family founded on New England Puritan ways and accustomed to the comforts of their Painesville prosperity, they surely must

16 Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," pp. 8-10.
17 Ibid.
have found western Missouri to be a trial and sacrifice. But they had become "Zion builders" motivated by the vision of a millennial dream. The Partridges had migrated to the western border of America in search of their "Zion." Looking out across the virgin frontier they envisioned the millennial empire of the New Jerusalem. Here the Saints would construct the Temple of God; here they would establish the kingdom of refuge; to this holy city the Savior would come and embrace His righteous disciples; and from this sacred place He would reign over the earth a thousand years. This belief made their sacrifices and hardships endurable.

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19 Ibid., p. 86.
Chapter 6

COLONIZATION AND CONFLICT

Within a week after the dedication of Jackson County as the center stake of Zion, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery and several other leaders began their return journey to Kirtland.\(^1\) Very few administrative positions had been designated in Missouri by this time. Sidney Gilbert, a former retail merchant, had been appointed the church agent and assigned to operate the Lord's storehouse; William W. Phelps was to establish a printing company and publish a church periodical, and Oliver Cowdery, the only leader from the early New York period of the Church's history to receive an assignment in Missouri, was to serve as an assistant to Phelps.

As already noted, in order to fill their assignments, Phelps, Gilbert, and Cowdery returned to Kirtland to make preparations for relocation in Missouri. Bishop Partridge remained behind to direct the colonization and attend the upcoming federal land sales. With the Church now ambitiously engaged in colonizing two separate communities and with the Presidency residing in Kirtland, the Missouri Project was left almost entirely to Edward Partridge.\(^2\)

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\(^1\)Ibid., p. 87. See also Doctrine and Covenants, Section 60:10.

\(^2\)History of the Church, I, 206.
by the late fall of 1831 the church was proselytizing in several eastern cities and experiencing considerable success. With an emphasis placed upon the cause of Zion and the importance of the Latter-day gathering, the result was a steady flow of immigrants and contributions to Jackson County. The church in Kirtland raised $3,000.00 in contributions by November of 1831. They transferred this money to Bishop Partridge by Oliver Cowdery when he made his return trip to Missouri.

By January of 1832 the Bishop reported that nearly 1200 acres of land had been purchased by the Church. Although much of this land was not cleared nor title free to the Saints, it represented a sizeable growth and surely had a pronounced impact upon the once serene and tranquil Missouri countryside.

Organizing the Gathering

In order to facilitate this growth, Bishop Partridge had been directed to conduct a series of conferences among the immi-grating Saints. In addition to his temporal responsibilities, the records of these conferences, as sparse as they are, reveal that Bishop Partridge served as a spiritual leader of the colony as well. The first of these conferences was held on the 2nd of

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3 This rapid growth was not according to the directives of the church which warned against gathering upon the land of Zion "lest there should be confusion, which bringeth pestilence." See Doctrine and Covenants, Section 63:24.

4 Britton, Missouri Historical Society, p. 145.

5 Journal History, January 23, 1832.
September 1831, among the Colesville branch in Kaw Township. At this conference, Bishop Partridge gave the key address. Another conference was held on the 23rd and 24th of January 1832, at the home of Newel Knight, also presided over by Bishop Partridge.  

By this time it had become apparent that the vast majority of the immigrating Saints were farmers and very few skilled laborers and artisans necessary to properly establish the colony. Accordingly, a resolution was unanimously adopted directing Bishop Partridge to request the churches in the east to send skilled workers such as blacksmiths, shoemakers and carpenters.  

By the spring of 1832, Phelps had established the Printing Press, which he proudly announced as the westernmost operating press in the country. On the 29th of May a special conference was held to dedicate the printing establishment, with Bishop Partridge offering the dedicatory prayer. Within a month the first issue of the Church newspaper from Missouri, The Evening and Morning Star, came off the press.  

This rapid colonization of Independence may have been exciting and heart warming to the church leaders in Ohio, but it soon proved to be more than the Missouri leaders could accommodate with any semblance of order. Bishop Partridge, reacting to the

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6Ibid., January 27, 1832.
7Ibid., January 23, 1832.
8Ibid., May 29, 1832. At that time the Millennial Star Press was 120 miles farther west than any other printing office in the United States. See also W.D. Bowen's thesis, "The Versatile William Mines Phelps."
situation, wrote an article published in the first edition of The Evening and Morning Star, requesting the immigrating Saints to follow established directives, "That order and not confusion may be produced." Specifically he requested that the gathering be not in haste but at a pace which would allow for needed preparation, both for the immigrants and the Zion leadership.  

Instructions and warnings to the Missouri community were also coming from Joseph Smith and other leaders in Ohio. Oftentimes these directives were in the form of chastisements to the membership instructing them to do away with idleness, and to be more observant of personal prayers. Many of these instructions, however, concerned the relationship of the Church with the "Gentiles" or non-Mormons of the County. By the fall of 1832, in both the Kirtland and the Independence colonies, a marked degree of animosity began to arise against the Mormons. The Saints in Missouri were directed to render strict obedience to the "laws of the land" and to "be subject to the powers that be," thus hoping to diminish any existing conflicts. They were further admonished to keep sacred those pronouncements which "cometh from heaven."

Apparently, the Mormon settlers had boasted of their intentions to

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10Doctrine and Covenants, Section 68:30-31.

11Ibid., Section 68:33-34

12Ibid., Section 58:19-23.

13Ibid., Section 63:64.
completely overrun Jackson County as their promised land and inheritance from the Lord. The rapid growth of Zion was proof enough that the Saints had the potential to make good this threat. The reaction was a growing tide of resistance swelling up among the old and established Missourians.

Conflict with Rigdon

It was also becoming apparent by the spring of 1832 that a persistent conflict which had existed between Edward Partridge and Sidney Rigdon had become public knowledge and was now damaging the general confidence of the members in their leadership. Not a great deal is known concerning this conflict, but apparently it was very deep rooted and also included the Prophet. The first evidence of this conflict was brought to light at the January 24th conference of the Church in Missouri, when

Brother Partridge brought forward certain letters written by Brother Sidney Rigdon, one addressed to himself, bearing the date of Kirtland, September 10th, 1831, and another addressed to John Corrill and Isaac Morley, dated Hiram, Portage Co., Ohio, November 4, 1831.14

The letters were then read to the small group of leaders, who after some deliberation, penned the following resolution:

Whereas this conference has been made acquainted with certain difficulties existing between the Bishop of this Church (Edward Partridge) and Brother Sidney Rigdon, and whereas the said Sidney Rigdon has preferred certain charges against the said Bishop (Edward Partridge) detrimental to his character and standing as a Bishop in the Church of Christ, therefore we, the conference, having no legal right to proceed to a trial of the same in the absence of one of

the parties, recommend that the Elders stationed in this
land converse with the said Sidney Rigdon a friendly
letter, advising that this difficulty be settled and
thereby the wound in the Church be healed.15

Apparently, Sidney Rigdon, immediately upon his arrival in
Kirtland, had written indictments against Edward Partridge.
Although the precise nature of the indictments is not known, other
events and circumstances lend evidence to the possibility that the
problem dealt with the issue of presiding authority in "Zion."

Apparently, once Bishop Partridge was left on his own to manage
the Missouri Project, he found difficulty in acknowledging any
presiding authority over himself, and had, on occasion, set himself
as odds with the leaders in Ohio. The evidence seems to indicate
that the issue of presiding authority, presumably accompanied by
some failure to fully adhere to the directives of the Presidency
was the central factor in the conflict. Joseph Smith’s direct
involvement, however, appears to have been minimal and the dispute
was primarily between Edward Partridge and Sidney Rigdon.

The evidence for this case comes from a number of sources,
including a successor to Joseph Smith. John Taylor, the third
President of the Church. President Taylor, while speaking at a
conference of the Church in Salt Lake Valley in 1879, made the
following observations concerning the office of the Presiding
Bishop.

(A Bishop) . . . who and what is he? A High Priest
ordained and set apart to the bishopric. By whom?
The Presidency. Does he control the Presidency? No,

15 Ibid.
He is set apart by them; as bishop he is an appendage to the higher priesthood and does not control it. No man controls it.  

He then proceeded to relate an episode concerning Edward Partridge to substantiate this principle of presiding authority over the Bishop.

I remember a remark made on one occasion by Joseph Smith, in speaking with Bishop Partridge, who was then Bishop. He was a splendid good man. . . . But he got some crooked ideas into his head; he thought he ought to manage some things irrespective of Joseph, which caused Joseph to speak rather sharply to him. Joseph said, I wish you to understand that I am President of this Church, and I am your President, and I preside over you and all your affairs. Is that correct doctrine? Yes.  

Another possible area of conflict may have concerned Partridge's business properties. Although he had sold a great deal of his former holdings in Ohio, he had not yet completely disposed of his hat shop and tools. Perhaps Sidney Rigdon found this inconsistent with his role as Bishop in receiving the consecrated properties of others.  

Nevertheless, owing to these difficulties and the desire to more fully implement the Zion Economic system in Jackson.

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17 ibid.,

18 Several other possible areas of conflict do exist, but the evidence and likelihood of these is rather negligible. These include: the handling of church funds (Partridge did on one occasion lose track of approximately $60,00 of church funds, but the entire Missouri leadership displayed their trust in him by unanimously accepting his records and financial reports) and Partridge's failure to issue legal deeds to stewards settling to Missouri. Although the latter has received some historical notoriety, it is much too early in the Missouri period to be a real factor in this conflict. See Chapter 7.
County, the Prophet scheduled a conference in Missouri for the latter part of April at which he would personally preside.

The conference was convened with the objective of releasing to the church in Missouri a new revelation concerning the economic obligations of the citizens in Zion. It appears, however, that the real accomplishment of this conference was to publically clear up the difficulties, at least for the time being, which had been plaguing the Mormon leadership.

During the conference, as a public acknowledgement of the Prophet's presiding authority, Joseph Smith was sustained as the "President of the High Priesthood," then given "the right hand of fellowship" by Bishop Partridge. This unprecedented ceremony supports the theory that the source of conflict between Partridge and Rigdon was this principle of presiding authority. This is further substantiated by the fact that during the intermission following this display, Bishop Partridge and Sidney Rigdon "amicably" settled their differences, which seems to indicate that the entire problem was eliminated with the public acknowledgement of the Prophet by Partridge.

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19 In March of 1832, Smith had received an additional revelation concerning the Law of Conssecration and Stewardship, and administrative changes for the Church in Jackson County. See Doctrine and Covenants, Section 78.

20 Doctrine and Covenants, Section 78.

21 History of the Church, 1, 257.

22 Ibid. In conjunction with this "settlement of difficulties," Smith received a revelation wherein the guilty parties were forgiven, yet warned to "refrain from sin, lest sore judgements fall upon you." See Doctrine and Covenants, Section 82.
With these primary difficulties seemingly cleared up, and the new instructions emphasizing the economic obligations of "Zion" citizens, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Newel K. Whitney, departed from Jackson County on the 6th of May, to return to Ohio. But apparently Bishop Partridge continued to set himself at odds with the Prophet, which indicates that his difficulties were much deeper than just misunderstandings. So strenuous was this conflict that "Ezra Booth" made their differences an excuse for his apostasy, and became a very adamant and prolific anti-Mormon writer.

By November the dissension had so provoked the Prophet that he wrote a letter to W.W. Phelps and severely rebuked the Bishop. This letter has been included as part of the Doctrine and Covenants and remains today as one of the sharpest chastisements in Mormon literature. Bishop Partridge was warned that he "shall fall by the shaft of death, like a tree that is smitten by the vivid shaft of lightning," and that he would be replaced by "one mighty and strong . . . to set in order the house of God, and to arrange by lot the inheritances of the Saints."
Included within this warning is an important clue to identify the nature of the conflict itself. Bishop Partridge was referred to as "That man, . . . that putteth forth his hand to steady the ark of God."²⁶ It is suggested here, the Bishop Partridge was stepping beyond the capacity and authority of his position, and in some manner, attempting to correct or otherwise amend the directives from the Presidency.

This letter from Smith, however, appears to have put an end to the issue, for no further mention is made of difficulties existing between Partridge and Joseph Smith. It is also worthy of note that Bishop Partridge was never removed from office and continued to function in this capacity as a close and loyal companion to Joseph Smith for the remainder of his life. Even when many of Partridge's closest associates later aligned themselves against the church and Smith, and were subsequently excommunicated, Partridge remained in good standing.

gathering of the saints to that land," and the obtaining of inheritances "under the law of Consecration and Stewardship."
Second, there is no doubt that Edward Partridge is the "man, who was called of God and appointed," and herein threatened with death and replacement. These subsequent actions warranted a mitigation of this threatened sentence. And third, according to Mormon doctrine any such calling would still be designated by the Prophet as the proper "Line of Authority" for such an assignment to be granted.

²⁶ibid., Section 85:3.
Chapter 7

DIVIDING INHERITANCES:
LEASE AND LOAN

With the building of the "New Jerusalem" in Jackson County, Missouri, Smith desired to more fully implement the Law of Consecration and Stewardship. This was viewed as a necessary and integral part of the Zion enterprise. A great deal of research and analysis has been accomplished to determine the manner in which the system was intended to operate, but little has been done, except by the opponents of the church, to reveal how the system did actually function. Needless to say, the scheme was beset with problems. Perhaps if the society had been given time to mature, these difficulties could have been resolved and a more complete test accomplished. But full implementation of the "Zion" economic scheme was again cut short. Difficulties within the church, primarily the failure of many to abide by the demands of consecration, and difficulties with the surrounding populace brought another premature end to the program.

Historically these brief and incomplete episodes of the Law of Consecration and Stewardship left behind a myriad of misconceptions and contradictions. One area of contemporary misunderstanding concerns the granting of legal, irrevocable deeds of personal ownership to a steward over his properties and enterprises. The private ownership of property with its accompanying
freedom and responsibility is an accepted tenet of Mormonism today: however, in this early period of Church history, specifically during the Independence, Missouri episode, adherence to this tenet was not strictly observed. Because of this, some criticism has been leveled against Bishop Partridge, implying that he was either neglectful or even deceitful in not granting property deeds to individual "stewards" as the directives indicated. It was his practice to lease or loan properties to the stewards rather than granting legal deeds. This enabled him to exercise a great deal more power over the community and flexibility in issuing stewardships. Moreover, in the case of severe transgression or apostasy the Church would not be threatened with whole enterprises being withdrawn from the community as had occurred at Thompson, Ohio. The steward, on the other hand, if found in poor standing with the Church could be threatened with the loss of his entire economic holdings: again, giving additional, albeit unauthorized, power to the Bishop. Directives within the Doctrine and Covenants specifically outlaw this practice and grant to the steward the right to claim his deeded properties even in the case of apostasy or excommunication.\footnote{\textit{Doctrine and Covenants,} Section 38.}

Notwithstanding these scriptural directives, the accepted practice in Jackson County was to grant stewardships in terms of loans of leases in the following manner:

\begin{quote}
Re it known, that I, Edward Partridge, \ldots\, bishop of the Church of Christ, \ldots\, have leased and by these
\end{quote}
present do lease, unto ______ the following described piece or parcel of land, ______ and also have loaned the following described property. viz.: ______. To have and to hold the above described property, ______. To be used and occupied as to him shall seem meet and proper, during his life, unless he transgress and is not deemed worthy, by the authority of the Church according to its laws, to belong to the church: and in that case, I the said ______ do acknowledge that I forfeit all claim to the above described property.²

Although the possibility of using economic leverage existed under these lease arrangements, there is no evidence that Partridge ever used them as such.

This seems to be in harmony with the fourth verse of Doctrine and Covenants Section 51, which states:

And let my servant Edward Partridge, when he shall appoint a man his portion, give unto him a writing that shall secure unto him his portion, that he shall hold it, even this right and this inheritance in the church, until he transgresses and is not accounted worthy by the voice of the church, according to the laws and covenants of the church, to belong to the church.³

However, if there is an ambiguity existing within this verse, it most assuredly should have been irradiated by the following two verses.

And if he shall transgress and is not accounted worthy to belong to the church, he shall not have power to claim that portion which he has consecrated unto the bishop for the poor and needy of my church; therefore, he shall not retain the gift, but shall only have claim on that portion that is deeded unto him.

And thus all things shall be made sure, according to the laws of the land.⁴

²Partridge Manuscript File, Folder #4.
³Doctrine and Covenants, Section 51:4.
⁴Ibid., Section 51:5-6. Although the numbering of sections and verses is different in the Book of Commandments editions, the exact wording and sequence exists in the originals.
This "lease-and-loan" procedure, unauthorized as it was, does have some justifications which should be noted in defense of Bishop Partridge. First, the emphasis of the economic law was placed upon the concept that all things belonged to the Lord and were only entrusted to men to care for as stewards. This seems to imply that permanent individual deeds were of no real significance. Once the property had been obtained by the church and was part of the "Kingdom," it was to be used as the Lord's servants deemed proper. Personal or private ownership is not the logical extension of this emphasis. Second, without being instructed otherwise, it seems natural for Bishop Partridge to assume that as the authoritative representative of the Lord in the temporal affairs of the church in Zion, he should retain the legal deeds to all consecrated property. And third, having endured the dislocation of the stewards at Thompson, Ohio, due to apostasy, the overt fear and concern was to insure binding consecration on behalf of the Church, thus preventing apostates from reclaiming their "gifts" and disinheriting the steward in possession.

It should not be construed that this issue was in any way related to the conflict between Edward Partridge and the Presidency of the Church discussed earlier. It appears that all were aware and accepting of the "lease or loan" practice, presumably as a necessary or permissible step toward full implementation; or simply by virtue of misunderstanding the scriptural directives. Evidence for this perspective is available by examining the records of
the conferences and the communiques between authorities during this period. 5

At the January Conference, 1832, the leadership in Missouri discussed the nature of consecrated properties at some length, and apparently concluded that these properties would be retained in the possession of the Bishop. Moreover, they ratified a statute which passed this "community" property on to the Bishop's successor if he was ever removed from office, "by death or otherwise." 6

Again, at the April Conference with Joseph Smith personally presiding, the stated objective of the proceedings was to more fully implement the Zion economic system by sharing with the Saints a newly received revelation specifically dealing with these practices. Yet, it is apparent, that nothing was decisively concluded concerning the granting of deeds to stewards. Surely if Bishop Partridge was not following directives in this regard it would have been acknowledged and discussed at this time. However, the contrary seems evident from later communications between the Bishop and the Prophet wherein the subject of stewardship deeds was discussed as if no prior understanding had been established. 7

5 Partridge Manuscript File, Folder #6.
6 Journal History, January 24, 1832.
The first of these letters in question was direct from
Joseph Smith to Bishop Partridge and dated 2 May 1833. 8 Herein the
Prophet specifically gave directions concerning deeds and legal
ownership.

Now I will proceed to tell you my views concerning
consecration, property, and giving inheritances etc.
The law of the Lord, binds you to receive whatsoever
property is consecrated, by deed. The consecrated
property is considered the residue kept for the Lords
storehouse, and it is given for this consideration, for
to purchase inheritances for the poor. This, any man
has a right to do agreeable to all laws of our country,
to donate, give or consecrate all that he feels disposed
to give, and it is your duty, to see that whatsoever is
given legally, therefore, it must be given for the
consideration of the poor saints, and in this wise
no man can take any advantage of you in law. Again,
concerning inheritances, you are bound by the law of
the Lord, to give a deed, securing to him who receives
inheritance, or in other words, to be his individual
property, his private stewardship. 9

It should be noted that some leadership problems in Jackson
County were apparently interfering with the letters from the
Presidency, to the extent that it is not known when or even if
this was received by Bishop Partridge. Note the introduction to
this very letter from President Smith:

I commence . . . by begging your pardon for not having
addressed you, more particularly in letters which I have
written to Zion, for I have always felt, as though a
letter written to anyone in authority in Zion, would be
the property of all, and it mattered but little to whom it
was directed. But I am satisfied that this is in error. 10

8 This was more than a year after the conference, and nearing
the end of the Jackson County Episode.

9 Letter, Joseph Smith to Edward Partridge, May 2, 1833,
Salt Lake City, Church Archives, Partridge Manuscript File, Folder
#6.

10 Ibid.
This same difficulty is also apparent in a letter from Joseph Smith dated 25 June 1833, wherein he expressed his concern in regards to letters not being shared with Edward Partridge.

We were not a little surprised to hear that some of our letters of a public nature, which we sent for the good of Zion, have been kept back from the Bishops. This is conduct which we highly disapprove.1

This second letter also includes some very crucial instructions concerning consecration and stewardship which the Prophet feared had not previously reached Bishop Partridge.

Moreover, a return letter from Edward Partridge to Joseph Smith, seems to indicate that at the time of the Mormon expulsion from Jackson County, in late October 1833, Bishop Partridge had still not received the above mentioned instructions. Consider the following paragraph:

Some of our brethren who have given me money to buy lands with, are desirous to receive deeds of some land, and I have thought it best to give deeds to such as are anxious to have them. I want your advice upon this subject of the land, and also I want wisdom and light on many subjects in this time of trial.2

Regardless of whether this refers to Jackson County or Clay County land, the point remains that Bishop Partridge was still requesting directives concerning "deeds" as late as November 1833, which indicates that no prior understanding had been reached.

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1History of the Church, 1, 365.

Chapter 8

THE TIDE OF PERSECUTION

There were many utopian communities established in Missouri during the antebellum Era, but none were met with the intense opposition and persecution that confronted the Mormons in Jackson County.\(^1\) It is difficult to ascertain why this was the case, but surely the rapid and sustained colonization\(^2\) of western Missouri by a people whose social values and ideals were so divergent from this frontier community produced within the old citizens a fear of losing their social, economic and political power. The result was a gripping and dogmatic hatred that erupted like a prairie fire upon the Mormons to consume their homes, their properties, and many of their lives.

Arousing the Gentiles

From the very outset, the Missourians were acutely aware of the designs and intentions of the Mormons concerning the future

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\(^1\) Keil and his followers living in Bethel and Nineveh communities had excellent rapport with their western Missouri neighbors. Even during the Civil War when Keil ordered neutrality, no serious confrontations occurred. See H. Roger Grant, "Missouri's Utopian Communities," Missouri Historical Review, LVI (October 1971), p. 27.

\(^2\) Britton, Missouri Historical Society, p. 149.

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of Jackson County. Initially these predictions were, for the most part, ignored, but as the Saints continued to move into the area, the Missourians realized the Mormon potential to make good their threat to monopolize and control the entire region. At the same time, this rapid growth and development of the Mormon community served to reinforce and stimulate the dream of Zion, producing an almost arrogant and presumptuous attitude among the Saints.

So carried away by a sense of divine providence, and the vision of great expectations, the Mormons made their intrusion into Missouri rather more conspicuous than it needed to be. Confident in their faith that what they were doing was directed and sanctioned by God, and convinced that this was a holy mission which could not fail, they often displayed a distinct lack of tolerance and diplomacy with their neighbors. In spite of warnings from their leaders to the contrary, it appears that they were often indiscreet and intimidating with their predictions of occupying the entire region as part of their "inheritance" from God.

It was a common thing for a Mormon to go to where a neighbor was building his house or fencing his field, and tell him that he had better let it alone, for he was not

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3 John Corrill, A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Commonly Called Mormons;) Including an Account of Their Doctrines and Discipline with Reasons of the Author for Leaving the Church, (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., 1964, [A Photomechanical Reprint of Original Edition, St. Louis, 1839]), pp. 18-19.
doing it after the fashion the Mormons would want it, when
in a short time they should get possession of the country." Occurrences such as this only intensified the animosity developing between the two groups. Other indictments which emerged against the Mormons ranged from religious dogma, precipitated by the non-Mormon clergy, to the Mormon effort to proselytize among the Indians.5

By the Spring of 1833, less than two years after the first Mormon settlers entered Jackson County, open hostilities had erupted. The catalyst for this initial altercation was the primary issue of the era: abolition. As a southern border state, Missouri had entered the union with the right to hold slaves, but with the rising tide of abolitionism this status was not as secure as the slave owners desired.

These early Mormons, on the other hand, were primarily from the New England North, the very seat of abolitionist activity. As more "Yankee Mormons" poured into western Missouri they "soon out-numbered the native slave-owning inhabitants" and posed a real threat to their traditional way of living.

The initial indictments against the church accused the Mormons of inciting free negroes to join the Church and gather with


5Grant, Missouri Historical Review, p. 26.
the Saints in western Missouri. In the July edition of The Evening and Morning Star, an article was published to refute these suspicion by quoting two sections of the Missouri law which prohibited Negroes from settling within the state. The Missourians however interpreted this as an attempt to inform the Negroes and other Church members concerning Missouri laws in order to devise a means to circumvent these statutes. When the Church officials realized that this interpretation was being applied to the July article, they immediately published an "extra" to the Star, dated July 16, 1833.

In this publication, while attempting to console the slave owners concerning the alleged invitation to Negroes, the true attitude of the Mormons toward slavery and abolition was openly revealed, serving only to intensify an already explosive situation. The article stated:

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.

This was, of course, the very fear of the Missourian slaveholders and reassured them that the Yankee Mormons must be dealt with in order to preserve their society.

Slavery was not the whole issue, nor was it even the overriding issue, but in the summer of 1833, roughly halfway between the enactment of the Missouri compromise (1820) and the Civil War in

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6 History of the Church, I, 377-378.
7 Ibid., I, 379.
8 Ibid.
Kansas (1854), the emotion packed controversy of slavery easily served as the catalyst for conflict.

By mid July it became known among the Mormon leadership that a secret constitution or manifesto had been circulated among the non-Mormon populace of Jackson County. The objective of this document was to elaborate the list of grievances as a justification for upcoming vigilante actions deemed necessary to rid the county of the intruding and threatening Mormon society. To this objective the majority of Jackson County's non-Mormon populace pledged to each other their "bodily powers, . . . lives, fortunes and sacred honor."  

Concerning this document, Lydia Partridge made the following significant observation which is reflective of the Mormon perspective and response.

Many of the signers to the document knew very well that the allegations were substantially false, and that the Mormons were not the aggressors, but were imposed upon and persecuted in consequence of the peculiarity of their religion, and partly because of their greater enterprise and industry, many of the old settlers being shiftless and indolent, content to live but little in advance of the Indians.

In addition to this manifesto a second document was drafted and presented to a citizens council of Jackson County on the 20th of July. It was primarily a reiteration of the Manifesto but specifically prepared for presentation to Mormon leaders and the

9 Partridge Manuscript File, Folder #7.
10 History of the Church, I, 376.
press. It included an arbitrary list of demands which the citizens
council had designed to remedy the problems.

Primarily these demands were: (1) "that no Mormon shall
in future move to or settle in this county; (2) that those now
here, . . . shall give a definite pledge of their intention . . . to
remove out of the county, and . . . (3) that the editor of the Star
be required to forthwith close his office, and discontinue the
business of printing in this county . . . as to all other stores
and shops belonging to the sect."

Furthermore the Mormon leaders were then required to "use
their influence to prevent any further immigration of their brethren
to this (Jackson) county, and to council and advise their brethren
here to comply with the above requisitions". All of this, of
course, was accompanied with a rather curt threat of violence if
there was a failure to comply.12

It is reported that this council meeting was attended by
upwards of four to five hundred citizens, which indicates how
widespread the discontent had become. A committee of twelve was
selected to present this second document and demands to the Mormon
leaders.13 The committee called upon Edward Partridge, A.S. Gilbert,
John Corwell, Isaac Morley, John Whitmer, and W.W. Phelps and
presented their demands. A three month moratorium was requested

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12 Brigham H. Roberts. A Comprehensive History of the Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Century I, (6 Vols.; Brigham
Young University, 1965), I, 331-332.

13 Ibid., I, 330.
by the Mormon leaders in order to consider the proposition and
counsel with Church authorities in Onio. The request was denied.
A ten day period was then requested but again to no avail. The
vigilante committee then granted a fifteen minute deliberation at
the end of which they left, apparently without an answer from the
Mormon leadership. 14

The committee then reassembled with the mass of citizens at
the courthouse and reported that the Mormon leaders had refused to
comply with the demands of the citizens council. At this, the
council immediately resolved to destroy the Church's printing press
which apparently had become the symbol of Mormon permanence as well
as propaganda.

Accordingly, they proceeded to the two story brick edifice
which not only housed the press, but had also been the residence for
the Phelps family. "The furniture was thrown into the street and
garden, the press broken," and the type destroyed. The building
itself was then completely demolished and the papers and documents
confiscated by the mob.

The destruction of the press and the Phelps home was
particularly costly to the Church at that time. The Independence
press had been commissioned to publish the Book of Commandments, 15
which was a project nearing completion. All but a few copies were
destroyed in this assault.

14 Ibid., I, 332.
15 An early version of the Doctrine and Covenants.
16 History of the Church, I, 390.
Encouraged by their numbers and the successful destruction of the press, the vigilantes then proceeded to the Gilbert Store. Gilbert, however, in an attempt to save the merchandise agreed to box the goods and close the store.\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{Tared and Feathered}

The Missourians then proceeded to search out the leaders of the church, most of whom had gone into hiding. Bishop Partridge, however, determined not to run, remained in his home and awaited the vigilantes. He recorded the events as follows:

I was taken from my house by the mob, George Simpson being their leader, who escorted me about half a mile to the court house, on the public square in Independence, and then and there, a few rods from said court house, surrounded by hundreds of the mob, I was stripped of my hat, coat, and vest and doused with tar from head to foot, and then had a quantity of feathers put upon me; and all this because I would not agree to leave the county, and my home where I had lived two years.

Before tarring and feathering me I was permitted to speak. I told them that the Saints had suffered persecution in all ages of the world; that I had done nothing which ought to offend anyone; that if they abused me, they would abuse an innocent person; that I was willing to suffer for the sake of Christ; but, to leave, the country, I was not then willing to consent to it. But this time the multitude made so much noise that I could not be heard; some were cursing and swearing, saying, "call upon your Jesus," etc.; others were equally noisy in trying to still the rest, that they might be enabled to hear what I was saying.

Until after I had spoken, I knew not what they intended to do with me, whether to kill me, to whip me, or what else I knew not. I bore my abuse with so much resignation and meekness, that it appeared to astound the multitude, who permitted me to retire in silence, many looking very solemn, their sympathies having been touched as I thought; and as to myself, I was so filled with the spirit and love of God, that I had no hatred towards my persecutors or anyone else.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{17}Roberts, Comprehensive History, I, 332-333.

\textsuperscript{18}History of the Church, I, 390-91. See Appendixes G and H.
Charles Allen, another member of the Church, was also captured and tarred and feathered along with Bishop Partridge. Another account of this incident lends additional insights into the event as well as the character of Edward Partridge. Lydia Partridge recounted the events of that July afternoon in the following manner:

... while the mob, were gathering together for the purpose of carrying out their threats, many of the brethren were hiding from them, but my husband said he would not run from them, as he was innocent of crime. He was sitting in his house one pleasant afternoon in July, when there came about fifty men and surrounded the house. One of them, George Simpson by name, came in and took my husband by the arm, and told him to go with them. He made no resistance but went with them to the Public Square, where they gave him a coat of tar and feathers, and intended to whip him but in this they were not agreed, and when one raised the whip another held him back saying they had done enough, the crowd then parted and left him none where his friends assisted him to divest himself of the tar which was thoroughly through his hair, and all over his body except his face and the inside of his hands.

My youngest child and only living son was then three weeks old.

Partridge bore this indignity with such stoic resignation and meekness as to take the "sport" out of the proceedings. The crowd grew still and permitted the Bishop and Mr. Allen to retire in silence. Eliza, the eldest of the Partridge children, reported that when Edward returned to the house, he had been so abused that they did not recognize him but thought he was an Indian. Caroline

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19. There seems to be some disharmony in these accounts concerning whether or not Partridge was completely stripped before he was tarred and feathered. The most detailed account is his own, where the impression is given that he was not naked. In a third account (Appendix H) Partridge indicates that he "was permitted to wear" a shirt and pantaloons.

relates that she hid in terror under the bed. The rest of that evening and night was spent in removing the tar from the body of Partridge, tar which had apparently been mixed with lime, or pearl-ash or some other caustic agent, to more seriously afflict and torment the victims.  

\[\text{History of the Church, I, 390-391.}\]
Chapter 9

EXPULSION FROM JACKSON

The cruel and humiliating punishment inflicted upon Bishop Partridge on that hot July day was but a harbinger of subsequent persecutions. On the 23rd of July, just three days after Partridge and Charles Allen had been tarred and feathered and the Church's printing press destroyed, the vigilantes once again gathered in Independence. This time they carried a red flag to symbolize their intentions and animosity as they set out to intimidate and harass the Mormons. Dwellings were demolished and crops laid to waste as they further threatened:

We will rid Jackson County of the Mormons, peaceable if we can, forcibly if we must. If they will not go without, we will whip and kill the men; we will destroy their children, and ravish their women.1

A Noble Act

Confronted with these threats of violence and fearing the annihilation of their people, six Mormon leaders: Edward Partridge, John Corrill, John Whitmer, A.S. Gilbert, W.W. Phelps, and Isaac Morley, offered themselves as a ransom for the lives of the others.2 The vigilantes were apparently not altogether insensitive to this

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1Roberts, Comprehensive History, I, 337-338.
2Corrill, A Brief History, p. 19.
noble gesture. Although they refused to accept the proposal to exchange the leaders for the safety of the others, they did offer a proposition of their own, wherein they demanded the Mormon leaders and their families vacate the county by the 1st of January, 1834, accompanied by at least one-half of the Mormon populace of Jackson County. The remainder of the Church members were to make their exodus by the last of April, 1834. They also again stipulated that the Mormon leaders were to use their influence to prevent any additional Mormons from immigrating to Jackson County and to abandon any attempt to re-establish the church printing press. ³

To prevent the threatened bloodshed, Bishop Partridge and the other leaders submitted to the demands of the vigilante committee and signed the agreement to leave Jackson County. The signing of this agreement gave the Saints a reprieve and lull in the violence perpetrated against them. Within two days Oliver Cowdery was dispatched to Kirtland, Ohio to advise the leadership of the critical condition in Jackson County and the subsequent signing of the removal agreement. ⁴

When Joseph Smith received this intelligence he immediately penned a letter of encouragement and instruction to the leaders in Missouri. It is important to note three specific elements contained within this and subsequent directives from Smith: first, that he did not chastise the Church leaders in Jackson County for signing


the agreement; on the contrary, he condoned this as a necessary and wise judgment under the circumstances. Second, his continued recommendation was to comply with the agreement as necessary and to seek redress through established legal and governmental institutions. The third element, worthy of note, was that Joseph Smith discussed here his perceptions regarding the underlying causes of the difficulties. Nowhere within these letters did he indict the vigilantes for precipitating the conflict, but rather reiterated some of the very accusations against the Saints that the Missourians had exposed.

Of particular interest is Smith's focus upon the Saints bringing about these difficulties as a consequence of gossip and imprudence in their relationship and dealings with the Missourians. Joseph Smith concluded that:

Those who were void of understanding, were continually telling that which was not true, and putting false coloring to the things of God. I mean whose mouths are continually open and whose tongues can not be stayed from tattling and the church will never have peace while such remain in her.

A second letter from Joseph Smith dated 18 August 1833 was written primarily as a prayer in behalf of the Saints encountering persecutions. The Church in Ohio at this time was also besieged in turmoil due to animosity and charges from their neighbors. Joseph Smith declared this to be "the furnace of affliction," necessary to cleanse the Church and prepare them for greater blessings. He noted that:

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5 Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," pp. 16-17.
6 Ibid., p. 17.
... this affliction is sent upon us not for your sins but for the sins of the church and that all the ends of the earth may know that you are not speculating with them for lucre, but you are willing to die for the cause, you have espoused ... yet God has suffered it not for your sins, but that he might prepare you for a greater work, that you might be prepared for the endowment from on High.7

The conclusion of this letter contained a note of optimism as Joseph Smith reassured the church that Zion would yet flourish. These communiques were sent to Missouri with Orson Hyde and John Gould presumably in early September, 1833.8

Notwithstanding the directive to comply with the agreement, the Saints were instructed, "not to dispose of their lands or other property, nor to remove from the county, except those who had signed the agreement to do so."9

By early September, presumably due to the pressures and uncertainties surrounding the future of the church in Missouri, there was an apparent loss in organizational authority and control among the Zion leadership. Prompted by this situation, a special council of High Priests was assembled on the 11th of September, at which Bishop Partridge was recognized by his colleagues as the "head of the Church in Zion and moderator or President of the council or conferences."10

7 Ibid., p. 21.
8 Roberts, Comprehensive History, 1, 339.
9 Ibid.
10 Journal History, Sept. 11, 1833.
With leadership authority reasserted and armed with the directives from Ohio to seek legal redress for grievances, the leaders in Zion drafted a petition to Missouri's Governor, Daniel Dunklin. Within this petition was included an elaborate statement of grievances and a copy of the "forced" contract or agreement entered into by the Zion leadership. This petition, signed by Edward Partridge and nearly all the members of the Church in Jackson County was personally delivered to the Chief Executive of the state by W.W. Phelps and Orson Hyde on the 8th of October 1833.\(^1\)

The Governor's response was also to advise the Mormons to seek redress through the proper, established legal channels, assuring them that the State's Court System was adequate to bring about proper adjudication in this matter.\(^2\)

Motivated by this advice which supplemented Joseph Smith's directives (to utilize established legal channels), Bishop Partridge acquired legal council, and proceeded to file indictments against members of the mob\(^3\) which had tarred and feathered him. A thousand dollar note was signed by Partridge and Phelps and endorsed apparently as collateral by Gilbert on behalf of the Gilbert and Whitney store. Then, in an apparent contradiction to the instructions received from Joseph Smith, the Saints boldly

\(^1\) *History of the Church*, I, 413-415.

\(^2\) Ibid., I, 423-424.

\(^3\) Britton, *Missouri Historical Society*, p. 149.
declared in a public address "that as a people they intended to
defend their lands and homes."\textsuperscript{14}

Confrontation and Expulsion

Confronted with the Mormons acquiring lawyers, petitions
being exchanged with the governor, messengers traveling back and
forth to Ohio, and the public announcement to resist the removal
agreement by defending themselves, the vigilantes renewed their
harrassment and attacks on the Saints. During the first week of
November 1833 several confrontations between the two groups
occurred with increasing hostilities. On the first of November,
Richard McCarty was seized in the act of attempting to destroy
the Gilbert and Whitney store, and taken before the Justice of the
Peace, Samuel Weston. Seven persons testified against McCarty
but Weston refused to issue a warrant and McCarty was freed. The
next day McCarty obtained a warrant against Phelps, Corrill,
Gilbert and others, from Weston and proceeded to arrest the very
men who had captured him the day before.\textsuperscript{15}

Not fearing any legal reprisals and rationalizing that the
Mormons had betrayed their trust by not honoring the expulsion
agreement, armed groups of vigilantes again began to make assaults
upon the Mormon homes and settlements. These attack were met
with increased resistance and violence to a point of anarchy which
justified Lieutenant Governor Boggs into calling out the militia,

\textsuperscript{14}Roberts, \textit{Comprehensive History}, I, 342.

\textsuperscript{15}Barrett, \textit{Joseph Smith and the Restoration}, p. 259.
under Colonel Pitcher. The militia forces, however, ironically included many of the Jackson County vigilantes who were perpetrating the assaults on the Mormons. Aware of this and anticipating the violence of the coming day (November 5th), Lt. Governor Doggs paid a midnight visit to Partridge, Phelps and Gilbert to warn them and request that they flee the county. Traditionallly this event has been interpreted as a secret, last-minute strike of conscience on the part of Boggs. However, considering the results of this midnight rendezvous it may have been a fully planned part of the strategy designed to acquire Mormon compliance and expulsion without resorting to armed confrontation. Rather than delivering a secret warning to the Mormon leaders designed to ease his conscience, the meeting may well have been a dictation of surrender terms which included immediate evacuation from Jackson County. Under the circumstances, with excitement running high and the militia mobilized under Colonel Pitcher, Mormon resistance would have been quite futile.

The Night Brigade

The next morning (November 5) while the militia forces gathered at Independence, the Mormons began a quiet exodus northward to Clay County. But no sooner had the evacuation begun, than the Mormons in the outlying areas received intelligence that several of their brethren had been captured, jailed and were about to be killed in Independence. Frantic to aid their cohorts, one

hundred-fifty partially armed volunteers under Lyman Night boldly marched toward Independence expecting to free the Mormon prisoners. Within a mile of Independence the grossly outnumbered Mormon regiment was halted and informed that the militia had been called out for their protection and that the six Mormon prisoners were only in protective custody. They were then notified that all belligerents were being disarmed and must therefore surrender their weapons. The Mormons complied.\(^\text{17}\)

With the majority of the Mormon forces disarmed and divided, the vigilantes now made sporadic attacks upon their settlements, driving them north to the county border. By the 7th of November, the banks of the Missouri were lined with the Mormon exiles. Eliza Partridge, then 13 years old, recounted these events as follows:

We travelled three miles and camped on the bank of the river under a high bluff. During the night the rain poured down in torrents . . . a great amount, if not all of our provisions which we had laid up for the winter, were lost. We left our homes with many of our things in them. Our lands, our orchards and our improvements of every kind, we left to benefit those who had driven us away.\(^\text{18}\)

With the ground covered by an early snow, the Partridge family camped on the banks of the Missouri river for five days before the ferry could transport them across into Clay County. Brother Partridge stretched a tent over some house logs to serve as a temporary shelter. It was during this first night in their

\(^{17}\)Corrill, *A Brief History*, p. 20.

make-shift tent on the northern bank of the Missouri River that the Partridge family along with their fellow exiles witnessed a glorious meteonic shower. Eliza recounted:

It was here that I saw that stars fall. They came down almost as thick as snow flakes and could be seen till the daylight hid them from sight. Some of our enemies thought the day of judgement had come and were very much frightened but the Saints rejoiced and considered as one of the sights of the latter-days. 19

During this tragic month of November, Bishop Partridge wrote a letter to Joseph Smith to appraise him of their circumstances and to seek his counsel. In this letter he also described this unusual occurance. He stated that:

From one or two o'clock till day light on the morning of the 13th of November appeared an extraordinary phenomenon. The heavens were literally filled with meteors or falling stars as they are called. I was encamped on the north side of the Missouri opposite Independence and it appeared to us that they shot off in every way from us . . . I viewed them for more than an hour before daylight and probably saw thousands. At one time in the north east there appeared probably 40 to 100 at one time, they streamed down almost as thick as rain as it appears at a distance when the sun shines upon it. During this sight our people rejoiced but the world's people were much frightened. 20

This phenomenon seems the only consolation and encouragement during this tragic month, which understandably saw the optimism of Bishop Partridge reach a low. He further stated to the Prophet in this letter that:

If we are delivered and permitted to return to our homes it must be by the interposition of God, for we can

19 ibid., p. 10.
see no prospect of help from government, and it appears to me that naught but the judgment of God will open the way for our return.\(^2\)

For the next several days Bishop Partridge continued to aid other Mormon refugees to cross the river and obtain shelter in Clay County. It was reported that "every vacant cabin in the south half of Clay County was occupied by the Mormon people."\(^2\) In his letter to Joseph Smith, Bishop Partridge described their predicament and informed the Prophet that "many are living in tents and shanties not being able to procure houses."\(^3\)

The Partridges joined with John Corrill's family and shared what was described as "a miserable old house,"\(^4\) with a dirt floor and a fireplace. So open and poorly constructed was this old house that they "often found lizards or poisonous snakes among their boxes and things."\(^5\) Little did they realize that this was to be their home for the next two years.

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\(^{1}\)Ibid.


\(^{3}\)Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 9


\(^{5}\)Ibid., p. 23.
Chapter 10

GRAND JURY IN JACKSON

With the majority of the Jackson County Saints now precariously settled along the northern bank of the Missouri River in Clay County, the leaders of the church initiated a series of petitions and legal suits designed to attain redress. Among these petitions was a second letter of complaint addressed to Governor Dunklin, dated 6 December 1833. This statement of grievances was primarily a scenario of the events and improprieties suffered by the Saints in their expulsion from their former homes and lands, and a declaration of their desire to be resettled in Jackson County as soon as their safety could be insured.¹

The Mormons, however, recognized that they were no match for the Jackson County vigilantes and therefore petitioned the Governor to provide military protection by calling out the militia or even a detachment of United States Rangers in their behalf. At that time a regiment of rangers was stationed at Leavenworth in northeast Kansas. The Mormon petitioners here suggested that their contingent be reassigned to Independence. In addition to official military protection the Mormons also requested the right to organize themselves into a militia troop of "Jackson Guards"

¹History of the Church, I, 451-452.
and be furnished with arms by the state. The final request of the petition was for the creation of a court of inquiry "to investigate the whole matter of the mob against the 'Mormons'." This document was then signed by the six remaining members of the Mormon leadership in Missouri including Edward Partridge (Oliver Cowdery was in Kirtland).  

From the response of Governor Dunklin, dated February 4, 1834, it appeared that the troubles for the Mormons were over and that the requests of the petition were to be granted. In addition to assuring the Mormons that their lands would be restored, the Governor immediately called a court of inquiry under Judge Ryland of the 5th circuit court of Missouri to investigate the Mormon allegations. This grand jury was to be held at Independence, which was the County Seat, and would therefore necessitate an armed guard to protect the Mormon witnesses. For this purpose, the Governor ordered Captain Atchison and his company of "Liberty Blues" to guard the witnesses during the trial. Furthermore, the Governor ordered the Attorney General to personally attend the trial and oversee its proceedings.

Accordingly, on the 23rd of February 1834, Edward Partridge and about a dozen other Mormon witnesses in behalf of the state, met the 50-man militia escort on the banks of the Missouri which was to protect them during the scheduled Grand Jury Investigation. The group was then taken into Independence where they met with both

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2Ibid.

3Corrill, A Brief History, p. 20.
the District Attorney, Mr. Reese, and the Attorney General, Mr. Walls. Wells informed them that the secrecy of the mob had prevented him from acquiring sufficient evidence to proceed with the case and that criminal prosecutions appeared hopeless.  

By this time the word had apparently circulated among the Jackson County vigilantes that the Mormon leaders were back in town with the intention of suing for redress. The result was a rapid gathering of the former Jackson County citizens committee. Threatened by impending violence Judge Hyland informed Captain Atchison that his services were no longer wanted in the country. Atchison then assembled his regiment and the Mormon witnesses and "marched out of town to the tune of Yankee Doodle, in quick time." Thus ended the Mormon's day in court without even appearing before the Judge or presenting any official testimony.  

From this second petition to the Governor and other documents of this period it is obvious that the Mormons fully intended to return to Jackson County as soon as their safety could be assured. Church policy mandated the retention of these properties for future settlement. Later, members of the church were even threatened with excommunication for attempting to sell Jackson County lands. Church literature from this and subsequent periods also reaffirmed the importance of Independence, Jackson County as the "center stake of Zior."  

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4 *Journal History*, Feb. 27, 1834.
5 Ibid.
The total failure of the Grand Jury to resolve the crisis motivated Partridge, Phelps and Gilbert to petition the President of the United States, Andrew Jackson. In this petition they informed the president of the inability of the State of Missouri to adequately protect them in their rights, citing the intimidation of the Grand Jury as an example. However, because the petition included a request for military assistance from the "general Government," it was referred to Lewis Cass of the War Department who informed the Mormon petitioners that:

The President cannot call out a Military force to aid in the execution of the state laws, until proper requisition is made upon him by the constituted authorities.7

Apparently, the Mormon petitioners foresaw this requirement and had previously requested Governor Dunklin, in a third letter, to make such a request upon the president.8 The Governor's response was again reassuring of the Mormon position. He informed the Mormons that he had personally concluded that "the laws, both civil and military, seem deficient in affording your society proper protection . . ."9 He was therefore planning to station military troops near Jackson. Public opinion, he said, "is with the Saints.10 But the Mormons were apparently growing impatient and leary of the Governor's promise. Four days after the response was received by

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7 Journal History, May 2, 1834.
8 Ibid., April 10, 1834.
9 Ibid., April 20, 1834.
10 Ibid.
Partridge, a fourth letter was directed to Governor Dunlin. In this letter the petitioners again informed the Governor of the arms confiscation by Colonel Pitcher and requested their return, or replacement with state arms granted to a Mormon militia. 11 But here again, as in the case of the Grand Jury, the Governor proved helpless to enforce his own executive edicts. The return of the confiscated Mormon guns had been ordered by the Governor as early as December 1833. An inquiry was held in late December which resulted in the arrest of Colonel Pitcher on the 20th of February 1834. The records of this trial however did not reach the Governor until May, and only then by his order. 12

"From the facts brought out in that trial," the Governor ordered General S.D. Lucas to return the guns to the Mormons. But rather than comply with the order, Lucas resigned. The order was then given to Colonel Pitcher himself, but by this time the arms had been distributed among the militia troops who simply defied the executive order. Compliance proved unenforceable. 13

This fourth petition also informed the Governor of the creation of a quasi-military regiment of Mormon volunteers called "Zion’s Camp," which was then assembling in Ohio with the objective of aiding in the recovery of Jackson County lands. 14

11 Ibid., April 24, 1834.
12 Roberts, Comprehensive History, 1, 355-356.
13 Ibid.
14 Journal History, April 24, 1834.
It had been hoped that this regiment of Mormons would number about 500 volunteers, but the call to redeem Zion was answered by only 130. This group of volunteers, under the personal command of Joseph Smith, never intended to storm Jackson County and resettle the Mormon exiles by force; rather, the intention was to supplement government forces in a police action to protect the returning Mormons. But by mid-June and the arrival of Zion's Camp in Missouri, governmental inaction and increased anti-Mormon sentiments had destroyed all hope of joint-initiative. Moreover, the vigilante group, having learned of the camp's arrival and intentions, had readily prepared themselves for combat thus discouraging any hope for a peaceful settlement.

Bishop Partridge apparently feared for the lives of the Zion's Camp volunteers and journeyed out to the Chariton River to meet them. He informed Smith of the hostile feelings and prejudice that existed against them and apparently advised him not to proceed on to Jackson County.

Without state aid the military objectives of Zion's Camp were abandoned. Tired, discouraged and apparently defeated, a council meeting was held among the camp on the 23rd of June 1834. Here Smith called several individuals to receive their "endowments" with the anticipated completion of the Kirtland Temple. Among those selected was Bishop Partridge.

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15 History of the Church, II, 64.
16 Ibid., II, 55.
Edward Partridge was called and chosen, to go to Kirtland and receive his endowment with power from on high, and also, to stand in his office as Bishop to purchase lands in the state of Missouri.\(^\text{17}\)

Ten days later a council of High Priests convened in Clay County over which Smith also presided. During these proceedings which continued daily from the 3rd to the 7th of July, Zion's Camp was disbanded and a lengthy appeal for peace was drafted as an expression of the desires of the Mormons throughout the world.\(^\text{18}\)

In addition to these matters a total reorganization of the Church's leadership in Missouri was initiated. A presidency composed of David Whitmer, W.W. Phelps and John Whitmer was selected with a council of twelve High Priests to serve as the chief administrators in "Zion."

Bishop Partridge stated to the council that a greater responsibility rested upon him than before their organization as it was not his privilege to counsel with any of them, except the president, and his own counselors; and desired their prayers that he might be enabled to act in righteousness.\(^\text{19}\)

This reorganization did not release Partridge from his position of Bishop, but did alter and diminish his responsibilities. However, a week after the adjournment of the council meeting the newly organized High Council, as it was called, appointed Bishop Partridge, Orson Pratt, Isaac Morley, and Zebedee Coltrin to visit the scattered Brethren in the region.\(^\text{20}\)

\(^{17}\)Ibid., II, 112.
\(^{18}\)Ibid., II, 123.
\(^{19}\)Ibid., II, 125.
\(^{20}\)Journal History, July 12, 1834.
Concerning this "mission" to the scattered brethren on the 19th of June Orson Pratt entered the following in his journal.

Bishop Partridge and myself having been appointed by the High Council to visit the scattered Saints throughout Clay County, and set the churches in order commenced our mission. We held eight meetings in different parts of the county.21

By the 31st of July the four emissaries made their report to the High Council. At that meeting Edward Partridge and others testified against Nathan West for "teaching contrary to counsel (namely encouraging the brethren to practice gifts—speaking in tongues)."22

Partridge's position as Bishop in Zion had assuredly undergone some distinct changes. His primary calling had been to administer the Law of Consecration and Stewardship, which due to the lack of any significant property ownership was simply inoperative. Partridge seems to have functioned in a rather minor capacity during this first six months after the reorganization. It was recorded that he counseled with Wilford Woodruff and Harry Brown as they prepared to go on a mission,23 but for the most part it appears that he was awaiting his own call to travel back to Kirtland and receive his promised "Endowment from on High."

21 Ibid., July 19, 1834. 22 Ibid., July 31, 1834.
23 Ibid., January 13, 1835.
Chapter 11

DEDICATION OF THE KIRTLAND TEMPLE

During these turbulent experiences in Missouri, the Kirtland, Ohio community of the church had been feverishly building a temple for the performance of higher and more sacred ordinances including the ordinances previously referred to as the "Endowment." Bishop Partridge has been one of the first selected to receive his endowment following the completion of the Kirtland Temple. As noted earlier, this selection had taken place at the meeting with the members of Zion's Camp on the 23rd of June, 1834. In conjunction with that selection, Partridge had also been called to serve as a missionary with Thomas B. Marsh during his travels back to Kirtland. Accordingly, Bishop Partridge and Thomas B. Marsh left Clay County for Kirtland on the 27th of January, 1835, a year before the Kirtland Temple would be completed.

Their mission took them north across Missouri, then east to Illinois, then on to Indiana and finally into Ohio. This journey took three months during which time they covered approximately 1100 miles on foot, mostly in snow. Their total expenditures amounted

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1History of the Church, II. 112.
3Partridge Manuscript File, Folder #3.
to $4.00 which they had been given.\textsuperscript{4} On the 29th of April, Thomas Marsh and Edward Partridge presented their mission report to the Bishop in Kirtland, Newel K. Whitney, and five days later Partridge received his Patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Senior.\textsuperscript{5} In this blessing Partridge was promised that his tongue would be loosened and he would be given great power to speak in the fulfillment of his mission. He was further promised that his family would be preserved in health and reassured of his safety while he completed his mission, after which he would "return to enjoy their society."\textsuperscript{6}

A Second Mission

During the next month Partridge was busy preaching in Kirtland and taking care of personal business which he had left abruptly four years before to journey to Missouri.\textsuperscript{7} Then on the 2nd of June, he and Isaac Morley set out on a second mission to visit the branches of the Church in the eastern states. This mission, which lasted until the latter part of October 1835, covered about two thousand miles and included travels into Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, and Connecticut.\textsuperscript{8} They reported that they had visited twenty-six

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{5}Ibid., Folder #6.
\textsuperscript{6}Ibid. See Appendix J.
\textsuperscript{7}Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 33
\textsuperscript{8}Journal History, June 2, 1835.
branches of the Church with a combined membership of about 700
"lively members." They baptized three and collected donations for
the completion of the Kirtland Temple.9

During this mission Partridge also had the opportunity to
visit once more with his parents and family in Massachusetts. He
spent about two weeks with them altogether but still was not able
to convince them to join him in the "Church of Christ."10

Upon their return Joseph Smith announced a revelation
which specifically complimented Partridge and Morley for their
efforts and directed them to remain in Kirtland to attend a school
and special "Solemn Assembly."11

Behold I am well pleased with my servant Isaac Morley
and my servant Edward Partridge, because of the integrity
of their hearts in laboring in my vineyard, for the
salvation of the souls of men. Verily I say unto you,
their sins are forgiven them; therefore say unto them, in
my name, that it is my will that they should tarry for a
little season, and attend the school, and also the Solemn
Assembly, for a wise purpose in me. Even so. Amen.12

Partridge and Morley were further complimented by President
Smith following the Sunday services at which they were the speakers.

Smith wrote as follows:

Went to meeting at the usual hour. Elder Morley
preached; and in the afternoon, Bishop Partridge. These
discourses were well adapted to the times in which we
live, and the circumstances under which we are placed.
Their words were words of wisdom, like apples of gold in

9 Partridge Manuscript File, Folder #3.
10 Ibid.
11 History of the Church, II, 302-303.
pictures of silver, spoken in the simple accents of a child, yet sublime as the voice of an angel. The saints appeared to be much pleased with the beautiful discourses of these two fathers in Israel. 13

School of the Elders

During the months of November, December and most of January, three to four hundred Elders gathered to Kirtland and awaited the completion of the temple. During this time Partridge served on a committee to establish the rules and regulations for the new building, in addition to attending classes in grammar, Hebrew and gospel subjects.

Partridge also used this time to correspond with his family back in Missouri. His letters included exhortations, poems and prayers and were very warm in expressing his deep concern and love for his family. It is evident from these letters that to remain in Kirtland, in spite of the temple dedication, was a sacrifice for Partridge who would have preferred being with his family. One particular note to his daughter Harriet is representative of these letters:

"Harriet, my Daughter,

"It rejoices me to have you write me that you are determined to keep the commandments of God. If you live and are faithful, you will be permitted to return to Zion with songs of everlasting joy. You must not forget your Father in your prayers. You say you will be glad to see me. I also shall be glad to see all of you, and I trust that I shall see you in the spring, if our lives are spared. We must be willing to forsake all things for Christ and the Gospel. I hope you will be patient until it is the will of the Lord that I should return.

13 Journal History, November 29, 1835.
"I am glad to hear that the children have been to school, but was sorry to hear that any were sick."
"I remain your loving Father,
[signed] "Edward Partridge"

At the end of the first week in January, 1836, a feast was held at Bishop Whitney's for all the members of the Church in Kirtland. During this feast, Patriarch Smith gave numerous blessings to those in attendance. Two weeks later on the 21st of January, 1836, Bishop Partridge and his two counselors, along with Bishop Whitney and his counselors met with the Presidency, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and F.G. Williams for the purpose of being anointed with holy oil. After the Presidency sanctified the oil

... Brother J. Smith Jun. anointed his father pronouncing blessings upon him. Then all the Presidents beginning at the oldest rubbed their hands over his head and face ... then Brother Joseph prayed to the Lord to accept of the anointing and all the presidency with right hand uplifted to heaven said Amen.15

This was repeated for each member of the Presidency with Joseph Smith applying the holy oil.

After the Presidents, Bishop Whitney and his council were anointed after the same manner, then myself [Bishop Partridge] and my council. Then Bro. Parrish as scribe for the Presidency.

Hyrum Smith then anointed Father John Smith, who anointed the rest of the High Council of Kirtland. Bro. David Whitney anointed Simeon Carter who anointed the High Council from Zion.

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14 Bancroft Library Collection, University of Utah, Film Reel 13, Box 4. See Appendix L.

15 Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 53.
... Hymns were sung and a number saw visions, and others were blessed with the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and we shouted Hosanna to the Most High.15

The following day saw a continuance of this ordinance with the anointing of Thomas B. Marsh and the twelve as well as the Presidents of the Seventy.

The Presidency of the Church appointed Brother Carlos Smith as President of the High Priests in Kirtland. Pres. Joseph Smith Jun. requested Pres. Sidney Rigdon to ask the Lord to accept the performances of the evening and to instruct us.17

Partridge further reported that these meetings were accompanied by visions, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and the "speaking in unknown tongues."18

It was two months later before the temple would be dedicated.19 With the completion of the dedicatory services the Elders were now free to return to their families. The spirituality within the Church appears to have been at a very high level at this time. When Bishop Partridge and his counselors, and President W.W. Phelps embarked from Kirtland to return to Missouri, they were accompanied to Chardon, Ohio, by the Prophet and the other principal heads of the church. The entire journey home took about a month, ending almost 16 months of being away from his family.20

15 Ibid.
17 Ibid., p. 54.
19 Ibid.
19 The temple was dedicated March 27, 1836.
20 Journal History, April 9, 1836.
Chapter 12

A COUNTY FOR MORMONS

Little had changed in Clay County during his absence. His family along with John Corrill's still occupied the old dilapidated one room structure that they had left them in 16 months earlier. For the Mormons in Missouri it had been a period of rather uneventful peace with little or no change. Perhaps this had been due to the conspicuous absence of the Mormon leaders or perhaps because there had been no marked growth of the Mormon community to arouse fears. At any rate, return of the Mormon leaders to Missouri and the purchase of an estimated sixteen hundred acres of Clay County land again alarmed the surrounding populace.¹

On the 29th of June the people of Liberty held a public meeting to consider the expansion of the Mormon community in their county. It was felt by this group that continued growth would eventually result in a civil war between the Mormons and the vigilance groups. This citizens council felt that it was their duty to "step between" the two divergent communities in order to avert such a confrontation.

The council adopted a resolution which stated their fears and called upon the Mormons to comply with the following four planks:

¹Gentry, Saints in Northern Missouri, pp. 49-50.
(1) To stop immediately all immigration of Mormons into Clay County.

(2) All recent, unsettled immigrants were to leave immediately.

(3) All those with 40 acres or less were to gather their crops and leaves as soon as possible.

(4) Those with 40 acres or more were allowed to sell their property.

This resolution was presented to Partridge, Corrill, Marsh, Higby, and Morley the next day by a committee appointed at the Liberty meeting. Partridge reported that "we gave them to understand that we wanted peace and were willing to make sacrifices to keep it, if it were necessary." ²

This preliminary agreement to the terms of the resolution was ratified at a meeting of the Elders of the Church on the 1st of July. The following day the Elders drafted a Preamble and resolution which formally accepted the terms to remove in order "to save the county from Civil War." ³ This document was then presented to the Clay County citizens who seemingly were satisfied with this action. However, within a week a militia was called to Liberty for the purpose of raising a 200 man force which was designated to reconnoiter along the western border of the county.

Confrontation with the militia forces was apparently averted by two simultaneous actions which seemingly convinced all

² Partridge, Manuscript File, Folder #3.
³ Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 29.
concerned that the Mormons were proceeding to evacuate Clay County. The first of these actions was the exploration and purchase by Partridge, Corrill and Phelps of a tract of land in the northern part of the state. The only claim to this part of the state was held by two or three old bee hunters who had been making a living by hunting the nests of wild bees. Partridge purchased these rights, questionably as they were, in order to prevent any legal challenges in the future.

The second action was the creation of a new county especially designated for the Mormons by the Missouri General Assembly. This action, initiated by Alexander W. Doniphan, a member of the General Assembly as well as legal counsel for the Mormons, subdivided Ray county to form Daviess and Caldwell Counties, the latter being specifically created for the Mormons. In September of 1836, pursuant to relocating within their own county, the Mormons established the towns of Shoal Creek, now renamed Far West.

Far West was designated as the county seat for Caldwell County and soon boasted a population of perhaps 3,000 settlers, almost exclusively Mormons. By August, 1837 the leadership in Far West had unanimously resolved to build a temple. Land near the public square was dedicated and Bishop Partridge was appointed to serve as treasurer with his counselor, Isaac Morley as his secretary.

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6Britton, Missouri Historical Society, p. 149.
7History of the Church, II, 505.
The move to Far West marked the beginning of a new episode for the Church and accordingly the economic practices again took on a unique complexion. The majority of the members apparently were opposed to the early communitarian practices and therefore decided to conduct their economic interests on an individualized basis. Others, however, either through economic necessity or possible desire to remain in cooperatives entered one of four large "corporations" or "Big Field United Firms" which were created as economic communes. 7

By November, 1837, Partridge was functioning as the appraiser of town lots in Far West and was involved in planning for further town plot expansion. Eliza Partridge, now seventeen years old, took a job as a school teacher to the children of some non-Mormons and moved out of Caldwell. 8

This peace, prosperity and growth, however, was now marred by a new strain on the church—the apostasy and excommunication of many of its primary leaders as well as general membership. By November of 1837 the toll of the apostasy and excommunications had become so severe that a special conference was convened at Far West, attended by the First Presidency, to reorganize and fill the vacancies in the various quorums. Even during the proceedings of this conference additional difficulties surfaced with the Church

7 Grant, Missouri Historical Review, pp. 25-33.

failing to sustain Fredrick C. Williams as a counselor to President Smith. Bishop Partridge had seconded the nomination of Williams and even spoken in his behalf, but the congregation chose instead to sustain Hyrum Smith as the counselor. This turmoil within the Church was particularly difficult for Bishop Partridge, who, during a two year period, not only witnessed but often presided over the excommunication proceedings of many of his closest friends and associates. On the 5th of February, 1838, charges were leveled against W.W. Phelps and John Whitmer of the Missouri Presidency. On the 13th of April, charges were also preferred against President David Whitmer, who was also one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon.

Their deposition took place before a general assembly of the Church at Far West then repeated in several other settlements in upper Missouri. Their trials are a matter of some controversy, the defendants claiming the privilege of being tried before Partridge and a special council of twelve High Priests, rather than being deposed simply by the lack of a sustaining vote from the general membership.

Also in early April, Bishop Partridge received charges against Oliver Cowdery, another of the three Book of Mormon witnesses. The charges primarily sustained against him concerned his preference to practice law and pursue other business interests rather than serve in his church appointments. Apparently, when

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9History of the Church, II, 522.
challenged by the Presidency concerning this practice he became very critical of the church's interference. Bishop Partridge served notice upon Oliver Cowdery of the charges preferred against him, but Cowdery declined to attend the trial, and chose instead to write Bishop Partridge and inform him of his desire to withdraw from the church. 10

The apostasies and excommunications were not to end here. By mid-March of 1833, I.B. Marsh and John Corrill, two of Partridge's closest associates had also joined a long list of dissenters from the church. Corrill had been so close to the Partridge family that he performed the baptism of Emily, one of the Partridge children, and Marsh had been Partridge's first missionary companion. Several others of those who seceded from the church did so as a result of the actions and controversy surrounding a secret military conspiracy known as the Danites. The principle instigator behind this force was Sampson Avard, a dogmatic, forceful and ambitious leader among the Mormons. He had separated a group of specialty forces from the Caldwell Militia and indoctrinated them with concepts of revenge and plunder against the Missourians. Many of the members of this eliteest corp believed that the entire enterprise had the sanction of Smith and the Presidency. However, when the actions of the group became known and were repudiated by the church, Smith claimed to have not only opposed its actions but was ignorant of its existence. The controversy was eventually

10 Roberts, Comprehensive History, I, 431-432.
carried all the way to the Ray County Circuit Court, with Smith and many other leaders charged with offenses which ranged from burglary to murder.
Chapter 13

SIEGE AT FAR WEST

Notwithstanding the internal problems experienced by the church during the Far West period, the small Mormon community continued to grow and prosper. New towns were established and expansion even went beyond the boundaries of Caldwell, "The Mormon County," into neighboring Carrel and Daviess counties. In June of 1833, a Mormon settlement was organized on the Grand River in Daviess County, and was named Adam-Ondi-Anman. This location had particular significance in Mormon theology because of the belief that Adam's first prayer and sacrifice to God after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden was offered here. A second township, Dewitt, was established in Carrel County, but because of the prejudices harbored by the surrounding populace, it never progressed much beyond the encircled wagon stage. Also by this time the Mormons had been able to establish an independent militia force which boasted a strength of 500 men.

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1History of the Church, Ill, 34.
2Britton, Missouri Historical Society, p. 149.
3History of the Church, Ill, 198.
The Gallatin Election Riot

This obvious expansion and growth of the Mormon community, although inspiring to Mormons, only served to reawaken the fears of the surrounding communities. The first eruption of hostilities came in conjunction with the Gallatin elections of August 6, 1838. W.P. Peniston was a Daviess County attorney who sought election to the state legislature. He and his followers feared that the Mormon vote, which had greatly increased due to the settlement of Adam-Ondi-Ahman, would prevent his election. When the Peniston supporters attempted to prevent a group of Mormons from voting, a riot broke out. The result was a rash of unfavorable publicity and the reawakening of old fears and sentiments against the Mormons.

In an attempt to counter any possible reprisals, Smith, accompanied by an intimidating number of Far West Militiamen, journeyed to Daviess County to obtain pledges from influential citizens not to molest the Mormons. Among those called upon was the Justice of the Peace, Adam Black. Smith obtained the pledge he sought but within days, Black entered a complaint in Ray County against the Mormon society. In the affidavit, Black charged that 154 armed men had surrounded his home and threatened and abused him, coercing him into signing the pledge not to molest the Mormons. The Mormons first became aware of this indictment when a committee of citizens from Ray County arrived at Far West on the 11th of

4Ibid., III, 61.
August. Their expressed objective was to investigate the charges Black had filed against the Mormons. A meeting was organized with Bishop Partridge serving as chairman. Little seems to have been accomplished, both groups being powerless to inform each other of what had taken place. Soon after Smith and Colonel Wright (of the Far West Militia) volunteered to be tried before Judge King in Daviess County. Accordingly, trial was set for the 7th of September. Peniston served as the prosecutor with Adam Black as the only prosecution witness. The court ruled in favor of Black and held Smith and Wright over on $500 bond. But before any further action could be taken in the case, a series of tragic episodes took place which resulted in what may be termed a declaration of war against the Mormons by the state of Missouri. During the middle of October, burnings took place in both Gailatin and Millpart where several structures were completely destroyed. In the midst of the attempts by the Mormons to deny any involvement, a secret band of Mormon Militia forces, known as the Danites, were exposed. They had been expressly organized to seek revenge and demonstrate that the Mormons were "bent to use force to maintain their rights and insure a degree of safety." These charges apparently originated from within the Mormon community itself and included confessions by T.B. Marsh, Orson Hyde and Samson Avard, the leader of the Danites. Avard attested to staging a series of secret raids of revenge on the surrounding non-Mormon communities, all allegedly under the

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5 Ibid., III, 64-65. 6 Ibid., III, 70-73. 7 Ibid., III, 68.
direction of Joseph Smith and other church leaders. Armed with these indictment, Governor Boggs viewed the Mormons as enemies against the citizens of Missouri and issued his famous extermination orders to the State Militia. These orders, first presented to General Lucas, declared that:

"The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the State, if necessary, for the Public Good. Their outrages are beyond all description."8

The very day of issuance of this extermination order, a band of Militia troops attacked the Mormon settlement at Haun's Mill and left 19 dead.9 Three days later the central units of the State Militia, under General Lucas, approached Far West. Records vary as to the number of troops available to Lucas for his attack, but estimates range from 2,500 to 6,000 men, easily enough to waste the Mormon town.10 Communiques were exchanged between General Clark and Colonel Hinkle of the Mormon Militia and a rendezvous was appointed. Colonel Hinkle was accompanied by a negotiating committee of four, which included John Corrill, Reed Peck, W.W. Phelps and Captain Morrison. Upon arrival at the camp of General Lucas, the committee was first informed of the extermination order issued by Governor Boggs and then of the vastly superior military strength at the General's command. John Corrill recounts his fear at this confrontation.

8 Ibid., III, 175.
9 History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, (St. Louis: National Historical Co., 1886), p. 149.
10 Corrill, A Brief History, pp. 42-43.
There lay three thousand men, highly excited and full of vengeance, and . . . they now had authority from the executive to exterminate, with orders to cut off our retreat.11

The Hinkle Betrayal?

Colonel Hinkle and the negotiating committee were presented with the terms of surrender which included:

1. Giving up all Mormon leaders, to be tried and punished; and

2. Complete Mormon disarmament, settlement of debts, and evacuation from the state.12

Hinkle, faced with overwhelming odds, agreed to the capitulation and returned to Far West. The events of the next several hours are the subject of some controversy as to whether or not Smith and the other leaders were deceived by Hinkle and perhaps the other members of the negotiating committee. John Corrill reports the situation as follows in a letter written as an explanation of his estrangement from the church:

"We immediately went into town and collected Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, George W. Robertson together, and told them what the Governor's order and General Lucas required. Smith said if it was the Governor's order, they would submit, and the Lord would take care of them. So we hurried with them as fast as possible to the place appointed."13

Smith, on the other hand, reported that he was under the impression that they were simply being summoned to take part in the

\[11\] Ibid., p. 42.

\[12\] History of the Church, III, 189-189.

\[13\] Corrill, A Brief History, p. 42.
negotiations. "hoping to avert an armed conflict the leaders agreed to an 'interview'." Smith further recounted that upon their arrival at the rendezvous, Hinkle simply turned them over to General Lucas as prisoners, announcing, "General these are the prisoners I agreed to deliver up."14 When later condemned by Smith for this alleged betrayal, Hinkle and the other members of the committee left the church. Corrill further reiterated his position by this statement:

"Smith had previously requested that after receiving the order, or finding out what the Governor required, we should see him before we agreed to any proposals. We did so, and although the Mormons have accused us of giving up their leaders by intrigue, yet Smith himself was the first man that agreed to the proposals."15

The only reference to this event found among the Partridge papers is rather vague and second hand, but does support Joseph Smith as having been betrayed. Partridge recounted that on the second day after the arrival of the militia troops, according to his understanding.

They (the militia authorities) wanted an interview at their camp with some of the leading men of the church to make known to them their business and that these men might return back again the next morning. According to their request the men named, I think six in number put themselves into their hands. No sooner had they got these men in their possession, than they commenced the most hideous shouting and yelling I ever heard, they made the country around seemingly for miles ring with their awful shouts.16

14 History of the Church, III, 188-189.
15 Corrill, A Brief History, p. 41.
16 Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," p. 46. See Appendix P.
Nevertheless, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, George W. Robertson, and Hyrum Smith and Amasa Lyman, who had later joined them, were presented before an impromptu military court, found guilty of treason and sentenced to be executed the following morning. The execution, however, was thwarted by a courageous stand of defiance by General Alexander W. Doniphan who not only refused to carry out the execution order, but accused General Lucas of a complete miscarriage of his authority for which he would be held accountable. No doubt this caused Lucas to relinquish his execution order. By now, however, he was confronted with the possibility that General Clark, one of his military rivals, would enter the scene and share in the honor of capturing the Mormon leaders. Hastily he assembled a light guard to rush Smith and his companions to Independence. There, the famous prisoners could be put on display before the Missouri citizens. In the meantime, Far West was placed under martial law and occupied by the militia troops. The scene as described by Edward Partridge was one of open carnage and wanton destruction.

The soldiers took my hay and corn, and after my corn was gone they threw down my corn crib which was built of logs and burnt them. They also took logs from a hovel I had been building for my cows and burnt them, they also took my rails and boards... the troops burnt the logs I should judge of between fifty and a hundred houses in Far West, and the town was nearly stripped of fence. The weather was extremely cold... so they were obliged to keep very large fires to keep from freezing and they hauled no wood but burnt house logs and rails.18

17History of the Church, III, 200-204.
18Partridge, “Biography and Family Genealogy,” p. 57. See Appendix P.
Partridge further explained that many Mormon families living on the outskirts of Far West had been particularly threatened by the mobs and were in the process of moving their homes to town when the militia arrived. The logs from many of these homes still remained in piles and made easy plunder for the soldiers. 19

During the first several days of this occupation General Clark had arrived and began to make additional arrests among the remaining Mormons. Apparently, General Clark first collected 46 prisoners, which included Edward Partridge, at Bunks Tavern, where they were informed that he "intended to make an example of them" and that the Mormons were "not fit to live in a moral society." General Clark further emphasized that he intended to execute the treaty made by Lucas and Hinkle and the order of Governor Boggs. He then assembled his prisoners with an additional ten more on the Temple Square and delivered a written speech to them which included the following threats and indictments:

... The orders of the governor to me were, that you should be exterminated and not allowed to remain in the state, and had your leaders not been given up, and the terms of the treaty complied with, before this, you and your families would have been destroyed and your houses in ashes... 20

In another account, Partridge also described the manner in which the Mormons were compelled to relinquish property ownership to a committee designated to pay all the debts of church members.

Whilst I was a prisoner confined to the town of Far West, I was with the rest of the inhabitants, collected

19 ibid.
20 History of the Church, 111, 202-204.
within a circle on the public square, and there, surrounded by a strong guard, we were compelled to sign a deed of trust, which deed was designed to put our property into the hands of a committee, to be disposed of by them to pay all the debts which had been contracted by any and all who belong to the church--also to pay all damages which might be claimed by the people of Daviess County, for any damages they might have sustained from any person whatever. I would remark that all those who did deny the faith, were exonerated from signing this deed of trust.21

These additional prisoners were then transported to Richmond in Clay County where they joined Joseph Smith and the others leaders awaiting trial.22

The Extermination Order

From what is presented here it may seem difficult to understand the rationalization behind the extermination order of Governor Boggs. Surely there is no excusing this vindictive and extremist measure for which Boggs has been labelled a tyrant in Mormon accounts ever since, but it does appear that Governor Boggs was acting, at least to a degree, on the basis of exaggerated and perverted accounts of Mormon atrocities. In addition, the extent of Danite activities in seeking vengeance against the Missourians is not fully known and easily could have served as the catalyst to additional rumors and conflicts. This is not to excuse Governor Boggs, but only to suggest that the Mormon war and the extermination order were the result of a multiplicity of complex facts. Note the rationalization presented by Governor Boggs in his message of 1840:

21 Journal History, 1, 420.
22 History of the Church, III, 202.
"Those people violated the laws of the land by open
and avowed resistance to them—They had undertaken without
the aid of the civil authority to redress their real or
fancied grievances—They had instituted among themselves
a government of their own, independent of and in opposition
to the government of this State—They had, in an inclement
season of the year, driven the inhabitants of an entire
county from their homes, ravaged their crops and destroyed
their dwellings. Under these circumstances it became the
imporious duty of the executive to interpose and exercise
the power with which he was vested, to protect the lives
and property of our citizens, to restore order and tran-
quility to the country and maintain the supremacy of our
laws."23

23 Missouri General Assembly, Document Containing the
Correspondence, Orders, and Etc., in Relation to the Disturbances
with the Mormons; and the Evidence, (Fayette: Boon's Lick
Chapter 14

EXPULSION FROM MISSOURI

Arraignment at Richmond

The Mormon prisoners were incarcerated in a large one room cabin at Richmond, in Ray County. The conditions of their make-shift jail were very poor; cold and windy, with no furnishings or blankets and very meager food rations. But for Bishop Partridge and his 65 companions this was to be their residence for the duration of the trial, which lasted over three weeks. Partridge described the Richmond incarceration as follows:

We were confined to a large open room, where the cold northern blast penetrated freely. Our fires were small and our allowance for wood and food was scanty; they gave us not even a blanket to lie upon; our beds were the cold floor.

... the vilest of vile did guard us and treat us like dogs, yet we bore our oppressions without murmuring; but our souls were vexed night and day with their filthy conversation; for they constantly blasphemed God's holy name.

This was the occasion of the rebuking of the prison guards by Joseph Smith as recorded in the Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt.1

A criminal court of inquiry was convened before Austin A. King, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit on the 12th of November,

1Partridge, "Biography and Family Genealogy," pp. 52-53.

1832. Charges were filed against Edward Partridge as one of 40 defendants accused of treason, and one of 14 accused of arson, burglary, robbery, and larceny. A third charge also named Partridge as one of 26 involved in a second act of arson.\(^3\) The defense council was composed of the same attorneys that Partridge had retained in 1833 in persuasion of redress for having been tarred and feathered in Jackson County: Amos Rees, A.W. Donopner and John R. Williams.\(^4\) Under the pretense of summoning additional defense witness, the first act of the court was to compile a list of those who could testify on behalf of the Mormons. Once the list was compiled, however, the court sent out a body of armed men to obtain the witnesses. The defendants later learned that their witnesses had been collected and were held to prevent them from testifying.\(^5\)

The indictments in the case primarily centered around the activities of the secret Danite band and were based upon the testimony of Sampson Avard, who had since apostatized from the church. Avard claimed that the Danites had been organized for over fourteen months and functioned as a terror organization with aspirations to even overtake St. Louis. The entire trial, of course, focused upon Joseph Smith, who Avard named as the prime mover behind the Danites.\(^6\)

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\(^4\) *Journal History,* Nov. 12, 1833.

\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Ibid., Nov. 13, 1838.
Partridge was named as a member of the band but Avard claimed that with the exception of the last Danite expedition into Daviess County, Partridge and Isaac Morley never took an active part in the raids. Because of this Avard further claimed that Smith considered Partridge a "coward, and backward, and ought to be forbid out." 7 No response to this alleged slander was recorded by Partridge but it appears to have been of little consequence. Partridge remained incredibly loyal to Smith throughout this entire ordeal.

As a consequence of the Richmond hearing, Partridge, along with 39 others, was indicted as charged. Bail was set at $500 each with the exception of Partridge and George W. Robertson who were required to post a $1000 bond. Only eight were able to meet this bail.

Because of the inadequacy of the jail facilities at Richmond, Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, Hyrum Smith, Alexander Ogden and Sidney Rigdon, who had been indicted for treason and murder as well as the others charges, were transferred to Liberty Jail to await trial. 8 A second group composed of Parley P. Pratt, Horris Phelps, Lyman Gibbs, Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer who had been indicted for the murder of Moses Rowland, were to remain at Richmond 9 The others, including Bishop Partridge, were either released or admitted to bail.

7 Ibid.  
8 Ibid.  
9 History of the Church, III, 212.
Upon his release on the 25th of November, Partridge headed straight for Far West to rejoin his family. But the continued threats upon his life were so severe that he was forced to leave his loved ones again and flee to Illinois without them. He arranged for a friend, King Follett, to care for his family and help transport them to Illinois.

With most of the Mormon leadership jailed in Richmond, and the Saints confronted with the extermination order of Governor Boggs and the continued threats of mob violence, they began their winter's exodus from Far West. This was the spiritual end in the life of Edward Partridge. He had worked hard to build a livelihood, time and time again, only to see the fruits of his industry fall plunder to the shiftless and the greedy. With his life again threatened, and forced to turn his back on Missouri he momentarily also turned his back on his own people. It is recorded that Brigham Young proposed to Bishop Partridge to help the poor out of the state, to which Partridge replied, "the poor may take care of themselves and I will take care of myself."\(^\text{11}\) Apparently this reaction was short lived and of little consequence. Partridge relocated to Lima, which was not far from Quincy and worked relentlessly to help settle the Mormon refugees into the various communities of southern Illinois. His letters and reports illustrate that he again assumed leadership responsibilities and was a primary negotiator for new properties for resettlement. He

\(^{10}\) Lyman, "Edward Partridge Family," p. 31.

\(^{11}\) History of the Church, III, 247.
remained in close communication with Joseph Smith who at this time was still in Liberty Jail. The three beautiful sections of the Doctrine and Covenants which were written by Smith while in Liberty Jail were first released to the body of the church in a letter from Smith to Bishop Partridge. 12

The Temple Lot in Jackson

The expulsion from Far West and the destitute financial conditions of the church no doubt prompted Smith to advise the sale of the church's Jackson County holdings. This decision was relayed to Bishop Partridge who still retained the titles to so much of the church's properties. Partridge in turn granted a power of attorney to David W. Rogers to act as agent and express papers to Smith at Liberty Jail. 13 Partridge had already disposed of a considerable amount of the Jackson County lands in order to cover legal expenses incurred over the past several years. Before leaving Missouri Partridge and his wife had executed a deed to Alexander Doniphan and Ams Rees in settlement of their legal fees which amounted to $5000. The amount of 1,080.63 acres of the total 1,935.07 of Jackson County land was transferred to the attorneys. 14

Out of these land exchanges a controversy arose concerning the legal ownership of the Jackson County temple lot. Apparently,

12 Doctrine and Covenants, Sections 121, 122 and 123.

13 Journal History, March 17, 1839.

14 Branson, Missouri Historical Society, pp. 149-150.
Partridge retained the title to this property until late March, 1839, when he reportedly transferred ownership to three children, assumed to be of the Oliver Cowdery family: John Cowdery, Jane Cowdery and Joseph Smith Cowdery. This deed, dated 25 March, 1839, was not placed in record in Jackson County until 7 February, 1870, 31 years later. Oliver Cowdery died in 1850. One of his daughters, Marie Louise (Johnson), although not named in the deed, sold her "assumed" interest to George Blakeslee, Bishop of the reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in 1887.\footnote{15}{Ibid., p. 152.} In the meantime, a man by the name of James Poole, of Independence, claimed he had found Lydia Partridge and three of her five children in 1848 living in Iona and purchased the 63.43 acres of land, inclusive of the temple lot for $300.\footnote{16}{Ibid.} The lot was in turn sold to Granville Hendrick as trustee of the Church of Christ. This gave the Hendrickites a legal claim to the property. With both organizations claiming legal ownership of the "sacred" property the issue was taken to court for settlement.

In 1894 the Reorganized Church brought suit in the U.S. Circuit Court at Kansas City, Missouri, and won possession of the temple lot (2-1/2 acres). In 1895 the Church of Christ (Hendrickites) appealed the case to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and regained title to the temple lot. Through all of this, it was not discovered that the three Cowdery children named in the deed never existed. They were simply three fictitious names appearing as grantees on
the infamous deed. This was not discovered until after both the U.S. Circuit Court and the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals had passed judgment on the case. The property has remained in the custody of the Hedrickites ever since.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{17}\text{Ibid., p. 153.}\)
Chapter 15

NAUVOO

By mid winter, 1839, an estimated five thousand Mormon refugees were scattered across the countryside of western Illinois. Bishop Partridge had been joined by his family and had taken refuge in Lima, a short distance from Quincy. He considered it advantageous for the Mormons to remain scattered for the time being, except in efforts to provide for the poor, but to gather was more than social convenience among the Mormons, it was a principle tenet of their religion. With this in mind Partridge and other leaders of the church initiated early investigations to secure a possible location for resettlement. In early February, Isaac Galland had made a written offer of land and homes for the Mormons at what was then called Commerce, just eighty miles north of Quincy. Bishop Partridge, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Elias Higbee and Israel Barlow made a journey to Commerce to get a firsthand view of the proposed homesteads and to negotiate with Galland. Galland, however, was out of town on other business. Upon their return to Quincy, they called a meeting to determine a course of action. The meeting, however, was anything but decisive;


2History of the Church, III, 772.
without directives from Smith who was still jailed at Liberty, and lacking a unanimous voice among themselves, a decision simply could not be made. In the meantime, however, Smith had learned of the Galland offer and had written favorably concerning it. But the church leaders in Quincy were still not prepared to conclude such a far-reaching decision. Partridge's letter of March 5, 1839, to Smith throws considerable light on this dilemma and the condition and attitudes of the Mormons then congregated at Quincy:

The people here receive us kindly; they have contributed near $100 cash, besides other property, for the relief of the suffering among our people. . . .

Your letter respecting the trade with Galland was not received here until after our return from his residence, at the head of the shoals or rapids. If Brother Rigdon were not here, we might, after receiving your letter, come to a different conclusion respecting that trade. There are some here that are sanguine that we ought to trade with the Doctor. 3

Shortly after the writing of this letter, however, events began to transpire which ultimately led to Smith's escape and reunion with his people. It appears that by this time the entire Mormon episode in Missouri was becoming a matter of some official embarrassment to the state. It was even rumored that a member of the state legislature had participated in the Haun's Mill Massacre for which there was some demand for a federal investigation. When attorneys for Smith and his companions filed for a change of venue on the grounds that a fair trial could not be obtained in Ray County, the motion was granted and the door opened for Smith's escape.

3Ibid., III. 272-273.
It seems likely that the anti-Mormon leaders had achieved their primary objective; namely, the expulsion of the Mormons from the state of Missouri. To execute Smith at the time, however, might cause enough controversy to negate all they had accomplished. Yet, on the other hand, the charges wagad against the Mormon leaders were so severe that they could not simply be released and sent on their way. Moreover, if Smith were to remain a fugitive from the law it would be dangerous for him to even return to Missouri. Whatever their reasoning, during the transfer of the prisoners, the anti-Mormons made it so convenient to escape that it seemed to have been part of a plan.

Smith arrived in Quincy on the 22nd of April 1839 and immediately set out to reunite the church members and reorganize the church. The purchase of the Galland properties at Commerce was concluded and by late spring most of the church's membership had moved to the site now renamed Nauvoo. Here Smith would make his most pronounced attempt to establish his millennial kingdom. Bishop Partridge, however, remained in Quincy for some time partly due to his own failing health and partly to supervise the care and transport of the poor to Commerce.

Partridge, like so many others by this time, was financially destitute, and, it appears, was failing physically and emotionally as well.

I have not at this time [he wrote] two dollars in this world, one dollar and forty-five cents is all. I owe for

---

4Flanders, _Nauvoo_, p. v.
my seat, and the making clothes for some of the poor, and
some other things . . . what is best for me to do, I hardly
know. How labor I cannot perform; light labor I can, but
I know of no chance to earn anything. as anything I can
stand to do. It is quite sickly here. Five were buried
in four days 5

The Partridge family finally made their move to Nauvoo in
mid summer and rented rooms in a large storehouse with several
other families including Hyrum Smith. Eliza Partridge took a job
as a school teacher and moved back to Lima. 6

The Bishopric at this time underwent another distinct
transition. Three congregations known as wards were organized in
Nauvoo, each presided over by a bishop and two counselors. 7 In
October, at a general conference, Partridge was appointed as Bishop
of the upper ward. But his administration was to be short-lived.
In the early spring he set out to build a home for his family on a
lot outside of town. The strain, however, proved to be too much
for his already decayed condition. One day, while attempting
to move some furniture, he collapsed from exhaustion and was forced
to bed. At about this same time, his youngest daughter, Harriet,
then only 19 years old, suddenly died. 8 The emotional strain of
her death and his own weakened condition hastened his own death.
Bishop Partridge died ten days later, at the age of 46. 9

5 Journal History, June 13, 1839.
7 Roberts, Comprehensive History, IV, 17.
8 Obituary, Times and Seasons, Vol. 1, No. 8 (June 1840),
7. 193. See Appendix S.
9 Ibid.
His funeral was the first of major import to be held in
Nauvoo. His eulogies were many and of high tribute. W.W. Phelps
wrote in the Times and Seasons, the church periodical, that
Partridge had:

... ever proved himself a faithful friend. His private
and official duties were performed with an eye single to
the glory of God. He was a faithful steward and the Church
had unlimited confidence in his integrity. He lived godly
in Christ Jesus, and suffered persecution. As a bishop he
was one of the Lord's great men, and few will be able to
wear his mantle with such simple dignity. He was an honest
man, and I loved him.10

One may well conclude with many of Partridge's friends and
family members, that only a deluded fanatic could sacrifice and
endure so much for the sake of his beliefs. But to Bishop Partridge,
Mormonism and the cause of Zion was more than a belief, it was
obviously a burning testimony that the ancient Gospel of Jesus
Christ was once again restored to an apostate world.
Chapter 16

EPILLOGUE

Nauvoo was to become the most prosperous and prestigious of the early Mormon communities. Yet, the economic scheme of consecration and stewardship which had been of such import in previous communities was principally abandoned. Other practices of social experimentation, however, were to be implemented during this period, including the practice of polygamy, the condition of having more than one wife at the same time.

Bishop Partridge was survived by his wife, four daughters and a son, all of whom entered into plural marriages. Emily Dow and Eliza Maria both married Joseph Smith and were sealed to him by Heber C. Kimball. When Smith was assassinated in 1844, Eliza Maria joined her other two sisters, Caroline and Lydia, and married Susan M. Lyman. Collectively, the three Partridge sisters gave him fourteen children. Emily Dow married Brigham Young who eventually became Smith's successor. She became the mother of seven children. Mother Partridge was remarried in late August, 1846, to William Huntington, a member of the Nauvoo High Council.¹

In 1846 the persecutions in Illinois again forced the Mormons to abandon their homes. This time under the direction of

Brigham Young, the body of the church traveled across the plains and settled in what is now the state of Utah. All of the Partridge family made this trek, and, like thousands of other "true believers" who followed them, they labored to create yet another "zion."
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THE LIFE
OF EDWARD PARTRIDGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27, August</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>Birth — Ancestry</td>
<td>Pittsfield, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apprenticeship hatter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td></td>
<td>Journeyman hatter</td>
<td>Clinton, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(disgusted with the religious world)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td></td>
<td>Partnership hattershop</td>
<td>Painesville, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Marriage to Lydia Chasey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, April</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Child — Eliza Maria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, Jan.</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Child — Harriet Penella</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, Feb.</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Child — Emily Gow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, Jan.</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Child — Caroline Ely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td></td>
<td>Joined the Campbellites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Child — Eliza (infant death)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, May</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Child — Lydia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Missionary Contact</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Visit to the Prophet</td>
<td>Fayette, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, Dec.</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Baptism</td>
<td>Seneca River</td>
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<tr>
<td>15, Dec.</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Ordained an Elder</td>
<td>Fayette, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>N &amp; C 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. — Jan.</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Attempts to share Gospel with relatives</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
<td>PLACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Late Jan.</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Journey to Kirtland, Ohio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Feb.</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Arrival in Kirtland</td>
<td>Kirtland, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Feb.</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Called to be Bishop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. &amp; C. 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Feb.</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Instructions to Bishop</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. &amp; C. 42</td>
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<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Bishops' Storehouse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. &amp; C. 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 June</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Ordeiined a High Priest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(by Lyman Wight)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 June</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Conference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 June</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Called to Missouri</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. &amp; C. 52.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. &amp; C. 54:8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 June</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Departure for Missouri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Arrival in Missouri</td>
<td>Jackson County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 August</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Foundation of Zion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. &amp; C. 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 August</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Letter to family requesting move to Missouri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Family journey to Missouri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sept.</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Warning to Bishop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. &amp; C. 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 April</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>General Church Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Right hand to Joseph Smith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Growth of Zion Community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Opposition increasing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Petitions of Grievances begin</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 June</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Child--Edward jen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Place</td>
</tr>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Jul</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Signing of Evacuation Contract. Ransom for the Church.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Instructions from J. Smith via Orson Hyde &amp; John Gould.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Petition to Daniel Dunklin, Governor.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Engaged law firm</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>McCarty Affair: Appeal to Judge Ryland</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Attack at Big Blue River  Surrender of Arms.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-7 Nov</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Saints exiled to Missouri River Banks.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Nov</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Meteoric shower.</td>
<td>Missouri River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.-Dec.</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Saint's Exodus to Clay County</td>
<td>Clay County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Jun</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Partridge meets Zion's Camp</td>
<td>Chariton River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Jun</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Endowment Selection D. &amp; C. 105</td>
<td>Fishing River</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 Jan.-25 Apr</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Mission with F.B.</td>
<td>March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 May</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Business &amp; preaching</td>
<td>Kirtland, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 May</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Patriarchal Blessing</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Jun</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Visiting relatives</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Jun-24 Oct</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Mission with Isaac Horley</td>
<td>Eastern States</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Nov. 1835</td>
<td>Return to Kirtland</td>
<td>Kirtland, Ohio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Nov. 1835</td>
<td>Revelation praising missionary efforts, stay for school</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Dec. 1835</td>
<td>Anointing--holy oil</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>27 March 1836</td>
<td>Temple dedication</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer 1836</td>
<td>Return to family</td>
<td>Clay County</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 June 1836</td>
<td>Saints requested to leave Clay Co.</td>
<td>Clay Co. Court</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall 1836</td>
<td>Exodus to Far West</td>
<td>Caldwell County</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 March 1836</td>
<td>Prophet arrives in Far West</td>
<td>Far West &amp; Richmond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 April 1836</td>
<td>Excommunication of Oliver Cowdery</td>
<td>Caldwell County</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.-Dec. 1836</td>
<td>Imprisonment</td>
<td>Far West &amp; Richmond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family moves to Quincy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1839</td>
<td>Partridge joins family</td>
<td>Quincy, Illinois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall 1839</td>
<td>Family moves to Nauvoo</td>
<td>Nauvoo, Illinois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Oct. 1839</td>
<td>Conference--appointed Bishop of upper ward</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 May 1840</td>
<td>Death of Daughter--Harriet Pamela (19 years old)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 May 1840</td>
<td>Death of Edward Partridge</td>
<td>Nauvoo, Illinois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD PARTRIDGE
FROM KANNEY JOURNAL

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM PARTRIDGE (No. 2) and JEMIMA BIDWELL (No. 3) all born Pittsfield, Berkshire, Mass.

William b. 26 Apr. 1788 d. 1866 md. Laura Blossom
Oliver b. 23 Oct. 1789 d. 1860 md. Louise Buck
Emily b. 14 Aug. 1791 d. 1888 md. Joseph W. Dow
Edward b. 27 Aug. 1793 d. 27 May 1840 md. Lydia Clisbee Aug. 1819
Mary b. 14 Aug. 1795 d. 26 Dec. 1872 md. Samuel Whitney
Maria b. 1 Dec. 1797 d. 13 May 1868
Isabella b. 25 Sep. 1799 d. 1835
Samuel b. 18 Nov. 1801 d. 1880 md. Sophia Case
George Washington b. 26 Dec. 1805 d. 1858 md. Mary Lopez
Sutton md. Margaret A. Hurst
Mother b. 21 Aug. 1808 d. 1856
James
Harvey b. 8 Jan. 1810 d. 1 Dec. 1895 md. Sarah K. Farnham

SOURCE: History of Hatfield, Mass. by well Mass. H8
Savage's Genealogical Dictionary
Pioneers of Mass. by Pope Mass. 18
History of Berwick-upon-Tweed by John Fuller
Norriu.82a
Family record compiled by George A. Partridge and
reprinted in the Utah Genealogical Magazine
Vol. 27 pg 180
Robert Williams Family by Williams
"The Redeemed Captive" by John Williams
Bidwell Family by Edwin M. Bidwell
History of Pittsfield, Mass. by J.E.A. Smith
Mass. P8 pg 137
History of Southern N.Y. by Guyler Reynolds
Vol. 2 N.Y.8 pg. 722

"Without understanding their zeal to serve the Lord you
cannot understand the history of this family."
EDWARD PARTRIDGE (No. 1) was a son of William Partridge (No. 2) and Demia Bidwell (No. 3). He was born 27 August 1793 in Pittsfield, Berkshire, Mass. He married Lydia Cisbee (No. 1 on Cisbee Chart) in Kanesville, Ohio, August 1819. She was a daughter of Joseph Cisbee and Miriam Howe and was born 26 September 1793 in Marlboro, Middlesex, Mass. She died 9 June 1878 in Oak City, Millard, Utah and was buried in Fillmore, Utah. Edward Partridge died 27 May 1840 in Nauvoo, Illinois.

When a young man Edward Partridge learned the hatter trade and as was customary in those days he followed the water fronts where it was possible to get beaver which was used extensively in their work. He was in New York for a time in company with Asa Marvin but later bought Mr. Marvin's interest and move to Painesville, Ohio not far from Lake Erie. Here he established his business and became quite well to do. He built a good home, a shop and a barn; he owned two lots adjoining the public square and had a twenty-acre wood lot adjoining the town. His daughter, Aunt Emily Young gives a very good description of their home there and tells of the happy times enjoyed there. Here five daughters were born and one baby boy, Cisbee, who died at birth.

In this peaceful home came four "Mormon" Missionaries in 1830. They met Edward Partridge in his shop but he told them they were impostors and refused the Book of Mormon but after they were gone he sent a man after them to get a Book of Mormon. Lydia, however, believed it to be the truth and was baptized by Parley P. Pratt. Edward was soon convinced of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon and made a trip to New York to see the Prophet Joseph Smith who baptized him on the 11 December 1830 in the Seneca River, and he went on his way to Mass. to visit his family, feeling very sure that they would see the light as he had done. But, as related above his family refused to listen to him. One of his sisters shut the door in his face and refused to let him in. Some of his friends who were waiting in Painesville for his return and for the report that he had promised to bring back, had confidence that he would tell them the truth, but when he returned and told them what he thought, many of them turned against him.

In December 1830 the Prophet Joseph Smith received a revelation in which the Lord says: "Thus saith the Lord God, the Mighty One of Israel, Behold I say unto you, my servant Edward, that you are blessed and your sins are forgiven you, you are called to preach my Gospel as with the voice of a trumpet, and I will lay my hand upon you by the hand of my servant Sidney Rigdon, and you shall receive my Spirit, the Holy Ghost, even the Comforter which shall teach you the peaceable things of the kingdom, and you shall declare it with a loud voice saying, Hosanna, blessed be the name of the most High God." Doctrine and Covenants Section 36, verses 1-5.
And again on the 4th of February 1831 the Prophet received a revelation in which the Lord says: And again I have called my servant, Edward Partridge, and I give a commandment that he should be appointed by the choice of the Church and ordained a Bishop unto the Church, to leave his merchandise and to spend all his time in the labors of the Church. And this is because his heart is pure before me for he is like unto Nathaniel of old, in whom there is no guile. Section 41.

Accordingly Edward put his property into the hands of a man, he thought to be a friend with instructions to sell it but the man was not faithful to the trust and Edward and his family received very little from the property.

Edward Partridge was ordained an Elder in December 1830 by Sidney Rigdon and set apart as Bishop 4 February 1831 by Sidney Rigdon and ordained a High Priest 6 June 1831 by Lyman Wight.

This was an entirely new experience for Edward, a successful businessman, to be transferred abruptly from his prosperous business and called to devote all his time and efforts to the work in the new and unpopular Church. Later he wrote to Lydia telling how much he felt this great responsibility and his great desire to do the work acceptably. He said "I must not fail, pray for me that I will not fail.

He sent his family in company with others to Missouri. They left the river about one hundred miles from Independence and rented a room from a family of negroes and waited there for the father to come and get them. The room they had was dark, the only light being what came down the chimney and the only way out was through the room occupied by the negroes. Contrast this uncomfortable situation with the comfortable home they had so recently left. Here the father found them and moved them to Independence in very cold weather where they rented a house until Edward could build one on his own land. They lived in their own home while they remained in Independence.

On the third day of August (1831), I proceeded to dedicate the spot for the Temple, a little west of Independence, and there were also present Sidney Rigdon, Edward Partridge, W.W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, Joseph Coe and Newell Knight. The scene was solemn and impressive. D.H.C. Vol. 1 page 99.

In July 1833 Edward Partridge was taken forcibly from his home by members of the mob, taken to the Public Square and covered with a coat of tar and feathers. One man raised a whip with the intention of whipping him but a "friend to humanity interfered and prevented it." His daughter, Eliza tells in her journal how frightened the children were when he came home. Some of his friends spent most of the night removing the tar which had been
mixed with some kind of acid which burned the sensitive flesh. Lydia at this time had a baby boy about three weeks old, who was named Edward for his father.

The persecution continued here. In the fall Edward Partridge, John Corrill, John Whitner, William W. Phelps, Algernon S. Gilbert and Isaac Morley offered themselves to be tortured or slain as the job desired if they would leave the rest of the saints in peace. They were told that every man, woman and child would be whipped and scourged even to death if they did not leave Jackson County. A contract was signed by the Mormons and some members of the mob to the effect that the Bishop and some others with their families were to leave Jackson County by the first of January 1834 and the mob was to leave them in peace while they made their preparations. The mob, however, did not keep their part of the agreement and on the 5 November "gangs of men, sixty or more went from house to house, whipping the men, driving the women and children at the point of their guns from their homes and then setting fire to the houses."

More than 200 hundred homes were destroyed. "By the 7th of November the banks of the Missouri river were lined with refugees, gathered in the utmost confusion, so hasty had been their flight, many leaving a trail of blood in the frozen stubble, from their lacerated feet," the rain came down in torrents that night. The provisions they had laid up for winter along with their homes and all their improvements were again left behind.

In Clay County across the river north they were received temporarily with some degree of kindness. Here the Bishop laid up some house logs and stretched a tent over them where he left his family while he went to find a house. He found a miserable old house with one fireplace and he and Brother John Corrill moved their families into it. They stayed in this old house while in Clay County which was about two years, while Edward filled a Mission to the Eastern States and preaching in Ohio. Their next move was to the County of Caldwell where they remained two or three years, having bought land and built homes improving their surroundings as they always did if they were left alone for any length of time.

July 4, 1838 the Saints at Far West celebrated Independence Day. "The people assembled at the excavation previously made for the building of the Lord's House and the corner stones of the proposed temple were laid. The southeast corner stone was laid by Bishop Edward Partridge, assisted by Twelve men, and the northeast corner stone was laid by the teachers assisted by twelve men. Sidney Rigdon was orator of the day and at the close of these services, the assembly shouted Hosanna and after singing they adjourned."

While here, too, the Bishop was again forcibly taken from his home by the mob and sent to prison in Richmond without process
of law, where he was held for three weeks. Not only the mob but the State authorities decided that they must leave that County. The Bishop went ahead and left his family to manage as best they could but arranged with King Follett to bring them to Quincy, Ill. From there they went to Nauvoo where the saints were gathered. In Nauvoo he found a place for his family to live and started to build a house on a lot of his own. First he put up a stable but before it had been used as such he decided to move his family into it so he would be nearer his work of building and making a garden.

Just before moving his nineteen year old daughter Harriet Pamela died 16 May 1840. This was a sad affair for the family. Before the family were moved to the log stable, in fact they had one more load to move when the Bishop was taken sick and in ten days he died and left his family most uncomfortably situated. His daughter Eliza says: "He was completely worn out with the hardships and fatigue of movings and exposure caused by our enemies who never slackened their hands but persecuted us continually."

Much more could be written about his life and has been written. My brother, Albert R. Lyman, has written an account of his life and it is available to his descendants.

CHILDREN OF EDWARD PARTRIDGE AND LYDIA CLISBEE, the first six born in Painesville, Lake County, Ohio, and the last born in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Married To</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eliza Maria</td>
<td>b. 20 Apr. 1820</td>
<td>d. 2 Mar. 1886</td>
<td>Joseph Smith 1843 md. Amasa M. Lyman Sep. 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harriet Pamela</td>
<td>b. 1 Jan. 1822</td>
<td>d. 16 May 1840</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily Bow</td>
<td>b. 28 Feb. 1824</td>
<td>d. 18 Dec. 1899</td>
<td>Joseph Smith 1843 md. Brigham Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caroline Ely</td>
<td>b. 8 Jan. 1827</td>
<td>d. 5 May 1908</td>
<td>Amasa M. Lyman Sep. 1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLISBEE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydia</td>
<td>b. 8 May 1830</td>
<td>d. 16 Jan. 1875</td>
<td>Amasa M. Lyman 7 Feb. 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward</td>
<td>b. 25 Jun. 1833</td>
<td>d. 17 Nov. 1900</td>
<td>Sarah Lucretia Clayton Elizabeth Buxton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Died--In this place on the 27 May, Bishop Partridge age 48 years. In recording the death of this our brother we record the death of one of our earliest and most faithful and confidential members. His life was one continual exhibition of the sincerity of his religious belief, and a perpetual evidence of his confidence in a future state of rewards and punishments. In view of which he
has always acted--his strict regard through life to all the
commitments of Heaven and his undeviating obedience to them are
demonstrating evidences to his friends, that if there are any such
things as rewards in the future world for well-doing in this, he
is certain of enjoying them. No man had the confidence of the
Church more than he. His station was highly responsible, large
quantities of property EVER ENTRUSTED TO HIS CARE. Deeds and
conveyances of land to a large amount were put into his hands for
the benefit of the poor and for the Church's purpose: for all of
which the directest account was rendered, to the fullest satis-
faction of all concerned.

And after he had distributed a handsome property of his
own, for the benefit of the poor, and being driven from his home,
found himself reduced to very limited circumstances, still not one
cent of public property would he use to identify himself or family
but distributed it all for the benefit of the widow, the fatherless
and afflicted; his decease leaving his family in very ordinary
circumstances. Had there been one covetous desire in his heart, no
man had the opportunity better to gratify it; but he has left a
testimony to be had in everlasting remembrance that he lived above
its influence and over him it had no control; but in all things he
had respect to the reward of the just.

A life of greater devotedness to the cause of truth, we
assume was never spent on this earth. His religion was his all,
for this he spent his life and for this he laid it down. He lost
his life in consequence of the Missouri persecutions and he is
one of the number whose blood will be required at their hands.

As a church we deplore our loss, but we rejoice in his
gain. He rests where persecutors can assail him no more. From the
"Nauvoo Neighbor" issue of June 1840.

Instead of writing a sketch for each of the children of
Edward and Lydia Partridge I will write one for my grandmother and
include what I can of the others. I know more about her and her
information is available.

Eliza Maria Partridge was the oldest child of Edward and
Lydia Otisbee, she was born 20 April 1820 in Painesville, Geauga
County, now Lake County, Ohio.

I have a copy of the journal she kept for years but at one
time, I don't know the year, she made a synopsis of her journal
and then destroyed the original, saying she thought perhaps she
had written too freely. Her sister, Emily wrote a diary or sketch
of her life and gives much more in detail their life and surroundings
in Painesville where they were very happy and very comfortably
situated.
At the age of eight Eliza went with her parents to visit their relatives in Massachusetts. Caroline, the baby, accompanied them but Harriet and Emily were left at home with the mother's sister Phoebe Lee. It is perhaps a good thing they went then for a few years later after they had joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints they would not have been welcome and, in fact, there would have been no time for a visit after that.

They visited Grandmother Partridge in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Eliza remembered her Grandfather's nice brick house, the cider mill, the orchard and farm. She remembered the Erie Canal with its locks and the roaring of Niagara Falls in the distances and her sickness while crossing the lake. She was sent to school early, she says and "acquired a good common education."

She was baptized in 1830 and the other children as they became old enough. They soon left their happy comfortable home with all its pleasant memories and started to follow the Prophet Joseph Smith and they were never again to know the comfort of a good home or the association of the family members together in peace.

Edward Partridge bought land in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri and built a home. In July 1833 his son and seventh child was born and named Edward.
APPENDIX C

DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTRIDGE HOME IN PAINESVILLE, OHIO
EMILY DOW PARTRIDGE (SMITH) YOUNG, P. 1

In Ohio their father was doing a thriving business as a hatter. He had accumulated considerable property, and had provided a very pleasant and comfortable home for his family. Love and a deep sense of loyalty prevailed in this home.

"The house was a frame house with one large room and two bedrooms on the first floor. Opening from their mother's bedroom were two closets, one large and one small. The large one was fitted up with shelves and used for sort of a store room. The half story above consisted of one large and one small bedroom and a clothes closet. On the landing at the top of the stairs were large bins for storing flour, meal, etc. The front door opened into an entry or short hall. The stairs went up from this hall. The kitchen was in the basement. Opening from the kitchen was a dark vegetable cellar.

"The well with the old oaken bucket was near the kitchen door. The front yard was a green plot with rosebushes and sweet brier growing under the windows. Back of the house was a garden with red and white currants. The summer house or arbor had clusters of blue grapes hanging among the leaves. There were a variety of flowers that lined each side of the path leading from the house to the arbor. Farther back in the yard was a large barn. Not far from the house next to the street was their father's hat store."
APPENDIX D

PARTRIDGE LETTER TO HIS WIFE
AUGUST 5, 1831

Jackson County,
August 5, 1831.

Dear Wife,

You will perceive by the commandments received here (which our
brothers will carry home) that brothers Morley, Correll and Phelps
and myself are to plant ourselves and our families here as soon as
consistent, you will likewise perceive that we are left to our own
agreement how we will manage about getting our families here.
Brother Gilbert and Phelps think they must return to procure the
necessary for their establishments. And as Brother Gilbert or I
must be here to attend the sales in December and not knowing that
he can get back by that time I have thought it advisable to stay
here for the present, contrary to my expectations. It is expected
by Brothers Correll and Phelps that they shall return this fall to
their land with Gilbert’s family and if you can get ready and come
with them (together with Brother Morleys family and Brother Correll’s,
although Brother Correll has not yet arrived) it will probably be
for the best. If you should come with them, I may never go again
to that land, except the settlement of my affairs should demand it,
and should you come or not, and my affairs need me there, and
Brother Gilbert arrives in time, I can return this winter, and back
here in the spring.

We cannot get very well prepared for houses this fall, and if I
know that I should go back this winter, for your comfort and
convenience, I would rather you should stay and come with me in
the spring. But this I shall leave to your own discretion and the
advice of friends. I will now give you an idea of things to fetch
and things to leave or sell. Here follows in particular domestic
matter: “Samuel H. Smith and Brother Calhoon arrived last night,
baptized none on the way. When I left Painesville, I told people
I was coming back and bade none a farewell but for a short time,
consequently I feel a great desire to return once more, and bid
your connexion (sic) and my friends and acquaintances an eternal
farewell, unless they should be willing to forsake all for the
sake of Christ, and be gathered with the saints of the most high
God.”

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Aug. 6

We have to suffer and shall for some time, many privations here which you and I have not been much used to for years. I hardly know what to advise you about coming this fall, I should like to have you come with Brother Phelps', Morleys' and Corrells' families even this fall, but were a number of families coming in the spring so that you could come as cheap, you would be far better accommodated there than here, but I should advise our brethren to stay there until commanded to move...

Our brethren here have begun a house, but we proceed slowly for we have had to work to great disadvantages, those who come from the east are all crowded into two small log houses. Old Mrs. Knight is very ill, probably will not live long. Last Thursday we had conference, and a number are to start back immediately, when the rest arrive we are to hold another conference. Brothers Morley and Correll will not return, and if Brother Seth Griffin feels to stay here I suppose he will, for they want his work. Our brethren here are in general good health and spirits. I have a strong desire to return to Nauvoo this fall but must not. You know I stand in an important station, and as I am occasionally chastened I sometimes fear my station is above what I can bear to the acceptance of my Heavenly Father. I hope you and I may conduct ourselves as if this is to bring our souls in the heaven of eternal rest. Pray that I may not fail, I might write more but must not. Farewell for the present.

Edward Partridge.

(My italics)
APPENDIX E

JOSEPH SMITH LETTER TO EDWARD PARTRIDGE
MAY 2, 1833

Kirtland, Ohio
May 2, 1833

Beloved Brother Edward,

I commence answering your letter and sincere request to me, by begging your pardon for not having addressed you, more particularly in letters which I have written to Zion, for I have always felt, as though a letter written to anyone in authority in Zion, would be the property of all, and it muttered but little to whom it was directed. But I am satisfied that this is an error, for instruction that is given pointedly, and expressly to us, designating our names as individuals seems to have double power and influence over our minds. I am thankful to the Lord for the testimony of his spirit, which he has given me concerning your honesty and sincerity before him, and the Lord loveth you, and also Zion, for he chasteneth whom he loveth, and scourgeth every son and daughter whom he receiveth, and he will not suffer you to be confounded, and of this thing you may rest assured, notwithstanding, all the threatening of the enemy, and your perils among false brethren, for verily I say unto you, that this is my prayer and I verily believe the prayer of all the saints in Kirtland, recorded in heaven. In these words, Heavenly Father in the name of Jesus Christ, thy son, preserve brother Edward, the bishop of thy church, and give him wisdom, knowledge and power, and the holy ghost, that he may impart to thy saints in Zion, their inheritances, and to every man his portion of meat in due season, and now, this is our confidence and record on high, therefore fear not little flock, for it has been your fathers good will to give you the kingdom.

Now I will proceed to tell you my views concerning consecration, property, and giving inheritances etc. The law of the Lord, binds you to receive whatsoever property is consecrated, by deed. The consecrated property is considered the residue kept for the Lords storehouse, and it is given for this consideration, for to purchase inheritances for the poor. This, any man has a right to do agreeable to all laws of our country, to donate, give or consecrate all that he feels disposed to give, and it is your duty, to see that whatsoever is given legally, therefore, it must be given for the consideration of the poor saints, and in this way no man can take any advantage of you in law. Again, concerning inheritances, you are bound by the law of the Lord, to give a deed, securing to him
who receives inheritances, his inheritances for an everlasting inheritance, or in other words, to be his individual property, his private stewardship, and (if he sins or transgresses) and should be cut off, out of the church, his inheritance is his still, and he is delivered over to the buffetings of Satan, till the day of redemption.

But the property which he consecrated to the poor, for their benefit, and inheritance and stewardship, he cannot obtain again by the law of the Lord. Thus you see the propriety of this law, that rich men cannot have power to disinherit the poor by obtaining again that which they have consecrated which is the residue, signified in the law, that you will find in the second paragraph of the extract from the law, in the second number, and now brother Edward, he assured that we all feel thankful that the brethren in Zion are beginning to humble themselves, and trying to keep the commandments of the Lord, which is our prayer to God, you may all be able to do and no, may the grace of God be with all Amen.

Joseph Smith Jun.

(My italics)
APPENDIX F

THE MANIFESTO OF THE MOB
JULY 1833

We, the undersigned, citizens of Jackson county, believing that an important crisis is at hand, as regards our civil society, in consequence of a pretended religious sect of people that have settled, and are still settling in our county, styling themselves "Mormons," and intending, as we do, to rid our society, "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must," and believing as we do, that the arm of the civil law does not afford us a guarantee, or at least a sufficient one, against the evils which are inflicted upon us, and seem to be increasing, by the said religious sect, deem it expedient, and of the highest importance, to form ourselves into a company for the better and easier accomplishment of our purpose—a purpose which we deem it almost superfluous to say, is justified as well by the law of nature, as by the law of self-preservation.

It is more than two years since the first of these fanatics, or knaves, (for one or the other they undoubtedly are) made their first appearance amongst us, and pretended as they did, and now do, to hold personal communication and converse face to face with the Most High God; to receive communications and revelations direct from heaven; to heal the sick by laying on hands; and, in short, to perform all the wonder-working miracles wrought by the inspired Apostles and Prophets of old.

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We believed them deluded fanatics, or weak and designing knaves, and that they and their pretensions would soon pass away; but in this we were deceived. The arts of a few designing leaders amongst them have thus far succeeded in holding them together as a society; and since the arrival of the first of them, they have been daily increasing in numbers; and if they had been respectable citizens in society and thus deluded, they would have been entitled to our pity rather than to our contempt and hatred; but from their appearance, from their manners, and from their conduct since their coming among us, we have every reason to fear that, with but very few exceptions, they were of the very dregs of that society from which they came, lazy, idle, and vicious. This we conceive is not idle assertion, but a fact susceptible of proof, for with these few exceptions above named, they brought into our country little or no property with them and left less behind the, and we infer that those only yoke themselves to the "Mormon" car who had nothing earthly or heavenly to lose by the change; and we fear that it is some of the leaders amongst them, had paid the forfeit due to crime, instead of being chosen ambassadors of the Most High, they would have been inmates of solitary cells. But their conduct here stamps their characters in their true colors. More than a year since, it was ascertained that they had been tampering with our slaves and endeavoring to sow dissensions and raise seditions amongst them. Of this their "Mormon" leaders were informed, and they said they would deal with any of their members who should again in like case offend. But how spacious are appearances. In
a late number of the Star, published in Independence by the leaders
of the sect, there is an article inviting free negroes and
mulattoes from other states to become "Mormons", and remove and
settle among us. This exhibits them in still more odious colors.
It manifests a desire on the part of their society, to inflict on
our society an injury that they know would be to us entirely
insupportable, and one of the surest means of driving us from the
country; for it would require none of the supernatural gifts that
they pretend to, to see that the introduction of such a caste
amongst us would corrupt our blacks, and instigate them to blood-
shed.

They openly blaspheme the Most High God, and cast contempt
on his holy religion, by pretending to receive revelations direct
from heaven, by pretending to speak unknown tongues, by direct
inspiration, and by divers pretenses derogatory to God and religion,
and to utter subversion of human reason.

They declare openly that their God hath given them this
country of land, and that sooner or later they must and will have
possession of our lands for an inheritance; and, in fine, they
have conducted themselves on many other occasions, in such a
manner, that we believe it a duty we owe ourselves, our wives, and
children, to the cause of public morals, to remove them from
among us, as we are not prepared to give up our pleasant places
and goodly possessions to them or to receive into the bosom of our
families, as fit companions for our wives and daughters, the
degraded and corrupted free negroes and mulattoes that are now invited to settle among us.

Under such a state of things, even our beautify county would cease to be a desirable residence, and our situations intolerable. We, therefore, agree (that after timely warning, and receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they cannot take with them, they refuse to leave us in peace, as they found us—we agree to use such means as may be sufficient to remove them, and to that end we each pledge to each other our bodily powers, our lives, fortunes and sacred honors.

We will meet at the court house, at the town of Independence, on Saturday next, the 20th instead (July), to consult on subsequent movements.
APPENDIX G

ACCOUNT OF EDWARD PARTRIDGE BEING TARRED AND FEATHERED
JULY 20, 1830. HISTORY OF THE CHURCH V. 1:390-391

"I was taken from my house by the mob. George Simpson being by their leader who escorted me about half a mile to the court house on the public square in Independence; and then and there a few rods from said house, surrounded by hundreds of the mob, I was stripped of my hat, coat and vest and daubed with tar from head to foot, and then had a quantity of feathers put upon me; and all this because I would not agree to leave the county, and my home where I had lived two years.

"Before tarring and feathering me I was permitted to speak. I told them that the Saints had suffered persecution in all ages of the world; that I had done nothing which ought to offend anyone; that if they abused me, they would abuse an innocent person; that I was willing to suffer for the sake of Christ; but to leave the country, I was not then willing to consent to it. By this time the multitude made so much noise that I could not be heard: some were cursing and swearing, saying, "Call upon your Jesus," etc.; others were equally noisy in trying to still the rest, that they might be enabled to hear what I was saying.

"Until after I had spoken, I knew not what they intended to do with me, whether to kill me to whip me or what else I knew not. I bore my abuse with so much resignation and meekness, that it
appeared to astound the multitude, who permitted me to retire in silence, many looking very solemn, their sympathies having been touched as I thought; and as to myself, I was so filled with the spirit and love of God, that I had no hatred towards my persecutors or anyone else."
APPENDIX II

ACCOUNT OF EDWARD PARTRIDGE BEING TARRLED AND FEATHERED
CONTRIBUTOR MAGAZINE, VOLUME 5 PAGE 7

"On the 20th of July, 1833, George Simpson and two other
members entered my house (whilst I was sitting with my wife, who
was then quite feeble, my youngest child being then about three
weeks old) and compelled me to go with them. Soon after leaving
my house, I was surrounded by about fifty robbers, who escorted me
about half a mile to the public square, where I was surrounded by
some two or three hundred more. Russell Hicks esq. appeared to be
the head man of the mob; he told me that his word was the law of
the county, and that I must agree to leave the county or suffer
the consequences. I answered that if I must suffer for my
religion it was no more than others had done before me; that I
was not conscious of having injured anyone in the county, there-
fore I could not consent to leave it. Mr. Hicks then proceeded to
strip off my clothes and was disposed to strip them all off. I
strongly protested against being stripped naked in the street,
when some more humane than the rest, interferred and I was permitted
to wear my shirt and pantaloons. Tar and feathers were then
brought, and a man by the name of Davies, with the help of another,
daubed me with tar from the crown of my head to my feet, after
which feathers were thrown over me."

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APPENDIX I

EDWARD PARTRIDGE LETTER TO JOSEPH SMITH AFTER EXPULSION
FROM JACKSON COUNTY, NOVEMBER 1833

Liberty Clay County Mo. Nov. 1833

Beloved Brother Joseph.

"I set myself down this evening to write you a few lines,
I shall not attempt to give you a full history of what has happened
unto us within a few days past for I suppose that Bro. Phelps has
given you the particulars. It sufficeth to say that Bro. Corrill
and myself are living within three miles of Liberty, and about 10
miles from Independence. Most of our Brethren have left Jackson
Co. many have come to this Co. some have gone south and some east.
When it was concluded that we would go, there appeared to be a
spirit almost universal for leaving the land for the move
has been speedy and we have had many inconveniences to encounter.
The Lord for the most part, as yet, has given us very favorable
weather, many are living in tents and shanties not being able
to procure houses as yet. We are in hopes we shall be able to
return to our houses and lands before a great while, but how this
is to be accomplished is all in the dark to us as yet. Bro.
Parley has prophesied that we shall be enabled to return to our
houses by the first of next January and enjoy the fruits of our
labour and none to moiest or make afraid, he says he was con-
strained to prophesy and if ever he spoke by the Spirit of God.
he then did and if it does not come to pass we call him a false prophet. The next night after this prophecy was delivered from one or two o'clock till daylight on the morning of the 13th of Nov. appeared an extraordinary phenomenon. The heavens were literally filled with meteors or shooting stars as they are called. I was encamped on the north side of the Missouri opposite Independence and it appeared to us that they shot off every way from us, none coming directly down, though it is said that they struck the ground in Independence and other places round about. I viewed them for more than an hour before daylight and probably saw thousands. At one time in the N. E. there appeared probably 40 or 100 at one time, they streamed down almost as thick as rain which appears at a distance when the sun shines upon it. During this sight our people rejoiced, but the worlds people were much frightened. There has some other signs appeared of late, and rumor says many, but I put no confidence in the reports of our enemies. if we are delivered and permitted to return to our homes it must be by the interposition of God, for we can see no prospect of help from government, and it appears to me that nought but the judgement of God will open the way for our return. Some of our brethren have their fears, that we shall be driven from city to city, and from synagogue to synagogue and few be left to receive an inheritance in the land and this probably will be the case, unless we are soon restored back. For notwithstanding that many are kind to us in this Co. yet we have every reason to believe that they will shortly be stirred up against us, and want to drive
us further. The world people are very desirous to have us sell
the lands, and since you advise us not to, I do not want to, but
if we are to be driven about for years I can see no use in keeping
our possessions here. Some of our brethren who have given me
money to buy lands with, are desirous to receive a deed of some
land, and I have thought it best to give deeds to such as are
anxious to have them. I want your advice upon this subject of
the land, and also I want wisdom and light on many subjects in
this time of trial. We have made two attempts to get a peace
warrant. The first before a justice one of the mob. He at first
refused, but after consulting with some others of the mob, he
consented. We however sent to Lexington 40 miles east to the
circuit Judge, and after quite a struggle made out to obtain one.
But when the brethren came back with it, we had agreed to go
away, and the mob, or militia as they were called, were raging
with great fury, and we have done nothing with it, neither do
we believe it would be of any use, to try to enforce it now. Our
lawyers say it can do us no good, in their opinion. As to our
suits for damage we were expecting to start a number between this
and the next term, which is in February next. There has been no
writ taken out as yet. Since our removal we have not been able
to get together so as to have a council of High Priests and
advise with one another what is best to do. It would seem that
the prospect is bad respecting our having justice done. us by any
course we may pursue (sic) Justice would give us the County of
Jackson, almost we believe but this would take years to accomplish
unless our damages could be settled by arbitration, that is, leaving the case to judicious disinterested men. There is another way we might obtain the land, by natural means that is this. Could we obtain money by loan or from brethren that were able we might butt out the most of the inhabitants in all probability and let them leave the county. But this would take many thousand dollars. After looking at the whole, I am of the opinion that unless God works for his people, and displays his power, in some way or another, we cannot return to the land again. My mind is to have the disciples all leave the land, and see if God will not pour out his judgements, in some way upon that wicked people. Rumors are afloat that it is with difficulty that the Indians are restrained from coming upon the people. As to this I know nothing about it and I place no great confidence in rumors. I hope err this there may have been a comforting word from the Lord through you, but be this as it may, I am anxious to hear from you. I heart your brother in Christ."

Edward Partridge
APPENDIX J

Patriarchal Blessing: Received by Edward Partridge
At Kirtland, Ohio, May 4, 1835

Edward Partridge was born at Pittfield Berkshire Co. Massachusetts August 27th 1798 and received the following Patriarchal Blessing, under the hand of J. S. the Evangelist at Kirtland Ohio May 4th 1835.

Br. Partridge let thy heart sink down in humility; give thyself up into the hands of thy God and be willing to receive the blessings that he is willing to bestow upon thee. I lay my hands upon thy head in the name of Jesus Christ and confirm a patriarchal blessing upon thee because thou hast no father that can bestow it upon thee. I confirm upon thee the same blessings which are confirmed upon Abraham and Isaac and Jacob; and Joseph and his posterity; and they shall rest upon thee and thy children after thee unto the latest generations, for thou art a chosen man of God, who did look upon thee before the foundation of the world, and has set thee apart to do good in his cause. Thou art of the seed of Abraham through the loins of Joseph and the tribe of Ephraim. The Lord will bless thee with the ministration of angels because of the integrity of thy heart and thy willingness to obey his commandments. Thou art one of the horns of Joseph that are to push the people together from the ends of the earth. And thou shalt be instrumental in a saving, and some of thy friends shall be given them if thou art faithful. Thy name shall be sealed
among the sanctified; The Lord will preserve thy life till a good
old age, and thou shalt also live to see the heavens opened, for
thou hast desired this thing, and shalt see the Son of man in the
flesh. Thy heart shall be enlarged from this very hour; thou
shalt have great wisdom to execute thy mission and calling. Thou
shalt perform great miracles and shall have faith even like unto
the brother of Jared.

Thy wife shall be blessed also and receive the desire of
her heart; she shall have night visions and thereby know of thy
welfare in thine absence; thy family shall be preserved in health
and thou shalt return to enjoy their society after thou hast
performed thy mission. Thy tongue shall soon be loosened and thou
shalt have great power to speak beyond any thing of which thou
hast thought. Thy name is written in heaven and will not be
blotted out except for willful transgression. Thou shalt live
to see the redemption of Zion and rejoice upon the goodly lord,
thou shalt inherit it and thy seed after thee to the latest
generations while the earth remains. Thou shalt stand in thy
office until thou art weary of it and shalt desire to resign it
that thou mayest rest for a little season. I seal upon thee those
blessings in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, Amen....
APPENDIX K

EDWARD PARTRIDGE LETTER TO HIS WIFE
AND FAMILY, NOVEMBER 2, 1835

Kirtland Geauga Co. Ohio Nov. 2nd 1835

My Dear Wife:

I have once more arrived safe at this place, and I find it a general time of health. I have received your letter dated July 29th by mail, and also one dated Sept. 5th and 6th together with a line from Eliza, you inform me that you and the children were sick. I was somewhat disappointed at this intelligence as I had fondly anticipated that you would be blessed with health in my absence, from what is in by blessings but all blessings are conditional, and perhaps if none of you had been unfaithful I may have been, and notwithstanding you have been sick it also is a chastisement upon me. I have had great anxiety for two or three days past to be with you, to comfort and take care of you, and things round about. Dr. Calvin Beebe arrived here last evening safe and well and desires to be remembered back to his family. He informed me that you and the children were better. This intelligence comforted my heart. I fondly hope and pray that you are all restored to health at this. Brother L. Wight arrived today well, Bro. C. Beebe left him at Cincinnati Bro. H. Redfield and Chapman Duncan have not arrived yet. Bro. Morley will not arrive this 10 or 15 days. It was quite muddy and he left me at 165.
Jordan, and I came in from there by water, with the few goods we had received. He was well and in good spirits. I will here just observe a word further respecting our blessings that when father Smith pronounced them, they were not delivered and written sentence but he delivered them so fast as he naturally speaks in the mean time the heads were sketched down and they had to be filled out from remember, consequently instead of saying that your health should be preserved in my absence it may have been said that their lives should be preserved etc.

I have enjoyed good health the past summer. I should really like to be with you this winter, but President Smith says it is my duty to attend the school this winter. I expect that the House will not be finished till towards spring, though they push it as fast as they can. The lower windows are mostly in, and the lower room principally lathed. They are preparing to commence plastering soon. Bro. C. Beeboe's wife's mother has been baptized. Bishop Whikey's (sic) father and mother joined last week. You want me to give you advice and directions what to do, and in answer I say respecting the yearlings, if you want one or both of them for meat kill them, and if you don't want to kill them, sell them and also the calves if you think best. If you have not keeping for them, of necessity you must sell them. You can advise with Bro. Rusk as to price etc. and get him to assist you. As to the amount of corn you will want it depends in part how much you want for the stock. If corn is cheap it will be well to buy a number of barrels. I should like to have one of the young
creatures, either yearling or calf, kept for a beef next fall, but it you sell them, I can probably buy one. Wheat—you want about one bushel a week. You need not lay in a very large stock as probably it will not rise much. I expect to be home early in the spring, and can buy after I come. Pork and lard and money, you must buy what you think you shall want. I shall send in this letter ten dollars, and if you are likely to need more before spring you will inform me, and I will endeavor to sent it to you. If you need winter clothing, and have means to buy with you must buy. I know of no opportuni. (sic) to send you any, neither have I any on hand, that are suitable for you if I had an opportunity to send. Bro. Calvin tells me that you did not know how I expected you to proceed to pay the taxes. I either told you or wrote you that I wanted you to call on Bro. Burk to get him to see to it, and if I am not much mistaken I spoke to him about it before I came from there. I wrote in one of my letters, to have you get Bro. Slade to help you to such things as you wanted, you can call on him and if the horses has earned anything the past season, he will probably help you. Nov. 5th Bro. Morley has arrived this day and is well. I have been to Mr. Leis, they are well. Mr. Lee is as rude as ever. I did not have much opportunity with Thebe married about six weeks ago to one Foss who dies a week after. So she is left a young widow. She appears somewhat cast down. Phebe said she believed Axa's health was some better than it was last spring. 9th. I have just returned from Cleaveland, our friends there are well, Sister Hubard is strong in the faith, and he
(Mr. Hibbard) is not hard. Lewis is willing this week should be true and he is considerably believing. Sister H. Intends to come to this place and be baptized the first opportunity. I want Bro. Burk to keep watch and see if our lawyers in managing our suits, should fail of throwing the costs upon our enemies, and thereby throw a bill of costs upon us, and inform us immediately that we may continue to pay it, and save our land in Jackson County, from falling into the hands of the mob.

10th. The noted imposter Matthias arrived at this place yesterday, He proves to be an infidel. He wears a long beard etc. etc. The weather is fine for the season. They have got about 1/3 of the outside of the house plastered. Ten days or two weeks good weather more they will finish it on the outside. They have also began to plaster the lower room inside. If Bro. Ira wants any clothes, he can have any of those that Bro. James H. P. left at our house if they suit him. I shall endeavor to write you from time to time.

I remain your affectionate husband

Edward Partridge
APPENDIX L

EDWARD PARTRIDGE LETTER TO HIS DAUGHTER,
HARRIET, NOVEMBER 2, 1835

Harriet my daughter,

It rejoices me to have you write to me that you are determined to keep the commandments of God. If you live and are faithful you will be permitted to return to Zion with songs of joy. You must not forget to remember your father in your prayers. You say you should be glad to see me. I also should be glad to see all of you, and I trust that I shall see you in this spring if our lives are spared. We must be willing to forsake all things for Christ and the Gospel. I hope you will be patient until it is the will of the Lord that I should return. I am glad to hear that the children have been to school, but was sorry to hear that any were sick.

I remain your loving father

Edward Partridge
APPENDIX M

EVENTS IN KIRTLAND AT THE TEMPLE
DEDICATION--1836

Jan. 1st 1836, having gotten a tolerable knowledge of the English Grammar I this day commenced on the Hebrew. 4th commenced going to school in the Stonehouse to learn Hebrew. (1835)

Jan 7th I attended a council the evening in which the Zion Council was filled. Bro. E. Graves, Bro. J. Hitchcock. Bro. G.M. Hinckle, Bro. Peter Whitmer jr. and Bro. E. Rigby were appointed by a unanimous vote. 13th I attended a council in which the High Council of Kirtland was filled. Bishop Whitney appointed Cincinn Knight a counsellor one of his having resigned.

Jan. 15th Met in council again. Rules to regulate the house of the Lord were agreed upon. Carlos Smith was appointed presidency over the High Priests at Kirtland. Bishop Whitney nominated Presidents for the Priests, Teachers, and Deacons and ordained them. The different Quorums volunteered to assist in being door keepers and besides 4 others were appointed.

Jan. 21st Having washed once or twice, the Presidency with Bishop Whitney and his counsel, myself and counsellors met for the purpose of being appointed with Holy Oil. Meeting was opened by Pres. Joseph Smith jr. in behalf of the Presidency. Bishop Whitney in behalf of himself and counsellors, and myself in behalf of myself and counsellors. Then the Presidency proceeded to sanctify
the oil. Bro. J. Smith jr. first annointed his father pronouncing blessings upon him, then all the Presidents beginning at the oldest rubbed their hands over his head and face which had been annointed. Then Bro. J. prayed to the Lord to accept of the annointing and all the presidency with right hand uplifted to heaven said Amen. Father Smith then proceeded to take the lead and pour on the oil then Bro. J. followed, and then in rotation as before described, prophesying etc. on each others heads. After the Presidents, Bishop Whitney, and his council were annointed after the same manner than myself and my council. Then Bro. Parrish as scribe for the Presidency. After this Hyrum Smith annointed father John Smith, who annointed the rest of the High council of Kirtland. Bro. David Whitmore annointed Bro. Simeon Carter, who annointed the High Council from Zion. Hymns were sung and a number saw visions, and others were blessed, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and we shouted hosannah to the Most High. The meeting was dismissed by Bro. J. Smith jr. conferring the benediction of Heaven upon us.

Jan. 22nd The forenoon was taken up in telling the visions of the preceeding evening. We met in th evening for the purpose of annointing the traveling High Council and the Presidents of the Seventy the presidency of the Church first consecrated the oil they then proceeded to annoint Bro. Thomas B. Marsh as the eldest of the twelve. Bro. Marsh then proceeded to annoint the rest of the Twelve. After which, he annointed the presidents of the Seventies. The Presidency of the Church annointed Bro. Carlos Smith as President of the High priests in Kirtland. President J. Smith jr.
requested Pres. Sidney Rigdon to ask the Lord to accept the performances of the evening and instructed us.

1836 When he was done to shout hosannah, blessed the name of the most High God. These things were performed; the shouts and speaking in unknown tongues lasted 10 or 15 minutes. During the evening more especially at the time of shouting a number saw visions as they declared unto us.

Jan. 26th Mr. J. Seixas our Hebrew teacher, met with us for the first time after about 4 or 5 days he devided the class. I was taken into the first class. The Priests, Teachers, and Deacons met 2 or 3 evenings about the last of Jan. for the purpose of being anointed. Bishop Whitney and counsel and myself and my counsel met and anointed them. After the anointing was over, each man asked the Lord to bless them and seal upon them the blessings that had been pronounced upon their heads by the Bishops and their counsellors. Bishop Whitney then asked the Lord to seal the blessings that had been pronounced upon the heads of his brethren after he was through he shouted hosannah three times, to God and the Lamb, Amen, Amen, And Amen.

March 6th All the Quorums met in the evening and had all the blessings sealed upon them by the Presidency of the Church; at the close of the ceremony we all shouted agreeably to the above described order.

Sunday 7th I and my counsellors spoke in the forenoon, Bishop Whitney and his counsellors in the afternoon.

March 18th I left the Hebrew school and went to Mr. Armstrong's in Perry. I preached in the evening to a congregation of
Methodists, went to Mr. Lee's the next day and stayed till Monday then I returned to Kirtland.

March 23rd Went to Cleaveland, found my connexions tolerable well, next day returned to Kirtland.

Sunday 27th Met and dedicated the House of the Lord. Pres. Rigdon preached in the forenoon, Pres. J. Smith jr. made many remarks and delivered the dedication prayer. We meet at 8 in the morning and dismiss at a quarter past 4 in the afternoon. Met again in the evening, that is the authorities of the Church. Many spoke in tongues, some saw visions etc. Dr. F.C. Williams saw an angel or rather the savior during the forenoon service.

March 29th The Presidents and the two Bishops and their counsellors met in the afternoon in the House of the Lord. We cleansed our hands and faces and feet, after which we had our feet washed in the name of the Lord, this took till about dusk; we then partook of bread and wine, a feast. We prophesied and spoke in tongues and shouted Hosannas the meeting lasted till daylight. Wednesday all the officers of the Church met at 9 o'clock in the Lord's House, the Priests, Teachers, and Deacons in one corner, the vail having been let down, and the other officers occupied the rest of the lower room. The washing of feet was performed by noon. They then began to prophesy and speak in tongues adding shouts of Hosanna to God and the Lamb with Amen and Amen this continued till dusk when they partook of a feast of bread and wine. The meeting was kept up till morning the shouts were omitted during the night.
Thursday 31st We met at 9 or 7 to accommodate those who could not get in at the Sunday dedication. The house was about filled, and similar ceremonies performed as on Sunday this meeting rather surpasses the Sunday meeting both in length and goodness.

April 6th We had a prayer meeting from 9 to 4.

Saturday 9th Started for Missouri went as far as Chardon. It rained and we tarried over night with our brothers who went with us this far. The 16th went 14 miles to our brethren in Parian. Held a meeting in the evening.

April 11th Went 21 miles to Prices mill in Newton. We went through Burton, Wincham, Braceville, Newton Falls, to Prices Mills. The 12 we went 12 miles to Elsworth thence 8-1/2 miles to Salem and put up at Mr. Weeks Jr.

April 13th We went 10 miles to New Lisbon then passed on three miles to Mr. Oras tavern.

April 14th Went 11 miles to Wellsville, we got on board the steam boat Detroit at 3 o'clock P.M. at 1/2 past 4 we arrived at Steubenville. At dusk arrived at Wheeling. At 4 A.M. arrived at Marietta.

April 15th Passed the mouth of the big Mannaway Point Pleasant at 1 p.m., in 20 minutes more passed Gallapoles. In the course of the afternoon we passed a number of small village, at 10 in the evening we arrived at Portsmouth at the junction of the Ohio canal and the Ohio River.

April 16th We lay at Maysville taking in loading left there at 8 and passed a number of villages and arrived at Cincinnat
About 2 p.m. Left Cincinatti about 6 p.m. and arrived at Louis-
ville 8 p.m.

Sunday 17th We engaged a passage on board the Robert
Morris for St. Louis, Capt. Miller.
APPENDIX N

EDWARD PARTRIDGE INDICTMENTS AGAINST MISSOURI

The following is a copy of the statement and account of Edward Partridge against the State of Missouri.

In the year of our Lord 1831 I removed from the State of Ohio to Jackson Co. Missouri. I purchased land and built me a house near the village of Independence where I lived a peaceable inhabitant molesting nobody. On the 20th day of July A.D. 1833 George Simpson and two other mobbers entered my house (whilst I was sitting with my wife who was then quite feeble my youngest child being then about three weeks old) and compelled me to go with them, soon after leaving my house I was surrounded by about fifty mobbers who escorted me about half a mile to the Public Square where I was surrounded by some two or three hundred more. Russell Hicks Esq. appeared to be the head of the mob. He told me that his word was the law in the county and that I must agree to leave the county or suffer the consequences. I answered that if I must suffer for my religion it was no more than others had done before me; that I was not conscious of having injured any one in the county therefore I could not consent to leave it. Mr. Hicks then proceeded to strip off my clothes and was disposed to strip them all off. I strongly protested against being stripped naked in the street, when some more humane than the rest inteferred and I was permitted to

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ware (sic) my shirt and pantaloons. Tar and feathers were then brought and a man by the name of ---Davies with the help of another dubbed me with tar from the crown of my head to my feet after which feathers were thrown over me. For this abuse I have never received any satisfaction, although I commenced a suit against some of them for $40000$ damage and paid my lawyers six hundred dollars to carry it on. I also paid near two hundred dollars to get a chance of venue. My lawyers after getting their pay of me made a comprimise with the defendants without my consent and threw my case out of court, without given me any damages, by their agreeing to pay the costs, which they have never paid that I know of, and I never could prevail upon my lawyers to collect them for me, though they agreed so to do.

Nov. 1833 I was compelled by a mob to leave Jackson County at which time I held the title to two thousand one hundred and thirty six acres of land all lying in that county and also two village lots situated in the village of Independence. Such have been the threats of the people of that county that I have never to this day dared to go on to much less settle upon my lands there, although I still own some there yet.

From Jackson I moved to Clay county where I lived till the fall of 1836 when I moved my family to what is now Caldwell County. There I purchased land and built houses, where I lived till last winter, when in conformity with the order of Gov. Boggs and the threats of Gen. Clark I moved my family to the state of Illinois, at which time I held the title to forty acres of land in Clay
County, and more than four fifths of the lots in the Town of Far West Caldwell County which was laid out one mile square and was settling very rapidly. I had five houses and one barn in the Town. I also held eight hundred and sixty eight acres of land in Caldwell county. The property in Caldwell county had sunk to a mere trifle in consequence of our Church not being protected there, I give the following for a sample. I bought a house last summer in Far West and gave twelve hundred dollars for it. After I bought it a well was dug and other repairs made amounting to between fifty and a hundred dollars; this property has lately been sold by my agent and only brought one hundred dollars. Another house and lot, which last summer I would not have been willing to have taken three hundred dollars for, has been sold by my agent and brought only thirty dollars, however I cannot that property there well remain so low long. Whilst our society lived in Jackson and Clay counties there never was one of them to the best of my knowledge ever convicted of any criminal offences and a lawsuit of any kind was very rare. Although they were accused of many unlawful things, especially in Jackson Count when at the same time the administration of the laws was in their own hands, but for the want of anything legal against us they proceeded against us illegally, and not only drove us from our lands and homes in Jackson County, but kept us from them, and this order of things was suffered by the authorities and people of the state, to remain year after year, until at last for the want of protection against that spirit of mobocracy, we have been compelled to leave the state. I lived near three years
in Clay Co. within a few miles of the line of Jackson Co. and no man from Jackson County or anywhere else brought any law suit of any kind whatever against me during the time, I feel that the state of Missouri ought to pay an immense sum for damages for not protecting us in the first place in our rights in Jackson Co. and in the second place in not granting us protection in the state.

Last fall I was taken from my home in Far west Mo. by Gen. Clark without any civil process and driven off to Richmond Ray County thirty miles and kept a prisoner between three and four weeks before I was liberated for which I think the state of Missouri ought to pay me a round sum.

The following charges I make against the state of Missouri for losses sustained leaving my damages to be computed by other...

My losses in Jackson County MO in stripping my land of timber, destruction of my house, corn, potatoes, etc. etc. of $150,000.00
My loss in paying lawyers to carry my suits $950.00
My loss or expected loss on my land houses and village lots in Caldwell in Consequence of having to leave that 5000.00
My loss for time and expense of moving a large family out of the state sacrifice of furniture etc. 400.00
My loss for having taken by the Militia a number of guns pistols and sword $100.00
My loss in the destruction of corn, hay, sheep and one fat horned beart 42.00

Total $659,400

Quincy III. May 15, 1839.

I certify that the above statements are correct according to the best of my knowledge and belief

Edward Partridge
Sworn and Subscribed before me this 15th day of May AD 1839

CM Woods Clerk Circuit Court

Adams County State of Illinois
APPENDIX G

PETITION FOR REDRESS TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
MARCH 4, 1840

25th Congress, 1st Session. Senate. In the Senate of the United States. March 4, 1840. Submitted, laid on the table, and ordered to be printed. Mr. Wall made the following report:

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the memorial of a delegation of the Latter Day Saints, commonly called Mormons, report:

The petition of the memorialists sets forth, in substance, that a portion of their sect commenced a settlement in the county of Jackson, in the State of Missouri, in the summer of 1831; that they bought lands, built houses, erected churches, and established their homes, and engaged in all the various occupations of life; that they were expelled from that county in 1833, by a mob, under circumstances of great outrage, cruelty, and oppression, and against all law, and without any offence committed on their part, and to the destruction of property to the amount of $120,000; that the society thus expelled amounted to about 1,200 souls; that no compensation was ever made for the destruction of their property in Jackson; that after their expulsion from Jackson county, they settled in Clay county, on the opposite side of the Missouri river, where they purchased lands, and entered others at the land office, where they resided peaceably for three years, engaged in cultivation and other useful and active employments, when the mob again threatened their peace, lives, and property; and they became alarmed, and finally made a treaty with the citizens of Clay county that they should purchase their lands, and the Mormons should remove; which was complied with on their part, and the Mormons removed to the county of Caldwell, where they took up their abode, and re-established their settlement, not without heavy pecuniary losses and other inconveniences; that the citizens of Clay county never paid them for their lands, except for a small part. They remained in Caldwell from 1836 until the fall of 1838, and during that time had acquired, by purchase from the Government, the settlers, and pre-emptioners, almost all the lands in the county of Caldwell, and a portion of the lands in Daviess and Carroll counties, the former county being almost entirely settled by the Mormons, and they were rapidly filling up the two latter counties. Those counties, when the Mormons first commenced their settlement, were, for the most part, wild and uncultivated, and they had converted
there into large and well-improved farms, well stocked. Lands had risen in value to $100 and even $25 per acre, and those counties were rapidly advancing in cultivation and wealth: that in August, 1838, a riot commenced, growing out of an attempt of a Mormon to vote, which resulted in creating great excitement and the perpetration of many scenes of lawless outrage, which are set forth in the petition: that they were finally compelled to fly from those counties; and on the 11th October, 1838, they sought safety by that means, with their families, leaving many of their effects behind: that they had previously applied to the constituted authorities of Missouri for protection, but in vain. They allege that they were pursued by the mob; that conflicts ensued, deaths occurred on each side; and finally, a force was organized, under the authority of the Governor of the State of Missouri, with orders to drive the Mormons from the State, or exterminate them. The Mormons thereupon determined to make no further resistance, but to submit themselves to the authorities of the State. Several of the Mormons were arrested and imprisoned on a charge of treason against the State; and the rest, amounting to about 15,000 souls, fled into other States, principally in Illinois, where they now reside.

The petition is drawn up at great length, and sets forth, with feeling and eloquence, the wrongs of which they complain; justifies their own conduct, and aggravates that of those whom they call their persecutors, and concludes by saying that they see no redress, unless it be obtained of the Congress of the United States, to whom they make their solemn last appeal as American citizens, as Christians, and as men. To which decision they say they will submit.

The committee have examined the case presented by the petition, and heard the views urged by their agent, with care and attention; and, after full examination and consideration, unanimously concur in the opinion that the case presented for their investigation is not such a one as will justify or authorize any interposition by this Government. The wrongs complained of are not alleged to be committed by any of the officers of the United States, or under the authority of its Government in any manner whatever. The allegations in the petition relate to the acts of the citizens, and inhabitants, and authorities of the State of Missouri, of which State the petitioners were at the time citizens or inhabitants. The grievances complained of in the petition are alleged to have been done within the territory of the State of Missouri. The committee, under these circumstances, have not considered themselves justified in inquiring into the truth or falsehood of the facts charged in the petition. If they are true, the petitioners must seek relief in the courts of judicature of the State of Missouri, or of the United States, which has the appropriate jurisdiction to administer full and adequate redress for the wrongs complained of, and doubtless will do so fairly and impartially; or, the petitioners may, if they see proper, apply to the justice and magnanimity of the
State of Missouri—en appeal which the committee feel justified in believing will never be made in vain by the injured or oppressed. It can never be presumed that a State either wants the powers, or lacks the disposition, to redress the wrongs of its own citizens committed within her own territory, whether they proceed from the lawless acts of her officers, or any other persons.

The committee therefore report that they recommend the passage of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from the further consideration of the memorial in this case; and that the memorialists have leave to withdraw the papers which accompany their memorial.
APPENDIX P

ACCOUNT OF THE TROOP OCCUPATION OF FAR WEST
NOVEMBER 1839

Extract from statement of Bishop Partridge.

I was living in Far West, Caldwell County in the fall of 1839. We were frequently alarmed by the news that mobs were collecting in different places around about us in Davies, Carroll, Clinton and other Counties for the purpose of destroying the Latter-day Saints. Mormons they called us. At different times when I lay down at night I expected to be disturbed before the morning. Under those apprehensions the town was guarded by night. About the fore part of November 1839 a body of troops which I judged from their appearance were between 1000 or 2000 rode up near the town and formed a line and halted this was done near sun down. They stood a short time and then rode back half a mile or more to the woods and there encamped for the night. I knew not at the time whether they pretended to be militia or a mob, however I soon learned that they called themselves militia. I doubted their being regularly organised enlisted for their appearance and movements looked very suspicious to me. The next day towards evening I understood that they wanted an interview at their camp with some of the leading men of the church to make known to them their business and that these men might return back again the next morning. According to their request the men named I think six in
number put themselves into their hands. No sooner had they got these men in their possession, than they commenced the most hideous shouting and yelling I ever heard, they made the country around seemingly for miles ring with their awful shouts. I never had before conceived that it was possible for human beings to make such a hideous noise. Our arms were required of us and the next day we gave them up. They kept us closely guarded in hollow square nearly all that day and before we were let out we were told that if any attempted to pass the guard, they might expect to be shot, for that was the orders while we were thus confined the troops were marched through the town in a zigzag form and from their appearance I judged there were a thousand of them. A number of companies were stationed in different parts of the town, one company was stationed only a few rods from my house, their conduct was such that I was afraid to pass their camp which was in the street for they had abused Mr. Isaac Morley who lived nearer their camp than I did but on the other side. Mr. Morley is one of the peaceable men I ever knew. Their colonel as I suppose Col. Thompson if I recollect rightly of Raw Co. came to me one day and said to me I want you to warn your brethren not to be out of their houses in the evening any more than they can possibly help, especially to go near the camp for he said the boys have got some whisky and I am afraid if any of the Mormons are around that some accident may happen says he alluding to the Militia's going to Davies Co. some weeks before to protect our people and quell a mob who had collected there, I have been there, I have been there six weeks trying to prevent
the shedding of blood, and I should be very sorry to have anything of the kind happen now, says he I have been giving the boys a lecture, but still I have my fears that they may not heed it, therefore I want your brethren not to be around after night. The soldiers took my hay and corn, and after my corn was gone they threw down my corn crib which was built of logs and burnt them they also took logs from a hovel I had been building for my cows and burnt them, they also took my rails and board. All these things were taken without asking me for them, and I think it was the custom of the troop generally to take whatever they were disposed to while in town at least without asking any questions about. However there were exceptions of course, one of the comisarys as I suppose rode up to my door with a number of soldiers with him on Sunday and asked me if a fat creature I had in the yard was mine. I told him it was, he wanted to know if I would let him have it for the soldiers. I told him I could not for says I, I am about out of meat, and I expect to kill it for my own use. I have a large family to support and it is my only dependance for beef. I expostulated with him but all to no purpose, when I found he would kill it at all hazards I entreated him to let me have the half of it. He at last consented to let me keep one quarter of it, and ordered his men (boys he called them) to shoot it down which they did immediately. The troops burnt the logs I should judge of between fifty and a hundred houses in Far West, and the town was nearly stripped of fence. The weather was extreamly (sic) cold for the season of the year and a heavy snow fall while they were
there so that they were obliged to keep very large fires to keep from freezing and they hauled no wood but burnt house logs and rails. The reason why there were so many house logs in town not put up was because of the threats of mobbers and the depredations committed by them, many of the brethren who lived within a few miles of town had concluded for their own safety to move their houses to town, and had been doing it for a few days before these troops came upon us and had not had time to put them up again. These troops came upon us very suddenly and as militia unexpected by me, and when I heard that they were militia. I supposed they had come for our protection and not for our destruction. They were quartered in different parts of the town and kept it guarded a number of days without our consent as far as my knowledge extends, and as I was principle proprietor of the town plot they would have been as likely I should suppose to have asked leave of me as of any one.

The following is apparently a part of a letter containing a part of a revelation.

"I tell you these things because of your prayers. Wherefore treasure up wisdom in your bosoms lest the wickedness of men reveal these things unto you by their wickedness, in a manner which shall speak in your ears with a voice louder than that which shall shake the earth. But if you are prepared you shall not fear."

About 30 elders were commanded to go to the land of Mo from Ohio at the time that I came up in 1831. After many of them had arrived here, and some were about to return we received these words
in a revelation. "Let the residue of the Elders of this church which are coming to this land, some of whom are exceedingly blessed even above measure, also hold a conference upon this land." In a few days we had the satisfaction of proving this prophecy true, for some of those behind had been abundantly blessed insomuch that they had built up large churches.

While some of my brethren were returning from this land to Ohio in 1831, they received a revelation in the which they were commanded to visit Cincinatti.
APPENDIX Q

PRAYER AT FAR WEST. WRITINGS OF EDWARD PARTRIDGE

prwest, Caldwell Co.
Jan. 1839. Ms., d, 892

O Lord look down in mercy upon thy people, who are afflicted and oppressed. How long O Lord, wilt thou suffer the enemy to oppress thy saints. Destruction hath come upon us like a wild wind in the which thou hast verified thy word, for thou didst forewarn us, that it would come, and behold thy word is fulfilled. The enemy came upon us, to drive us from the state of Missouri, or exterminate us, but thou O Lord didst stay their hands from killing us though numbers were massacred, and thou didst send forth uncommon severe frost and snow, and by that means save us, as a people, from being driven out at the time appointed. But thou didst suffer the enemy unlawfully to take thy servant, together with scores of others, who drove us like dumb asses from our homes in a cold dreary and melancholly time. We were confined in a large open room where the cold northern blast penetrated freely; our fires were small, and our allowance for wood and for food scanty; they gave us not even a blanket to lie upon, our beds were the cold floor; then thou didst suffer the wicked to tyrannize over us, yea. the vilest of the vile did guard us and treat us like dogs; yet we bore our oppressions without murmuring, but our souls
were waxed, both night and day, with their filthy conversation, for they constantly blasphemed thy holy name. Wilt thou not soon cut them off and consign them their portion among hypocrites, and unbelievers? In the midst of our oppression we did call upon thy name. O Lord, and thou didst hear us, and deliver us in some degree, from the hand of oppression, yet the enemy doth still threaten us, and would fain destroy us, from the face of the earth, but we are in thy hands, O Lord, and we know that the enemy can go no further in oppressing us than thou dost permit. O Lord deliver thou us, from our oppressors, send thy judgements and destroy those who are not willing to let thy servants have a resting place upon this thy footstool. Save thy people O Lord, save thy people from oppression, and bondage, yea redeem thy Zion, in thine own time redeem it. How long O Lord, shall the enemy be permitted to wear out thy saints, Hasten O Hasten the day, when the ancient of Days shall sit, and power be given thy saints to take and possess the Kingdom, even forever and ever Amen.
APPENDIX R

REVELATION CONCERNING EDWARD PARTRIDGE AND HIS FAMILY. JANUARY 7, 1838

Kirtland, Ohio, January 7, 1838. [five days before the Prophet's flight from Kirtland the following revelation was recorded:]

"Thus saith the Lord. My servant Edward Partridge and his house shall be numbered with the blessed and Abraham their father; and his name shall be held in sacred remembrance. And again, thus saith the Lord, let my people beware of dissensions among them, lest the enemy have power over them. Awake, my shepherds, and warn my people, for behold the wolf cometh, to destroy them. Receive him not."

This revelation is not contained in the D. & C., nor in J.S. History, but was found among the private papers of Bishop Partridge (Contributor, Vol. VI., p. 8).
APPENDIX S

ORIUTARY OF EDWARD PARTRIDGE

Times and Seasons
Vol. 1, No. 8
p. 127-128

DIED--In this place, on the 27th day of May, Bishop Edward Partridge, aged 46 years. In recording the death of this our brother, we record the death of one of our earliest, most faithful, and confidential members. His life was one continual exhibition of the sincerity of his religious belief, and a perpetual evidence of his confidence in a future state of rewards and punishments: in view of which he always acted.--His strict regard through life, to all the commandments of heaven, and his undeviating obedience to them, are counseling evidences to his friends, that if there are any such things as rewards in the future world for well-doing in this, he is certain of enjoying them.

No man had the confidence of the church more than he. His station was highly responsible; large quantities of property ever entrusted to his care. Deeds and conveyances of lands, to a large amount, were put into his hands, for the benefit of the poor, and for church purposes; for all of which, the directest account was rendered, to the fullest satisfaction of all concerned. And after he had distributed a handsome property, of his own, for the benefit
of the poor; and being driven from his home, found himself reduced to very limited circumstances, still, not one cent of public property would he use to indemnify himself or family; but distributed it all, for the benefit of the widow, the fatherless, and the afflicted; has deceased leaving his family in very ordinary circumstances.

Had their been one covetous desire in his heart, no man had the opportunity better to gratify it; but he has left a testimony, to be had in everlasting remembrance, that he lived above its influence, and over him it had no control; but in all things, he had respect to the reward of the just.

A life of greater devotedness to the cause of truth, we presume, was never spent on this earth. His religion was his all, for this he spent his life, and for this he laid it down. He lost his life in consequence of the Missouri persecutions, and he is one of that number whose blood will be required at their hands.

As a church we deplore our losses, but we rejoice in his gain. He rests where persecutors can assail him no more.

--------In this town on the 16th of May, Harriet Pamela, daughter of Edward and Lydia Partridge, in the 19th year of her age. She was of an amiable disposition—kind and affectionate to her friends and acquaintances, but especially her parents. She embraced the everlasting gospel when only ten years of age; and was firm in the faith of the everlasting covenant ever after. As a member of the church she was faithful, ever ready to minister comfort and consolation to those around her, as far as her circumstances would
permit.--She was sick about nine months, which affliction she endured with the greatest patience. She has been cut down in the flower of her age, and gone to dwell with Christ. The words of the Savior were verified, in her case, where he said, "They who die in me shall not taste death for it shall be sweet unto them." She died without a struggle or a groan. In her death her parents, sisters, and brother have been deprived of the society of one who was near and dear unto them: The church and society generally of one of its most lovely ornaments. She was too good to live in this world of affliction and sorrow. She was ripe for heaven, therefore God has taken her unto himself. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.
APPENDIX T

ZION'S LIGHT.

(Hymn Book First 130.)

WORDS BY EDWARD PARTRIDGE.  MUSIC BY C. J. THOMAS.

Maestro.

1. Zion in her beauty rise, her light begin to shine, for
2. Ye heralds sound the glad tidings to earth's remotest bound, for
3. But ere that great and solemn day, the stars from heaven fall, for

long her King will rend the skies, majestic and divine. The gloom, descending soon be turned into a bright, the world in darkness, the sun with brightness

through the land, a people to prepare, to meet the Lord and bring's bounty. In God's house I have, with hosts of angels, too, well soon appear, his saints, to save, alas will be clad, all nature look a bright, while men, rebellious, royal men, to

manifest in the air, the earth's dark night. Let Zion in her beauty rise, her heart begins to

since, the Boyd her King will rend the skies, majestic and divine.
APPENDIX U

HYMN: COME LET US ALL UNITE AND SING

Edward Partridge composed several hymns. The following is one of them (p. 64).

Come let us all unite and sing,
Before we bow in prayer
And praise the Lord our heavenly king
And thus our hearts prepare.

O May our mind be drawn away
From worldly cares just now
That we may worship Thee our God
While at thy feet we bow.

We'll pay our morning sacrifice
To thee in Jesus' name
For mercies shown, the night that's past
And thank Thee for the same

Now while we worship at thy feet
And praise thee for the past
We ask thee Lord to bless us still
From oldest to the least.

O Let thy blessings shower around
By day and also night
Not only us but all thy saints
Who in thy law delight.

O may our days be length'ned out
As long as we desire
Then we Elijah like arise
In charriots of fire.

Hymn on page 195 "Let Zion in her beauty rise" was one of his composing, and mother Partridge says that he also composed the Hymn commencing "come let us sing an evening hymn" and one commencing "In ancient days men feared the Lord" altho the evening Hymn above aluded to is accredited to W.W. Phelps in the index of the Hymn book.
IN SEARCH OF ZION: A DESCRIPTION
OF EARLY MORMON MILLENNIAL
UTOPIANISM AS REVEALED
THROUGH THE LIFE OF
EDWARD PARTRIDGE

D. Brent Collette
Department of History
M. A. Degree, August 1977

ABSTRACT

This thesis is the biography of Edward Partridge (1793-
1840), the first bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
Saints. As one of the first members of the Latter-day Saint faith,
his life is a representation of the struggles, persecutions and
sacrifices of early Mormon history. As a leader, he was the subject
of many of the instructions and pronouncements of the Doctrine and
Covenants, a volume of "revelations" cannonized by Mormonism. And
as the first Bishop of the Church, he was specifically designated
to administer the Mormon scheme for utopia, known as the Law of
Consecration and Stewardship. He was, therefore, the first
administrator of the Zion economic system under the Prophet, Joseph
Smith, and as such much of his life is a scenario of the project's
development and scope, revealing many definitive insights into
this utopian scheme. His biography serves readily as a case study
for exploring the compelling influence and transforming nature of
the millennial fervor so prevalent during this era of American
history.

COMMITTEE APPROVAL:

Eugene E. Campbell, Committee Chairman

Leonard Arrington, Committee Member

Ted Warner, Department Chairman