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"Spokes of the Wheel:" Mormon Settlement Patterns In Illinois Between 1838 and 1846

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**"Spokes of the Wheel:"
Mormon Settlement Patterns In Illinois
Between 1838 and 1846**

Thesis Presented to the
Department of History
Western Illinois University

R Philip Reynolds
2000

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Introduction

Mormon settlement outside of Nauvoo, Illinois is one of the most neglected topics in Mormon history. Almost all discussion concerning Mormons between 1839 and 1846 is limited to Nauvoo although, as one researcher put it: "Mormon contact in Illinois was infinitely larger." Nauvoo's population of about 15,000 in 1845 was only half of the estimated 30,000 Mormons who made their home in

Western Illinois. Still when searching for information about Mormons living outside the city, researchers are lucky to find a handful of brief articles and a few asides in discussions of Nauvoo. Upon further investigation these settlements emerge as being far more important to Mormon history and the city of Nauvoo than this neglect indicates. Similarly, many concepts in these brief discussions about Mormon settlements prove to be incorrect.^[1]

The general consensus is that Mormonism's founder and prophet Joseph Smith directed and implemented a grand plan of colonization in Illinois starting with the establishment of Nauvoo and then expanding from that center into other parts of the state. Unfortunately, this scenario fails to account for the fact that the origins of a vast majority of Mormon settlements in Illinois trace back to before Smith's escape from a Missouri jail in the spring of 1839. To deny that Smith had any influence on Mormon settlement would be inaccurate. However, his role seems to primarily consist of providing a general framework for settlement and tacit approval of actions taken by others. The choice of locating the headquarters of the church in Commerce, Illinois greatly influenced the settlement of others. His decision to build a Temple at Nauvoo and his mere presence there guaranteed a huge Mormon population in and around the city. However, a comprehensive plan for other settlements does not appear until at least four years after the purchase of Commerce.^[2]

Smith's "Spokes of the Wheel" analogy has provided a mental picture for many, of Mormon settlement patterns from 1839 through 1846. In the spokes of the wheel statement Smith described Nauvoo as the hub or center of Mormon settlements. Then he said, "We will drive the first spoke in Ramus, second LaHarpe, third Shokoquon, fourth Lima. . . ." However, Smith delivered this speech in 1843. With this statement he describes the future direction of the church's emphasis on development and not what had already been done.



Most Mormon settlements were already established by this time. It is evident that Smith's interest in settlements other than Nauvoo, developed over a period of time as he became aware of the needs of his central city. It is at this time that he first attempts to impose a coherent plan for church growth beyond Nauvoo. However, this plan, still centered on the building of Nauvoo and its economy.

Most of his decisions about settlements outside Nauvoo are geared toward that goal. It is only after 1844 that church leaders appear to express an interest in expansion outside Nauvoo for its own sake and not just for the building up of the city.^[3]

Ultimately most settlements resulted from three causes, Mormon interaction and experience with Illinois before their expulsion from Missouri, overwhelming economic need, and proselyting successes. In many of their actions church leaders assumed a reactive role in responding to these circumstances. Ultimately, the role of colonizer and empire builder would not become a reality for Smith but would be reserved for later leaders in the mountain west.

Early Beginnings

Mormonism's introduction to Illinois came during the earliest days of the church's existence. In the winter of 1830-31 Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, Richard Ziba Peterson and Frederick G. Williams became the first Mormon missionaries to visit the state.^[4] They were on their way to preach to the "Lamanites"^[5] on the western frontier in Missouri. After their return, Smith received a revelation concerning Jackson County, Missouri. Jackson County was to be the site of the New Jerusalem. The city of Independence in Jackson County was to become "Zion," the focal point of Christ's millennial reign on earth. The revelation also contained instructions for some Mormons to move to Missouri, and prepare for Christ's return. These revelations were later incorporated into the Doctrine and Covenants, a book accepted as scripture by the Mormons.

4. Wherefore prepare ye prepare ye O my people; ... Gather ye together, O ye people of my church, upon the land of Zion. . . .

10. Yea let the cry go forth among all people: Awake and arise and go forth to meet the Bridegroom; behold and lo the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. Prepare yourselves for the great day of the Lord.^[6]

With this revelation Illinois became a part of Mormon history, not as a site for settlement but as an obstacle to be overcome on their way to the promised land. Mormons by the hundreds and later thousands flocked to Missouri to fulfill the divine mandate and to build Zion with millennial expectations.

As Mormon missionaries and settlers traveled to Missouri they shared their beliefs with those they met along the way. Missionaries received instructions to travel by different routes. By doing this they and those who followed successfully canvassed most of Illinois. Some of their successes immediately prior to the Missouri expulsion, created a foundation of converts around which later Mormon settlements formed.^[7] These early missionaries sent back glowing reports of their successes in Illinois. In June of 1831 Parley P. Pratt and Orson Pratt reported organizing several branches in Illinois, Ohio and Indiana. E. H. Groves another Mormon missionary, wrote of his success in Illinois during his return from Missouri. "The Lord has blessed our labors. We have baptized forty-five in the counties of Hamilton and White. All were strong in the Faith." Elders C. W. Patten and George P. Dykes reported baptizing another forty-five converts in Edwards County. Solomon Hancock reported another twenty-five converts a year later.^[8] However, in 1831 an official church tally lists only twenty-five members and no branches in Illinois this may be because ^[9] many if not most of these early Illinois converts relocated to Missouri. By 1838 almost every county in Illinois had representatives in church membership.^[10] Mormon missionaries established small branches (congregations of about ten or more converts) throughout the state. While these early efforts in Illinois appear unimportant they ultimately played a role in shaping the future Mormon settlement in Illinois. Many of these branches continued to function throughout the following Nauvoo

period. Some of them formed a nucleus around which congregations of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints formed in the early 1860's. Those who followed the Mormons to Missouri, often left behind family and friends in Illinois. When the Mormons fled the Missouri mobs during the winter and spring of 1838-39, many returned to their former homes in Illinois. By doing this many benefited from help and support provided by former family and friends. This scattered Mormons throughout the state.^[11]

One congregation in Fulton County Illinois is an excellent example of this pattern. Mormon missionaries traveled through Fulton County for the first time in 1831. Their message was quickly accepted and about twenty people joined the church. The Brush family who had joined the church in 1831, gathered with the Mormons at Independence, Missouri in October of 1832. They then fled the anti-Mormon violence in the Jackson County area and traveled to Caldwell County, Missouri. When the state expelled the Mormons in 1838, Nehemiah Brush along with his wife Margaret, his eldest son John and the rest of the family returned to Fulton County.^[12] The Brushes were not the only Mormon Family in Fulton County. In December of 1834 William Johnson wrote from Lewistown, Illinois requesting that the "traveling elders" visit the Mormons living there. Later Johnson acted as the subscription agent for the Nauvoo newspaper the *Times and Seasons*. This suggests that he may have been a trusted leader of the church in the region. Many other communities with these agents had large Mormon populations.^[13]

Zion's and Kirtland's Camps

Missionary efforts were not the only pre-1839 influences. At least four large groups of Mormons crossed Illinois and several smaller migrations occurred before the Missouri exodus. Most of these smaller immigrant groups attracted little attention. However, the larger ones could not pass through the state unnoticed. The first of these groups consisted of the two Zion's Camps.^[14] In 1834 Joseph Smith raised two groups of armed men to travel to Missouri and protect the Mormon settlements there. These two groups were known collectively as Zion's camp. The most important role of Zion's Camp in relation to later settlement, was its introduction of many Mormons to Illinois and the establishment of a migration route followed by later Mormons.

Another group known as Kirtland's Camp, followed the Zion's camp route through Illinois in 1838 from Kirtland Ohio to Far West Missouri. This "camp" contained Mormon families and lacked the military overtones of Zion's Camp. They along with several smaller groups of Mormons traveled through Illinois along the routes previously used by Zion's Camp. However, Kirtland's Camps left behind an important legacy. Along the way many in the group became too ill to continue. This, coupled with a lack of money, forced camp members to leave some families behind in places where they could find work. The first group of nine families and a few of the ill stayed behind and established a branch near

Amboy, on September ninth. The second group of about fifteen or sixteen families established a branch in Springfield on September fifteenth. Joel Johnson presided over the Springfield branch. By this time reports of the difficulties in Missouri and threats against any Mormons traveling in Missouri reached the members of the Kirtland Camp. Because of these reports, a third group chose to leave the camp at the edge of the Mississippi in Pike County Illinois. Later all three of these groups formed the nucleus of a Stake or Mormon settlement.^[15]

Just as these early missionary efforts and migrations introduced Mormons to Illinois they also introduced Illinois to Mormons. While the missionaries often met with success they also experience some opposition. In 1835, one Mormon missionary identified as Elder Carter (Simeon Carter) wrote of his experiences. In a letter to the *Messenger and Advocate* he reported being "escorted" by twenty armed men to the local court. The judge dismissed the charges against him but the mob forced him to leave the county anyway.^[16] Zion's Camp also experienced legal difficulties. A Baptist minister brought his concerns about an armed group of men traveling to fight citizens of another state before a local judge. The judge responded: "Well I can't hear but they mind their own business and if you and this stranger will mind your own business, everything will be right."^[17] More frightening than the legal threat was the constant harassment and rumors that plagued the camp. Often the camp would be kept awake all night by gunfire outside the camp. As they approached Missouri, a rumor of 400

armed men waiting just across the Mississippi river frightened many. Fortunately, the rumors and threats proved to be



harmless.[\[18\]](#)

Some Mormons living in Illinois also experienced difficulties. Shelby County Histories tell of that county's miniature version of a Mormon War. Several missionaries, including Hyrum Smith, brother of Mormonism's founder Joseph Smith, had preached in Ash Grove Township of the County. By 1837 several citizens from nearby Wabash Point decided that they did not want Mormonism

preached in the county. A mob led by the local Methodist minister arrived at the home of Allen Weeks a local Mormon, to take the Mormon preacher out and whip him "or some other bodily harm." The Mormon, referred to as Reverend Carter made his escape out the window and fled the county. A warrant was sworn out by Younger Green, another local Mormon against members of the mob, but none of them ever came to trial. Most of the violence against the Mormons in Illinois came later in Hancock County. Smaller incidents in a few other Illinois counties, drove Mormons into Nauvoo who might have otherwise stayed in their homes. By 1840 at least seven large families sold out their farms and migrated from Shelby County to Nauvoo.^[19]

Problems in Illinois

Illinois was also going through several rapid and unusual changes of its own during this time. Although these changes had little to do with the Mormons traveling through the State, they would later influence the circumstances of the Saint's settlement. Probably the most important of these changes was the huge amount of land speculation and town planning throughout the state in the early 1830's. "Paper Towns" or towns that only existed on a map in a county courthouse or a speculator's pocket covered the imaginary future landscape of Illinois. By 1836, this town mania reached a fever pitch. Before any of these towns could become a reality or show a profit they needed an infrastructure to

support them. Speculators and legislators conceived a plan of internal improvements that linked all parts of the state with roads, canals and railroads. *Mitchell's Map of Illinois*, illustrates these plans quite well. The map included with the immigrant guide *Illinois in 1837 (With a Map)* was terribly inaccurate. The many railroads and other "internal improvements" illustrated by the map were nonexistent. The improvements were part a statewide project to develop Illinois' system of roads, railways, and canals and thereby promote the growth of the paper towns. Unfortunately, this scheme drove the state into a disastrous debt immediately before the crash of 1837.^[20]

It was into these circumstances the Mormons arrived in 1838. The state was in desperate need of tax revenue and many of its leading citizens had plots of towns they needed to sell. It is not at all surprising that the Illinoisians welcomed the Mormons to the state. They were even more than welcomed; several communities competed with each other to attract the recent arrivals to their county. Many Illinoisans hoped that the Mormons could provide some economic relief to the state.^[21]

Exodus From Missouri

As Illinois' financial crisis developed, the Mormons faced difficulties of their own. It was during this time that the Mormon's faced the increased opposition and violence in Missouri. Stephen C. LeSueur and Robert Bruce Flanders document

these events in their books *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* and *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*.

However, many historians have overlooked the exodus from Missouri. This has contributed to some of the misunderstandings of Illinois settlements. For example, LeSueur only gives a few anecdotal stories to represent the experiences of the refugees. Flanders' work focuses on Nauvoo. The story of the exodus from Missouri falls outside the scope of his book. Flanders does touch upon the subject briefly. He describes the evidence as "very Sketchy." While the events were important, issues of survival preoccupied most of the refugees leaving them little time for journal writing. Many Mormons later wrote about Missouri while living in Illinois. However, they wrote these accounts with the primary intent of pleading their case of persecution rather than to record the events as history.^[22]

Recently focused attention on the exodus has provided a more thorough picture of the events. However, historians have yet to adequately incorporate the Missouri exodus into our understanding of subsequent events in Illinois. Yet the experiences of 1838 and 1839 had a profound impact on later events. This is especially true concerning how the differing economic conditions, directly influenced the migration routes and settlement patterns of the Mormons in Illinois.

In 1838 with the issuance of Missouri Governor William Boggs's Extermination Order anti-Mormon mobs wreaked havoc on Mormon settlements. Then in early November of 1838 Joseph Smith agreed to a surrender of Mormon forces to the state militia. Major-General John B. Clark set the terms of the surrender. First the leaders of the church had to surrender themselves to the militia to stand trial. Then the Mormons had to surrender their arms, sign over their property and leave the state. In a belated act of clemency, because of the approaching winter, Clark promised to allow the Saints to remain until spring. However, he made it quite clear that if they did not leave he would return and "exterminate" the Mormons just as the governor had ordered. However well intended this reprieve may have been it turned out to be unrealistic and meaningless. On the night of the surrender the exodus began. Many men who had fought in the battle of Crooked River in October fled to avoid prosecution and retribution. They were the first to leave. To avoid capture by Missouri authorities the fugitives traveled north to the mostly unpopulated Iowa territory. There they turned eastward and headed for the Iowa and Illinois border. One man who took this route was Israel Barlow. The circumstance of his flight through Iowa led him to the vicinity of Keokuk. Upon arriving in the area Barlow contacted Dr. Isaac Galland speculator in land known as the "Half-breed Tracts" in Iowa.^[231]

The wealthier members of the Church were the next group to leave. After hearing of the Extermination Order many decided that there really was not much

sense in staying. Some who owned land in Missouri and had sufficient cash on hand to leave the state traded their farms for property in Illinois. They then moved to their new farms and remained there until the next exodus in 1846. Those who had cash used their wagons and horses for the trip or hired teamsters to move their families and whatever possessions they could retrieve. Others traveled to Richmond, Missouri and booked passage on steamboats heading east. Quincy, became the main gathering place for the refugees. The people of Quincy received the Mormons with kindness and compassion. Soon the city was so full of Mormons that it stretched its resources to the limit. Eventually, as more Saints poured into the city, those who had the means traveled into the interior of the state to make room for new arrivals.^[24]

As spring approached it became apparent that they needed to purchase land so they could plant their crops. Those with the capital began to investigate offers from local real estate speculators. Edward Partridge, the presiding bishop of the Church, described the situation in his letter to the prophet then in Liberty jail.

This place is full of our people, yet they are scattering off nearly all the while. I expect to start tomorrow for Pittsfield, Pike County, Illinois, about forty-five miles southeast from this place. Brother George W. Robinson told me this morning that he expected that his father-in-law Judge Higbee, and himself would go on a farm about twenty miles northeast from this place. Some of the leading men have given us [that is the Saints] an invitation to settle in and about this place. Many no doubt will stay here.^[25]

Many Mormons stayed in and around Adams County. Others chose to stay in Pike County. Mormontown, about three miles east of Pittsfield, reportedly had a population of 300 voters in 1845. The community continued to survive until the exodus to Utah. Judge Higbee's farm in the Northern part of Adams County became a focal point around which the Lima, stake^[26] later formed.^[27]



Author with grinding stone found at Mormontown Site



Well at Mormontown Site

The fugitives and the wealthy managed to fend for themselves. The latter provided their own transportation and found a place to settle in Illinois. The poorer members were a different story. Around 12,000 others did not have the means to leave Missouri. Newspaper accounts of the time painted a grim picture of these more destitute Mormons. "The difficulties of this unfortunate sect are not yet at an end, . . . hundreds of them driven from their homes are without shelter and wandering in the woods."^[28] Smith's mother, Lucy Mack Smith, recorded the plight of Saints taking refuge in Far West, Missouri:

There was an acre of ground in front of our house, completely covered with beds, . . . where families were compelled to sleep, exposed to all kinds of weather, these were the last who came into the city, and as the houses were all full they could not find a shelter. It was to make the heart ache to see the children, sick with colds, and crying around their mothers for food, whilst their parents were destitute of the means of making them comfortable.^[29]

Something needed to be done. At this time, the Church was in desperate need of leadership. Smith, along with his two counselors, were in Liberty Jail. Of the original Quorum of the Twelve Apostles only five were left, the others had either died or left the Church. Of those five only four trustworthy members remained. Of these, one was in New York, and another in jail with the prophet. The remaining two Apostles were Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young. They ended up with the task of finding new leaders to replace the missing members of the quorum, and arranging the removal of the Saints from Missouri.^[30]

Ten weeks after Smith was jailed at Liberty, he officially sanctioned the leadership already assumed by Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. In a letter to Kimball and Young he stated: "The management of the affairs of the Church devolves on you that is the twelve." After filling as many vacancies in the quorum as they could, the two men began work on the exodus. Several meetings addressed the problem of removal. Taking the advice of Young, the church members adopted two resolutions. They first created a committee of seven to organize the removal. The second resolution created an agreement

where the wealthier members pledged to provide assistance to help the poorer Saints.^[31]

Although General Clark had postponed the deadline for removal until spring extreme overcrowding and armed bands of Missourians encouraged a winter departure. Many felt that the release of Smith from jail hinged on their speedy removal. Finally, the sheer number of people removed required that teams and wagons make several trips.^[32] The average trip took ten days although some made it in eight. Those caught in the worst weather took as long as three weeks.^[33] Many Saints traveled the entire way in snow and freezing rain. After their arrival at the edge of the Mississippi river many were unable to cross until it froze or until enough ice cleared that a boat could make the trip. Saints in Quincy could do little but watch from across the watery barrier as their families and friends suffered sickness, exposure, and sometimes death. The trip for others was not as severe. Some Missourians along the way, sheltered the Saints. The Committee of Removal provided rest stops along the trail^[34] that replenished food, supplies and provided shelter. By April 1839 most of the Mormons were out of Missouri.

They now faced the daunting task of rebuilding their Church and their lives. The Saints lay scattered over a wide area. Several communities received exiles either directly or by way of Quincy. Mormons settled in Alton, Springfield, Geneva,

Plymouth, LaHarpe, Keokuk, Fort Madison, and many other locations throughout Illinois and Iowa. There were even some who stopped in St. Louis.^[35]

The exodus and the economic, political and physical conditions that accompanied it influenced the success and ultimate failure of the Mormons' stay in Illinois. The lack of direction from the prophet resulted in a scattering of the Saints throughout Illinois and neighboring Iowa. Those who had the money bought farms and built communities. Many of which would prosper over the following decade and would eventually play a vital role in supplementing Nauvoo's hollow economy. The brutal conditions of the exodus and the traumatic Missouri experience had a lasting impact. The Saints susceptibility to disease in their weakened condition contributed to their high death rate. Their experience with Missourians and their government encouraged the development of a defensive city-state in Illinois.^[36]

Refuge

One difficulty with studying Mormon settlement patterns in Illinois is the interpreting of the doctrine of "gathering" as applied to Nauvoo. It first appeared in New York when Smith instructed the Saints to gather in Ohio. It was again used in leading the Saints to Missouri.

The principle of gathering has two aspects, the spiritual gathering and a temporal gathering. The spiritual gathering is accomplished by bringing in new converts to the church. The temporal gathering pulls together the converts into "Zion." The most important aspect of this gathering is the pooling of resources to build a temple.

Most authors have focused on the spiritual aspects of gathering during the Nauvoo era. Missionary efforts by the twelve apostles while preaching in England resulted in a large number of English converts. As a result thousands of English converts flocked to Nauvoo. This spectacular success of the spiritual gathering has caught the attention of later historians. However, the principle of gathering is overemphasized or misunderstood as it pertains to Nauvoo. The doctrine of gathering during the Nauvoo period is best understood in economic terms.^[37]

From his cell in Liberty Jail Smith had difficulty in guiding the Saints in their decisions. However, he did suggest that they should "lay hold of every door that is opened to them," and they did. Recounting the Mormons' arrival in Adams County, during the spring of 1839 Esaias Edwards wrote about the large number of Mormons who arrived from Missouri. When writing of their activities outside of Quincy he said: "they settled in Adams County in great numbers, renting and leasing all the land that could be obtained. . . ." The Saints responded to their

Prophet's counsel by settling wherever they could find employment or land that they could afford.^[38]

In February 1839 a conference of the Saints convened in Quincy. This meeting occurred to discuss where the Saints should live. The issue came up because Isaac Galland had offered to sell them about 20,000 acres of land in Iowa. By the end of the conference, the participants resolved to wait to decide the issue. The next discussion occurred in March 1839, again in a conference at Quincy. Brigham Young, having recently arrived in Atlas, Pike County, Illinois, presided. No final plan was adopted.^[39]

Three plans eventually emerged for their settlement. One plan called for a scattering throughout the region. Echoes of the admonishment given by General Clark of the Missouri Militia, still rang in their ears: "I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize yourselves with Bishops, Presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people, and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you."^[40] William Marks and Edward Partridge, the highest-ranking church officials at the February conference, had encouraged scattering.^[41] They felt they could live in the surrounding Illinois communities as people of other churches did and avoid the "calamities" foretold by General Clark.

The immediate situation of the Saints at Quincy reinforced the idea of scattering. The region had just passed through the panic of 1837 and was still suffering from the effects. It was in no condition to absorb the new large and needy population. So after their arrival at Quincy, the wealthiest of the refugees continued onward into the interior of the state. As a result, several communities received exiles directly or by way of Quincy.^[42]

There was an alternative to scattering presented at the February conference. Brother Mace, a member of the Church, expressed his opinion that the members should gather immediately. Some thought that the failures in Ohio and Missouri were not the result of gathering, but the result of not gathering according to the principles revealed through the Prophet Joseph Smith. The notes of the meeting clearly imply that a site in Iowa was being suggested for this gathering. No mention of Commerce^[43] is recorded.^[44]

During a March conference, the leadership had still not come to a decision. Meanwhile, many Mormons continued to disperse in an attempt to find any means of support available. While presiding at this conference in Quincy, Young presented a compromise between gathering and dispersing. He proposed that the Saints settle in "companies" and "branches." Young wanted it to be easy to organize and gather the church at a later date. Expressing concern for their

spiritual welfare, Young thought that members should stay where they could easily be taught so that they would not stray from the fold.^[45]

This plan effectively addressed the differing needs of the church at the time. In order to keep the church from disintegrating, tight control had to be kept over religious instruction. The financial resources of Quincy and the surrounding area, though freely given, were inadequate. However, if they spread out, one or two families here or there, the process of gathering again would be difficult if not impossible.^[46] These conflicting demands were all addressed by Young's proposal.

Purchase of Commerce

In April of 1839 the long awaited arrival of the prophet promised to bring an end to the debate.^[47] He wasted no time in investigating the offer of Isaac Galland. On April 24 a council of church leaders resolved to send Smith and others immediately to the Iowa Territory "for the purpose of making a location for the Church." Smith's party traveled to Isaac Galland's home, in Commerce. Upon reaching the crest of a hill Smith was astounded by the picturesque landscape. A month or two later the half-breed tracts in Iowa were also purchased.^[48]

It is unclear exactly how the church leaders investigated offers made to the Mormons for settlement sites. Partridge's letter seems to indicate that many

individuals acted on their own, outside of the church structure. However, there was at least one official committee appointed to investigate sites for the church as a whole. One historian suggested that this committee helped make the selection of gathering sites after "Careful exploration and thorough investigation of available land."^[49] This, however, does not seem to be the case. There appears to have been only two offers seriously considered. One was from Galland. The letter describing the other offer was lost.^[50] The committee therefore focused its investigation on Galland's offer.

The thoroughness of this committee is questionable. During its investigations it failed to uncover Galland's reputation and dubious business practices. These "careful" investigations also failed to turn up the fact that Galland did not have clear title to the land. Land titles to the area known as the Half-breed tract had been and would continue to be contested for several years.^[51]

The purchase of Commerce and the Half-breed tracts appear to have been the result of economic need rather than careful deliberation. Quincy continued to strain under the burden of its recent arrivals. There was a shortage of jobs and housing that could provide the needed income and shelter to support the refugees. The time for planting crops arrived and the Saints needed a place to live. One of the most attractive features of Galland's offer was no requirement for cash or even a down payment, which the Mormons, in their destitute

condition, would have been unable to pay. With few alternatives the Saints who had not already purchased farms of their own or had not, found gainful employment moved to the newly purchased land.^[52]

The next conference of the church was held at Commerce. Unofficially Smith decided to build a city at the site and encouraged Saints to begin moving there. He related this decision not as revelation but as a good idea because there was "no more eligible place presenting itself."^[53]

Some historians have interpreted Smith's purchase and removal to Commerce Illinois as tacit disapproval of all other settlements. Flanders suggests that the first official call for gathering was at a church conference on April 6-8, 1840. During that conference the Prophet encouraged the Elders of the church to help pay for the debts incurred with the purchase of Nauvoo. Later, during the conference, Joseph Smith stated:

It had been wisdom for most of the church to keep on this side of the river, that a foundation might be established in this place; but that now it was the privilege of the saints to occupy the lands in Iowa, or wherever the Spirit might lead them.^[54]

An official report to the church written in October of 1840 is often interpreted as a call to the Saints to gather. The letter discusses gathering on the recently purchased lands in Illinois and Iowa but does not appear to command the Saints

to do so. This discussion primarily concerns itself with the economic development of Nauvoo and the need for financial assistance.^[55]

Many wealthy and influential people have embraced the Gospel, so that not only will the poor rejoice in that they are exalted, but the rich in that they are made low. We may soon expect to see flocking to this place, people from every land. . . . It was in consideration of these things that induced us to purchase the present city for the gathering of the saints. . . . We therefore hope that the brethren . . . will aid us in liquidating the debts which are now owing^[56]

These comments did not encourage the gathering of the Saints already in Illinois and Iowa, and they definitely did not command the Saints to gather at Nauvoo.

Another statement that should be reexamined appears in a letter to the Church on December 8, 1839.

We have heard it rumored abroad, that some at least, and probably many, are masking their calculations to remove back to Kirtland next season.

Now brethren . . . we advise you to abandon such an idea; yea, we warn you, in the name of the Lord, not to remove back there, unless you are counseled to do so by the First Presidency, and the High Council of Nauvoo. We do not wish by this to take your agency away from you; but we wish to be plain, and pointed in our advice . . . that your sins may not be found in our skirts. . . .^[57]

According to Flanders, this passage puts "Heavy emphasis . . . upon the Nauvoo gathering" This letter, however, does not command the "Saints scattered abroad" to gather there. The only chastisement in the letter appears to be directed towards those who refuse the advice of the Church leaders not to return

to Kirtland, Ohio. At the same time, however, it affirms an individual's right to do so.^[58]

At this point Nauvoo became one gathering site among many. Several communities with large Mormon populations petitioned for consideration as stakes. Immediately after the establishment of Nauvoo Church leaders organized a committee to "Organize stakes between this place and Kirtland" Hyrum Smith headed the committee with assistance from a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles Lyman Wight and recently appointed Kirtland Stake President Almon W. Babbitt.^[59]

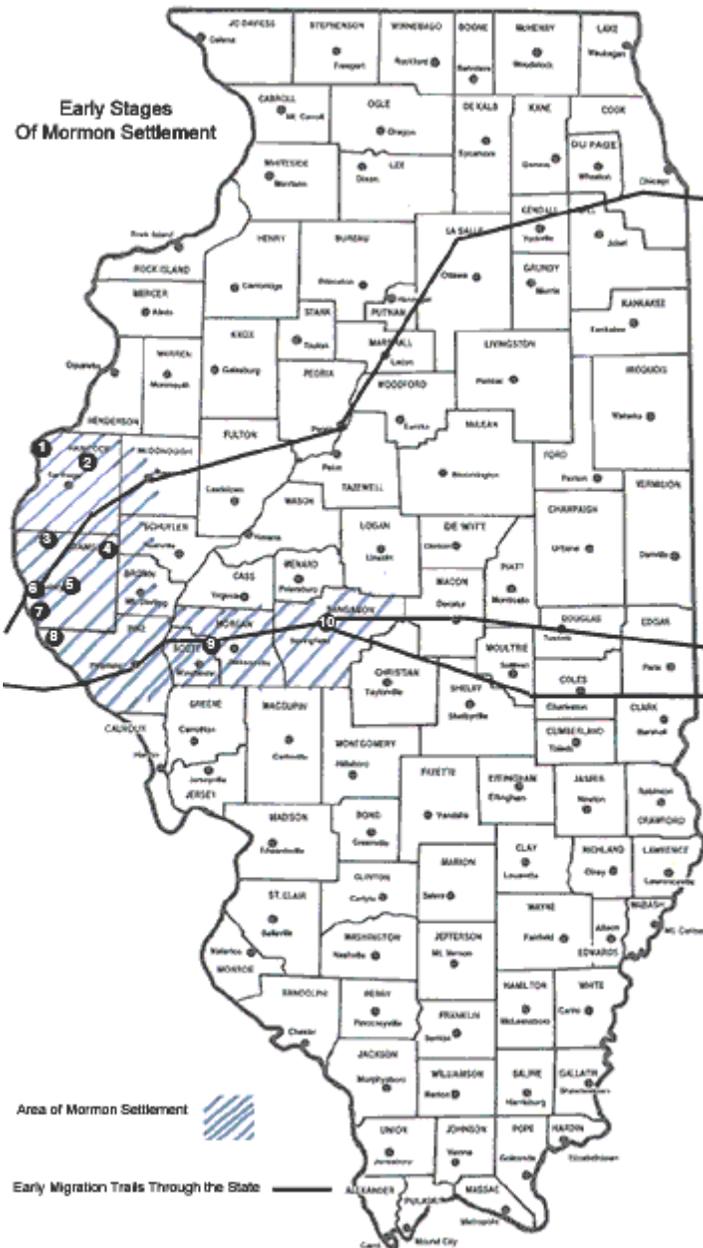
Smith did not issue a command for the Saints to gather at this time, nor did his actions in 1840 endorse the scattering of the Saints throughout the region. In October 1840, he personally sanctioned the formation of a committee to organize Stakes between Nauvoo and Kirtland, Ohio. These early Illinois stakes, were at Mount Ephraim, Lima, Quincy, Mount Hope, Steam Mills and Columbus, all in Adams County. Stakes were also established near Payson and Geneva in Morgan County and at Springfield in Sangamon County.^[60]

These early stakes represented the largest concentrations of Mormons after the Missouri exodus. All of them had their origins prior to Smith's escape from Liberty jail. They cloud the issue of whether or not Smith really intended for the Saints to gather into a main body again after the tragedy of Missouri. At least one

historian attributes the decision to gather again to Sidney Rigdon, Smith's second councilor. Smith's statement while in jail to "Fall into the places and refuge of safety that God shall open unto them, between Kirtland and Far West." seems to recommend scattering over a wide region. The commission to the committee to create stakes between Nauvoo and Kirtland echoes this earlier sentiment to scatter. Smith's letter went on to say "we further suggest for the considerations of the Council, that there be no organization of large bodies upon common stock principles, in property, or of large companies of firms, until the Lord shall signify it" His letter goes on to warn of the dangers of gathering for the saints.^[61]

These and the many other communities to which the Mormons scattered had differing qualities that attracted the Mormons to them. Many Mormons stopped in the Adams County communities because they could not go any further. Most of them were out of food, money and energy. Others however did move into other regions of the state. One of the attractions for moving came from farmers offering refuge on their farms. Seeing the condition of the Mormons when they arrived many farmers took pity on them and offered part of their land for rent, sale, or just for a place to rest. Some of these farmers latter joined the church. Often several families gathered to a larger farm and formed the core of a future Mormon settlement.^[62]

Members of the Smith family also attracted others to their region. After their arrival in Illinois members of the family settled in several different areas. Silas Smith Joseph Smith's uncle settled near Pittsfield, and Don Carlos and Samuel Smith brothers of the prophet, settled near Macomb, William Smith settled in Plymouth in and Emma Smith and her in-laws took refuge in Quincy. All of these communities grew into sizeable branches or stakes.^[63]



Map Showing Areas of Mormon Settlement Prior to 1841

1. Nauvoo Oct. 1839
2. Ramus July 1840
3. Lima Oct. 1840
4. Mount Epraim Oct. 1840
5. Freedom Oct. 1840
6. Quincy Oct. 1840
7. Mount Hope Oct. 1840
8. Pleasant Vale Nov. 1840
9. Geneva Nov. 1840
- 10 Springfield Nov. 1840

These early stakes proved to be important to Nauvoo's survival. In the early years of Nauvoo's development, sickness and death ravaged the city. The first to gather to Nauvoo were the church leadership and those who had not found a home elsewhere. Conditions were terrible. Small paths connected various parts of the city where families camped in shelters made of split rail fences and quilts.

The death toll was tremendous. Malaria ravaged the ranks of the beleaguered Mormons. It was clear to many the difference in health between those who spent their first summer in Nauvoo and those who had settled in other areas. William Draper described his first visit to Nauvoo.

I went [to the conference in Commerce] and another such sight my eyes never beheld; that portion of the assembly that had lived in Commerce during the summer looked more like ghosts that had neither flesh nor blood or but very little, yet they seemed to be satisfied and glad to think they were able to attend conference. They organized the place into a stake of Zion and changed the name of the place from Commerce to that of Nauvoo,^[64]

By staying clear of the city until it could be made healthier, many avoided the "Mortality that almost invariably awaits" those who moved to the city.^[65]

Other places attracted the recent refugees because they had branches before the Missouri exodus. Geneva situated on the border between Scott and Morgan counties, probably had a branch as early as 1832. Brigham Young's sister lived in the area. Other Illinois branches, such as the one in Fulton County, started in early 1830 and attracted many Missouri refugees. Likewise, the two branches left behind by Kirtland's Camp attracted several of the recent exiles. These included the stake at Springfield.

The Command to Gather

Finally, in January 1841, Smith issued the first official commandment for the Saints to gather at Nauvoo. It stressed the importance of buying farms in the area and building industries in the city. The directive also discussed the importance of concentrating the Saints' efforts on constructing a temple and university. Again, in May of 1841, in a letter to the Saints Joseph Smith gave another directive for them to gather. Like the previous directive, it lacked the Divine import given to earlier church gatherings. The earlier language of gathering to Zion emphasized preparations for the second coming of Christ. The directives during the Nauvoo period are described as economic necessities rather than spiritual ones.

The First Presidency of the Church . . . , anxious to promote the prosperity of said church, feel it their duty to call upon those Saints who reside out of this county [Hancock], to make preparations to come in without delay. . . . Should be attended to by all who feel an interest in the prosperity of this corner-stone of Zion. Here the Temple must be raised, the University built, and other edifices erected, . . . which can only be done by a concentration of energy and enterprise. Let it therefore be understood, that all the stakes, excepting those in this county, and in Lee County, Iowa, are discontinued, and the Saint are instructed to settle in this country as soon as circumstances will permit. [\[66\]](#)

Even after this statement appeared Smith still hesitated to have the Saints gather at Nauvoo. In August 1841 he established stakes at Zarahemla and Nashville in Iowa, and at Warren and Ramus in Illinois. It seems that pressing financial needs encouraged him to give the directive to gather. This fact is illustrated quite clearly in a letter to one of the church's creditors.

We have not been able in consequence to realize any valuable consideration from it [Nauvoo], although we have been keeping up appearances and holding out inducements to encourage emigration that we scarcely think justifiable in consequence of the mortality that almost invariably awaits those who come from far distant parts, at that with a view to enable us to meet our engagements [debts]^[67]

The sudden change of position to command the saints to gather took the Church by surprise.^[68] In a meeting of the highest officials of the Church, Smith defended himself and denounced recent murmurings that he was a fallen prophet.^[69]

Even after the discontinuance of stakes outside of Hancock County, Illinois, and Lee County, Iowa, many Mormons remained in communities outside of the designated gathering place. For example in a history of Pike County, the population of Mormontown is recorded as 300 voters in 1845. Since only men could vote at the time, this suggests that the population of this one settlement was at least 1000. This large number seems very unlikely. When other accounts are considered it appears that the Mormon population for the entire county was around 1000 and not just this one town. Branches in Griggsville, Perry, Pittsfield, Mormontown and the Stake at Pleasant Vale all contributed to this number.^[70]

Eventually Joseph Smith began to expand the Church's boundaries. In March of 1843 he likened Nauvoo to the hub of a wheel. The spokes included not only the

Stakes in Hancock County, Illinois, and Lee County, Iowa, but also Shokokon in Henderson County, Illinois and Lima in Adams County, Illinois.^[71] Apparently, the economic need described in the edict issued in January of 1841 necessitated an expansion of his vision of the gathering. Finally during a conference in April 1844, Smith again expanded his vision of gathering. By this time Smith seems to be thinking of expansion for expansion's sake and not for the support of Nauvoo. He said that Zion included all of North and South America. Furthermore, he went on to say that after the temple was finished, the Elders of the Church would spread out and build up cities with temples all over the United States. Brigham Young would later begin this work with the establishment of Norway in LaSalle County, Illinois.^[72]

Clearly the gathering at Nauvoo was not a prerequisite of salvation. The language used to promote the gathering stressed economic need and lacked the Divine mandate accompanying the gatherings at Kirtland Ohio and Jackson County Missouri. Likewise the instructions on gathering have consistently been overstated by many authors. As Flander's pointed out the purchase of Commerce and the half-breed tracts was clearly due to economic, need. However, after the church bought these properties economic concerns for the welfare of Nauvoo continued to effect decisions about gathering and settlement in the entire region. In the case of Nauvoo and the surrounding communities the primary considerations in the gathering was the economic welfare of Nauvoo and the

completion of the temple. Doctrinal and spiritual concerns centered on the blessings that would follow the completion of the temple. While many calls were made for assistance in the building of the city and the liquidation of the Church's debt, they were mostly limited to requests. When the command to gather did come it was much later than most authors have suggested. The boundaries for gathering were continually in flux. These fluctuations were adaptations made to meet the economic demands of the times.

Economic Troubles

Nauvoo's economic problems extended beyond the church's outstanding debt. While Nauvoo might have been a "beautiful place" it was also a place of shortages. Most of the Mormons had gardens on their town lots but these did not provide for all of their nutritional needs. The lack of food was a constant problem. According to one Mormon historian, almost every letter from the period talks of the difficulties in getting enough food.^[73] Currency was also in short supply in the city. The destitute conditions of the Mormons after their expulsion from Missouri resulted in little or no money to purchase food and other goods. Likewise, the debt incurred by the church in purchasing the city continually drained it of capital. The explosive growth added to money shortage. Often when individuals with a significant amount of capital arrived they used their money for land speculations and house construction instead of investments in industries or mills.^[74]

The economic well being of the city was inextricably tied to the rest of the region. During this time the whole state suffered from a shortage of currency and bank failures. Nauvoo's sudden appearance and spectacular growth overwhelmed the resources of the region. Financial, political, industrial and transportation institutions, which had evolved over the previous twenty years to provide for the needs of hundreds, were suddenly called upon to provide for

thousands. Nauvoo or any other city of its size could not survive independent of its hinterlands. The lack of infrastructure for such a large city in Western Illinois forced the Mormons to create their own. This included the use and creation of other Mormon settlements.^[75]

Mills

This lack of an industrial base is painfully evident when we look at the situation concerning grain and lumber mills. Mills were a vital part of frontier life. They ground grains into flour and cut logs into lumber. However, the subsistence economy of most frontier communities barely made the mills profitable. Mills were erected to "principally accommodate the community", and functioned almost as a public service. They were often community centers as well as places for work. Farmers sometimes would have to wait for days for their turn at the mill. A horse-powered grist mill could be expected to grind eight bushels of corn in a day. As a result, mill owners often ran taverns and distilleries on the side, to provide a diversion for waiting farmers as well as earn more profit.^[76]

Because of the borderline profits of the mills, entrepreneurs constructed just enough of them to fulfill local needs. As a result there were just enough mills in the area of Commerce to provide for its needs as they existed prior to the Mormons arrival. With the arrival of several thousand new inhabitants in a matter of months, the demand on local mills soon overreached their capacity. In

December of 1841 Smith wrote a letter describing the drastic shortage of mills, in an attempt to convince a recent convert to build a mill near the city.

As respects steam engines and mills, my opinion is, we cannot have too many of them. This place has suffered exceedingly from the want of such mills in our midst, and neither one nor two can do the business of this place another season. We have no good grain or board mill in this place; and most of our flour and lumber has to be brought twenty miles; which subjects us to great inconvenience. The city is rapidly advancing, many new buildings have been erected ..., and many more would have arisen, if brick and lumber could have been obtained. There is scarcely any limits which can be imagined to the mills and machinery and manufacturing of all kinds which might be put into profitable operation in this city, and even if others should raise a mill before you get here, it need be no discouragement ..., for it will be difficult for the mills to keep pace with the growth of the place, and you will do well to bring the engine.^[77]

With the acute lack of industry evolving and growing over time to meet the needs of the community, Smith desperately needed to create some. As stated in the letter he needed to look outside the city for help. Nauvoo depended on food and lumber harvested and milled in other communities. One of the more drastic examples of this is the settlement known as the "pinery" in Wisconsin. Lumber harvested by Mormons in Wisconsin supplied Nauvoo with desperately needed building materials. Smith intentionally sent some of his followers to the region for this purpose. He also hoped that some of the church's financial troubles could be alleviated with money raised through the lumber trade. The project met with mixed success. However, the use of Mormon settlements outside of Nauvoo to raise money and supplies was not limited to the Wisconsin Pinery.^[78] Smith

realized that Nauvoo's survival in the short term depended on surrounding communities. As a result, the satellite communities took on greater significance. The acquiring of mills either through Mormon ownership or by Mormon settlement in the area became extremely important until Nauvoo's own industries and mills could be built.

Ramus took on early significance in this regard. Joseph Holbrook, an elder, escaped from Missouri in March of 1839 and he took his family to Fountain Green to settle among the Saints already there. In May of the same year, he visited Smith in Nauvoo. Smith asked him if he could get corn meal because "there was no one bringing in any for sale". Holbrook immediately borrowed seven dollars and purchased some corn. After shelling it he had it milled and then sold the meal in Nauvoo. He continued the business night and day for six weeks. He was the only one selling grain to the impoverished city. Later the Stake of Ramus would become a major supplier of food for the city.^[179]

Mills also played an important role in the failed community of Warren. Most of the Mormon settlements in Illinois were the result of efforts made by individual Mormons. Smith later approved and sanctioned many of these settlements with the establishment of Stakes. There are however at least two community efforts besides Nauvoo undertaken directly by Smith. Warren was one such community. Among the many overtures for the sale of town sites made to

the saints, was one made to Smith in the fall of 1839. Daniel S. Witter owner of a mill at Warsaw along with Mark Aldrich and Calvin A. Warren negotiated with Smith until the signed an agreement on July 19 or early July 20.^[80]

Smith hoped to raise money to help pay off the debt incurred with the purchase of Nauvoo. This was to be done with profits from the sale of town lots in Warren and with lumber harvested from the wooded areas on the purchase site. Another obvious benefit to the purchase was access to Witter's mill at Warsaw. With this in mind church leaders settled a group of 204 recent immigrants from England on the new town site.^[81] Unfortunately, Warren did not become a profitable venture. Soon after settlement word came from Isaac Decker, the presiding elder at Warsaw, of troubles at the Warren settlement. It seems that Witter, in an attempt to get out of financial difficulties of his own, raised his rates at the mill by \$1.00 a barrel for the Mormons. He also was selling his sweepings from the mill to the Mormons at \$2.50 per hundred. Given the margin on which most frontier mills operated, this sudden increase was an obvious effort at price gouging. As a result, the potential benefits of Warren as a source of milled grain vanished.^[82] The other expected source of income also failed to produce the hoped for profits. Witter and Aldrich forbade the Mormons from clearing the land of its timber. At the same time, timber prices at the Warsaw wharf fell twenty five cents per cord. It is not clear if the drop in price was also intentional. These

developments eliminated the money making potential of the site. In December of 1841 Smith recalled the Mormons at Warren and Warsaw to Nauvoo.^[83]

Smith's next venture in town building began on February 10, 1843. John B. Cowan a land speculator from Henderson County came to Nauvoo with an offer from the inhabitants of Shokokon.^[84] Mr. Cowan claimed to be a delegate from the inhabitants of Shokokon. His mission was to "invite a talented Mormon Preacher" to "take up residence with them" the people of the town promised to provide him with a good house and support. The townspeople also offered to allow the preacher to "invite as many Mormons to settle in that place as they pleased so to do".^[85] What followed was several days of salesmanship by Cowan and on February 14, 1843 Smith agreed to visit the town site.

Mr. Cowan proceeded to make his sales pitch to Smith. Shokokon seemed to have all that the Mormons needed in a satellite community. One of the landowners of the town Robert McQueen owned a mill just south of town along the road between Shokokon and Nauvoo. Not only was there a mill put there was easy access to transportation. The town was the terminus of the stage line running from Macomb to the Mississippi River.^[86] The sloughs in the region offered a port for river boats and for lumber floated down river from Wisconsin. The invitation for a Mormon preacher in the area appears to be a transparent ploy to entice Smith to start sending settlers there. However, considering the

problems encountered in Warren and in other states the invitation and apparent acceptance of Mormons by the local residents was a very legitimate and compelling selling point. It is doubtful that Smith failed to recognize Mr. Cowan's and his partners' financial interests in inviting the Mormons to Shokokon.

Ultimately, Shokokon failed. The seemingly useful access to the Mississippi was only useable by riverboats during high water. The town site, which may have appeared healthy in February, in the summer, turned into sickly swamp. It was for this reason that the original owners of Shokokon abandoned the city in 1836.^[87] While McQueen's Mills did help alleviate the problems of Nauvoo, Shokokon never grew enough to become profitable. With the death of Smith and the later violence Shokokon failed to attract a significant Mormon population.

Transportation

A transportation network was also needed to support the rapidly growing city. In the case of most cities transportation routes gradually grew along with the city. Or in the case of most boom towns they grew to meet the needs of the market that created the boom. Unfortunately, Nauvoo's boom consisted of thousands of pauper immigrants from Missouri and England. Coupled with the state's recent fiasco with internal improvements circumstances guaranteed little or no development of transportation networks such as railroads until well into the 1850's.

One obvious exception to this is the interstate waterway of nineteenth century America, the Mississippi river. Nauvoo being situated on a bend in the river would seem to be in an excellent position to take advantage of the river. Unfortunately the river proved to be of little help and may have even been a hindrance to the city's economy. From early in the river's history, St. Louis capitalists dominated steamboat traffic on the upper Mississippi. As a result, almost all traffic, even the local packet ships, promoted the interests of St. Louis. As a result an intricately balanced and highly competitive situation existed between river communities along the upper Mississippi.^[88] While practically all steamboat traffic on the river acted to profit these St. Louis capitalists other cities along the river also benefited from this situation because of the exports they provided for resale by St. Louis merchants. Galena occupied the northern end of this trading network and exported lead. The communities in between exported lumber, grain and other farm commodities. Unfortunately, Nauvoo had little capital and few business connections with which to take advantage of the abundance that daily floated by. At Nauvoo boat after boat arrived carrying poor immigrants from England and other parts of the United States but instead of bringing in needed capital, these new arrivals tended to lower the city's per capita income.

Nauvoo's economic immaturity also made it continually dependent on manufactured goods imported from St. Louis and agricultural goods from the surrounding countryside. These imports represented a drain on the cities meager money supply. With all the city's resources tied up in the building of houses and selling of town lots little was left over for the development of industry. Because of the city's rapid rise it failed realize the natural development of industry seen over time in other cities. Church leaders made extensive efforts to encourage industrial growth. However, the lack of capital in Nauvoo and the state as a whole prevented the development of craft or manufactured goods in all but the largest cities. Because of Nauvoo's size they did meet with some success and there were several small manufacturers in the city. Still, Nauvoo was never able to meet its own demands let alone produce enough for export. As late as October of 1844 several months after Smith's death, church leaders still struggled to develop plans to salvage the Nauvoo economy.^[89]

The saints cannot gather together in large numbers, and be able to enjoy the comforts and necessaries of life, without the necessary calculations and preparations for their employment and support. Not only must farms be cultivated, houses built, and mills to grind the corn, but there must be something produced by industry, to send off to market in exchange for cash,....^[90]

The obvious alternative to the river for bringing goods into the city was the roads. This was not an attractive alternative because land travel on the prairie was slow and difficult. Travel times on land were often four times as long as on

the rivers. A wagon carrying produce could be expected to take twelve hours to travel twenty miles. Most of what was called roads in Illinois prior to 1850 were little more than wide trails. In Western Illinois the major roads were dedicated to providing access to the main river ports of Quincy, Warsaw and Oquawkua. The roads allowed these cities to control the surrounding countryside in a way similar to how St. Louis, controlled them.^[91]

It was this alternative that helped to sustain the city. Prior to 1839 the road system in the Military tract focused on servicing important river ports like Warsaw, Quincy and Fort Madison. The best roads in Hancock County were the roads linking communities with the county seat at Carthage and the port at Warsaw. One important exception was the road plated in 1834 originating at Beardstown on the Illinois River passing through Macomb then Fountain Green and finally terminating at Venus (Commerce) on the Iowa Rapids. This became the first and most important artery of supplies flowing into the city. It provided access to mills and farms around Crooked Creek in Hancock County. As Nauvoo's needs increased, it provided access to the mill at Spring Creek and the coalmines started by the Mormons near Colchester, both in McDounough County.^[92]

Mormon settlements acted as a trade network for the city. The settlements most important to the city were those located on roads linked directly to Nauvoo.

Provisions from LaHarpe, Plymouth, Augusta and especially Ramus were often requested and received. All of these communities either had or developed links to the city. When combined with the communities of Shokokon and Warren we begin to see the Spokes of the Wheel talked about by Smith.

It appears that by 1843 Smith realized the importance of having a support network for a city the size of Nauvoo and expressed this realization in his Spokes of the Wheel comments. With the purchase of Warren and negotiations for Shokokon Smith began a concerted effort to colonize the region in order to build a network for the support of the city.

Establishing a Settlement

Nauvoo, Warren and Shokokon seem to be the exception rather than the rule. In Comparison Smith's involvement with other communities was very limited. A committee appointed at a general conference of the church formed the first stakes in Illinois. After the return of the twelve apostles from their mission in Europe Smith transferred responsibility for settlement to them. The twelve were to "assist in the building up the stakes of Zion and of planting the Saints upon the lot of their inheritance." The Twelve were also to decide which settlements were to be built up and select the leaders for these settlements. They then instructed the leaders on the particulars of their assignments.^[93]

The early stakes established by the committee represented large centers of Mormon population but were not Mormon colonies or planned settlements. This first phase of stake building simply reflected the situation as it existed and was not effort to establish little versions of Zion in various parts of the state.

Eventually a procedure, for establishing stakes and colonies emerged. This pattern is evident in the communities of Pleasant Vale in Pike County, Ramus^[94] in Hancock County and Norway in LaSalle County. All three followed a similar pattern of establishment. Parts of if not all of this pattern are also evident in all communities established by the Mormons in Illinois. By 1840 there were at least five criterion or steps for the establishment of a stake and or settlement in

Illinois. Many of these criteria probably also applied to the stakes and settlements previously established in Illinois, Missouri and Ohio. The criteria were as follows;

1. The first requirement was that the population of official church membership in the area must be at least 100 baptized members. The Pleasant Vale stake in Pike County, illustrates this point well. In June 1839, one of the members of the original high council, a leading governing body of the church, visited Pike County and organized a branch of the church in Pleasant Vale. This branch consisted of several Saints who had fled to pike county from Missouri.^[95] In this early stage there were less than 100 members in the fledgling branch and the progress of the small congregation in Pleasant Vale passed unnoticed by church leaders in Commerce. On October 6, 1839 William Draper, the president of the Pleasant Vale Branch, made his first visit to Commerce. Like many others, Draper's first visit to the future site of Nauvoo came while attending the October Conference. Not realizing the work being done in Pleasant Vale, church leaders asked Draper to serve on the church high council. When Draper informed Smith of his work in Pike County Smith told him to return to Pleasant Vale, and to continue in his efforts. During his conversation with Smith, Draper was told that when the congregation reached 100 that the Prophet would organize the branch into a stake.^[96] After a week 112 Saints and converted Illinoisans gathered at Pleasant

Vale. Draper sent for Smith who sent his brother Hyrum and George Miller, to officiate in his stead in the establishment of the stake.

Ramus also appears to have met this requirement of 100 church members. In March of 1840 the *Times and Seasons* reported a population of fifty members in the Ramus branch. In July of 1840 the branch was organized into a Stake. By 1842 there were 426 official members of the church residing at Ramus. Another stake of 112 persons appears to have been organized in Brown County on February of 1841.

The first set of stakes established in 1840 also appears to have surpassed the 100-member mark. The stake at Quincy and the others in Adams County were still swarming with recent arrivals from Missouri. The stake at Springfield comprised not only the families left behind by the Kirtland Camp but also refugees from Missouri and the "Fox Island saints" brought to Illinois from Scarboro, Maine by Wilford Woodruff. The threshold of 100 members clearly was an important milestone in the history of any Mormon settlement.^[97]

Even after the dissolution of stakes outside of Hancock County the 100 member requirement still played a role in determining the establishment of a community. In La Salle County a small branch of recently converted Norwegian immigrants reached this milestone in 1840. George Dykes, first missionary to the region,

visited the area in May of 1842. He met with modest success, baptizing five people. Dykes later returned and organized the LaSalle branch of the church, and ordained Goodman Haugaas as presiding elder. By May of 1843 the branch had grown to fifty-eight members. The LaSalle Branch continued to grow. By 1844 the branch reached the critical number of 100 members.^[98] After Joseph Smith's death the Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Parley P. Pratt three of the surviving apostles, convened a conference of the church at the LaSalle Branch along the Fox River on October 23, 1844. The business of the conference was the establishment of another settlement in LaSalle County. Brigham Young named the new community Norway in honor of the Norwegian immigrants that comprised the largest portion of the branch.

It is interesting that the branch was not advanced to the status of the stake after the creation of the settlement. Young may have felt that Joseph Smith's previous stricture against Stakes outside of Hancock County was still in effect at this time. Another possible reason why a stake was not created may be that Young felt he did not have the authority to create one. Previously stakes had been created with a member of the First Presidency (usually Hyrum Smith) presiding over the conference. After the death of the Smiths at Carthage, the first presidency no longer existed, and as of October 1844 a suitable replacement had not been found. Whatever the reason, the Mormon town of Norway contained all the elements of other official Mormon settlements except that of a Stake

government. Young directed the purchase of 160 acres of land. After the purchase he laid out a city and dedicated ten acres of the city for a temple, tabernacle, tithing house and other church structures as needed. A month later the county surveyor "laid off the town of Norway."^[99] The characteristics of the new town are traceable to the revised plat for the City of Zion created by Edward Partridge in 1833.^[100] It clearly displays attributes found in many LDS settlements later established in Utah.

2. The second requirement was a core of trusted and experienced church leaders that could be organized into a governing body. This body included a presiding High Priest acting as a stake or branch president who oversaw the ecclesiastical matters of the congregation, and a Bishop who controls the church's property in the region and cared for the poor. In the case of a stake, a high council was also appointed. However, after the dissolution of the Stakes outside of Hancock County, the high councils outside of the county either dissolved or never formed.

This leadership core comprised adult males proven to be loyal church leaders. In an statement by the quorum of the twelve made in August of 1841 they specified some of these requirements. The leaders were to have "been with the church and have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the principles

thereof.”^[101] In the case of the stake or branch president the leader was usually someone from the region associated with the growth of the branch. At Pleasant Vale, Draper became the branch and then later stake president. Draper had a long association with the church. On September 11, 1834 Draper and his family left Canada to gather with the Saints in Ohio. While in Ohio, Draper participated in the building of the Kirtland Temple and in the School of the Prophets.^[102] In 1837 he answered a call to serve in a branch of the church in Morgan County, Illinois. Finding things well in Morgan County, he traveled on to Missouri. On May 12, 1839, soon after his arrival in Missouri, the mobs in the area forced Draper and his family to flee back to Illinois. They crossed the Mississippi with a group of saints at Atlas in Pike county. Upon his arrival in Illinois he stayed in Atlas for a while. Later he traveled twelve miles to the North to pay a debt he owed to an individual identified as Brother Brown, who had fled Missouri in the same group as Draper. Brown convinced Draper to settle in Pleasant Vale^[103]. He quickly found a cabin and a farm to rent and moved his family into their new home.^[104] Draper's experience in the church and his early association with the community appears to have qualified him for local leadership as branch president in June of 1839 and then stake president in October of 1839.

The stake president at Ramus Illinois also had a history of church service and with the establishment of the branch in the region. Joel Johnson had been acting as branch president over the Springfield detachment of the sick from Kirtland's

Camp. He left Springfield and traveled to Carthage in January of 1839. Where he began preaching. Some of his earliest converts were members of the Perkins Family in Fountain Green just north of Carthage. Johnson organized the Crooked Creek Branch near Fountain Green on April 17, 1839. Then on July 9, 1840 Hyrum Smith promoted Johnson to the position of Stake President. His two counselors and a high council of twelve other men were also chosen. In La Salle County we find a similar pattern. George P. Dykes became the presiding elder of the branch, In any event the ecclesiastical leaders chosen to govern the spiritual affairs of the saints seem to have been chosen primarily on their association with the beginnings of the local congregation.^[105]

For Bishops or temporal leaders length of church service, may have been given more consideration. William Allred became the Bishop of the Pleasant Vale community. He also had a long association with the church.^[106] In Ramus another experienced leader with long church experience Ebenezer Page became the local bishop. When it came time to establish a settlement at Norway Reuben Miller moved from Nauvoo and became Bishop.^[107] In this instance none of the residents of the community had any church experience previous to 1839. It appears that before an individual was to be trusted with the church's property they must have demonstrated several years of loyalty.

3. The policy of using leaders proven over time to be loyal is understandable when we see the role of the bishop in these communities. While local leaders could be trusted with ecclesiastical matters, the bishop's role in temporal matters was another story. Once a site for a community was chosen land for the community needed to be purchased. The Church usually purchased 160 to 180 acres or more in the name of the Bishop. In Pleasant Vale Allred purchased 180 acres primarily in the Northwest Quarter of Section ten in Pleasant Vale Township. This site resided just a mile North of the already existing gentile community of Pleasant Vale later known as New Canton.^[108] In Ramus church leaders purchased 285 acres. In La Salle County church leaders purchased 160 acres. The Ramus and Norway purchases consisted of land owned by recent converts in the region namely the Perkins family in Ramus and Goodman Hougas and Jacob Anderson in Norway. After purchasing the land the bishop arranged for the survey of a town. The Bishop then sold town lots to recover the purchase price of the land.

One unique characteristic of these Mormon towns was their close proximity to already existing non-Mormon communities. The non-Mormon community Fountain Green, could be seen from Ramus. Pleasant Vale, Mormontown, Warren and Morley's settlement were all surveyed within a few miles of neighboring towns. This practice is traceable to instruction given by Smith to church leaders while in Ohio. Young reiterated this instruction as follows.

“Never do another days work to build up a gentile city; never lay out another dollar while you live to advance the world in its present state It is the word and commandment of the Lord to his servants that they shall never do another day’s work, nor spend another dollar to build up a gentile city or nation”.^[109]

These settlements during the Illinois period differed from earlier and later Mormon town plans. The survey of Ramus follows that of Nauvoo. The narrow streets and four acre square blocks are clearly evident. It is likely that Pleasant Vale and the other Mormon settlements during Smith's life in Nauvoo followed the pattern of Nauvoo (See Figure 12). An interesting variation appears after Smith's death with the communities established by Young. The plan for Norway and for another community started by Young near Amboy Illinois both exhibit the unique features of the plat created for the city of Zion in Independence Missouri. This layout would later become the standard plan for Salt Lake City and other Utah Communities established by Young.^[110]

5. The bishop’s responsibilities included caring for the poor and for church buildings. Ramus has often been considered unique because of a chapel erected for worship services. While it is clear that there were no houses of worship in Nauvoo besides the temple, it may have been standard operating procedure for the satellite communities to erect a chapel when possible. The stake at Pleasant Vale also constructed a chapel for worship services. Hyrum Smith and George Miller after organizing the Stake at Pleasant Vale instructed Draper to "build a

meeting house and provide for the comfort and convenience of the Saints as they gathered in." Accordingly the local branch built a "Frame meeting house ... thirty-six by forty feet."^[111] These chapels often doubled as school houses for the communities and were built in the center of town on lots reserved for public buildings. Later the communities established by Brigham Young allowed for not only chapels but also tabernacles, bishop's storehouses and even Temples.^[112] After further investigations of Mormon communities other than Nauvoo we may find chapels and other church owned buildings were more prevalent than previously realized.

Conclusion

Most research of Mormon history during the Nauvoo period focuses on the city itself and neglects settlements and events outside of the city. While Nauvoo is important it did not exist in a vacuum. Studying Nauvoo and Joseph Smith without looking at the rest of the church is similar to studying United States history by only looking at Washington D.C. and the presidents. While these events and people are pivotal they cannot be properly or fully understood unless considered inside a larger context.

Definitive answers to several questions will only be found when the subject of settlements other than Nauvoo receives the attention it deserves. Some broad areas of questions that may be influenced by these settlements include:

! How many Mormons were there and where did they live?

This seemingly basic question continues to be debated. Was Nauvoo really the largest city in Illinois? When discussing Mormons many have used the number of Mormons in Hancock County to be synonymous with the number living in Nauvoo. The influx of converts also influence estimates of size but how many actually stayed in Nauvoo and how many moved on to other settlements and why is a question yet to be answered.

! What was the nature of Joseph Smith's governance of the Church.

How autocratic was Joseph Smith? Did he delegate authority? Was his influence stronger in Nauvoo than in the surrounding communities? What role did the Quorum of the Twelve's leadership of all of the church outside the stakes play in their later governance and in Brigham Young's ascendancy to prophet? Did Mormons outside of Nauvoo vote the way Joseph Smith voted or did they vote for the most friendly local candidate?

! What were the causes of the conflict?

Where the Mormons stealing? Why was the violence centered in Hancock County? Why did Mormons living in other counties seemingly go unmolested? What was the scope and nature of the economic factors in the conflict?

These and many other questions can not be answered without further study of Mormon communities other than Nauvoo. Until these communities are fully explored, our understanding of the period will remain inadequate. The impact and influence of these settlements represent a new direction in Mormon history, which should bring the most new insights into the history of the church during the Nauvoo period.

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Notes

^[1]To avoid the to frequent use of the term Mormon, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) will be referred to as Mormons, Saints and LDS. People who are not members of the LDS church or the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (RLDS), will be referred to as, Gentiles, Illinoisians, anti-Mormons and Old Settlers. These terms, except LDS and RLDS, were in use by the people of the period. Cecil A. Snider. "A Syllabus on Mormonism in Illinois From the Angle of the Press" Newspaper Source materials, bound (typescript) Illinois State Historical Library. Theodore L. Carlson. *The Illinois Military Tract: Study of Land Occupation, Utilization and Tenure* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1951), 80. Carlson's estimate of 15,000 for the city of Nauvoo is consistent with most current estimates of the city. Unfortunately the 1845 Illinois State Census is missing. Population reports from the census give numbers for each county but does not give figures for individual townships or cities.

^[2]For the few attempts at overviews of Mormon settlements outside of Nauvoo see Donald Q. Cannon, "Spokes on the Wheel :Early Latter-day Saint Settlements in Hancock County Illinois" *Ensign: The Ensign of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, February 1986, 62-68. and Donald Q. Cannon, "Hancock County Illinois" in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism* ed by S. kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard H. Jackson, (New York: Simon & Schuster 1994), 56-57. Articles discussing individual Illinois settlements are limited to Marshall Hamilton, "'MONEY-DIGGERSVILLE-' The Brief, Turbulent History of the Mormon Town of Warren" *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 9 (1989) 49-58. and an excellent paper by Susan Sessions Rugh, "Conflict in the Countryside: The Mormon Settlement at Macedonia, Illinois" *BYU Studies* 32 (1,2) (1992) 149-174.

^[3]Smith, Joseph Jr. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Period One*. 2d ed. rev. 7 Vol. Ed. Brigham H Roberts. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 5:296. Reproduced in; ---- *LDS Historical Library CD Rom 2nd ed*. Orem, Utah: Infobases INC. 1993.

^[4]George Albert Smith "Manuscript History: Illinois" (microfilm) Church Archives Salt Lake City Utah.

^[5]Lamanite refers to one of the two groups discussed in the Book of Mormon. Many Mormons believed that the Native Americans were descendants of this antagonist group that had fallen away from the truth.

[6] Doctrine and Covenants Section 133:4,10.

[7] Smith *HOC* vol. 1:177.

[8] *Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland Ohio), August 1835, February 1836.

[9] "Journal History" (microfilm) Church Archives Salt Lake City, Utah, 31 December 1831.

[10] Snider, *Syllabus*.

[11] It is probably no coincidence that large Mormon settlements grew in Commerce (Nauvoo), Amboy and Geneva Illinois. All three had relatives of church leaders living in them. Cousins of Heber C. Kimball lived in Commerce, Joseph Smith's sister in law lived in Amboy and a sister of Brigham Young lived in Geneva. Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1965), 31. Frank E. Stevens, *History of Lee County Illinois* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company 1914), 275.

[12] Fulton County Historical and Genealogical Society *Fulton County Heritage* (Lewiston, Illinois: Fulton County Historical and Genealogical Society, 1988), s.v. "Brush, John" and "Fausett, Martha Spencer" by Betty Moore Johnson. *Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland Ohio), January 1835, August 1835, November 1835.

[13] *Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, Ohio) January 1835. The *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois) periodically published a list of its agents in various parts of the country. The following list was published in February of 1840. "John E. Page, Warsaw, Hancock Co. William Smith, Plymouth. Joel H. Johnson, Carthage. S. B. Stoddard, Quincy. Adams Co. Elisha H. Groves, Columbus. Harlow Redfield, Pittsfield, Pike Co. Daniel Tyler, Griggsville. John Vance, Macomb, McDonough Co. Jared Carter, Springfield Sangamon Co. John Gaylord, Victoria, Knox Co. Lewis Robbins, Rushville, Schuyler Co. Jabez Capps, P.M. Mount Pulaski, Logan Co. Wm. Johnson, Lewiston, Fulton Co.

[14] *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Illinois) 3 November 1833.

[15] Milton V. Backman. *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 363-364. Smith *HOC* 3:139-140. Rugh, 152-153.

[16] *Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, Ohio) March 1835, June 1835.

[17] George Smith History 33, Elder Kimball's Journal Extracts in *Times And Seasons* 6:788 February 1, 1845. Reprinted in Rodger Launis. *Zion's Camp*:

Expedition to Missouri, 1834 (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1984), 90-91.

[18] Launis, 91.

[19] *Combined History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, Illinois: With Illustrations Descriptive of Their Scenery and Biographical Sketches of Some of Their Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: Brink, McDonough & Co. 1881), 307. John W. Hawk, *A Visit with Mr. Bob*, (ed. by Shelby County Genealogical Society Reprinted from the *Shelbyville Daily Union*" 1976), 89-91. Susan E. Black *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1830-1848* (Provo: Brigham Young University Religious Studies, reprint LDS Historical Library CD-ROM Infobases International Incorporated, 1994) search on "Shelby IL".

[20] Stanley K. Schultz *Constructing an Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 12-13. Thomas Ford *A History of Illinois From its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* reprint annotated by Rodney O. Davis (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 123-124. H. C. Ellsworth *Illinois in 1837 (With a Map) A Sketch of ...* (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1837) map attached to inside cover.

[21] Ford, 181. Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuve *A Complete History of Illinois From 1673 to 1884 ...* (Springfield, Illinois: H. W. Rokker, Publisher 1884), 495. Flanders, 19.

[22] Flanders, 12. Smith, letter Liberty Jail, Clay County, Missouri, March 25, 1839 . To the Church of Latter-day Saints at Quincy, Illinois, and Scattered Abroad, and to Bishop Partridge in Particular: reprinted in Smith, *HOC* 3:302.

[23] Smith *HOC* 3:203-204, n. 204. Stephen C. Leseur *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*. (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1987) 169-174. William G. Hartley. "'Almost Too Intolerable a Burthen': The Winter Exodus from Missouri, 1838-39" *Journal of Mormon History* 18:2 (Fall 1992), 21.

[24]

[25] Letter of Edward Partridge to Joseph Smith. March 5, 1839. Smith *HOC*, 3:272.

[26] A stake was a subdivision of church government that contained the local ecclesiastical authority.

[27] Chapman & Co.. *History of Pike County Illinois . . . Biographies of Representative Citizens*. (Chicago: C. C. Chapman, 1880) 536. During the this

part of the nineteenth century women were not allowed to vote. Therefore the figure of 300 voters reflects male Mormons only. If each male had one wife and two children this would make the Mormon population in the area at least as high as 1200. However it is very unlikely that the community of Mormontown had this many inhabitants. After comparing this figure with newspaper journal and other historical accounts, it appears that the figure of 300 voters applies to all of the Mormon voters in the county and not just Mormontown. This would mean that the Mormons living in the Mormon and non-Mormon communities of Pleasant Vale, Mormontown, Pleasant Hill, Perry, Pittsfield and Griggsville totaled at least 1200 Mormons. Joseph Smith Jr. *An American Prophets Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*. Ed. Scott H. Fauling. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989) 325.

[28]Sangamo Journal, (Springfield, Illinois) January 19, 1839, 18:13:1.

[29]Preston Nibley, *History of Joseph Smith by his Mother* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1945), 292.

[30]Ronald K. Esplin, "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership. 1830-1841" (Ph. D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981) 361.

[31]Ibid. 360. Smith, *HOC*, 3:249-254.

[32]Hartley, 19-20.

[33]Ibid. 21.

[34]Ibid. 21.

[35]Minutes of the Adjourned Meeting of the Democratic Committee of Quincy. Smith, *HOC*, 3:275.

[36]Hartley, 39-40.

[37]Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Educational System, *Church History in the Fullness of Times* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989) 89. Bruce R. McConkie *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd. ed., (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979,) 305-307.

[38]Esaias Edwards, "Autobiography (1811-1847)," Typescript BYU-S, (Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah). GOPHER Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Available from ucs2@byu.edu;INTERNET. Smith, *HOC*, 3:295, 298.

[39]Smith, *HOC*, 3:260-261, 283-284.

[40] *Ibid.*, 3:203-204.

[41] *Ibid.*, 3:260-261.

[42] John P. Greene, *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons or Latter-day Saints from the State of Missouri. Under the "Extermination Order"* Cincinnati Ohio: R. P. Brooks, 1839, 40. Hartley, 18.

[43] Commerce, Illinois, would later be named Nauvoo by Joseph Smith.

[44] Smith, *HOC*, 3:260-261.

[45] *Ibid.*, 3:283

[46] *Ibid.* 3:336.

[47] An account by Hyrum Smith of their escape from Missouri officials. *Ibid.*, 3:321 notes.

[48] Pearson H. Corbett *Hyrum Smith: Patriarch*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 223. Lyndon W. Cook "Isaac Galland - Mormon Benefactor" *BYU Studies*, spring 1979 19:271. Joseph Smith's *History of the Church* indicates that the Iowa purchases were made prior to May 4, 1839 (3:345). The deed records of Lee county Iowa however list the transactions as occurring on May 29 and June 26. In either case the Iowa land was bought several days after the future sight of Nauvoo, which until its purchase was never seriously considered.

[49] Allen, 71.

[50] Minutes of the adjourned meeting of the Democratic Association of Quincy. Smith, *HOC*, 3:275.

[51] Ford, n.264-265. The "Half-Breed Tract" was a section of land between the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers granted by congress to the children of Caucasian fathers and Native-American mothers in a treaty with the Sac and Fox indians in 1824.

[52] Flanders, 34, 13.

[53] Smith, *HOC*, 3:375.

[54] Smith *HOC*, 4:109. Minutes of the General Conference of the Church at Nauvoo on April 6-8, 1840.

[55] David E. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974) 71. Flanders, 47.

[56] Smith *HOC*, 4:215-214.

[57] Flanders, 45.

[58] *Ibid.*, 45 n.

[59] Smith, *HOC* 4:205.

[60] *Ibid.*, 3:233, 236, 4:205.

[61] Smith, *HOC*, 3:301

[62] Edwards, 15. Brown, Sarah "Autobiography" typescript, found in the vertical file for *Mormons* at the Pike County Historical Society.

[63] Smith, *HOC*, 3:377. *Times and Seasons*, (Nauvoo, Illinois) 1 April 1845. Jenson, Andrew *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia Selected Biographies: A Compilation of Selected Biographies of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* reprint *LDS Historical Library CD Rom 2nd ed.* (Orem, Utah: Infobases INC. 1993), s.v. SMITH, Samuel Harrison.

[64] Edwards, 20.

[65] Letter of Joseph Smith to Horace R. Hotchkiss Esqr. Nauvoo August 25, 1841. Located at the Illinois State Historical Library, manuscripts *Joseph Smith* folder. Reprint available in Smith *HOC.*, 4:406-407.

[66] Smith *HOC.*, 4:362.

[67] Smith "Letter to Hotchkiss".

[68] Flanders, 49-50.

[69] Smith *HOC.*, 4:478-479. "Minutes of a meeting of the Twelve in the House of the Prophet." From the Journal of Wilford Woodruff.

[70] Chapman, 239.

[71] Flanders, 140.

[72] Letter from Brigham Young to Reuben Hedlock, Church Immigration agent in England, May 3, 1844, Reprinted in, Smith, *HOC.* 6:353.

[73] Kenneth W. Godfrey "Some Thoughts Regarding an Unwritten History of Nauvoo" *BYU Studies* Summer (1975), 420.

[74] Flanders, 117.

[75] Flanders, 227-228.

[76] John Mack Faragher *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie*, (New Haven: Yale University Press 1986), 67-70.

[77] Smith *HOC* 4:482.

[78] Flanders, 183-185.

[79] Joseph Holbrook, *The Life of Joseph Holbrook: Written by His Own Hand* photocopy of typescript found in Western Illinois University Special Collections, unaccessioned materials "Novouiana".

[80] Hamilton, 54. Smith *HOC*, 4:470.

[81] Letter of Joseph Smith to Horace R. Hotchkiss Esqr. Nauvoo August 25, 1841. Located at the Illinois State Historical Library, manuscripts *Joseph Smith* folder. Reprint available in Smith *HOC.*, 4:406-407. *Ibid.*, 4:460.

[82] Smith *HOC.*, 4:471.

[83] Smith *HOC.*, 4:471.

[84] There are many spellings for Shokokon. I chose to use Shokokon because it seems to be the most common spelling on maps, county histories and other records from the time and is the current spelling on modern maps. However, it appears in *Illinois Place Names* as Shokoken and many Mormon sources spell it as Shokoquon. The site of Shokokon lies between the current town of Carman and the Shokokon Slough of the Mississippi River.

[85] Faulring p. 301. Smith journal

[86] Sutton, Robert P. *Rivers, Railways, and Roads: A History of Henderson County*, Raritan, Illinois: Henderson County Historical Society 1988, 84.

[87] *History of Henderson County* H. H Hill And Company: Chicago, 1882, p. 37.

[88] Timothy R. Mahoney *River Towns in the Great West: The Structure of Provincial Urbanization in the American Midwest, 1820-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 122-125. also see map in *Ibid.*, 158.

[89] Mahoney, 228.

[90] "An Epistle of the Twelve: To the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" reprinted in *HOC*, 7:280.

[91] Mahoney, 128-131.

[92] June Moon "*Mulrum in Parvo*" "*Much in Little*" *A History of Colchester Illinois* (Colchester, Illinois" The Colchester Chronicle, 1956), 14. "Died in Iowa" *Macomb Daily Journal* (Macomb, Illinois) 12 May 1900, 3. Schuyler County Clerk's Office "Map of Road through McDonough County to the Iowa Rapids 1834" Illinois Regional Archives Depository found in Schuyler County Clerk's Subject Files.

[93] George Albert Smith, "History of The Church Volume C 1 Addenda to Book" manuscript: Historians Office p. 27-28 microfilm at Church Historical Department Salt Lake City Utah. It is unclear what the role of the Quorum of the Twelve's role was in settling the Saints. In August of 1841 Smith requested that the Twelve " take the burden of the business of the Church in Nauvoo, and especially as pertaining to the church lands, settling of the Saints on their arrival, and selling church lands." Young, Brigham *Brigham Young History* ed. E. Watson 1968 pg. 106. Unfortunately, access to the record of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles is highly restricted and can not be used to clear up this confusion. In view of Brigham Young's later success in Utah it seems likely that he had a very extensive role in the settlement of Illinois.

[94] Also known as Perkin's Settlement, Macedonia, Webster, and possibly the crooked creek branch.

[95] William Draper. *Autobiography (1807-1881)* (Typescript, Provo, Utah:BYU-S. Reproduced in ---- *LDS Historical Library CD Rom 2nd ed.* Orem, Utah: Infobases INC. 1993), 19.

[96] Draper, 20.

[97] Journal History, October 9, 1838, and February 28, 1841. Church Historical Library, Salt Lake City Utah.

[98] Peterson, Canute *Story of the Life of Canute Peterson As Given by Himself and by Some Members of His Family* ed. Sally Nelson Bead 1940 p. 14. microfilm Church History Department.

[99] La Salle County Surveyor "La Salle County Surveyor's Book, P" 55-56. microfilm at Illinois Regional Archives Depository, Northern Illinois University.

[100] Mark C. Hamilton, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.19.

[101] Smith, George Albert "History of The Church Volume C 1 Addenda to Book" manuscript: Historians Office p. 27 microfilm at Church Historical Department Salt Lake City Utah.

[102] Draper, p.1-2. The Kirtland Temple was the first of the important Mormon edifices erected for special types of worship services. Joseph Smith organized the School of the Prophets to expound more fully on Church doctrine and to prepare several of the men of the Church for future leadership positions.

[103] Present day New Canton.

[104] *Ibid.*, 18.

[105] Smith, *HOC.*, 7:312.

[106] Backman, 183 map.

[107] Smith *HOC.*, 7:312.

[108] State of Illinois, Public Domain Land Sales Tract Record Listing: Listing in Sequence by- (Purchaser Name), (Springfield Illinois: Archives Division 1984), 455. Pike County, Illinois Circuit Clerk, Deed Book Vol. 15, pp 421-422 entry no. 7719, microfilm at Illinois Regional Archives Depository, Western Illinois University.

[109] Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986)p36.

[110] La Salle County, 55-56. Hancock County Surveyor's Office "Plat Record Book 1" Carthage, Illinois microfilm at Illinois Regional Archives Depository Western Illinois University.

[111] Draper, 20. After the Mormons departure the meeting house was moved to Cincinnati Landing along the Mississippi River and used as a warehouse. Captain M. D. Massie, *Past and Present of Pike County, Illinois* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1906), 87.

[112] Peeterson, 17. Sarah Brown, "Autobiography" typescript vertical file for *Mormons* Pike County Historical Society. The pattern of many LDS communities established by Brigham Young in Illinois followed this pattern. It is similar to the original "City of Zion Plat" and later communities established in Utah but differs

greatly from the city of Nauvoo. Richard H. Jackson, "The city of Zion Plat" in Brown, *Historical Atlas*, 44-45.