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## Some Demographic Aspects of One Hundred Early Mormon Converts, 1830-1837

Laurence Milton Yorgason  
*Brigham Young University - Provo*

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SOME DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF ONE HUNDRED EARLY MORMON  
CONVERTS, 1830-1837

A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Department of History  
Brigham Young University

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

by  
Laurence Milton Yorgason

April 1974

This thesis, by Laurence Milton Yorgason, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

  
James B. Allen, Committee Chairman

  
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Typed by Katherine Shepherd

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to extend appreciation to members and former members of my committee for their useful criticism and encouragement. The way has been long and not without its hard spots. The encouragement and faith of my wife have been of the greatest value to me; I would not have succeeded without it.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	iii
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	vi
 Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
2. MAJORITY CHARACTERISTICS . . . . .	14
SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS . . . . .	14
Education . . . . .	14
Age of Converts . . . . .	23
Vocations of Converts . . . . .	25
Migration Rates Among Converts and Parents . . . . .	28
Typical Examples . . . . .	29
GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS . . . . .	32
Birthplaces . . . . .	32
Conversion Locations . . . . .	35
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS . . . . .	42
The Converts, Parents, and National Trends . . . . .	42
Religious Opinions and Migrations . . . . .	49
Conclusions . . . . .	54
3. THEME AND VARIATIONS . . . . .	57
THE THEME: THE COMPOSITE CONVERT . . . . .	57
Luman Shurtliff: Real Life Example . . . . .	57

Chapter	Page
THE VARIATIONS . . . . .	60
Biographical Examples of Persons with Atypical Characteristics . . . . .	60
Analysis of Variant Groups . . . . .	66
Further Analysis . . . . .	77
CONCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS AND THOUGHTS .	83
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	88
APPENDIX . . . . .	102

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. One Hundred Mormon Converts and Factors of Religious, Social, Vocational, and Geographical Information Relating to Their Backgrounds, 1830-1837 . . . . .	15
2. Religious Affiliations of Parents of Converts . . . . .	42
3. Religious Affiliations of Converts . . . . .	43
4. Distribution of Former Religions of Converts According to General Geographic Areas . . . . .	44
5. Percentages of Parents and Converts Belonging to Religions Prior to Mormon Conversion . . . . .	47
6. Predominant Background Characteristics of Variant Groupings . . . . .	67
7. Converts Who Moved Five or More Times . . . . .	103
8. Non-migrant Converts . . . . .	105
9. Converts Who Changed Religion Two or More Times . . . . .	106
10. Converts Who Made No Pre-conversion Religion Change . . . . .	107
11. Converts Born in the South or West . . . . .	109
12. Converts Converted in Canada . . . . .	110
13. Converts Belonging to Minority Religions . . . . .	111
14. Converts Who Were Exceptionally Educated . . . . .	112
15. Converts Who Received Little or No Education . . . . .	113
16. Converts Who Were Non-farmers . . . . .	114
17. Wealthy Converts . . . . .	116

Table	Page
18. Older Converts (over Fifty) . . . . .	117
19. Urban Dwellers . . . . .	118
20. Converts Converted in Large Cities (over 5000 Inhabitants) . . . . .	120



## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

Questions regarding the conditions of the origin of Mormonism have been asked repeatedly since Joseph Smith first made his claims public regarding his religious experiences. The same questions have been asked by both proponents and opponents of Smith's story: "How did Mormonism begin?", "Who was Joseph Smith?", "What was Joseph Smith?", "What did he do?" If it could be shown that Joseph Smith was an honest, upright, and sincere person, then the religion he produced was more likely to be reliable and truthful. If it could be shown that Joseph Smith was a fraud and a deceiver, then presumably, the religion could have been revealed as a fake and a great hoax. For many years the issues were wrapped up in the polarization of these extreme points of view. Not until the 1940's did the emotional content of these questions abate to the degree that a more objective examination of the evidence was possible.

In 1945 a work was produced which exemplified the increased emotional detachment with which the above questions could be treated. Fawn Brodie, in her major biography, No Man Knows My History, examined the life of Joseph Smith with a scholarly air which seemed to answer many of those

questions, and inadvertently, to raise a few others.<sup>1</sup> But Brodie had her own point of view regarding Smith's real role in the religion, and it is not clear whether her studies led her to that point of view, or that she merely was directed in her researches and conclusions by her own preconceived notions about Joseph Smith. At any rate, she produced a work which shows clearly that the question of Joseph Smith's real character is a central issue in the study of Mormonism. Brodie gave her answer:

The source of his power lay not in his doctrine but in his person, and the rare quality of his genius was due not to his reason but to his imagination. He was a mythmaker of prodigious talent. . . . The moving power of Mormonism was a fable--one that few converts stopped to question, for its meaning seemed profound and its inspiration was contagious.<sup>2</sup>

After Brodie wrote, questions asked by scholars were frequently of a different nature. They became concerned with more than the objective validity of Joseph Smith's claims. For example, they began asking such questions as, "Why did people accept the Mormon message?", "What were the doctrines of Mormonism?", and "What kind of people accepted the doctrines?" Two basic assumptions prompted these questions: (1) Mormonism as a social

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<sup>1</sup>See, for example, the penetrating review of Brodie's book by Marvin S. Hill which questions whether or not a realistic portrayal of Joseph Smith has yet appeared: "Brodie Revisited: A Reappraisal," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, VII (Winter, 1972), 72-85.

<sup>2</sup>Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1945), ix.

institution was a product of the times and conditions in which Mormon converts lived; and (2) Mormonism was not simply the work of Joseph Smith, but a movement in which the people who joined with him significantly influenced both him and the doctrines and customs the religion would adopt. In response to these queries respected historians have produced works which have attempted to supply answers.

S. George Ellsworth, in his extensive and carefully prepared dissertation, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860," made significant contributions in demonstrating methods, locations, and successes of Mormon missionary work in the period referred to. He contended that, although a common conception held that Mormonism was a typical religious product of the frontier in the 1830's, the greatest successes of missionaries were located in areas which were not on the frontier, but in more settled and denser populations east of the frontier. He included a short summary of the social and geographical backgrounds of many of the Mormon leaders throughout the period and concluded that Mormons were typical of a cross section of Americans, and that they were not products of the frontier.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>S. George Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of California, Berkeley, 1951). It is possible, as another historian, Mario De Pillis, has suggested, that Ellsworth (a Mormon), in asserting the status of Mormons, was subtly influenced by a desired to rid the Mormon image of its connection with

Working at the same time as Ellsworth, Whitney R. Cross produced a study of the western section of New York state, that region where Mormonism began, in which he also contended that the Mormon people were products of mature, non-frontier areas. Cross supported his position by analyzing the state of society in western New York and demonstrating that economic and social stability had been achieved by the time Mormonism was born. He demonstrated that the bulk of the inhabitants were New England emigrants, and that the culture was sufficiently developed to accommodate the social sophistication to which they had been accustomed. In addition, the close proximity of the towns in western New York allowed for a growth in cosmopolitanism which the New Englanders had not experienced in their homeland. The area was, therefore, "no frontier or cultural backwash."<sup>1</sup>

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the highly overcharged emotional picture of frontier religions. See Mario De Pillis, "The Social Sources of Mormonism," Church History, XXXVII (May, 1968), 74, n. 60. But such a subjective suggestion is not subject to debate. For my part, I would agree that such emotionalism may have been present in some instances where Mormon converts-to-be lived, but hope to show that many, if not most, were repelled by the revivals which produced it because of the resulting contention and divisions in Christianity.

<sup>1</sup>Contrary to any essentially Mormon reasons for proving that Mormonism originated in mature areas, Cross asserted that the mature phenomena (termed "Ultraisms," of which Mormonism was one) of the Burned-Over District did not, and in fact, could not occur until the specific localities in question had reached a certain economic maturity or leveling off in growth. This was so because the inhabitants of those places were using their emotional and physical resources for surviving and getting ahead economically during the period of growth. Thus, this conclusion was important for Cross because it supported his thesis regarding the

Cross added further support to his point of view by speculating, with the aid of the 1860 Utah Census report, that continued successes of Mormon proselyting efforts were greatest in New York, and probably most successful in the Burned-Over District. Although Cross' evidence in support of this contention was weak, the present study will show that there is additional data which support his conclusion.

Building on Cross' conclusions, David Brion Davis made further explication of the impact of New England culture upon Mormonism. In an effort to show why future converts were attracted to the new religion, Davis asserted that the New England culture prepared them for it. They were those who were "cast off by the Half-Way Covenant," who were looking for confirmation of their literal acceptance of the Bible. They were also searching for contemporary manifestations of the primitive gospel because "the relation between religion and culture had broken down and tradition failed to explain the new civilization."<sup>1</sup> The present study tends to confirm this, as far as some New England converts and converts who migrated from New England were concerned.

Mario S. De Pillis has taken another tack in supply-

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causes of the religious outbreaks of the Burned-Over District. See Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithica, New York: Harper and Row, 1950, pp. 55-76, 146.

<sup>1</sup>David Brion Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," New England Quarterly, XXVI (June, 1953), 147-168.

ing answers to the questions regarding the doctrines of Mormonism and the kinds of people who accepted them. In "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," De Pillis asserted that the basic thrust of Mormonism was a kind of continuing search for religious authority, begun and continued throughout the lifetime of Joseph Smith. This quest was born in an environment characterized by sectarian confusion in an atmosphere of rural emotionalism. In his view, the basic doctrines of Mormonism were only visible in outline form in 1830, and developed only gradually through the movements of the church from New York to Kirtland to Missouri and finally to Illinois. All of these doctrines simply added to the weight of the authority which Mormonism wielded and to the notion that authoritative answers were the only true and reliable ones. Further, those who were attracted to Mormonism were those who were bothered with the same questions, and who sought authoritative answers. These persons, like Joseph Smith, were usually found in areas where emotional sectarian confusion was rampant. After they accepted and joined the Mormons, they contributed in various ways to the support, promotion, and perhaps, the creation of doctrines which perpetuated the basic quest for authority.<sup>1</sup>

De Pillis expanded his points of view in an attack

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<sup>1</sup>Mario De Pillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, "I (Spring, 1966), 68-88.

on traditional "anti-frontier" historians in another article, "The Social Sources of Mormonism." Whitney R. Cross received the first barrage because of the influence of his study concerning the Burned-Over District, and because of the traditional definition of the frontier he accepted, which was, in De Pillis's words: "a forest containing two to six persons per square mile living in constant danger from wolves and Indians."<sup>1</sup> De Pillis asserted that the matter of the frontier was not to be explained on the basis of inhabitants per square mile. The connotations of the term "frontier" as used by Cross were actually "psycho-social," and had little to do with numbers of population. These psycho-social conditions could be found as easily in long-settled urban areas as well as in those which were newly settled and sparsely populated. Despite the contentions of Cross to the contrary, De Pillis asserted that western New York in the 1820's and 1830's was not psychosocially mature, mainly because it was so rapidly growing. Such rapid growth was upsetting enough to the psycho-social environment, he argued, that severe economic and social dislocation resulted.<sup>2</sup>

Future Mormon converts were living in these conditions, and were, in addition, saddled with other social

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<sup>1</sup>De Pillis, "The Social Sources of Mormonism," op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 51-59, et passim.

problems. De Pillis pointed to a "classic rule of the sociology of religion" which contended that "profound social or economic dislocation breeds sectarianism." He observed that migrants were typical examples of those who have been socially and economically dislocated. They were thus the "socially disinherited" because they could no longer look to their former religious leaders and former ways of life for security and orientation.<sup>1</sup> In discovering that future Mormons were migrants it became clear to De Pillis that the social and religious confusion and dislocation which he described in his earlier article were part of the converts' psychological state of mind.

Thus, in relation to the contentions of Cross that Mormons were not living on the frontier, that western New York was not the frontier, and that Mormonism was not a product of the frontier, De Pillis has rejected the whole, and asserted that Mormonism was born in psycho-social conditions usually ascribed to the "frontier," but in reality found anywhere social and economic dislocations were present.

De Pillis next used the dissertation of Ellsworth referred to earlier and re-interpreted facts and figures found therein to buttress his own conclusions. Ellsworth contended that Mormons were mostly converted in areas of moderate-to-dense populations, and thus non-frontier

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 72, 78.



areas.<sup>1</sup> Re-evaluating and creating tables of his own from Ellsworth's figures, De Pillis produced figures which supported his contentions that Mormons were converted in mostly rural areas, both in front of and behind the geographical frontier. He further cited some incidents to show that some social and economic dislocation had occurred in some of those places, thus creating the impression that wherever future converts were living, some economic or social dislocation had already taken place in the minds of those persons.<sup>2</sup> Finally, as referred to above, De Pillis pointed out that because the majority of converts were migrants, they were ready for the authoritative message of Mormonism, and thus, "the origin of 'Mormonism' was related to the disorientation of values associated with migration to and within the backwoods of the United States."<sup>3</sup>

Although De Pillis made use of biographical sources more often than Cross, the manner in which De Pillis advanced from his evidence to his conclusions was objection-

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<sup>1</sup>Ellsworth, op. cit., pp. 331-342.

<sup>2</sup>De Pillis neglected to support this contention with ample evidence: "My frequent allusions to the social disorientation of the rural or 'frontier' societies in which Mormonism flourished cannot be fully documented here." He instead expected the reader to accept his point at face value: "But the fact that much anxiety was produced by revivalism and sectarianism in the Burned-Over District and other locales is universally accepted." Op. cit., p. 78, n. 67. Such documentation as he neglected to furnish was, unfortunately, exactly what was needed to prove his point.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

able. On the basis of the few biographies he consulted he concluded that the majority of converts were migrants. On the basis of a generalization that "much anxiety" was present "in the Burned-Over District and other locales" he concluded that wherever persons were converted to Mormonism in rural areas, there was also a dislocated economic and social environment. Such conclusions came too easily, and are subject to re-evaluation when more accurate data are examined. Such data may be obtained only from biographical studies of the converts themselves, and conclusions may not be made until all relevant facts are compiled. Final evaluations then might be possible and might then be combined with other data in order that more accurate conclusions may be produced.

Beginning this effort, Marvin S. Hill has examined biographical material of some of the earliest New York converts and found that they possessed religious tendencies and inclinations which would demonstrate the ties that Mormonism had with contemporary movements in the East. These inclinations, characterized by a desire to understand and find Christianity in its primitive purity, were termed "Christian primitivism," and were shown by Hill to be major components of the gospel taught by Mormons. Whereas De Pillis attempted to show that when the Mormon message accosted the future converts they were footloose, prime subjects for most any sectarian, authoritarian persuasion, Hill has convincingly demonstrated that many had already

formed their opinions regarding the true religion and were simply looking for one that filled their expectations.<sup>1</sup> While further biographical studies along this line will only help to enlighten us on this matter, it will be shown in this study that a majority of Mormon early converts possessed these tendencies, thus confirming the contentions of Hill.

It should be clear now that the present study will attempt to answer some queries related to the basic question, "What kind of people accepted the doctrines of Mormonism?" This study should eventually lead us (although not immediately) to a clearer understanding of what early Mormonism really was. With this in mind, biographical data are the basic stuff on which this study is built. Thousands of names of early converts were collected and searches undertaken to unearth background information about them in the following categories: social information, including the ages of converts at baptism, their levels of education, their vocations, migrations, and the migrations of their parents; geographical information, showing locations of birth and baptism places and their relative population sizes; religious information, including the religious inclinations of the converts and their parents before baptism.

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<sup>1</sup>Marvin S. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," Brigham Young University Studies, IX (Spring, 1969), 351-72, but especially pp. 354-57.

Originally, the study was to include information for more persons and more categories for each person, such as political activity and opinions. But practical considerations have dictated that information be limited to the categories listed above and to the one hundred persons whose background data will be presented in the next chapter. Converts were included in this study on the basis of completeness of background information. Thus, persons for whom information was partially unavailable were not included.<sup>1</sup> Persons most likely to be in this category were converts who left the church before the exodus to Utah, and women. Background information for leaders was most accessible, and thus a high percentage was included. Moreover, a decision to examine background of converts who were converted between the years 1830 and 1837 was made in order that the experiences of converts and issues coming on the scene in subsequent years would not present a confusing picture. It is felt that persons included in this study might be considered reasonably representative of the general adult male membership of the church, during the period. Reasons for this position will become apparent by the end of the last chapter, and will be reviewed at that time.

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<sup>1</sup>If only one or two items of categories listed in Table 1 in Chapter 2 were unavailable for any given convert, the overall picture was still considered to be essentially complete, and the convert was thus included in the study.

Sources of information used in this study included journals, newspapers, diaries, family histories, and histories of all kinds which contained any biographical or otherwise relevant data. Gazetteers of the period under consideration were also utilized in obtaining information about populations and pertinent items of a local geographic nature. All the information has been compiled and arranged for ease of analysis and comparison. Tables containing all the information in abbreviated form were arranged. Sections containing biographical examples are supplied to demonstrate and illustrate, and finally, an appendix includes tables used for computations not found in the text.

Conclusions regarding religious affiliations and opinions of converts and parents were made. Migration rates, vocations, geographical situations, and education levels were all analyzed and compared in the effort to comprehend the social background of the converts in relation to their religious behavior.

Percentages and averages were calculated to establish majority traits, characteristics, and opinions. A composite convert was created from the statistics, and minority statistics and characteristics were also analyzed. On the basis of these, some judgments were made and recommendations for further study offered. Such conclusions will, it is hoped, provide solid foundations for further historical research.

## Chapter 2

### MAJORITY CHARACTERISTICS

Prospective Mormons moved, farmed, and believed in God. Their social, geographical, and religious data will be examined and summarized in Table 1. All necessary explanations will be found on the first and last pages of the table.<sup>1</sup>

### SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS

#### Education

The majority of early Mormon converts had received at least a "common school" education prior to conversion. This general term usually was interpreted to mean that an individual had received schooling through two or three years, sometimes not consecutive, with terms lasting somewhere between five and nine months per year.<sup>2</sup> Sixty-five percent

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<sup>1</sup>It will be noted that Joseph Smith is included in the study. He was obviously no ordinary member of the church, but he was a member, and as such will be regarded as a "convert" like all others in the study.

<sup>2</sup>The more rural areas had shorter terms of five or six months to allow children time to work on the farm. Some very sparsely settled areas had no school teachers, and teaching was done by parents where possible. In more urban areas, longer and more advanced schooling was available, leading up to college in the largest urban centers. For a general survey of these and other educational developments in America, see Paul Monroe, Founding of the American Public School System (N.Y.: The Macmillan Co., 1940), pp. 105-222.

Table 1

One Hundred Mormon Converts and Factors of Religious, Social, Vocational, and Geographical Information Relating to Their Backgrounds, 1830-1837

Name	BaD	Cp	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,Pm	Vocation
1. ADAMS, Barnabas	35	-	M	M	-	35	0	C	C	R	2	1	F
2. AMES, Ira	32	x	M	M	E	28	5	Vt	NY	R	1	6	Tanner, doctor
3. ANDRUS, Milo	33	x	C	-	C	18	-	NY	O	R	4	3	F
4. ANGEL, Truman	33	-	B	-	L	23	2	RIu	NY	R	2	3	Carp., joiner, architect
5. BARLOW, Israel	32	x	RM	RM	C	26	0	Ma	NY	U	5	4	F
6. BARNES, Lorenzo	33	-	-	M	L	21	0	Ma	O	R	3	2	F

Column heading explanations:

Age Age of convert at baptism  
 BaD Baptism date of convert  
 BiP Birthplace of convert (state or country)  
 CoL Conversion location of convert  
 CP Christian primitivist  
 Ed Educational background of convert  
 PaM Number of movements of parents from time of their marriage (in most cases) to time when their child left home or was converted  
 PaR Parents' religious affiliations  
 PeM Number of personal moves of convert before conversion  
 PeR Personal religious affiliation of convert  
 P,PM Personal convert and parental moves before conversion combined  
 Size Size of conversion location (U = urban, R = rural)

Table 1

One Hundred Mormon Converts and Factors of Religious, Social, Vocational, and Geographical Information Relating to Their Backgrounds, 1830-1837

Name	BaD	Cp	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,Pm	Vocation
1. ADAMS, Barnabas	35	-	M	M	-	35	0	C	C	R	2	1	F
2. AMES, Ira	32	x	M	M	E	28	5	Vt	NY	R	1	6	Tanner, doctor
3. ANDRUS, Milo	33	x	C	-	C	18	-	NY	O	R	4	3	F
4. ANGEL, Truman	33	-	B	-	L	23	2	RIu	NY	R	2	3	Carp., joiner, architect
5. BARLOW, Israel	32	x	RM	RM	C	26	0	Ma	NY	U	5	4	F
6. BARNES, Lorenzo	33	-	-	M	L	21	0	Ma	O	R	3	2	F

Column heading explanations:

Age Age of convert at baptism  
 BaD Baptism date of convert  
 BiP Birthplace of convert (state or country)  
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 PeM Number of personal moves of convert before conversion  
 PeR Personal religious affiliation of convert  
 P,PM Personal convert and parental moves before conversion combined  
 Size Size of conversion location (U = urban, R = rural)



Table 1 (continued)

Name	BaD	Cp	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P, Pm	Vocation
7. BENT, Samuel	33	-	C-P	C	C	55	-	Ma	Mi	R	0	-	F
8. BIGLER, Henry	37	-	-	N	C	22	0	WV	WV	R	0	0	F
9. BINGHAM, Erastus	33	-	N	-	L	35	1	Vt	Vt	R	1	1	F
10. BOYNTON, John F.	32	-	-	Q	E	21	1	Ma	O	R	0	1	-
11. BROWN, Benjamin	35	x	N	Q	L	41	2	NY	NY	R	1	2	F
12. Butler, John L.	35	x	M-B	M	C	27	0	Ky	Ky	R	0	0	F, school teacher
13. CALL, Anson	36	-	M	M	C	26	1	Vt	O	U	2	2	F
14. COWDERY, Oliver	29	-	-	B	C	23	1	Vt	NY	U	2	2	Clerk, teach- er, F, blacksmith
15. CROSBY, Jonathan	33	x	N	C	C	26	0	Ma	Ma	R	-	-	F
16. DECKER, Isaac	33	-	Dr	Dr	-	33	3	NY	O	-	1	3	F
17. DRAPER, William	33	-	-	B	C	26	2	C	C	R	3	3	F, surveyor's helper
18. DUNCAN, Chapman	32	-	C	C	-	20	1	NH	Mo	U	1	2	F, clerk, laborer, teacher
19. EARL, Sylvester	37	-	N	M	-	22	0	O	O	-	7	3	F
20. FARR, Winslow	32	-	C	C	-	38	3	NH	Vt	R	1	3	F, county judge, w
21. FIELDING, Joseph*	36	x	M	M	-	39	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	F
22. FOOTE, David	33	x	M-U	-	L	55	4	Con	NY	U	1	5	F
23. FULLMER, David	36	x	M-	M-	C	33	3	Pa	O	R	2	4	Teacher, merchant
24. GATES, Jacob	33	x	N	M	L	22	0	Vt	Vt	R	1	0	F, carp., joiner
25. GIFFORD, Levi	31	x	M	-	L	42	1	Ma	O	R	4	3	F

Table 1 (continued)

Name	BaD	Cp	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,Pm	Vocation
26. GRANGER, Oliver	32	x	M	M	C	38	1	NY	NY	U	0	1	Peace office, Col. in cavalry
27. HARRIS, Martin	30	-	N	-	-	47	0	NY	NY	U	2	1	F, w
28. HENDRICKS, James	35	x	B	B	-	27	0	Ky	Ky	R	1	0	F
29. HIGLEY, Oliver	31	-	N	C/E	-	52	3	Con	NY	R	3	4	F
30. HOLBROOK, Joseph	33	-	N	N	C	27	2	NY	NY	R	2	2	F, teacher, laborer
31. HORNE, Joseph	36	-	N	M	L	24	0	Eng u	C	R	3	3	F, merchant, carpenter
32. HUNT, Jefferson	35	-	N	B	C	32	0	Ky	Ill	R	5	1	F
33. HUNTINGTON, William	35	x	P	-	-	51	1	NH	NY	U	2	2	F, w
34. HYDE, Heman	34	-	-	P	-	46	2	Vt	NY	R	-	-	F, w
35. HYDE, Orson	31	x	M-RB	M	C	26	1	Con	O	R	1	2	Clerk, teacher
36. JOHNSON, Benjamin*	35	-	P	P	C	16	0	NY	O	R	6	1	F, carpenter, laborer
37. JOHNSON, Joel*	31	-	B	P	L	29	1	Ma	O	R	6	5	F, saw miller
38. JOHNSON, Seth*	32	-	P	P	C	27	0	Ma	NY	U	6	2	F, teacher
39. KIMBALL, Heber C.	32	x	B	N,P	E	31	1	Vt	NY	U	3	3	F, blacksm., potter, builder
40. KNIGHT, Joseph	30	x	U	-	-	58	2	Ma	NY	R	1	2	F, mill own- er, w
41. KNIGHT, Newell	30	x	U	U	C	30	0	Vt	NH	R	2	2	Inventor, mill oper.
42. LAKE, James	32	-	M	M	-	42	1	NY	C	R	2	2	F
43. LEANY, William	34	-	N	N,B, P,D	C	19	0	Ky	Ky	R	1	0	F

Table 1 (continued)

Name	BaD	Cp	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,Pm	Vocation
44. LEAVITT, Jeremiah	35	-	C	C	-	18	0	C	C	-	3	0	F
45. LYMAN, Amasa	32	x	N	C	C	19	0	NH	NH	R	1	0	F
46. McBRIDE, Thomas	31	-	N	-	-	55	2	Va	Va	R	1	2	F
47. MARSH, Thomas B.	30	x	M	-	-	31	7	Ma	Ma	U	2	8	F, laborer
48. MILLER, William	34	x	N	N,P	E	20	0	NY	NY	R	1	0	-, w
49. MORLEY, Isaac	30	x	C-P- RB	C-P	L	54	1	Ma	O	R	0	1	F, w
50. MORRILL, Laban	33	x	N	B	-	19	1	Vt	Vt	U	0	1	Blacksmith
51. MURDOCK, John	30	x	L-P- B-Rb	P	C	38	2	NY	O	R	3	3	F, teacher
52. NELSON, David	33	-	B	-	C	32	2	Ma	Ma	R	1	2	Furn. painter, odd jobs
53. NOBLE, Joseph	32	x	N	-	C	22	1	Ma	NY	R	5	6	Flour miller
54. OSBORNE, David	35	x	Camp	N,B- M	E	28	2	Va	Ind	R	5	7	F, teacher
55. PARTRIDGE, Edward	30	x	&-B	-	-	37	1	Ma	O	R	1	1	Hatter
56. PETTEGREW, David	32	x	M	M	-	41	2	Vt	O	U	1	2	F
57. PETTEY, Albert	35	-	B	B	L	40	3	Ky	Ten	R	3	5	F, wheel- wright, gunsmith
58. PORTER, Sanford	31	x	N	N	C	41	6	Ma	Ind	-	2	8	F, teacher
59. PRATT, Addison	37	-	P	-	C	35	1	NH	NY	R	0	1	F, sailor
60. PRATT, Orson*	30	-	N	N	C	19	0	NY	NY	R	5	2	F
61. PRATT, Parley P.*	30	x	B-Rb	N	C	23	2	NY	NY	R	5	5	F
62. PULSIPHER, Zerah	32	x	B	B,P	-	43	2	Vt	NY	U	0	2	F
63. RICH, Charles C.	32	x	N	N	C	23	0	Ky	Ill	R	3	2	F, teacher
64. RICH, Sarah De Arman	35	x	RM	M	-	21	0	Ill	Ill	R	4	2	Father was farmer

Table 1 (continued)

Name	BaD	Cp	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P, Pm	Vocation
65. RICHARDS, Phinehas*	37	-	C	C	-	-	0	Ma	Ma	R	2	0	F, carp.
66. RICHARDS, Willard*	36	x	N	C	C	32	1	Ma	Ma	R	2	2	Dr. of Med.
67. RIGDON, Sidney	30	x	B-RB	B	C	37	3	Pa	O	R	1	3	Minister
68. ROCKWOOD, Albert	37	-	-	C	C	32	0	Ma	Ma	R	1	0	F
69. ROUNDY, Shadrach	30	-	B	B	C	41	1	Vt	NY	R	1	1	F
70. SESSIONS, Perrigrine	35	-	N	M	-	21	0	Me	Me	R	0	0	F
71. SHURTLIFF, Luman	36	x	B-Rb	M	C	29	1	Ma	O	R	2	2	F, teacher, shoemaker
72. SMITH, George A.	33	x	P	P	C	16	0	NY	NY	U	0	0	F
73. SMITH, Joseph Jr.	29	x	N	N, P	C	24	0	Vt	NY	U	6	7	F
74. SMITH, Joseph Sr.	30	x	N	N	C	59	11	Ma	NY	U	3	14	F
75. SMITH, Mary F.*	36	-	M	M	-	35	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	-
76. SMITH, Silas	35	-	P	U	-	56	0	NH	NY	R	7	4	F
77. SMOOT, Abraham	35	-	N	N	-	20	0	Ky	Ten	-	4	2	F
78. SNOW, Eliza R.*	35	-	N	B	E	31	0	Ma	O	R	3	2	Writer, sec- retary
79. SNOW, Erastus*	33	-	N	M, N	C	15	0	Vt	Vt	R	0	0	F
80. SNOW, Lorenzo*	36	x	N	B	E	22	2	O	O	R	3	2	Lieut. in military
81. SNOW, Willard*	33	-	M	M, N	C	22	0	Vt	Vt	R	0	0	F
82. SNOW, William*	32	-	M	M, N	L	25	1	Vt	Vt	R	0	1	F
83. SNOW, Zerubbabel*	32	-	M	M, N	C	23	0	Vt	Vt	R	0	0	F
84. TANNER, John	32	-	B	B	-	54	2	RI	NY	R	2	3	F, w
85. TAYLOR, John	36	x	C/E- M	C/E	C	28	1	Eng	C	U	3	3	Cooper, turn- er, preacher
86. TYLER, Daniel	33	x	N	N	E	17	0	NYu	Pa	R	1	1	-
87. Van BUREN, Cheney G.	35	x	N	C/E	C	24	1	NY	O	R	0	1	F, builder
88. WALKER, William	35	-	C	C	C	15	0	Vt	NY	U	2	1	Skilled laborer

Table 1 (continued)

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,Pm	Vocation
89. WHITMER, David	29	-	Dr	Dr	C	24	0	Pa	NY	U	1	1	F
90. WHITMER, Peter Sr.	30	-	Dr	Dr	L	57	1	Pa	NY	U	-	-	F
91. WHITNEY, Newell	30	x	RB	-	C	35	2	Vt	O	R	1	2	Merchant
92. WIGHT, Lyman	30	x	RB	B	C	34	5	NY	O	R	4	6	F
93. WILLIAMS, Frederick G.	30	x	RB	-	E	43	2	Con	O	R	4	5	F, Dr. of Medicine
94. WILSON, Lewis D.	36	-	N	N	C	31	-	Vt	O	R	3	-	F
95. WOOD, Daniel	33	-	M	M	-	33	0	NY	C	R	3	2	F
96. WOODRUFF, Wilford	33	x	N	B,N	C	26	2	Con	NY	U	1	2	Miller, F
97. YOUNG, Brigham*	32	x	RM	M	L	31	1	Vt	NY	U	6	5	Carp., painter, glaz., joiner
98. YOUNG, Joseph*	32	x	M	M	-	35	-	Ma	NY	-	6	-	Painter, glaz., preacher
99. YOUNG, Lorenzo*	32	x	N	M	L	24	-	NY	NY	U	6	-	F, gardener, nurseryman
100. ZUNDEL, Johan J.	36	x	Rapp	Rapp	-	40	4	Ger	Pa	U	3	4	Butcher

Necessary explanations:

- \* Sibling  
 B Baptist  
 C (under religious affiliation) Congregationalist  
 C (under birth or baptism place) Canada  
 C (in "Ed" column) Common school education

Table 1 (continued)

C/E	Church of England
C-P	Congregational, changing to Presbyterian
Camp	Campbellite
D	Dunker
Dr	Dutch Reformed
E	Exceptional, or more than common school education
F	Farmer
L	(in "Ed" column) Little education, less than common school
L	(in religious affiliation column) Lutheran
M	Methodist
Ma	Massachusetts
Mi	Michigan
N	No affiliation
N,P	One spouse: no affiliation; other spouse: Presbyterian
O	Ohio
Q	Quaker
R	(in "Size" column) Rural, less than 2500 inhabitants
RB	Reformed Baptist, a group led by Sidney Rigdon
RM	Reformed Methodist
Rapp	Rappite
u	Urban; all entries without "u" in "BiP" column are considered to be of rural size
U	(in "Size" column) Urban, more than 2500 inhabitants
U	(in religious affiliations) Universalists
w	Wealthy; all other entries without "w" are considered to be without unusual wealth

All other abbreviations should be self-explanatory.

of the converts<sup>1</sup> received the education described above, while another 13 percent received more advanced schooling. Twenty-one percent received little or no formal education.

Few leaders of the period under consideration received more than the "common school" education. Of the persons who might safely be described as leaders of the period, only three received above-average education: John F. Boynton, Heber C. Kimball, and Frederick G. Williams.<sup>2</sup> It is not known exactly how much Boynton was educated, except that his schooling went some years beyond the "common school" level.<sup>3</sup> The biographer of Heber C. Kimball points to an above-average education for Kimball, indicating that he attended school from the time he was five until he was fourteen years old.<sup>4</sup> In a recent unpublished biography of Frederick G. Williams, the author explains only that his education was above average.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Forty-six of seventy: information was not available for thirty persons.

<sup>2</sup>Another leader, Lorenzo Snow, was baptized in 1836, but was not designated as an apostle until 1849; therefore his leadership did not begin until after the period under consideration.

<sup>3</sup>John F. Boynton, The Boynton Family (Massachusetts: n.p., 1897), pp. xx.

<sup>4</sup>Orson F. Whitney, Life of Heber C. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), p. 6.

<sup>5</sup>Frederick G. Williams, "Frederick G. Williams, Veteran in the Work of the Lord," typescript copy in Church Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereinafter cited as Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, written in 1969, Madison, Wisconsin, pp. 1-2.

Brigham Young received little or no formal education.<sup>1</sup> All other leaders (excepting those for whom educational information is unavailable) received the "common school" education.

This evidence seems to indicate that early Mormon converts were not highly educated. Few converts, if any, were trained theologians. Since leaders were no more educated than others, education apparently had little to do with their positions, but more practical considerations prevailed. Thus, the more popular religious movements and influences were probably current and understood among converts, but more sophisticated theologies were not.

#### Age of Converts

The converts considered in this study were all persons who were old enough to make and carry out their own decisions at the time they accepted Mormonism. Converts up to the age of eighteen have been excluded because such persons often seemed to follow the prior conversion of their parents. Five exceptions to this general rule were found and included in this study: Benjamin Johnson, sixteen years of age; George A. Smith, sixteen; Erastus Snow, fifteen; Daniel Tyler, seventeen, and William Walker, fifteen. Johnson had desired to join the church before his brothers

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<sup>1</sup>Journal of Discourses, 5:97; 13:176; Morris R. Werner, Brigham Young (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1925), p. 4.



joined in 1831, but was denied parental permission until 1835. Smith was convinced, together with his parents, that he should join the Mormons, and all were baptized in 1833. Snow was the third of four brothers to join in one year, and since he was but fifteen, the necessary parental consent had to be obtained. Tyler was the first to be converted in his family, but his father was not convinced. Finally, in 1833, his father did accept; then his sister, father, and brothers were baptized. Daniel was then permitted to be baptized. Walker's father joined two years earlier, but William was not convinced and sided with relatives who persecuted Mormons. Finally, he decided that was not right and decided to investigate reasons for such persecution. He soon concluded the Mormons had the truth and joined.

Comparatively young men were typical converts to the church. The median age was thirty, and the average was 31.6.<sup>1</sup> Seventy-eight percent of the converts were found to be forty-one years of age or younger when they were baptized. Only one of the early leaders, Frederick G.

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<sup>1</sup>Over half of all American males in 1830 and 1840 were seventeen and under. If the median age is calculated for the male population of fifteen years and older, the median age becomes about forty-eight or forty-nine years of age for 1830, and thirty years of age for 1840. Calculated from Census reports of 1830 and 1840: United States Bureau of the Census, Fifth Census of the United States: 1830 (Washington: Duff Green, 1832), p. 162; Sixth Census of the United States: 1840 (Washington, Blair and Rives, 1841), p. 475.

Williams, was older (forty-three). Such youth lent strength to the activism of the new religion. In undertakings such as the Zion's Camp march, the building of the Kirtland temple, the missionary journeys, the movements of the general church membership, not only did directives come from leaders, but the leaders participated directly, perhaps creating bonds of fellowship not easily broken. In turn, this vigorous activism may have been an element in the inducing of more of the active, vigorous, and youthful to join. Whatever the reason, the more youthful were attracted.

#### Vocations of Converts

Following is a list of vocations by which the early converts supported themselves. The number accompanying each vocation indicates the number of persons listed in Table 1 involved in that vocation.

Farmer	76	Potter	1
Teacher	12	Writer	1
Unskilled laborer	6	Gardener	1
Carpenter, joiner	6	Butcher	1
Flour miller	4	Architect	1
Painter, glazier	3	Surveyor's help	1
Clerk	3	Judge	1
Blacksmith	3	Inventor	1
Doctor of medicine	3	Hatter	1
Builder	2	Wheelwright	1
Career military	2	Gunsmith	1
Merchant	2	Sailor	1
Minister	2	Shoemaker	1
Tanner	1	Secretary	1
Law officer	1	Cooper	1
Saw miller	1	Turner	1

(Total persons: 96; information for four persons is not available. It is evident that the sum of the above figures is more than 96; persons with double or even

triple vocations are counted once for each vocation.)

Forty persons mentioned above had double occupations, while fifty-six had single occupations. Only twenty persons were not farmers. Of those twenty, ten had single and ten had double occupations. Forty-six farmers had no other occupations.

It is obvious that since seventy-six of one hundred persons studied were farmers, their living conditions must have been generally rural. In addition, examination of Table 1 will show that thirteen of the twenty persons who were not farmers were living in conditions which were predominantly rural.<sup>1</sup> Further examination will reveal that the occupations of these persons were mostly of the type which would be useful and essential in either rural or urban economies.

The new gospel seemed to appeal to few with unusual wealth. Nine of the converts were relatively wealthy, and none had great wealth. The nine were: Winslow Farr, William Huntington, Heman Hyde, Joseph Knight, William Miller, Isaac Morley, John Tanner, Martin Harris, and

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<sup>1</sup>The generally accepted numerical dividing point between rural and urban in a village or town is 2500 inhabitants. See Paul H. Landis, quoted in Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology (New York: American Book Company, 1948), p. 10. According to figures calculated from the 1830 and 1840 Census reports, 8 and 10 percent of Americans were urban dwellers in 1830 and 1840, respectively. United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, 1784-1945 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949), pp. 26, 29.

Frederick G. Williams. It may be noticed that only two of these were under forty years of age: Winslow Farr (thirty-eight) and William Miller (twenty). The wealth of most of these men came from extensive real estate holdings which they acquired when they were young men and which they retained for many years. Since seventy-eight of the converts were under forty-one years of age, the chances that many would acquire wealth through similar procedures were not great.

In cases where parents of converts had much wealth, it appears that it was generally not passed on. The parents of Israel Barlow, Oliver Higley, Joseph Holbrook (the grandparents who raised him), Jefferson Hunt, Charles C. Rich, Sarah Rich, and Perrigrine Sessions did not pass their wealth to their convert children. The parents of William Miller and Frederick G. Williams did, however.

To conclude, the convert most likely to be encountered among the one hundred in this study was a farmer who might have a side occupation or two,<sup>1</sup> who was living in rural conditions, and who could not be termed even relatively wealthy.

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<sup>1</sup>The only figures available from the 1830 and 1840 Census reports which we can compare are the following: 70.5 percent of persons ten years of age and older were occupied in agricultural pursuits in 1830; 68.6 percent in 1840. Ibid., p. 63. This compares with the seventy-six farmers in this study noted on page 25.

### Migration Rates Among Converts and Parents

As noted earlier, it has been asserted that behavior may be influenced by the unsettling effects of migration. We shall therefore determine the extent of mobility among the converts. It was found that mobility occurred before conversion in the majority of cases. Of the ninety-five persons for whom information was available, fifty-eight, or 61 percent, migrated at least once. Thirty-seven, or 39 percent, never moved. The average moves per convert for the ninety-five were 1.27. If the average was taken only among those who moved, it became 2.08 moves per convert.

As might be expected, more persons thirty-one years of age and older had migrated than those thirty and under: thirty-eight persons over thirty-one years and twenty persons under thirty years. As time passed, practically all would eventually move after conversion.

Rates of migration among parents were higher in two categories. First, only thirteen parents did not migrate, or 14.3 percent (thirteen of ninety-five sets of parents from which four are subtracted because information was unavailable), leaving seventy-eight, or 86.6 percent who did migrate. Second, taking all ninety-one into consideration, the average number of moves for each pair of parents was two, with 2.33 as the average number of moves among those who migrated.

Despite what has been said above, it will be seen

that there were few converts who, at some time in their lives, did not participate in some household move. For example, if a convert's family had migrated before he left to go out on his own, his actual migration experience would not have been confined to his adult migrations. Ira Ames, for example, moved five times after he left his home to fend for himself; but before he left, his parents had migrated once. He had thus actually participated in six moves. Combined moves, then, reveal the actual migration experiences of the convert.<sup>1</sup> Following this procedure, it is seen that only fifteen, or 16.5 percent, did not migrate.<sup>2</sup> When all ninety-one converts are considered, the total combined average moves per convert was 2.4. When only those who moved are considered, the average becomes 2.88 moves per convert. Thus, migration was an experience most (83.5 percent) converts experienced before conversion.

#### Typical Examples

We may observe mobility and other factors in the early Mormon experience in the lives of three typical persons: Joseph Holbrook, John Murdock, and Shadrach Roundy.

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<sup>1</sup>In Table 1 the total combined moves do not always equal the sum of the convert's moves plus the parents' moves because some of the parents' moves occurred before the birth of the convert.

<sup>2</sup>The persons were: Henry Bigler, John L. Butler, Jacob Gates, James Hendricks, William Leany, Jeremiah Leavitt, Amasa Lyman, William Miller, Phinehas Richards, Albert Rockwood, Perrigrine Sessions, George A. Smith, Erastus Snow, Willard Snow, and Zerubbabel Snow.

Holbrook was born in Florence, Oneida County, New York, in 1806 where his parents had moved about two years earlier. At age six he moved to Sturbridge, Worcester County, Massachusetts, to live with his grandparents because of the death of his parents. He reported that he received a good common school education during the next few years in Massachusetts. At age twenty-one he moved out on his own. He worked in a mine, traveled, farmed, and taught school. He finally settled down in 1831 on a farm, after marrying in 1830. His farm was in Weathersfield, Genessee County, New York, which town had about 1200 inhabitants. He was living there in 1833 when he heard about the Mormons, accepted, and was baptized.<sup>1</sup>

Having moved from Harpersfield, New York, the parents of John Murdock gave birth to him in Kortright, Delaware County, New York, in 1792. During his youth there he received a skimpy common school education. After all the children in the family were born, the Murdocks moved to Mohican, Ashland County, Ohio. John then left his home and moved to Warrensville, Ohio. Later yet he moved to Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. He was living there in a town of about one thousand inhabitants teaching school

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph Holbrook, "The Life of Joseph Holbrook," Church Archives, pp. 4-5, 10, 14; "History of the Lafayette Hinkley and Alsina Elisabeth Brimhall Holbrook Families," no author mentioned, Privately printed, pp. 575-76; J. R. McCulloch, McCulloch's Universal Gazetteer (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843-44), I, 914.

and farming when he was baptized in 1830.<sup>1</sup>

Spafford, Onondaga County, New York, was the home of Shadrach Roundy when he was baptized in 1830. With a population of 2,647, Spafford had much room for many farms, and Roundy was a farmer. He was born in Rockingham, Windham County, Vermont, where he received his education and remained until he was married in 1814. He then moved to Spafford. After living in Spafford about sixteen years, he was considered a "prominent member" of the Baptist church, and was a member of the local board of trustees at the time of his conversion to Mormonism. He was then forty-one.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, by the time of conversion to Mormonism, converts had generally received a "common school" education, were comparatively youthful, and were usually farmers. The vast majority had experienced migration sometime, whether in childhood or adulthood. Unusual wealth was a stranger to virtually all, although a few were relatively wealthy.

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph M. Tanner, A Biographical Sketch of John Riggs Murdock (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1909), p. 2; John Murdock, "Autobiography," microfilm in Church Archives, pp. 3, 6; "Records of Early Church Families," The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine, XXVIII, 58-59; Andrew Jenson, Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901), II, 362; Robert Murdock, Murdock Genealogy (Boston: C. E. Goodspeed and Co., 1925), pp. 55-56, 87; McCulloch, op. cit., 497.

<sup>2</sup>Jenson, op. cit., I, 642; Everett Ellsworth Roundy, The Roundy Family in America (Dedham, Massachusetts: n.p., 1942), pp. 158, 213-17; William Darby and Theodore Dwight, Jr., A New Gazetteer of the United States of America . . . Population of 1830 (Hartford: E. Hopkins, 1833), p. 523.



## GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS

Birthplaces

The following list shows the number of converts born in each state or country:

<u>State</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
Massachusetts	22
Vermont	21
New York	18
Kentucky	7
New Hampshire	6
Connecticut	5
Pennsylvania	5
England	4
Canada	4
Rhode Island	3
Ohio	2
Virginia	2
West Virginia	1
Illinois	1
Maine	1

Total: 100 persons

New England, including Maine, was the birthplace for fifty-seven persons, the most for any area. Two other general areas, New York, and the South and West (including Pennsylvania), contained eighteen birthplaces each. Seven persons were born in England or Canada.

The influence of New England rural culture was heavy upon the converts. It has been established elsewhere that many early New Yorkers were migrants from New England.<sup>1</sup> If many of the parents of converts born in New York migrated from New England, then the influence of New

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<sup>1</sup>Cross, op. cit., pp. 4-6.

England culture would be found in perhaps three-fourths of the converts. It is highly probable that such a situation did exist.

The rural experience was almost universal among converts, whether they would continue to remain in those conditions or not. The converts born closest to the frontier were found in the most sparsely settled areas. The birthplaces of John L. Butler (Kentucky), Sylvester Early (Ohio), Jefferson Hunt (Kentucky), Charles C. Rich (Illinois), Sarah Rich (Illinois), and Daniel Wood (New York) were apparently so sparsely populated that no town was near enough to be included in biographies as the location of their birthplaces. On the other hand, some birthplaces in longer-settled areas were almost urban in size. Samuel Bent (Massachusetts), Winslow Farr (New Hampshire), Edward Partridge (Massachusetts), Orson Pratt (New York), and Lyman Wight were born in such places. The majority of rural birthplaces ranged from three hundred to fifteen hundred in population, however, and were of both the long- and newly settled varieties.

Only seven persons were not born in rural areas. Four were born in urban settings in New England: three in Connecticut and one in Rhode Island. Two were born in New York, and none at all in the South and West. One was born in England. It was found that two of these (Truman Angel, born in Providence, Rhode Island, population 10,071, and Joseph Horne, born in London, England, population 1,013,008)

originated in cities of more than five thousand inhabitants.<sup>1</sup>

Seven of the eighteen persons born in New York were found in the boundaries of the "Burned-Over District" as defined by Cross.<sup>2</sup> The other two-thirds were found rather evenly distributed throughout the state.

### Conversion Locations

Not all persons were baptized where they were converted. Thus, the list below includes places of conversion rather than baptism if they were not the same. The data may be broken down as follows:

<u>State</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
New York	35
Ohio	24
Canada	9
Vermont	8
Massachusetts	6
Kentucky	3
Illinois	3
Pennsylvania	2
Indiana	2
Tennessee	2
Michigan	1
West Virginia	1
Maine	1
Missouri	1

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<sup>1</sup>Jenson, op. cit., I, 806; IV, 693; Jedediah Morse, The American Gazetteer . . . With a Particular Description of Louisiana (Boston: n.p., 1810), unpagged; McCulloch, op. cit., II, 211.

<sup>2</sup>See Cross, op. cit., p. 4, and typical maps on pp. 57-58 for his definition. The seven persons were: Oliver Granger, Ontario County; Joseph Holbrook, Oneida County; Benjamin Johnson, Chautauqua County; William Miller, Livingston County; Daniel Tyler, Cayuga County; Cheney Van Buren, Oneida County; and Lorenzo Young, Chenango County.

<u>State</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
New Hampshire	1
Virginia	1

Total: 100 persons

While more persons were converted in New York than in any other area, only a few were converted in New England. A large number of persons (forty) were converted in the West and South (the non-Eastern areas of the United States). Nine baptisms occurred in Canada. If this sample study is representative of the church experience in general, it may be concluded that missionary success in the South and West combined was almost as high as in New England and New York combined. However, Whitney R. Cross, on the basis of sketchy information, contended that "many more adherents came from the East than from the West, and probably more of them from New York than from any other state." He further argued that the bulk of those probably came from the Burned-Over District.<sup>1</sup> As far as the years 1830 to 1837 are concerned, this study would tend to partially support Cross's contentions: fifty-one persons came from New York and New England, while forty came from the South and West. Moreover, twenty-six of the thirty-five converts from New York were baptized or converted in the Burned-Over District.

As with birthplaces, conversion locations of converts were mostly rural. As before, some of the most

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<sup>1</sup>Cross, op. cit., p. 149.

sparsely populated areas where baptisms occurred were in the South and West, closer to frontiers. John L. Butler (Kentucky), Silvester Earl (Ohio), Thomas McBride (Virginia), David Osborne (Indiana), Albert Petty (Tennessee), Sanford Porter (Indiana), Charles C. Rich (Illinois), Sarah Rich (Illinois), Abraham Smoot (Tennessee) were all baptized in areas apparently too far away from towns for the towns to be mentioned in biographies. The majority of the rural baptism places ranged from five hundred to twenty-four hundred inhabitants, while some places, like the baptism places of Joseph and Newell Knight (New York), William Miller (New York), Joseph Noble (New York), Shadrach Roundy (New York), Daniel Tyler (Pennsylvania), William Walker (New York), bordered on the twenty-five hundred inhabitant mark. Generally, the rural populations of these baptism places were a little larger than the birth-places. This development probably reflected the general population increase in the United States in those decades.

A trend is seen, however, in which converts were more likely to be baptized than born in urban areas. Seven converts were born in places with twenty-five hundred or more inhabitants, but twenty-seven were living in such places when converted and baptized.<sup>1</sup> Two converts

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<sup>1</sup>Eighteen, or 66.7 percent, of those were living in New York; three, or 11.1 percent, were from Canada; four were from the West (14.8 percent); and two were from New England (7.4 percent).

were born in the urban area of New York, but eighteen were converted there. None were born in urban areas of the West and South, but five were converted there. Two were born and one converted in New England urban areas. In Canada, none were born but three were converted in urban areas. Such a difference in urban areas between the periods of birth and conversion might be explained on the basis of the general population expansion which was accompanied by an increase in urban centers: more of the population lived in these areas in 1830 than at the turn of the century.<sup>1</sup> However, as we have seen, the vocations of the converts would indicate that they could make their livings most readily in a small urban or rural setting. Moreover, a higher percentage (27) percent) of converts were living in urban areas than Americans in general. It seems almost that converts deliberately settled in areas more populous and urban than their birthplaces, and that missionaries sought them there.

It may be added that more converts were now inhabiting the larger cities. Just two persons were born in cities of more than five thousand inhabitants, but eight persons were baptized there.<sup>2</sup> This would imply that the

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<sup>1</sup>Approximately 6 percent of the population lived in areas containing 2500 persons or more in 1800 as compared with 8 and 10 percent in 1830 and 1840, respectively. Calculated from Historical Statistics, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>The eight persons were: Chapman Duncan, St. Louis in 1830, 6694 population; William Huntington, Watertown, New York, in 1835, 5000 population; Joseph Fielding, Toronto in 1838, 12,571 population; Thomas Marsh, Boston in 1830, 61,392 population; David Pettegrew, Cincinnati in 1830, 28,014 population; Mary F. Smith, Toronto; John Taylor, Toronto; and Johan Zundel, Pittsburgh in 1836, ca. 20,000 population. Darby, op. cit., pp. 64, 104, 492, 592; McCulloch, op. cit., II, 935, 1052; John Marshall, A New

remaining nineteen places with more than 2500 inhabitants probably maintained a social character somewhere between rural and urban.

Despite conclusions just reached regarding the increased urbanization of converts, a movement away from places of birth to the rural West is clearly discernible. Although fifty-seven of the converts were born in New England, only sixteen were converted and baptized there. In the West, South, and Canada, twenty-five birthplaces were located, but forty-seven conversion places. This constitutes an exodus of forty converts from New England, helping to create increases of seventeen in New York and twenty-two in the South, West, and Canada. It may be said, then, that most converts did not purposely head for the most populous centers, but that, as concluded earlier, the populations probably grew up around them.

The experiences of John Tanner, Orson Hyde, and Israel Barlow were typical and will enlighten us further. John Tanner was born in Hopkinton, Washington County, Rhode Island, in 1778. The town had been incorporated just twenty years before, and by 1800 had only 227 inhabitants; a very sparsely settled area, indeed. His family moved to Greenwich, Washington County, New York, in 1791 where John remained until 1818. By that time he moved to

North West Bay in Washington County, and then to Bolton in 1823 where he remained until after 1832 when he was baptized. In 1830 Bolton had a population of 1466, still a rural area. By the time of his baptism, Tanner had become relatively wealthy, and gave his new church thousands of dollars. In 1835 he sold his holdings and left for Kirtland, Ohio, to be with the church.<sup>1</sup>

Orson Hyde was born in Oxford, New Haven County, Connecticut, in 1805. Oxford was an older community, and by 1800 had a population of 1400. At age seven, at his mother's death, Orson was placed under the care of Nathan Wheeler. Wheeler's family and Orson moved to Ohio when Orson was fourteen. He remained in Ohio, and was living in Mentor when he joined the church in October, 1831. Mentor was established in 1815, and at Hyde's baptism contained about seven hundred persons (1830 Census: 703).<sup>2</sup>

Israel Barlow was another of the many born in New

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<sup>1</sup>Jenson, op. cit., II, 156, 811, 799-802; "Early Church Information Files" in Genealogical Society, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereinafter cited as Genealogical Society; Faith Promoting Series, Book X, pp. 9-13; Maurice Tanner, "John Tanner Family," Privately printed, 1942, pp. 8-15; John Homer French, Gazetteer of New York: . . . With Full Tables of Statistics (Syracuse: 1859), p. 673; McCulloch, op. cit., I, 1128; Jedediah Morse, The American Gazetteer . . . With a Particular Description of Louisiana (Boston: 1804), unpagued.

<sup>2</sup>Jenson, op. cit., I, 80-81; Marvin S. Hill, "An Historical Study of the Life of Orson Hyde, Early Mormon Missionary and Apostle from 1805-1852" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955), pp. 3-7; Morse, op. cit. (1804 edition); William D. Overman, Ohio Town Names (Akron: Atlantic Press, 1958), p. 86.



England who emigrated to New York. Born in Granville, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in 1806, he stayed with his parents through successive moves to a farm east of Rochester, New York, in 1815, and to Mendon, New York, in 1821. His father died in 1820 and so he lived with his mother in Mendon until 1822 when he left home to live in Canandaigua. He returned to Mendon in 1824 and stayed there until he was baptized in 1832 by Brigham Young. Granville had a population of 2309 in 1800, and Mendon's population was 3057 in 1830, an example of how a move further west could also bring greater population density with the passage of time.<sup>1</sup>

To conclude, we have seen that virtually all converts were born in rural areas, areas which contained from only a few to 2500 persons. The areas in which these converts were baptized were generally more densely populated. Since it appears that converts in general were not interested in living in the most populous urban centers, the general population growth of the United States was probably responsible for this. The converts generally moved further west from their birthplaces, revealing, perhaps, that their main interests in moving were closely related to the soil.

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<sup>1</sup>Ora H. Barlow, "The Israel Barlow Story and Mormon Mores," Privately published, 1968, pp. 71-78; Jenson, op. cit., IV, 687; Leo J. Muir, Truman Heap Barlow (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961), p. 76; Morse, op. cit.; French, op. cit., p. 400.

## RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

The Converts, Parents,  
and National Trends

The religions from which Mormons were converted were the most prominent groups in America in 1830. Tables 2 and 3 illustrating religious affiliations of converts and their parents show that the five largest groupings were: non-affiliates, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. It has been shown elsewhere that, with one exception, America's five largest groupings are the same as the above.<sup>1</sup>

Table 2

## Religious Affiliations of Parents of Converts

Religion	No. of Adherants
Methodist	40
Baptist	27
No affiliation	25
Congregational	18
Presbyterian	15
Dutch Reformed	6
Church of England	6
Universalist	4
Quaker	4
Rappite	2
Campbellite	2
Dunkard	1

Note: Total Persons = 150.

<sup>1</sup>Gaustad, op. cit., p. 52. The exception was the Catholics, whose relationship to the Mormons will be treated below.

Table 3  
Religious Affiliations of Converts

Religion	No. of Adherants
Non-affiliates	32
Baptists	20
Methodists	19
Presbyterians	7
Congregationalists	6
Universalists	3
Dutch Reformed	3
Campbellite	2
Rappite	1

Note: Total persons = 93.

Since Mormons would draw from people who were already Christians, it would be most logical that the response would be proportionate to the people they met. We have learned that the greatest response to missionaries occurred in small, partly urban, areas. In these areas, the five groupings were highly represented, although the Congregationalists were found mostly in New England.<sup>1</sup> Table 4 illustrates the relative response in various areas according to the religion.

<sup>1</sup>Maps supplied by Gaustad pertaining to 1850 show heavy concentration of Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians in New York. Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists were prominent in New England. Methodists were most prominent in Ohio, with Baptists and Presbyterians not far behind. Although 1830 total membership figures of these denominations were less, it is estimated that the proportionate strengths of those groups would be similar to those of 1850. See Gaustad, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 67, and 89, Figures 45, 55, 75. See p. 52, Figure 40, for relative numerical strengths of denominations from 1830 to 1850.

Table 4

Distribution of Former Religions of Converts According  
to General Geographic Areas

Religion	New England	New York	South & West	Canada	Total
Methodist	4	5	4	6	19
Baptist	1	6	13	-	20
Non-affiliates	8	11	12	1	32
Presbyterians	-	5	2	-	7
Congregationalists	2	1	2	1	6
Universalists	-	3	-	-	3
Dutch Reformed	-	2	1	-	3
Campbellite	-	-	2	-	2
Rappite	-	-	1	-	1
Totals	15	33	37	8	93

Conspicuous in their absence from Tables 2 and 3 are four other important religions found in America in 1830. Neither Catholics, Lutherans, Unitarians, nor Jews were found among converts to Mormonism to 1837. Members of these groups were perhaps some of those who were least receptive to the message of Mormon missionaries as they went into the cities where there were larger concentrations of these religions to be found (with the possible exception of the Lutherans). Reasons for this may be found in the proselyting habits of the Mormons themselves, and in types of religious attitudes of religious seekers in the decades 1820-1840.

Mormon missionary efforts through the period 1830-1837 were carried out on an informal basis at first with a gradual formalization. Often the word was spread through

relatives. Converted western New Yorkers had often migrated from New England, leaving relatives and friends behind. These were among the first to hear about the Mormons; and when they became converted, they would begin an informal proselyting effort in their neighborhoods and towns. When missionaries were more formally sent out in the middle thirties, they returned again to the same types of areas, and in many cases the very same areas. When these missionaries made attempts to build up the churches in the cities and were met with more opposition, the more rural character of the membership of the church was ensured.<sup>1</sup>

A second explanation for the absence of former Catholics, Lutherans, Unitarians, and Jews among Mormon converts may be found in the influence of a religious movement underfoot in these same decades. The movement, recently described as "Christian Primitivism," was found within and among many Protestant denominations and non-adherants and conceived the following basic tenets: current Christianity should be altered to conform to the original model, ignoring subsequent Christian history; and a position was taken against the revivalistic practices of the "old-line" churches in their organized efforts to counteract the infidelity of Americans in the first decades of the nineteenth century; traditional distinctions between laity

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<sup>1</sup>See S. George Ellsworth, op. cit., Chapters 3, 5-6, and 8 for a scholarly review of these practices.

and clergy were regarded as artificial and unlike the early Christian model; unity was emphasized (a reaction partially caused by the divisiveness induced by revivals); a tendency emerged to regard the Bible as the sole authority; Calvinistic predestination was rejected and free will was affirmed; current events took on a millennialistic outlook.<sup>1</sup> This movement was centered in Evangelical Protestantism. Dr. Hill has carefully explained that Mormonism, as it was introduced by Joseph Smith, had a distinctly Primitivist outlook, and that some of the earliest converts shared that point of view.

This study confirms the contentions of Hill to a significant degree. For example, the fifty-one persons who were observed to have beliefs in accordance with Christian Primitivism were identified by explicit expressions of their beliefs or by the religions to which they belonged.<sup>2</sup> All whose points of view were recorded indicated they were looking for at least one of the characteristics of the ancient Christian religion.<sup>3</sup> Further, it will be seen that seventeen, or 53 percent, of those who would not affiliate expressed Primitivist views. In light of the fact that all

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<sup>1</sup>As outlined by Marvin S. Hill in his "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," Brigham Young University Studies, IX (1969), 353-354.

<sup>2</sup>The religions were: Universalist, Reformed Baptist, Reformed Methodist, and Campbellite.

<sup>3</sup>The column "CP" in Table 1 indicates by "x"'s those who subscribed to Christian Primitivism in this manner.

who commented about their religious points of view revealed a Primitivist outlook, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that a majority of others whose views were not reported would have felt the same.

To emphasize the fact that prospective converts had been forming those points of view some time before they were confronted with Mormonism, we may refer to Table 5. Here is indicated the degree to which religious affiliations changed from the parents' generation to the convert's. It may be seen that in the face of increased joining of churches by Americans, more prospective Mormon converts were staying away from organized religion than their parents. They were drifting from the Liturgical and Reformed churches to the Evangelical churches and unchurched, more and more out of traditional Christian churches. Mormonism became, for some, a stopping point on the way to disbelief.

Table 5

Percentages of Parents and Converts Belonging to Religions  
Prior to Mormon Conversion

Religions	Percentages of Parents	Percentages of Converts
Non-affiliates	16.7	34.4
Methodist	26.7	20.5
Baptist	18.0	20.7
Congregational	12.0	6.5
Presbyterian	10.0	7.5
Dutch Reformed	4.0	3.2
Church of England	4.0	0.0
Universalist	2.7	3.2
Quaker	2.7	0.0
Rappite	1.3	1.1

Jonathan Crosby had experienced "Protracted meetings" on and off since he was eleven years old in Wendell, Massachusetts. He sometimes attended the "orthodox church" of his father, and when he was sixteen he taught a Sunday school class and played bass viol in the choir. But he would not become a member of the church. He put questions like the following to those who would have him join:

If the Bible is true, why don't they preach and teach it all alike? why all this division in the world? where is the faith and gifts of the gospel enjoyed by the antient [sic] saints? They could not answer satisfactorily [sic], so I would not be converted.<sup>1</sup>

The dilemma of Amasa Lyman was that he believed in the Bible, Jesus Christ, and God, but, according to his biographer, "he knew not what to do, he had no faith in any of the churches he had known. He felt much frustration: 'In my eagerness I was like a blind man groping for the wall.'" Lyman came from a home where church activity was regular and respectable: his uncle (he lived with his uncle from age eleven until nineteen when he was baptized) was a deacon in the local church, but still Amasa refused to join.<sup>2</sup>

Laban Morrill tells it best himself:

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<sup>1</sup>Jonathan Crosby, "Biographical Sketch of the Life of Jonathan Crosby, written by Himself," Microfilm of original in Church Archives, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Albert R. Lyman, "Amasa Mason Lyman, "Trailblazer and Pioneer from the Atlantic to the Pacific," Privately printed, 1957, pp. 8-12.



Being born of religious parents and being instructed by them, I was naturally religiously inclined, and my company was much sought after by different religious sects; but I felt that there was a great opposition among the different religions of the day, the members and advocates of each claiming their own as the true church. I felt that one of the many sects was right; the others must be all wrong; for I believed that there should be but one faith, one baptism, and one Lord. With these things in view, I concluded to wait and join none of them.<sup>1</sup>

And such was his course, despite the fact that when his parents learned he was interested in the Mormons they invited a Free-Will Baptist minister to come and stay with them in an attempt to dissuade him.

Thus it seemed to these soon-to-become Mormons that they knew what they wanted, but were unable to find it: a return to original Christianity.

#### Religious Opinions and Migrations

If possible it would be important to determine if the religious views of the prospective converts were formed before or after any migration took place. De Pillis has strongly associated the converts' pre-conversion migration experience with their receptivity to the Mormon message, suggesting that migration produced sufficient disorientation of values that the prospects readily accepted Mormonism.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph Sudweeks, "Biography of Laban Morrill, 1814-1900," typescript copy in Brigham Young University Library, pp. 90-91.

<sup>2</sup>De Pillis, op. cit., p. 79. This is the main thesis of his article.

The present study will confirm the notion that a correlation existed between the changing of religious values and migration. For example, it was found that, prior to conversion to Mormonism, only 7.6 percent of the converts who did not move either changed their own religion or chose a religion different from that of their parents. But 31.6 percent of those who did move either changed their own religion or chose one different from that of their parents. This would seem to indicate that if one did not move, a change in religion was much less likely to happen. Turning the statistics the other way reveals, however, that average moves per convert who did not change religion in any way was 2.4, whereas average moves for converts who did change their religious affiliation some way was 2.3. This would seem to illustrate that the likelihood of moving was about as great for those who changed religion as it was for those who did not change. Confusion occurs here because some of those who changed their religions never moved, while others who moved did not change their religions. Probably the clearest breakdown of statistics would be as follows:

<u>Number of moves per convert</u>	<u>Percentage of converts who changed religion</u>
0	7.6
1	30.3
2-4	45.4
5 or more	16.6

In addition to showing that migration and religious change seem to go together, these figures show that persons who moved two to four times were more likely to change

religions than others who moved.

All of this raises certain interesting questions. Which event came first, the religion change or the migration? Was religious change necessarily a consequence of migration? Or was migration a consequence of religious change? Perhaps both religious change and migration were consequences of some other unsettling social change. Finally, it may be asked to what extent purely religious feeling may have induced changes in religious affiliations.

The answers to such questions are not easy. They are raised here to show the types of information which must be produced before definite judgments about the influence of migration may be made. For example, there is some evidence that among some converts, religious opinion which was clearly a change from parents or from their own previous position did precede migration. Oliver Granger was born and raised in Phelps, Ontario County, New York. After he was married in 1818 he decided to become a Methodist. He became a licensed exhorter, but after two years withdrew, feeling God had something more for mankind than what he was experiencing. He remained in Phelps until approximately the time when he accepted the Mormons; he moved then to Sodus, Wayne County, New York.<sup>1</sup>

Willard Richards was born and raised in Hopkinton,

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<sup>1</sup>Sarah M. Kimball, "Biography and Obituary of Oliver Granger." Microfilm in Church Archives.

Middlesex County, Massachusetts. At age seventeen he offered himself to the Congregational church, but his point of view was not completely consistent with the doctrines of the denomination, so his application was refused. Until he became converted to Mormonism, which occurred in 1836 while he was living in Boston, he refrained from joining any church.<sup>1</sup>

Some converts who never moved clearly fixed their points of view some years before conversion to Mormonism. Jacob Gates and Perrigrine Sessions were typical examples. Gates was born in 1811 in St. Johnsbury, Caledonia County, Vermont. His parents joined the Methodists when Jacob was seven or eight. Later, in 1827, he was influenced in the direction of Methodism, but soon rejected it and joined no church until 1833 when he was baptized in the Mormon religion by Orson Pratt.<sup>2</sup> Until his conversion to Mormonism, Perrigrine Sessions lived in Newry, Oxford County, Maine. His parents joined the Methodists while he was four or five years old. While growing up, he made a "profession of Christianity," but joined no religion. Later, a year after his marriage in 1834, he was baptized as a Mormon.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jenson, op. cit., I, 53-54.

<sup>2</sup>Jenson, op. cit., I, 197-98; "Journal of Jacob Gates, Book I, 1811-1839," in Church Archives, pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup>"Diary of Perrigrine Sessions," Privately photoduplicated, 1967. Copy in Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah, pp. B-4-8.

Other converts made their religious decisions either during or after their migration experiences. Heber C. Kimball was a native of Sheldon, Franklin County, Vermont. The family moved to New York in 1811 to West Bloomfield, Ontario County. In 1820 he moved to Mendon, Monroe County. He married in 1822, and in 1831 both he and his wife joined the Baptists in the midst of a revival in his neighborhood.<sup>1</sup> When Lorenzo Snow left home to attend Oberlin College in 1835, he was not yet affiliated with any denomination, although his parents were Baptists. Oberlin had been founded as a theological school in 1833, and Snow was not pleased with what he saw there: "If there is nothing better than is found here in Oberlin College, goodbye to all religion," he said.<sup>2</sup> He was baptized as a Mormon in 1836. After John Taylor left England, the country of his birth, he found himself dissatisfied with regular Methodists to whom he had attached himself in 1823. He had become a Methodist exhorter in 1825, but later contended that the true religion should be more in accord with ancient Christianity. His preaching privileges were taken from him although he retained his membership.<sup>3</sup> He became a Mormon in 1836.

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<sup>1</sup>Jenson, op. cit., I, 34-35; Orson F. Whitney, Life of Heber C. Kimball (3d ed.; Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), pp. 15, 18.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas C. Romney, The Life of Lorenzo Snow (Salt Lake City: Sugarhouse Press, 1955), pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup>B. H. Roberts, Life of John Taylor (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892), pp. 28-31.

Because of the few cases, both in this study and elsewhere, where the time of religious conversion (prior to Mormon conversion) was obtainable, it must be admitted that insufficient information blocks any definitive conclusion regarding causes of religious change. But evidence is sufficient to demonstrate that unsettling as migration influences might have been, other factors equally as important in inducing religious change did appear, but which have not yet received scholarly examination.

### Conclusions

To sum up, we have seen that most Mormons studied in this group of one hundred were not highly educated, but that they received, in general, a "common school" education. Those who became leaders in the new movement were no less nor more educated than others. While many older persons joined the church, half the converts were under thirty, and 78 percent were under forty-one. The Mormon message seemed to attract younger people with the greatest success.

Prospective Mormons were, in the main, farmers. Even though they might have worked at a second or third job, their principal vocation was farming. Few of the converts exhibited considerable wealth. Most seemed to be supplying basic needs for themselves and their families, but little more.

By the time of their conversion to Mormonism, most had experienced some type of migration. Either their whole

households had moved while they were yet children, or they left home when they became of age before becoming Mormons, or they might have had both experiences. Few never moved. When all one hundred converts were considered, each convert moved an average of 2.44 times before he adopted the Mormon religion.

While most converts were born in Northeastern United States (New England, New York), migration of converts placed them more to the West when they were baptized. More converts were converted and baptized in New York than any other one state, and together with New England, the majority was found there again; but 43 percent, almost half, were converted and baptized in the burgeoning West and South. Rural conditions prevailed in the majority of birth and conversion places, with urban conditions becoming more in evidence in conversion places. Such a change was in keeping with general population shifts and growth in those decades.

Mormons came from the most prominent evangelical religious groups in America. They were often adherents to a movement among Protestants recently termed "Christian Primitivism." This Primitivism was apparently part of the religious ideas which many of the early converts had before they encountered Mormonism. The existence of an increasing minority who neglected to join any religious group before conversion to Mormonism emphasized this phenomenon of prior decision making. Religious opinion

and migration were found to be interrelated, but other evidence was found to suggest that factors yet to be considered may have been equally influential in the religious decision making of the converts.

Mormon converts were drawn from the lower middle section of Americans, socially speaking. They were found in the mostly rural areas of New England, New York, and in the western states surrounding Ohio. They were typical of Americans in migrating west, and slightly untypical in their involvement in the American religious scene.



## Chapter 3

### THEME AND VARIATIONS

#### THE THEME: THE COMPOSITE CONVERT

In order to present the background information in terms as realistic as possible, the predominating characteristics of the converts are here presented as a "composite convert" of 1830-1837. He may be described as follows: a male, 31.6 years of age, who was baptized in 1833. He was born in rural New England, received a "common school" education, and migrated, in combination with his parents' moves, two or three times before his conversion to Mormonism. He migrated westward to New York or beyond where he continued his vocation as a farmer.

The parents of the composite were Methodist, and he chose the same religion, or perhaps became a Baptist, or refused to join any religion. His decision was usually his own, made in young adult life. He probably was a seeker looking for the ancient gospel, and was dissatisfied with his current religious affiliation because the denomination did not conform to what he considered to be the characteristics of the primitive church.

#### Luman Shurtliff: Real Life Example

No one convert exactly fit the above description,

of course. The converts joined with many varying backgrounds, but the one person of the entire group whose background was most like the above description was Luman Shurtliff.

Noah and Lydia Brown Shurtliff, parents of Luman, had been living in Montgomery, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, some years before the birth of Luman. Noah had been a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and had since settled down with his family in Montgomery. He was a farmer, and practiced medicine on the side. In 1805, two years before Luman was born, and as a reflection of their interest in organized Christianity, the Shurtliffs joined the Methodist faith.

Montgomery had a small population, one which was essentially static. In 1800, 560 persons inhabited the area; by 1810, the population had increased to 595. Montgomery was one of those towns in the western county of Hampshire in which emigration played an important role in creating a static population.

On March 3, 1807, Luman was born in Montgomery. Here Luman was reared and educated, receiving a typical "common school" education. Luman did well enough in his classes that he was later hired in Ohio as a school teacher. He also became a competent leatherworker, and made shoes to supplement his income from farming, his principal vocation.

In 1822 or 1823 the Noah Shurtliff family moved to Ohio. They settled in Franklin, Portage County. This move

was made in the hope of economic improvement, but it developed into a disaster. Through a series of setbacks, both natural and man-made, the Shurtliff family lost all of its property in both Massachusetts and Ohio, and was forced to begin anew, which it did in the same area in Ohio about 1826.

In 1827 Luman decided that he ought to join a church. He chose the Baptists, thus dissenting from the religion of his parents. In 1828 he joined with a Reformed Baptist group led by Sidney Rigdon. Rigdon had been working with Alexander Campbell in delineating the doctrines which later were to be described as "Campbellite." Relying on the Bible as their sole authority, Campbell and Rigdon were attempting to institute reforms in contemporary Christianity which would conform with the original Christianity of Jesus. Shurtliff was attracted to these doctrines, and joined the church led by Rigdon.

Four years later Shurtliff heard about the new Mormon religion, and after investigation, he confronted the issues that it presented. He later wrote that he asked for divine guidance through prayer, and subsequently received two dreams showing him that the new religion was true. But he said he was stubborn and would not admit at the time that the dreams were showing him the way. He thus declined to investigate further. But his conscience bothered him, and for the next four years he was greatly troubled. In the meantime he and his wife moved to Sullivan, Lorain County, Ohio, where he continued to be troubled by the

Mormon faith. Finally, in August, 1836, he went to Kirtland, Ohio, to find out the truth for himself. There he consented to be baptized without really being convinced that Mormonism was true. He then left for home, and while traveling, heard a voice tell him that Joseph Smith was a true prophet, and that the religion he taught and led was true. He had a lame leg which at that moment became healed. He reported that this experience made him very happy and relieved. Upon his return home he induced his wife to seriously investigate, and the following month, September 20, she was also baptized. In December, 1837, Shurtliff moved to Kirtland, and shortly thereafter, in March of 1838, he moved his family to Far West, Missouri, and thence to Illinois.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE VARIATIONS

The presentation of a balanced picture requires a statement of characteristics of atypical persons and groupings. The following is intended to fill that requirement.

#### Biographical Examples of Persons with Atypical Characteristics

The many backgrounds of the converts involved in

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<sup>1</sup>Luman Andros Shurtliff, "Biographical Sketch of the Life of Luman Andros Shurtliff," pp. 1-25, typescript in BYU Library; Luman Andros Shurtliff, "History of Luman Andros Shurtliff," original in Church Archives; Morse, op. cit. (1810 ed.); Worcester, op. cit., unpagged.

this study varied widely, and were somewhat different from the experiences of Luman Shurtliff. Isaac Morley was one of the older converts whose experiences contrasted significantly. Morley was born March 11, 1776,<sup>1</sup> in Montague, Hampshire County, Massachusetts. He obtained a limited education in Montague and was a member of the Congregational church with his parents. The Morley family was a farming family in the town of about one thousand inhabitants, and had been there since Isaac's grandfather had settled earlier in the eighteenth century.

On June 20, 1812, Morley married Lucy Gunn, after which he served as a soldier in the War of 1812. Thereafter he moved, with his bride, to Kirtland, Ohio, where he remained until 1836. His father's family followed him to Kirtland in 1815. As the years passed in Ohio, Morley obtained considerable property and wealth. He was made captain in the Ohio militia and was held in high esteem in the community.

The religious affiliations of the Morleys first changed almost without notice. The Presbyterian church was closer at hand in the area, so the Morleys attended that church. In light of the fact that the doctrines of

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<sup>1</sup>Andrew Jenson has listed Morley's birthdate as 1776, while Hattie Esplin, author of Morley's biography in "Utah Pioneer Biographies" (unpublished Utah pioneer biographies in the Genealogical Society), XLIV, 75, says his birthdate was 1786. Since neither cited any source for the information, the correct date is not known.

the Congregationalists and Presbyterians were almost identical, this was not an unusual change. Morley had apparently been looking for a religion which would, in his view, conform to the doctrines taught by Jesus Christ. Sidney Rigdon and Alexander Campbell were preaching their reformed gospel in the Kirtland vicinity. Morley heard about it and reacted favorably toward it: "he thought it seemed more like the true gospel of Christ than any he had heard," says his biographer.<sup>1</sup> After joining Rigdon, he became thoroughly involved in the religion, attempting to create a communal living situation similar to what he saw described in the New Testament. Whole families joined together in this communal experiment in living which became known as the "Morley family" with Morley at the head under the guidance of Rigdon. The community was located at Mentor, Ohio, and was well under way when four early Mormon missionaries looked them up and taught them the Mormon doctrines. Many of the "family" including Morley accepted the new religion and were baptized November 15, 1830, by Parley P. Pratt.

As before, Morley totally involved himself in his religion; this time by donating much of the property which he held to the Mormon church. From thence he was a minor leader in the church until he died in Utah in 1865.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Esplin, op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>2</sup>Jenson, op. cit., I, 235; Esplin, op. cit., 75-77; Morse, op. cit. (1800 ed.).

David Osborne was a convert who was born, reared, and remained in the more southern and western parts of the United States. He was born March 31, 1807, in Greenbrier County, Virginia (now West Virginia). His father died eighteen months later. Before he could remember, David's mother moved to Locus Creek, Fleming County, Kentucky, where he stayed until he was eleven or twelve years old. His mother then moved to Montgomery County, Kentucky. At age thirteen, David moved with his mother to Monroe County, Indiana. Two years later David went back to Kentucky to stay with his uncle. Finally in 1826 he moved to Green County, Indiana, where he was living when he was baptized a Mormon in 1835.

Osborne began his first two years of formal schooling at age thirteen. When he moved to Kentucky at age fifteen he was placed in charge of a school with twenty to twenty-five "scholars." Soon thereafter he attended school about two more years. Both Osborne and his father were farmers, although David occasionally taught school also. Neither obtained great wealth.

Osborne's father had belonged to no church, and his mother was a Baptist in her younger days. While her children were yet small she joined the Methodists. Osborne made no mention of any early affiliations for himself, but he reported that after he moved to Green County, Indiana, he experienced a personal dedication to God and concluded he must be baptized. He investigated the Campbellites and

decided to join with them. He remained a member about two years until he heard a sermon by George M. Hinkle, a Mormon missionary. After a short investigative period he decided that the Mormons had the answer, and was baptized June or July, 1835, in Green County.<sup>1</sup>

Sarah De Arman Pea Rich was, of course, a woman, one of three included in this study. She was born September 23, 1814, in a general area called Looking Glass Prairie, in St. Clair County, Illinois, and spent the bulk of her life on the frontiers of the United States. Her parents had previously lived in South Carolina and Virginia. Prior to moving to Illinois, her father, John Pea, served in the War of 1812 as a soldier. Upon settling in Illinois, Pea became rather well-to-do, developing his farm and working as a blacksmith. Sarah gave no clue regarding her education during these years.

Sarah's parents were Methodists, and her oldest brother became a Methodist minister. She became a Reformed Methodist, although it is not known when.

The family moved to Tennessee in 1824, and three years later back to Looking Glass Prairie, where they were living when they received the Mormon gospel in 1835. It appears that Sarah believed in dreams, for she told her parents that two missionaries would visit them and bring

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<sup>1</sup>David Osborne, "Biography of David Osborne, Sr.," commenced in February, 1860, pp. 1-55. Original found in Church Archives.



them a new religion. They refused to believe it, but her prediction came true, and the whole family listened to their message and was baptized together in December, 1835.

Sarah probably would not have come into prominence had she not married a man in 1836 who would later become one of the Twelve Apostles of the church, Charles C. Rich. She died in 1893, having lived ten years longer than her husband and leaving a large Mormon posterity.<sup>1</sup>

Johan Zundel and his parents migrated to America with a small communistic group led by George Rapp in 1805. Johan was born in Wiernsheim, Wurtemberg, Germany, in 1796 and remained with his parents until his break with the Rappites in 1831.

Zundel was undoubtedly educated by the Rappites in light of the very orderly community life which included an educational system regulated by George Rapp. No mention is made of it in Zundel's writings, however.

The Rappites settled first in western Pennsylvania, but shortly thereafter moved to Indiana, on the lower Wabash, in a place they called "New Harmony." Here they remained until 1824 when the whole community moved to a location

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<sup>1</sup>Jenson, op. cit., III, 207-209; Sarah De Armon Pea Rich, "Journal of Sarah De Armon Pea Rich," pp. 5-15, typed copy in Church Archives; Samuel August Mitchell, Illinois in 1837, A Sketch Descriptive of the Situation, Boundaries, Face of the Country (Philadelphia: n.p., 1837), pp. 105-6; McCulloch, op. cit., II, 738; Kane, op. cit., p. 302.

seventeen miles south of Pittsburgh.<sup>1</sup> In this place, the community of "Economy," Zundel remained until 1831, when he and others discovered some deception in the leadership of the community sufficient to shake them in their faith and induce them to leave. So committed to their principles were they, but so shaken in their experience, that many resolved never to join any other church.

Upon leaving the Rappites, Zundel broke his commitment to celibacy and married Sarah Forstner in 1831. He started a butchering business in Pittsburgh and became somewhat prosperous. Such circumstances continued until 1836 when Zundel joined the Mormons in Pittsburgh.<sup>2</sup>

#### Analysis of Variant Groups

Obviously, the membership of the Mormon church did not consist entirely of New England emigrants. Patterns and trends at variance with majority patterns appear among various groups. All became Mormons, and understanding requires an examination of their backgrounds. Table 6 contains a breakdown of predominating facts and figures pertaining to variant groupings among the one hundred converts

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<sup>1</sup>William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), pp. 280-281.

<sup>2</sup>Abraham Zundel, "Writings of Abraham Zundel," typescript copy in Church Archives; John Marshall, A New Universal Gazetteer, . . . Originally Compiled by R. Brookes (Philadelphia: Butler and Williams, 1844), p. 41; McCulloch, op. cit., II, 606.

Table 6

## Predominant Background Characteristics of Variant Groupings

Group <sup>a</sup>	No. in Group	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Avg. Age	PeM Avg.	BiP Areas	CoL Areas	Size	PaM Avg.	P, PM Avg.	Vocations
Migrators (5+ times)	14	12	4 N 3 RB 3 M 2 B	5 N 3 M 2 B 2 P	6 C 3 E 3 L	34.8	3.6	10 NE 2 NY 2 SW	7 NY 6 SW	9 R 5 U	3.7	6.4	11 Farmers
Non-migrators	15	6	6 N 2 M	6 N 6 M 4 C	9 C 1 E 1 L	21.6	.00	8 NE 4 SW	8 NE 4 SW	13 R 1 U	.66	.00	14 Farmers 1 No in-fo.
Two or more religion changes	2	2		2 P	1 L 1 C	46.0	1.5	1 NE 1 NY	2 W	2 R	1.5	2.0	2 Farmers
No religion change	38	16	13 M 8 N 5 C 3 B 3 P		16 C 3 L 2 E	31.3	1.27	17 NE 9 NY 8 SW 5 Foreign	16 NY 14 SW 6 Can 2 NE	19 R 15 U	2.5	2.4	28 Farmers 3 No in-fo.
Converts born in South or West	17	9	7 N 4 B 1 M	5 B 5 N 4 M	8 C 2 L 2 E	32.0	.94		15 SW 2 NY	13 R 2 U	2.7	2.3	13 Farmers 1 No in-fo.
Converts baptized in Canada	9	2	6 M	6 M	2 C 1 L	30.8	.62	4 Eng 3 Can 2 NY		5 R 3 U	2.4	2.0	7 Farmers 1 No in-fo.

Table 6 (continued)

Group	No. in Group	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Avg. Age	PeM Avg.	BiP Areas	CoL Areas	Size	PaM Avg.	P, PM Avg.	Vocations
Converts belonging to minority religions	8	5			3 C 1 E 1 L	37.8	1.9	4 SW 2 NE 1 NY	4 SW 4 NY	4 R 3 U	2.1	3.3	5 Farmers
Exceptional Education	9	7	4 N 2 B 1 M	2 M 2 P 1 B 1 N 1 Q		26.7	1.4	5 NE 2 NY 1 W	6 SW 3 NY	8 R 1 U	2.3	3.0	3 Farmers 3 Other 3 No info.
Little or no education	15	7	5 N 4 B 3 M	6 M 2 P 1 B 1 P		34.8	1.2	10 NE 2 SW 2 NY 1 Eng	6 NY 5 SW 3 NE 1 Can	11 U 4 R	2.64	2.57	13 Farmers
Non-farmers	20	16	6 M 6 B 4 N	6 M 3 B 2 C	11 C 3 E 2 L	29.8	1.6	13 NE 4 SW 1 Eng	9 SW 8 NY 2 NE	14 R 5 U	2.45	2.79	
Wealthy converts	9	5	3 B 2 N	3 P 1 B	2 E 1 L	45.6	1.4	7 NE 2 NY	6 NY 2 W 1 NE	7 R 2 U	1.6	2.1	8 Farmers 1 No info.
Older converts (over 50)	11	5	3 P 3 N	All diff	3 L 2 C	55.0	2.7	9 NE 2 SW	8 NY 3 SW	4 U 7 R	2.0	4.1	11 Farmers 4 Wealthy

Table 6 (continued)

Group	No. in Group	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Avg. Age	PeM Avg.	BiP Areas	CoL Areas	Size	PaM Avg.	P, PM Avg.	Vocations
Urban dwellers	27	18	9 M 5 N 3 P 2 C 2 B 2 DR	7 M 5 P 4 B 2 N 2 C 2 DR	17 C 4 L 1 E	29.1	1.4	17 NE 4 NY 3 Eng 2 Pa	18 NY 3 Can 4 SW 2 NE		2.43	3.0	20 Farmers 1 No in-fo.
Inhabitants of larger cities (over 5000)	8	6	5 M	3 M	1 C	35.6	2.2	4 NE 3 Eng 1 Ger	3 SW 3 Can 1 NE 1 NY		2.0	3.5	5 Farmers 1 No in-fo.

<sup>a</sup>Refer to Table 1 for necessary explanations.

in this study. A short analysis of each now follows.

Migrants (5+ times). Sixty percent changed their religious affiliations at least once, while 85 percent had manifested Christian Primitivist tendencies in some fashion. These persons were, on the average, slightly older than the general average. A majority was born in New England, emigrated, and became converted in New York and southern and western states. Virtually all were farmers.

Non-migrants. Many of these converts (53.3 percent) were born and remained in New England. These eight constituted one-half of the sixteen who were born there. Four persons were converted in states further south. Contrary to expectations, 69 percent of these converts chose a religion different from that of their parents, or changed their own at least once before they encountered Mormonism. This was the more remarkable because of their young age: 21.6 years average, as compared with the average of thirty-one years for all converts. Eighty-two percent received a "common school" education, while 93 percent were farmers and 93 percent lived in rural areas. These were conditions typical of New England.

Two or more religion changes. Both persons included in this category seemed to act in concert in many of the particulars studied here. Both declared themselves to be searching for a Christianity more nearly like the ancient

model; both were older than the average; both were farmers; both were born in the east and moved further west to Ohio; neither was highly educated, and both became minor leaders in the Mormon church. The convert who changed religions more times (John Murdock) also migrated more times, however. He also had the distinction of being the only convert in the study who was ever a Lutheran.

No religion change. Virtually all of the characteristics in this group remained close to the average figures for the one hundred converts except for the fact that 44 percent of the converts were converted and baptized in urban areas, a considerably higher rate than that of the larger group. It may be remembered that the majority of the larger group had made some religion change, and that this same majority lived in rural areas. Now we discover this smaller group who had no religion change and of which almost 50 percent lived in urban areas. Further, as it will be seen below, urban dwellers changed religion very seldom before conversion to Mormonism, leading us to the conclusion that converts living in urban environments were more stable religiously than other groups.

Religious stability is demonstrated in this group in yet another fashion. The Congregational and Methodist denominations seemed to have fewer adherents who had change to or from other denominations before the adherents became Mormons. For example, 83.3 percent of Congregationalists

followed the religion of their parents and never changed before their conversion to Mormonism;<sup>1</sup> 68.4 percent of Methodists, 42.0 percent of Presbyterians, 25.0 percent of non-affiliates, and 15.0 percent of Baptists did the same.<sup>2</sup> High percentages in this "no religion change" group belonged to the religions just described as most stable.

Converts born in the South or West. These persons tended to move slightly less than the average, and to seek the same type of environments within the South and West: only two of the eighteen persons moved into New York from Pennsylvania, and theirs was not an eastward movement. Only three were not farmers, and most, as in the larger study, received a "common school" education. While over 50 percent had indicated some Christian Primitivist tendencies, over half of the seventeen had made no change in their religious affiliations.

Converts baptized in Canada. The most unique aspect of this group was that 44 percent were born in England.

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<sup>1</sup>These figures do not mean that 83 percent of children of Congregationalist parents remained Congregationalist (that figure is 55 percent). They do mean that of those converts who were Congregational, 83 percent had parents who were also Congregational, and that they had never belonged to any other religion.

<sup>2</sup>One hundred percent of Dutch Reformed and Rappites in this study also fell in this category. This amounted to three Dutch Reformed and one Rappite.



They migrated in the 1820's and 1830's when many Englishmen were migrating to Canada. Most others had come with their parents from the United States, or were children of parents who had left the United States as Loyalists during the War for Independence. Most of the converts adhered to the religions of their parents; only 25 percent made any change in religious affiliation whatever, and most were Methodist, rather than Episcopalian. Only one, John Taylor, had belonged to the Church of England, and he had become a Methodist before leaving England. Five of eight were living in rural circumstances, but the three who were baptized in urban conditions were all born in England. Finally, only two of the nine left any indication regarding their religious opinions: Joseph Fielding and John Taylor, both of whom were Christian Primitivist.

Converts belonging to variant religions. Of the eight persons under consideration, three, Peter and David Whitmer (father and son) and Isaac Decker, belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church; two, Joseph and Newell Knight (father and son) were Universalists; and two, David Fullmer and David Osborne, were Campbellites. The remaining person, Johan Zundel, was a Rappite. Five of the eight had Christian Primitivist opinions, and 85 percent (six of seven) never changed religious affiliations in any way before conversion to Mormonism. Three of seven, or 43 percent, were living in urban circumstances when baptized, thus placing

these in the same category as converts who made no religious change, referred to above. Some were born in New England, but none were baptized there. Their migrations, which were approximately consistent with the larger study, were generally in a westerly direction. Three of the eight, or 37 percent, were non-farmers, a higher percentage than in the larger study, and the average age of the converts was slightly older also.

Converts with exceptional education. The majority of these persons were born in New England. They migrated westward and settled in New York or further west. None remained in New England. Virtually all lived in rural surroundings, but only three were farmers (information was unavailable for three of the nine converts here). The three who were farmers had side occupations, while two of the nine were considered wealthy. Interestingly, the average age was below the age for the larger study (26.7 compared to 31.6 years), and yet migration was more frequent on the average in this group than in the larger. In addition, 71 percent of this group had either chosen a religion different from their parents or changed their own religions one or more times. Seven of the nine had Christian Primitivist opinions. Finally, one of this group was a woman--Eliza R. Snow.

Converts with little or no education. The fifteen persons in this group followed the typical migration patterns

as revealed in the larger group: a majority was born in New England, and a majority was baptized in New York and the South and West, and the migration rate was approximately the same. The age at baptism increased slightly. Almost all were farmers, and those urban areas in which four were baptized were not large. Seven of ten converts for whom religious information was available changed their religious affiliations, while seven of fifteen revealed their Christian Primitivist views. It thus appears that amounts of formal education acquired by converts generally made little difference in numbers of times they changed religion before conversion to Mormonism.

Non-farmers. Twenty persons were found in this category, and their ranks were rather evenly divided between teachers, carpenters and joiners, merchants, ministers, millers, painters, laborers, and doctors of medicine. Others included a butcher, military officer, writer, hatter, clerk, inventor, tanner, and law officer. The average age of these persons was a little younger than the average for the larger group (29.8 to 31.6 years old), and yet they generally conformed to the migration patterns as revealed in that group. Despite the non-farm vocations, and contrary to expectations, only 27 percent lived in urban surroundings, and only two of the five urban dwellers lived in cities of more than 5000 inhabitants. Only 40 percent changed their religions at any time, and 80 percent of

twenty persons had expressed Christian Primitivist points of view.

Wealthy converts. The wealthiest converts were virtually all farmers living, naturally enough, in rural conditions. Two elements stand out in the backgrounds of these persons. First, they were much older than the average for the larger group: 45.6 years for the wealthy and 31.6 years for the group as a whole. Second, they seemed to migrate slightly less than the average. The majority were born in New England and moved no further west than New York. Facts about education and religious change were often unavailable, leaving us only with information that two of four changed their religious affiliations, and two of three received above-average educations. Finally, five of nine had a Christian Primitivist outlook.

Older converts (over fifty years of age). A unique characteristic of this group is that they migrated at a greater rate than the larger group: 4.1 to 2.4 moves per convert average. The destination for the majority was New York; most had originated in New England. Every person was a farmer, and although four lived in urban areas, the size of those areas was below 5000 inhabitants. More of this group were wealthy than any other (37 percent). Four of seven persons changed their religious affiliations, and although information was scanty (information for five only

was found), it appears that the education level for this group was relatively low.

Urban dwellers. The chief characteristic of this group was their high rate of migration which stands out in contrast with the low rate of religion change. Eighty-three percent did not change religions, but the rate of migration was 3.0 moves per convert, as compared with an average for the larger group of 2.47 moves per convert. It would seem that migration exercised little influence on religious change. All other characteristics were close to the figures for the larger group.

Inhabitants of larger cities (over 5000 population). Thirty-seven percent of these persons were born in England and were baptized in Canada. Despite their surroundings, five were farmers. Only two, John Taylor, who was a cooper and turner, and Johan Zundel, who was a butcher, had occupations which were more typical in the city than on a farm. These eight persons had a higher migration rate than the average for the larger group, and yet only one indicated any religious change. Further, six did indicate in some way they were looking for a religion like the ancient model. Only one of the eight was relatively wealthy while the baptism age was slightly older than the average.

#### Further Analysis

Some of the above classifications elicit more than

passing interest. Those who were older than the average tended to be found in the following groups: converts who changed religious affiliations two or more times, converts who belonged to minority religions, and the wealthy. The same older persons did not appear in all three, nor even two classifications in most cases. Since the individuals who changed their religions many times were seeking for the ancient religion, it is probable that they simply joined any new group which more closely approximated that ancient model, in their view. Some of the minority religions, such as Congregational, Dutch Reformed, and Rappite, were experiencing declining memberships, and many of the converts who affiliated with them in the 1830's were likely to be older persons who had joined when the denominations were more popular. Reasons for the older age of the wealthy were, as cited earlier, related to the early settling of these converts-to-be on lands which gradually accumulated or grew in wealth.

The youngest group was the non-migrants. The lack of migration was probably attributable to the youth of these persons, especially in light of the high migration rate of older converts.

Non-migrants, persons with exceptional education, and the older converts were generally affiliated with religions different than the predominant Methodists or Baptists. Non-migrants and those with higher educations were more likely than others to choose no religion. The older converts

were more likely to be Presbyterians or non-affiliates. These groups contributed most, as referred to earlier, to a trend in which more converts-to-be were disenchanted with organized religion than their parents.

At the same time, many parents of converts in minority groups affiliated with religions different from the majority: non-migrants, converts older than fifty, converts who changed religions two or more times, those born in the South and West, and the more wealthy converts. In the cases of non-migrants and migrants, this religious variation may have prompted their children, the converts, to deviate from other social norms: instead of remaining at home, the migrants moved; instead of remaining in the religions of their parents, the non-migrants changed their religions. Regional religious preferences may have accounted for the affiliations of converts born in the South and West, while no explanation of the religious variance of parents of wealthy or of older converts is apparent.

Converts who had the lowest migration rate were persons converted in Canada. Parents of these converts had moved to Canada before the converts were born, or before they were old enough to leave the home. They seemed to be content with their environments and never moved before conversion. Others who had low migration rates were converts born in the South and West, and converts belonging to minority religions. Most converts born in the South and West tended to remain in these general areas, while many belong-

ing to the minority religions migrated to the West or South and remained. In most of these cases, a satisfactory destination had been reached relatively early.

Migrants moved more times both personally and with their parents, of course, than any other group. But their average age was a little older (34.8 years) than the larger group, linking them to the group which had the second-highest migration rate, the older converts (over fifty years old). Apparently the number of moves they made was closely related to the number of years they had available to them. Both these groups were inclined to change religious preferences at least once.

It may be noted in passing that the non-migrants maintained the same migration rate (2.4) as the larger group.<sup>1</sup>

Persons who were born in places other than New England were found most likely in the following groups: those converted in Canada, converts previously belonging to minority religions, and those converted and baptized in the larger cities. The Canadian converts were born mostly in Canada and England, although some were migrants from New York. The converts affiliating with minority religions were born mostly in the South and West, while one-half of the converts living in larger cities were born in places in England and the South and West. Of course, since many of

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<sup>1</sup>This was referred to earlier in Chapter 2, pp. 28-9.



these larger city converts were baptized in Canada, some overlap occurs here. All three of these groups had majorities which never changed religion until conversion to Mormonism.

While the majority in the larger group was baptized in New York, the South and West were baptism places for three groups: those who changed religion two or more times, those born in the South and West, and those with a higher-than-average education. The converts who changed religion migrated to Ohio, the persons born in the South and West tended to remain there, and the exceptionally educated tended to migrate there, mostly from New York and New England. The non-migrants were also baptized in places different from the majority. These were mostly New Englanders, and so remained there. Finally, those baptized in larger cities were found mostly outside of New York, in the South and West, in Canada, and in New England.

In the larger study, persons living in urban areas were clearly in the minority. At the same time, it is notable that the two minority groups which contained the highest percentages of urban dwellers (aside from the two categories of urban dwellers) were converts who did not change their religions, and older converts.

It has been noted before that many of the converts with the highest formal education were inclined to be non-farmers. Surprisingly, the older group which contained a substantial minority living in urban areas consisted

completely of farmers. More unusual yet, 75 percent of those baptized in the largest cities were also farmers. Thus farming was clearly the economic mainstay of the early Mormons, and its universality seemed to have minimal effect on other social factors such as migration rate, religion change, and location of homes (as long as farms were accessible).

Converts who changed their religions many times were also migrants, a point demonstrated earlier.

Conversely, the converts who changed religions least were found in the following groups: converts born in the South or West, those converted in Canada, those belonging to minority religions, the non-farmers, and urban dwellers, including persons in largest cities. We are thus led to conclude that farmers of eastern origin who migrated to the West, belonged to many of the majority religions, and lived in rural areas were most likely to change their religion.

Religious change seemed to be more clearly associated with rural living circumstances than with migration, however. Both the non-migrants and migrants among rural dwellers had a high incidence of religion change, whereas urban dwellers did not. People with rural baptism places were in the majority as were persons who changed their religions. Conversely, persons baptized in urban areas were in the minority as were persons who did not change their religions. Consequently, it is a conclusion of this

writer that underlying causes of religious change may be less directly associated with migration than heretofore asserted by others, and that investigation should be made into comparisons between rural and urban conditions as they apply to religious change.

#### CONCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS AND THOUGHTS

It has occurred to the writer that at present there is simply not enough information available to support many final assertions on the social origins of early converts, and that we are left with too little with which to make our reconstructions. It is marvelous that De Pillis and Cross would make the strong claims referred to in light of the paucity of their information. The writer was left dissatisfied at the results of his own research, and disappointed that meaningful facts were so long in coming.

If ever sociological studies of early Mormons are to be conclusive and definitive, more groundwork of a biographical nature needs to appear. First, in biographies which are available, pertinent information has often been deleted. Facts such as experiences of home life, education, work, play, loves, hates, were only occasionally included. Reasons for important religious, political, economic, and social decisions are facts which were rarely included in most biographies examined in this study. Relationships of those decisions to events and conditions of the environment have been too often neglected in Mormon biographies.

Unfortunately, a majority of the biographies were written for the purpose of obtaining genealogical data only, leaving barely a skeleton on which to build a complete understanding of those persons.

Second, the usual subjects for biographical studies are the famous and ostensibly influential. So many of the persons' names who appeared in the writer's persuance of early Mormon periodicals, quorum records, diaries and journals, and genealogical records have led to nothing whatever: at no subsequent times or places have most of these names ever turned up. A vast amount of work will be needed to find out what happened to these people before it can be accurately shown exactly what their backgrounds were, and how accurate the assessments are which purport to describe their characters and characteristics. Until then, it is this writer's hope that every historian's conclusions will be treated more often as tentative, with the result that the proper directions for more research will appear more clearly on the horizon.

But if the foregoing study were regarded as representative, we would conclude that Mormons generally originated in the Northeast, in New York, and New England, that they migrated west, probably in search of better farm land which they might cultivate. Their levels of education were generally not high, they were not wealthy, and they chose the life on the farm for the most part. They had most often chosen a religion different from their parents,

always Protestant, and usually Methodist or Baptist, but sometimes rejecting the pleas to join emanating from organized religion because they did not find what they were looking for: manifestations of the primitive church. At the time of baptism into Mormonism, they had begun rearing their own families, and their children were still at home.

Again, on the basis of this study, we would conclude that the variant groups demonstrated interesting counterpoints to the main theme. The more highly educated were found, not in the East, not among the wealthy, nor in the larger cities, but in the South and West, in rural areas. Occasionally, the converts had vocations which were not connected with farming, but their homes were in rural areas nevertheless. We would conclude that it was neither necessary to migrate, to have changed one's religion, to differ with parents' religion, to be highly educated, to have received little or no education, to live in New England, New York, Canada, the South or West, large cities, small towns, to be old, young, or in-between, to be wealthy, to be poor, or to even be a female: Mormonism appealed to all of these, to some more often than others.

How did the economic, social, and religious backgrounds of these early Mormon converts compare with those of other Americans of the time? For example, what were the degrees of mobility among prospective Mormon converts as compared with members of other religious groups? Little information is currently available regarding such questions,

but in light of the tremendous westward movement of Americans and the population growth of the period, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that, in general, Mormons were no more mobile than members of other religions. Moreover, it may be found that geographical mobility had little influence upon religious change, but that psychology was a more influential factor. Other characteristics of Mormon converts such as vocational and educational backgrounds, membership in evangelical Protestant denominations, seemed typical of Americans from the regions in which they lived. Finally, the high percentages of urban dwellers among converts (as compared with Americans in general) may be suggestive of a greater desire among converts than among other Americans for better educations, higher living standards, and greater opportunity to find what they regarded as religious truth. Clearly, much remains to be discovered in this area.

We have raised the question as to whether or not this study may be considered representative. The writer feels that it is for the following reasons: first, we have shown that leaders were neither more educated, wealthy, nor influential in their communities than other converts. They were all of common stock. This study includes a majority of highly placed leaders in the church in the first seven years in addition to many others not so famous. Joseph Smith, Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams were members of the First Presidency. Martin Harris and David Whitmer were, together with Cowdery, the main three

witnesses to the Book of Mormon. The majority of the first organized quorum of Twelve Apostles was included. Joseph Smith, Sr., the first Patriarch to the church; Edward Partridge and Newell Whitney, the first and second bishops, respectively; and twelve others who, after this period, became leaders, were all included. Information, as one might expect, was generally more complete for these persons than most others because of their relative prominence.

Second, the backgrounds examined were those of people, leaders and non-leaders, who were baptized in the areas which Ellsworth has so thoroughly documented as points of successful missionary work in this period.

Third, despite the obvious deficiencies, the study represents the most complete compilation of information amassed to date. It is hoped that further studies may find it profitable.

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**APPENDIX**

Table 7

## Converts Who Moved Five or More Times

Name	<sup>a</sup> BaD	Cp	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P, Pm	Vocation
1. Ames, Ira	32	x	M	M	E	28	5	Vt	NY	R	1	6	Tanner, Dr. of Med.
2. Foote, David	33	x	M-U	-	L	55	4	Con	NY	U	1	5	F
3. Johnson, Joel	31	-	B	P	L	29	1	Ma	O	R	6	5	F, saw miller
4. Marsh, Thomas B.	30	x	M	-	-	31	7	Ma	Ma	U	2	8	F, laborer
5. Noble, Joseph	32	x	N	-	C	22	1	Ma	NY	R	5	6	Flour miller
6. Osborne, David	35	x	Camp	N, B- M	E	28	2	Va	Ind	R	5	7	F, school teacher
7. Petty, Albert	35	-	B	B	L	40	3	Ky	Tenn	R	3	5	F, wheel- wright, gunsmith
8. Porter, Sanford	31	x	N	N	C	41	6	Ma	Ind	-	2	8	F, school teacher
9. Pratt, Parley P.	30	x	B-RB	N	C	23	2	NY	NY	R	5	5	F
10. Smith, Joseph, Jr.	29	x	N	N, P	C	24	0	Vt	NY	U	6	7	F
11. Smith, Joseph, Sr.	30	x	N	N	C	59	11	Ma	NY	U	3	14	F
12. Wight, Lyman	30	x	RB	B	C	34	5	NY	O	R	4	6	F
13. Williams, Frederick	30	x	RB	-	E	43	2	Con	O	R	4	5	F, Dr. of Med.
14. Young, Brigham	32	x	RM	M	L	31	1	Vt	NY	U	6	5	Carp., ptr., glaz., joiner
Totals and averages		12	3 M 3 RB 4 N	3 M 5 N 2 B	6 C 3 E 3 L	34.8			7 NY 6 SW 10 NE	9R	3.7	6.4	11 Farmers

Table 7 (continued)

Name	BaD	Cp	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,Pm	Vocation
			2 B	2 P				2	NY				
			1 U					2	S				
			1	Camp									

<sup>a</sup>All symbols and abbreviations are the same as in Table 1.



Table 8

## Non-migrant Converts

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Bigler, Henry	37	-	-	N	C	22	0	WV	WV	R	0	0	F, frontier- man
2. Butler, John L.	35	x	M-B	M	C	27	0	Ky	Ky	R	0	0	F, teacher
3. Gates, Jacob	33	x	N	M	L	22	0	Vt	Vt	R	1	0	F, carp. & joiner
4. Hendricks, James	35	x	B	B	-	27	0	Ky	Ky	R	1	0	F
5. Leany, William	34	-	N	N,B, P,D	C	19	0	Ky	Ky	R	1	0	F
6. Leavitt, Jeremiah	35	-	C	C	-	18	0	C	C	-	3	0	F
7. Lyman, Amasa	32	x	N	C	C	19	0	NH	NH	R	1	0	F
8. Miller, William	34	x	N	N,P	E	20	0	NY	NY	R	1	0	- , w
9. Richards, Phinehas	37	-	C	C	-	-	0	Ma	Ma	R	2	0	F, carp.
10. Rockwood, Albert	37	-	-	C	C	32	0	Ma	Ma	R	1	0	F
11. Sessions, Perrigrine	35	-	N	M	-	21	0	Me	Me	R	0	0	F
12. Smith, George A.	33	x	P	P	C	16	0	NY	NY	U	0	0	F
13. Snow, Erastus	33	-	N	M,N	C	15	0	Vt	Vt	R	0	0	F
14. Snow, Willard	33	-	M	M,N	C	22	0	Vt	Vt	R	0	0	F
15. Snow, Zerubbabel	32	-	M	M,N	C	23	0	Vt	Vt	R	0	0	F
Totals and averages		6	6 N 2 M 2 B 2 C 1 P	6 N 6 M 4 C 3 P 2 B	9C 1E 1L	21.6		8 NE 4 S 2 NY 1 Can	13R 1U		.66		14 Farmers

Table 9

## Converts Who Changed Religion Two or More Times

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Morley, Isaac	30	x	C-P- RB	C-P	L	54	1	Ma	0	R	0	1	F, w
2. Murdock, John	30	x	L-P- R-RB	P	C	38	2	NY	0	R	3	3	F, teacher
<b>Totals and averages</b>		2	2 RB	2 P	1 L 1 C	46	1.5	1NE 1NY	2W	2R	1.5	2.0	2 Farmers

Table 10

## Converts Who Made No Pre-conversion Religion Change

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Adams, Barnabas	35	-	M	M	-	33	0	C	C	R	2	1	F
2. Ames, Ira	32	x	M	M	E	28	5	Vt	NY	R	1	6	Tanner, Dr. of Med.
3. Barlow, Israel	32	x	M	M	C	26	0	Ma	NY	U	5	4	F
4. Call, Anson	36	-	M	M	C	26	1	Vt	O	U	2	2	F
5. Decker, Isaac	33	0	DR	DR	-	33	3	NY	O	-	1	3	F
6. Duncan, Chapman	32	-	C	C	-	20	1	NH	Mo	U	1	2	F, clerk, teach. lab.
7. Farr, Winslow	32	-	C	C	-	38	3	NH	Vt	R	1	3	F, judge, w
8. Fielding, Joseph	36	x	M	M	-	39	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	F
9. Granger, Oliver	32	x	M	M	C	38	1	NY	NY	U	0	1	Const., shrf Col. in cavalry
10. Hendricks, James	35	x	B	B	-	27	0	Ky	Ky	R	1	0	F
11. Holbrook, Joseph	33	-	N	N	C	27	2	NY	NY	R	2	2	F, teacher, laborer
12. Johnson, Benjamin F.	35	-	P	P	C	16	0	NY	O	R	6	1	F, carp., laborer
13. Johnson, Seth	32	-	P	P	C	27	0	Ma	NY	U	6	2	F, teacher
14. Knight, Newell	30	x	U	U	C	30	0	Vt	NY	R	2	2	Mill oper., inventor
15. Lake, James	32	-	M	M	-	42	1	NY	C	R	2	2	F
16. Leavitt, Jeremiah	35	-	C	C	-	18	0	C	C	-	3	0	F
17. Pettegrew, David	32	x	M	M	-	41	2	Vt	O	U	1	2	F
18. Petty, Albert	35	-	B	B	L	40	3	Ky	Ten	R	3	5	F, wheelwt., gunsmith
19. Porter, Sanford	31	x	N	N	C	41	6	Ma	Ind	-	2	8	F, teacher

Table 10 (continued)

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
20. Pratt, Orson	30	-	N	N	C	19	0	NY	NY	R	5	2	F
21. Rich, Charles C.	32	x	N	N	C	23	0	Ky	Ill	R	3	2	F, teacher
22. Rich, Sarah DeArmon	35	x	M	M	-	21	0	Ill	Ill	R	4	2	Father was F
23. Richards, Phinehas	37	-	C	C	-	-	0	Ma	Ma	R	2	0	F, carp.
24. Roundy, Shadrach	30	-	B	B	C	41	1	Vt	NY	R	1	1	F
25. Smith, George A.	33	x	P	P	C	16	0	NY	NY	U	0	0	F
26. Smith, Joseph, Sr.	30	x	N	N	C	59	11	Ma	NY	U	3	14	F
27. Smith, Mary Fielding	36	-	M	M	-	35	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	-
28. Smoot, Abraham	35	-	N	N	-	20	0	Ky	Ten	-	4	2	F
29. Tanner, John	32	-	B	B	-	54	2	RI	NY	R	2	3	F, w
30. Tyler, Daniel	33	x	N	N	E	17	0	NYu	Pa	R	1	1	-
31. Walker, William	35	-	C	C	C	15	0	Vt	NY	U	2	1	Skilled lab.
32. Whitmer, David	29	-	DR	DR	C	24	0	Pa	NY	U	1	1	F
33. Whitmer, Peter, Sr.	30	-	DR	DR	L	57	1	Pa	NY	U	-	-	F
34. Wilson, Lewis D.	36	-	N	N	C	31	-	Vt	O	R	3	-	F
35. Wood, Daniel	33	-	M	M	-	33	0	NY	C	R	3	2	F
36. Young, Brigham	32	x	RM	M	L	31	1	Vt	NY	U	6	5	Carp., join., glaz., ptr.
37. Young, Joseph	32	x	M	M	-	35	-	Ma	NY	-	6	-	Ptr., glaz., preacher
38. Zundel, Johan	36	x	Rapp	Rapp	-	40	4	Ger	Pa	U	3	4	Butcher
Totals and averages		16	13 M 8 N 5 C 4 B 3 P 3 DR 1 U 1 Rapp		16 C 2 E 3 L		1.27	17NE 9NY 7SW 5For	16NY 14SW 2NE 6Can	19R 15U	2.5	2.4	28 Farmers 3 No info.

Table 11

## Converts Born in the South or West

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Bigler, Henry	37	-	-	N	C	22	0	WV	WV	R	0	0	F, frontrsmn
2. Butler, John L.	35	x	M-B	M	C	27	0	Ky	Ky	R	0	0	F, teacher
3. Earl, Sylvester	37	-	N	M	-	22	0	O	O	-	7	3	F
4. Fullmer, David	36	x	M-	M-	C	33	3	Pa	O	R	2	4	Teacher, merchant
5. Hendricks, James	35	x	B	B	-	27	0	Ky	Ky	R	1	0	F
6. Hunt, Jefferson	35	-	N	B	C	32	0	Ky	Ill	R	5	1	F
7. Leany, William	34	-	N	N,B, P,D	C	19	0	Ky	Ky	R	1	0	F
8. McBride, Thomas	31	-	N	-	-	55	2	Va	Va	R	1	2	F
9. Osborne, David	35	x	Camp	N,B- M	E	28	2	Va	Ind	R	5	7	F, teacher
10. Petty, Albert	35	-	B	B	L	40	3	Ky	Ten	R	3	5	F, wheelwrt, gunsmith
11. Rich, Charles C.	32	x	N	N	C	23	0	Ky	Ill	R	3	2	F, teacher
12. Rich, Sarah DeArmon	35	x	RM	M	-	21	0	Ill	Ill	R	4	2	Father was F
13. Rigdon, Sidney	30	x	B-RB	B	C	37	3	Pa	O	R	1	3	Minister
14. Smoot, Abraham	35	-	N	N	-	20	0	Ky	Ten	-	4	2	F
15. Snow, Lorenzo	36	x	N	B	E	22	2	O	O	R	3	2	Lt. in mil.
16. Whitmer, David	29	-	DR	DR	C	24	0	Pa	NY	U	1	1	F
17. Whitmer, Peter, Sr.	30	-	DR	DR	L	57	1	Pa	NY	U	-	-	F
Totals and averages		9	7N 4B 2DR 2Ca 1M	6B 5N 4M 2DR 1Ca,	8C 2L 2E 1P,	32.0	.94		15SW 2NY	13R 2U	2.7	2.3	13Farmers 1 No Info.

Table 12

## Converts Converted in Canada

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Adams, Barnabas	35	-	M	M	-	33	0	C	C	R	2	1	F
2. Draper, William	33	-	-	B	C	26	2	C	C	R	3	3	F, survey- or's help.
3. Fielding, Joseph	36	x	M	M	-	39	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	F
4. Horne, Joseph	36	-	N	M	L	24	0	Eng	C	R	3	3	F, merchant, carp.
5. Lake, James	32	-	M	M	-	42	1	NY	C	R	2	2	F
6. Leavitt, Jeremiah	35	-	C	C	-	18	0	C	C	-	3	0	F
7. Smith, Mary Fielding	36	-	M	M	-	35	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	-
8. Taylor, John	36	x	C/E- M	C/E	C	28	1	Eng	C	U	3	3	Cooper, turner, preacher
9. Wood, Daniel	33	-	M	M	-	33	0	NY	C	R	3	2	F
Totals and averages		2	6M 1N 1C	6M 1C/E 1C 1B	2C 1L	30.8	.62			5R	2.4	2	7 Farmers 1 No info.

Table 13

## Converts Belonging to Minority Religions

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Decker, Isaac	33	-	DR	DR	-	33	3	NY	O	-	1	3	F
2. Fullmer, David	36	x	M-Ca	M-Ca	C	33	3	Pa	O	R	2	4	Teacher, merchant
3. Knight, Joseph	30	x	U	-	-	58	2	Ma	NY	R	1	2	F, mill own. w
4. Knight, Newell	30	x	U	U	C	30	0	Vt	NY	R	2	2	Inventor, mill oper.
5. Osborne, David	35	x	Camp	N,B- M	E	28	2	Va	Ind	R	5	7	F, teacher
6. Whitmer, David	29	-	DR	DR	C	24	0	Pa	NY	U	1	1	F
7. Whitmer, Peter Sr.	30	-	DR	DR	2	57	1	Pa	NY	U	-	-	F
8. Zundel, Johan J.	36	x	Rapp	Rapp	-	40	4	Ger	Pa	U	3	4	Butcher
Totals and averages		5	3DR 2Ca 2U 1Rap	3DR 1Ca 1U 1Rap 1M	3C 1E 1L	37.8	1.9	4SW 2NE 1NY 1Ger	4SW 4NY	4R 3U	2.1	3.3	5 Farmers

Table 14

## Converts Who Were Exceptionally Educated

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Ames, Ira	32	x	M	M	E	28	5	Vt	NY	R	1	6	Tanner, M.D.
2. Boynton, John F.	32	-	-	Q	E	21	1	Ma	O	R	0	1	-
3. Kimball, Heber C.	32	x	B	N,P	E	31	1	Vt	NY	U	3	3	F, Blksm., ptr, bldr.
4. Miller, William	34	x	N	N,P	E	20	0	NY	NY	R	1	0	-, w
5. Osborne, David	35	x	Camp	N,B- M	E	28	2	Va	Ind	R	5	7	F, teacher
6. Snow, Eliza R.	35	-	N	B	#	31	0	Ma	O	R	3	2	Wrtr, sec.
7. Snow, Lorenzo	36	x	N	B	E	22	2	O	O	R	3	2	Military
8. Tyler, Daniel	33	x	N	N	E	17	0	NYu	Pa	R	1	1	-
9. Williams, Frederick	30	x	RB	-	E	43	2	Con	O	R	4	5	F, MD, w u
Totals and averages		7	4N 2B 1M 1Ca 1RB	4N 2M 2P 2B 1Q		26.7	1.4	5NE 2NY 2SW	6SW 3NY	8R 1U	2.3	3.0	3 Farmers 3 Other 3 No info.



Table 15

## Converts Who Received Little or No Education

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Angel, Truman	33	-	B	-	L	23	2	RIu	NY	R	2	3	Carp., jnr., architect
2. Barnes, Lorenzo	33	-	-	M	L	21	0	Ma	O	R	3	2	F
3. Bingham, Erastus	33	-	N	-	L	35	1	Vt	Vt	R	1	1	F
4. Brown, Benjamin	35	x	N	Q	L	41	2	NY	NY	R	1	2	F
5. Foote, David	33	x	M-U	-	L	55	4	Con	NY	U	1	5	F
6. Gates, Jacob	33	x	N	M	L	22	0	Vt	Vt	R	1	0	F, carp., joiner
7. Gifford, Levi	31	x	M	-	L	42	1	Ma	O	R	4	3	F
8. Horne, Joseph	36	-	N	M	L	24	0	Eng	C	R	3	3	F, merch., carp.
9. Johnson, Joel	31	-	B	P	L	29	1	Ma	O	R	6	5	F, saw mllr.
10. Morley, Isaac	30	x	C-P- RB	C-P	L	54	1	Ma	O	R	0	1	F, w
11. Petty, Albert	35	-	B	B	L	40	3	Ky	Ten	R	3	5	F, wheelwrt., gnsmith.
12. Snow, William	32	-	M	M,N	L	25	1	Vt	Vt	R	0	1	F
13. Whitmer, Peter Sr.	30	-	DR	DR	L	57	1	Pa	NY	U	-	-	F
14. Young, Brigham	32	x	RM	M	L	31	1	Vt	NY	U	6	5	Carp., jnr., ptr., glz.
15. Young, Lorenzo	32	x	N	M	L	24	-	NY	NY	U	6	-	F, grdnr., nurserymn.
Totals and averages		7	5N 4B 3M 1U,	6M 2P 1N 1DR		34.8	1.2	1E 1ONE 2SW 2NY	6NY 5SW 3NE 1C	11R 4U	2.64	2.57	13 Farmers

Table 16

## Converts Who Were Non-farmers

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Ames, Ira	32	x	M	M	E	28	5	Vt	NY	R	1	6	Tnr, M.D.
2. Angel, Truman	33	-	B	-	L	23	2	RIu	NY	R	2	3	Carp., jnr., architect
3. Fullmer, David	36	x	M-Ca	M-Ca	C	33	3	Pa	O	R	2	4	Tchr, merch.
4. Granger, Oliver	32	x	M	M	C	38	1	NY	NY	U	0	1	Const., shrf. col.-cav.
5. Hyde, Orson	31	x	M-RB	M	C	26	1	Con	O	R	1	2	Clk, tcher.
6. Knight, Newell	30	x	U	U	C	30	0	Vt	NY	R	2	2	Inv., ml. op.
7. Nelson, David	33	-	B	-	C	32	2	Ma	Ma	R	1	2	Furn. ptr., laborer
8. Noble, Joseph	32	x	N	-	C	22	1	Ma	NY	R	5	6	Flr. miller
9. Partridge, Edward	30	x	U-RB	-	-	37	1	Ma	O	R	1	1	Hatter
10. Rich, Sarah DeArmon	35	x	RM	M	-	21	0	Ill	Ill	R	4	2	-
11. Richards, Willard	36	x	N	C	C	32	1	Ma	Ma	R	2	2	Dr. of Med.
12. Rigdon, Sidney	30	x	B-RB	B	C	37	3	Pa	O	R	1	3	Minister
13. Snow, Eliza R.	35	-	N	B	E	31	0	Ma	O	R	3	2	Wrtr, sec.
14. Snow, Lorenzo	36	x	N	B	E	22	2	O	O	R	3	2	Military
15. Taylor, John	36	x	C/E- M	C/E	C	28	1	Eng	C	U	3	3	Cooper, tnr. preacher
16. Walker, William	35	-	C	C	C	15	0	Vt	NY	U	2	1	Skld. lab.
17. Whitney, Newell	30	x	RB	-	C	35	2	Vt	O	R	1	2	Merchant
18. Young, Brigham	32	x	RM	M	L	31	1	Vt	NY	U	6	5	Carp., jnr., glaz., ptr.
19. Young, Joseph	32	x	M	M	-	35	-	Ma	NY	-	6	-	Ptr., glz., preacher
20. Zundel, Johan	36	x	Rapp	Rapp	-	40	4	Ger	Pa	U	3	4	Butcher

Table 16 (continued)

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
Totals and averages	16	6M	6M	11C	29.8		13NE	9SW	14R	2.45	2.79	3	Merchants
		6B	3B	3E		1.57	4SW	8NY	5U				3 Ministers
		4N	2C	2L			1En	2NE					2 Teachers
		1C	1C/E				1Ger						2 Millers
		1Rap	1Rap										2 Painters
		1U	1U										2 Laborers
		1Ca	1Ca										2 Drs. of Med.

Table 17

## Wealthy Converts

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Farr, Winslow	32	-	C	C	-	38	3	NH	Vt	R	1	3	F, judge, w
2. Harris, Martin	30	-	N	-	-	47	0	NYu	NY	U	2	1	F, w
3. Huntington, William	35	x	P	-	-	51	1	NH	NY	U	2	2	F, w
4. Hyde, Heman	34	-	-	P	-	46	2	Vt	NY	R	-	-	F, w
5. Knight, Joseph	30	x	U	-	-	58	2	Ma	NY	R	1	2	F, mill own- er, w
6. Miller, William	34	x	N	N,P	E	20	0	NY	NY	R	1	0	-, w
7. Morley, Isaac	30	x	C-P- RB	C-P	L	54	1	Ma	O	R	0	1	F, w
8. Tanner, John	32	-	B	B	-	54	2	RI	NY	R	2	3	F, w
9. Williams, Frederick	30	x	RB	-	E	43	2	Con u	O	R	4	5	F, M.D., w
Totals and averages		5	3B 2N 1C 1U 1P	3P 1B 1N 1C	2E 1L	45.6	1.4	6NY 7NE 2NY	2W 1NE	7R 2U	1.6	2.12	8 Farmers 1 No info.

Table 18

## Older Converts (over Fifty)

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Bent, Samuel	33	-	C-P	C	C	55	-	Ma	Mi	R	0	-	F
2. Foote, David	33	x	M-U	-	L	55	4	Con	NY	U	1	5	F
3. Higby, Oliver	31	-	N	C-E	-	52	3	Con	NY	R	3	4	F
4. Huntington, William	35	x	P	-	-	51	1	NH	NY	U	2	2	F, w
5. Knight, Joseph	30	x	U	-	-	58	2	Ma	NY	R	1	2	F, mill- owner
6. McBride, Thomas	31	-	N	-	-	55	2	Va	Va	R	1	2	F
7. Morley, Isaac	30	x	C-P- RB	C-P	L	54	1	Ma	O	R	0	1	F, w
8. Smith, Joseph, Sr.	30	x	N	N	C	59	11	Ma	NY	U	3	14	F
9. Smith, Silas	35	-	P	U	-	56	0	NH	NY	R	7	4	F
10. Tanner, John	32	-	B	B	-	54	2	RI	NY	R	2	3	F, w
11. Whitmer, Peter, Sr.	30	-	DR	DR	L	57	1	Pa	NY	U	-	-	F
Totals and averages		5	3N 3P 2B 2U 1DR	All Diff.	3L 2C	55	2.7	9NE 2SW	8NY 3SW	7R 4U	2	4.1	11 Farmers 4 Wealthy

Table 19  
Urban Dwellers

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Barlow, Israel	32	x	M	M	C	26	0	Ma	NY	U	5	4	F
2. Call, Anson	36	-	M	M	C	26	1	Vt	O	U	2	2	F
3. Cowdery, Oliver	29	-	-	B	C	23	1	Vt	NY	U	2	2	Clk., tchr., F, blksm.
4. Duncan, Chapman	32	-	C	C	-	20	1	NH	Mo	U	1	2	F, clk., tchr., lab.
5. Fielding, Joseph	36	x	M	M	-	39	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	F
6. Foote, David	33	x	M-U	-	L	55	4	Con	NY	U	1	5	F
7. Granger, Oliver	32	x	M	M	C	38	1	NY	NY	U	0	1	Const., shrf. col.-cav.
8. Harris, Martin	30	-	N	-	-	47	0	NYu	NY	U	2	1	F, w
9. Huntington, William	35	x	P	O	O	51	1	NH	NY	U	2	2	F, w
10. Johnson, Seth	32	-	P	P	C	27	0	Ma	NY	U	6	2	F, teacher
11. Kimball, Heber C.	32	x	B	N,P	E	31	1	Vt	NY	U	3	3	F, blksmth., bldr., ptr.
12. Marsh, Thomas B.	30	x	M	-	-	31	7	Ma	Ma	U	2	8	F, laborer
13. Morrill, Laban	33	x	N	B	-	19	1	Vt	Vt	U	0	1	Blacksmith
14. Pettegrew, David	32	x	M	M	-	41	2	Vt	O	U	1	2	F
15. Pulsipher, Zerah	32	x	B	B,P	-	43	2	Vt	NY	U	0	2	F
16. Smith, George A.	33	x	P	P	C	16	0	NY	NY	U	0	0	F
17. Smith, Joseph, Jr.	29	x	N	N,P	C	24	0	Vt	NY	U	6	7	F
18. Smith, Joseph, Sr.	30	x	N	N	C	59	11	Ma	NY	U	3	14	F
19. Smith, Mary Fielding	36	-	M	M	-	35	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	-
20. Taylor, John	36	x	C/E- M	C/E	C	28	1	Eng	C	U	3	3	Cooper, tnr., preacher
21. Walker, William	35	-	C	C	C	15	0	Vt	NY	U	2	1	Skld. lab.
22. Whitmer, David	29	-	DR	DR	C	24	0	Pa	NY	U	1	1	F

Table 19 (continued)

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
23. Whitmer, Peter, Sr.	30	-	DR	DR	L	57	1	Pa	NY	U	-	-	F
24. Woodruff, Wilford	33	x	N	B,N	C	26	2	Con	NY	U	1	2	Miller, F
25. Young, Brigham	32	x	RM	M	L	31	1	Vt	NY	U	6	5	Carp., jnr., ptr., glzr.
26. Young, Lorenzo	32	x	N	M	L	24	-	NY	NY	U	6	-	F, gardener, nurseryman
27. Zundel, Johan	36	x	Rapp	Rapp	-	40	4	Ger	Pa	U	3	4	Butcher
Totals and averages		18	9M 5N 3P 2C 2DR 2B 1U 1Rap	7M 5P 4B 4N 2C 2DR 1Rapp 1C/E	12C 4L 1E	29.1	1.40	18NY 17NE 4NY 3En 2Pa 1Ger	4SW 3C 2NE		2.43	3.0	20 Farmers 2 No info.

Table 20

## Converts Converted in Large Cities (over 5000) Inhabitants

Name	BaD	CP	PeR	PaR	Ed	Age	PeM	BiP	CoL	Size	PaM	P,PM	Vocation
1. Duncan, Chapman	32	-	C	C	-	20	1	NH	Mo	U	1	2	F, clerk, tchr., lab.
2. Huntington, William	35	x	P	-	-	51	1	NH	NY	U	2	2	F, w
3. Fielding, Joseph	36	x	M	M	-	39	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	F
4. Marsh, Thomas B.	30	x	M	-	-	31	7	Ma	Ma	U	2	8	F, laborer
5. Pettegrew, David	32	x	M	M	-	41	2	Vt	O	U	1	2	F
6. Smith, Mary Fielding	36	-	M	M	-	35	1	Eng	C	U	-	-	-
7. Taylor, John	36	x	C/E- M	C/E	C	28	1	Eng	C	U	3	3	Cooper, tnr. preacher
8. Zundel, Johan	36	x	Rapp	Rapp	-	40	4	Ger	Pa	U	1	1	Butcher
Totals and averages		6	5M 1C 1P 1Rap	3M 1C 1C/E 1Rap	1C	35.6	2.25	3SW 4NE 3En 1Ge	3C 1NE 1NY		2	3.5	5 Farmers 1 No info.