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Zion's Camp

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ZION'S CAMP

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Church History and Doctrine
Brigham Young University

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

by
Wilburn D. Talbot
April 1973
This thesis, by Wilburn D. Talbot, is accepted in its present form by the Department of Church History and Doctrine in The College of Religious Instruction of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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January 18, 1973

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Typed by JoAnne Abel
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, more commonly referred to as the Mormon or LDS Church, had its beginnings in the early 1800s with Joseph Smith—restorer and prophet. Their revelation was recorded by the Church in The Doctrine and Covenants. The members called themselves saints or Latter-day Saints and referred to each other as elders or brothers and sisters.

From the very beginning a place of peace was sought. Close relationships within the Church were developed and enhanced because of persecution from others. Because of their belief in modern revelation, additional scripture, and miracles, the Latter-day Saints were opposed by many. For these and other reasons their enemies continually annoyed them. One of the most exciting chapters in the history of the Mormons deals with their attempts to establish their Zion.

The term Zion has been used throughout the Latter-day Saints' Doctrine and Covenants to refer to the saints of the Lord, the pure in heart, and to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Church in Enoch's day was also referred to as Zion.¹ In this sense men have been commanded to "seek to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion"²

¹The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1952), 38:4, hereafter cited as D&C.
and to "devote all thy service in Zion." Further, Section 57 of The Doctrine and Covenants also referred to the New Jerusalem in Jackson County, Missouri, as Zion. Great efforts and energy had been exerted by many Latter-day Saints in the attempt to establish their city of Zion. Difficulties had arisen in the gathering and organization in Missouri. As early as August, 1831, the saints received warnings of difficulties that lay ahead. "Ye cannot behold with your natural eyes, for the present time, the design of your God concerning those things which shall come hereafter, and the glory which shall follow after much tribulation." Again, in September of 1831 the Church revelations exclaimed, "And the rebellious shall be cut off out of the land of Zion, and shall be sent away, and shall not inherit the land." Oliver Cowdery had been ordained to warn the inhabitants of Zion that the Lord was not pleased, for there was idleness and wickedness, and the people did not seek "earnestly the riches of eternity but their eyes are full of greediness." The saints had trouble living the law of consecration. Their minds had become darkened, and they were under condemnation until they repented and remembered the new covenant and the former commandment, "... otherwise there remaineth a scourge and judgment to be poured out upon the children of Zion."

Several letters and trips from the Kirtland brethren failed to bring the Jackson County saints to a position to receive the blessings in store for Zion. Some in Zion began to repent, and "the angels

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3D&C 24:7.  
4D&C 58:3.  
5D&C 64:35.  
6D&C 70:72.  
7D&C 84:54-58.
rejoiced over them." But it seemed that the saints, as a whole, would not prepare themselves sufficiently to receive the great city. In August, 1833, Mormon revelation claimed:

For behold, and lo, vengeance cometh speedily upon the ungodly as the whirlwind; and who shall escape it? The Lord's scourge shall pass over by night and by day, and the report thereof shall vex all people; yea, it shall not be stayed until the Lord come; for the indignation of the Lord is kindled against their abominations and all their wicked works. Nevertheless, Zion shall escape if she observe to do all things whatsoever I have commanded her. But if she observe not to do whatsoever I have commanded her, I will visit her according to all her works, with sore affliction, with pestilence, with plague, with sword, and vengeance, with devouring fire. Nevertheless, let it be read this once to her ears, that I, the Lord, have accepted of her offering; and if she sin no more none of these things shall come upon her; and I will bless her with blessings, and multiply a multiplicity of blessings upon her and upon her generations forever and ever, saith the Lord your God. Amen.

Soon after this, mob violence and persecution plagued the saints in Missouri, and they were driven out of Jackson County. An answer to these distressing problems came through their Prophet in Section 103 of The Doctrine and Covenants. The elders were to come forth and form an army of not less than one hundred but as near five hundred as possible. The army was gathered, and on the first of May the brethren left Kirtland for New Portage--the rendezvous area. By June, 1834, the army had traveled on foot one thousand miles to Missouri.

This trek, its results upon its members, and its impact upon the Church as a whole, formed an important part of Latter-day Saint history. It is around these problems that the efforts of this paper have been centered. An analysis of the "Zion" situation, the army and its trek,

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8 D&C 90:34.  
and the impact of this event on the lives of those who lived it, helped in drawing the conclusion as to the value of this event.

Throughout the histories and writings of the Church, brief outlines are given of this important area of Church history. Many people are quite knowledgeable of the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but few know the details of this trek. The purpose of this research has been to gather the little known details concerning this trek to Zion. Journals, diaries, newspapers, and other available documents and writings have been used to throw light on the subject.
Chapter 2

ZION--JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI

In Section 25 of The Doctrine and Covenants, recorded in July, 1830, reference was made to Emma Smith receiving an inheritance in Zion if she would be faithful and walk in the paths of virtue before the Lord. Establishing a Zion for the saints, similar to the Zion established in Enoch's day, seemed to be a concern of the saints even though this was not mentioned in the early sections of The Doctrine and Covenants.

In September, 1830, Hiram Page claimed "revelations" through a certain stone he possessed. Some of the information he received concerned the establishment of Zion. According to Mormon belief, this situation was corrected by the Lord, who said, "And now, behold, I say unto you that it is not revealed, and no man knoweth where the city of Zion shall be built, but it shall be given hereafter. Behold, I say unto you that it shall be on the borders by the Lamanites." ¹

The expectation of this inheritance was further enhanced in January, 1831, when the saints were promised "a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey." It would be a land for their inheritance if they would seek it with all their hearts. Further, it would become a land of inheritance for their children forever. ²

¹The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1952), 28:9, hereafter cited as D&C.

²D&C 38:18-20.
The first gathering to the land of Zion was to be performed by the elders of the Lamanite Mission. Oliver Cowdery was called in Section 28 to preach to the Lamanites and was further informed that Zion would be on the borders by the Lamanites. In Section 30 Peter Whitmer, Jr., was added to the Lamanite Mission, and in Section 32 Parley P. Pratt and Ziba Peterson were mentioned. [Parley P. Pratt returned to report the labors of this mission to the fourth general conference. Oliver Cowdery, Ziba Peterson, and Peter Whitmer, Jr., remained in Missouri.]

More explicit instructions were recorded in March, 1831. In Section 45 elders were commanded to go into the western countries to cry repentance. Contributions were to be gathered to purchase an inheritance to be appointed thereafter. It was to be called the New Jerusalem. In another revelation during the same month, it was recorded that, "It must needs be necessary that ye save all the money that ye can, and that ye obtain all that ye can in righteousness, that in time ye may be enabled to purchase land for an inheritance, even the city."4

Further information received in June gave counsel concerning this new Zion. In Section 52, given at the time of the Fourth General Conference of the Church, Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon were instructed to journey to Missouri. Here the land of their inheritance was to be made known to them. In verse 42 of this section it was verified that the land of Missouri was the land of their inheritance.5

Responding to commandment, a party of saints left for Missouri, the land appointed for the gathering.

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3D&C 45:64-71.  
5D&C 52:5, 42.
On the 19th of June, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Martin Harris, Edward Partridge, William W. Phelps, Joseph Coe, Algernon S. Gilbert and his wife I started from Kirtland, Ohio, for the land of Missouri, agreeable to the commandment before received, wherein it was promised that if we were faithful, the land of our inheritance, even the place for the city of the New Jerusalem, should be revealed.6

Joseph's company met with the brethren from the Lamanite Mission waiting in Missouri, and the meeting was a glorious one. During the following week the Colesville saints and others arrived, adding to those who had been called to gather in Missouri.

After their arrival, in July, 1831, the Prophet received what is now Section 57 of The Doctrine and Covenants. This section, received at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, clarified the exact designation of the new Zion:

Harken, O ye elders of my church, saith the Lord your God, who have assembled yourselves together, according to my commandments, in this land, which is the land of Missouri, which is the land which I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints.

Wherefore this is the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion.

And thus saith the Lord your God, if you will receive wisdom here is wisdom. Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the court-house.

Wherefore, it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints, and also every tract lying westward, even unto the line running directly between Jew and Gentile;

And also every tract bordering by the prairies, inasmuch as my disciples are enabled to buy lands. Behold, this is wisdom, that they may obtain it for an everlasting inheritance.7

Those present in the new Zion were "honored in laying the foundation, and in bearing record of the land upon which the Zion of God

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6Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B.H. Roberts (2d ed. rev.; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1959-60), 1,188.

7D&C 57:1-5.
shall stand." Sidney Rigdon was to write a description of the land of Zion, and a statement of the will of God. "An epistle and subscription was to be presented unto all the churches to obtain monies . . . to purchase lands for an inheritance for the children of God." The whole section of country was to be purchased. Sidney Rigdon was to consecrate and dedicate the land and the spot for the temple.\(^8\)

Thus the New Jerusalem--the new Zion--was established and designated for the Church. Great blessings and promises were in store for the saints if they would seek them with all diligence and keep all of the commandments. The "Lord's people" would have to be a pure and holy people in order to establish Zion--just as in Enoch's day.

Prior to leaving with Joseph Smith on the journey to Missouri, W. W. Phelps had been told that he should go to the land of their inheritance and with Oliver Cowdery to do the work of printing, and of selecting and writing books for schools in the church, "that little children also may receive instruction before me as is pleasing unto me." During the month of July, 1831, further instructions were given to those gathered in Zion. Sidney Gilbert was appointed to be an agent to buy up land in the regions around Zion. Edward Partridge was to divide among the saints their inheritance in Zion. Sidney Gilbert was also to establish a store in Zion to sell goods without fraud and obtain money to buy land for the saints. The bishop was to make preparations for those families who had been commanded to move to Zion.\(^9\) Thus the organization was set in motion to establish the New Jerusalem.

During the month of August, 1831, several revelations were

\(^8\)D&C 58.  
\(^9\)D&C 57:6-16.
received that contained further instructions concerning the gathering. Section 58 gave instructions concerning the purchase of lands for a place for the storehouse and a house for printing (verse 37). In verse 44 it was recorded, "... the time has not yet come, for many years, for them [the residue of the elders of the Church] to receive their inheritance in this land, except they desire it through the prayer of faith, only as it shall be appointed unto them of the Lord." Unless men waited for the Lord to open up the way, many would gather only to be disappointed. This was emphasized in verse 56: "And let the work of the gathering be not in haste, nor by flight; but let it be done as it shall be counseled by the Elders of the Church at the conferences, according to the knowledge which they receive from time to time."

In August the Prophet reported that the saints that journeyed up to Zion should journey by land once they left the canal. [Previous instruction not to journey on the river did not include the artificial waterways.] They were to pitch their tents by the way as the children of Israel had done. Those traveling a different course "than that proposed by the Lord" should do it only under the guidance of the Spirit.  

Shortly after departing on the return trip to Kirtland, Joseph Smith met several elders on their way to Independence. These elders were instructed that their missions were not yet fulfilled. They were to continue their journey. "Assemble yourselves upon the land of Zion; and hold a meeting and rejoice together, and offer a sacrament unto the most High. And then you may return to bear record..."  

Further instruction was given as to the purchase of the land,

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10 _D&C_ 61:24-29.  

11 _D&C_ 62:2, 4-5.
indicating that if the saints purchased the land they would be blessed. They were also reminded that if the gathering upon the land was by the shedding of blood, "... lo, your enemies are upon you, and ye shall be scourged from city to city, and from synagogue to synagogue, and but few shall stand to receive an inheritance." In Section 63 Titus Billings was told to dispose of a certain piece of land and to prepare to take the saints thereon to Zion the following spring. Joseph Smith, Jr., was to have power to discern those who should go up to the land of Zion and those who should tarry. Newel K. Whitney was to retain his store but impart all the money possible to Zion. Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were to visit the churches and collect money for Zion. ¹²

The saints claimed the Lord was directing the gathering. In Section 64, verses 20-22 Isaac Morley was given permission to sell his farm, but Frederick G. Williams was instructed not to sell his. Revelations indicated the Lord desired to retain a stronghold in Kirtland for the space of five years. After that none would be held guilty who went up to Zion with an open heart. Verse 26 informed Newel K. Whitney and Sidney Gilbert not to sell their store in Kirtland until after the main body of the Church had left Kirtland for Zion. Only the willing and obedient belonged to Zion (verse 34). Further evidence of the gathering was brought to light in Section 66, verse 6, where William E. M'Lellin was told that it was not yet time for him to go up to Zion. However, in verse 11 of this section he was told to "push many people to Zion with songs of everlasting joy upon their heads."

It is interesting to note that a clear distinction between Jerusalem and this new Zion was given in November, 1831. Section 133, verse 20, explained that in the future the Lord "shall stand upon the mount of Olives, and upon the mighty ocean, even the great deep, and upon the islands of the sea, and upon the land of Zion." Verse 21 referred to the Lord speaking from Zion and from Jerusalem. Verse 24 referred to both Jerusalem and Zion being returned to their own place as they were prior to the days of Peleg.

Interesting administrative direction was given the saints regarding those "who are privileged to go up unto Zion. . . ." It had been decreed that Zion would be built under the law of consecration. The saints, therefore, were to consecrate "all things" to the bishop in Kirtland and in return receive a certificate enabling them to receive an inheritance in Zion. Others going to Zion from outside Kirtland were to go only if appointed by the Holy Spirit. These latter were to carry certificates indicating their full fellowship signed by three elders of the Church.13

The land of Zion was to literally hold the city New Jerusalem. This city "shall be built, beginning at the temple lot, which is appointed by the finger of the Lord, in the western boundaries of the state of Missouri, and dedicated by the hand of Joseph Smith, Jun., and others with whom the Lord was well pleased." The gathering saints would build the city, and the temple would be reared in this generation.14 There were distinct plans for the building up of Zion. The spot had been selected and dedicated, and the revelations were to be fulfilled.

Consistently, the revelations had borne record of the necessity of the honest, faithful, and diligent saints building up Zion. They must truly be of one heart and desire.

However, a tone of warning seemed to accompany the promises of blessings throughout the Zion-related scriptures of The Doctrine and Covenants. As early as August, 1831, the revelations exclaimed, "Ye cannot behold with your natural eyes, for the present time, the design of your God concerning those things which shall come hereafter, and the glory which shall follow after much tribulation."\(^{15}\) This revelation was given to the Prophet in Zion, Jackson County, Missouri, the first Sabbath after the arrival of the Prophet and his party. A spirit of rebellion was again referred to one month later in Church revelation when the saints were warned that the Lord required a willing heart and mind. Only the obedient would enjoy the good of the land for "the rebellious shall be cut off out of the land of Zion, and shall be sent away, and shall not inherit the land."\(^{16}\) This revelation had reference to the keeping of the commandments of God—one in particular being the law of consecration.

In November of that same year [1831] the Prophet indicated that the Lord was not well pleased with the inhabitants in Zion. Idlers were among the saints in Zion, and their children were growing up in wickedness. Greediness was crowding out the earnest seekers of the riches of eternity. The saints were further reminded to pray to the Lord. To warn the saints in Zion of these problems, Oliver Cowdery was sent to carry this message unto the land of Zion.\(^{17}\)

\(^{15}\)\textit{D&C} 58:3. \quad \(^{16}\)\textit{D&C} 64:34-35. \quad \(^{17}\)\textit{D&C} 68:31-33.
In March, 1832, the revelations counseled Newel K. Whitney, Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon to go from Kirtland to the saints in Zion and sit in counsel with them—"Otherwise Satan seeketh to turn their hearts away from the truth, that they become blinded and understand not the things which are prepared for them." The Prophet after receiving this revelation went to Zion on his second visit. Section 82, received when the Prophet arrived in Zion, explained that there were those in Zion who had sinned exceedingly. "... Yea, even all of you have sinned; but verily I say unto you, beware from henceforth, and refrain from sin, lest sore judgments fall upon your heads." The saints were again counseled concerning the law of consecration.

Once again in September of 1832 the Prophet made known the unbelief of the saints in Zion in treating lightly the things they had received. Vanity and unbelief rested upon the children of Zion. They were to repent and remember their covenants and bring forth fruit worthy of the kingdom, "otherwise there remaineth a scourge and judgment to be poured out upon the children of Zion. For shall the children of the kingdom pollute my holy land? Verily, I say unto you, Nay." Only sincere repentance could avert the disaster that lay ahead. Verse 76 informed the saints in Zion that they were guilty of rebellion against the Prophet during his last visit.

In response to this situation in Zion, several letters of chas-tisement were sent to the saints there. These letters seemed to have had an awakening action for they were later told in Section 90, verses 34-35, "Behold I say unto you that your brethren in Zion begin to

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repent, and the angels rejoice over them. Nevertheless, I am not well pleased with many things. . . ."

In August, 1833, it was revealed that many of those in Zion were "truly humble and are seeking diligently to learn wisdom and to find truth." The revelations indicated the Lord was pleased with these saints as well as the school of the elders in Zion, and Parley P. Partt who was teaching the school. However, there were also those who had gathered to Zion that needed chastening. "The ax is laid at the root of the trees; and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire."

Those who gathered to Zion were to be tithed and a temple was to be built to the Lord

... for the salvation of Zion--for a place of thanksgiving for all saints, and for a place of instruction for all those who are called to the work of the ministry in all their several callings and offices; that they may be perfected in their understanding of their ministry, in theory, in principle, and in doctrine . . .

But if the temple were defiled by those who were unclean, the "Lord's glory" would not be there, for Zion was the pure in heart. 20

Church revelations still offered Zion a chance to repent. Zion would escape if she would do all things the Lord had commanded. Affliction, pestilence, plague, and vengeance would be avoided if Zion sinned no more; "nevertheless, let it be read this once to her ears, that I the Lord, have accepted of her offering; and if she sin no more none of these things shall come upon her."21

In October of 1833 "the Lord said":

And now I give unto you a word concerning Zion. Zion shall be redeemed, although she is chastened for a little season . . .

Therefore, let your hearts be comforted; for all things work
together for good to them that walk uprightly, and to the sancti-
fication of the Church. For I will raise up unto myself a pure
people that will serve me in righteousness; And all that call upon
the name of the Lord, and keep his commandments, shall be saved.22

The revelation did not indicate how long it would take to raise up a
people willing to serve him.

Soon after this revelation of November, 1833, the saints were
driven from their homes in Jackson County, Missouri. Newel Knight's
journal gives an interesting reflection upon this trying time in Mormon
history:

The next day the fury of the mob was in no way abated, and the
Saints saw that their lives could be saved only by flight; conse-
quently men, women and children fled from their homes, some in one
direction and some in another. One large party of women and chil-
dren, protected only by six men wandered into the prairie south,
and their tracks could be followed by the blood stains on the
ground, the prairie grass had been burnt, and the sharp stubble
lacerated their uncovered feet, cutting and wounding them in a ter-
rible manner; thus they wandered about for several days with
nothing but the broad canopy of heaven to shelter them. Some went
to the Missouri river intending to cross over into Clay county, for
they had already proven that the people in the adjoining counties
were far from being their friends. Thus homeless, and without
means of taking much to sustain them did the whole Church in Jackson
county flee before the mob, and at night those who went to the river
camped in the rain which poured down in torrents; the frail mother,
the helpless infant, the sick and the dying, all alike without the
means to shelter themselves from the storm.23

Some historians have indicated that during this time of crisis
Joseph Smith was impatient over the duties that held him at Kirtland
while other Mormons were out "milking the gentiles"--"so Joe and Free-
man Nickerson went to Canada on a 'Missionary trip.'" The intimation
was that "Joseph Smith had an easy time of it while the Missourians

22D&C 100:13-17.

23Scraps of Biography--Tenth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series
(Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructors Office, 1883), p. 83.
were harassing the residents of Zion."24

However, other writers remind us of the trips to Missouri made by Joseph in behalf of the saints and the letters and concern the Prophet offered that the saints might repent and avoid the tribulations. The spirit of the Prophet was probably more aptly portrayed by those who knew him best. His mother indicated:

Upon hearing this [the persecutions in Missouri] Joseph was overwhelmed with grief. He burst into tears and sobbed aloud, "Oh my brethren! my brethren"; he exclaimed, "would that I had been with you to have shared your fate. Oh my God, what shall I do in such a trial as this!"25

It was not until December of 1833 that Joseph received more revelation concerning the saints and their afflictions. During this interval the Prophet declared that "the spirit withheld from him definite knowledge of the reason why the calamity had fallen Zion." However, in December, 1833, Joseph Smith received Section 101 [see Appendix A] of The Doctrine and Covenants giving further information concerning Zion.

On January 9, 1834, the First Presidency of the Church wrote to the scattered saints. The saints were requested to:

1. Petition the Governor for help.
2. Petition the President of the U.S.
3. Stress the need of an army to guard the saints as they attempted to return to their homes.
4. Act the part of the poor widow to perfection.
5. Prosecute every lawful means to bring the mob to justice.


It was further emphasized:

You [saints] purchased your inheritance with money, therefore, behold you are blessed; you have not purchased your lands by the shedding of blood, consequently, you do not come under the censure of this commandment, which says, "If by blood, lo your enemies are upon you, and ye shall be driven from city to city"; give yourselves no uneasiness on this account.26

Parley P. Pratt had been through the persecutions in Jackson County. In his autobiography he related some of the specific trials of this period. After portraying the persecutions heaped upon the saints by the mobs, he told of the conference held in Clay County in the winter of 1833-34. At this conference it was decided that two elders be sent to Ohio to counsel with President Smith and the Church at Kirtland and take some measures for the relief of the people driven from their homes. Lyman Wight and Parley P. Pratt offered their services, which were readily accepted.

Elder Pratt, who previous to his call had neither horse, saddle, bridle, money, nor provisions to take with him or to leave his wife who lay sick and helpless most of the time, was completely equipped for the trip by the destitute saints. Elder Wight was also provided for during his preparations.27

The persecution continued through the winter months. On Thursday, February 20, 1834, one of the saints who had remained in Jackson County was severely mobbed. The following details were subsequently given under oath by his wife Abigail Leonard:

26 Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, January 9, 1834, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Journal History.

I Abigail Leonard depose and say, that on the night of the 20th of February, 1834, in the county of Jackson the State of Missouri, a company of men, about fifty or sixty in number, armed with whips and guns came to the house of my husband; among them were John Young, Mr. Yocum, Mr. Tantrell, Mr. Patterson and Mr. Noland. Five of the number entered the house; among them was John Young. They ordered my husband to leave the house, threatening to shoot him if he did not. He not complying with their desires, one of the five took a chair and struck him upon the head, knocking him down and then dragging him out of the house. I, in the meantime, begging of them to spare his life, when one of the number called to the others, telling them to take me into the house, for I would "overpower every devil of them!" Three of the company then approached me, and, presented their guns, declared with an oath, if I did not go in, they would blow me through. While this was happening Mr. Patterson jumped upon my husband with his heels; my husband then got up, they stripped all his clothes from him excepting his pantaloons, then five or six attacked him with whips and gun sticks and whipped him till he could not stand, and he fell to the ground. I then went to them, and took their whips from them; I then called to Mrs. Bruce, who lived in the same house with us, to come out and help me carry my husband into the house. When carried in he was very much lacerated and bruised, and unable to be upon a bed, and was also unable to work for a number of months. Also, at the same time and place, Mr. Josiah Sumner was taken from the house, and came in very bloody and bruised from whipping.

(Signed) Abigail Leonard

W. W. Phelps wrote the brethren in Kirtland telling of about twelve saints being subpoenaed in behalf of the state and escourted into Jackson County [23 February 1834] by the Liberty Blues. However, while in Independence they were visited by the District Attorney, Mr. Reese, and the Attorney General, Mr. Wells.

From them we learned that all hopes of criminal prosecutions were at an end. Mr. Wells had been sent by the governor to investigate, as far as possible, the Jackson outrage; but the bold front of the mob bound even unto death (as I have heard), was not to be penetrated by civil law, or awed by executive influence. Shortly after, Captain Atcheson informed me that he had just received an order from the judge that his company's service was no longer wanted in Jackson County; and we were marched out of town to the tune of Yankee Doodle, in quick time, and soon returned to our camp without the loss of any lives. This order was issued by the court, apparently, on account of the speedy gathering of the old mob, or

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28 Journal History, February 20, 1834.
citizens of Jackson County, and their assuming such a boisterous and mobocratic appearance.29

(Thus ended the only effort that was ever made by the officers of Missouri to bring to justice those violators of the law.)

In February of 1834 the saints were informed that Zion could be redeemed if they would hearken from that hour unto counsel from the Lord. "But inasmuch as they keep not my commandments, and hearken not to observe all my words, the kingdom of the world shall prevail against them." The revelations then explained that Zion must be redeemed by power. Joseph Smith was instructed to raise up an army to redeem Zion—Zion's Camp. Money was to be gathered from among the churches to purchase lands in Zion. Some of the saints were then commanded to go forth among the churches to gather up the means by which Zion could be redeemed by power.30

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29Ibid., February 27, 1834.
30D&C 103.
Chapter 3

GATHERING ZION'S ARMY

The redemption of Zion was to come by power. Joseph Smith was likened unto the servant to whom the Lord of the vineyard spake

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saying:

\[ \ldots \text{Go and gather together the residue of my servants, and take all the strength of mine house, which are my warriors, my young men, and they that are of middle age also among all my servants, who are the strength of mine house, save those only whom I have appointed to tarry; And go ye straightway unto the land of my vineyard, and redeem my vineyard, for it is mine; I have bought it with money. Therefore, get ye straightway unto my land; break down the walls of mine enemies, that by and by I may come with the residue of mine house and possess the land.} \[ \text{2} \]

Joseph was instructed to gather out the strength of the Church, the young and middle aged, and go to the land of Zion to purchase lands as before commanded. Five hundred men were needed for this mission, but three hundred or even one hundred could make the trek to Zion for its redemption. "But verily I say unto you, a commandment I give unto you, that ye shall not go up unto the land of Zion until you have obtained a hundred of the strength of my house \ldots." \[ \text{3} \]

Certain men were assigned companions for the gathering of this army. Parley P. Pratt journeyed with Joseph Smith, Jr.; Lyman Wight with Sidney Rigdon; Hyrum Smith with Frederick G. Williams; and Orson

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\[ \text{1} \] The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1952), 103:21, hereafter cited as D&C.

\[ \text{2} \] D&C 101:55-58.

\[ \text{3} \] D&C 103:30-34.
Hyde with Orson Pratt. These men were set apart to journey throughout
the churches and gather donations and an army for the redemption of
Zion.4

It is interesting to follow the events accompanying the gathering
of the army. One historian has said, "Early in January, 1834, the
leaders sent Pratt to Kirtland to ask Joseph for a revelation. The
answer was forthcoming on February 24 . . . Within a week about one
hundred and fifty men had assembled."5 Although this account indicated
that one hundred and fifty men had assembled within a week's time, most
reports imply that the following two months involved hard recruiting.

Joseph Smith's revelation, designating him to gather up the army,
came on February 24, 1834. That same day the high council met and
Joseph Smith, Jr., was nominated to be the commander-in-chief of the
armies to go to Zion. This nomination was seconded and carried by the
vote of all present. At this meeting Joseph Smith called for volunteers
to accompany him, and thirty or forty volunteered to go.6

Orson Pratt recorded in his journal that on February 24, 1834,
he "found that the Lord had appointed in a revelation that Orson Hyde and
I should journey together, to assist in obtaining brethren, and means for
the redemption of Zion according to the revelations previously given."7

4D&C 103:37-40.

Harry M. Beardsley, Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire (Boston

Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-
day Saints, ed. B.H. Roberts (2d ed. rev.; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book

Orson Pratt, "History of Orson Pratt," The Utah Genealogical
and Historical Magazine (April 1937), p. 92.
These two brethren left Kirtland two days later on their appointed mission. Elder Pratt indicated that on February 27, 1834, they tried "to obtain some assistance from the world for the relief of our suffering brethren in Zion but they refused to render any assistance. We therefore washed our feet against them." Orson Hyde also commented on his missionary efforts with Orson Pratt:

In the winter and spring of 1834, I took another mission to Pennsylvania, Elk Creek, in company with Elder Orson Pratt, to preach the gospel and to call a company to go up that summer to Missouri. We went as far east as Gennessee, New York.

Joseph Holbrook related in his diary that Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt visited his branch in search of men and money for Zion's Camp:

Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt came with a message to the branch. A revelation had been given for as many as could to come to Kirtland preparatory to assembling to "Redeem Zion" and to be there not later than May 1, 1834. Joseph Chandler, Solomon Angel, and their families all sold their farms at a great sacrifice and arrived in time to respond to the call.

On the 26th of February Joseph Smith started out to obtain other volunteers. Parley P. Pratt accompanied him as the revelation had instructed. Concerning this Parley P. Pratt said, "We journeyed two and two in different routes, visiting the churches and instructing the people as we traveled. President Joseph Smith and myself journeyed together." The journey was a success in many areas and Elder Pratt said,

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8 Ibid.

9 Orson Hyde, History of Orson Hyde, located at Brigham Young University Library, Ms 444, p. 7.

10 From the diary of Joseph Holbrook as copied in Lafayette Hinckly Holbrook and Alsina Elisabeth Bremhall Holbrook families, Brigham Young University Library, p. 16.
"Thus mightily grew the word of God, or the seed sown by that extraordinary personage, the Prophet and Seer of the nineteenth century."\(^{11}\)

Joseph related the places traveled to but did not specifically mention in his history the redemption of Zion until March 5th when he and Pratt arrived at Villanova [N.Y.] and preached at Brother Nickerson's. Here they explained the conditions of Zion and "opened to them the prophecies and revelations concerning the order of the gathering to Zion and the means of her redemption." Joseph Smith prophesied to them, "and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon me, and with all readiness the young and middle-aged volunteered for Zion."\(^{12}\)

On March 13, Orson Pratt stated:

Held a meeting with the brethren [of China Branch, N.Y.] and laid before them the necessity of obeying the parable in the revelations and there were three or four of the middle-aged and young men who said that they would go on to Zion this spring if they could.\(^{13}\)

On March 15th Elders Rigdon and Wight arrived at Brother Beaman's [Avon, N.Y.], much to the joy of all. On March 16, 1834, Elder Orson Pratt reported listening to Brothers Sidney and Parley preach. He also mentioned being at Father Beaman's [Avon, N.Y.] on the 17th as does Joseph Smith in the Documentary History of the Church. On this day Elder Pratt indicated he attended "a meeting among the brethren for the purpose of obtaining volunteers for Zion."\(^{14}\)

Of the eight commanded to gather the saints for the redemption

\(^{11}\)Parley Parker Pratt, Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt (Chicago: Pratt Brothers, 1888), p. 117.

\(^{12}\)Smith, op. cit., II, 42.

\(^{13}\)Orson Pratt, op. cit., p. 92.

\(^{14}\)Ibid.
of Zion, all were together again except Hyrum Smith and Frederick G. Williams.\textsuperscript{15} At this conference the specific mission of gathering was again taught by the Prophet as he stated that

\ldots the object of the conference was to obtain young and middle-aged men to go and assist in the redemption of Zion, according to the commandment; and for the Church to gather up their riches, and send them to purchase lands according to the commandments of the Lord. \ldots

Monies for the debts of Kirtland were also sought at this time.\textsuperscript{16}

Elder Pratt stated that "Presidents Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon addressed the crowds in great plainness of speech with mighty power."\textsuperscript{17}

At this time several revisions for the remainder of the mission were made. Orson Hyde was to tarry and preach in the regions around Avon [N.Y.] until money for the relief of Zion could be obtained. It was decided that Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Lyman Wight would return to Kirtland. Orson Pratt traveled to Kirtland with John Murdock and preached along the way. Parley P. Pratt journeyed with Henry Brown to the churches in the Black River country [N.Y.] to "obtain all the means they could to help Zion."\textsuperscript{18} Parley P. Pratt returned to Kirtland the latter part of April.

Wilford Woodruff came in contact with Parley P. Pratt following the Prophet's return to Kirtland.

On the 1st of April, Elders Parley P. Pratt and Harry Brown arrived at Richland [Ohio]. They were there on an important mission. They were in search of young and able-bodied men in the eastern branches of the Church--young men whose services were needed in

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{Smith, op. cit., II, 44.}
\footnote{Ibid.}
\footnote{Parley P. Pratt, op. cit., p. 118.}
\footnote{Smith, op. cit., II, 44.}
\end{footnotesize}
Zion's Camp, an organization which at that time was being effected for the purpose of assisting in the redemption of Zion, and of carrying supplies to the suffering Saints who had been expelled by mob violence from their homes in Jackson County, Missouri.

This was the first time Wilford Woodruff had met Parley P. Pratt, to whose instructions he listened with great interest and attention, and says he was greatly edified by what he had to say. Elder Pratt informed him that it was his duty to prepare himself to go up to the land of Zion. He accordingly settled up his business affairs, and bade good-by to his brother and kinsfolk in Richland.

On April 11th Wilford took Harry Brown and Warren Ingles in his wagon and started with them for Kirtland, Ohio. On the way he met for the first time Elders Orson Pratt and John Murdock. They arrived in Kirtland April 25th, 1834.19

Elders Orson Hyde and John Murdock labored together from March 17 until they arrived in Kirtland on April 21, but no specific mention was made in Elder Pratt's history of further discourses on the redemption of Zion. Many specific discourses on various subjects of the gospel were announced and many baptisms and confirmations related.20 It may be assumed, however, that further efforts were made during this period to strengthen the army of Zion.

Brigham Young and many others helped recruit for the camp of Zion.

No sooner had the wedding ceremony making Mary Ann Angell his wife been performed than Brigham Young was called by Joseph to travel east in search of money and enlistments for the army ... He visited converts in the eastern branches of Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts and explained what had happened in Missouri. He urged them to supply financial assistance if they were able, or, if they were young men without families, to join their brethren inrighting the wrongs perpetrated by the gentiles in the western settlements. Upon his return to Kirtland he was appointed one of the ten captains who were to supervise the march to Missouri.21

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19Matthies F. Cowley, Wilford Woodruff History of His Life and Labors (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), p. 38.

20Orson Pratt, op. cit., pp. 93-95.

Heber C. Kimball also was closely related to Zion's Camp and the preparation for the thousand-mile march. Concerning the gathering of this army, Heber C. Kimball said:

Brother Joseph received a lengthy revelation concerning the redemption of Zion, which remains to be fulfilled in a great measure. But he thought it best to gather together as many of the brethren as he conveniently could, with what means they could spare, and go up to Zion to render all the assistance that we could to our afflicted brethren. We gathered clothing, and other necessaries to carry up to our brethren and sisters who had been stripped; and putting our horses to the wagons, and taking our firelocks and ammunitions, we started on our journey...22

A circular written to the saints on May 10, 1834, by Sidney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery explained in great detail the purpose and plans of the Church relative to the Camp of Zion then enroute to Missouri. (See Appendix B.)

The First Presidency of the Church wrote to Orson Hyde in New York imploring him to seek help from the Eastern saints in behalf of Zion:

We therefore adjure you to beseech them, in the name of the Lord, by the Son of God, to lend us a helping hand; and if all this will not soften their hearts to administer to our necessity for Zion's sake, turn your back upon them, and return speedily to Kirtland; and the blood of Zion be upon their heads, even as upon the heads of her enemies...23

On April 10, 1834, a second petition was sent to the President of the United States disclosing the Mormon condition in Missouri. This same day more communication was sent to Governor Dunklin. He was informed of the letter to the President and asked

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22 Elder Charles Fry, "Zion's Camp; or the Expedition to Missouri, Its Purpose," Journal of History, ed. Heman C. Smith, (Lamoni: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Jan., 1913), VI, No. 1, 91-92.

23 Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 7, 1834, located in Church Historian's Office, hereafter this collection will be cited as Journal History.
... to forward a few lines in connection with our humble entreaties for our possessions and privileges. ... We therefore, as humble petitioners, ask as a favor of your Excellency to write to the President of the United States, that he may assist us; or our society, in obtaining our rights in Jackson County and help protect us when there, till we are safe. 24

The Governor reported that he was not able to respond to the above request, believing that this request was outside the jurisdiction of the President.

The Prophet attended a meeting in Kirtland on April 17th where Elder Rigdon discussed the importance of delivering Zion and building the Lord's House in Kirtland. After this lecture Joseph Smith requested a contribution of all the money possible for the deliverance of Zion. He received twenty-nine dollars and sixty-eight cents. 25

Soon after this, Joseph attended a conference at Norton, Ohio, where more volunteered to go to Zion, and sixty-six dollars and thirty-seven cents was donated for its redemption. During this conference of April 21st Joseph said that without Zion and a place of deliverance the Church would fall. Joseph Besworth said that he had no property but would be willing to sell his clothes at auction for the deliverance of Zion. 26

The saints again wrote Governor Dunklin on April 24, 1834, that... a number of our brethren, perhaps two or three hundred, would remove to Jackson County in the course of the ensuing summer... but we think your Excellency is well aware that our object is purely to defend ourselves and possessions against another outrageous attack from the mob, inasmuch as the executive of this state cannot keep up a military force "to protect our people in that county, without transcending his powers." We want, therefore, the privilege of defending ourselves and the Constitution of our country, while God is willing we should have a being on His footstool. 27

24Journal History, 10 April 1834. 25Smith, op. cit., II, 50.
26Ibid., II:52-53. 27Journal History, 24 April 1834.
Near the end of April Joseph received another contribution of two hundred and fifty-one dollars and sixty cents for the deliverance of Zion.

On Sunday, May 4th, Joseph preached to the saints in Kirtland under the shade of the new school house, which was partially enclosed. Many of those who were to form the "Camp of Zion" being present, Joseph impressed upon them the necessity of being humble, exercising faith and patience, living in obedience to the commandments of the Almighty, and not murmuring at the dispensations of Providence. He bore testimony of the truth of the work of God which God had revealed through him, and promised the brethren that if they would all live as they should before the Lord, keeping his commandments, and nor murmuring against the Lord and his servants like the children of Israel, they should all safely return, and not one of them should fall upon the mission they were about to undertake. If they were united and exercised faith, God would deliver them out of the hands of their enemies; but should they, like the children of Israel, forget God and his promises, and treat lightly his commandments, He would visit them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure.²⁸

During this two-month recruiting, Hyrum Smith and Frederick G. Williams continued to work together. However, just prior to the beginning of the Trek in May, Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight departed for Missouri via a northerly route. Much recruiting was done by "Hyrum's Northern Company" enroute to Zion. Pearson H. Corbett in his book on Hyrum Smith said:

²⁸*Journal History, 4 May 1834.*
In company with Lyman Wight [this must have been Frederick G. Williams to be in accordance with D&C 103:39 and DHC volume II, p. 44] Hyrum Smith went East to contact the branches of the Church for the support of this expedition to Zion which was known as "Zion's Camp". The Prophet, with Parley P. Pratt, went into other branches recruiting aid. After two months of intensive travel and countless appearances, over a hundred volunteers gathered at Kirtland to begin the westward trek. Following this first expedition to the east to recruit for Zion's Camp, Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight departed for Michigan to obtain more volunteers. By May 5, 1834 a company of fourteen had been recruited mostly from Pontiac, Michigan. This group departed for Zion the same day as Joseph left from Kirtland.29

Hosea Stout was living in Michigan and, although he was not a member of the Church at this time, he had been affiliated with the Mormons and their religion. In his autobiography he mentioned that Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight did journey through this region:

This summer the Zion Camp marched up to Missouri to retake Jackson county under Joseph Smith, Jr., the Prophet.

Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, and others passed by here on their way up to Jackson county and staid several days during which time they preached several times here.

The effect of their preaching was powerful on me and when I considered that they were going up to Zion to fight for their lost inheritances under the special directions of God it was all that I could do to refrain from going. Jones and I let them have one yoke of oxen.

Elder Charles C. Rich went with them.30

John Henry Evans, in his book on Charles C. Rich, made several comments on Zion's Camp and Elder Rich's contact with Elders Smith and Wight:

It happened that Charles C. Rich, when he heard of this military enterprise, was doing missionary work in his home country. Somewhere in his travels he encountered Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight on their recruiting expedition. Whether they were going or coming is


not clear from the record, but probability is that they were on their way to Missouri to join the main army.  

The gathering of the men and equipment for Zion's Camp did not stop when the camp moved out of Kirtland. Zion's Camp was increased in number as the camp traveled toward Jackson County. Much of this increase was due to the tireless energy of Parley P. Pratt who detoured on horseback to various towns along the road, where there were Mormons. On one occasion he brought in twelve men. This fact is verified by Parley P. Pratt. He said, "I was chiefly engaged as a recruiting officer, and, not being much with the camp, can give but little of its history." He visited branches of the Church in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri to obtain what men and means he could.

Orson Hyde was engaged in further recruiting following the Camp's departure from Kirtland. In the month of May, as the company started from Kirtland for Missouri, he went by Florence [Ohio] collecting money for the benefit of the camp. He obtained between one and two hundred dollars and met the camp near Dayton [Ohio].

Therefore, even though the saints had been moved out of Zion and were being mobbed and persecuted, a plan was revealed for the redemption of Zion. The key to the success of this plan was strict obedience by the saints in the East to the gathering of an army and monies for the redemption of Zion.

33Pratt, op. cit., p. 122.
34Hyde, op. cit., p. 7.
Men were singled out to follow through with the plan and gather out of the churches the means and strength to fulfill the intentions. This mission was one of great importance. These men had only two months to gather up the redemptive force for Zion. With great intent they preached to the churches of the East and continued their efforts of recruiting through the entire march to Missouri.

Even though the strength of the Church did not hearken unto the revelation, great blessings were promised those who were obedient, "But inasmuch as there are those who have hearkened unto my words, I have prepared a blessing and an endowment for them, if they continue faithful."35

Chapter 4

TREK TO MISSOURI

With the recruiting in the East finished, the elders assembled at Kirtland. On May 1, 1834, Joseph Smith recorded that more than twenty of the brethren left Kirtland for Missouri accompanied by four baggage wagons. They traveled to New Portage and waited until the remainder of the Kirtland company, who were not in readiness to start with them, arrived.¹

Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight had departed on a more northerly route to recruit and meet Joseph's company at an already designated place in Missouri. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints recorded that on April 14, 1834, it was agreed that Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight go west by way of Michigan and the northern part of Illinois, visiting the churches and ascertaining what they would do for the brethren in Missouri. On the 21st Elders Smith and Wight, traveling by team, started from Kirtland on their mission.²

The need of assistance by the destitute Missouri saints was verified in a letter sent by W.W. Phelps to the brethren in Kirtland.


²President Joseph Smith and Apostle Heman C. Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Eighth edition; Lamoni: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1908), I, 445-446.
The letter was dated May 1, 1834, Liberty:

Dear Brethren--There are great moves in the West. Last week an alarm was spread in Jackson County, the seat of iniquity and bloodshed, that the "Mormons" were crossing the Missouri, to take possession of their lands, and nearly all the county turned out, "prepared for war"; on Saturday and on Sunday took the field near old McGees, above Blue; but no Mormons came; neither did Arthur go over to see about his spilt whiskey, so that the scene closed by burning our houses, or many of them. Our people had about one hundred and seventy buildings in Jackson, and a bonfire of nearly all of them at once, must have made a light large enough to have glared on the dark deed and cup of iniquity running over at midnight.

The crisis has come, all who will not take up arms with the mob and prepare to fight the "Mormons," have to leave Jackson county. I understand some have left the county because they refused to fight an innocent people. It is said the mob will hold a "general muster" this week for the purpose of learning who is who. They begin to slip over the Missouri and commit small depredations upon our brethren settled near the river, as we have reason to believe.

It is said to be enough to shock the stoutest heart to witness the drinking, swearing, and ravings of the most of the mob: nothing but the power of God can stop them in their latter day crusade against the Church of Christ.

Our brethren are very industrious in putting in spring crops; and they are generally in good health, and the faithful in strong faith of a glorious hereafter.3

A few days later, on May 5th, the Prophet left Kirtland for a rendezvous with the camp at New Portage. He recorded this in his journal:

Having gathered and prepared clothing and other necessaries to carry to our brethren and sisters, who have been robbed and plundered of nearly all their effects; and having provided for ourselves horses, and wagons, and firearms, and all sorts of munitions of war of the most portable kind for self-defense--as our enemies are thick on every hand--I started with the remainder of the company from Kirtland for Missouri.4

The spirit of this march and its purposes were further illuminated by Parley P. Pratt when he told of the exodus from Kirtland in


4Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., II, 63.
his autobiography:

It was now the first of May 1834, and our mission had resulted in the assembling of about two [one] hundred men at Kirtland, with teams, baggage, provisions, arms, etc.; for a march of one thousand miles, for the purpose of carrying some supplies to the afflicted and persecuted Saints in Missouri, and to reinforce and strengthen them and, if possible, to influence the Governor of the State to call out sufficient additional force to cooperate in restoring them to their rights. This little army was led by President Joseph Smith in person. It commenced its march about the first of May; passing through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, it entered Missouri some time in June.5

Joseph B. Noble likewise recorded in his journal his anxiety and concern over this trek to Missouri:

In the spring of 1834 I settled up my business because there was a proclamation made by the servants of God that the strength of his house was wanted to go up to Missouri to redeem Zion (or for the redemptions of Zion) I accordingly volenteered Bid farewell to my Fathers family and all my acquaintances for a season and started on the first day of May I arrived in Kirtland on the 6th found the company had left, that they were to be in Norten that night a distance of 50 miles I hired Bro Johnson to take me with a horse and buggy to Norten that night which he did we arived there about 9 in the evening. I called at the publick house and found by enquiring that there was a company of Mormons coming there that evening on their way to Missouri, My heart leaped for joy I went to where they were. They were glad to see me especially Elder Wilcox, they began to fear that some thing had hapened to me. [sic]6

John Henry Evans labeled this army a "nondescript army." He recorded that:

The men varied in age from Dr. Williams, who was forty-seven, to George A. Smith, cousin of the Prophet, who was not yet seventeen. The Prophet was in his twenty-ninth year. They wore no uniforms, but were dressed in whatever they may have stood in when they enlisted. But all of them were armed after a fashion, with muskets, pistols, swords, and dirks--the weapons of the period.7

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6Joseph Noble's Journal, pp. 6-8, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Joseph Smith indicated that his company consisted of about one hundred men, nearly all elders, priests, teachers or deacons. Wilford Woodruff wrote that when Joseph Smith joined the advance camp at New Portage he had about eighty-five men with him. However, as the camp got ready to leave New Portage the numbers had grown to more than one hundred and thirty. Recruiting along the way accounts for the growth to over two hundred men by the journey's end.

One writer has commented that Joseph took charge of the money and "pocketed the cash of his dupes." However, a very interesting series of accounts exists in the Latter-day Saint Church Historian's Office under the file heading "Zion's Camp" showing to the penny all the monies collected for Zion's Camp and from whom the donations came. This list of monies included not only the money collected from the branches and individuals prior to the trek, but also a very detailed list was added indicating "cash received of the brethren after they started for Zion, they all agreeing to put their moneys in to one general fund and make one purse for the whole." A record was made of the dispersement of the monies along the trek. At the conclusion of the Camp the remaining money was dispersed among the brethren of the Camp. This account mentioned that $233.70 was the "Amount distributed among the companies in Clay county it being the balance left of the consecrated moneys." This ten page ledger is evidence of a conscientious effort in the proper dispersement of the monies offered to redeem Zion. (See Appendix C.)

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8E.D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled (Painesville: Printed and published by the author, 1834), p. 158.

9File on Zion's Camp, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as File on Zion's Camp.
Andrew Jensen, in his *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, reported that Joseph's company arrived at New Portage May 6, 1834, where about fifty other brethren awaited their arrival. The money in possession of the several members of the camp was gathered and placed in the hands of Frederick G. Williams who was appointed paymaster of the company. Zerubbabel Snow was appointed commissary general and the whole company now consisted of 150 men and 20 baggage wagons.  

Further light was shed on this organization in John Henry Evans' book *Joseph Smith An American Prophet*:

And they were well organized. The Mormon leader saw to that. The men were divided into groups of twelve, each with a captain chosen by the group, and two cooks, two firemen, two watermen, a runner, two wagoners, two tent-men, and a commissary, appointed by the captain. Lyman Wight was general and the Prophet himself commander-in-chief—not "treasurer," as those would have us believe who make out that the Mormon leader always looked out for the money bags. The commander-in-chief had twenty men as life guards. Only once during the entire journey was his identity made known to outsiders; that was when the army reached Missouri and negotiations were to be carried on with the enemy.  

Joseph Holbrook's Journal contributed these comments to the organization of the camp:

The first of May we left Kirtland for New Portage about fifty miles where the brethren were to meet with us for Missouri. At this place, May 6th, 1834, the camp of saints was organized for our journey by the prophet Joseph Smith. When every man gave into the treasury the amount of means he had for the journey except those that had families who were directed to provide for themselves inasmuch as they had the means to do so. The company was divided into masses of ten persons each with a captain to each ten and over

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each five, tens or fifty persons there was a captain of fifty and over each hundred a captain according to the ancient order of Israel.  

Wilford Woodruff commented that "Our company now consisted of twenty baggage waggons and rising of one hundred and fifty men. The men were armed with dirks, pistols, swords, and rifles for self defense and according to Brother Joseph's request I delivered him my sword for his own use." Some historians have attempted to discredit the camp as in the following account: "He [Joseph Smith] had the best sword in the army, (probably a true model of Laban's, if not the identical one itself,). . . ."  

The first part of Joseph's "southern journey" was through a sparsely settled and heavily wooded country. Prairie covered the latter stretch. The camp was to follow a course through Dayton, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; Springfield, Illinois; and across the Mississippi into Missouri, a distance of one thousand miles. The news of the coming of the camp was welcomed by the exiled saints but not by the mob as indicated by Newel Knight:

Our brethren in Kirtland, on hearing of our sufferings, did all in their power to help us; and immediately on receiving the revelation concerning the redemption of Zion, began to gather together young men and the middle aged men to come to our relief. We received the news of the coming of these brethren with much joy and thankfulness. When the news got abroad of the movement, the mob once more became infuriated. They got together in large bodies, armed and provided themselves with cannon. Hundreds from the surrounding counties volunteered to help them in case Governor Dunklin should

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12 Joseph Holbrook's Journal, p. 17, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

13 Wilford Woodruff's Journal, May 8, 1834, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

14 Howe, op. cit., p. 159.
attempt to restore us to our homes, which he had said he would do as soon as enough of our brethren came together to enable us to protect ourselves in them.15

Generally the camp traveled in good order. Joseph Holbrook said:

We were led by the Prophet Joseph Jr. and pitched our tents by the way as we traveled, having the most perfect order in our camp, having at the sound of the bugle in the morning and evening prayers in each tent of ten men. While everyone was to be engaged in preparing food, looking after teams, etc., as they were organized and appointed their several duties by the Prophet of the Lord who was our leader.16

As they traveled, an interesting incident occurred on May 16, 1834. Joseph said that he felt depressed in spirit and lonesome.

George A. Smith records that shortly after this

... We came out of the timber where a large farm had been cleared and to the left of the road was a mound 60 feet high occupying about an acre of ground set all over with apple trees which were growing in a very thrifty manner. We went to the mound and found that holes had been dug in it which disclosed the fact that it was filled with human bones. Hyrum said he believed that a great army had some time been slain and piled up and covered with earth, an ancient manner of burying the dead from a battle field. The country round for miles was level.17

As the camp rolled on, the Prophet expressed the need to keep the commandments. The following incident reveals one of the circumstances behind the warning:

During the day being very much fatigued with carrying my musket I put it into the baggage wagon, which was customary, and when I arrived at Camp in the evening my gun could not be found. This circumstance was exceedingly mortifying to me and many of the brethren accused me of carelessness and ridiculed me about losing my gun. Jenkins Salisbury took the most pleasure in ridiculing me for my

15Newel Knight's Journal as found in Scraps of Biography--Tenth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883), p. 91.

16Holbrook, op. cit., p. 18.

17George Albert Smith History, May 16, 1834, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
carelessness. I afterwards learned that my gun was pawned for whiskey by one of our company, and have always believed that Jenkins Salisbury, who was fond of the good creature disposed of it in that way. 18

On May fourteenth Joseph recorded, "We discovered refractory feelings in Sylvester Smith." On the seventeenth trouble again flared up between Sylvester Smith and some of the brethren. Some of the members of Zion's Camp commented concerning the trouble with Sylvester Smith. George A. Smith said:

On Wednesday fourteenth [May] we had been unable to obtain sufficient baking and cooking utensils and as our commissary had been disappointed in getting a supply of bread... we began to be staitened [sic] for the staff of life. Men were sent onto Bellefontaine to have a supply baked by the time we should arrive, and although every measure practicable had been taken Sylvester Smith murmured against the Prophet because the camp was not supplied with bread. 19

Moses Martin commented on these contentions:

We continued our journey, traveling due west, passed Eaton [Preble County, Indiana] and crossed the state line between Ohio and Ind., having traveled during the day 33 miles. A difficulty took place with Sylvester Smith concerning a dog which General Joseph Smith had been given him in New Portage to guard his tent. Sylvester Smith threatened to kill the dog, for which General Smith severely reproved him, showing him that he possessed the same spirit or a worse one than the dog; but Sylvester was very stubborn, notwithstanding the reasonings and the gentle reproofs of the Prophet. This stubbornness on the part of Sylvester Smith finally terminated in his overthrow. 20

John Henry Evans said:

Not that there were no dissensions in Zion's Camp. There were many of them. Most obstreperous of the men was a certain Sylvester Smith (not related to the leader). He was forever fomenting trouble. And often others fell in with him. Now the food was either short or bad, now a better route could have been taken, and now one of

18 Ibid.
19 Ibid., May 14, 1834.
20 Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (from Moses Martin Diary) May 17 or 18, 1834, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
the Camp canines barked at the wrong time. For one reason or another this group of miscellaneous men thrown together thus, in what Rousseau would have called the state of nature, was always getting out of hand.21

When Albert R. Lyman recorded his grandfather's journal [Amasa Mason Lyman], he brought out some very important points:

Nine hundred miles by team and wagon is a long way. They averaged less than twenty-four miles a day, and it took them more than five weeks to reach their destination. Having only a hundred and thirty men when they had been added to by Hyrum Smith's company. However few, comparatively, this might seem to be, it included in its chain, some links of very doubtful dependency. These men, called from all walks of life in the surrounding states and Canada were more or less new and undisciplined in what was expected of them, for the best of them had been schooled in the gospel no more than four years, and some of them but a few months. The matter of maintaining the essential standard of faith and obedience became difficult and a very serious problem. Complaints and rebellions seemed at times to imperil all serious possibility of their success.

Five weeks in a jolting old-time wagon on a rutty, country road, or following the camp all that time a-stride a horse, was as sure to find the limits of human patience as water is sure to find leaks in an old bucket. The difficulties of all that company getting ready and off the campground in time every morning, of keeping together, of finding a place to stop for dinner and then for supper, breakdowns, disappointments, misunderstandings, it "got on the nerves" of some of the impulsive spirits of the camp impelling them to bitter complaint and making an open wedge for trouble.22

George A. Smith recorded that on one occasion he was sent to a house to obtain some buttermilk. The lady of the house gave him the milk in a bucket "not very clean." Some of the brethren complained very severely, when George A. Smith remarked, laughingly, "If you had seen the churn the buttermilk came from you'd never mention the bucket."23

21Evans, op. cit., p. 117.
22Albert R. Lyman, Amasa Mason Lyman Trailblazer and Pioneer from the Atlantic to the Pacific (Delta, Utah: Printed and published by Melvin A. Lyman, M.D., 1957), pp. 43-44.
23Matthias F. Cowley, Prophets and Patriarchs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Chattanooga: Published by Ben E. Rich, 1902), p. 141.
Joseph's history indicated that on May 15, Moses Martin fell asleep while on sentry duty, and consequently a court martial was later held. On the 17th trouble again blazed between Sylvester Smith and some of the brethren. At this point Joseph warned them that they "would meet with misfortune, difficulties and hindrance," and said, "and you will know it before you leave this place." The following morning almost every horse in camp was badly foundered. The brethren repented at Joseph's counsel, and according to his promise the horses were soon as nimble as ever except Sylvester Smith's horse which died.  

Enemies of the Church boasted that the Camp would not pass through Indianapolis, Indiana. But Joseph promised, "In the name of the Lord we shall pass through Indianapolis without the people knowing about it." When near this city the Camp divided into small groups, got inside wagons, or walked down separate streets and left the people of the city wondering, "when the big company would come along."  

Joseph said, "We know that angels were our companions, for we saw them." George Q. Cannon tells the following story:  

Once, at the end of a hot June day, they pitched their tents on a broad, treeless prairie, over which they had traveled all day long. They were very thirsty, for the plain had no water upon it and the supply they carried had been gone since morning. When Joseph saw the suffering about him he called for a spade, and picking out a place which all could easily reach, he dug a shallow well, water at once flowed into it and the two hundred men and fifty or more horses and mules drank from it. Plenty of water was in the well as long as the camp stayed there.  

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24Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., II, 66-68.  
25Ibid., pp. 74-75.  
Parley Parker Pratt related an interesting story verifying the feeling of divine guidance to the camp:

I was chiefly engaged as a recruiting officer, and, not being much with the camp, can give but little of its history. I visited branches of the Church in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, and obtained what men and means I could, fell in with the camp from time to time with additional men, arms, stores and money. On one occasion, I had traveled all night to overtake the camp with some men and means, and having breakfasted with them and changed horses, I again started ahead on express to visit other branches, and do business to again overtake them. At noon I had turned my horse loose from the carriage to feed on the grass in the midst of a broad level plain. No habitation was near; stillness and repose reigned around me; I sank down overpowered with a deep sleep, and might have lain in a state of oblivion till the shades of night had gathered about me, so completely was I exhausted for want of sleep and rest; but I had only slept a few moments till the horse had grazed sufficiently, when a voice, more loud and shrill than I had ever heard, fell on my ear, and thrilled through every part of my system; it said: "Parley, it is time to be up and on your journey." In the twinkling of an eye I was perfectly aroused; I sprang to my feet so suddenly that I could not at first recollect where I was, or what was before me to perform. I related the circumstance afterwards to brother Joseph Smith, and he bore testimony that it was the angel of the Lord who went before the camp who found me overpowered with sleep, and thus awoke me. 27

Near Decatur Township [Illinois] the camp stopped to buy a horse. While stopped, a sham battle was called for and the camp was broken up into three divisions. During this sham battle one man's hand was cut. To this the Prophet "cautioned the men to be careful in the future and control their spirits in such circumstances so as never to injure each other." 28

This word-picture of the camp, the Prophet and his feelings for others, was penned by George A. Smith:

The Prophet took a full share of the fatigues of the entire journey. In addition to the care of providing for the Camp and

27Pratt, op. cit., pp. 122-123.

28Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, II, 74-75.
presiding over it, he walked most of the time and had a full proportion of blistered, bloody, and sore feet, which was the natural result of walking from twenty-five to forty miles a day, in the hot season of the year.

But during the entire trip he never uttered a murmur; while most of the men in the Camp complained to him of sore toes, blistered feet, long drives, scanty provisions, poor quality of bread, bad corn dodger, frowzy butter, strong honey, maggoty bacon and cheese, etc. Even a dog could not bark at some men without their murmuring at Joseph. If they had to camp with bad water, it would nearly cause a rebellion. Yet we were the Camp of Zion, and many of us were prayerless, thoughtless, careless, heedless, foolish, or devilish, and we did not know it. Joseph had to bear with us and tutor us like children. There were many, however, in the Camp who never murmured and who were always ready and willing to do as our leader desired. 29

On May 29, 1834, George A. Smith wrote that the Prophet discovered that part of his mess had been served with sour bread, while he had received good sweet bread from the same cook, whom he reproved for his partiality, saying, "he wanted his brethren to fare as well as he did, and preferred to eat his portion of sour bread with them." 30 Moses Martin said, "I saw the Prophet wade in mud over the tops of his boot-legs and help draw the wagons out." 31

These accounts disagree with those who have tried to belittle the Prophet. One author portrays Joseph in these words, "The boy who in his day-dreams had visioned himself as the leader of a mighty army was making his dreams come true. The wagons were heavily loaded, so none but the drivers could ride. Therefore, the army, except Joe, Hyrum, and George, marched afoot." 32

29Evans, op. cit., pp. 117-118.
30Smith, George Albert Smith History, May 29, 1834.
31File on Zion's Camp, (Second section), May 20, 1834.
On May 31 a member of the Church recruited along the way, who was not able to go on with the camp because of the nature of his business, gave Joseph Smith $100.00. He had news that Hyrum's camp had passed on westward the day preceding about fifty miles to the north. He stayed at a tavern overnight with the spies who said they had followed the camp three hundred miles to take some advantage of it, but had not had an opportunity. Some writers have played down the insurgent efforts of the enemies of the Church. One author said:

The persecution complex, which had appeared periodically in the maternal strain of his family for three generations, made itself manifest again. Either from actual fear or from a desire to get the thrill of "playing soldier" on a big scale or to dramatize himself in the eyes of his followers, Joe impressed his army with the fact that they were on a mission of great danger. Gentiles and "mobbers" were suspected to be hiding behind every hill and clump of trees. Each town they approached was said to be arming itself to resist their passage. Every visitor to camp was considered a spy for the enemies of the Lord.

However, another recorded that ". . . our camp was often visited by spies from Jackson county who were seeking to know our numbers and to find our leaders and take all the advantage of us possible . . . ."

George A. Smith recorded that the dog involved in some of the problems between Joseph and Sylvester Smith had been given to Joseph because the spies sought the life of Joseph.

Father Baker brought with him a large and very faithful watch dog and being satisfied that the spies who were watching our camp sought the life of Joseph, presented the dog to him. This dog was greatly attached to Joseph and was generally by his side, keeping close watch of everything that approached the Camp. Levi Hancock,

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33Smith, George Albert Smith History, May 30, 1834.

34Beardsley, op. cit., p. 146.

35Second Book of Orson, May 6, 1834, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
one of Sylvester Smith's company had, while waiting to cross the river, made a fife of a large joint of sweet alder and landing on the bank, being the last to cross, Sylvester formed his company in a single file and marched to the notes of Levi's fife. This excited Joseph's faithful watch dog, which attacked them as if they had been an enemy. Although the dog was called off and did no injury, it enraged Sylvester Smith to that extent that he used much abusive language to Joseph, threatening the dog's life, etc.  

Still more interesting light in relation to the spies and the march of the camp is shed by George A. Smith:

And as we were aware of spies being around us, who sought to kill Joseph Smith, we called him "Squire Cook" whenever any stranger was in camp, he never appeared to have anything to do with directing its movements. The great mystery to be solved by visitors was who the General of the crowd was. When the spies first began to question us, it was observed that they picked out the greenest-looking fellows in the crowd to quiz; and as I was only 16, very large of my age, my eyes weak and naturally deficient of sight, wore a pair of striped bed-tick pantaloons, which were worn off on the inside nearly up to my knees, on account of interfering as I walked, my straw hat having been smashed by accidentally sitting on it in the tent, Joseph invited me to throw myself in a position to answer such questions, and on passing through the town I generally fell somewhat in the rear, cutting a sorry figure, which naturally singled me out, on the principle that children and fools always tell the truth. In this way I had many amusing conversations with inquisitive strangers. I tried to treat them with kindness and urbanity, but presume very few of them gained very much information by talking with me.

The elders preached along the way when the chance arose. However, to keep the identity of the camp secret the brethren claimed they had been Baptist preachers, or Campbellites, reformed Methodists, or Restorationers. In Joseph B. Noble's journal were found these details:

... we received much good instruction from President Joseph Smith from time to time. As circumstances would admit we traveled the more part of the way through an old settled country. Considerable excitement prevailed, many questions were asked with regard to our motives and what we intended to do, we answered them as we thought best or as we were instructed from time to time. President

36Smith, George Albert Smith History, June 5, 1834.

37File on Zion's Camp, (Second section), June 1, 1834.
Smith would have us travel sometimes with our arms on, and then with out it, sometimes the most of us in our waggons and then all out. We did not travel on Sunday we stopped and held meetings when we were near a village or town, we would give notice for meetings sometimes we would have Methodist preaching and then Presbyterians and Universalists sometimes all in one day. We could easley make them think (or believe) that the company was made up of these different denominations and at the same time teach some of the items of our faith, by such persons as had the proper tone. We were often counted by men on horse back and at ferrys where one would think they need not mistake. So it was I never heard of our being num bered less than twice our actual number, report said we were a thousand strong.38

One of the most interesting and intriguing occurrences of this journey was the visit of the Camp to mounds that had been thrown up by ancient inhabitants. On one occasion the brethren removed some of the dirt from one of these mounds and found the bones of a man. Of this the Prophet said:

... the visions of the past being opened to my understanding by the spirit of the Almighty, I discovered that the person whose skeleton was before us was a white Lamanite, a large, thick-set man, and a man of God. His name was Zelph. He was a warrior and chieftain under the great prophet Onandagus, who was known from the Hill Cumorah, or eastern sea to the Rocky Mountains.39

Many people have speculated as to the geographical location of many of the happenings recorded in the Book of Mormon. This incident must shed some light on that subject. Concerning this Levi W. Handcock said:

On the way to Illinois River where we camped on the west side in the morning many went to see the big mound about a mile below the crossing. I did not go on it, but saw some bones that were brought with a broken arrow. They were laid down by our camp. Joseph addressed himself to Sylvester Smith. "This is what I told you and now I want to tell you that you may know what I meant. This land was called the land of Desolation and Onandagus was the King and a good man was he. There in that mound did he burry his dead and did

38 Noble, op. cit., pp. 6-8.
not dig holes as the People do now But they brought this dirt and covered them untill you see they have raised it to be about one hundred feet high the last man burried was Zelph He was a white Lamanite who fought with the People of Onandagus for freedom. When he was young He was a great Warrior and had his Thigh broken and it was never set It knitted together as you see on the side he fought after it got strength untill he lost every tooth in his head save one. When the Lord said he had done enough and suffered him to be killed by that arrow you took from his breast." [sic]

About this time the Prophet warned the brethren of their frac-tious and unruly spirits. Concerning this George Q. Cannon remarked:

A few persons in the camp had proven unruly, and while they were in the vicinity of the Illinois River, Joseph was led to utter a solemn warning against the dissension of some of the brethren. He exhorted them to faithfulness and humility, and told them that the Lord had revealed to him that a scourge must come upon them in consequence of their disobedience. Still if they would repent and humble themselves before the Lord, a part of the severity of the scourge might be turned away.41

George A. Smith said:

This prophecy struck me to the heart. I thought we should prob-ably get into a battle with the mob and some of us get killed. Little thought I that within four weeks a dozen of my brethren would be laid in the ground without coffins by the fell hand of the plague; but so it was, and I learned ever after to heed the counsels of the Prophet and not murmur at the dispensations of Providence.42

Soon after this the Camp's commissary purchased a dozen Missouri cured hams, which proved to have been a little spoiled on the outside. There were not enough for each company and Joseph's company agreed to go without. Soon six hams were brought to Joseph's tent, thrown down, and the remark made, "We don't eat stinking meat." In response to this Joseph had the cook fry the hams for his company and for the first time

40 Levi W. Handcock's Journal, pp. 52-53, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.


42 File on Zion's Camp, (Second section), June 3, 1834.
Joseph's company feasted to their full satisfaction. It is immediately noticed that many in the Camp had not taken seriously Joseph's warning concerning the unruly tempers.

According to the Prophet's account, on the fourth of June Zion's Camp was on the banks of the Mississippi River. At this point, the river was nearly a mile and a half wide, and one ferry boat took two days to get the Camp across the river.

During the river crossing the men were engaged in a number of duties such as ferrying, hunting, and fishing. It was at this point while encamped at Snye Island that a number of the camp discovered a supply of turtle eggs. Joseph Smith warned these men that they had found snake eggs rather than turtle eggs. He also warned them not to eat them for fear of sickness. It seemed that a dissenting spirit invaded the camp as the camp entered Missouri. Some of the men refused Joseph's counsel concerning the recently found snake eggs. Of this Joseph said:

I told them they were snakes' eggs, and they must not eat them; but some of them thought they knew more about it than I did, and still persisted they were turtles' eggs. I said they were snakes' eggs--eat snakes' eggs, will you? The man that eats them will be sorry for it; you will be sick.  

Some of the camp did eat the eggs and were sick all of the following day.

Journals and histories have brought to light the feelings of the men as they trekked from Ohio through Indiana and Illinois to the Mississippi River. Many marveled at the order of the Camp and the

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43 Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., II, 81.
44 Ibid., pp. 82-83.
inspiration of the Prophet. Records also revealed the trials and frustrations of the members. A march of this magnitude was sure to reveal the true loyalty of its participants.

Interesting experiences and spiritual moments seemed to have given variety to the physical demands of the long trek. Imminent dangers lurked along the way giving additional strain to the weary members. Individual opinions strained against the appointed authorities causing periods of confusion. The mundane seemed to overcome the spiritual to the extent that the Prophet warned that heavenly chastisement was imminent.
Map 1. THE MARCH OF ZION'S CAMP (1834)

Chapter 5

THE ARMY IN MISSOURI

On June 5th the church in Clay County wrote the Governor of Missouri requesting "the protection of a military guard" so the saints might return to their homes in Jackson County. On June 6th Governor Dunklin wrote Colonel J. Thornton and said, "A more clear and indisputable right does not exist than that of the Mormon people, who were expelled from their homes in Jackson County, to return and live on their lands . . ."1

Joseph's camp was joined at Salt River by Hyrum's camp on June 8th. The Camp had now grown to two hundred and five men with twenty-five baggage wagons. This union is recorded in The History of Jackson County Missouri in these words:

The company emigrating from Ohio, under the charge of Joseph Smith, were joined at Salt River, Missouri, by a number from Michigan in charge of Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wright [sic], their unit number being two hundred and five men. These were organized and drilled under Mr. Wright [sic], who was appointed to the command of the whole force.2

Hyrum's division of the Camp had traveled up to Michigan, across Indiana and Illinois recruiting members of the Church to join the trek.3


Elijah Fordham had been elected historian of the northern company and
gave information, generally, concerning the Michigan group. He told
somewhat of the country they traveled through, those offering prayers,
those sick, and other general information.

Lyman Omer Littlefield gave the following summary of the trek of
Hyrum's camp:

In the spring of 1844 [1834] Elders Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight
came there [near Pontiac, Oakland County, Michigan] on a special
mission. They were en route for the state of Missouri and some
eighteen of the brethren of that branch of the Church and three
women got ready to accompany them. Among that number was my father,
my brother Josiah and myself.

The mission of these brethren was in the interest of the Saints
who had a short time previous been driven from their homes in Jack-
son county, Missouri, by a ruthless mob, because of their religion.
The object was to use their influence with the authorities and
people of upper Missouri to have our brethren reinstated in their
possessions and rights as citizens in Jackson county. A much larger
company had been gathered from the branches of the Church organized
in different parts of the eastern states, and had started from Kirt-
land, Ohio, having the same object in view.

Our little Michigan company had to travel, of course, across a
large portion of Michigan, across Indiana and Illinois to Quincy
where we crossed the Mississippi River. During this journey our
whole company walked almost the entire distance, as the teams were
too heavily loaded to admit of our riding. Our feet were often
blistered and bleeding; but all were patient and endured the fatigues
without murmuring. Memory does not serve us whether it was in
Indiana or Illinois that we camped at the residence of Brother Rich,
father of C. C. Rich. The latter joined us upon our journey and as
is well known, at a later date became one of the Twelve Apostles.

After crossing the river at Quincy we traveled to the Salt
River, where we formed a junction with the company from Kirtland.
They were encamped at the farm of Brother James Alred. There we
first looked upon the Prophet of the nineteenth century, Joseph
Smith. And there also we beheld Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball,
Wilford Woodruff, Parley P. Pratt, George A. Smith, Orson Pratt,
Joseph Young, Martin Harris, Phineas Young, Zebedee Coltrin, and
many others who have been men of note and usefulness.

The meeting of the brothers, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, at this
juncture was cordial. Hyrum ever had been and was in after years
a reliable staff upon which Joseph could lean with confidence. The
ties of brotherhood that existed between them was strong and endur-
ning and they mutually relied upon each other for aid when emergencies
required it.

The company at Salt River numbered 205 souls, and constituted
what was known as Zion's Camp. There a complete reorganization took
place, and we started on our journey rejoicing.
We finally, through the providences of our Heavenly Father, arrived in Clay county in safety. We encamped just east of the town of Liberty, near the residence of Brother Durget. Here the cholera broke out in our camp and some eighteen or nineteen of the brethren fell victims to the destroyer and were buried at night by torch light so as to keep the fact of the presence of cholera from the knowledge of the inhabitants, and thus prevent, if possible, unnecessary excitement and trouble.  

In the Reorganized Church History of this journey it said:

Lyman Wight gives a detailed account of the travels of Hyrum Smith and himself from Kirtland to this place; from which we learn that they visited branches of the Church at Florence, Ohio; Pontiac, Michigan; Huron county, Michigan; and a branch called the "Ritchey branch," in Illinois [locality not given]; as well as various neighborhoods where were scattered members; obtaining some means and several volunteers for the expedition; among whom we find the names of Charles Rich, Samuel Bent, Elijah Fordham, Osmon Houghton, Lyman Curtis, Nocham Curtis, Waldo Littlefield, Josiah Littlefield, Lyman Littlefield, David Dor, James Dunn, George Fordham. By union of these two companies there were over two hundred in the camp.

At this time Orson Hyde and Parley P. Pratt left to visit Governor Dunklin concerning his proposition to reinstate their brethren to their lands in Jackson County. Governor Dunklin had written a second order for the return of the misappropriated weapons to the Mormons. Further, Judge John F. Ryland was trying to bring the disagreeing parties together for confrontation. His invitation to the saints read as follows:

SIR--Deeply impressed with a desire to do all in my power to settle or allay the disturbances between the Mormons and the citizens of Jackson county, I have concluded that it might have some tendency to effectuate this object by having the Mormons called together at Liberty next Monday, and there explain to them my notions and views of their present situation, and of the circumstances attendant. I therefore request you, sir, to use all your

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5President Joseph Smith and Apostle Heman C. Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Eighth edition; Lamoni, Iowa: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1908), I, 462.
influence with your brethren, to get them to meet me next Monday in Liberty. I much fear and dread the consequences that are yet to ensue, unless I should succeed in my wishes to restore peace. It is the duty of all good men to use all proper and laudable means to establish peace. I expect a deputation of some of the most respectable citizens of Jackson county will meet me on Monday next at Liberty as requested. Should my efforts to make peace fail of success, there can be no wrong, sir, in the attempt, and I shall enjoy the consolation of having done my duty as a man, as well as a Christian.

I hope, sir, you will duly appreciate the motive which prompts me to address this letter to you, and will aid me with all your influence with your brethren in the prosecution of an object so much to be desired by all good men and citizens.6

The elders of Clay County accepted this invitation but qualified it by stating once again their position as to their lands in Jackson County. "Entertaining some fears that your honor, in your zeal for peace, might unwarily recommend a sale of our lands in Jackson county, we have thought it expedient to give you reasonable notice, that no such proposition could possibly be acceded to by our society."7

The day before Judge Ryland's scheduled meeting in Liberty, Orson Hyde and Parley P. Pratt returned from their visit with Governor Dunklin. The Governor recognized the justice of the demands of the Mormons and had previously stated he would support them in their rights. But the meeting of Elders Orson Hyde and Parley P. Pratt clearly indicated that the Governor feared the consequence of any action on his part. The Governor clearly hoped for a compromise indicating, "My first advice would be to the Mormons to sell out their lands in Jackson county, and to settle somewhere else, where they could live in peace,


7Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., II, 91.
if they could get a fair price for them, and reasonable damages for injuries received." Elders Hyde and Pratt answered:

We will hold no terms with land pirates and murderers. If we are not permitted to live on the lands we have purchased of the United States, and be protected in our rights and persons, they will at least make a good burying ground in which to lay our bones; and we shall hold onto our possessions in Jackson county, for this purpose at least.

The Governor agreed "but trembled for the country, and dare not carry out the plain, acknowledged and imperative duties of his office." As Elders Hyde and Pratt returned to Zion's Camp from the Governor they said to themselves, "That poor coward ought, in duty, to resign; he owes this, morally at least, to his oath of office." 10

When Elders Hyde and Pratt reported to the Prophet concerning their interview with the Governor, Elder Pratt said:

After hearing our report the President [Joseph Smith] called on the God of our fathers to witness the justice of our cause, and the sincerity of our vows, which we engaged to fulfill whether in this life or in the life to come. For, as God lives, truth, justice and innocence shall triumph; and iniquity shall not reign. 11

William E. Berrett in his work The Restored Church summarizes the turnabout in the Governor's attitude in these words:

The Governor who had previously indicated great sympathy for the Saints and appeared ready to champion their cause, refused. In his letters of refusal to aid the exiles, he expressed a fear of a Civil War if a resort to arms was had. In his later letter of July 18,


11Roberts, op. cit., p. 140.
1836, the charge that the Saints were opposed to slavery appears as the chief accusation against them. The question of slavery, coming before the Governor in such force at this time was unquestionably the factor which caused him to about-face in his attitude toward the Saints. Feelings on the slave question were tense and a Civil War not at all improbable, as future events showed. And this, in spite of the fact that slavery did not particularly concern the Saints.12

The following day the scheduled meeting between the Mormons and non-Mormons was held in Liberty. A large and rather unorganized crowd met. It was proposed that either the Mormons sell out or buy all the lands of the people of Jackson County. During the meeting a man was stabbed and the people dispersed.13 An account of this meeting was given in The History of Jackson County and is found in detail in Appendix D.

An interesting factor must be considered at this point. Even though, at first, the offer to buy the lands of the Mormons with one hundred per cent added thereto with the same offer to the saints to buy the lands of the "gentiles" in Missouri with one hundred per cent added thereto, seemed to be fair, one point must be investigated. Joseph Smith pointed out that:

... When it is understood that the mob held possession of a much larger quantity of land than the Saints, and that they only offered thirty days for the payment, having previously robbed the saints of nearly everything, it will be readily seen that they were only making a sham to cover their previous unlawful conduct.14

This meeting at Liberty seemed to have averted immediate conflict. As the delegates from Jackson County were returning home from

14Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., 11, 99.
this meeting several members were drowned. David March in his The History of Missouri said:

An unfortunate accident occurred when a dozen members of the Jackson County delegation were crossing the Missouri on the return trip from Liberty. When they reached the middle of the river, water began pouring into the boat so fast that the ferry quickly sank. Three fourths of the delegation drowned, among them James Campbell, a rabid Mormon-hater who was said to have threatened to kill Smith. A rumor began to circulate that the Mormons had bored holes in the boat just above the water line so that when the boat was loaded, water would run in. Although the charge was not substantiated, non-Mormons were infuriated. The Saints added fuel to the flames by asserting that God had seen fit to sink the boat and that Campbell had drowned because of his threats against "the prophet of the Lord."\(^{15}\)

Another historian recorded this same accident in The History of Jackson County. Comparison of the two accounts is noteworthy.

... the Jackson county committee returned home by way of the ferry where is now the Wayne City landing. The boat was taken over to them and ten or twelve men and as many horses went aboard the boat. When about the middle of the Missouri the boat filled with water and sank; men, horses and all went down together. George Bradbury, David Linch and James Campbell were drowned. S.V. Nolan could not swim, but catching hold of his horse's tail was hauled safely to the Jackson county shore. Samuel C. Owens and Thomas Harrington clung to the wreck of the boat and floated down a mile, and when the boat reached a sand bar Mr. Owens divested himself of all his clothes except his shirt, left the wreck and swam safely to the shore. He found a cow path which he followed to the main road. While traveling the path he found himself terribly annoyed by the sting of the nettle, but he walked to Independence a distance of some four miles. Mr. Harrington hung to the boat and was drowned. William Everett swam to the Jackson shore and was washed against a drift and was found there ten days afterward, one hand fast hold of a projecting snag. The other men swam back to the Clay county shore where they all made it safe except Smallwood Nolan who clung to a "sawyer" only a short distance from the shore. The men who made the shore built a fire and encouraged Nolan to "cling on" till they could rescue him. He did cling with the grip of death. When daylight came and the men went in to take him off his scanty support, they found that the water was only waist deep and he could have waded to the shore with ease if he had known it.

It was rumored that the Mormons had secretly bored holes in the boat above the customary water mark, but when loaded would sink to

the holes and then fill with water. But the most reasonable idea was that the boat did not generally carry such heavy loads, hence the timbers had become dry and the corking loose, and when the water pressed against it gave away and the boat filled.\textsuperscript{16}

Trouble within Zion's Camp continued to mount. On the seventh of June an argument arose as to the best place for the Camp to settle for the night. Hyrum Smith said that the Lord had indicated to him that the prairie would be best. Joseph heeded his older brother's counsel, but Lyman Wight and Sylvester Smith disapproved, and about twenty stayed with Lyman Wight causing a split in the camp. Lyman repented, but Sylvester held onto his contemptuous feelings.

On June 19th the Camp moved through Richmond without incident despite the threats from the anti-Mormons. The intent of this day's journey was to meet the brethren in Clay County, but Joseph Smith recorded, "We traveled but a short distance when one wagon broke down, and the wheels ran off from others; and there seemed to be many things to hinder our progress, although we strove with all diligence to speed our way forward."\textsuperscript{17} As a result, the reunion in Clay County was prevented and the company camped on an elevated piece of land between Little Fishing and Big Fishing Rivers.

Here one of the intriguing incidents of the camp took place. T. B. H. Stenhouse put it this way:

On the 19th of June "Zion's Camp" reached the vicinity of Clay county, where the exiled Saints had located, and tried to effect a junction with them, but were unsuccessful. That night Joseph's, or "the Lord's," army encamped between the Little and the Big Fishing rivers, and the "mobbers," or anti-Mormons, who had learned of their coming were not far from them and ready for attack. At

\textsuperscript{16}Ramfre Press Reprint, op. cit., pp. 262-263.

\textsuperscript{17}Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., II, 103.
this important moment the elements interfered, the camp of the anti-Mormons scattered to the winds, their horses stampeded and one was killed by lightning.\footnote{18}

In the History of Jackson County it is recorded in these words:

Joseph Smith and his party passed through Richmond, Clay county, June 19th, and encamped between two branches of Fishing River, not far from their junction. Here they were met by five armed men, who informed them that sixty men from Ray, and seventy from Clay counties, were to meet others from different places and prevent their further progress. They also learned that two hundred from Jackson county were to cross the Missouri River at Williams' Ferry, there to meet the forces from Ray and Clay counties, at Fishing River Ford, and thence to attack and disperse or destroy them. Their designs, if entertained, were prevented, for on the night following a severe storm of wind and rain occurred, which raised the streams, flooded the country and prevented any hostile movements being made by either party.\footnote{19}

Joseph Smith said of this occasion:

When these five men were in our camp, swearing vengeance, the wind, thunder, and rising cloud indicated an approaching storm, and in a short time after they left the rain and hail and thunder met them in great wrath, and soon softened their direful courage, and frustrated all their designs to "kill Joe Smith and his army."\footnote{20}

Joseph Holbrook recorded the incident in these words:

On the twenty-three mile prairie below Richmond my other horse gave out and I was unable to go further, Brother Nickels put his horse into my team and thus I was enabled to continue my journey. The day we passed Richmond we camped between the forks of Fishing River, one fork which we crossed this evening about up to our axletrees of our wagons. We camped about one mile west of said fork near a meeting house where we were met by many of our enemies as we had been for some days past who swore they would send us all to hell before morning and if any were left we should not be spared in the event to tell the story alive. And thus we were threatened on every side with mobs enough to make any man quail who had not the spirit of God with him, but brother Joseph the Prophet said, "Stand still and see the salvation of God."


\footnote{19}{Ramfre Press Reprint, op. cit., p. 263.}

\footnote{20}{Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., I I, 103-104.}
At sundown it began to rain like torrents with thundering and lightning and dark enough to prevent any one from being able to find their way. While the hail flew in some degree upon the camp, but a mile to the north of our camping ground limbs were broken off of the trees, the ground covered with leaves and the herbage destroyed which made the country desolate and prevented any harm from befalling our camp that night. To our great surprise we found that the two forks of Fishing River were swollen so as to be utterly impossible to pass, being, it was said, 40 feet deep on each side of us about one and one-half miles. We were forced to continue on these grounds the next day, there being a home mill about one mile up of us which afforded us flour for comfort. The next day we moved north about four miles to a brother Coopers near a prairie.21

While the surrounding region was in a state of consternation, Joseph and his party took refuge in a log meeting house near their camp, having entered the building through a window. When the commotion was over and they emerged from their retreat, the Prophet gave orders "that the parties to whom the house belonged should be visited and tendered an explanation of the intrusion and remuneration for any fancied damage."22 Of this storm George A. Smith said, "The thunder and lightning exceeded all description that I am capable of giving."23 Heber C. Kimball said concerning this storm, "Such a time never was known by us before; still we felt calm all night and the Lord was with us."24

The following day the Camp moved five miles onto a prairie for protection and food. On the 21st while camped at this location Colonel Scone and other leading men from Ray County arrived at the Camp.

21 Joseph Holbrook Journal, p. 19, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.


23 George Albert Smith History, June 19, 1834, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Mr. Smith's band moved out on the prairie on the 20th and encamped where on the 21st they were visited by Col. Sconce and two other leading men from Ray County, who were anxious to know what were their intentions. Mr. Smith replied stating that they had come to assist their brethren, bringing with them clothing and other supplies to aid them in being re-instated in their rights; and disclaimed any design to interfere with, or molest any people. These men returned from this visit satisfied of the intentions of Mr. Smith and those with him, and rode through the neighborhood using their influence to allay the excitement.25

On June 22nd Cornelius Gillium, Sheriff of Clay County, came to the camp to hold consultation. The camp was marched to a grove near by and formed into a circle. The sheriff asked for Joseph, and this occasion marked the first time the Prophet had been made known to his enemies. Information was given the sheriff concerning the intents of the camp. Information was given the camp concerning the rumors, dispositions, and customs of the people of Missouri and the course to follow in securing their favor and protection.26 Of this Joseph Noble said:

We told them they well knew that our people had been driven from Jackson county and from their lands . . . We had come to see the law put in force on their lands . . . These then pledged themselves to use all their influence to bring about this thing, they told us the whole county was very much excited. They had heard that we were two thousand strong, well armed with several pieces of artillery that we intended to kill all both great and small.27

On this day the Prophet received what is now the 105th section of The Doctrine and Covenants. The Reorganized Church History said, "While in this camp, which was on the land belonging to a member of the

25Ramfre Press Reprint, op. cit., p. 263.

26Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., II, 108.

27Joseph B. Noble Journal, p. 8, located in the Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Church by the name of John Cooper, the revelation known as the Fishing River revelation was given.\textsuperscript{28}

At this point Joseph indicated that the saints themselves had transgressed and that they must be chastened. Future blessings and endowments were promised the obedient and it was indicated that the Lord would in the future send a destroyer to lay waste the enemies of the heritage. The Camp's efforts had been accepted as a trial of their faith. Many were asked to stay in the area but most were to return to their homes. The Army of Israel was to become very great and all the land was to be purchased.\textsuperscript{29} The details of this "revelation" are given in Appendix E.

George A. Smith indicated that soon after this revelation was given several of the brethren apostatized because they were not going to have the privilege of fighting.\textsuperscript{30}

The march toward Liberty, Clay County, was resumed the next day. George Q. Cannon said:

Again on the twenty-third of June the camp moved, now going toward Liberty, Clay County. Before they reached the town General Atchison, who as you know, was employed by the Jackson Saints as a lawyer, met them. He with other leading men came out to urge Joseph not to pass through Liberty, as they feared trouble. Of course it would have been silly after this warning to run chances of rousing a mob, so the camp turned, passed by Liberty, and pitched their tents that night at the end of their journey, on Rush Creek, among the Saints.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{28}Smith and Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I, 475.

\textsuperscript{29}The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1952), Section 105.

\textsuperscript{30}Smith, George Albert Smith History, June 22, 1834.

\textsuperscript{31}George Q. Cannon, The Latter-day Prophet--History of Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1900), p. 107.
On this day the elders in Zion offered to buy the lands of the inhabitants of Zion who felt they could not live with the Mormons. The amount was to be determined by twelve men, six from each side, and paid within one year. Part of the agreement was that none of the Mormons were to enter the county until the entire amount was paid. Mormon damage was to be deducted from the amount settled on.

The 24th witnessed the cholera among Zion's Camp in great abundance. T. B. H. Stenhouse had this to say concerning the problem:

So sudden and overpowering was the attack that the strongest men fell to the ground with their guns in their hands. In four days, sixty-eight were attacked and fourteen of them died. Joseph went about laying on hands and "rebuking the destroyer," until he was himself prostrated. This visitation he ascribed to the disobedience of some, showed the necessity of submission, and promised that if they would "humble themselves and covenant to obey him as 'the Prophet of the Lord,' the plague should be stayed." The Mormon historians assert that "not another was stricken with the cholera from that hour."32

Of this occasion Elder George Q. Cannon said:

But while the cholera was still raging in the camp, excitement and unrest were winning high outside. To stop this Joseph announced publicly that he would disband those who had come to Missouri with him, and this he did on the twenty-fifth of June, 1834, nearly two months after the first party left Kirtland. The prophet knew, too, for the Lord revealed it to him, that though the camp had been successful in bringing food and clothing to the Saints, it could not help them back to their homes. The Church in Missouri had failed to keep the saintly union and faith that must be possessed by those who build up and inherit the center stake of Zion.33

Years later an interesting account of this period was related to George Q. Cannon by Hiram Winters of Pleasant Grove. It was recorded in the Juvenile Instructor.

32Stenhouse, op. cit., p. 55.

33Cannon, The Latter-day Prophet, p. 110.
I was cook of the second company. About four days before we were disbanded, our company ran short of provisions. We ate the last bite for breakfast. I applied at the commissary wagon for something for dinner, but received nothing, for the very good reason that it was empty. During the day, however, Joseph Hancock, while hunting, killed a deer, and, just before coming into camp at night, sent us about two pounds of venison. This together with a two-pound loaf of bread which we received from another company, had to serve as supper for twelve men.

The meat and bread were divided into equal parts and passed to the company. By the blessing of the Lord we all ate till satisfied, and there was some left.

Some days previous to this, Joseph renewed the promise of a safe journey; and at the same time prophesied that, on account of fault-finding, the Lord would send a scourge upon the camp. In fulfillment of the prophecy, we were visited at our last camping place by the cholera. I was sergeant of the night-guards, with instructions to see each guard every fifteen minutes, and speak to him in a whisper and receive a reply.

The last night about twelve o'clock, in going the third round, Burr Riggs was missing from his post. I found his body behind a log that lay about a rod away, as stiff as the log itself. Calling to Alexander Whiteside, I asked him to carry the body to his tent while I sent for Joseph. We lifted the body to his shoulders and it still remained perfectly straight. I soon found Joseph and Hyrum and F.G. Williams, who administered to him; and it was not over fifteen minutes from the time I found him till he was back at his post.34

Elder Joseph Young explained that Joseph Smith had seen the brethren in a vision who had died of cholera in Zion's Camp. Joseph Smith said, "Brethren I have seen those men who died of the cholera in our camp; and the Lord knows, if I get a mansion as bright as theirs, I ask no more."35

John Murdock records that his family had all been in good health prior to the coming of the destroyer. However, on the thirtieth, he received word that his daughter Phebe was sick and that Brother A. S. Gilbert, with whom she was living, was dead. She died July sixth. He

34Lycurgus, "Recollections of Zion's Camp," The Juvenile Instructor, XVIII (March 15, 1883), p. 86.

later reported:

As I passed through the village of Liberty a man by the wayside interrogated me to know if there were any new cases of cholera among our brethren. I told him I had not heard of any, he said it appeared like a judgement among our people. I told him I thought it was, for said I, we read judgement is to begin at the house of God and I think it has commenced there and the man was confounded. 36

On the first of July the Prophet crossed the Missouri River into Independence. This would appear to be a seemingly courageous act on the part of a "coward" as some have said, "who had been afraid to fight and hence disbanded the camp." Of this George Q. Cannon said:

On the first of July Joseph crossed the Missouri with some of the brethren and went to Independence. He saw the same land that the Lord had dedicated as Zion three years before, now entirely in the hands of the wicked. It must have made him sad, but he did not lose courage. It was not the part of a fearful man to go into Jackson county as Joseph did. True he was not known very well in that neighborhood, but if he had been recognized it would probably have meant death. 37

On July 3, 1834, the high priests of Zion were brought together and the Presidency of the Church in Zion was organized after the pattern given for the stake in Kirtland. The Presidency and twelve high council-men were chosen. Also at this time Joseph Smith "authorized General Lyman Wight to give a discharge to every man of the Camp who had proved himself faithful, certifying that fact and giving him leave to return home." 38

B.H. Roberts added an interesting footnote to the Prophet's Journal saying:

36 John Murdock Journal, p. 36, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

37 Cannon, The Latter-day Prophet, p. 110.

38 Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., II, 123.
This formal order to discharge every man of Zion's Camp and release him to return home may be considered as the termination of Zion's Camp expedition for the redemption of Zion. Had Governor Dunklin possessed the courage to enforce the law of the State, had he called out the militia of Missouri to reinstate the exiles in their homes as at one time he expressed a willingness to do, the history of Zion's Camp might have had a different ending; for the exiles reinstated in their lands, and reinforced by the two hundred brethren who constituted Zion's Camp, might have been able to have maintained their inheritances on that land; but Governor Dunklin when the crisis came, lacked the necessary courage to fulfill his promise, and without the moral assistance which the reinstatement of the Saints upon their lands by the military forces of the State would give, the exiles and Zion's Camp were powerless. Perhaps also another view is admissible. Had the members of Zion's Camp been more faithful, less contentious, more united; had the Saints in the eastern branches had more faith--faith to send up to Zion more men and more money with which to strengthen the hands of the Saints on the land of Zion--the history of Zion's Camp might have been different; for with a larger force they would doubtless have been able to hold their lands against the mob, independent of the action of the State authorities. But thus it is: what men and great movements might attain to is often defeated, sometimes by the actions of enemies, sometimes by the lack of devotion and faith and energy on the part of those into whose hands great enterprises are committed. While God's general purposes will never ultimately be defeated by man, still upon each side of the general purposes of God a margin somewhat wide seems to have been left in which those both for and against those purposes may write what history they please--one that will meet with the approval of God, or one that will meet with condemnation--herein is the agency of man. But in the exercise of that agency God's purposes will not be thwarted, for man's agency will not extend so far as that; if it did, it would interfere with God's agency and decrees. The order above, I again remark, closed the history of this first march of Zion's Camp; and the redemption of Zion has been left to other hands, and to other times. But that its redemption will come no one doubts who believes in the firm decrees of God.39

During the next few days Joseph instructed the members, and on the seventh it was voted that David Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and John Whitmer (the Presidency of the Stake in Zion) should leave for Kirtland to take care of assigned business there. At this point an elaborate "appeal" was made to the nation expressing the position and distress of the saints.

39Ibid.
The arms taken from the saints still had not been returned and efforts were still underway to try to correct this. Some of the saints were assigned to look after the scattered members even though public meetings were generally discouraged.

Lyman Wight said that during one of these meetings,

... Brother Joseph Smith then arose and addressed us at some length upon the all-important obligations which we were under to execute justice to our brethren according to the law of God, saying that he had lived to see the Church of Jesus Christ established on earth according to the order of heaven; and should he now be taken from this body of people, the work of the Lord would roll on, and the gathering of Israel take place in spite of earth and hell. And he further said that he was now willing to return home, that he was fully satisfied that he had done the will of God, and that the Lord had accepted our sacrifice and offering even as he had Abraham's when he offered his son Isaac; and in his benediction asked that Heavenly Father bless us with eternal life and salvation.40

The Camp, having been dissolved, "separated into small groups to quiet the feelings of the people, and dispersed among their brethren who were residing in Clay county."41 The Church was further informed that it was not wise for them to vote at the approaching election. Certain elders were appointed to visit the churches in Clay County and letters of authority were given indicating their calling.

At this point, the views of different historians are worthy of analysis. In summing up the status of the Camp, William J. Whalin reported:

As the band neared its destination it became apparent that this military action only further infuriated the Gentile persecutors. The entry of Zion's Camp into the area would probably precipitate the massacre of the Missouri Saints. Smith realized the seriousness

40Smith and Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I, 515-516.

of the situation, thought over the consequences, saw some of his men come down with cholera, and decided to head back to Ohio. 42

Preston Nibley, in his book Joseph Smith the Prophet, enlightens his readers in this manner:

Joseph's course before him was now clear (referring to the revelation received at Fishing River). The redemption of Zion was to be delayed "for a little season," and it was not required that the brethren should engage in actual physical combat with their enemies; they were to "lift up an ensign for peace . . . and make proposals for peace unto those who have smitten you." 43

The ensign of peace not only went to the rulers of the states and the nation but immediate response was also sent to the Church's attorneys, Messrs. Thornton, Doniphan, and Atchison. They were informed that the saints felt disposed

... to adopt every pacific measure, without jeopardizing our lives, to quiet the prejudices and fears of some part of the citizens of this county, we have concluded that our company shall be immediately dispersed, and continue so till every effort for an adjustment of differences between us and the people of Jackson has been made on our part, that would in any wise be required of us by disinterested men of republican principles. 44

The return trip to Kirtland was undertaken by little bands of brethren traveling with scanty means. In regard to this, one writer commented that the army then scattered in different directions, making their way back from whence they came, begging their expense from the inhabitants. "The Prophet and his chief men however, had plenty of money, and travelled as other gentlemen do." 45

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44 Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, S.L.C., II, 114-115.

Albert Smith, who accompanied the Prophet on the return trip, differs considerably, however. Elder Smith wrote on July 15, 1834, "Joseph bought a horse on credit, and borrowed some money to bear out expenses home." He further indicated on the 17th:

We were all hungry and had no provisions, except a maggoty cheese, which Joseph cut in several pieces in order to distribute among the brethren most of them refusing. He ate very heartily telling them he would have it to say when he got home; that during the whole campaign none of them was as hungry as himself, and that he was so hungry as to eat what they refused.46

According to the detailed account of the return trip by George Albert Smith, it was full of extreme hardship, hunger, and suffering for Joseph and his company.

An interesting account was recorded by George Albert Smith on July 27, 1834:

The Richmond newspaper published that day had announced to the world the astounding news that "Joe Smith" the Mormon leader had had a battle with the mob in Jackson County, had been wounded in the leg, had the limb amputated, and three days afterwards had died of mortification. Joseph visited the editor, but had difficulty to convince him he was not really dead. The editor feeling assured he had published the true state of the case.47

The accounts of the return trip by those who were there indicate the trial of faith required by those of the Camp. Justice is not done by those writers that indicate, "And in a short time Joseph and Sidney [Sidney Rigdon did not even go on the trip to Zion] with a portion of their followers, returned to Kirtland."48

It has been seen that the addition of Hyrum's Camp brought the

46Smith, George Albert Smith History, July 15 and 17, 1834.
army, now in Missouri, to over two hundred men. The entry into Missouri also brought word that Governor Dunklin was not going to make available the support the army had anticipated. Further, the meetings for arbitration between the two groups had failed in tragedy.

Confrontation seemed inevitable. Rumors distorted the true picture for both sides. Nature seemed to have been the cooling effect, for on June 19th, a tremendous storm scattered the Missourians poised and ready to attack the encamped army.

The Church received a revelation on June 22nd indicating that the Camp was to be disbanded, Zion was not to be redeemed until a later date. Promised scourges came not in the form of bullets, but by the dreaded cholera. The army was disbanded and Joseph crossed the Missouri into Independence without his army to view once again the chosen land.

Small groups trekked back to Kirtland. Journals indicate that all suffered greatly as they found their way back to their homes. Zion had not been redeemed and the destitute saints were still homeless. What effect had this trek made on its participants?
Chapter 6

AN APPRAISAL OF THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE ARMY

Numerous opinions, varying from negative to positive, exist as to the value and accomplishments of the Camp of 1834. Harry Beardsley said:

Whatever Joseph Smith's faith in the divine inspiration of his message may have been at the outset, it seems to have been severely shaken by the time of the arrival of Zion's Army in Missouri. Others might believe implicitly in his revelations; but Joe was beginning to realize that they had only the customary gambler's chance of fulfillment. From this point on, the revelations came less frequently.1

Others have made an analysis of the success of the Camp. Paul Bailey remarked:

In the redemption of Zion, Zion's Camp had been an absolute failure. As a military unit, it had been rendered impotent before it could fire a shot or draw a sword. In strategy, it had been a blunder of the most flagrant sort.2

Many have said that the Camp was successful even though the saints were not returned to their rightful homes. The Prophet had exclaimed that the Camp "... had come one thousand miles to assist our brethren, to bring them clothing, etc., and to reinstate them upon their own lands; and that we had no intention to molest or injure any people, but only to administer to the wants of our afflicted friends ..."3

1Harry M. Beardsley, Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire (Boston, N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931), p. 152.


If the Camp had been such a dismal failure in every sense and the Prophet had tipped his hand revealing his lack of revelation from God, surely those who walked the long trek together would have been fully aware that "Joe" had duped them. This intimacy under such strenuous and dangerous situations would undoubtedly have revealed the plot and uncovered the falseness of the Church as a whole.

A look, therefore, at the members of Zion's Camp following their separation from its army in the summer of 1834 should illuminate the feelings of these men. Did they fall away from the Church; or did they continue active, even assuming responsible positions in the Church and priesthood of the Church? Did they continue to support the Prophet Joseph; or had his position been blasted by his "blundering, uninspired" ways?

The following is a brief glimpse of the men who accompanied Joseph Smith, which is given to help determine their loyalty to the Church and the Prophet following the summer of 1834. At this point it has been impossible to find any clue to the situation or whereabouts of some of these men following their discharge from the Camp. Therefore, it is impossible to determine their attitudes--either negative or positive. For the majority, the question of loyalty can be answered to a great degree.

Hazen Aldrich joined the Church during the early days and was ordained a high priest. During the Kirtland apostasy of 1837 and 1838, several years after Zion's Camp, Hazen Aldrich turned against the authorities of the Church and apostatized. He joined the Brewster movement and also published The Olive Branch, a paper in Kirtland. He died in California.\(^4\)

Joseph S. Allen was born June 25, 1810, and was baptized in February, 1831. After Zion's Camp Joseph remained in Clay County, Missouri. Later, he became a member of the high council at Lima, Illinois. In 1846, he traveled west from Nauvoo, arriving in Salt Lake Valley in 1848, and was prominent in settling the valleys of the west. He died an active member of the Church at Huntington, Utah, April 25, 1889.5

Isaac Allred was born June 28, 1813, and was baptized September 10, 1832. After Zion's Camp he moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, where he worked on the Nauvoo Temple and received his endowments. He lived the law of polygamy. After being driven from Nauvoo in 1846, he crossed the plains in 1851. He fulfilled a mission to Great Britain in 1851-1855. He was beaten to death by Thomas Ivie on May 12, 1859. Brigham Young prophesied that Thomas Ivie would consequently apostatize and be devoured by buzzards. This prophecy was fulfilled. Isaac Allred was a faithful Latter-day Saint at his death.6

One of the Prophet Joseph Smith's bodyguards was James Allred who was born January 22, 1784, and baptized a member of the Church on September 10, 1832. He passed through the persecutions of the Church in Missouri and Illinois. Joseph Smith ordained him a high priest. In 1851 he arrived in Utah and later became the presiding elder of Allred settlement (now Spring City, Sanpete County, Utah). He died, still a faithful member of the Church, on June 10, 1876.7

Martin Allred was among the Mormons in 1838 who were charged with high treason. Later he was released with other Mormons, "there

5Ibid., 3:582. 6Ibid., 3:3. 7Ibid., 3:583.
being no evidence against them." He was further involved with the saints in the removal from Missouri to Illinois. He died before 1861 according to looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp."  

Milo Andrus was born March 6, 1814, and joined the Church on March 12, 1832. He became a member of the first quorum of seventy and received his blessings in the Kirtland Temple in 1836. He passed through the early persecutions of the Church and fulfilled many missions for the Church. Continuing to serve prominently as a missionary, he also served as a bishop, high councilman in several stakes, and was ordained a patriarch in 1884. He died on June 18, 1893.

Solomon Angel was born April 21, 1806, and was baptized in 1834. He moved to Utah in 1848 and presided over the Leeds Ward of the St. George Stake from 1869 to 1876. On September 21, 1881, he died, a true member in the gospel.

While on Zion's Camp an elders court had taken away Allen A. Avery's license to preach "for rebelling against their decision." However, on October 29, 1835, the High Council restored him to full fellowship and gave him back his license. Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864, compiled by Thomas Bullock, lists Avery as an apostate.

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8Smith, op. cit., 3:209 and 211.  
9Ibid., 3:253.  
10Zion's Camp folder, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.  
11Jenson, op. cit., 3:585.  
12Ibid., 4:591.  
13Smith, op. cit., 2:286.  
14Thomas Bullock's Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
Almon W. Babbitt was born October 1, 1813. In 1834 he joined the Church, became a member of Zion's Camp, and later became a member of the first quorum of seventy. He went through the persecutions in Missouri and Illinois. He was president of the Kirtland Stake from 1841 to 1843, and was prominent in legal and governmental procedures in behalf of the Church. Several times he was disfellowshipped, but repented and remained a prominent figure in the Church and the West. In 1856 he was killed by Indians.\textsuperscript{15}

Alexander Badlam accompanied Joseph Smith back to Kirtland following Zion's Camp.\textsuperscript{16} He was ordained a seventy and continued active in the Church. On February 4, 1841 he was commissioned a third lieutenant of the Nauvoo Legion.\textsuperscript{17} Further, in 1844 he was part of a special council organized by Joseph Smith.\textsuperscript{18} His positive feelings toward the Church are also expressed in a letter received in late 1846.\textsuperscript{19} He was a nephew of Sam Brannan and managed Brannan's properties for a time. Looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp," in the Church Historian's Office, indicates he died in California a faithful member.\textsuperscript{20}

Samuel Baker died before 1863 in Nauvoo, Illinois.

Born January 27, 1812 in Upper Canada, Nathan Bennett Baldwin was a convert to the Church and was baptized April 28, 1833. After Zion's Camp he was ordained a seventy by Sidney Rigdon and became a

\textsuperscript{15}Jenson, op. cit., 1:284-286.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Times and Seasons}, (Nauvoo, Illinois), 6:866-867, hereafter cited as \textit{T\&S}.

\textsuperscript{17}Smith, op. cit., 4:295. \textsuperscript{18}Ibid., 6:261.

\textsuperscript{19}\textit{Millennial Star}, (Liverpool), 9:30, hereafter cited as \textit{Mill. Star}.

\textsuperscript{20}Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
member of the first quorum of seventy. He traveled to Utah and located in Fillmore, where he resided until his death on November 1, 1891, still a faithful member of the Church.\textsuperscript{21}

The roll of Zion's Camp taken October 12, 1864 indicated Elam Barber was an apostate dying at Lot's Grove, Missouri.\textsuperscript{22}

Israel Barlow was born September 13, 1806, in Massachusetts. After Zion's Camp he went to Utah and settled in West Bountiful. He was ordained a patriarch by Wilford Woodruff in 1882, and died in full faith on November 1, 1883.\textsuperscript{23}

Born on March 22, 1812, Lorenzo D. Barnes became a convert to the Church in 1833 and was ordained an elder by Sidney Rigdon. In 1835 he was ordained one of the first seventy. He performed several missions and was very successful. In 1838 he became a high priest and a member of the high council of Adam-ondi-Ahman. While presiding over the Bradford conference in England, Lorenzo Barnes died on December 20, 1842, the first gospel messenger to die in a foreign land.\textsuperscript{24}

Edson Barney was baptized in 1831 in Amherst, Ohio. Following Zion's Camp he settled in Provo, Utah, in 1852. He served missions to Las Vegas in 1855, the White Mountains in 1858, and St. George, Utah, in 1861. On February 2, 1905, he died in Provo.\textsuperscript{25}

Following the return trek to Kirtland, Royal Barney was made a member of the seventies. He, with some others, was called upon to "hold

\textsuperscript{21}Jenson, op. cit., 3:593.

\textsuperscript{22}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.

\textsuperscript{23}Jenson, op. cit., 4:687.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., 3:307-308.

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., 4:687.
themselves in readiness to travel when circumstances might permit."^{26} He died June 9, 1890, at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Among those worthy to be ordained to the office of seventy was Henry Benner. Further, he was, with several others, set apart to be prepared to preach as circumstances would permit.\(^{27}\) He was killed at Haun's Mill, Missouri.\(^{28}\)

Samuel Bent, born July 19, 1778, served as a colonel in the Massachusetts militia before joining the Church. He was baptized in 1833, ordained an elder, and left on a mission the next day. After Zion's Camp he attended the School of the Prophets. He was whipped by a mob and was a prisoner of General Lucas in 1838. Bent served several missions and was president of the Garden Grove, Iowa, station where he died August 16, 1846, in full membership.\(^{29}\)

Looseleaf folder on Zion's Camp, Church Historian's Office, indicates Hiram Backman apostatized and died in Illinois, but never felt content after leaving the Church.\(^{30}\)

Lorenzo Booth left his family in the home of Brigham Young during the trip to Missouri.\(^{31}\) Booth drove the team of Joseph Smith on the return trip to Kirtland, and later testified on behalf of the Prophet during the hearings of the trek.\(^{32}\) He was among those ordained to the

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\(^{26}\)Smith, op. cit., 2:221.  
\(^{27}\)Ibid.  
\(^{28}\)Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.  
\(^{29}\)Jenson, op. cit., 1:367-368.  
\(^{30}\)Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.  
\(^{31}\)Smith, op. cit., 2:64.  
\(^{32}\)Ibid., 2:156-157.
office of a seventy. Following the Camp George W. Brooks was ordained a seventy. Apparently he stayed in activity because he was a part of the Kirtland Camp in 1838. His wife seemed to have been a nonmember of the Church and was guilty of violating certain Kirtland Camp rules. Brooks was severely reprimanded for not keeping his tent in order and asked to leave the camp. He fell away in the early days of the Church.

Several brethren in 1835 "opened their hearts in great liberality" in support of the Prophet. Albert Brown was among these men. Elder Brown made his way to Utah with the saints and died at Mill Creek.

Following the Camp of Zion, Harry Brown was ordained to the office of a seventy in the Church. He was killed in a boiler explosion on the "Saluda" in 1852.

After Zion's Camp Samuel Brown was ordained a seventy. He was later called on a mission to Maryland. Brother Brown was also elected as a delegate from Illinois during the campaign to elect Joseph Smith President. He died September 30, 1882 in Utah.

There was no available information regarding John Brownell.

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33 Ibid., 2:204.
34 Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
36 Ibid., 2:327.
37 Thomas Hull, "Events of the Month," The Improvement Era, V (March, 1902), 398.
38 Smith, op. cit., 2:204.
39 Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
After the return trip of the Camp, Peter Buchanan was found worthy of being ordained to the priesthood office of a seventy. 43 Roll of Zion's Camp, Oct. 12, 1864, indicates he was living in Spanish Fork, Utah. 44

Subsequent to Zion's Camp Alden Burdick was ordained to the office of a seventy. 45 In July, 1841, the Church history indicated that a letter was received from Burdick, "... it was indeed an admirable letter, worthy of its author. The sentiments expressed were in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel, and the principles are correct." 46 Burdick had died by 1864. 47

Harrison Burgess was born September 3, 1814, and baptized October 1, 1832. He was ordained a seventy February 28, 1835. After fulfilling a mission to England, he settled in Pine Valley, Utah, in 1862. He was a bishop's counselor and a bishop and died February 10, 1883 in Pine Valley. 48

There was no available information uncovered concerning David Byur.

William F. Cahoon was born November 7, 1813, in Ohio and was baptized October 16, 1830, by Parley P. Pratt. Before his calling to Zion's Camp he fulfilled several missions. He was ordained a member of the first quorum of seventy. In 1836 Joseph Smith performed his marriage ceremony. Cahoon arrived in Utah in 1849 and died in Salt Lake City in 1883. 49

43Ibid., 2:203. 44Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
49Ibid., 4:688.
During the trek to Zion, John Carpenter was involved in the releasing of a rattlesnake to freedom.\textsuperscript{50} In 1845 the \textit{Times and Seasons} indicated that Carpenter was still active in the Church.\textsuperscript{51}

While the Camp of Zion was being attacked by cholera, "Elder John S. Carter was the first man who stepped forward to rebuke it, and upon this, was instantly seized, and became the first victim in the camp. He died about six o'clock in the afternoon. . . ."\textsuperscript{52}

Subsequent to the trip to Missouri, mention was made of Daniel Cathcart being sent into the vineyard to build up the churches. In 1843 Daniel Cathcart was appointed to go to Pensacola, Florida.\textsuperscript{53}

In 1842 the \textit{Times and Seasons} indicated that Solon Foster was married to Sarah Downing by Heber C. Kimball.\textsuperscript{54} Further, in 1844 Foster was among those involved in the campaign for President of the United States of Joseph Smith.\textsuperscript{55} He went to Utah, making his home in St. George.

Jacob Gates was born May 9, 1811, and baptized June 18, 1833. His wife was one of the eleven women who accompanied the Camp on the trek to Missouri. Gates went through the trials of the Church, served several missions, and was a member of the first quorum of seventy, and died in Provo, Utah, April 14, 1892.\textsuperscript{56}

The roll of Zion's Camp of 1864 indicated Benjamin Gifford was dead.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{50}Smith, op. cit., 2:102. \hfill \textsuperscript{51}\textit{T\&S}, 6:1030.
\textsuperscript{52}Smith, op. cit., 2:115. \hfill \textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, 5:348.
\textsuperscript{53}\textit{T\&S}, 3:669. \hfill \textsuperscript{54}\textit{Ibid.}, 5:505.
\textsuperscript{55}Jenson, op. cit., 1:197-198. \hfill \textsuperscript{56}\textit{Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864}.
The roll of Zion's Camp of October 12, 1864 indicated "William" Champlin as being dead.\textsuperscript{58}

Following the Camp Jacob Chapman was ordained a seventy.\textsuperscript{59}

Further, in 1838 it was noted that ". . . our united prayers ascended to God in the name of His Son, Jesus Christ, for the recovery of Elder Jacob Chapman's family who resided near the city of Dayton, and had sent unto us for some of the Elders to go and lay hands on them in the name of the Lord . . ."\textsuperscript{60} "Zion's Camp" looseleaf in Church Historian's Office indicated he apostatized and joined the Strangites.\textsuperscript{61}

William Cherry had been the drill master on the trek to Zion.\textsuperscript{62}

Following the Camp false reports indicated that Brother Cherry had been cut off from the Church. These reports were corrected by Orson Hyde, clerk of the Church conference.\textsuperscript{63} Roll of Zion's Camp of October 12, 1864, indicated Bro. Cherry apostatized in June of 1834.\textsuperscript{64} It was said he fell away because he could not fight the Missourians.

John Maddison Chidester, born January 22, 1809, in New York, was baptized in 1832. He fulfilled a mission in 1842 and in 1851 arrived in Utah. After living in several places in Utah, he died August 31, 1893, in Washington, Washington County, Utah.\textsuperscript{65}

The \textit{Times and Seasons} recorded that in 1843 Alden Childs was one

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{58}Ibid. \textsuperscript{59}Smith, op. cit., 2:203. \\
\textsuperscript{60}Ibid., 3:122. \textsuperscript{61}Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office. \\
\textsuperscript{62}Smith, op. cit., 2:88 (note). \textsuperscript{63}Ibid., 2:161. \\
\textsuperscript{64}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864. \\
\end{flushright}
of several faithful elders "promulgating the Gospel with good success." 66

In 1844 Brother Childs represented a branch at the conference in Jefferson County. 67 On October 12, 1864 it was indicated that Brother Childs was an apostate. 68

Nathaniel Childs was a representative of the Church in the presidential campaign for Joseph Smith. 69 Folder on Zion's Camp in the Church Historian's Office indicated he was a member of the high council, Indian River Stake, New York, in 1844. 70

No information was found regarding Stephen Childs. Albert Clements was born March 19, 1801, in New York. He was a member of Orson Hyde's company of Zion's Camp. After going to Utah in 1872 he died in Springville in 1882, a faithful member of the Church. 71

Thomas Colborn was born in Wayne County. He was a missionary to Germany and England in 1856. Being worthy, he was ordained to the office of high priest in the Church; he went to Utah in 1848, and died at Salt Lake City in 1887. 72

Born May 9, 1811, in Vermont, and baptized in 1834, Alanson Colby traveled in Hyrum Smith's company. He was expelled from the State of Missouri with the saints and migrated to Utah in 1848. In 1875 he died an active member of the Church. 73

Zera S. Cole returned to Kirtland in the company of the Prophet

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66 T&S, 5:413. 67 Ibid., 5:583.
68 Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864. 69 T&S, 5:506.
70 Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
73 Jenson, op. cit., 4:688-689.
Joseph. Later he was ordained a seventy and he died February 14, 1886, in Salt Lake City.

Zebedee Coltrin was born September 7, 1804 in New York. He was ordained a seventy by Joseph Smith in 1835 and later became one of its seven presidents. Also, he became a patriarch in the Church and died in Spanish Fork, Utah, in 1887.

Libeus T. Coon was born May 13, 1807. After joining the Church Joseph Smith set him apart to nurse the sick, to whom he often brought great blessings and comfort. He was a member of the first quorum of seventy. Later Joseph Smith chose him as one of his bodyguards. He moved to Utah and died July 7, 1872.

In 1839 Horace Cowan was "put into Liberty jail today for debt, in consequence of the persecution of the mob." Later Cowan became a delegate in the election of Joseph Smith for President.

Lyman Curtis, born January 21, 1812, in Massachusetts, was baptized in 1833, and went with Hyrum Smith in Zion's Camp. He arrived in Utah in 1847 and fulfilled a mission to the Indians of Southern Utah. On August 6, 1898 he died in Salem, Utah.

No information was found concerning Mecham Curtis.

Following the trek to Missouri, Solomon W. Denton was chosen a seventy in the Church.

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74 T6S, 6:866-867.  
75 Smith, op. cit., 2:204.  
76 Jenson, op. cit., 4:697.  
77 Ibid., 4:689.  
78 Smith, op. cit., 3:289.  
79 Ibid., 6:390.  
80 Jenson, op. cit., 4:689.  
81 Smith, op. cit., 2:204.
Peter "Dopp" according to "Zion's Camp," Section four, found in the Church Historian's Office, was living in Davis County, Utah, on February 14, 1863.\(^{82}\)

In 1837 David D. Dort was sustained a member of the Kirtland high council.\(^{83}\) In 1838 the high council of Far West was established with Dort as a member.\(^{84}\) He continued to counsel the Church and was on the council at Commerce, Illinois.\(^{85}\) On May 10, 1841, he died at Nauvoo, Illinois.

In 1844, when the campaign for Presidency involved Joseph Smith as a candidate, John Duncan was appointed to represent him to the state of Pennsylvania.\(^{86}\) He died March 20, 1872 at Cedar City, Iron County, Utah. The roll of Zion's Camp of October 12, 1864 indicated he was an apostate.\(^{87}\)

Apparently James Dunn became involved in illegal practices. In 1843 Hyrum Smith mentioned James Dunn by name in connection with stealing. He had been at Hyrum's home and had been severely chastised without a repentant spirit.\(^{88}\) He died in Nauvoo.\(^{89}\)

The roll of Zion's Camp of 1864 indicated Philemon Duzette was dead. He had been a faithful member.\(^{90}\)

Philip Ettleman was killed by his team in 1856 at Box Elder, Utah.\(^{91}\)

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\(^{82}\) Zion's Camp folder (Section four)--Church Historian's Office.

\(^{83}\) Smith, op. cit., 2:510.

\(^{84}\) Ibid., 3:225.

\(^{85}\) Ibid., 3:240.

\(^{86}\) T\&S, 5:505.

\(^{87}\) Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.

\(^{88}\) Smith, op. cit., 5:333.

\(^{89}\) Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.

\(^{90}\) Ibid.

\(^{91}\) Ibid.
Bradford W. Elliot returned with Daniel Spencer from service as missionaries for the Church in 1843.\textsuperscript{92} In 1844 he was assigned to the State of New York to preach the gospel and to promote the presidency of the Prophet Joseph Smith.\textsuperscript{93} He died in Salt Lake City.\textsuperscript{94}

During the Zion's Camp trials held in Kirtland, David Elliot testified for the Prophet.\textsuperscript{95} In 1835 he was ordained a seventy.\textsuperscript{96} Later, in 1835, he was charged with beating his daughter, but the girl was found at fault. Brother Elliot was a member of the Kirtland Camp of 1838.\textsuperscript{97} He died in Salt Lake City.\textsuperscript{98}

David Evans was born October 27, 1804, in Maryland and was baptized April 6, 1833. He served a mission prior to Zion's Camp and in 1835 was ordained a seventy. He suffered through the Haun's Mill Massacre. In 1850 he went to Utah where he served as a bishop for twenty-eight years. His death occurred June 23, 1883.\textsuperscript{99}

Looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp," Church Historian's Office, indicated Asa Field was an apostate.\textsuperscript{100}

After Zion's Camp Edmund Fisher was made a seventy in the Church.\textsuperscript{101} In 1845 Brother Fisher was still active in the Church and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{92}Smith, op. cit., 6:60.
\item \textsuperscript{93}Ibid., 6:336.
\item \textsuperscript{94}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
\item \textsuperscript{95}Smith, op. cit., 2:156.
\item \textsuperscript{96}Ibid., 2:203.
\item \textsuperscript{97}Ibid., 3:102.
\item \textsuperscript{98}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
\item \textsuperscript{99}Jenson, op. cit., 3:627-628.
\item \textsuperscript{100}Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
\item \textsuperscript{101}Smith, op. cit., 2:203.
\end{itemize}
was appointed "to collect donations and tithings for the temple in the city of Nauvoo."\textsuperscript{102} Looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp," Church Historian's Office, indicated he apostatized.\textsuperscript{103}

Alfred Fisk was one of the members of Zion's Camp that died of cholera on the trek.\textsuperscript{104}

In 1836 Hezekiah Fisk was licensed as a minister of the gospel for the Church. The elders of the Church married Hezekiah Fisk and Lodicia Sly in May, 1837.\textsuperscript{105} He died in Nauvoo.\textsuperscript{106}

Elijah Fordham was born in 1798. Following Zion's Camp he assisted in the temples at Kirtland and Nauvoo. He was a member of the Nauvoo Legion and went to Utah in 1850.\textsuperscript{107} On September 9, 1879, he died at Wellsville, Utah.

The roll of Zion's Camp of 1864 indicated George Fordham was living in Indianola, Iowa.\textsuperscript{108}

Looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp," in Church Historian's Office, indicated Frederick Forney was a member of second quorum of seventy.\textsuperscript{109}

John Fosset moved west to the Territory of Deseret. He was on

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  \item \textsuperscript{102}\textit{T\&S}, 6:780.
  \item \textsuperscript{103}Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
  \item \textsuperscript{104}Smith, op. cit., 2:120.
  \item \textsuperscript{105}\textit{Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate}, (Kirtland, Ohio), p. 512, hereafter cited as \textit{M\&A}.
  \item \textsuperscript{106}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
  \item \textsuperscript{107}Esshom, op. cit., p. 875.
  \item \textsuperscript{108}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
  \item \textsuperscript{109}Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
\end{itemize}
the Utah census of 1850; he and his wife, Margaret, and a daughter, Elizabeth, were living in Utah County.\textsuperscript{110}

James Foster was born April 1, 1775. He was ordained a seventy and set apart as one of the seven presidents. Although he was a leader of the Kirtland Camp of 1838, he did not gather in Nauvoo and lost communication with his brethren. In 1841 he died still holding his position in the First Council of Seventy.\textsuperscript{111}

No information was uncovered concerning William S. Ivie.

Neither was anything found concerning William Jessop.

Levi Gifford had made a trip from Teoga County, Pennsylvania, to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831 to see the Prophet and was baptized at that time.\textsuperscript{112} Following Zion's Camp he was ordained a seventy.\textsuperscript{113} He died March 4, 1860, at Moroni, Utah.

Following the Camp Sherman Gilbert was ordained an elder in 1835.\textsuperscript{114} In 1840 Brother Gilbert was set apart as a counselor to the stake president of Mount Hope Stake.\textsuperscript{115} He went to Utah in 1849.\textsuperscript{116}

Tru Glidden was appointed to the office of seventy in the priesthood following Zion's Camp.\textsuperscript{117} Zion's Camp roster of 1864 indicates Tru Glidden was an apostate.\textsuperscript{118}

\textsuperscript{110}Annie W. Burns (compiler), First Families of Utah, taken from the 1850 Census of Utah, published by Annie W. Burns, Washington, D.C.

\textsuperscript{111}Jenson, op. cit., 1:191-192.

\textsuperscript{112}Smith, op. cit., 4:110.

\textsuperscript{113}Ibid., 2:203. \textsuperscript{114}Ibid., 2:244. \textsuperscript{115}Ibid., 4:233.

\textsuperscript{116}Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.

\textsuperscript{117}Smith, op. cit., 2:203.

\textsuperscript{118}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
Dean C. Gould traveled with Zion's Camp even though he was not a member of the Church. In 1835 Dean Gould was in attendance at the Church conference and was given a special blessing. The Times and Seasons reported that Dean Gould was baptized by Lyman Wight while on the trek to Missouri. Zion's Camp roster of 1864 indicated Brother Gould was an apostate.

Jedediah M. Grant was baptized March 21, 1833. Subsequent to Zion's Camp he was ordained an elder and later a seventy. He served several missions and was active in declaring the truth of the gospel. In Utah he became a member of the legislature and second counselor in the First Presidency of the Church under Brigham Young. He died December 1, 1856.

In 1838 Addison Green was involved in the mobbings in Missouri and was abducted by the mob. Later he testified by affidavit against the mobbers of the saints. He died February 1, 1892. Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated Brother Green was an apostate.

In 1835 Michael Griffith was ordained a seventy and was to hold himself "in readiness to travel when circumstances might permit." Looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp," in Church Historian's Office, indicated he apostatized and died in the East.

\[\text{References:}\]

119 Smith, op. cit., 2:72.
120 Ibid., 2:244.
121 T&S, 6:789.
122 Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
123 Jenson, op. cit., 1:56-62.
125 Ibid., 4:65.
126 Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
127 Smith, op. cit., 2:221.
128 Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
There was no information regarding Everett Griswold.

In September of 1834 Elisha Groves was ordained a high priest in the Church. In 1837 he was unanimously chosen to the high council at Far West and was called to serve a mission for the Church in 1843. He died December 20, 1868, at Kanarra, Iron County, Utah.

Joseph Hancock was born March 17, 1800, in Massachusetts and was baptized in 1830. He was taken with cholera on Zion's Camp but was healed by the Prophet. After he accompanied the saints to the West, he spent much time traveling between Utah and California. Hancock died a faithful member on July 4, 1893.

Levi W. Hancock, born April 7, 1803, in Massachusetts and baptized in 1830, was ordained one of the first seventies. He was a president of the seventies for forty-seven years. He was a missionary, member of the Mormon Battalion, and before his death on June 10, 1882, was ordained a patriarch.

Joseph Harmon was ordained a high priest February 26, 1881, in the St. George Stake.

Following Zion's Camp Henry Herriman was ordained a seventy in the priesthood. He went through the Missouri persecutions with the saints. In 1844 he assisted in the State of Maine to elect Joseph

129Smith, op. cit., 2:164.
130Ibid., 2:524.
133Ibid., 1:188.
134High Priests Quorum Record Book 15649, No. 6, p. 33, found in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.
135Smith, op. cit., 2:204.
136Ibid., 3:210-216.
Smith President of the United States. He died May 17, 1891, at Huntington, Utah.

Martin Harris, born May 18, 1783, in New York, was a great help financially to Joseph Smith in the early history of the Church. He was ordained a high priest in 1831 following his experience as one of the three witnesses. Martin Harris remained with the Church while in Kirtland. Years later he returned to the body of the Church in Utah and died July 10, 1875, strong in his testimony of the Book of Mormon.

Joseph Smith mentioned that Joseph Hartshorn received a special blessing from the Church at its conference in August of 1835. Zion's Camp roster of 1864 indicated he died in Pennsylvania.

In 1837 Thomas Hayes was listed in the periodicals of the Church as a minister of the gospel. He was killed in Missouri.

Nelson Higgins was born September 1, 1806, in New York and was baptized in 1834. After Zion's Camp he became an elder and then a seventy. He was a member of the Mormon Battalion and later became a bishop. His death was recorded as November 20, 1890.

About thirty minutes after John S. Carter (the first to die of cholera) died, Seth Hitchcock was attacked and died of the cholera while a member of Zion's Camp.

140 Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864. 142 Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated Amos "Hodges" was an apostate.\(^{145}\)

In 1838 Chandler Holbrook was involved in the Church and had been called in for trial by the mobbers. He was later released, "there being no evidence against him."\(^{146}\) In 1844 he represented the Prophet in his bid for the presidency.\(^{147}\) He died September 3, 1889 at Fillmore, Utah.

In 1840 Joseph Holbrook served the Church in a special committee to develop a stake of Zion. In 1844 he was called to support the Prophet in his bid for the presidency.\(^{148}\) He was born in Florence, Oneida County, New York, on January 18, 1806, and died in Bountiful, Davis County, Utah, on November 14, 1885.\(^{149}\)

In December of 1835 the Prophet received a letter from Milton Holmes rejoicing in his missionary experiences.\(^{150}\) In 1845 at the conference of the Church, Brother Holmes indicated his preparedness to go on a mission for the Church.\(^{151}\) Shortly afterwards Lyman Johnson and Milton Holmes left for Canada and further service in the Church.\(^{152}\)

Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated Holmes was an apostate in Michigan.\(^{153}\)

No records concerning Osmon Houghton were located. His wife was one of the eleven women on the trek, but nothing further could be found on them.

\(^{145}\)Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.

\(^{146}\)Smith, op. cit., 3:209-212.  

\(^{147}\)T\&S, 5:505.

\(^{148}\)Ibid.

\(^{149}\)Deseret News (Salt Lake City, Utah), 1885, p. 1161.

\(^{150}\)Smith, op. cit., 2:326.  

\(^{151}\)T\&S, 6:934.

\(^{152}\)Ibid., 6:1022-23.  

\(^{153}\)Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
Marshal Hubbard was born June 18, 1805, in Vermont and baptized in 1833. When he was stricken with cholera, Freeman Nickerson administered to him and he was healed. He moved to Michigan in 1836 and died in 1838.  

Born September 23, 1775, in Connecticut, Solomon Humphrey was ordained an elder in 1831, and later fulfilled a mission. It was Humphrey that awoke during the trek to find a rattlesnake had been asleep with him. He died in Clay County, Missouri, in September of 1834.

According to the roll of Zion's Camp of 1864, "Jesse" Huntsman died in Ohio in 1836.

David Pettegrew when telling of his mission in 1844, indicated that council was held at a conference in Peterborough, New Hampshire; here it was "agreed with Brothers Hustin and Twiss to go to Claremont, where we had been laboring among my friends." Hence, John Hustin was active in the Church at that time.

Elias Hutchins was born in Windsor, New Hampshire, in 1784 and baptized in 1830. After Zion's Camp he lived in Ohio and Illinois. In 1844 he moved to Nauvoo and two months later died there.

During the Utah census of 1850, Herman T. Hyde was living in Great Salt Lake County with his wife Polly and son Charles.

Orson Hyde was born January 8, 1805, at Connecticut and baptized by Sidney Rigdon in the fall of 1831. He became one of the original

154Jenson, op. cit., 4:689.  
155Ibid., 4:689-690.  
156Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.  
157T&G, 5:765.  
158Burns, op. cit., p. 70.  
159Ibid., 6:876.
twelve apostles and was president of the quorum from 1847-1875. He died in 1878, active in the gospel.\textsuperscript{160}

Warren S. Ingalls was one of the members of Zion's Camp that died en route of cholera.\textsuperscript{161}

Edward Ivie was also one of the members of Zion's Camp that died on the trek of cholera.\textsuperscript{162}

James R. Ivie went west and was with the saints during the 1850 census of Utah. He and his wife Eliza and their eight children were living in Utah County.\textsuperscript{163}

Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated John A. Ivie was living in Missouri.\textsuperscript{164} He came to Utah and was called on a mission in 1855.

About the year 1800 David W. Patten was born in New York and was baptized by his brother on June 15, 1832. He served on many missions and healed many people. While out preaching in 1833, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him saying, "Depart from your field of labor and go unto Kirtland, for behold I will send thee up to the land of Zion, and thou shalt serve thy brethren there." He actually preceded the Camp to Zion, arriving in Clay County March 4, 1834, with dispatches to the brethren in Missouri. He continued to serve as a missionary and was ordained one of the original twelve apostles. On October 25, 1838, in the Battle of Crooked River, Brother Patten was mortally wounded defending the saints against the mobs.\textsuperscript{165}

\textsuperscript{160}Jenson, op. cit., 1:80-82. \hspace{1cm} 161Smith, op. cit., 2:120.  
162Ibid., 2:120. \hspace{1cm} 163Burns, op. cit., p. 85.  
164Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.  
165Jenson, op. cit., 1:76-80.
After Zion's Camp William D. Pratt was ordained a seventy.\textsuperscript{166} Later he was appointed to assist in the campaign of Joseph Smith for President.\textsuperscript{167} It was recorded that he presided over the quarterly conference in Greenwood, New York, in 1845.\textsuperscript{168} He died in Salt Lake City about 1872.

Following Zion's Camp Leonard Rich was ordained one of the first seventies in the Church. He later was asked to associate himself with the high priests, having been ordained to this position prior to his assignment as a seventy.\textsuperscript{169} Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he was an apostate.\textsuperscript{170}

Darwin Richardson was ordained a seventy in 1835.\textsuperscript{171} In 1846 he sailed with a group of saints from New York, bound for the west coast and the gathering of Israel to the West.\textsuperscript{172} He died November 13, 1860 in Salt Lake City.

Following Zion's Camp Burr Riggs was ordained a seventy. Then, in 1838, it was discovered that Brother Riggs was an accomplice in the plundering of the Prophet's home.\textsuperscript{173} However, once again in 1840 Burr Riggs seemed to be back among the saints in Illinois and writing an affidavit concerning the mobbings of 1836.\textsuperscript{174} He died June 8, 1860 an apostate.

\textsuperscript{166} T\&S, 5:505.  
\textsuperscript{167} Jenson, op. cit., 1:189-190.  
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid., 6:872.  
\textsuperscript{169} Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.  
\textsuperscript{170} Smith, op. cit., 2:204.  
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid., 4:67.  
\textsuperscript{172} T\&S, p. 1113.  
\textsuperscript{173} Smith, op. cit., 3:215.  
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., 4:67.
In 1835, subsequent to Zion's Camp, Harpin Riggs was ordained a member of the seventies of the Church.\textsuperscript{175} He died November 1, 1865, at Mt. Pleasant, Utah, an apostate.

At the time of the 1850 census of Utah, Nathaniel Riggs, his wife Hannah and daughter Elizabeth were living with the saints in the county of Great Salt Lake Deseret.\textsuperscript{176} He died May 5, 1869 in Utah.

There was no available information concerning Milcher Riley.

In 1839 Alanson Ripley and Heber C. Kimball were "importuning at the feet of the judges" in behalf of the Mormon prisoners.\textsuperscript{177} In December of 1839 Brother Ripley was made a bishop.\textsuperscript{178} He was elected surveyor for the City of Nauvoo in 1843.\textsuperscript{179}

Luke S. Johnson, born November 2, 1807, in Vermont, was baptized by Joseph Smith in 1831. After Zion's Camp he was ordained one of the twelve apostles. In 1838, he fell from the Church, but was later re-baptized in Nauvoo and was captain of a company of ten in the move to Utah in 1847. He was a bishop in Utah and died in full fellowship in 1861.\textsuperscript{180}

Lyman E. Johnson was born in 1811 in Vermont and baptized in 1831 by Sidney Rigdon. He was ordained a high priest and served several missions. After Zion's Camp he was ordained an apostle. For several years after this he fulfilled missions in the Church. Later he fell from the Church and was excommunicated, but always remained friendly to the saints and was drowned in Iowa December 20, 1856.\textsuperscript{181}

\textsuperscript{175}Ibid., 2:203.
\textsuperscript{176}Burns, op. cit., p. 19.
\textsuperscript{177}Smith, op. cit., 3:265.
\textsuperscript{178}Ibid., 4:42.
\textsuperscript{179}Ibid., 5:270.
\textsuperscript{180}Jenson, op. cit., 4:690.
\textsuperscript{181}Ibid., 1:91-92.
Noah Johnson was one of the members of Zion's Camp who died of the cholera.\textsuperscript{182}

Born in 1805 Seth "Gurnsey" Johnson served as a missionary for the Church. He taught school in Kirtland following Zion's Camp, and died in February, 1835, in that city.\textsuperscript{183}

Looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp," in Church Historian's Office, indicated Isaac Jones went west and lived in Malad, Idaho.\textsuperscript{184}

During the October conference of 1834 Levi Jones was chosen to preside over a branch of the Church at Eugene, Louisiana, which was composed of fifty-five members in all.\textsuperscript{185}

Following Zion's Camp Charles Kelley was made a member of the first quorum of seventy.\textsuperscript{186} In 1836, however, he was expelled from the Church for leaving his family in a destitute condition and for displaying un-Christianlike conduct.\textsuperscript{187}

Heber C. Kimball was born in June, 1801, in Vermont, and baptized in 1832. After Zion's Camp he was ordained one of the apostles in 1835. He became first counselor to Brigham Young and remained in that office until his death in 1868.\textsuperscript{188}

There was no available information regarding Samuel Kingsley. Zion's Camp roster of 1864 indicated Dennis Lake was an apostate.\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{182}T\&S, 6:1108. \textsuperscript{183}Jenson, op. cit., 4:690.
\textsuperscript{184}Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office. \textsuperscript{185}M\&A, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{186}Smith, op. cit., 2:203. \textsuperscript{187}Ibid., 2:442-444.
\textsuperscript{188}Jenson, op. cit., 4:710. \textsuperscript{189}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
Jesse B. Lawson was one of the members of Zion's Camp who died of cholera.\(^{190}\)

Nothing was located concerning L. S. Lewis.

According to the account, "Zion's Camp," Section four, filed in the Church Historian's Office, Josiah Littlefield went to Utah, and on February 14, 1863, he was living in Iron County, Utah.\(^{191}\)

Subsequent to Zion's Camp Lyman O. Littlefield became involved in several missionary activities for the Church.\(^{192}\) His deep feeling for the Church is expressed in several of his writings.\(^{193}\) He died September 1, 1893, in Utah.

Waldo Littlefield was born May 16, 1797, and died January 29, 1879, in Cannonville, Garfield County, Utah.\(^{194}\)

Amasa M. Lyman was born March 30, 1815, in New Hampshire and baptized in 1832. He was ordained an apostle in 1842 and moved to Utah in 1847. While on a mission in 1861 he advocated false doctrine and was excommunicated. He died February 4, 1877.\(^{195}\)

Following Zion's Camp Moses Martin was ordained a seventy but was warned against certain snares and pitfalls.\(^{196}\) In 1847 Martin was president of the London conference and had written "Treatise on the

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\(^{190}\)Smith, op. cit., 2:120.

\(^{191}\)Zion's Camp folder (Section four)--Church Historian's Office.

\(^{192}\)Smith, op. cit., 5:347 and 485.

\(^{193}\)T\&S, 2:545-6; also see Mill. Star, 10:30-31.

\(^{194}\)Andrew Jenson Notes, not filed, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

\(^{195}\)Jenson, op. cit., 4:712.\(^{196}\)Smith, op. cit., 2:208.
Gospel" which was recommended by John Taylor.\(^{197}\) Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he was an apostate.\(^{198}\)

In 1845 Edward W. Marvin was in Michigan and involved with the Church. In the minutes of January 24 conference he offers the benediction.\(^{199}\) Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicates "Marvin Edmond Walden" was living in St. George, Utah.\(^{200}\)

Reuben McBride was born in June of 1803 in New York and baptized in March of 1834. On the day of his baptism he volunteered for Zion's Camp. Later, he was the first man baptized for the dead in the Nauvoo Temple. He traveled to Utah in a handcart company. During his life he served several missions and was a member of a stake high council. He died February 26, 1891, in Fillmore, Utah.\(^{201}\)

Robert McCord was one of the members of Zion's Camp who died of cholera.\(^{202}\)

Heber C. Kimball comments that Eleazer Miller spoke at one service during Zion's Camp and that his exhortation was so powerful that his voice was said to be heard a mile and a half.\(^{203}\) He baptized Brigham Young.\(^{204}\) In 1844 Miller was ordained a president of the seventies.\(^{205}\) He died April 12, 1876, in Salt Lake City.

John Miller was among those in 1843 selected to go on a special mission for the Church.\(^{206}\) He came to Utah, was a member of the


\(^{198}\) Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.

\(^{199}\) T\&S, 6:806.

\(^{200}\) Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.

\(^{201}\) Jenson, op. cit., 4:690.

\(^{202}\) Smith, op. cit., 2:120.

\(^{203}\) T\&S, 6:773.

\(^{204}\) Smith, op. cit., 1:296-97 (note).

\(^{205}\) Ibid., 7:314.

\(^{206}\) Ibid., 5:485.
seventies quorum at American Fork, Utah. He was wounded in the Walker Indian War at American Fork.  

In 1844 Justin Morse was selected by the Church to go to Delaware to represent the Prophet in his quest for the presidency. He was further advised to teach the gospel "... in its simplicity, and beauty, in all meekness, humility, long suffering and prayerfulness ...". He was living in California in 1864.

In 1843 John Murdock was among those chosen to represent the Church on a special mission. At the conference of the Church in 1844 Murdock was unanimously sustained as a bishop in the Church and died December 3, 1871, in Utah.

Freeman Nickerson was born February 5, 1778, in Massachusetts and baptized in 1833. He served several missions and continued an intimate relationship with Joseph Smith after Zion's Camp. As a consequence of being driven from Nauvoo, he died on January 22, 1847.

Levi S. Nickerson was born April 2, 1814, and baptized in 1833. After Zion's Camp he attended the School of the Prophets at Kirtland. He visited Joseph Smith while at Liberty Jail and served missions for the Church. While on a mission to Great Britain he died because of extreme weather conditions in 1853.

207Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
208T&S, 5:505-506.
209Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
210Smith, op. cit., 5:485.
211T&S, 5:693.
212Jenson, op. cit., 4:690.
213Ibid., 4:691.
When Joseph Smith was arrested in June of 1841 Uriah C. Nickerson was one who immediately responded and left Nauvoo in an attempt to rescue him. In 1843 he was among those called on a special mission for the Church to Illinois. Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he was a Strangite.

There was no available information concerning Joseph Nicholas.

Joseph B. Noble was born January 14, 1810, in Massachusetts and baptized in 1832. After Zion's Camp he attended the Elder's School in Kirtland and was chosen a member of the first quorum of seventy. He was miraculously healed by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. He went on several missions, moved to Utah in 1847, was a bishop, high councilman, and faithful saint. He died August 17, 1900 in Utah.

"Levi" North was indicated as a member of the 12th quorum of seventy in Salt Lake City as late as 1857.

In 1845 George A. Smith said of Roger Orton:

Roger Orton was one of the Old Camp; and was selected a year ago to be one of the seven Presidents of the Seventies; but he had never received his ordination, nor done anything to magnify his calling. It is not expected that we shall wait year after year for men to come forward and fill their offices. Brother Orton was one of the Old Camp and we love him on that account; we always called him the "Big Major," and a first rate man; but he has not come forward since his appointment to magnify his calling.

Later at this conference Elder Joseph Young said, "Brother Orton has always sustained Brother Joseph and the Church . . ."
John D. Parker and his family were among those who traveled with the Kirtland Camp in 1838. 221 John D. Parker became the deputy sheriff of Hancock County. 222 Later he moved to Davis County, Utah, and died February 26, 1891.

In 1835 Warren Parrish was studying Hebrew with the Prophet. 223 In 1836, as the Prophet's scribe, Parrish received his anointings from the Church. 224 Further in 1836 Parrish labored in the South for the Church. An interesting letter shows his strong feelings for the Church. 225 Looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp," in Church Historian's Office, indicated he apostatized in Kirtland, Ohio. 226

Orson Pratt was born September 19, 1811, in New York and was baptized in September of 1830. After Zion's Camp he was set apart as an apostle and was a missionary and faithful elder in the Church. He was a leader in the West and active all his life in proselyting the restored gospel. 227 He died October 8, 1881 in Salt Lake City.

Parley P. Pratt was born in 1807 in New York. After baptism he was ordained an elder and started preaching the gospel. Following Zion's Camp he was ordained one of the twelve apostles. Throughout his life he taught the gospel and served faithfully in the restored Church. He was a martyr for the Church on May 13, 1857. 228

Charles C. Rich was born August 21, 1809, and baptized April 1, 1832. Following Zion's Camp he was active through the persecutions of the Church. He was ordained an apostle February 12, 1849, and was active in exploring and settling Bear Lake Valley. Throughout his life he supported the Prophet and the Church.\(^229\) He died November 17, 1883.

The 1850 census of Utah found Samuel Thompson, his wife Drusilla, and their two children living in the county of Great Salt Lake Deseret.\(^230\)

According to Zion's Camp report in the Church Historian's Office William P. Tippets came to Utah. He died in Utah March 29, 1872.\(^231\)

Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated that Tinney Thomas was dead. Looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp," indicated he had come to Utah.\(^232\)

There was no available information concerning Nelson Tribbs, and Joel "John" Vaughn.

Subsequent to Zion's Camp Salmon Warner was selected to be one of the seventies in the Church.\(^233\) In 1843 he is mentioned as being selected to represent the Church on a mission to Illinois.\(^234\) He moved to Utah and was living in Box Elder County in 1863.

A note in the History of George Albert Smith indicated William Weden was "afterward killed and fed to Joseph and others in prison."

\(^{229}\)Ibid., 1:102-103.
\(^{231}\)Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
\(^{232}\)Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864; also see Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
\(^{233}\)Smith, op. cit., 2:203.
\(^{234}\)Ibid., 5:485.
"Zion's Camp" record in Church Historian's Office indicated Weden was murdered in Clay County, Missouri, in 1838. Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he was killed in Ray County and afterwards some of his flesh was offered to Joseph and others in prison. 235

After Zion's Camp Lewis Robbins was selected to be a seventy for the Church. 236 Lewis Robbins and his family accompanied Don C. Smith and others on the trek to Far West. 237 In 1843 Robbins was among those called to serve the Church--his labors to be in Massachusetts. 238 He was killed by a big rock at St. George in 1864. 239

Erastus Rudd was one of the members of Zion's Camp that died en route of cholera. 240

"Harrison" Sagers, according to Zion's Camp," Section four, at the Church Historian's Office, came to Utah and was living in Utah County on February 14, 1863. He was the armor bearer to Lyman Wight. 241

After Zion's Camp Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury was ordained a seventy. 242 In 1836 Salisbury was active preaching in the Church. 243 In 1838 the Salisbury family was among those traveling to Far West with

235 George Albert Smith History, Zion's Camp folder and Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864--all found in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

236 Smith, op. cit., 2:203.

237 Ibid., 3:43. 238 Ibid., 5:348.

239 Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.

240 Smith, op. cit., 2:120.

241 Zion's Camp folder (Section four) and Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.

242 Smith, op. cit., 2:204. 243 Ibid., 2:363.
Don C. Smith. He married a sister of the Prophet Joseph and later died in Illinois.

No records were uncovered concerning Henry Sherman.

Lyman Sherman joined the Church at an early age and was ordained a high priest. A member of Zion's Camp, he afterwards was made a president of the seventy. Later he was released, went into the high priests quorum, and became a high councilman at Kirtland. He was involved in the message of Section 108 of The Doctrine and Covenants. He died in Far West in 1838.

After Zion's Camp Henry Shibley was ordained a seventy. Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he was an apostate. Cyrus Smalling was among those ordained seventies in 1836. However, in 1843 Joseph Smith indicated that the writing of the history of the Church had been difficult because of death and apostasy and "the stealing of records by John Whitmer, Cyrus Smalling, and others." There were no records regarding Avery Smith.

George A. Smith was born June 26, 1817 in New York, baptized September 10, 1832, and ordained a seventy after the trek. He also performed several missions. On April 26, 1839, he was ordained an apostle.

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244Ibid., 3:43.  
245Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.  
246Jenson, op. cit., 1:191.  
247Smith, op. cit., 2:204.  
248Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.  
249Smith, op. cit., 2:203.  
250Ibid., 6:66.
He received plural wives "under the law of Abraham and Sarah. . . ." After moving to Utah, he became involved with the Church and politics and was appointed a counselor to President Young. His death occurred September 1, 1875.251

Hyrum Smith was born February 9, 1800, in Vermont, and was baptized June 1829. Hyrum was one of the eight witnesses. After Zion's Camp he became second counselor to Joseph Smith and later was chosen Patriarch to the Church. He died as a martyr alongside the Prophet Joseph Smith.252

In 1844 Jackson Smith was called to represent the Church and the Prophet on a mission to Tennessee.253 He moved west and was living in Utah County in 1863.

Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated Zechariah B. Smith was an apostate.254

The Prophet and founder of the Church, Joseph Smith, was born December 23, 1805. He lead Zion's Camp starting on May 5. After a long and difficult trip he organized a high council in Clay County and arranged the affairs of the Church in Missouri, returning to Kirtland on July 18, 1834. He died a martyr of the Church on June 27, 1844.255

Following Zion's Camp Lyman Smith was called to be a seventy in the Church.256 Records reveal that Smith returned from a five month mission in November 1835.257 He died in Illinois in 1837.

251Jenson, op. cit., 1:37-42.
252Ibid., 1:52.
253T&S, 5:505.
254Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
256Smith, op. cit., 2:204.
257Ibid., 3:300.
Sylvester Smith was baptized shortly after the Church was organized. He did missionary work and was a member of the first high council of Kirtland. On the trek to Zion he displayed a troublesome spirit but later confessed his faults and retained his standing in the Church. Because of his worthiness he became a member of the presidents of the seventies. He was later released as a seventy due to a previous ordination as a high priest.\textsuperscript{258} Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he was an apostate.\textsuperscript{259}

William Smith was born in Vermont on March 13, 1811. He was baptized early and did missionary work for the Church. In 1833 he was ordained a high priest and later appointed an apostle in 1835. After Zion's Camp he served a mission to the East. During the mobbings in 1838 William Smith was disfellowshipped. He returned to the Church but was excommunicated October 12, 1845. He died in 1894.\textsuperscript{260}

Willard Snow was born May 6, 1811, and baptized June 18, 1833. After Zion's Camp he was ordained a seventy. He later performed several missions and died on a mission on the North Sea on August 21, 1853.\textsuperscript{261}

In 1835 Harvey Stanley was ordained a seventy in the Church.\textsuperscript{262} In 1835 he was financially contributing to the support of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{263} Joseph Smith married Harvey Stanley to Larona Cahoon in 1836.\textsuperscript{264} Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he was a California apostate.\textsuperscript{265}

\textsuperscript{258}Jenson, op. cit., 1:191.  
\textsuperscript{259}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.  
\textsuperscript{260}Jenson, op. cit., 1:86-87.  
\textsuperscript{261}Ibid., 4:374.  
\textsuperscript{262}Smith, op. cit., 2:204.  
\textsuperscript{263}Ibid., 2:327.  
\textsuperscript{264}Ibid., 2:376.  
\textsuperscript{265}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
In December of 1835 the seventies withdrew fellowship from Hyrum Stratton "until he returns to Kirtland and makes satisfaction." In May of 1836 the seventies restored him to full fellowship. Zion's Camp roll indicated he was an apostate.

Zerubbabel Snow was born March 29, 1809, and baptized in 1832. While involved with the Camp, Brother Snow was appointed commissary of the Camp. Later he lived in Kirtland, Iowa, and Utah, where he became Associate Justice of the territorial supreme court of the Utah Territory. He died September 27, 1888.

Daniel Stephens was appointed to the office of seventy following the trek to Zion. He died in the faith at Orderville, Utah.

Elias "Eliah" Strong was one of the members of Zion's Camp who died en route of cholera.

John Joshua Tanner was born December 22, 1811, in New York and baptized about 1832. He passed through the trials of the Church following Zion's Camp. He was imprisoned with Joseph Smith in Missouri. Tanner lived the law of polygamy and was always busily engaged in Church affairs. His death occurred in Utah in 1896.

In 1835 Ezra Thayer was suspended as an elder and member pending

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267Ibid., 2:299.  
268Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.  
269Jenson, op. cit., 4:691.  
270Smith, op. cit., 2:204.  
271Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.  
272Smith, op. cit., 2:120.  
273Jenson, op. cit., 2:156.
investigation. In September of 1835 the Prophet indicated, "This day my soul has desired the salvation of Brother Ezra Thayer." In 1838 Thayer was a member of the high council of Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Nathan Tanner was born May 14, 1815, in New York and was baptized September 10, 1831. He was nineteen years old when he was called to go to Zion's Camp. On October 10, 1835, he was ordained a seventy. He filled a mission and made the trek to Utah. He was the last survivor of Zion's Camp, dying on December 17, 1910.

In March of 1835 James L. Thompson received a special blessing from the Church. Brother Thompson was living in Iron County, Utah, in 1864.

In 1836 Elias Wells was recorded as a minister of the gospel of the Church. However, Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he had apostatized.

In 1835 Alexander Whitesides was ordained to the office of a seventy in the Church. He was in California in 1864.

In 1838 Andrew W. Whitlock was taken into custody by the mobs. He was later released with other members of the Church, "there being no

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274Smith, op. cit., 2:221.
275Ibid., 2:28.
277Jenson, op. cit., 4:491.
278Smith, op. cit., 2:208.
279Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
280M6A, p. 383.
281Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
282Smith, op. cit., 2:203.
283Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
evidence against them."\textsuperscript{284} He moved to Utah and lived in San Pete County in 1864.\textsuperscript{285}

Lyman Wight was born May 9, 1796, in New York and was baptized in 1830. He assisted Hyrum Smith on the Zion's trek through Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois where they gathered eighteen for the camp, and became second in command under Joseph Smith. After the Camp he was busy serving the Church. He became a counselor to the stake at Adam-ondi-Ahman, and was true to Joseph Smith. In April of 1841 he became an apostle. After the death of Joseph Smith he left the Church and was disfellowshipped in 1848. He died in 1858.\textsuperscript{286}

Eber Wilcox was another of the members of Zion's Camp that died en route of cholera.\textsuperscript{287}

Looseleaf folder, "Zion's Camp," indicated Sylvester B. Wilkinson died of cholera in Clay County, Missouri, in 1834.\textsuperscript{288}

Frederick G. Williams was born October 28, 1787, in Connecticut and was baptized in October of 1830. He became second counselor to Joseph Smith in 1833 and was paymaster in the Zion's Camp. After the Camp he was active as a missionary and builder on the temple. Later he was excommunicated but was rebaptized and died a faithful member on October 10, 1842.\textsuperscript{289}

\textsuperscript{284}Smith, op. cit., 3:211.
\textsuperscript{285}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
\textsuperscript{286}Jenson, op. cit., 1:93-96.
\textsuperscript{287}Smith, op. cit., 2:120.
\textsuperscript{288}Zion's Camp folder--Church Historian's Office.
\textsuperscript{289}Jenson, op. cit., 1:51-52.
Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated Alonzo Winchester died in Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, and his body was anatomized at Independence.\textsuperscript{290}

Benjamin Winchester was born August 6, 1817, in Pennsylvania and baptized in February of 1833. After Zion's Camp he filled several missions baptizing over eight hundred persons.\textsuperscript{291} Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he was an apostate and became a Spiritualist.\textsuperscript{292}

Lupton Winchester was born May 8, 1795, in Vermont and was baptized in 1833. He was a captain of a company in Zion's Camp. Later, he followed the saints through their persecutions to Utah and died in the faith January 1, 1873.\textsuperscript{293}

In 1839 the saints were forced from the State of Missouri. Alvin Winegar was among those of the saints who banded together to "stand by and assist one another, to the utmost of our abilities."\textsuperscript{294} He died June 12, 1874 in Salt Lake City.

Samuel Winegar was among the saints who banded together to assist one another in their forced removal from the State of Missouri.\textsuperscript{295} Zion's Camp roll of 1864 indicated he was a Wisconsin apostate.\textsuperscript{296}

Hiram "Winters" was born April 5, 1805, and baptized in 1833. He was a cook with Zion's Camp. After the Camp he was ordained a seventy, became a missionary, and was later ordained a high priest.

\textsuperscript{290}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
\textsuperscript{291}Jenson, op. cit., 4:692.
\textsuperscript{292}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
\textsuperscript{293}Ibid., 4:692. \textsuperscript{294}Smith, op. cit., 3:254.
\textsuperscript{295}Ibid. \textsuperscript{296}Zion's Camp roll of Oct. 12, 1864.
He followed the saints to the West, his wife dying en route. His death date is October 21, 1889.297

There was no available information concerning Henry Wissmiller. Wilford Woodruff was born March 1, 1807, in Connecticut and was baptized December 31, 1833. He never complained or murmured against Joseph Smith. During his life he was a devout missionary, was ordained an apostle in 1839, and became the fourth President of the Church. He died September 2, 1898.298

Brigham Young was born June 1, 1801, and was baptized April 14, 1832. After Zion's Camp he was ordained one of the twelve apostles in 1835. He was a strong missionary and completely supported the Prophet Joseph Smith. Subsequently he became the second President of the Church and died in Salt Lake City on August 29, 1877.299

Joseph Young was born April 7, 1797, and was baptized April 6, 1832. He was ordained a seventy in 1835 and afterwards served as a missionary and survived the persecutions of the Church. He served the Church in Utah until his death July 16, 1881.300

The above list of the members of Zion's Camp was taken from the "roll" found in Vol. II of the Documentary History of the Church. This roll indicated that there were "204" men in that camp. However, within the context of Vol. II Joseph Smith mentioned Jesse "J" Smith as having died in Missouri of cholera.301 It is possible that he was the extra member that made up the "205" traditionally mentioned in the histories of this Camp.

Some "rolls" found in the Church Historian's Office leave off the names of David W. Patten and Samuel Winegar but do add the name of Jesse "B" Smith. The "rolls" generally add the names of eleven women and seven children that also accompanied the Camp to Zion.

The Roll of Zion's Camp of 1864 was compiled by Thomas Bullock October 12, 1864. This interesting record found in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City indicated several men as members of Zion's Camp who were not recorded on the "roll" in Vol. II of the Documentary History of the Church. Bullock's roll indicated Jesse "B" Smith as having died in the Camp of cholera. Thomas Turner was mentioned as a member of the Camp. It indicated he later died five miles south of Far West. Lewis Zobriskie was mentioned as a member of the Camp. [This name is said to be spelled 31 different ways in the Church history.] This roll further mentioned Gad Yale as a member also. He later moved to San Pete County in 1864. If this account is correct, it would indicate that there were more than the "205" traditionally mentioned.

Notes of the second annual meeting of the members of Zion's Camp indicated Joseph C. Kingsbury and John Riggs had volunteered to go with Zion's Camp but Joseph Smith counseled them to stay and promised them the same blessings as if they went.

From information available the great majority of the members of Zion's Camp remained faithful to the Prophet Joseph Smith and the Church. They were found participating in the Church to one degree or another after the Camp.

Statistics compiled from the foregoing information show that 132 of the "204" men of the Camp remained faithful to the Church and its Prophet. In addition, 30 more were zealous in the Church following
the return of the Camp to Kirtland but fell away from the Church at some other time in their lives. No information was available on seventeen of these men. The history of an additional seven indicated they fell away from the Church but at an indeterminable time. Twelve died of cholera and the status of five others was in doubt as to their faithfulness or otherwise.

To journey from Kirtland, Ohio, to Jackson County, Missouri, on foot, only to be told to return, would certainly try any man's faith. These men observed the Prophet from day to day and had a first-hand chance to summarize the Church and its leadership under adverse conditions.

The faithfulness of these men through that and later trying times was a true test to their testimony of the Church and the Prophet Joseph Smith.
Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

It is interesting at this point to analyze the different points of view offered by historians in regard to the successes and failures of Zion's Camp. It seems quite clear that historians have taken one of two sides. Some have unconditionally labeled the trek as a failure, and others have justified the actions of the Camp.

P. A. M. Taylor in his work *Expectations Westward* indicated that "Zion's Camp as it is called in the Church's history, was a total failure; and the harassed and disposed Mormons withdrew north of the Missouri River."¹ This statement is quite conclusive and draws a difference of opinion from other authorities. Perhaps as far on the other side of the spectrum comes a rather common although low-keyed statement regarding some good that came from the camp:

And while those lands were not redeemed at this time, the effort made by Zion's Camp was of great value to the Church: It helped to train leaders for a later trek across the Great Plains; it challenged the attention of the world with a striking example of faith, unity, and unselfish purpose manifest by members of this new and much maligned Christian denomination; and finally, it brought to light latent qualities of strength as well as hidden weaknesses in a group of men from whom leaders in presiding quorums of God's Church were to be chosen.²

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Others looking at this era in the negative light have stated, "... for we do not believe that in all the history of knight errantry, whether true or fabulous, an excursion by any set of men, so fraught with delusion and nonsense, can be found." To this rather fanatical conclusion was added:

All the benefit, therefore, which was derived from this long march and expenditure of money, was, for the Prophet to get the information that he had no business there, and that it would be the most prudent course to "march back again."

Klaus J. Hansen saw this phase of history through different eyes. He stated:

On May 5, 1834, Zion's Camp, as the expedition had been named, left Kirtland. However, when the army of about two hundred men reached Missouri, it became apparent that the Mormon cause in Jackson county was lost. Military operations clearly would be of no aid to the Saints and would only aggravate an already untenable situation. Smith realistically disbanded his army; for the time being the dispossessed Saints resettled in the Missouri counties of Clay and Caldwell.

Judged from its immediate results, Zion's Camp was a quixotic adventure, and yet one of long-range significance for the future development of the political kingdom of God because it set the precedent for the establishment of the military arm of the kingdom. All future Mormon military organizations, including the Nauvoo Legion, and the governing structure of the "Army of Israel" that directed the exodus to Utah, were patterned after Zion's Camp. The Mormons had thus achieved one of the important prerequisites of a nation-state. Moreover, Zion's Camp provided valuable training and experience for future leaders of the church such as Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson and Parley P. Pratt, Charles C. Rich, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, and many more. (Roberts, in Smith, History of the Church, 11, p. xxiii) As Young recalled, "I would not exchange the experience gained in that expedition for all the wealth of Geauga county." (Ibid., p. xxiv) Few of the participants forgot that they had been charged to "organize my kingdom"; many of them participated in the organization of the political kingdom of God in Nauvoo in 1844.

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3 E. D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled (Painsville: Printed and published by the author, 1834), pp. 163 and 176.

Interesting contrasts of opinion continued in a comparison between *Revelation in Mormonism* and *Kingdom of the Saints*. The former summarized:

When the translators came to the parable of the wheat and the tares in Matthew they made it refer to the millennium. But to make it clear, Doctrine and Covenants section 86 was written explaining that the angels can hardly wait to burn up the Gentile tares who persecute the church. Within a year the Saints were driven out of Zion from which God had promised that they should never be moved. To make good His word God decreed that the harvest time had come, when the wheat was to be burned. In a parable He commanded a nobleman [Smith] to gather his warriors and go and redeem the vineyard [Zion] by arms. Smith went to Missouri with quite a military force but became frightened and disbanded the camp upon arriving there. The Lord accommodatingly explained that Zion's Camp had failed because of transgression and that the redemption would have to wait a little while, until the army became "very great" and her banners "terrible unto all nations."\(^5\)

The analysis of the latter indicated:

Joseph's sudden change in attitude has been seen by some historians as evidence of cowardice. Actually he showed suppleness and common sense. Zion's Camp, seen in one light, was a quixotic venture. In the long run, however, it served several worthy purposes. It re-established the unity of the Missouri and Ohio colonies at a time when the Missouri Mormons had begun to feel neglected by their more prosperous Kirtland brethren. It allowed Joseph to measure the strength and weakness of his leaders, both those who had been with him in Zion's Camp and those who worked for the Mormon cause in Independence.\(^6\)

Fawn M. Brodie indicated that "Joseph had always been fascinated by military lore--which perhaps accounted for the innumerable battles in the Book of Mormon."\(^7\) However, John Henry Evans indicated that Joseph was completely out of place in military matters:

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This expedition to Missouri throws an interesting spotlight on the Mormon leader. In an enterprise of this sort, as already remarked, Joseph Smith does not show to the best advantage. This is evident in his inability to control some of the men in the Camp. He had no ability to lead an Army, even though small as it was. Theologically he was the superior to any one there, but here he and they were on common ground. Of military matters he knew no more than they did--less, in fact, than some of them... as a matter of fact, the lack of discipline in the Camp may have been due, in part, to the softness of its commander-in-chief.8

T. B. H. Stenhouse found a distinct difference in "The Lord's" decrees in Sections 103 and 105 of the Doctrine and Covenants. He explained that "While giving it [Sec. 103] all the scope that the utmost devotion could claim, it must be allowed that it carries upon its surface anything but the evidence of a divine origin."9 Several points were exploited by Mr. Stenhouse. He related that Section 103 indicated that "the Lord" had decreed the restoration of the exiles. He further stated:

How different was the revelation of February in Ohio from that of June in Missouri! At the former date "The Lord" was determined to have a fight and restore the exiles "to their inheritances." At the latter date "The Lord" concluded that the Jackson county Saints deserved all the affliction they had got, and needed a little more of the same chastisement.10

Mr. Stenhouse further elected to play upon the explanation of Section 105 that the people in Zion were not worthy to return and that "because of the dilatoriness of the Saints in the East, the Saints in the West were to remain outcasts from Jackson county, and 'The Lord's' decree of the restoration of the people was to become a dead letter!"11

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8 John Henry Evans, Joseph Smith an American Prophet (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1946), p. 120.
10 Ibid., p. 56.
11 Ibid., p. 57.
Mr. Stenhouse also stated, "But it certainly looks a little singular, if what Joseph asserted was true, that 'the Lord' had not discovered this condition of things before."\(^{12}\)

To do justice to Section 103 perhaps a more complete analysis is needed to see whether Stenhouse's objection is valid. If the blessings offered in Section 103 are conditional, then "The Lord" surely knew his people and offered blessings through obedience. Verse 4 indicated that the saints had heretofore not fully kept the commandments. Verse 5 declared that the decree of "The Lord" was conditional "inasmuch as they hearken from this very hour unto the counsel which I, the Lord, their God, shall give unto them." Verse 7 indicated that "by hearkening to observe all the words which I, the Lord their God, shall speak unto them they shall prevail." Verse 8 was a warning that if they were not obedient the world would prevail against them. Verse 10 warned the saints that if "... they are not saviors of men, they are as salt that has lost its savor, and is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men." In verse 13 blessings were said to be in store after much tribulation. Verse 14 was again a warning that "if they pollute their inheritance they shall be thrown down." Verse 36 reiterated that "all victory and glory is brought to pass unto you through your diligence, faithfulness, and prayers of faith." Obviously, this restoration referred to by Stenhouse was conditional and, as Section 103 indicated, "the Lord" was fully aware of those conditions long before the trek of the summer of 1834 and Section 105.

With reference to the extensive warnings and conditional

\(^{12}\) Ibid.
requirements given in Section 103, one should not be completely surprised when the saints were refuted in Section 105. Verse 2 explained that because of the transgression of the saints, Zion had not been redeemed. Verse 3 indicated that the saints had not been obedient among other things to "impart of their substance . . . to the poor."

In verses 4 and 5 it is said that the saints did not unite together as required. Verse 6 illustrated that the saints "must needs be chastened until they learn obedience." Verse 8 revealed that the churches held back their aid waiting for the Lord to deliver Zion out of its trouble. Verse 17 showed that the strength of the Lord's house did not respond to their calling:

In reference to the criticism of Section 103, Joseph Fielding Smith said:

There have been some who have criticized this, and other revelations, claiming that the word of the Lord failed, for he promised them that if they would gather their forces and go to Zion, he would fight their battles and they would be reinstated and the redemption would immediately come. This promise is not found in any of these revelations. To the contrary, the promise is made that they would have to be obedient in all things and keep inviolate their covenants, or these blessings would be indefinitely postponed. The fact that the Lord declared here once again, that the redemption was not to come until after much tribulation indicates that he was fully aware that the time for Zion's redemption had not come, although it could have come if the commandments were fulfilled.\(^1\)

Research continued to uncover the two-sided picture concerning the Prophet and his camp of mercy and rescue. One author illustrated that:

Had Governor Dunklin possessed the courage to enforce the law of the State; had he called out the militia of Missouri to reinstate

\(^1\)Joseph Fielding Smith, Church History and Modern Revelation (Salt Lake City: Published by the Council of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1953), I, p. 483.
the exiles in their homes, as at one time he expressed a willingness to do, the history of the camp might have been different.\textsuperscript{14}

Another analysis took this point of view:

Later, he [Joseph Smith] turned their insubordination against them [Zion's Camp]. He declared it to have been not only a major cause of failure, but the source also of the break out of the cholera on the Fishing River, which took thirteen of their number. For he seems to have thought the principal objective of the expedition could have been attained in spite of the governor's reversal of himself--if the men in the camp had been single-minded and obedient. Indeed, he went further than that. The army never would have been needed in the first place--if the Saints in Jackson county had kept the higher law of God.\textsuperscript{15}

Others have illustrated the impact of the lack of government help. Stanley R. Gunn related, "They found that they were absolutely helpless without being backed by civil law and state aid.\textsuperscript{16}

William Edwin Berrett indicated, "Zion's Camp had failed in its initial mission. The Governor had refused the aid of the militia and without that aid, the camp was insufficient."\textsuperscript{17}

Joseph Smith seemed to have had some insight in regard to the success of the Camp. Brigham Young related on October 10, 1864:

I recollect once when Joseph and I were alone in the skirt of a piece of timber when speaking of the men who accompanied him [Zion's Camp], he said to me, "These men will not go into Jackson county, for we are not humble enough, neither are we united enough to go to Jackson county now, but you will live to see the land of

\textsuperscript{14}B. H. Roberts, The Missouri Persecutions (Salt Lake City: Department of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1949), p. 149.

\textsuperscript{15}Evans, op. cit., p. 120.


\textsuperscript{17}William Edwin Berrett, The Restored Church (Salt Lake City: Published by the Department of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1949), p. 169.
Zion redeemed, and then you will see the day of God's power and every person will be of one heart and of one mind."\(^{18}\)

Fawn M. Brodie analyzed Joseph Smith and the Camp in these words:

Joseph lacked one useful capacity of the natural leader; he was unable to gauge the repercussions of his policies upon the opposition. Strategically, the whole concept of Zion's Camp had been a mistake. Had it been executed with complete secrecy, had the men traveled in pairs rather than as a group, the infiltration into Clay county might have been accomplished.\(^{19}\)

While some attacked the Prophet and his methods, others cheered him vigorously. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., has said:

He [Joseph Smith] was a man of unsurpassed qualities of leadership. Out of the seeming disaster of Zion's Camp and amongst those who had followed him in military order to fight, if necessary, for the repossessions of their Jackson county lands and who, plague scourged, dribbled back to their homes singly or in disorganized small groups, he rose to call forth from his people even greater trust and devotion, for, while some criticized, the people generally and the greater ones of the camp, still held him to be the Presiding High Priest of the Church, the Prophet, Seer, and Revelator of the Lord towards his people. Few men in history have survived such a seeming disaster.\(^{20}\)

On October 10, 1864, at a meeting of those surviving Zion's Camp the widow of Marshal Hubbard bore testimony to the dying words of her husband. On his death bed he said, "Elize, I know that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God, my journey with him up to Missouri is more to me than all the world beside, I want you to teach my children the gospel, that I may meet you and them again."\(^{21}\)

\(^{18}\)Zion's Camp folder (Section four), located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Zion's Camp folder (Section four)--Church Historian's Office.

\(^{19}\)Brodie, op. cit., p. 156.


\(^{21}\)Zion's Camp folder (Section four)--Church Historian's Office.
Dr. Hyrum L. Andrus quoted from the Salt Lake High Council Record that Brigham Young said:

I have travelled with Joseph a thousand miles . . . I have watched him and observed everything he said or did. For the town of Kirtland I would not give the knowledge I got from Joseph from this journey; and then you may take the state of Ohio and the United States; and I would not give that knowledge for them. It has done me good and you good and this was the starting point of my knowledge how to lead Israel.22

An interesting summary of Zion's Camp was given at the Zion's Camp reunion of 1865 by Joseph Young. He said:

I was in Zion's Camp. I journeyed from the western part of the State of New York to Kirtland, Ohio, and from that place to upper Missouri, with an intent to go to Jackson county. It was a memorable time to me, at that early day of my experience. It was one of the most extraordinary events of my life, up to the time I journied in that camp of 205 men. We were organized in the best possible manner, and the best discipline and order prevailed throughout the whole camp; with but a few exceptions; it was an orderly camp and in this sense a new thing in American history. Bro. Joseph Smith said to Bro. Brigham and me 'If you will go with me to Missouri and keep my counsel, I pledge you that I will lead you there and back, and not a hair of your head shall be hurt.' We followed the prophet to Missouri, and kept his counsel every jot and tittle, and we were preserved according to the prophet's words. It was a pretty close time for me; and if I could have retreated from the hardship and suffering I was under I think I should have done it. I often heard the prophet give the word of the Lord to that camp, when we would take fresh courage and march forth singing, 'We want no cowards in our band' etc. etc. Bro. Israel Barlow and myself were the cooks for our company, composed of thirteen men, and we would often have to prosecute this calling until the middle of the night, and be up again at the sound of the horn at three o'clock in the morning to get ready for another day's march. We would be so sleepy and wearied that when the horn sounded in the morning it was like calling the dead to life. I never suffered more in my life for anything than I did for want of sleep during that journey. Those 205 brave fellows marched up to Zion, and marched in order to reinstate their brethren in possession of their lands. When we had reached Fishing River, we were informed that we should not go into Jackson county, and God had accepted our offering. Thirty-one years have passed away since that time, and we are here, and I feel glad and rejoiced in the Lord. This journey went through a more severe trial of my

faith; it was as much as we all could bear; we performed 100 miles in three days, in the hottest weather, some of us at times carrying our muskets and knap sacks weighing some 20 or 30 pounds on our backs, traveling until the blood could be heard in our boots and shoes, the prophet led us to Missouri and we returned to Kirtland again in safety, and when we met Bro. Joseph, the prophet, he said, 'There Brother Joseph and Brother Brigham, have I not redeemed my word?' We replied 'yes.' He then said 'May God bless you.' The men of that camp were a band of brethren, and I little thought at that time that a number of them would ever turn their backs upon the faith; but so it is. Thank God that so many of us have remained to this day. Joseph the prophet led us to Zion, not as a hughty chieftain, not as an arrogant man, but a man filled with the Holy Ghost; and O, how kind and modest he was when he lead us, but how determined and resolute in carrying out the will of the Lord. We traveled through a population of tens of thousands of people, like lambs among wolves, but no man among them opened his mouth to say 'why do you so?'

An interesting light was opened up in John Henry Evans' The Heart of Mormonism. Here Mr. Evans illustrated that these 200-plus men had nothing to gain through the hardships of this tour. They had responded to an invitation from the Prophet. Mr. Evans offered that Zion's Camp did accomplish one thing. "It showed that there were at least two hundred men in the Church who were willing to make sacrifices for the cause, who could rise above the petty events of daily life into an atmosphere of high service and Christian love."24

A good many inane things have been said about the purpose of Zion's Camp, by both Mormon and non-Mormon writers. The facts indicated that one of the objectives was to take material assistance to the distressed Mormons in Missouri. This objective was only partially realized. The Eastern Mormons had not fully responded and had expected God to accomplish what was their duty. Another objective had been the

23Zion's Camp folder (Section four)--Church Historian's Office.
reinstating of saints to their homes. But this utterly failed. Of this the Prophet said:

Brethren, some of you are angry with me, because you did not fight in Missouri; but let me tell you, God did not want you to fight. He could not organize His Kingdom with twelve men to open the Gospel door to the nations of the earth, and with seventy men under their direction to follow in their tracks, unless He took them from a body of men who had offered their lives, and who had made as great a sacrifice as did Abraham. Now the Lord has got His Twelve and His Seventy, and there will be other quorums of Seventies called, who will make their sacrifice, and those who have not made their sacrifices and their offerings now, will make them hereafter.  

It is interesting to note that the council of seventies met on March 13, 1838, in the attic of the Temple in Kirtland, Ohio, and took into consideration the propriety and necessity of the body of the seventy going up to the land of Zion in a company together that season. Nine resolutions were adopted to rule and govern the camp en route to Zion. One hundred and seventy-one men signed their names to the resolution that they and their families would leave and go up to Zion and be governed by the rules already adopted. The rules and signature are on file in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, Utah.  

The Latter-day Saints fully believe that Zion will yet be redeemed. The promise to redeem the land of Zion "by money and not by the shedding of blood" began to be realized in the purchase by the Church of many of the acres of the original sixty-three owned by the Church in 1831. In reference to this redemption of Zion Elder Marion G. Romney said:

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26 Zion's Camp folder (Section four)--Church Historian's Office.
If I had time, I would like to give you a lesson on it out of the first six verses of the 105th section of the Doctrine and Covenants, but I do not have time. I will simply say this: the reason the Saints did not go back into Jackson County, Missouri, and redeem Zion at the time the Prophet came from Kirtland with Zion's Camp was because the members of the Church in Zion would not impart of their substance, as becometh Saints, to the poor and afflicted among them. We may find just such a consequence rests upon our performance.27

From this research has come a flood of controversial opinions and statements concerning Zion's Camp and its leader. The trek revealed both apostates and stalwarts. The key to the correct analysis lies in Joseph Smith--was he a modern prophet of the Lord? Section 101 of The Doctrine and Covenants explained the plight of the saints in December of 1833. Section 103 justified the Camp of Zion and its trek to Missouri. Section 105 explained the failure of the Camp and of the saints generally. Were these revelations to a Prophet of God? "And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you."28

27Marion G. Romney, General Conference Address, Official Report of the One Hundred Twenty-First Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, September 29, 30, and October 1, 1950 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, n.d.), p. 128.

APPENDIX A

SOME OF THE PERTINENT VERSES OF SECTION 101 THAT RELATE TO ZION

Verily I say unto you, concerning your brethren who have been afflicted, and persecuted, and cast out from the land of their inheritance--I, the Lord, have suffered the affliction to come upon them, wherewith they have been afflicted, in consequence of their transgressions; Yet I will own them, and they shall be mine in that day when I shall come to make up my jewels. Therefore, they must needs be chastened and tried, even as Abraham, who was commanded to offer up his only son. For all those who will not endure chastening, but deny me, cannot be sanctified. Behold, I say unto you there were jarrings, and contentions, and envying, and strifes, and lustful and covetous desires among them; therefore by these things they polluted their inheritances. They were slow to hearken unto the voice of the Lord their God; therefore, the Lord their God is slow to hearken unto their prayers, to answer them in the day of their trouble. In the day of their peace they esteemed lightly my counsel; but, in the day of their trouble, of necessity they feel after me. Verily I say unto you, notwithstanding their sins, my bowels are filled with compassion towards them. I will not utterly cast them off; and in the day of wrath I will remember mercy. I have sworn, and the decree hath gone forth by a former commandment which I have given unto you, that I would let fall the sword of mine indignation in behalf of my people; and even as I have said, it shall come to pass. Mine indignation is soon to be poured out without measure upon all nations; and this will I do when the cup of their iniquity is full. (verses l-11.)

Therefore, let your hearts be comforted concerning Zion; for all flesh is in mine hands; be still and know that I am God. Zion shall not be moved out of her place, notwithstanding her children are scattered. (verses 16-17.)

And, behold, there is none other place appointed; neither shall there be any other place appointed than that which I have appointed, for the work of the gathering of my saints-- (verse 20.)

Behold, here is wisdom concerning the children of Zion, even many, but not all; they were found transgressors, therefore they must needs be chastened-- (verse 41.)

Therefore, a commandment I give unto all the churches, that they shall continue to gather together unto the places which I have appointed. Nevertheless, as I have said unto you in a former commandment, let not your gathering be in haste, not by flight; but let all things be prepared before you. And in order that all things be prepared before you, observe the commandment which I have given concerning these things--
Which saith, or teacheth, to purchase all the lands with money, which can be purchased for money, in the region round about the land which I have appointed to be the land of Zion, for the beginning of the gathering of my saints; All the land which can be purchased in Jackson county, and the counties round about, and leave the residue in mine hand. Now, verily I say unto you, let all the churches gather together all their moneys; let these things be done in their time, but not in haste; and observe to have all things prepared before you. And let honorable men be appointed, even wise men, and send them to purchase these lands. And the churches in the eastern countries, when they are built up, if they will hearken unto this counsel they may buy lands and gather together upon them; and in this way they may establish Zion. There is even now already in store sufficient, yea, even an abundance, to redeem Zion, and establish her waste places, no more to be thrown down, were the churches, who call themselves after my name, willing hearken to my voice. And again I say unto you, those who have been scattered by their enemies, it is my will that they should continue to importune for redress, and redemption, by the hands of those who are placed as rulers and are in authority over you—According to the laws and constitution of the people, which I have suffered to be established, and should be maintained for the rights and protection of all flesh, according to just and holy principles; (verses 67-77.)

Thus will I liken the children of Zion. Let them importune at the feet of the judge; And if he heed them not, let them importune at the feet of the governor; And if the governor heed them not, let them importune at the feet of the president; And if the president heed them not, then will the Lord arise and come forth out of his hiding place, and in his fury vex the nation; (verses 85-89.)

Therefore, it is my will that my people should claim, and hold claim upon that which I have appointed unto them, though they should not be permitted to dwell thereon. Nevertheless, I do not say they shall not bring forth fruit and works meet for my kingdom they shall dwell thereon. (verses 99-100.)
APPENDIX B

A CIRCULAR WRITTEN TO THE SAINTS ON MAY 10, 1834 BY SIDNEY RIGDON AND OLIVER COWDERY EXPLAINING IN GREAT DETAIL THE PURPOSE AND PLANS OF THE CHURCH RELATIVE TO THE CAMP OF ZION THEN EN ROUTE TO MISSOURI

Dear Brethren:

It becomes our duty to address you on the subject of immediately preparing and journeying to the land of Zion, to establish a plan for the ransomed of the Lord, against the day when desolation and wrath shall be sent forth upon the wicked, and be poured out upon the nations that despise his promised rest, without measure. It is no doubt known to you, that a large number of our brethren have lately gone up for the deliverance of the afflicted Saints, who have been dispossessed of their lands and homes by a lawless band of men, who has risen in defiance of all law, all equity, and all power and taken the life of one, and sought the overthrow of all who have embraced the everlasting gospel in these last days.

When these brethren have arrived in the vicinity, or as wisdom shall direct, they will wait for our brethren who have been driven out, to inform the governor of that state, that they are ready to go back to their lands. The governor is bound to call out the militia and take them back, and has informed our brethren of his readiness so to do previous to this time. When orders arrive from the Governor to the military commanding officer, in that vicinity to guard our brethren back, then it is expected that all will march over, the former residents as well as those now on the way. When they are on their own possessions, they have a right to defend themselves and property from destruction and spoilation, and be justified in sight of the laws of heaven and men. The company now on the way with the scattered brethren when collected, will be sufficiently strong in the strength of the Lord to maintain the ground, after the militia have been discharged, should those wicked men be desperate enough to come upon them. But we wish you to see the propriety of more numbers in this situation. For instance, ten men were to go back. The mob would suppose that they could overpower them, and would be disposed to assault them, because they were few in number, but were there a large number, even so many that they (the mob) knows were sufficient, without the least difficulty to withstand them, it is consistent to foresee that they would be silent and either flee the country entirely or remain inoffensive.

Many of our brethren have come forward on this occasion and manifested a true spirit of patriotism and of nobility, becoming the saints of God, and the citizens of a free government, and put their lives at stake, either to see our afflicted and dispersed brethren brought back to their homes or die in the attempt. Greater love has no man, than to die for his friend--this is the last great act of love required in the
law of Christ, and is stronger than every earthly consideration. By
this shall all men know that you are my disciple said our Lord, because
you love one another. A disciple is a follower--Christ laid down his
life for his disciples and if they are willing to do likewise they are
His indeed. It is just that our brethren should be brought back,
because they have purchased their lands without abusing or molesting
anyone, and they are free lawful citizens of these states. Should we
quietly submit to this abuse, none embracing this gospel would be safe
in any part of our country, for the adversary of righteousness would
influence this wicked generation to slay us wherever we can be found,
and we should be left without a place to lay our heads in safety. We
have the right of citizenship and of the protection of the laws while
we conduct ourselves circumspectly, and God has never required that we
should submit to these abuses without exerting ourselves against them.
If we were to remain quiet, when our property and homes were taken from
us by wicked men, where would our women, and our helpless infants look
for support, and whither would they flee for protection? What brethren,
is now to be done? Our brethren have already started, and with the pro-
tection and blessings of our Father will soon be permitted to offer the
sacrifice of praise upon the goodly heritages. Their numbers are such
that we do not apprehend much danger, except upon small parties, the
mob may attempt further violence for a season, as they now abuse our
brethren whenever they can find them in that country.

Our brethren who have now started on this arduous journey have
a small supply of money, and as the crops of wheat which were put in
last fall by our dispersed brethren are in all probability, destroyed,
the whole company who may remain after our brethren are taken back, will
be obliged to purchase till grain can be raised, which will be one year
from June till wheat harvest. It will be unsafe for our brethren to
labor for hire among that people after they return, so you see in what
situation they will be placed, unless our brethren abroad rise up and
put forth their hands to assist in the name of the Lord. That county
abounds with bread stuff which can be purchased very low, and with the
assistance which our brethren abroad are able to render, the goodly land
can be sustained and the saints be established to rejoice forever.

The privilege of being among those who redeem and prepare the
land upon which the unborn generations are to rejoice in the salvation
of God, ought to inspire every heart, and stimulate every saint to
action in the great work. Our brethren should remember that it is not
the work of a few days, but that they are laying the foundation of an
order of things which is to remain while time endures. And what can be
more pleasing than the reflection, that by our diligence we prepare a
habitation and place of security where our children can be preserved
amid the shock which is to dissolve the nation? Many of our brethren
who have gone up for the deliverance of Zion have families in this
country, and will be under the necessity of returning when Zion is
redeemed. So you can see the necessity of more following immediately,
that the company be not weakened so as to give the enemy the power to
drive them again. We therefore advise, that our brethren make imme-
diate preparation, gather up their effects, and go forth and join the
brethren in the west as soon as circumstances may admit. No time should
be lost, the love you have for your brethren calls for this act immedi-
ately, the ties of the new covenant demand it, and your little ones
claim at your hands a place of refuge which it is in your power to
secure it. Set the brother into whose hands this circular may come, immediately show it to the brethren in his vicinity, and let them dispose of their property (such as they cannot carry) and gather in upon the consecrated land. We do not wish you to understand by this, that we advise you to be hasty or wasteful, but let such as can start immediately, and the others make preparations to follow. The Lord has said, that there was abundant means in his church to establish the places where he had appointed his saints to gather, so that no power of the enemy could overthrow them; and while some journey to the land of Zion, others can help strengthen the stake of Kirtland, and we can see the work of our Father greatly prosper while all enemies are put to silence. Our brethren will be obliged to join companies of several families, in order to be safe after they arrive near the state of Missouri, as the mob might fall upon one or two families, and destroy them before they could obtain assistance. It is to be expected, many of the mob will leave the country for fear of being brought to justice, and of course will seek to annoy the saints wherever they can find them. You will see the necessity also of providing sufficient weapons to defend yourselves in case of an attack. Our brethren living in the east, need make but little delay after they are ready, as there are many churches, and by going on they can fall in with some others who may be going from these, but they should not advance too far west, without joining a company where there are from twelve to twenty able to use arms in self defense. In all that we have said, brethren, we do not urge anything contrary to good order. Let good order prevail in all your proceedings, we beseech you; for by so doing you are sure to prosper. When you journey, remember you are saints, and let your deportment show, to all who are disposed to look upon you, that you are truly what you profess to be, the children of God.

Remember the commandments, and live peaceable with all if possible; but reflect on all occasions, that you are citizens of a free country, and are entitled to all its privileges as such.

We say, may the Lord bless you, while we subscribe ourselves, your brethren in the bonds of the new covenant, Amen

(Signed) Sidney Rigdon
(Signed) Oliver Cowdery

1Huntington Library Letters, Microfilm, Nos. 47-51. [Also found, Stanley R. Gunn, Oliver Cowdery, Second Elder and Scribe (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1962), pp. 112-116.]
APPENDIX C

A RECORD OF MONIES COLLECTED FOR ZION'S CAMP
AND DISPERSED ALONG THE TREK

(Prior to this, several pages of donations and expenses had been
recorded in this ledger by Joseph Smith; he continues . . . )

1834
April
To Cashe received from the East by letter for the benefit of Zion, sent from Beverly Mafs
To cash received from the East for the benefit of Zion 10.00
" Cash received from Boston for the benefit of Zion 50.00
" Do " East " " " Do 7.00
" Do " Lexter Hillman " " " Do 10.00
" Do " Lyman Johnson " " " Do 5.00
" Do " Sophia Howe " " " Do 7.60
May
" Do " Martin Harris " " " Do 47.00
" Do " from the Church at New Portage at a conference held in that place in April laste . . . . . . . 66.37
" To cash received of the Church in Kirtland by contribution 29.68
" 8 To cash received of the brethren after they started for Zion, they all agreeing to put their moneys into one
general fund and make one purse for the whole
the items are as follows
To cash received of
Parley Pratt $32 = Zebedee Coultrin 237 =
J. B. Smith $26 = Harpin Riggs $10 =
L. S. Lewis $20 = Henry Shibley $35.25 =
L. S. Nickerson 1.49 = Lorenzo Booth 3.81
Heber Kimball 15.47 = L. Rich 13.00
Roger Orton 20.00 = Jas Foster 8.60
Sylvester Smith 8.25 = Martial Hubbard 00.
Sylvester Wilkeson .50 = William Cherry 7.08
Burr Riggs 6.31 = Wm Cahoon 6.00
Alexander Whitesides 1.88 = Uriah Nickerson 5.50
D. C. Gould .00 = Joseph Hancock 14.62
True Gliddon 10.00 = Tho' Coulburn 12.00
Alfred Fish 00 = William Carpenter 5.68
Jesse Smith .75 = John Brownell 7.28 . . .
Scyrus Smalling 6.25 = H. Sagers .50 --

635.41

[End of First Page]
132
1834

May 8  By this Amt. paid to Capt. B. Young for his company 14.00
" " " " " " Do Albert Brown " Do 16.00
" " " " " " Do Sylvester Smith Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do Stephen Winchester Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do Salmon Warner " Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do Orson Pratt " Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do J. B. Smith " Do 6.00
" " " " " " Do Freeman Nickerson Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do Heber C. Kimball Do 6.00
" " " " " " Do Sylvester Smith Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do Heber C. Kimball Do 6.00
" " " " " " Do Joseph Young " Do 6.00
" " " " " " Do Orson Pratt " Do 2.00
" " " " " " Do F. Nickerson " Do 4.00
" " " " " " Do Stephen Winchester Do 12.25
10 " " " " " " Do Orson Pratt " Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do J. B. Smith " Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do Orson Hyde Do 6.00
11 " " " " " " Do Parley Pratt " Do 7.00
" " " " " " Do Lyman Johnson " Do 11.00
11 " " " " " " Do Salmon Warner " Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do Sylvester Smith Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do Sylvester Smith Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do Albert Brown " Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do Orson Pratt " Do 1.00
" " " " " " Do J. B. Smith " Do 5.00
12 " " " " " " Do F. Nickerson " Do 6.00
" " " " " " Do Orson Pratt " Do 9.00
" " " " " " Do Brigham Young " Do 10.00
" " " " " " Do Albert Brown " Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do Orson Pratt " Do 10.00
" " " " " " Do Albert Brown " Do 5.18
" " " " " " Do Lyman Johnson " Do 5.00
14 " " " " " " Do Zerubbabel Snow Do 4.12½
15 " " " " " " Do Brigham Courney Do 2.27

222.82½

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May 15 " " " " " " Do Salmon Warner " Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do Lyman Johnson " Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do H. C. Kimball " Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do F. Nickerson " Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do J. B. Smith " Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do Stephen Winchester Do 8.00
" " " " " " Do Orson Pratt " Do 5.00
" " " " " " Do Orson Hyde " Do 10.00
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16 " " " " " " Do G. Snow " Do 8.00
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Amt Carried up ——— 390.88

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By Amt Brot up ——— 1070.82½
June 17 " " " " " Do (Eleazer) Miller Do 2.00
" " " " " Do H. Smith " Do 3.75
" " " " " Do F. G. Williams Do 8.00
" " " " " Do Do " Do 1.00
18 " " " " " Do J. B. Smith " Do 2.00
" " " " " Do Daniel Cathcarte Do 1.00
19 " " " " " Do Martin Harris " Do 1.00
21 " " " " " Do G. Snow " Do 5.00
" " This amt paid to Brigham Young 17 May last (omitted) Do 17.75
" " " " " " Albert Brown 17 May last Do Do 16.00
" " This amt distributed among the companies in Clay Co. it
being the balance left of the consecrated moneys 233.70
" " This amt paid out for the sick .20
" " Lyman Wight 10.00
" " Parley Pratt 10.00

———
1382.22½

" By this amt of cash paid into the general fund 582.44
" " " " of cash paid out to defray the expenses of
the Companies in marching from Fishing River to Rock
Creek in Clay Co. Mo. and also at Fishing River 25.00
" By this amt in ware and tare of waggons, to bring also
a balance of an ( ) with the Camp of Israel (See the
( ) currals) as voucher . . . 61.84

———
$2051.50½

28 By balance brought down from old ( )¹ 39.91

[It is interesting to note two "new" names in this old ledger—
Brigham Gourney and Lewis Gabriski.]

¹File on Zion's Camp, located in Church Historian's Office,
47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
APPENDIX D

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING BETWEEN THE MORMONS
AND NON-MORMONS AT LIBERTY

June 10th, Judge John F. Byland wrote Mr. Gilbert from Richmond, requesting that the Mormons be called together at Liberty the following Monday, the 16th, at which time he would meet them with a deputation of some of the most respectable citizens of Jackson county and explain to them his views; stating further that he dreaded the consequences likely to ensue if he failed in his efforts to secure an amicable adjustment between the parties. This request was acceded to. Mr. Gilbert and others notified their brethren of the time and place of meeting and its object; and on the 16th the meeting was held, the citizens of Clay county, including the Mormons, numbering between eight hundred and a thousand, assembled at the Court House, where they were met by the Judge and a deputation from Jackson county. At this meeting the citizens of Jackson county, through a committee consisting of Mr. Samuel G. Owens and nine others, submitted propositions in substance as follows: That they would purchase the lands and improvements of the Mormons at a valuation to be fixed by arbitrators to be agreed upon by the parties; that when these arbitrators should have been chosen, twelve of the Mormons should be permitted to go with the arbitrators to point out the lands and improvements to be valued, the people of the county guaranteeing their safety while so doing; that when these arbitrators should have fixed said valuation, the people of Jackson county would pay the same with one hundred per cent added thereto within thirty days after said report. That upon said payment so made the Mormons should execute deeds for the lands, and make no effort ever after to settle as a community or as individuals within the county. Both parties were to enter into bonds to keep the terms of the agreement when made. A counter proposition was that the Mormons should buy all the lands of the people of Jackson county and their improvements on the public lands, the valuation to be made in the same way by arbitrators, and the same addition of one hundred per cent to such valuation when reported, payment to be made by the Mormons within thirty days after said report of valuation, as in the first proposition.

After the reading of the proposition, its adoption and enforcement were warmly urged by Mr. Owens, chairman of the deputation from Jackson County, and were as warmly met and opposed by Gen. Doniphan. Rev. M. Riley, of the Baptist Church, urged the expulsion of the Mormons, stating that they had "lived long enough in Clay county, and must either clear out or be cleared out." Mr. Turnham, the moderator of the meeting, answered this speech, counseling moderation, saying, among other things, "let us be Republican; let us honor our country and not disgrace it like Jackson county. For God's sake don't disfranchise or
drive away the Mormons. They are better citizens than many of the old inhabitants." This expression was endorsed by Gen. Doniphan. Considerable excitement ensued, during which a quarrel occurred between some parties outside the door, in which one Calbert stabbed another man named Wales. Someone shouted into the door of the court room, "A man stabbed," which broke up the meeting. Pending the restoration to order, Messrs. Phelps, McClellin and others consulted together and replied to the proposition, that they were not authorized to accede to either of the set of terms submitted, but that they would give general notice and call a meeting of their brethren and make definite answers by the following Saturday or Monday; and that such answer should be placed in the hands of Judge Turnham, chairman of the meeting, earlier than the day named if possible, assuring Mr. Owens and others that there was no design to open hostilities upon the people of Jackson or other counties. They further pledged themselves to prevent any of their brethren coming from the east from entering into Jackson.¹

¹Wilford Woodruff's Journal, May 8, 1834, located in Church Historian's Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
APPENDIX E

FISHING RIVER REVELATION

Verily I say unto you who have assembled yourselves together that you may learn my will concerning the redemption of mine afflicted people--

Behold, I say unto you, were it not for the transgressions of my people, speaking concerning the church and not individuals, they might have been redeemed even now.

But behold, they have not learned to be obedient to the things which I required at their hands, but are full of all manner of evil, and do not impart of their substance, as becometh saints, to the poor and afflicted among them;

And are not united according to the union required by the law of the celestial kingdom;

And Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom; otherwise I cannot receive her unto myself.

And my people must needs be chastened until they learn obedience, if it must needs be, by the things which they suffer.

I speak not concerning those who are appointed to lead my people, who are the first elders of my church, for they are not all under this condemnation;

But I speak concerning my churches abroad--there are many who will say: Where is their God? Behold, he will deliver them in time of trouble, otherwise we will not go up unto Zion, and will keep our moneys.

Therefore, in consequence of the transgressions of my people, it is expedient in me that mine elders should wait for a little season for the redemption of Zion--

That they themselves may be prepared, and that my people may be taught more perfectly, and have experience and know more perfectly concerning their duty, and the things which I require at their hands.

And this cannot be brought to pass until mine elders are endowed with power from on high.

For behold, I have prepared a great endowment and blessing to be poured out upon them, inasmuch as they are faithful and continue in humility before me.

Therefore it is expedient in me that mine elders should wait for a little season, for the redemption of Zion.

For behold, I do not require at their hands to fight the battles of Zion; for, as I said in a former commandment, even so will fulfill--I will fight your battles.

Behold, the destroyed I have sent forth to destroy and lay waste mine enemies; and not many years hence they shall not be left to pollute mine heritage, and to blaspheme my name upon the lands which I have consecrated for the gathering together of my saints.
Behold, I have commanded my servant Baurak Ale [Joseph Smith, Jun.] to say unto the strength of my house, even my warriors, my young men, and middle-aged, to gather together for the redemption of my people, and throw down the towers of mine enemies, and scatter their watchmen;

But the strength of mine house have not hearkened unto my words. But inasmuch as there are those who have hearkened unto my words, I have prepared a blessing and an endowment for them, if they continue faithful.

I have heard their prayers, and will accept their offerings; and it is expedient in me that they should be brought thus far for a trial of their faith.

And now, verily I say unto you, a commandment I give unto you, that as many as have come up hither, that can stay in the region round about, let them stay;

And those that cannot stay, who have families in the east, let them tarry for a little season, inasmuch as my servant Joseph shall appoint unto them;

For I will counsel him concerning this matter, and all things whatsoever he shall appoint unto them shall be fulfilled.

And let all my people who dwell in the regions round about be very faithful, and prayerful, and humble before me, and reveal not the things which I have revealed unto them, until it is wisdom in me that they should be revealed.

Talk not of judgments, neither boast of faith nor of mighty words, but carefully gather together, as much in one religion as can be, consistently with the feelings of the people;

And behold, I will give unto you favor and grace in their eyes, that you may rest in peace and safety, while you are saying unto the people: Execute judgment and justice for us according to law, and redress us of our wrongs.

Now, behold, I say unto you, my friends, in this way you may find favor in the eyes of the people, until the army of Israel becomes very great.

And I will soften the hearts of the people, as I did the heart of Pharaoh, from time to time, until my servant Baurak Ale [Joseph Smith, Jun.] and Baneemy [mine elders], whom I have appointed, shall have time to gather up the strength of my house.

And to have sent wise men, to fulfil that which I have commanded concerning the purchasing of all the lands in Jackson county that can be purchased, and in the adjoining counties round about.

For it is my will that these lands should be purchased; that my saints should possess them according to the laws of consecration which I have given.

And after these lands are purchased, I will hold the armies of Israel guileless in taking possession of their own lands, which they have previously purchased with their moneys, and of throwing down the towers of mine enemies that may be upon them, and scattering their watchmen, and avenging me of mine enemies unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.

But first let my army become very great, and let it be sanctified before me, that it may become fair as the sun, and clear as the moon, and that her banners may be terrible unto all nations;

That kingdoms of this world may be constrained to acknowledge that the kingdom of Zion is in very deed the kingdom of our God and his
Christ, therefore, let us become subject unto her laws.

Verily I say unto you, it is expedient in me that the first elders of my church should receive their endowment from on high in my house, which I have commanded to be built unto my name in the land of Kirtland.

And let those commandments which I have given concerning Zion and her law be executed and fulfilled, after her redemption.

There has been a day of calling, but the time has come for a day of choosing; and let those be chosen that are worthy.

And it shall be manifest unto my servant, by the voice of the spirit, those that are chosen; and they shall be sanctified;

And inasmuch as they follow the counsel which they receive, they shall have power after many days to accomplish all things pertaining to Zion.

And again I say unto you, sue for peace, not only to the people that have smitten you, but also to all people.

And lift up an ensign of peace unto the ends of the earth;

And make proposals for peace unto those who have smitten you, according to the voice of the Spirit which is in you, and all things shall work together for your good.

Therefore, be faithful; and behold, and lo, I am with you even unto the end. Even so. Amen.¹

¹The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1952), Section 105.
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ZION'S CAMP

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ABSTRACT

In 1831, Jackson County, Missouri, was designated as a place of refuge for the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Attempts to establish permanent residence in their Zion ended in bloodshed and violence. An army was raised to go to the aid of those cast out of their homes. This thesis pays particular attention to the recruiting of the army and the gathering of money and provisions, the trek to Missouri, and the interaction of those promoting and opposing the camp.

The trek from Kirtland, Ohio, to Jackson County, Missouri, revealed frustrations, hardships, strengths, weaknesses, and deaths among those who participated in the abortive attempt to redeem the land and reinstate the people. This study also disclosed contrasting reactions of historians to this period of history and the still differing feelings of many who wrote of their personal experience with the camp.

The histories of over two hundred men who comprised this trek were studied to determine its impact upon their lives. A strong loyal tie between them and their prophet-leader was discovered.

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