1984-04-01

The Impact of the Mormon Migration on the Community of Kirtland, Ohio, 1830-1839

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THE IMPACT OF THE MORMON MIGRATION ON THE COMMUNITY OF KIRTLAND, OHIO, 1830-1839

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of History

Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

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April 1984

This Thesis, by Mark R. Grandstaff, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Gratitude is expressed to Robert C. Kenzer for his patience, extensive assistance, and careful scrutiny of the manuscript. Likewise, Keith Perkins expended large amounts of time and also shared important sources on the Kirtland period with me. Besides serving as my committee, I have benefited from their valuable classroom instruction and private conversations. Deepest appreciation is also extended to Milton Backman, Jr., who not only served as my employer during my years at Brigham Young University, but also generously shared his insights and research.

To numerous professors at Brigham Young University I owe my deepest gratitude. I should especially wish to thank James Allen and David Pratt who each in their own way contributed to my understanding. Those who are knowledgeable of American and especially Mormon history realize that I owe a great debt to Marvin Hill for providing me with valuable insights.

Thanks are to be extended to D. Michael Quinn and Donald Cannon, who read parts of the manuscript and offered helpful advice and encouragement. In addition, David Whittaker shared his bibliographical compilations on Mormon and American history, and provided many important references.

The staff of the L.D.S. Historical Department and the Genealogical Department, especially Dean Jessee and Kip Sperry, also provided me with valuable assistance, as did Special Collections, Harold B. Library, at Brigham Young University. Librarians at the Lake County Historical Society (Mentor, Ohio), Geauga County Historical Society (Burton, Ohio), and the Western Reserve Historical Society are also to commended for their enthusiastic help.

My sincerest appreciation is rendered to my wife, Tamara, and my children, Ferrin, Cherresa, and Camber, who provided me with love, gratitude, and encouragement. This work is dedicated to them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Tables

LIST OF MAPS

Maps

LIST OF CHARTS

Charts

INTRODUCTION

The introduction of Mormonism into the Kirtland area has been a topic of numerous scholarly studies. From Eva L. Pancoast's "The Mormons at Kirtland" in 1929, to Milton V. Backman's, The Heavens Resound in 1983, the Mormons' stay at Kirtland during the 1830s has been examined in light of Mormon doctrinal, economic and social development.[1] This examination is the first quantitative community study on the impact that Mormon immigration had on a non-Mormon township.[2] It answers questions involving who the Kirtland Mormons were, how did their migration affect the township of Kirtland, and what happened to both the Kirtland Mormons and Kirtland Township after the Mormon exodus is 1838.

Chapter One, through the use of diaries, journals, and autobiographies, reconstructs Mormon social backgrounds and provides a portrait of those Saints who moved to Kirtland. It also challenges those scholars who have postulated that Mormonism attracted those who were psychologically dislocated due to frequent migrations. It, however, does substantiate current thinking that the Mormon movement was an anti-pluralistic counter-revolution attempting to re-establish order and re-define what antebellum life should be like. Based

upon reason and revelation, this millenarian movement advocated a return to primitive Christian principles and inaugurated a number of experiments designed to accomplish society's restoration. Many who joined the movement were those seeking stability. Few migrated often. Yet many were poor and had occupations (primarily that of subsistence farmer and small home manufacturer,) that were threatened by increasing speculation, urbanization, commercial agriculture, and large-scale manufacturing. This study finds that Mormons, for the most part, would be those seeking Divine intervention in straightening the affairs of an irrational society.

Chapter Two, through the use of land records, deeds, and personal and real property tax records, measures the results of the constant influx of Mormon families on the non-Mormon Kirtland community. Many socio-political and economic factors that lead to anti-Mormon sentiments are discussed and quantified. This study finds that besides numerous social factors, the increasing Mormon growth rate, in combination with the rising land prices, affected the community's perception of the Mormons. Some non-Mormons saw the Mormon growth rate as an economic opportunity and sold them their land. Others felt threatened by high land and food prices and left. Some were afraid that the Mormons were reducing the township to poverty. A few economic and political leaders realizing that the Mormons

were beginning to dominate the township, initiated economic restraints against them.

Chapter Three analyzes the Kirtland community after the Mormon exodus and provides an analysis of what happened to the Kirtland Mormons after their emmigration. It specifies how many apostatized in 1837 and 1838, died, or moved to Missouri, Nauvoo, and Utah.

Terminology

The terms "Mormon Church", "LDS Church", and "the Church" are synonymous to the "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" that was incorporated in Fayette, New York, by Joseph Smith, on April 6, 1830. Members of this Church will be referred to as "Mormons", "Latter-day Saints", or "Saints". In the case of the first chapter, persons who will become Mormons, but at the time of the analysis were not, are called "pre-Mormon converts", or "pre-Mormons". Those individuals not belonging to the Mormon Church will be called "non-members", "non-Mormons", or Gentiles". Terms such as "the "Prophet" or the "Prophet Joseph", refer to the religious movement's founder, Joseph Smith, Jr.

CHAPTER I

The Social Origins of the Kirtland Mormons

Early in the Spring of 1831, it was recorded that members of a new religious movement entered Ohio's scenic Western Reserve and settled in the town of Kirtland:

> They came, men, women, and children, in every conceivable manner some with horses, oxen and vehicles rough and rude, while others had walked all or part of the distance. The future "City of the Saints" appeared like one beseiged. Every available house, shop, hut, or barn was filled to its utmost capacity. Even boxes were roughly extemporized and used for shelter until something more permanent could be secured.[1]

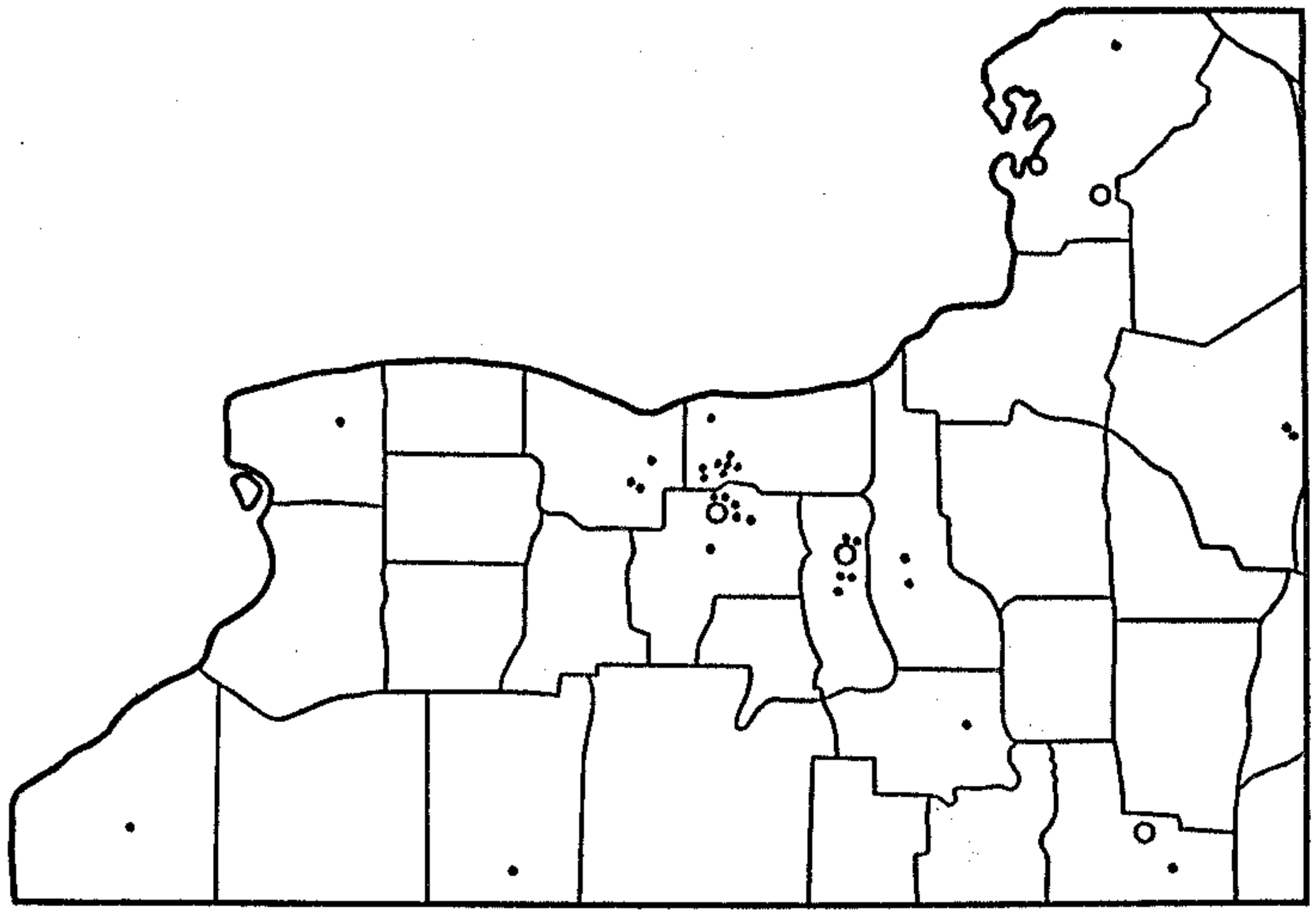
From a small group of under 200 in 1831 to over 2000 by 1837, the Mormon converts responded to their Church's active missionary program from all parts of the United States and Canada.[2] Many Western Reserve residents asked and numerous scholars have investigated who these people were and what were their origins. Because historians have either found biographical data scant or have lacked quantitative skills, however, their findings have been inconclusive. This quantitative study (based upon records of the Mormons while in the Kirtland vicinity from 1830 to 1839,) will attempt to provide a more complete portrait of early Mormon social origins.

Work on Mormon origins has presented a plethora of possible solutions as to why the movement arose. Scholars have theorized that Mormon converts were reacting to profound economic and social changes typical of the turbulent Jacksoninan period.[3] Others have postulated that it was rural maturation.[4] To some, Mormon converts and their doctrines were anti-clerical, anti-revivalist, and anti-pluralist.[5] A recent scholar in his comparitive work on the Mormons, the Shakers, and the Oneida Perfectionists, argues that Mormonism was countering the subversion of the patriarchal household and the dissolution of kinship bonds common to the changing New York environment.[6]

In a pioneer work on Mormon origins, Whitney R. Cross attempts to explain that their origins were steeped in the sectarian revivalism which emanated from a section of western New York known as the "Burned-Over District".[7] Cross plots where Mormon converts lived in this "Burned-Over District" (see Map 1.1). His conclusion is that Mormon converts were neither on the frontier nor part of it. Mario De Pillis finds Cross's map as well as his conclusions to be flawed.[8] Arguing that the Mormon converts' migratory nature made them, "ready for the authoritative message of Mormonism," he associates the origins of Mormonism with the, "disorientation of values caused by migration to and within the backwoods of the United States."[9] Marvin Hill, agreeing with De Pillis,

MAP 1.1

EARLY BRANCHES OF THE MORMON CHURCH



SOURCE: Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District, p. 147.

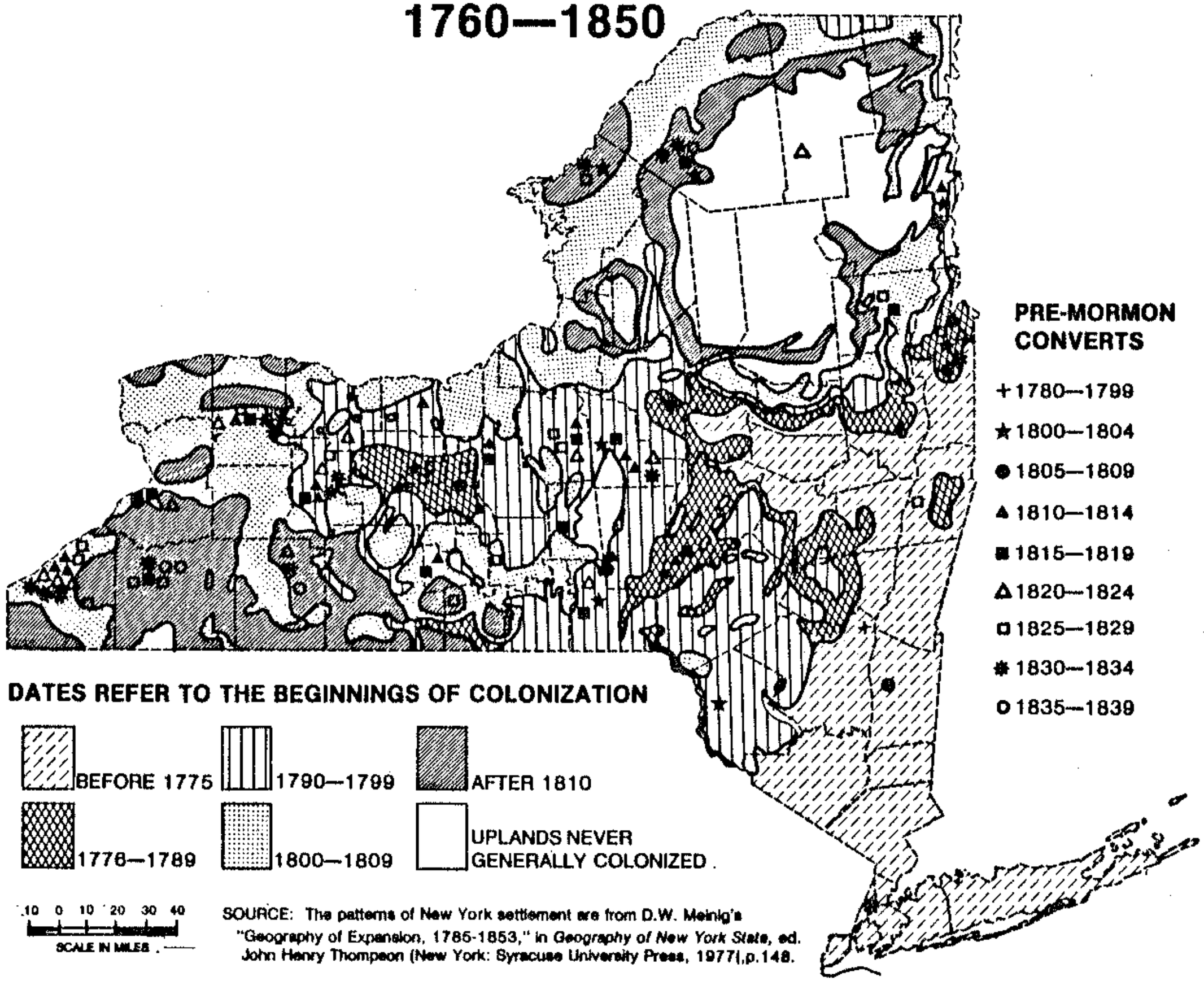
asserts that Mormons were, "transients seeking a stopping place and a lifestyle."[10]

Contrary to both Hill and De Pillis, this study finds little correlation between migration and Mormon religious conversion.[11] In fact, sources indicate striking similarities between pre-Mormon converts and their American contemporaries.[12]

The westward movement into the New York frontier between 1790 and 1830 was stimulated by the shortage of available land in New England.[13] The immigration of so many settlers and their rapid dissemination into the agriculturally suitable areas of the New York frontier appears to be much like a wave sweeping uniformly across New York: however, as Map 1.2 demonstrates, for the new settlers as well as the pre-Mormons, the westward migration was not a symmetrical wave rolling along a broad front but, as D.W. Meinig explains, it was a, "highly selective, uneven, fragmented pattern of advance.[14] The main body of early migrants traveled through the Mohawk Valley wich was accesible to overlanders from New England.[15] A secondary influx was from Pennsylvania. Meinig describes how this channel flowed along the Susquehannah, "or more directly from the Wyoming Valley," reached New York, "turned and spread strongly east and west along the valleys of Binghampton to the Cannisto," and eventually "reached well into the Finger Lake District."[16] Vermont served as the third gateway to New

MAP 1.2

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS WITHIN NEW YORK
1760—1850



SOURCE: The patterns of New York settlement are from D.W. Meinig's "Geography of Expansion, 1785-1853," in *Geography of New York State*, ed. John Henry Thompson (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1977),p.148.

York. Vermonters crossed the northern edge of the Adirondacks before entering western New York where they intermingled with their fellow Yankees from southern New England who were spreading northward from the Black River corridor on the southwest side of the Adirondacks.

Ezekial Johnson, whose family converted to Mormonism in the early 1830's, was one such Vermonter who migrated to western New York and established his home. Ezekial, like so many Americans, followed a two-step migration procedure: first, the able-bodied men of the family went to look at the land, make a clearing, and build a cabin: second, they returned to bring the women and children for the permanent settlement.[17] Joel Hills Johnson, Ezekial's son, writes of the families migration in 1813. He records that his father went ahead of the family, scouted the area, bought land and, "concluded to return and locate his family in that country".[18] Joel further writes that like most young men his age, he was anxious to get on his own and obtain property.[19] Joel had uncomplicated reasons for the westward movement--cheaper and better land. Yet, better land was not the only incentive as land speculation complicated the migration pattern. Many, who predicted where critical junctures would arise and towns would be established as supply center, purchased land. Because of its rapid growth, New York was particularly susceptible to this speculative phenomena. Equally important in the

process of migration was the role of family successes. As initial settlers found prosperity in their new surroundings, they enticed relatives in the East to join them. As Meinig explains, "the Yankee social system, with its tight community bonds and close kinship network prompted an unusual degree of group migration and sustained such movements as the greatest lure of all: the enthusiastic report from the family and friend of the actual success on the frontier."[20]

For example, Luman Androw Shurtliff, an early Mormon convert who moved to Kirtland, writes that the family had received numerous favorable reports from his brother on the frontier, "which caused some excitement in our minds."[21] Soon, the Shurtliff family was on the road with hopes of obtaining cheaper and better land in the west.

Migration, as previously noted, occurred in most cases as a means of obtaining more land. Yet, it is this migration, De Pillis contends, which disorientated the pre-converted Mormons' values as they no longer had their prior religious leaders or lifestyle to guide them.[22] Thus, this predisposition made the pre-Mormon convert more susceptible to the authoritative message of Mormonism.

For the Kirtland Saints, this study does not find such a transitory nature.[23] Table 1.1 shows that ninety-five percent of the Mormons moved two or less

times, eighty percent one of less, and fifty-one percent did not move at all between the birth of their first child and their move to Kirtland. For the 190 families reconstituted, the average moves per family was less than one, (.77).[24] Further, the Child-Step Ladder method for measuring the frequency and duration between moves indicate that the average number of years of stable residence prior to moving to Kirtland was 7.3 years (the median was 11.7).[25]

Looking once again at the map of the spread of settlement (Map 1.2), several conclusions can be drawn:

1. As the map is based upon the location and year that converts had their first child in New York, one can see that the majority of Mormons had moved to or had grown up in areas which had been previously settled. Thus, in the Turnerian sense of the word, they were not frontiersmen.

2. From 1780 to 1820, the first half of the Mormon population moved to New York from New England. Within the next decade, 1820 to 1830, the other half was at New York's western borders.[26]

3. Map 1.2 (based upon the first child in New York) and Table 1.2, and Appendix I, (based upon the birth of the pre-Mormon's last child in New York) confirm that the pre-Mormons

were continuing west as the frontier expanded. Hence, as each subsequent decade passed the pre-Mormons initial move was closer to New York's western borders. Consequently the post-conversion move to Kirtland (Table 1.2) was of a shorter distance.

In summary, Mormon converts in New York, like their neighbors, were for the most part either born in New York or had migrated there from New England. Prior to their conversions they were not transients, but geographically stable. Their migration pattern suggests one long move to a previously settled area rather than to the frontier. Therefore, at least for those who moved to Kirtland, their geographical mobility and migration patterns alone cannot account for their attraction to Mormonism.

However, Hill is correct when he cites social dislocation and change as an important key to understanding religious conversion.[27] He argues that the coming of the Erie Canal broke down the corporate family structure thereby undermining both self-sufficient farming and the home centered production of cloth and woolens.[28] According to some historians, areas of Western New York such as Palmyra were experiencing extensive economic growth, social realignment, and serious religious conflict. The chaotic winds of social dislocation blew into the Burned-Over region and spread the flames of

revivals and moral crusades to Christianize antebellum society.[29]

Tradition was being torn asunder. Eighteenth century patriarchies were dissolving and myriads of people found themselves free to pursue their own needs and wants.[30] Sex roles were no longer strictly defined. The corporate family economy, the main-stay of the canal era, and old occupational and class structures were dissolving.[31] The small farmer's lifestyle was jeopardized by the specialization and commercialization of farming. Products previously made and sold in the farm household now could be made on a larger scale, shipped to distant markets, and sold for less than the farmer could manufacture them.[32] As land became scarce and unproductive, second generation sons and daughters of New York's farmers began moving to towns and cities to find occupational stability and a sense of community.[33]

William McLoughlin, in his work on the great awakenings, asserts that the Second Great Awakening displayed something greater than the emotional conversion it espoused. Revivalism, utopianism, millenialism, and the advent of numerous religious sects were all reactions to the profound changes taking places in America during the first third of the nineteenth century.[34] McLoughlin views the awakenings as periods when "the cultural system has had to be revitalized in order to overcome jarring disjunctions between norms and experience, old beliefs

and new realities, dying patterns and emerging patterns of behavior".[35] Hence, awakenings occur when society finds that its everyday behavior has drastically deviated from its traditional norms.

The basis for his argument lies in Anthony Wallace's classic work on "revitalization movements." Wallace, after studying hundreds of groups in various parts of the world, concludes that when an individual finds that his enculturated pattern of thinking and behavior or "mazeway" fails to reduce the level of stress (i.e. rapid change and social dislocation), he is confronted with either "maintaining the old mazeway and tolerating the stress or changing the mazeway in an attempt to reduce the stress."[36] Revitalization, according to Wallace, is when an individual makes the effort to change his mazeway. When a group attempts to change its mazeway it becomes a "revitalization movement," or in McLoughlin's vernacular, an awakening.[37]

Wallace also suggests a pattern in which revitalizing movements, such as awakenings, arise to reorientate groups suffering from severe cultural distortion. The first stage occurs in a "period of individual stress" as people become disorientated and often psychically and physically ill. As the numbers of the socially disorientated increase, the traditional institutional bonds of society begin to weaken and eventually dissolve.[38] Thus, as society's traditional

restraints lessened during the early decades of the nineteenth-century, many people were elevated to a previously unknown level of knowledge, freedom, and autonomy. This, as McLoughlin pointed out, induced untolerable stress on society's "old-world" mazeway and resulted in men searching for new creeds and new ways to evaluate themselves and their society.[39]

The second stage which Wallace calls the "period of Cultural distortion" begins when individuals become convinced that the root of their anxiety originates from societal institutions. Symptoms of this cultural distortion include economic disorders and political rebellions, as well as schismatic behavior within churches.[40]

It was during the Second Great Awakening that many individuals voiced dissatisfaction with sectarian religions that dwelled on election, predestination, and which tended to promote the elite and learned.[41] Consequently, the "revival" became an increasing means of assuring the "common folk" of their uniqueness as individuals and of a place in society.[42] Revivalism, as McLoughlin noted, not only solidified relationships among those seeking new mazeways, but also served as a means to assimilate its participants into America's changing culture.[43]

According to Wallace, it was also during this "period of Cultural Distortion," that a traditionalist

group attempts to stem the tide of change by arguing for a return to old beliefs and values. In a religious sense, God is displeased with society because the principles of the Ancient church are not practiced. Some begin to look for the institution or group that practices the Ancient rituals (i.e. seekerism).[44] To many seeking the ancient church, Mormonism had the solutions to society's ills. Not only did it practice a form of Christian primitivism, but it also provided its adherents with an encompassing plan that would dispel confusion, restore traditional beliefs and values, and re-establish order.

Most important to our discussion of Mormonism is Wallace's third and final stage of revitalization. During the third stage, Wallace identifies how a prophet, who has personally undergone a profound religious experience in which diety visits, emerges. As a result of this meeting the prophet receives new forms of divine law and shows others how to follow God. He appoints disciples to proselytize, explains the nature and will of God, and develops a new set of norms that outline individual and group behavior within the religous order. Prior to conversion, according to Wallace, people often had a "divine experience" similar to that of their prophet. Their experience not only reconfirms that of the prophet's, but it also sanctions his teachings as God's will. Finally in the fourth stage, cultural reorientation

begins when the prophet attracts those who are flexible enough to experiment with new life-styles.[45]

William McLoughlin argues that for those seeking cultural assimilation, the revivalist was a prophet, while leaders such as Joseph Smith and William Miller were prophets for those seeking a modified version of American culture.[46] Consequently, what significantly links Mormonism with Wallace's "revitalization movements" was that the origin of Mormonism was predicated upon the rise of the prophet, Joseph Smith. Uneducated and poor, Smith came from a family of religious seekers who had suffered a number of financial and social setbacks.[47] In his middle teens, Smith became concerned about the multitude of issues and decisions in his future. Central to his concerns was his desire to be accepted by God.[48] However, due to the conflicting teachings of sectarian ministers, he was unsure of which religion to follow. Eventually, after receiving a visit from Deity, Smith concluded that all of the churches were wrong and that the "true Church" of God was soon to be restored.[49]

As early as September 21, 1823, Joseph Smith was told by an angel that he would be instrumental in preparing the world for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.[50] Not only was he to receive "priesthood keys", but he was also to assist in the translation of the Book of Mormon.[51] Throughout the course of the early Mormon movement, Smith inaugurated a number of socio-religious

experiments designed to create a society void of antebellum strife. Thus, the Mormon doctrine of the exclusive gathering, the egalitarian priesthod, the exalting temple ordinances, communitarianism, and polygamy were not only a means to culturally reorientate his followers but they also redefined nineteenth-century American life, created a primitive Christian society, and re-established a covenanted community.[52]

As in Wallace's pattern of cultural reorientation, many pre-Mormon converts expressed a number of tension forming crises that eventually led to their searching for the "Ancient Church." These crises, ranging from a feeling of alienation from God, to losses of land, money, and social prestige, all contributed to a feeling of deprivation, anger and confusion and resulted in their questioning the viability of institutions.[53]

Many Americans suffered similar crises during this period. To some, mass revivalism served as a means to displace their insecure emotionalism and to assimilate them into the changing American culture.[54] The pre-Mormon convert, on the other hand, looked for a restoration of traditional beliefs and values. This search led many to a further dissatisfaction with the pluralism preached by the various religious denominations and culminated in their seeking membership into an ordered society absent of the generalities and vagueness which plagued Jacksonian America. Mormonism with its emphasis on divine authority

and continual revelation, provided fellowship for such seekers.

The Ezekial Johnson family provides a vivid example of the pre-Mormon convert's pattern. Joel Hills Johnson was the oldest of the sixteen children born to Ezekial and Julia and the first to join the Mormon Church.[55] From a small child, he recalled how his mother would educate him about religion.[56] On many occasions, he would think about the nature of God and religion and weep bitterly because he felt himself a sinner in the sight of God.[57] On one such occasion, after being scolded by his parents, he considered suicide.[58] His teenage years were filled with anxiety over his desire to find the "faith that was once delivered to the saints."[59] At eighteen, after floating between religious meetings, he writes that his mind was at rest as ministers told him that he had "experienced religion."[60]

Yet, Joel Hills felt incomplete. He had neither been baptized for the remission of sins nor had he been given the gift of the Holy Ghost as practiced in the ancient church. This inconsistency led to his eventual baptism in the Free Will Baptist Church near Pomfret, Chautaugua County, New York.[61] With his religious needs somewhat fulfilled, Joel wanted economic security. He concluded to purchase a farm adjoining that of his parents and build a saw mill.[62] However, faulty planning caused the saw mill to be torn from its foundation. Johnson

lost all his money to the creditors who "saw my situation, they came upon me, and took away all I had, and left me worse than nothing..."[63] In an attempt to recuperate from this loss, Joel invented and patented a machine which cut shingles. Again, misfortune struck Johnson. He writes, "Being the original inventor, I sold many rights which helped me considerably, but being honest myself, and supposing everyone else to be the same, I was soon swindeled out of the largest part of my right..."[64] Johnson, discouraged, decided, "to leave the home of my youth and seek an asylum among strangers."[65] After moving to Amherst, Ohio, he was exposed to the Christian fundamentalism preached by Mormon elders and was baptized.[66]

Meanwhile, things were not going well for father Johnson and family. Farmland was becoming increasingly unproductive, the need for cloth and woolens was on the decline, and the prices of goods bought in town were rapidly rising.[67] No doubt, in Ezekial's eyes, the town of Pomfret was a far different one from the small village he came to in 1813. Few of his friends remained as persistence in the area was only about 18.6 percent from 1825 to 1835.[68] Further, of the 18.6 percent who stayed, 81.6 percent were upwardly mobile.[69] Ezekial's 55 acres placed him in the upper third of the wealth, yet as his son Joel records, the family was in a state of poverty due to the family's large size.[70] Beside all of this,

Ezekial drank heavily and was a non-church goer.[71] Julia Hill, Ezekial's wife, seemed to be the antipathy of her husband. A devout Presbyterian and dedicated mother, Julia, raised the 16 children almost single handedly.[72]

As Ezekial became more immersed in the bottle, operation of the farm was also left to her.[73] Eventually, Ezekial in his quest for social respectability and a proper family life decided to leave Pomfret and look for a new beginning further west.[74] He left Julia and the children with a promise to let them know where he was settling so that they could join him.[75] There is no record of Julia's feelings but no doubt apprehension and anger were present.

Ezekial was running away from the problems facing him, either through the bottle or frequent migration. She was left to raise numerous children, organize and run a farm, and face the changing soci-economic environment of Western New York. What a relief it must have been to see her oldest son Joel return from Ohio. However, Joel did not come to stay but rather to preach the creeds of a new religion. What ever anxiety Julia was feeling it was released as she tenaciously clung to the tenets of her new Church. Soon Julia and her family were on their way to the "City of the Saints" in Kirtland, Ohio.[76]

Various enduring tensions dominated Joel and Julia's lives. With Joel it was his endless sense of guilt and desire to be right in the eyes of God. The

neo-capitalist economy with its speculation and deceit seemed to epitomize what was wrong with the society in which Joel lived. Joel wanted to be accepted by God but knew that he could not be in such a sinful society. He could either migrate to an area free of decadence, or failing to find such an area, join a group which sought to exclude it. He attempted both. Julia, on the other hand, found life with Ezekial difficult.[77] She was a Christian, he did not profess, she promoted temperance, he was addicted to alcohol, she was concerned about her present status, he continually emphasized his future status as he migrated from area to area in search of a society in which he would fit. Thus, Mormonism for Joel and Julia, promised acceptance by God and assured membership in a society which promoted consistency in a disorganized world.

Benjamin Brown, another convert from the Pomfret area, also searched for religious authority and social stability. He records that in his youth he was very interested in religion.[78] After several visions, he decided to attend a nearby revival. While in attendance, Brown was caught up and wanted to stand and advocate his conversion.[79] However, because of the large amount of masons and anti-masons in the congregation, he stood against his better judgment and asked the large group to put the anti-mason issue behind them.[80] Though he trembled because he felt inferior, he writes that the

proposition was well received.[81] Having gained acceptance, he wanted to join them. Shortly after the meeting Brown went to see the minister where he told him about his visions and desires to practice "the ancient gospel."[82] The minister told Brown that both his visions and desires were "of the Devil."[83] Brown was once again looking for a lifestyle which could afford him society, status, and respect. As Mormon missionaries were preaching in the area, Brown found what he was looking for.

Joseph Bates Noble writes that from a youth he desired religion.[84] He wanted the truth. He wanted to belong to the "ancient Church". As a boy of 14, he was apprenticed out so as to help his father support the large yet poor family.[85] Throughout his teenage years he experienced the burdens of wanting to be approved of by a forgiving God.[86] After changing jobs, and learning the milling trade, he found the Mormon missionaries preaching religious authority.[87] Indeed, God's Second Coming was soon at hand and Noble wanted to be a part of his organized kingdom, where equality and justice could prevail.[88]

Brigham Young, a future President of the Church recalled how after an impoverished childhood, he, "made up his mind to quit the country and see what he could do in the village."[89] The village of Auburn, Cayuga County, New York in 1817 was a boom town with stores and

houses being erected almost overnight. Land speculation caused local leaders to continually open new streets to meet the requirements of immigrants and entrepreneurs. Thousands of newcomers found work in the small shops, stores, taverns or mills along the main street.[90]

Young, at age 17, moved to Auburn and found himself as one of many teenagers seeking an occupation and a place in society. Many turned to the revivals for association. Young could not. Though he was brought up in a strict Methodist home, he records that he could not experience religion. Many children and young men "got religion" but Brigham recalls that it was not until age 22 that he made a profession of faith.[91] Then it was just a profession to keep the minister and peers off his back.[92] Loneliness, occupational instability, a desire for order, and a place in society were all part of Young's experience. It was not until 1832 that Mormon missionaries brought new of the type of society for which Young was searching.[93]

Luman Shurtliff's early life was one of inconsistency and self-doubt. His family belonged to various religious sects and Luman records that, "secretly I was a Christian as far as I knew, but kept it entirely to myself, yet went by myself and prayed continually, hoping the time would come soon when I could join some church..."[94] In 1819, Luman's family moved to Ohio. There his father lost all their properties in Ohio and

Massachusetts in a series of land deals.[95] Luman, attempting to find employment as a teacher, records how he was ill prepared to teach "older Scholars".[96] This, Shurtliff writes, "Made me sick and brought on a nervous complaint which followed me for several years.[97] As the family was reduced to poverty Luman discouragingly writes,

> Wales (a brother) was now twenty-seven years old and all he saved out of his hard labor was one-hundred and twenty dollars in property. I was twenty and worth forty dollars...Father was sixty-two years old, stripped of all, not even a horse to ride. He was broken and discouraged, his energy and ambition seemed to ease. Thus with all our hard labor for years we were forced to start anew...[98]

It was shortly after the family's financial failure and Luman's nervous disorder that nearby revivals began. He writes, "We were all stirred up in this reformation and all got religion."[99] After his religious conversion, Shurtliff took up shoemaking so as to recover from the family's previous economic loss.[100] He was embittered that such ill fortune befell him. He records how he had to work day and night, year in and out, just to make a living.[101] During this time, he continued to attend Baptist services. Eventually he sought a Church which stressed Heavenly authority, and provided a plan for stability. At first, he thought it was Campbellism. Unsatisfied, he continued to attend both Methodist and Baptist meetings.[102] Shortly, once confused and searching, he found sanctuary in Mormonism.

The preceding cases are indicative of the lives of many Mormons prior to their conversion. They were young (their mean age was 29 with more than 50 percent of them under 30, see Table 1.3). Many shared a common surname.[103] Few had migrated often after marriage (one or less times) nor had they changed their religions with any frequency.[104] Of those whose parental data could be found, the vast majority of converts adherred to both their father's religious affiliation as well as his occupational status (see Table 1.6 and 1.7). Hence, semi-skilled fathers tended to have semi-skilled sons. Unchurched fathers had unchurched sons. However, it is evident that more of the fathers belonged to major denominations than did their sons (see Table 1.8).

One of the main factors common to most Mormon converts was their quest for religious authority and social stability.[105] Of those whose reasons for conversion could be found (58) ninety-one percent responded to the Mormon doctrine of divine authority and continuing revelation (see Table 1.9).[106] Of the ninety-one percent who were seeking religious authority and stability, the majority joined in Ohio and New York (see Table 1.10). Two-thirds of these seekers were from farms and rural villages. Sixty-percent were either unchurched or members of a Christian Primitivist sect prior to conversion (see Table 1.11). Like the other

converts they were young, in the lower social status groupings, and had at least a common school education.[107]

Conclusions

While many Americans were experiencing social dislocation and rapid change, relatively few chose an anti-pluralistic solution. Rather than attempting to reform American society, Mormonism redefined and established its own. Some Americans turned to revivalism which served as a means of reducing the anxiety of social disorientation and assisted in their assimilation into America's changing culture. Others like the pre-Mormon convert, who neither changed his religion nor moved often, found the current society lacking and looked for an alternative society that promoted stability.[108] Hence, one of the important factors that attracted converts to Mormonism and thus to Kirtland, was the promise of divine sanction, the assurance of status, and an ordered lifestyle in the undeviating restored Kingdom of God. In short, the new church met their needs.

CHAPTER II

The Impact of the Mormon Emmigration on Kirtland, Ohio, 1830-1839

By 1830, the township of Kirtland, located in Geauga County, Ohio, part of the Western Reserve, had the beginnings of a bright future. Its population had doubled the previous decade and it was one of the most densely settled areas in Geauga County. Cleveland had only 54 more citizens.[1] As early as the Spring of 1831, a religious group, known as the Mormons, began to immigrate into the Kirtland area.[2] As a result, the Kirtland community tripled in population during the 1830s, largely due to the 55 percent annual growth rate of the Mormons.

By 1837, the Mormon population peaked in the Kirtland area at approximately 2,000 (see Table 2.1). Yet, by the Spring of 1839, the Mormons had deserted Kirtland, leaving behind a temple, a few Church members, and many disgruntled ex-members and citizenry. By 1840 Kirtland's non-Mormon population not only failed to double during the preceding decade, but it had lost many of its original settlers as well.[3] From an exceptional 317 percent growth rate it fell to 74 percent, 25 percent

less than the growth-rate of the 1820s and was outranked by a dozen other Geauga County townships.[4]

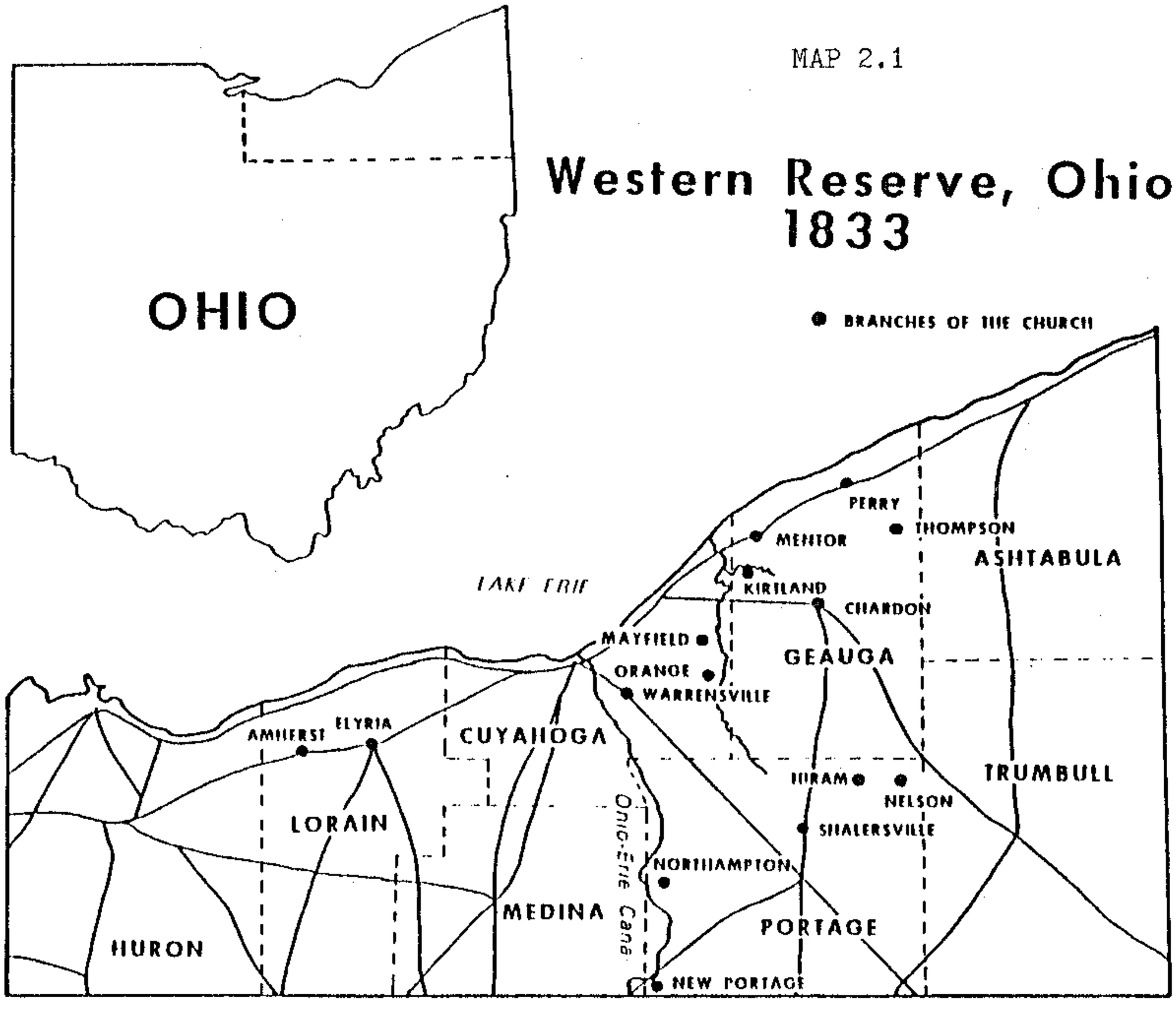
In 1834, an elected committee of Kirtland citizens charged the Mormons with impeding the township's progress by subjecting the community to an "unsupportable weight of pauperism", thus inhibiting more permanent citizens from settling.[5] This chapter will investigate that charge. It will also suggest the degree to which the increasing Mormon population had a demographic impact on the Kirtland non-Mormon community. To accomplish this, the chapter has been divided into three sections: first, the beginnings of Kirtland Township will be described, with emphasis on its developing sociological, political, and economic environment; second, Mormon beginnings will be highlighted and several factors will be introduced that collectively had an impact on the non-Mormon population at Kirtland; third, quantitative measurements such as the rate of persistence, social mobility, and wealth will be examined to see how the settled community of Kirtland responded to the growing Mormon population.

The Western Reserve and the Early Settlers of Kirtland

The Western Reserve (see Map 2.1) is situated in the northeastern part of Ohio, and was set aside by Connecticut for its veterans of the Revolution and for educational purposes.[6] On September 2, 1795, the Connecticut Legislature sold most of the Western Reserve

MAP 2.1

Western Reserve, Ohio 1833



SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 27.

to the Connecticut Land Company (a group of 35 investors), for $1,200,000.[7] By October of 1796, most of the area east of the Cuyahoga River, including Kirtland, had been surveyed and was ready for purchase.[8]

One of the first permanent settlers of Kirtland was Christopher Crary. In May of 1811, after a 32-day transit from Massachusetts, the Crary family moved temporarily to a house of a friend in Mentor (about four miles west of Kirtland). Even though the distance was short, the move from Mentor to Kirtland took a long period of time, and was often hazardous. Christopher Gore, Crary's son, recalled the move from Mentor to Kirtland:

> We took the old Chillicothe Road, which had been traversed scarcely at all, except by cattle and wild beasts. The trees were so interlaced as to form a canopy over our head, which rendered it quite romantic, but gloomy. We forded the Chagrin without difficulty, and supposed our worst fears removed, but going on a little farther our wagon broke, and night was fast closing around us.[9]

Crary further recorded that their only choice was to continue walking and carry torches as a means to ward off bears and wolves. Even though the distance between Mentor was small, they did not arrive at their campsite until well after midnight.[10] Of the next morning, young Christopher's first one in Kirtland, he recalled:

> The forest-trees were of endless variety and of the tallest kinds. A thick growth of underbrush grew beneath, flowers of rare beauty blushed unseen, birds of varied plumage filled

> the air with their music, the air was fragrant and invigorating.[11]

Like most frontier settlers, the Crarys had to carve a home out of the wilderness, erect a house of poles, and then struggle with all their might to survive.[12]

One year after the Crary family had moved to Kirtland, the Isaac Morley family joined the growing community. Like Crary, Morley had moved from Massachusetts to Kirtland, secured his land, and built a log cabin. Eventually, Morley was able to build a frame house, plant wheat, corn, and rye, grow maple trees, and pursue his trade as a cooper.[13]

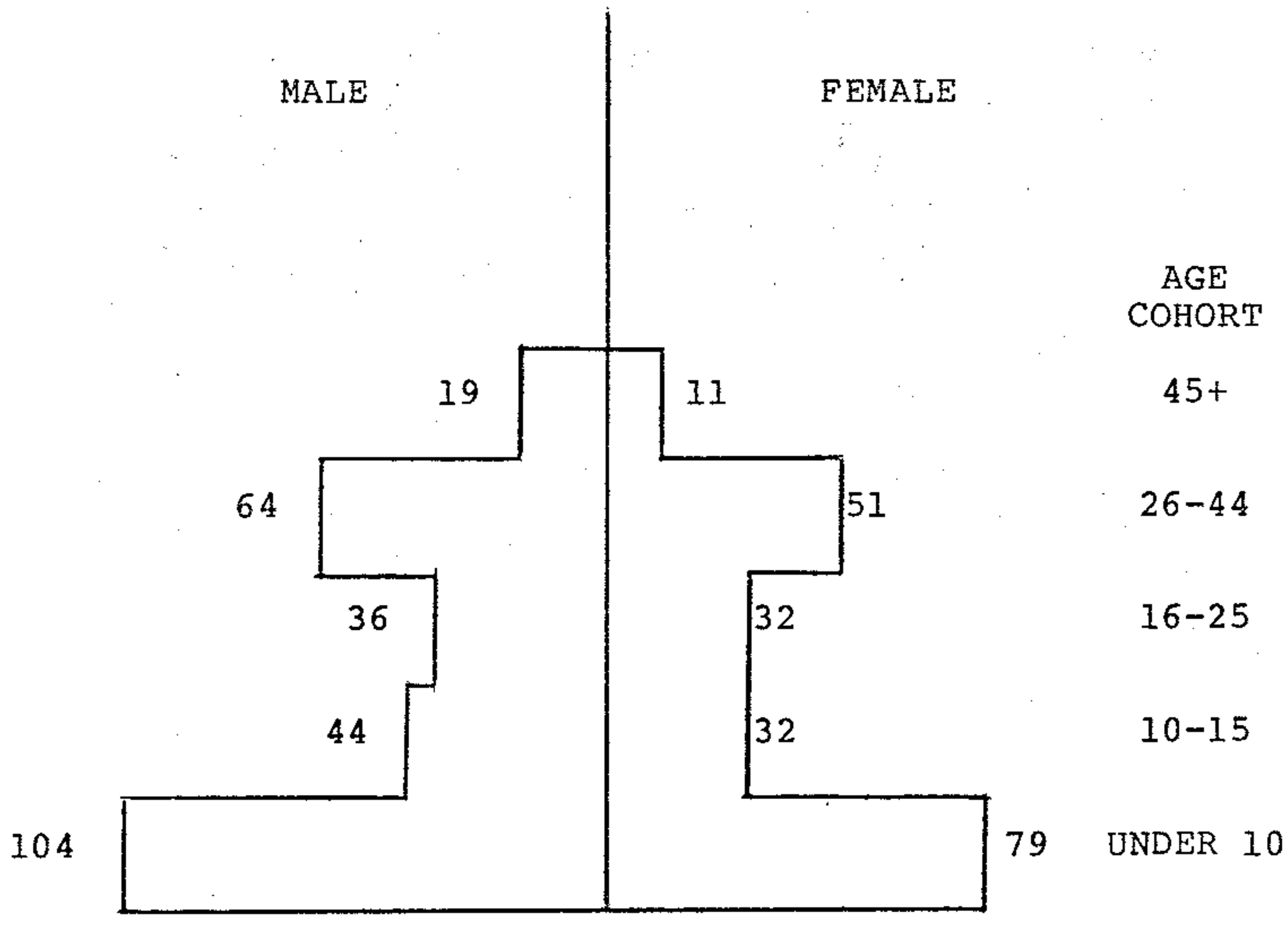
Besides becoming one of Kirtland's first trustees, Morley was active in a Christian primitive group, known as the "Family", which practiced a form of communitarianism under the auspices of future Mormon leader, Sidney Rigdon. Later, Morley and his family converted to Mormonism and donated much of his land to the Church. He eventually left Kirtland and migrated with the Mormons to Missouri, Illinois, and ultimately, to Utah.

Kirtland, 1815-1830

The years between 1815 and 1820 saw a rapid expansion in Kirtland's population which reached 481, as well as in its economy.[14] Looking at the population pyramid (see Chart 2.1) one can see that the people of

CHART 2.1

1820 POPULATION PYRAMID OF KIRTLAND TOWNSHIP



SOURCE: Federal Census, 1820.

Kirtland were young, with 93 percent of the men and 95 percent of the women under the age of 45.[15]

By 1818, Kirtland had enough people to form a local government. An election was held, and some of the local settleres were elected to various town offices. These included three trustees, a treasurer, a town clerk, a constable, overseers of the poor, supervisors of the highways, and a few property appraisers. In 1819, a justice of the peace was added to the town officials.[16]

Kirtland, like nearby towns of Mentor, Painesville, and Chester, was a center of agriculture. Farmers could bring in their grain, have it milled, then either sell or barter it for other essentials. Most villagers were farmers, and what little industry there was had close ties to the village's agriculture.

Like most of the northern United States, the single family farm homestead was the typical unit of productivity.[17] The farmer used his available resources to supply his own food, his own non-agricultural goods, such as clothing and other products, food, or services, which could be bartered or sold for profit.

In the Northeastern United States, the typical farm size of the 1820s ranged from 100 to 200 acres. However, many were much smaller.[18] Kirtland farms were small, with the average-size farm in 1826 being only 73 acres.[19] Only three-fifths of this land would be cleared and cultivated. Five or six acres were set aside for

the houses, barn, garden, orchard, and pastureland. Another five acres may have been set aside for additional pastureland or meadow. The 15 acres in crops usually included 2 1/2 acres of corn, wheat, rye, barley, and oats, and 1 1/2 acres in potatoes, lucerne, turnips, and buck-wheat.[20] Corn was one of the first crops planted. It was adaptable to cleared fields which had old trees or stumps lying around. It was a stable crop which could be relied upon in the event of crop failure. Corn required limited labor as one worker could easily tend 2 1/2 acres, which could feed a family of five to seven for a year. Surplus corn was usually fed to the livestock. Wheat, on the other hand, had a shorter harvest season than corn. Once the grain began to ripen, the farmer and his family had to reap it quickly or risk spoilage. As labor was both scarce and expensive, the entire family usually worked a full day at harvest. Wheat normally yielded from five to eleven bushels per acre.

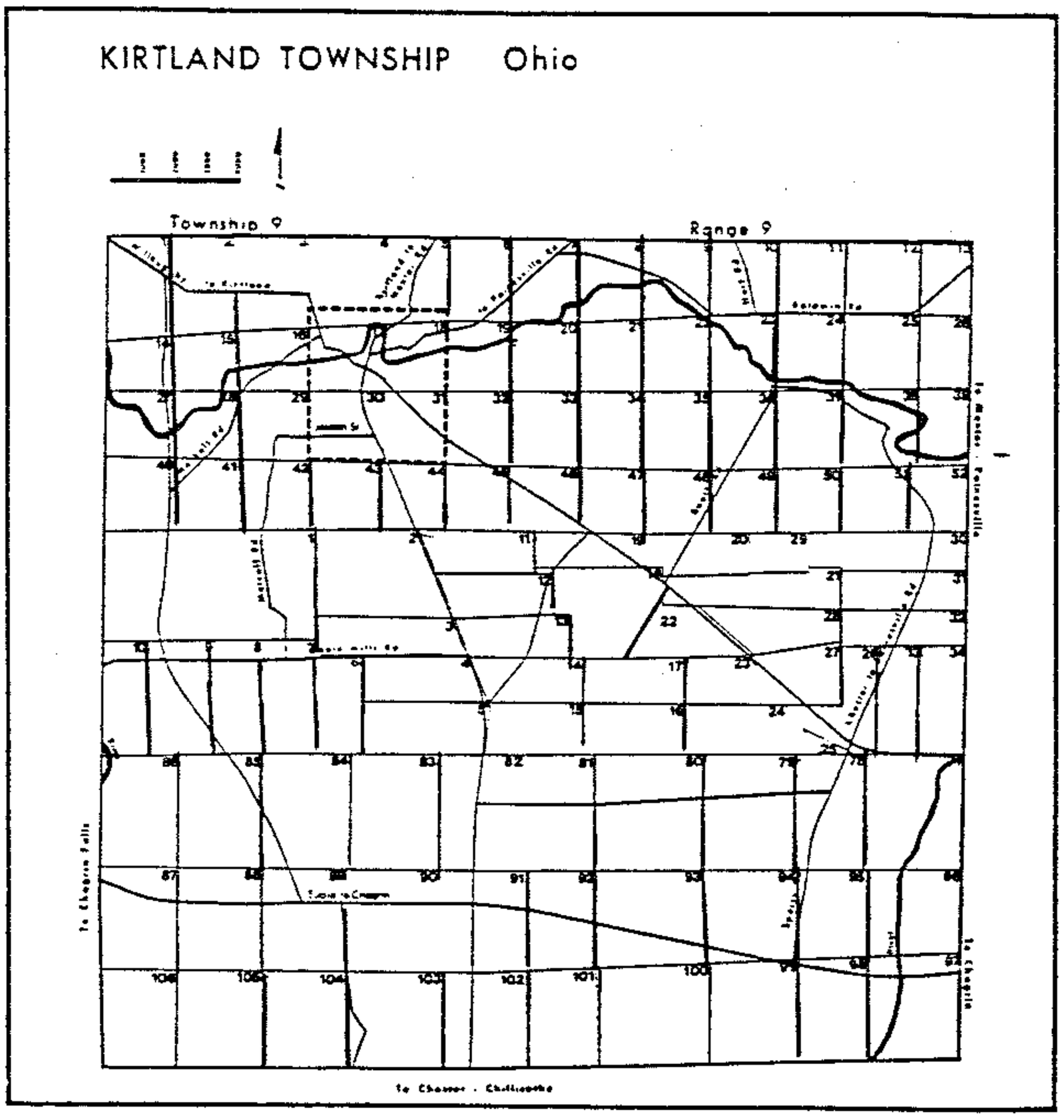
Livestock on a Kirtland farm was varied. The typical farm had at least four cows, which supplied the necessary milk, cheese, butter, and meat to augment the farmer's diet.[22] Other livestock included horses, oxen, sheep, and chickens. Horses were kept for transportation and plowing. Oxen were used in some places for plowing and hauling. Large quantities of sheep were raised in the Western Reserve primarily for their wool. Wool could be transformed into clothing and blankets in the home,

and later be bartered for various goods. A carding factory was established in Kirtland so that the local women could bring in their wool and get it dressed. Chickens also contributed to both the diet and the economy: they sold for 50 cents to 75 cents per dozen and provided both good meat and eggs as well as a means of income.[23]

The map of Kirtland (see Map 2.2) depicts a series of isolated homesteads where life centered around a village community. The village was ideally situated by a tributary of the Chagrin River (see Map 2.3). The river supplied power for the industrial services which supported Kirtland's agricultural economy. A gristmill, erected in 1820, was essential to the Kirtland community as it made possible whole wheat bread for the farmer's diet and provided a market for flour. The absence of a mill meant a diet of homepounded corn bread. The mill also provided custom work for the farmer, grinding wheat was offered, with the miller making money by selling the flour which was ground from the grain he collected as his usual fee.[24]

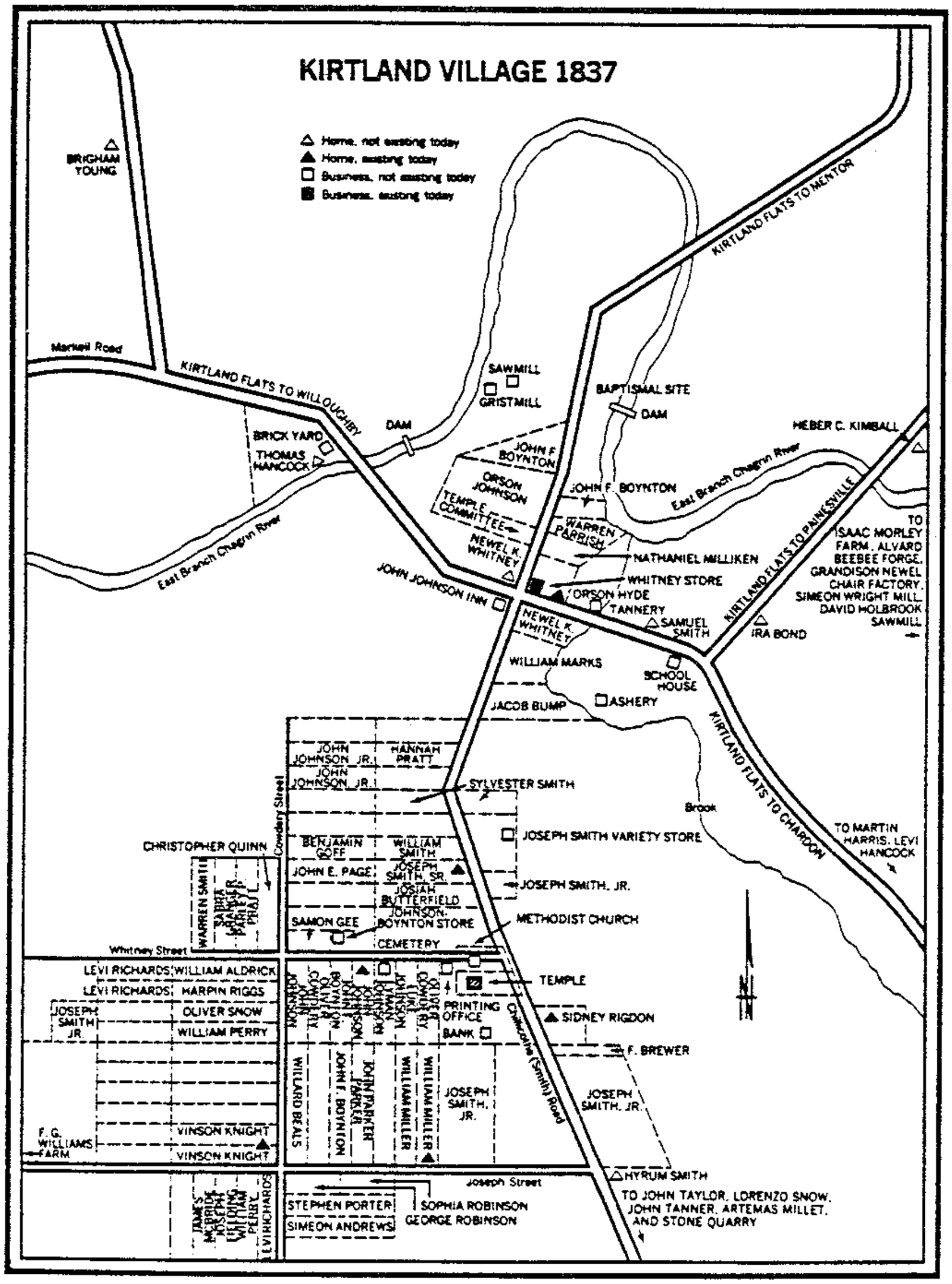
A saw mill and other grain mills also were erected around 1819. Not far from the grist mill was the carding machine which dressed sheared wool. Other agricultural services were also provided, including a blacksmith shop, a pocket furnace for the making of iron tools and ploughs, and a chair and cabinet factory for the necessary home

MAP 2.2



SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps From False Color Separations: Kirtland Examples (1800-1900)," M.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, Brigham Young University, 1980, p. 34.

MAP 2.3



SOURCE: Keith W. Perkins, "The Way it Looks Today, a Camera Tour of the Church History Sites in the Kirtland Neighborhood," Ensign 9 (January 1979): 41.

furnishings. Additional industry included a hattery, a distillery, and an ashery for converting potash into salts for soap-making. Taverns and later a hotel, were built for the many travelers who journeyed through Kirtland.[25]

The merchant in the community provided a critical function by serving as a link between the farmer and the external economy.[26] Since such items as firearms, gunpowder, tobacco, tea, coffee, salt, and soap could not be produced easily by the farm or village craftsmen, they were obtained by the village store merchant and provided to the village usually through some type of barter system. The merchant, in turn, would receive the farmer's produce and sell or barter it for additional goods or monies at various market places.[27] In 1821, Newel K. Whitney built the first store in Kirtland. He offered a variety of goods, including silk, canvas, books, and indigo.[28] Whitney later joined the Mormon Church and became Kirtland's first Bishop.[29]

Education and Religion

While the typical work day was long and hard for the early settlers of Kirtland, time was found for both education and religion. In 1814, the first log school house was erected the village. By 1830, Kirtland had been separated into school districts, thereby increasing the opportunities for children in outlying areas to have the benefits of an elementary education.[30] However, where

education was often found incidental to many farmers and their children, religion was found to be indispensable. Further, religious meetings, often the only contact a family had with its neighbors, provided not only a means of worship but served as a necessary social outlet. These factors influenced many men and women to join some type of church group. By 1830, most of the traditional denominations, such as the Congregationalists and the Methodists had met, formed their orgainizations, and built their church houses in various parts of Kirtland.[31] Others, such as the Calvinistic Baptists were meeting in the homes of its members.

Northeastern Ohio was also deeply touched by the enthusiastic sermons of the Second Great Awakening. Revivals, camp meetings, and the "protracted meeting" were integral to the religious environment of the period.[32] Various Millenarian sects, such as the Church of God (Whinebrennarian), the Free-Will Baptists, and the Millerites proliferated in the area. Kirtland became a fertile ground for the Disciples of Christ, a Christian primitivist group which stressed the return to a New Testament standard. Under the auspices of Alexander Campbell and future Mormon leader, Sidney Rigdon, the group flourished as many from the Kirtland vicinity joined.[34] Other religious groups which had settled in the area were the Quakers of Mount Pleasant, the Shakers of Thompson, and the Amish of Burton.

The Mormon Experience, 1830-1838

One might ask, why did the Mormons come to Kirtland?[35] Nothing about the typical, semi-obscure village distinguished it as a particularly appealing area for the Mormons to settle. To some, the occurrence seemed providential as a missionary group sent out by the movement's prophet to preach to the Indians in Missouri was responsible for connecting Kirtland with Mormonism.[36]

Parley P. Pratt, one of the four Mormon missionaries, persuaded the missionary group to visit Sidney Rigdon, a disaffected Campbellite preacher, who had converted Pratt to a form of Christian primitivism a few years earlier.[37] Soon after Rigdon's introduction to Mormonism, he was baptized. Many of his congregations in Mentor and Kirtland followed his example and also joined. Within two months there were more converts in Ohio than in Mormonism's home state of New York. In December of 1830, Rigdon and Edward Partridge, a Painesville merchant, ventured to New York to meet Joseph Smith, and bring him news of the Ohio successes.[38]

Joseph Smith, speaking at the Third General Conference of the Church, revealed the Lord's counsel to "Go to the Ohio; and there I will give you my law; and there you will be endowed with power from on high".[39]

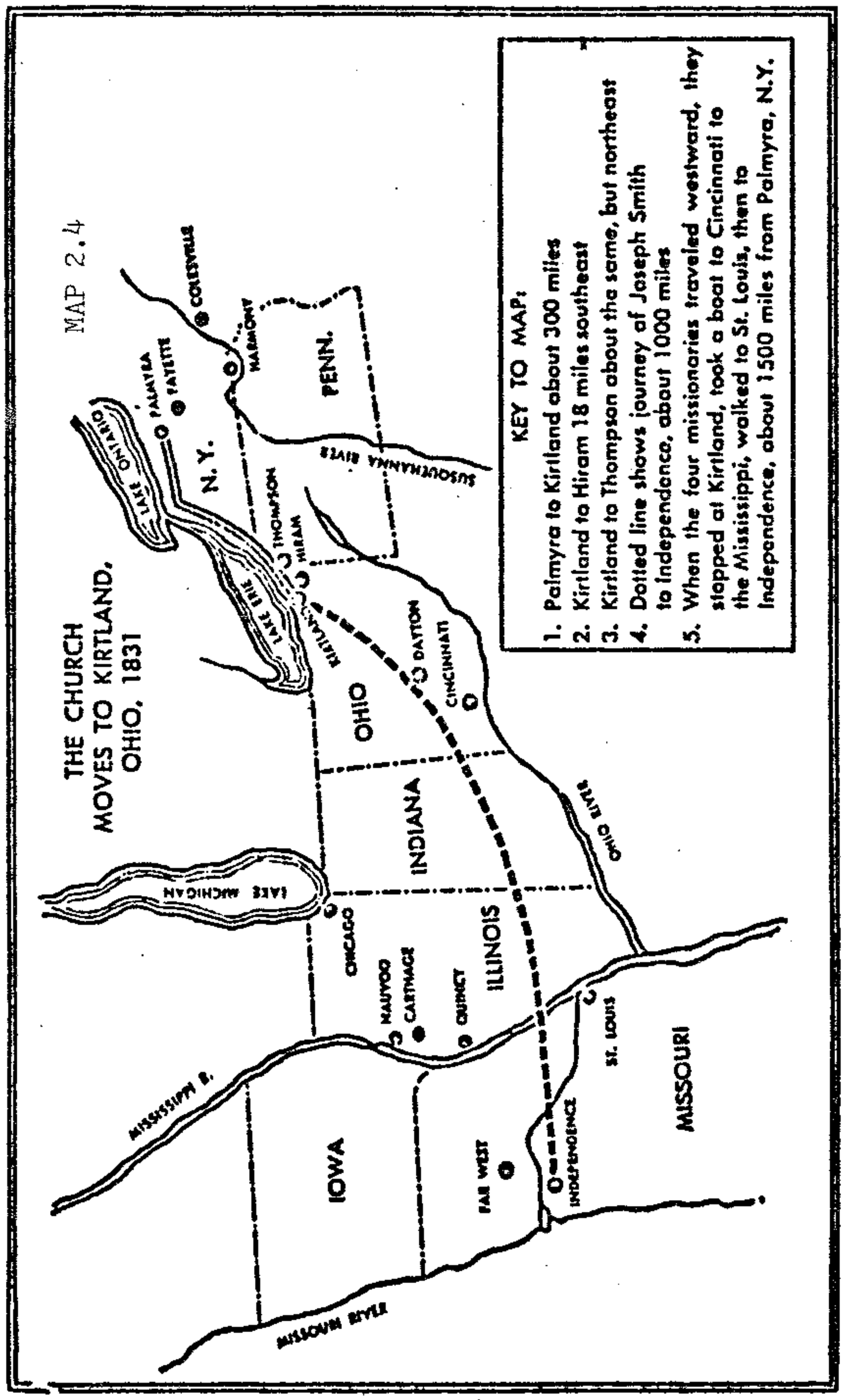
In response to this command, members of the Fayette, Palmyra, and Colesville areas of New York sold their property, packed their worldly belongings, and headed

to Ohio. Several Mormon groups used the wagon roads which led to the Erie Canal and Buffalo. Winter conditions were poor as usual, especially for those who were using lake vessels to transport themselves from Buffalo to Fairport Harbor, Ohio (see Map 2.4). Most finished the journey at Kirtland or its vicinity. The Colesville group, however, situated itself at Thompson, about twenty miles northeast of Kirtland.[40]

During the 1830s, the Mormon migration into Kirtland should have been accepted. Kirtland had been prepared by groups of Christian primitivists and Millenialists to be receptive to a "restored" religion. When the Mormon migration began, there was nothing unusual about the group. Mormon theology and practices varied little from that which had been practiced by other sects in the area. Nearby Shaker and Amish communities had strange creeds and theology. Shakers were celibate and exclusive. Communities such as the Pennsylvania Harmonists practiced communitarianism, and the Oneida Colony of New York advocated a form of free love.[41] Yet, most of these were usually tolerated and free from abuse of persecution. Whey then did the Mormons have problems?

Subversion

Central to the fears of many Kirtland inhabitants was that the Mormons were subversive to democratic principles.[42] Smith was sustained as a monocratic leader of the entire Church, and as the only spokesman for the



SOURCE: Carter E. Grant, The Kingdom of God Restored, p. 119.

Deity. Through the control of the Mormon population, he could influence local politics, direct economic endeavors, and virtually control every aspect of a Church member's life. It was in Kirtland where Smith performed his first unlawful marriage under the guise of ecclesiastical rather than civil authority.[43] He also introduced plural marriage, and selected a few individuals, including himself, to practice it.[44] As money became scarce, he advocated and established a bank.[45] To many of the Church members, and to the chagrin of the non-Mormons at Kirtland, he seemed to be infallible.[46] "Brother Joseph's" word became the word of God Almighty. It was no doubt feared by many of Kirtland's citizens that it was just a matter of time before Joseph Smith's "revelations" would run the town.

Politics

The influx of the Mormon population (see Table 2.1) allowed the religious group the increasing potential to exert strong influence on the community's socio-political environment. This is best illustrated in local politics. The Mormons were ardent supporters of Jacksonian Democracy decrying the United States Bank, the nullification of South Carolina, and the "privileged" classes.[47] The Kirtland Community, like most of the Western Reserve, was consistent in supporting the Whig party. The large bloc-vote of the Mormons was able to give the majority of votes to the Democrats. For example,

in 1834, the Whig candidate for Governor received only 67 votes, while the Democrat received 78.[48] By 1835, local dislike for Mormon voting turned to apprehension, and Whig unity became crucial in insuring a Mormon-Democrat defeat.

Further Mormon animosity developed when the Kirtland Mormons published a political newspaper entitled The Northern Times, which decried Whig tactics and advocated Democrat Martin Van Buren for President. Soon after the first edition was published, Whig papers in the area retaliated, denouncing the Mormon political position. One Whig editor, responding to the Mormon publication, contended:

> The Mormonites in this country, as if weary of the dull monotony of dreams and devotion, of vision and vexation - of profitless prophecies, and talking in tongues have concluded to turn their attention to political matters. A paper entitled The Northern Times has made an appearance from their press in Kirtland, bearing the name of O. Cowdery, one of their leaders and preachers, as Editor. The editor breaks forth with a flood of words, filling seven columns under his editorial head - pounces upon the dead carcass of the United States Band with Quixotic ferocity - talks about "WIGS" - praised the President - and says, the nomination of Van Buren "we still add, would meet our mind and receive our strong support". As the editor professes to have communion with the spirits of the invisible world, and certifies that he had seen an Angel, and "hefted" the golden plates of the Prophet, he will be a political anomaly, if not a dangerous opponent.[49]

By the Presidential election of 1836, the Mormon influence grew much stronger. While the Whigs carried both the county and state, they lost in Kirtland.[50]

Mormon political influence on the local level was even more pronounced. By 1834, Mormons were being elected to town offices (see Table 2.2). Some citizens accused Mormons of voting according to the instructions of their Church leaders, and the non-Mormons further contended that if the Mormon influx continued, the town of Kirtland would soon be run by the prophesies of Joseph Smith.[51] Even county officials were apprehensive about their positions, as some contended that if the Mormons continued to multiply, county offices would soon be dominated by the Mormons.[52] With the township elections of 1837, Kirtland's fears were realized; the majority of township offices were won by Mormons.[53]

Mormon Poverty

Even as early as 1831, Mormon poverty induced Kirtland officials to warn incoming Mormons out of town.[54] Many thought that the Mormons would become a public charge, and harm the town's reputation. By 1834, the township elected a committee whose job it was to hire a person who would gather materials which would expose Joseph Smith as a fraud.[55] This committee contended that the "impoverished" Mormons were not only harming the town's reputation, but threatening the current citizens

with an "unsupportable weight of pauperism".[56] It is important to examine this last allegation.

Wealth distributions (see Table 2.3) demonstrate that the majority of both Mormon and non-Mormon populations were in the lowest deciles of wealth. However, for the years of 1835 to 1837, the Mormons had close to thirty-percent more of its population in the lowest deciles. Even by combining the lowest two deciles, the trend still shows a twenty-percent differential between the Mormons and the Kirtland non-Mormon community.

Wealth concentrations (Tables 2.4 through 2.7) also reveal a significant disparity in the distribution of Mormon wealth and land. For instance, in 1836 and 1837 over ninety-percent of the land was held by the top twenty-percent of Mormon landholders. When contrasting Mormon wealth and land concentrations with the rest of the community there appears to be a more equal distribution among the non-members.

The Gini Coefficient of concentration in Tables 2.4 through 2.7 also confirms that the Mormon community had a higher level of inequality in land and wealth than did the non-Mormons. This suggests that few of the incoming Mormons had the funds to purchase large amounts of land. Consequently, many of the Mormons either lived on very small tracts of land or on the land of other Church members. In fact, while the average-size Mormon

farm was ten acres, most Mormons owned less than one acre (see Tables 2.8 and 2.9).

The lack of land further complicated the growth of Mormon agriculture. Though most of the Mormons did have enough land for a small garden and perhaps a cow, few had enough for their own subsistence let alone surpluses to feed a rapidly growing Mormon population. Therefore, by 1836, increasing prices on food forced Mormons to pool scant food supplies until more could be had.[57]

Contemporary sources also verify Mormon poverty; as one Mormon observer wrote that for the most part, Mormon homes were "small and unadorned, evincing anything but wealth". He further recorded that the homes were "scattered in all directions, from the river to the Lord's House and south of that building."[58] Truman Coe, the pastor of the Old South Congregational Church in Kirtland, writing to an eastern paper about the Mormons, provides a convincing portrait of Mormon poverty.

> Many of them live in extreme indigence. They suffer accumulated evils by crowding a multitude of poor people together, when, by a wider distribution, they might have better means of supplying their wants. Some of them are wealthy, and they have purchased 3 or 4000 acres of land in different parts of this town. A grotesque assemblance of hovels and shanties have been thrown up wherever they could find a footing; but very few of all these cabins would be accounted fit for human habitation.[59]

In the fall of 1836, Mormon Church leaders issued new directions in hopes of deterring the increasing poverty of Kirtland.[60] These resolutions instructed the leaders of eastern branches of the Church to stop sending their poor to Kirtland unless the leaders would come to Kirtland with the funds necessary to support their emmigrants. Unfortunately, the effect of these measures cannot be determined, as the Mormons left Kirtland in little more than a year after this instruction was given.

Religious Beliefs

By the time the group of Mormon missionaries arrived in Kirtland in late 1830, most citizens had membership in a church or religious society. Hence, Mormonism could only increase at the expense of other established religions. Sects like the Disciples of Christ were not only angry but actively fought back.[61] Furthermore, Mormons were attributed with having designs to take over all non-Mormon land, thus forcing all of the "gentiles" out. On January 18, 1831, John Whitmer, a Mormon leader, came from New York to preside over the Mormon group at Kirtland. Upon his arrival, a nearby paper explained that Whitmer came

> ...to inform the brethren that the boundaries of the promised land or the New Jerusalem, had just been made known to Smith by God - the township of Kirtland, a few miles west of this, is the eastern line and the Pacific Ocean the western line: If the north and south lines have also been described, we have not learned them. Orders were also brought to the brethren

> to sell no more land, but rather buy more. Joseph Smith and all his forces are to be here soon to take possession of the promised land.[62]

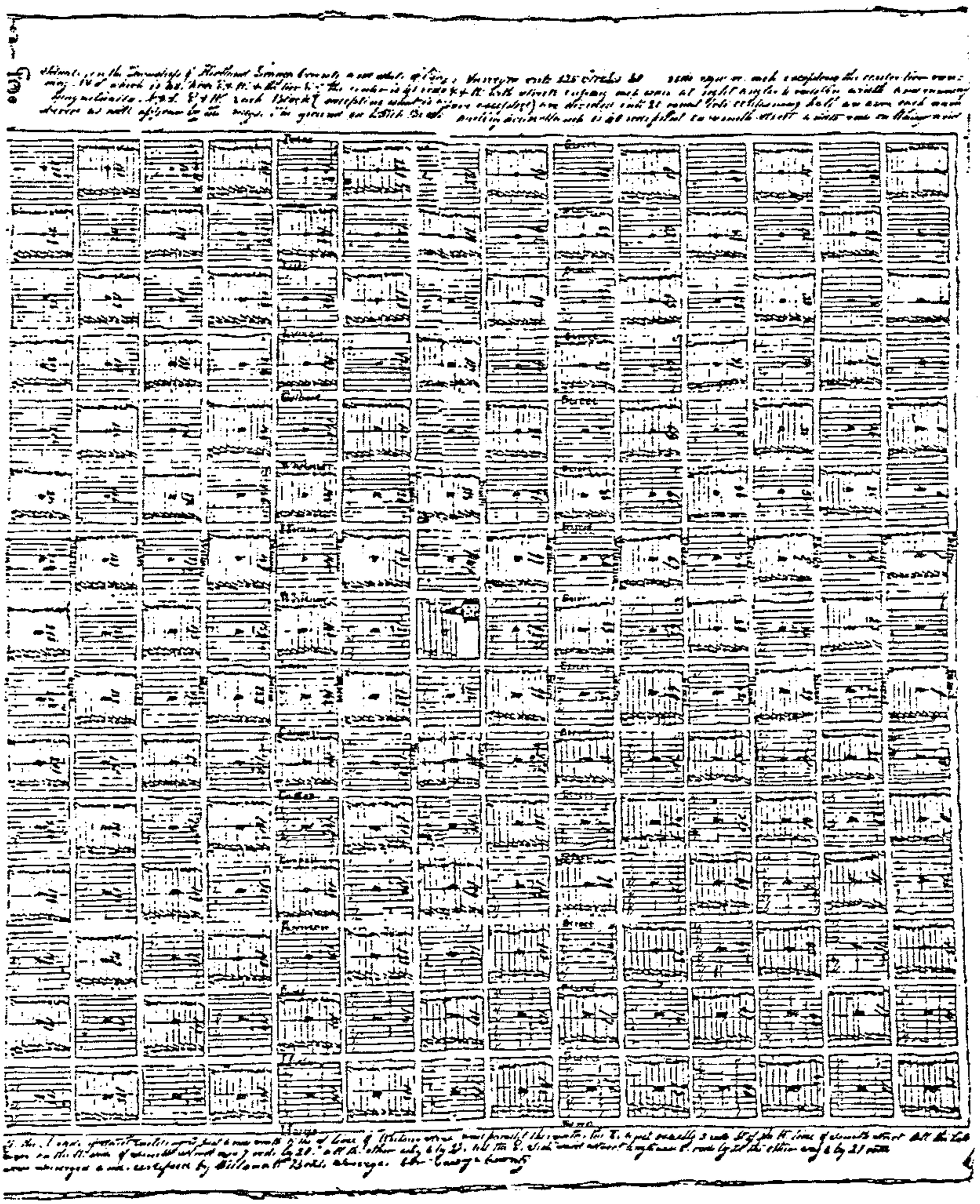
Other religious anxiety centralized around aggressive Mormon missionary tactics. Many Mormons forced their preaching on the apathetic, and then denounced and damned them all as unbelievers. This caused ill-feelings, and often led to the Mormon Elders being ordered out of the area.[63]

The Kirtland Economy

Local entreprenuers viewed the incoming Mormons with some anxiety. Prior to the Mormon immigration, Kirtland's population had doubled, industry started to grow, and future economic prosperity seemed imminent.[64] However, with the onset of the Mormons, the non-Mormon growth rate declined (see Table 2.1 and 2.10). Prospects for the future economy seemed dim, as Mormons tended to buy exclusively from their own merchants.[65] By the Winter of 1835, realizing the Mormons to be an economic liability, Kirtland business men joined together in an effort to force the Mormons to leave. They first refused to hire Mormon laborers, and then boycotted the selling of foodstuffs to them. Finally, they refused even to mill Mormon grain.[66] These starvation tactics failed to cause the desired results, as the Mormons were able to have the grain shipped in and ground at a nearby Mormon mill.

After the temple was completed, two additional programs were instituted to build the Mormons economically. First, a city plan was devised by Joseph Smith to replace the original community pattern (see Map 2.5). Each one-half acre lot would then be sold to future Mormon settlers for two-hundred dollars. A contemporary Mormon Apostle wrote in his journal that if the town plan would be adopted in Kirtland, "Kings of the earth would come to behold the glory thereof".[67] Second, a Mormon bank was to be established in hopes that this bank would revitalize the economy and stimulate further interest in agricultural and industrial growth. However, the Mormons were unable to gain a state banking charter, and rather than wait for a future petition to be granted, they formed a joint-stock company known as the Kirtland Anti-Banking Safety Society, and started to issue money. soon after the first bills were issued in 1837, a combination of several factors, including the "Panic of 1837", and a run on the bank, doomed the venture to failure.[68] As a result, many Mormons and Kirtland citizens alike, became more dissatisfied with the Mormon leaders. Both programs (the city plot and the bank) were viewed by many critics as subversive to the concept of a separation of the powers of Church and State. To some, the Mormons not only wanted to redesign the community, but control both the money and the economy as well.

MAP 2.5



JOSEPH SMITH'S 1836 PLAN OF KIRTLAND, OHIO

(Courtesy Church Archives)

Measurement of the Impact

The preceding section has presented several factors which collectively affected non-Mormon attitudes toward Mormon neighbors. These attitudes would be reflected in the quality of their decision-making processes as it related to the Mormons and to their community. Thus, how Kirtland citizens perceived the increasing Mormon population may have dictated what type of person would stay, leave, or migrate to Kirtland. However, evidence suggests that those decisions were also largely based on two basic economic factors: an increasing population and rising land prices.

Tables 2.1, 2.11, 2.12 and Figures 2.6 through 2.18 show that as the increasing Mormon population needed more land, land prices naturally rose to the point where many Kirtland citizens saw it profitable to sell their lands and leave.[69] Hence, as the Mormon population began to dominate Kirtland in 1836 and 1837 (see Table 2.1), land prices rose to $44.80 per acre (a 182 percent increase over the 1835 land prices), which resulted in 36.7 percent (see Tables 2.11 and 2.12) of the citizens selling out and leaving. Similarly, the turnover ratio (see Table 2.13) and the growth rate (see Table 2.10) demonstrate a parallel pattern, as the non-Mormon newcomers increased during the years of declining land costs, and decreased when land prices were high. For example, in 1830, when land prices were only $6.54 per

acre, the turnover ratio reflected almost three people moving into Kirtland for every one that was leaving. There was not only a high rate of persistence (90 percent), but a substantial growth rate as well (23.6 percent). Yet, in 1837, when the Mormon population and land prices were at their height, the turnover ratio was less than one (0.77), the growth rate was negative (-9.3 percent), and 36.7 percent of the non-Mormon population failed to persist.[70]

By measuring the concentration of wealth, land, and social mobility, it is possible to shed some light on who was the most affected by the influx of Mormons. Tables 2.4 and 2.6 show that most of the wealth and land was concentrated around the top 40 percent of the non-Mormon taxpayers in Kirtland. This group was the least affected by the fluctuating land costs, as not only were they more likely to remain at their present social level (see Table 2.14), but they were also the most likely to persist (see Table 2.15). Table 2.16 also suggests that there was an increasing trend toward wealthier newcomers, as rising land costs often attracted wealthier settlers and encouraged the wealthy to stay.[71] On the other hand, those most affected by the cyclic nature of Kirtland's land prices, were the poorest 40 percent (see Table 2.15). For example, for the years from 1832 to 1838, an average of 61 percent (see Table 2.15) of those

who did not persist, were from the bottom 40 percent of taxpayers.[72]

Kirtland's Decline in Growth

As previously noted, Kirtland's growth rate decreased 30 percent from the previous decade (1820-1830), and was 42 percent below the county's growth rate for 1840.[73] It would be too simplistic to assume that the Mormon influx alone was responsible for Kirtland's decline in growth. If viewed from a different perspective, the decade of the 1830s saw years of strong, positive growth for Kirtland. Of the Geauga County townships which had 1000 or more citizens enumerated on the Census of 1830, Kirtland's growth rate was the highest.[74] Since other large towns in Geauga county were also experiencing a declining growth rate, other factors such as further westward expansion, and the "Panic of 1837" may have affected the growth rate in Kirtland. Therefore, to accuse the Mormons for the decline of Kirtland's non-Mormon population as well as its decline in the growth rate may be misleading.

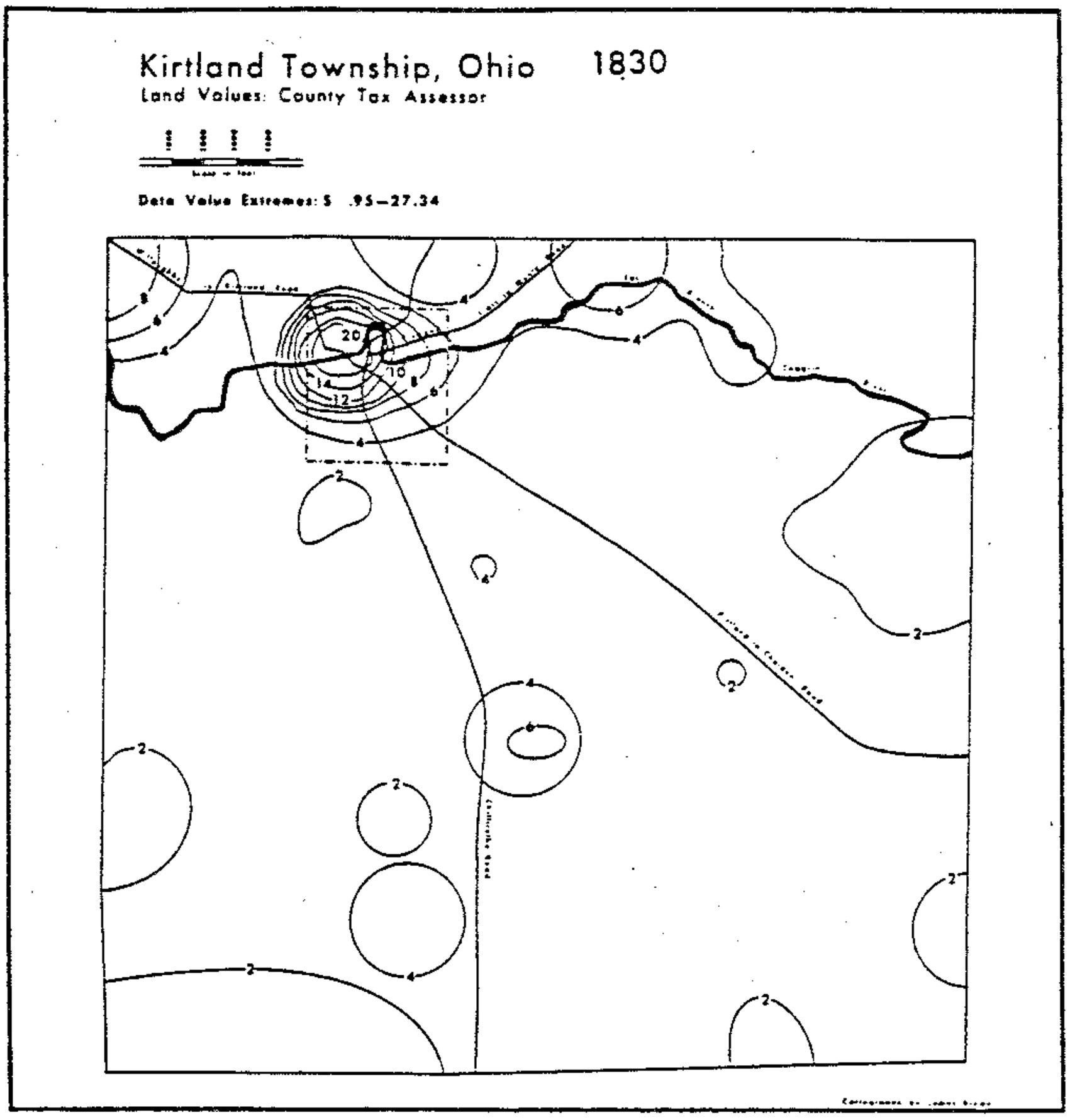
Conclusions

The constant influx (55 percent annual growth rate) of the Mormons induced various sociological, religious, political, and economic conflicts which inhibited some persons from settling in Kirtland. This influx also affected how the Kirtland citizens perceived

their Mormon neighbors. Most important was the rapidly increasing Mormon population which triggered a corresponding rise in land costs, and thus affected Kirtland's social structure. The wealthy, for the most part, remained in Kirtland, while the poor were the most susceptible to the fluctuating land prices, and tended to make up the bulk of those who left.

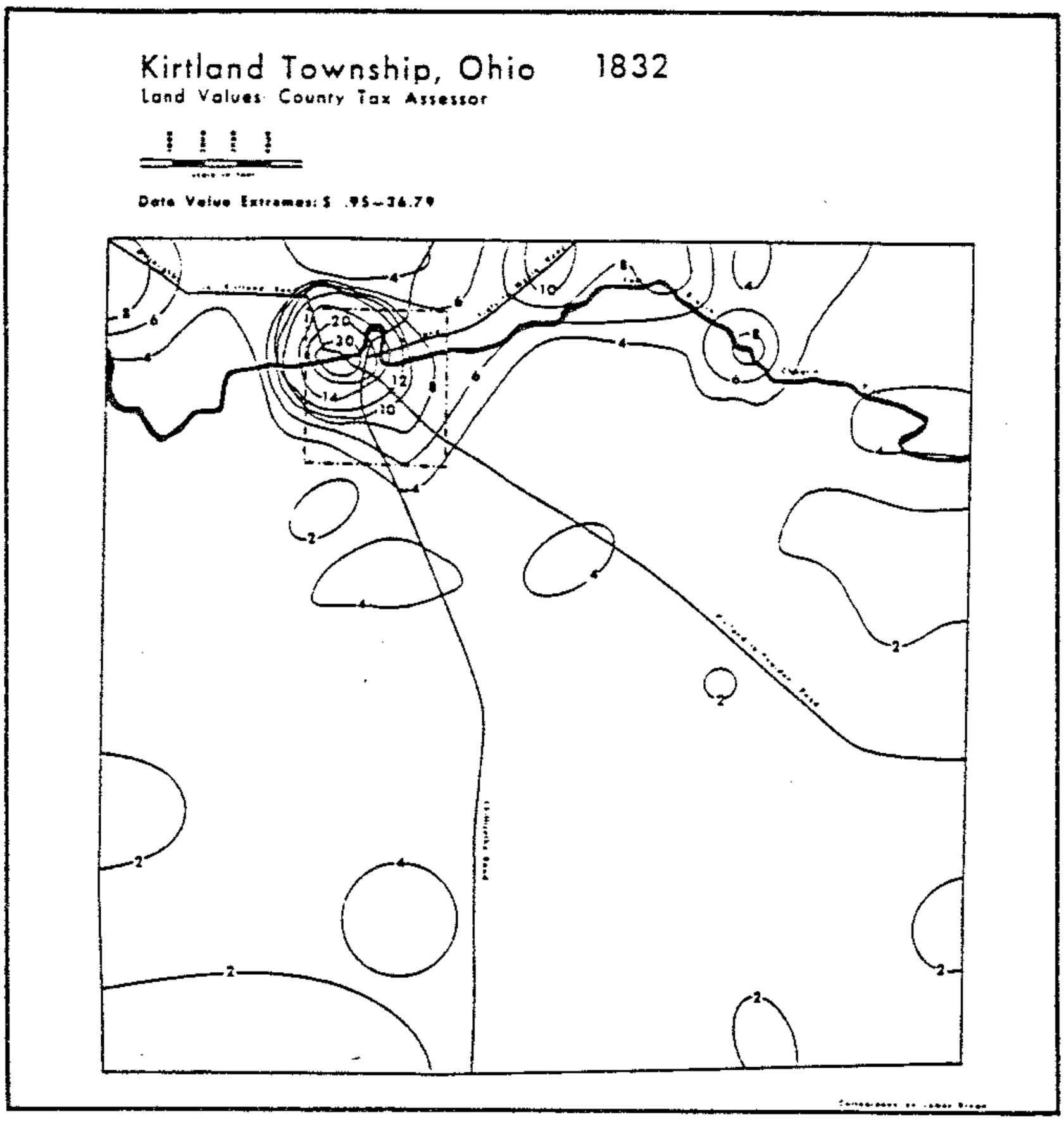
The situation at Kirtland during the 1830s was, in many ways, unique. Few areas of the country had a large religious group move into a township, become its dominating force, and indirectly affect its growth. Yet, the Mormons alone cannot be blamed for Kirtland's decline in growth, as similarly sized townships in Geauga County experienced like declines.

MAP 2.6



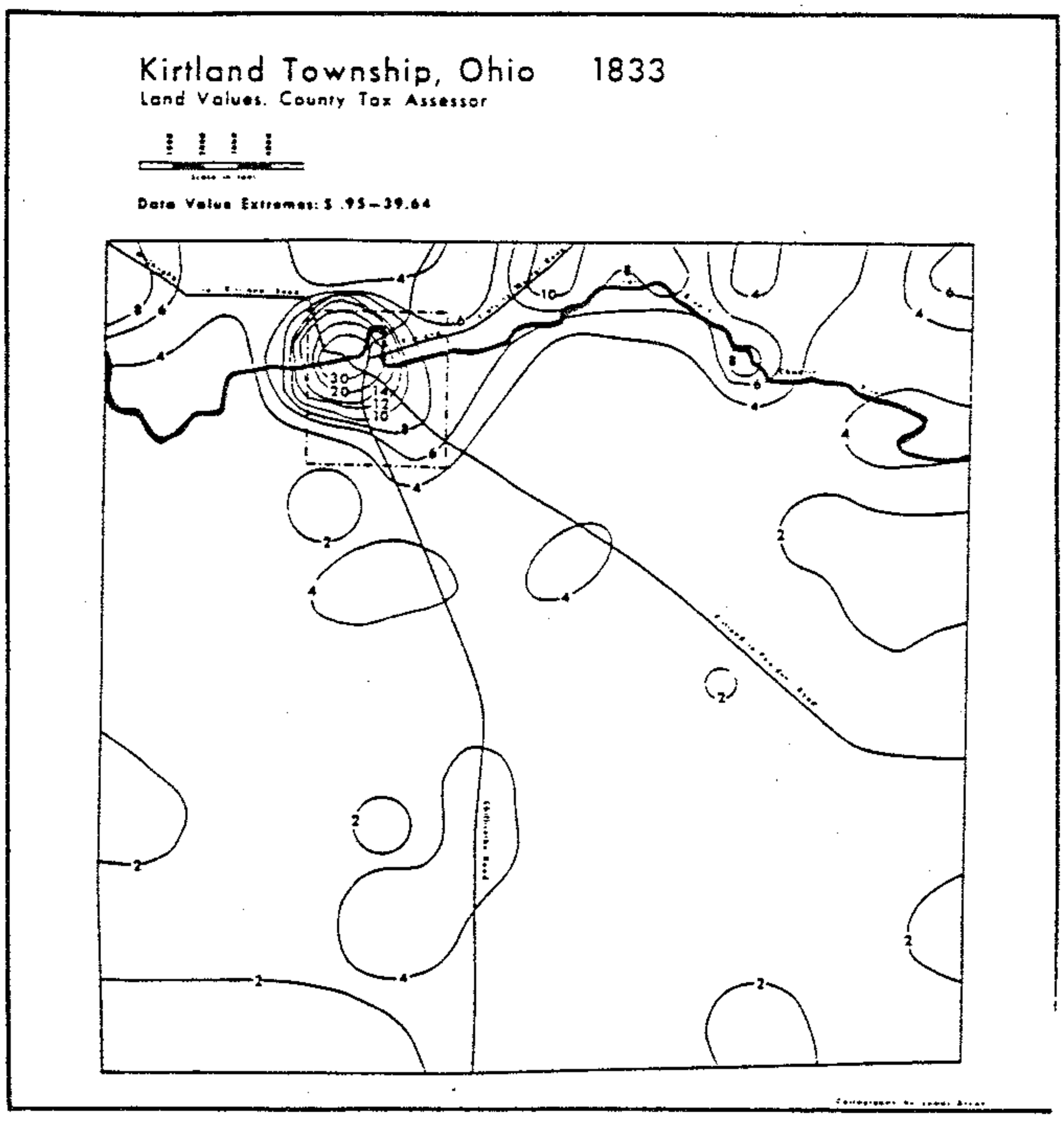
SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 39.

MAP 2.7



SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 41.

MAP 2.8



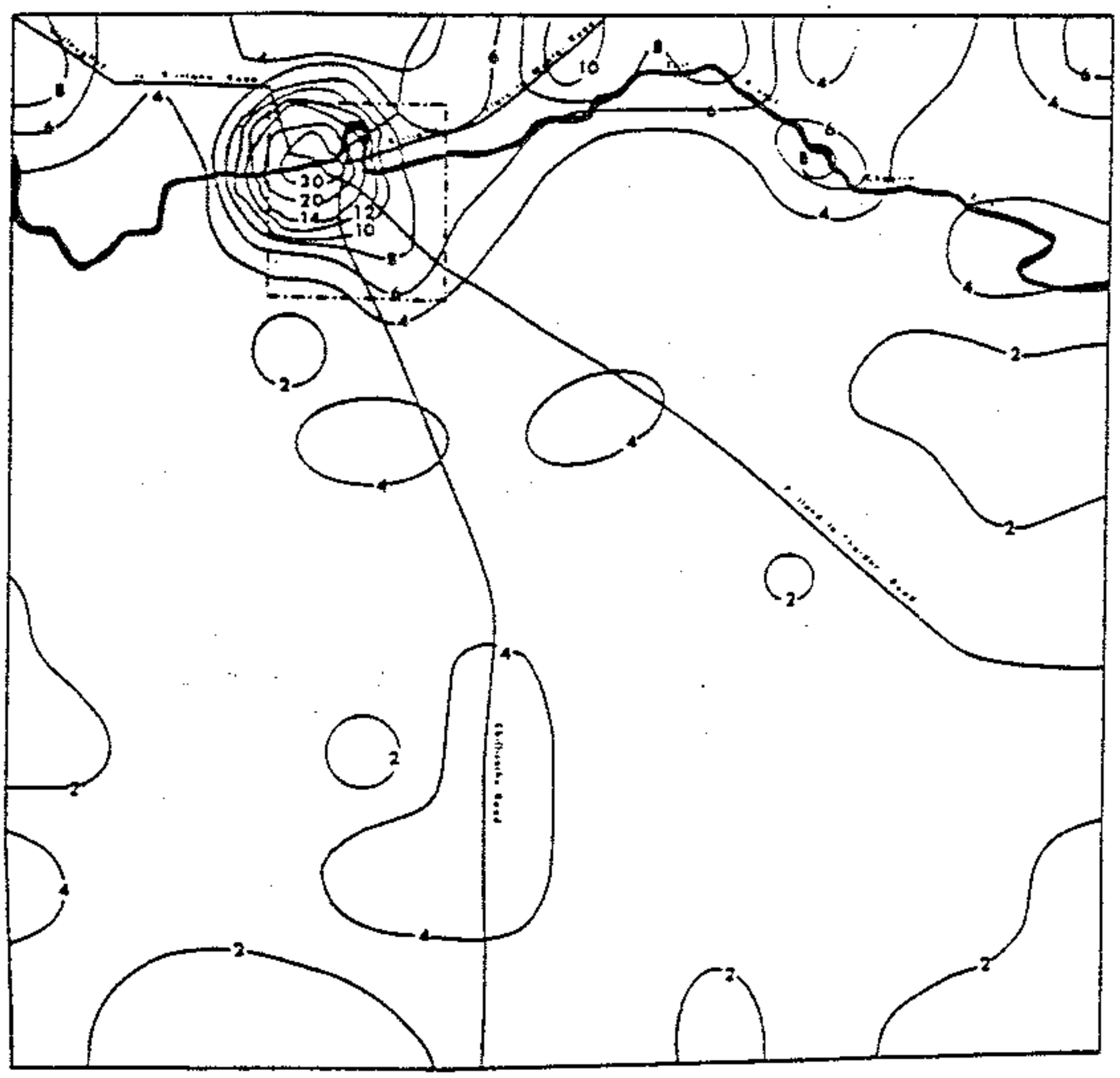
SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 44.

MAP 2.9

Kirtland Township, Ohio 1834

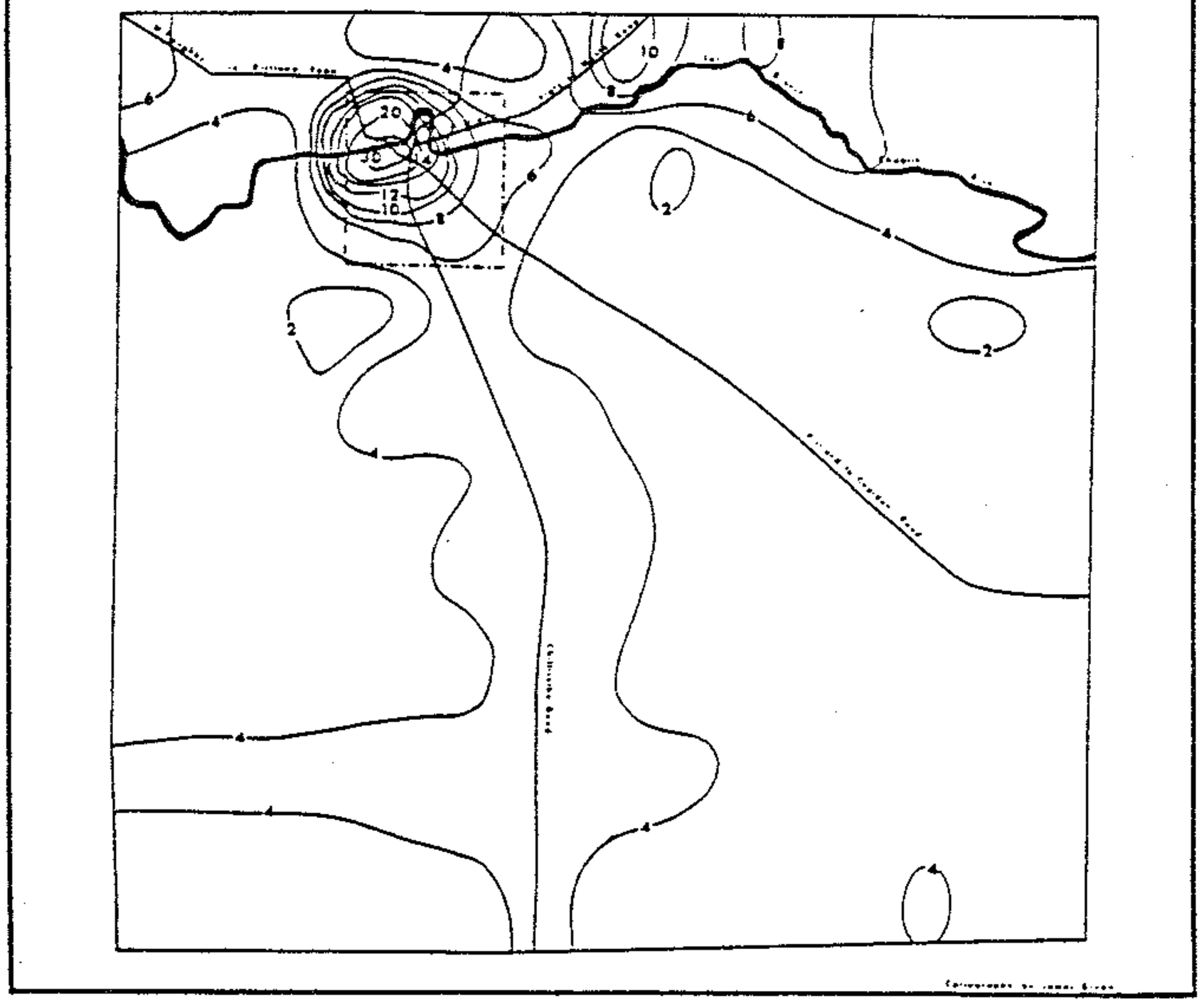
Land Values: County Tax Assessor

Data Value Extremes: $ .95–37.74



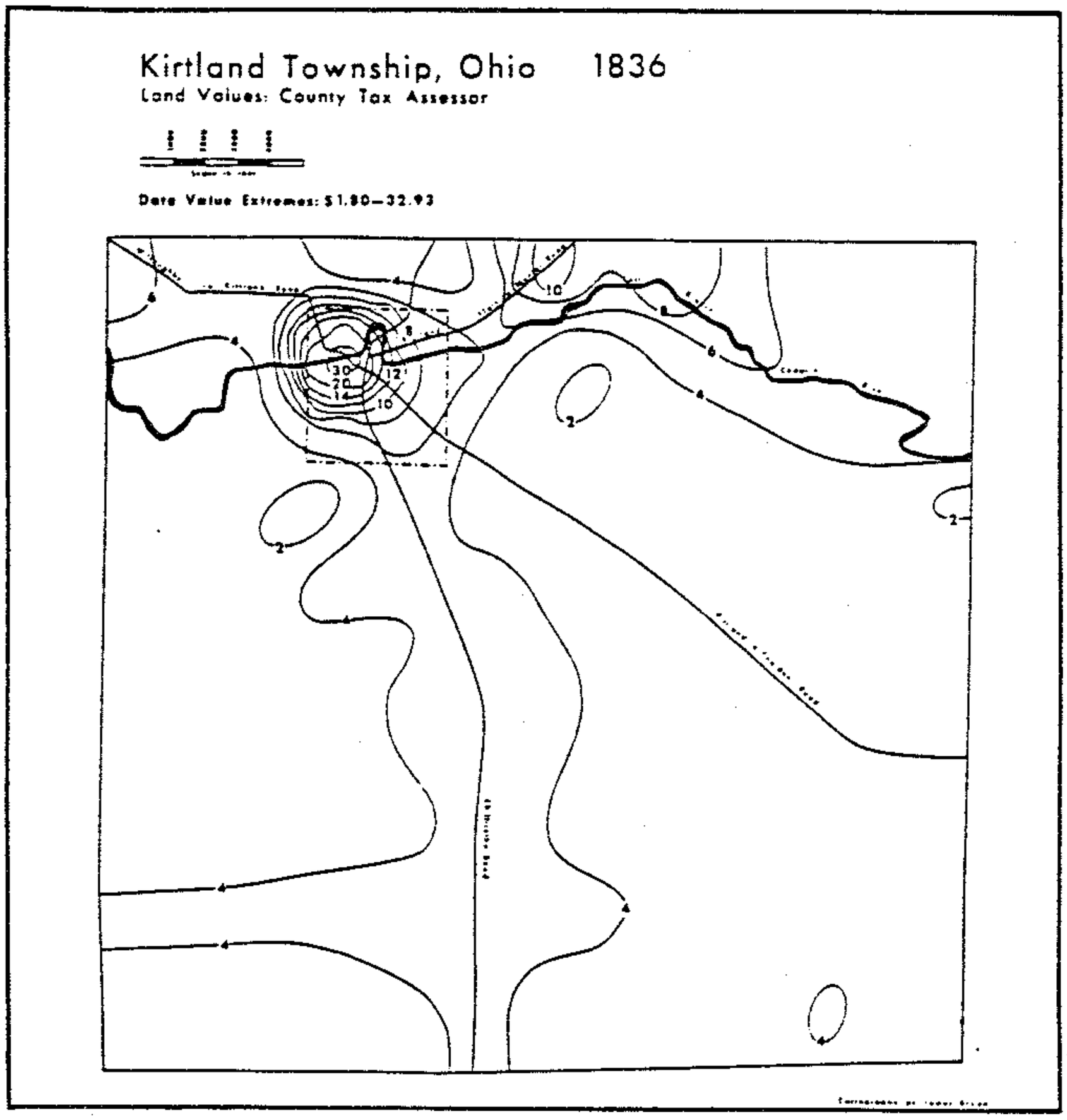
SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 46.

MAP 2.10



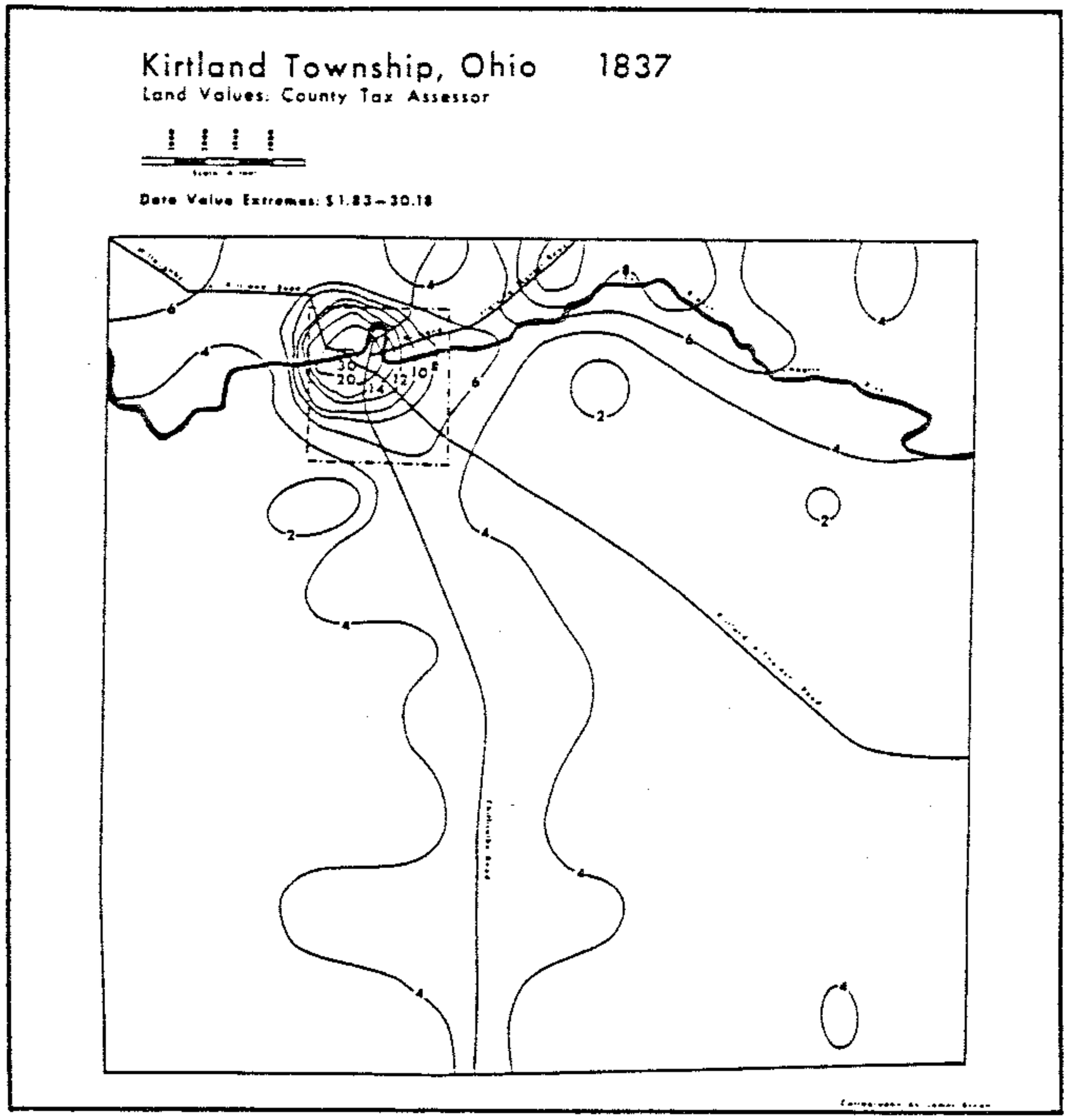
SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 49.

MAP 2.11



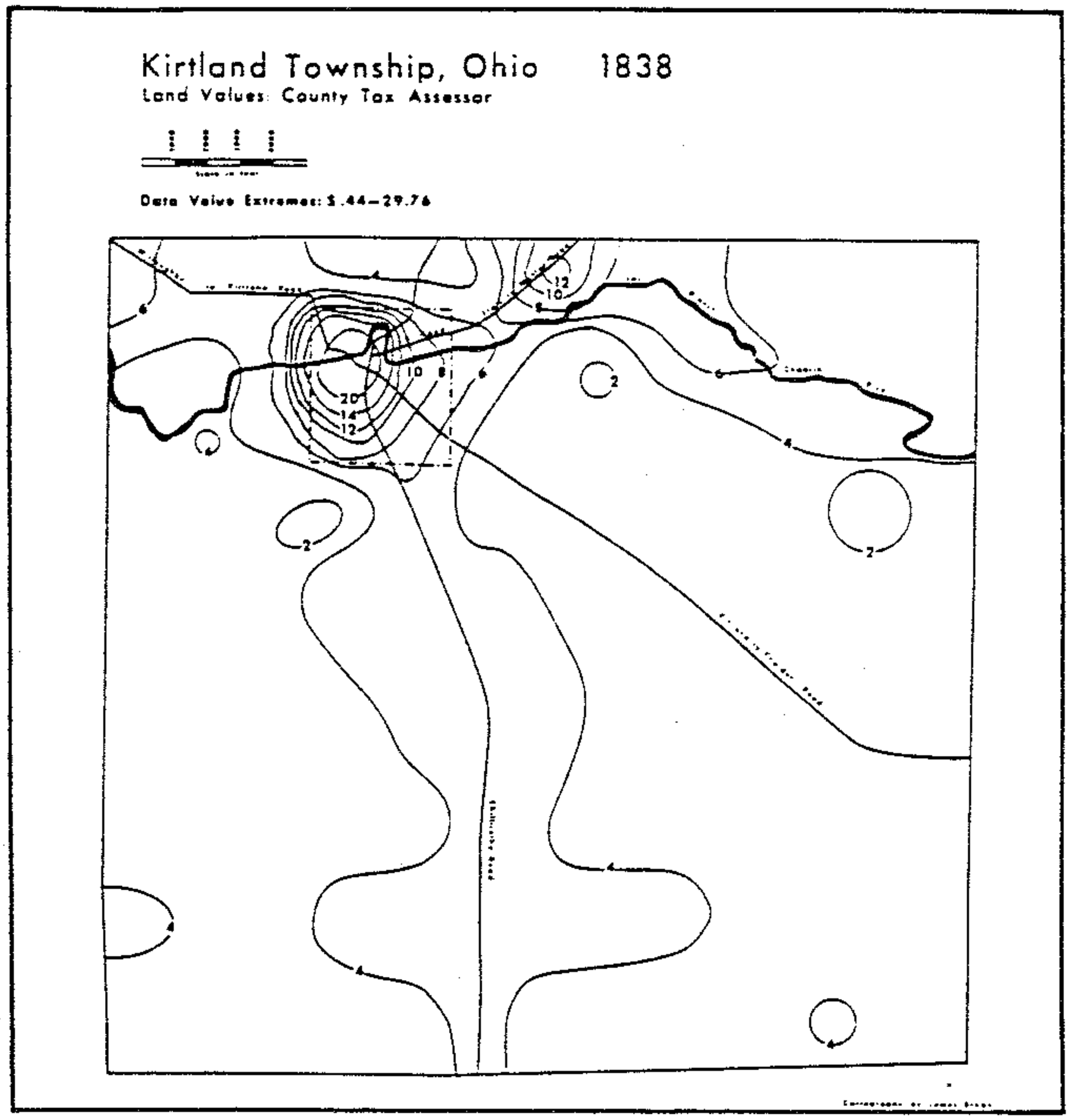
SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 51.

MAP 2.12



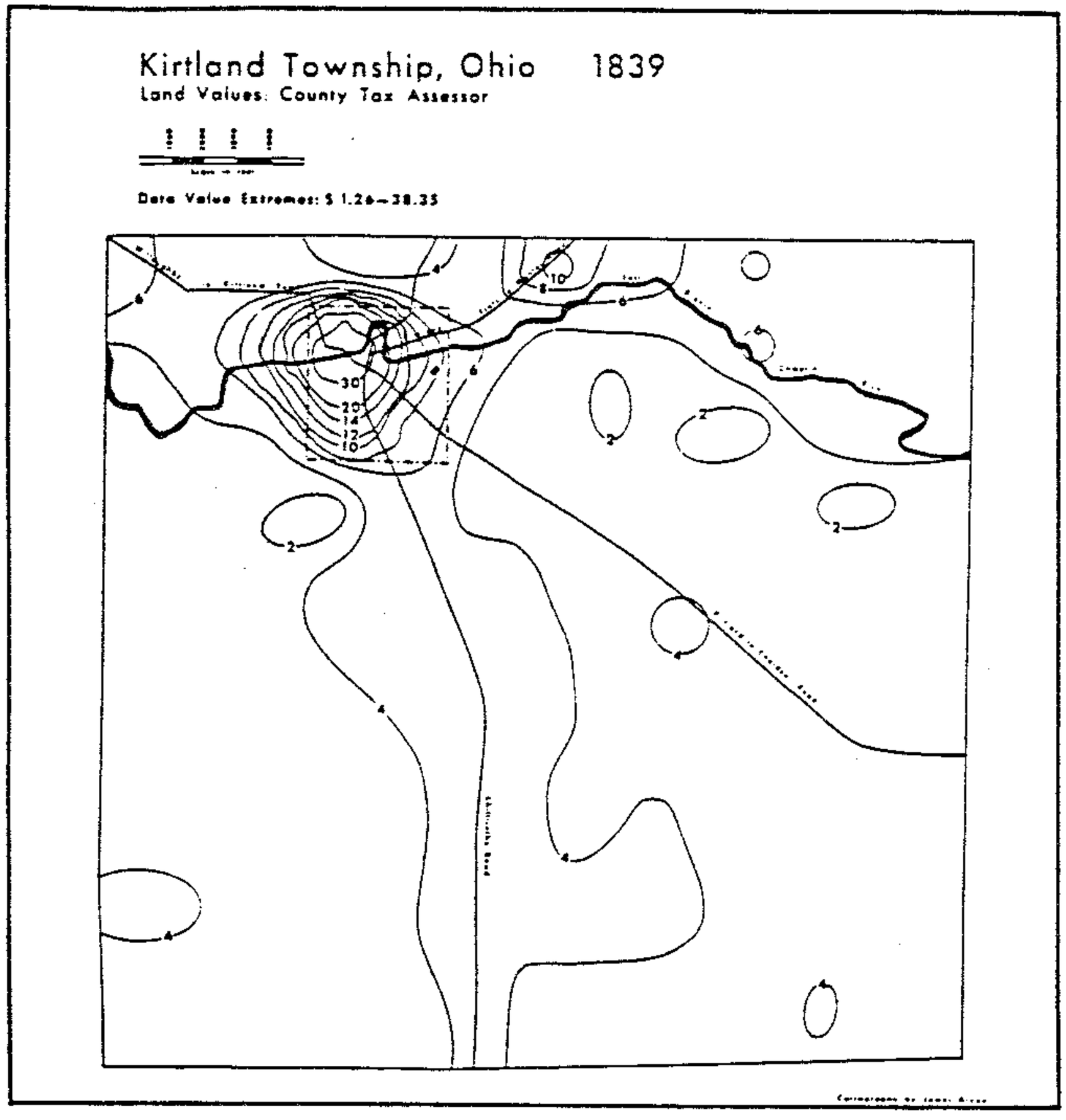
SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 53.

MAP 2.13



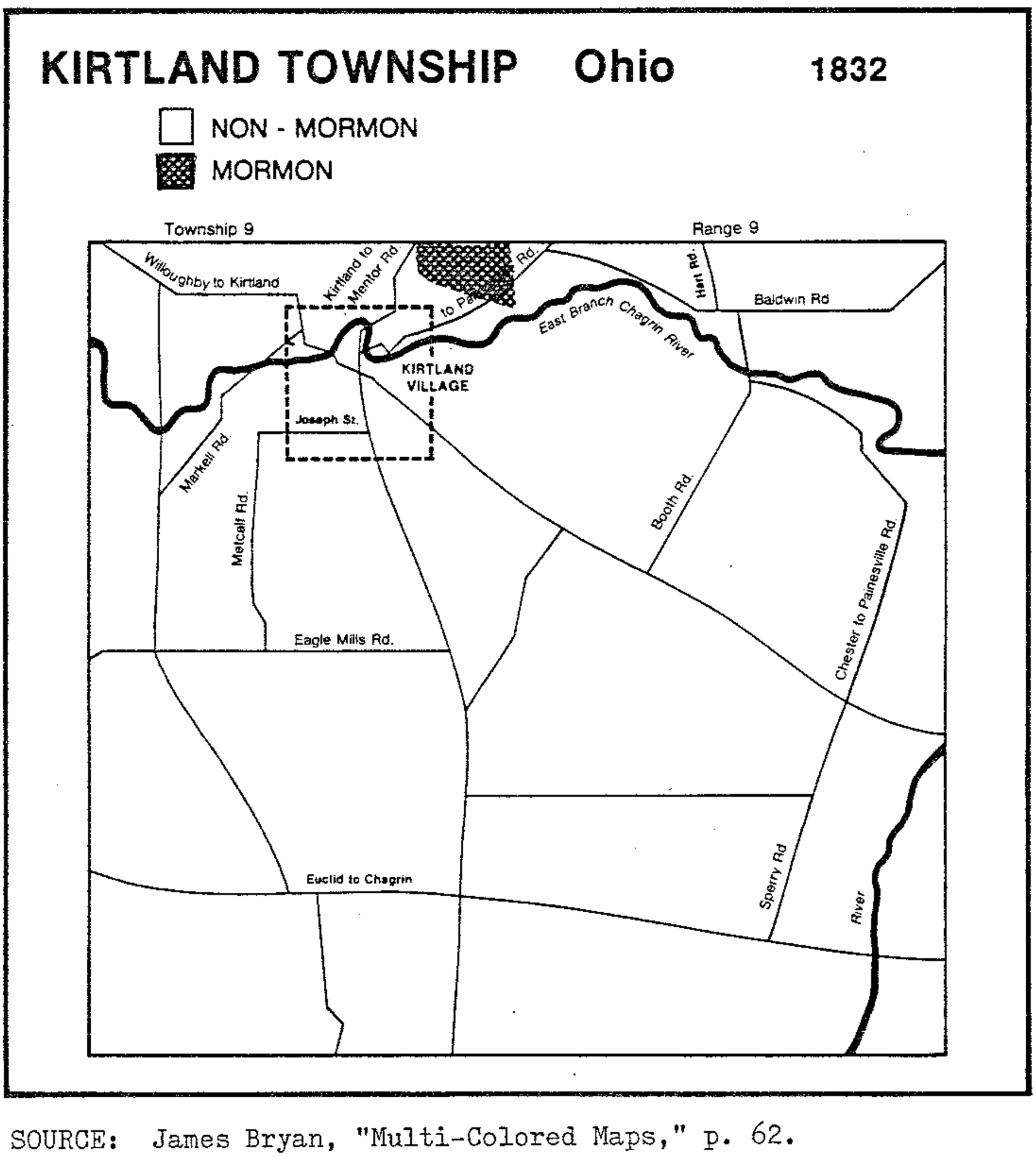
SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 55.

MAP 2.14



SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 57.

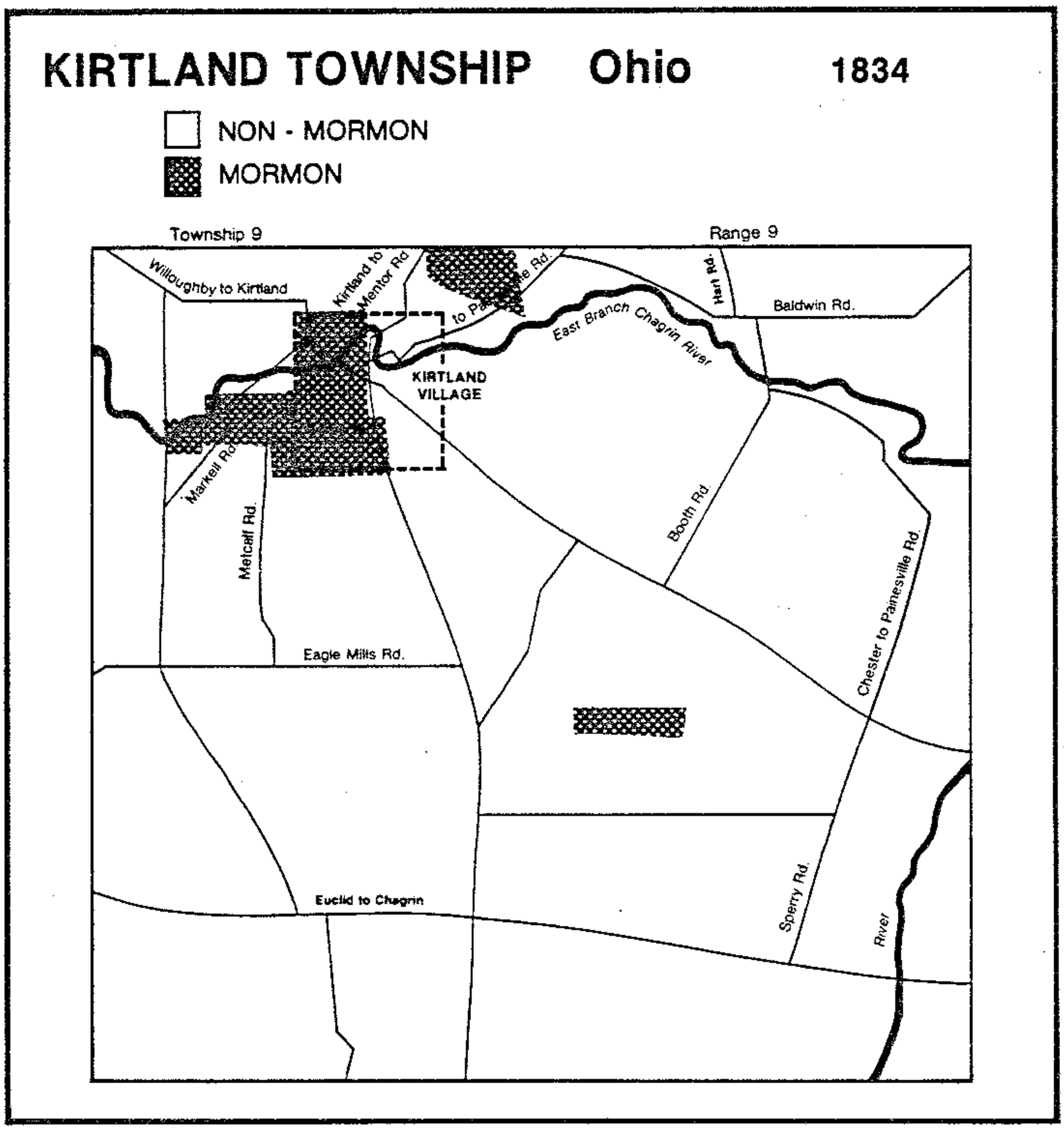
MAP 2.15 [i]



SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 62.

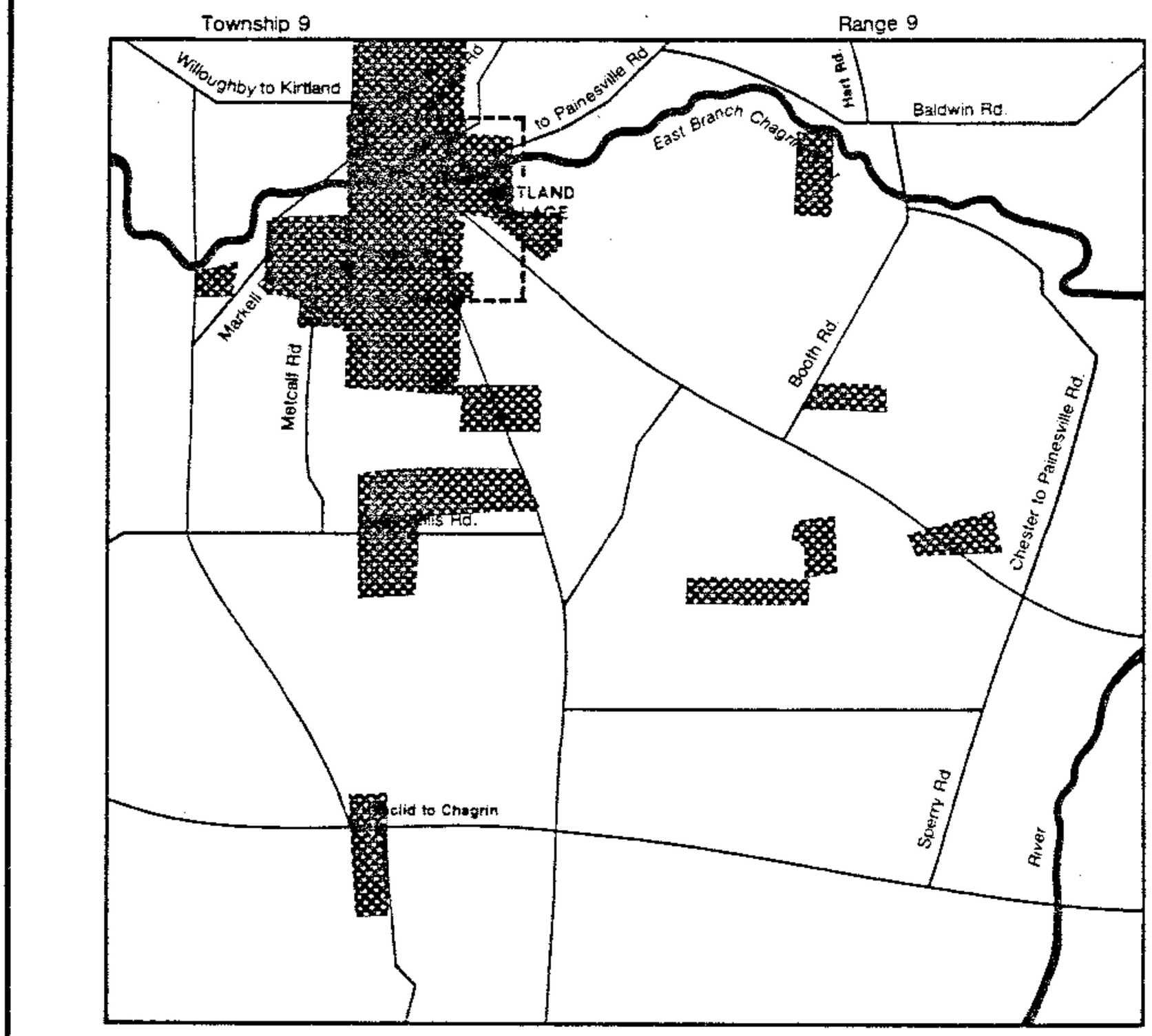
[i]Map 2.15 to 2.18 shows the general areas where Mormons bought property. It also reflects the size of the property holding.

MAP 2.16



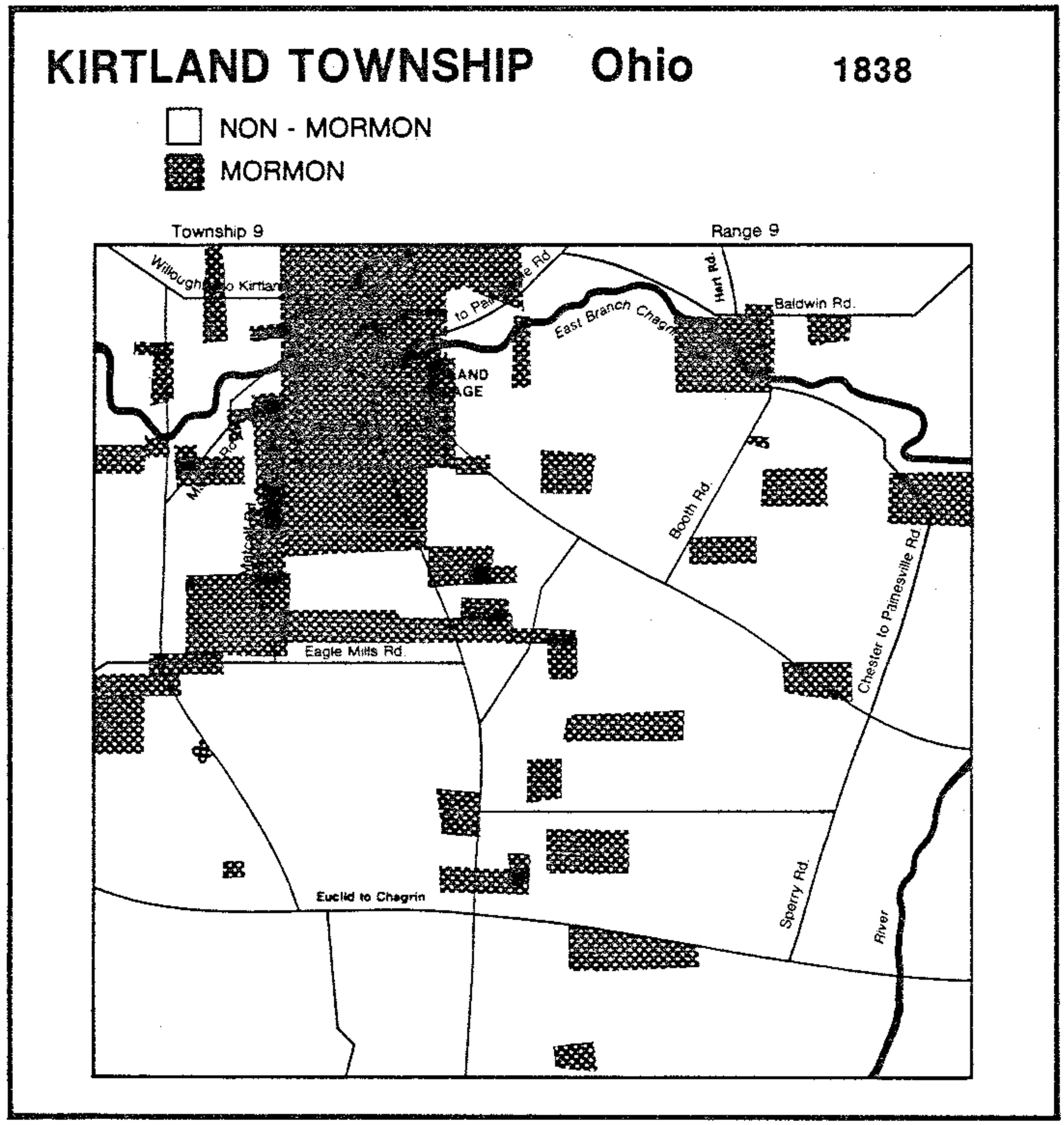
SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 66.

MAP 2.17



SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 71.

MAP 2.18



SOURCE: James Bryan, "Multi-Colored Maps," p. 75.

CHAPTER III

The Mormon Exodus and the Kirtland Aftermath

The Mormon Hegira

The Great Apostasy

On the night of January 12, 1838, the death knell had sounded over the Mormon headquarters of Kirtland. A combination of dissension within the Mormon ranks as well as non-Mormon persecution sent the Mormon Prophet and his assistant Sidney Rigdon fleeing for their lives.[1]

Mormon historians point the 1837 and 1838 as the period of the Church's "Great Apostasy".[2] Complications arising from the collapse of the Kirtland Safety Society, Mormon dabblings in land speculation, and a continual build-up of Smith's temporal and ecclesiastical power tarnished the Prophet's reputation in the eyes of many faithful Mormons.[3]

The basis of the apostasy was rooted in Smith's insistence that he was the sole and infallible spokesman of God. When Smith was questioned about his alledged improprieties in Kirtland, one disgruntled member recorded Smith as saying that

> he was authorized by God almighty to establish His Kingdom - that he was God's prophet and God's agent and that he could do whatever he

> should choose to do therefore the Church had no right to call into question anything he did, or to censure him for the reason that he was responsible to God Almighty only.[4]

Even as early as February of 1837, Kirtland was not safe for Smith. By May, when land records demonstrate that Mormon land transactions were at their peak, many Mormons began to question Smith's integrity.[5] The months of June and July found the Mormon prophet gravely ill. Some Church member attributed his ills to his "transgressions".[6] One Mormon Apostle recorded that at this time there, "were not twenty persons on the earth that would declare that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God."[7]

During the summer, lawsuits from both Mormons and disaffected Mormons increased. In late July, after recovering slightly, Smith left Kirtland for Canada. When he returned in early September he found several Mormon leaders "cut-off" from the Church. After being sustained by a Church Conference as its Prophet, he left for Missouri.

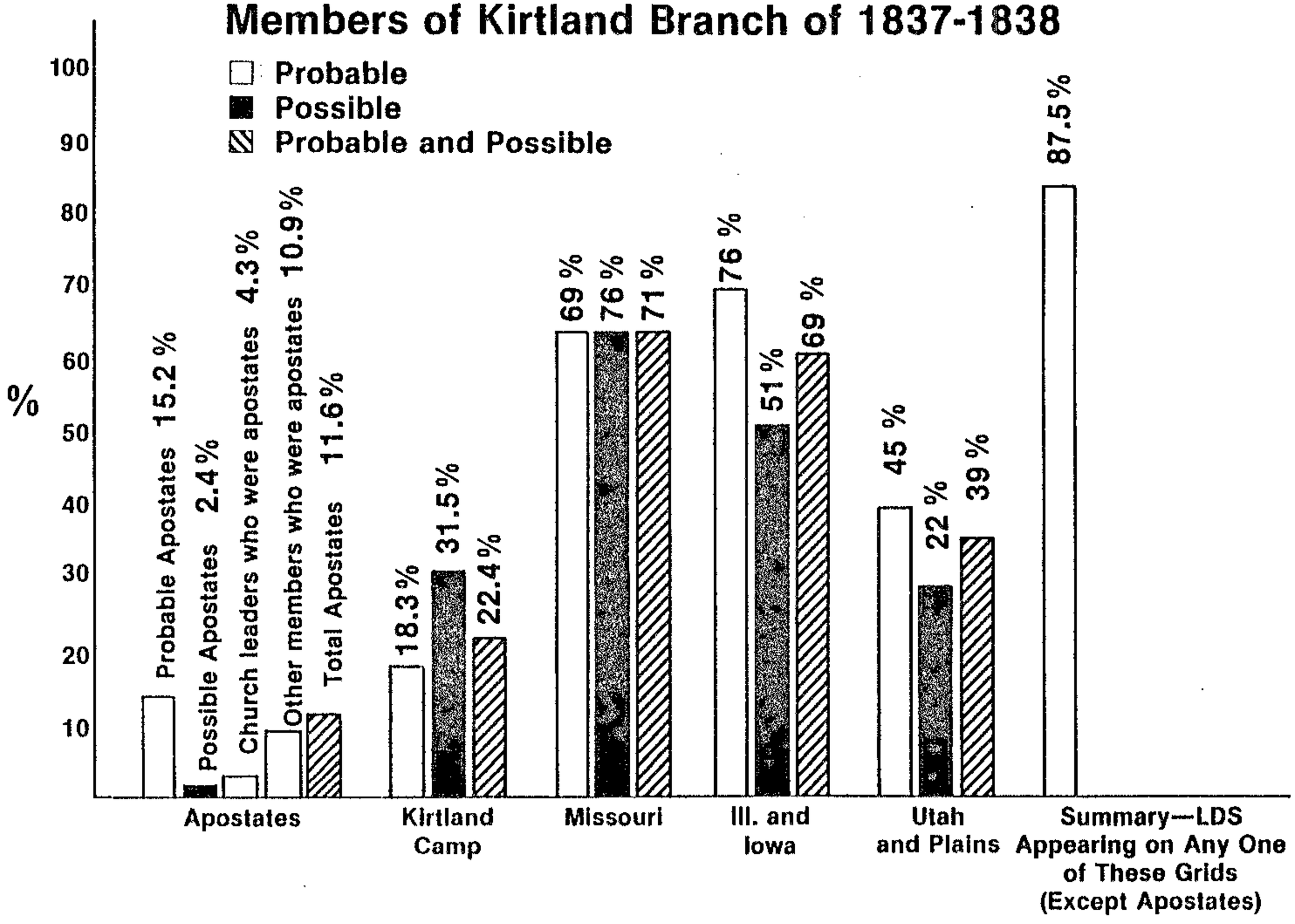
Upon his return in December, the Kirtland Church had splintered. One group of apostates, the "Parrish Party," repudiated Smith and formed a new Church.[8] This group advocated the physical overthrow of Smith and demonstrated their resolve by inducing riots at several Church meetings.[9] By January, Smith and Rigdon remained in Kirtland at the peril of their lives.

Traditionally, it was supposed that many members of the Church became disaffected during the dark hours of 1837 and 1838.[10] However, it is difficult to find support for this contention. A study of Mormon migration patterns shows that the majority of Saints who were in Kirtland in 1837 and 1838 remained faithful to the Church. Table 3.1 and Chart 3.1 shows that over eighty-percent of those who were in Kirtland during the "apostasy" period followed their Church leaders to another gathering place outside of Kirtland. Further, of the 53 apostate heads of households (or about 290 persons based upon the Mormon family-size of 5.5 during the 1830-1840 decade,) almost thirty-percent were Church leaders. Consequently, only eleven-percent of the total Kirtland membership during those years separated from the Church.

The significance of the Kirtland apostasy was that it involved much of the Mormon leadership. Some disaffected leaders felt that Smith had abused his ecclesiastical authority. Others accused him of being a despot. To many, Smith began to symbolize what was wrong with an all encompassing religion - it permeated too much of their lives and it meant the promotion of a few at the expense of the many.

CHART 3.1

Post Migration Patterns
Members of Kirtland Branch of 1837-1838



Warren A. Cowdery perhaps summarizes the dissidents' perspective best when he wrote in the Church newspaper,

> Such must inevitably be the effect of all monopolies sooner or later, they give priviledges to some, withhold them from others, make the rich richer and the poor poorer ... Money we all know is power, and he who possess most of it has the most men in his power. If we give all of our priviledge to one man, and make him a monarch, absolute and despotic, and ourselves abject slaves or fawning sychophants. If we grant priviledges and monopolies to a few, they always continue to undermine the fundamental principles of freedom, and, sooner or later, convert the purest and most liberal form of Government into the rankest aristocracy. These, we conceive, are matters of history, matters of fact that cannot be controverted. Well may it be said, if we thus barter away our liberties, we are unworthy of them. The syren (sic) song of liberty and independence, is but an empty name, and he who does not allow man himself to think, to speak, to reason and act only as his wealthy landlord should dictate, has virtually resigned the dignity of an independent citizen and is as much a slave as if the manacles were upon his hands. His boasted liberty is a deception, and his independence a phantom. Whenever a people have unlimited confidence in a civil or ecclesiastical ruler or rulers, who are but men themselves, and begin to think that they can do no wrong, they increase in tyranny and oppression and establish a principle that man, poor frail lump of mortality like themselves, is infallible. Who does not see a principle of popery and religious tyranny involved in such an order of things? ... The great object of all privileged classes is money and power, and the universal undeviating course of all who possess both, is to add to both the expense of the liberties and best interests of their fellow citizens.

With the cries of "fallen Prophet," schismatic groups like the "Parrish Party" attempted to wrestle

control of the Church from Smith in hopes of reforming it. While advocating a return to the "Old Standard," these reformers desired a Church in tune with the cultural pluralism of the time. Followers of Smith, however, pushed for a purging of dissenters from within the main body of believers. For them the society as established by Smith was where the elect would be gathered and the pre-millenial kingdom of God would be built. As one historian has astutely pointed out, at Kirtland was sown the "seeds of ideological division which in time would lead to a split between the Reorganized branch of the Mormonism, with its capitol at Independence amongst the gentile community, and the Utah branch of Mormonism, which became more isolated, self-contained and closed and somewhat more militant."[12]

The Aftermath

The expulsion of the two Mormon leaders did not quell violent outbursts. Displays of violence were designed to force the Mormons to leave. Some unidentified persons burned the Mormon printing office.[13] In May, an arsonist incinerated a Methodist meeting house and attempted to ignite the Mormon Temple.[14] Mobs consisting of both apostate Mormons, and non-Mormons continued the campaign by breaking into Mormon homes and then setting fires in the basements.[15] Amidst internal dissension and non-member persecutions, many of the Mormons began to exodus from Kirtland. One Kirtland Saint recorded

that, "we turned the key and locked the door of our homes, leaving our property and all we possessed in the hands of enemies and strangers, never receiving a cent for anything we owned".[16] By July of 1838, only a handful of faithful Saints remained in Kirtland.[17]

After escaping from a Missouri jail, Joseph Smith in a General Conference of the Church at Nauvoo (Commerce, Illinois,) in May 1839 sent Oliver Granger back to Kirtland so as "to take Charge and Oversee the House of the Lord."[18] Further, Smith suggested that Mormons who were living in the east should move to Kirtland and resettle it as a Stake. Some of the Saints in Nauvoo anticipated returning to Kirtland either to re-establish residency or finish unsettled business. However, the exodus from both Kirtland and Missouri left the Church leaders at Nauvoo with numerous projects, large debts and little income. Thus church leaders were apprehensive when rumors were spread that many in Nauvoo planned to return to Kirtland.[19] In a High Council meeting in December of 1839 at Nauvoo, Bishop Edward Partridge was directed to publish an article in the Times and Seasons informing the Church that "it is improper to remove from the west for the purpose of locating in Kirtland, Ohio."[20]

While Saints in Nauvoo were being discouraged from returning to Kirtland, those at Kirtland had high

hopes for its return as the Mormon capital city. W.W. Phelps in a letter dated March 9, 1840 writes:

> The work of the Lord is still going on in that section of country (Kirtland), a conference was then in session in the town of Nelson, Portage, Co. Some were baptised, many were believing: a branch of the Church was organized consisting of thirteen members ... The Mob had supposed to put an end to Mormonism as they called it, but to the contrary Mormonism has spread far and wide; and they now begin to pant for the word of life ... We hope that the word of life will continue to be proclaimed in their ears.[21]

Hiram Kellogg, another Kirtland Church member, wrote the Nauvoo leaders exclaiming that the Lord was not only reviving his work, but because of the increasing membership, "many of the old inhabitants have been standing and looking on until they are convinced that this is the work of the Lord, and are willing to embrace it".[22] It was during this time that Almon Babbitt, an itinerant member of the Seventy's Quorum, began to preach in Kirtland that Kirtland was to be the gathering place in lieu of Nauvoo.[23] Granger who was the presiding elder in Kirtland wrote Smith in Nauvoo complaining of Babbitt's teachings.[24] Smith instructed Granger to "take charge of the Church and seek removal of Babbitt's Elder's license."[25]

Why was the Nauvoo leadership so concerned about Kirtland's growth? First, it failed to establish Nauvoo as both Church Headquarters and as the gathering place. second, it distracted necessary manpower and financial

resources from Joseph's industrious plans. Third, and perhaps most important, it stimulated an independent thinking on the part of the Kirtland Saints that undermined the Prophet's credibility as "the" theocratic leader.[26] Twice more Babbitt was called to face charges before the High Council. The first time, Babbitt was sent back to Kirtland as its Stake President. The second time he was made a leader in Illinois.[27] However, it is during this period that Church leaders in Nauvoo were confused on how to handle an additional satellite city. Their correspondence to Kirtland leaders was often misleading and contradictory. For instance, after Babbitt's second disfellowshipment in November of 1841, Hyrum Smith, the brother of the Prophet decided to end the issue with a revelation that, "All Saints that dwell in that land (Kirtland) are commanded to come away, for this is "Thus saith the Lord".[28] However, in a letter sent in the latter part of November from Joseph Smith to the acting Stake Presidency at Kirtland, Joseph appears to refute Hyrum's prophecy and further encourages the build up of the Church in Kirtland. He writes,

> ...As it appears that there are many in Kirtland who desire to remain there, and build up that place, and as you have made great exertions according to your letter, to establish a printing press and since that period, you may as well continue operations according to your designs and do what you can in righteousness to build up Kirtland...Do not suffer yourselves to harbor the idea that Kirtland will rise on the ruins of Nauvoo.[29]

Throughout 1842, Kirtland continued to grow. Lyman Wight, one of the twelve apostles, recorded that during a visit to Kirtland, he preached to over 500 people. On the thirteenth of October, Wight reported that thirty elders were ordained, 203 baptised, and 18 children were blessed. He further wrote the Nauvoo leaders that, "we are now holding meetings every night and shall do so as long as there is from three to ten coming forward a day, which is now the case.[30] Justin Brooks, Babbitt's replacement, wrote Smith of the amazing growth at Kirtland.

> The reformation which has taken place here has taken some of the most prominent members from among the methodists: and the presbyterians begin to think that Mormonism is not dead, in consequence of Bennet's apostacy...Many smart, intelligent young men have been ordained Elders and that such an anxiety to learn the doctrines of the Church, has never before been manifest since the commencement of the Church...(sic)[31]

Yet, by early 1843, Wight was sent back to Kirtland to command the Saints there to go to Nauvoo and help build the temple. On April 6, a unanimous vote was taken to gather to Nauvoo and plans were drawn to expedite the departure.[32] While many of the Saints left in the Spring of 1843 a few did remain. However, many of those who remained were disaffected members. In a letter from

Joseph Smith to Joseph Coe dated January 18, 1844, Smith relates the bad attitude of those remaining at Kirtland.

> The terror of your letter and other information I have received tells a black story of the situation of the apostates in Kirtland...Now dwells dishonesty, fraud, envy, lying, oppression, and every evil work.[33]

Brigham Young preached in the Kirtland Temple on the ninth of June, 1844 and found the Kirtland Saints, "dead and cold to the things of God."[34]

On December 17, 1844, Reuben McBride became the Presiding Elder at Kirtland.[35] However, this change in Church leaders did little to strengthen the faithfulness of the Church members. David Pettegrew, while enroute to his mission in New York, stopped in Kirtland and held several meetings in the Temple. He wrote that, "many dissenters came to hear the stranger...but while the spirit was strong in the House of the Lord, many rejoice in the death of Joseph."[36] On New Years Eve of 1844, a Mr. Hollister wrote the Twelve of the situation in Kirtland.

> ...There are in this place all kinds of teachings, Martin Harris is a firm believer in Shakerism, says his testimony is greater than it was of the Book of Mormon. Luman Heath is running after them continually. Hiram Kellog, the presiding officer her is a Rigdonite and says Sidney is the man God called to lead his people, that Brother Joseph was cut off for transgression and the Twelve are carrying out his principles and if we follow, we shall all be cut off.[37]

Phineas Young, in a letter to the Twelve Apostles, summarized the environment in which the remaining Kirtland Saints lived.

> Here we are called Josephites, and at Nauvoo apostates; the first we glory in, the latter we are willing to bear til our brethren shall have proven us faithful by seeing our faith and good works. There are at this time some 40 or 50 good brethren in this place, which constitutes a majority of the Church here.[38]

The final recorded Church conference at Kirtland in April of 1845 reported that, "Order and unanimity of feelings characterized the Conference, and the Saints in this place appear to be more united than they have for some time past; and have, in general, a determination to keep the commandments, and gather unto the body of the Church."[39]

There is evidence that a small branch of the Church was still operating in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Elder James Bay, in 1851, summarizes the conditions at Kirtland.

> There have been all kinds of false prophets here in Kirtland, but I have found a few that begin to feel that the west is the place, and the authority is there. Brother Isaac Bullock and I succeeded in getting an organization here, and they begin to calculate to gather west to the valley.[40]

Kirtland seemed to attract its share of "false prophets" and Mormon schismatic groups. Besides Martin Harris's apparent defection to Shakerism and some following after former Mormon chieftain Sidney Rigdon, a group of

ex-Mormons formed a group known as the "Church of Christ". This group grew to about 100 members prior to its dissolution.[41] The Brewerites were another Mormon schism that attempted to establish Kirtland as its headquarters. However, it also quickly dissolved.[42]

In 1882, Richard W. Young, a Mormon Elder visited the remains of the Mormon citadel. The former residence of Brigham Young had been razed. The Temple could be viewed only from the outside, since the elders of the Reorganized Church left town with the key.[43] Of the outside of the Temple, Young writes that it was in, "poor repair, much of the interior woodwork has been taken away for firewood, and the sashes contain more broken than unbroken panes of glass. Paint has not been seen for a generation at least."[44]

As far as the Utah Mormons were concerned, Kirtland's magnificence lay in its past, not in its future. Perhaps Richard Young best summarizes these sentiments when he wrote of the Temple,

> Its chief glory is of course the past, and to a Latter-Day Saint, the brightness of that glory was sufficient to cause it even now to shine with its retaining splendor.[45]

Kirtland's Decline in Growth

The story of Kirtland after the Mormon exodus of 1838 is one of population decline. According to one historian, the Mormon exodus was a major factor leading to a decreasing growth rate.[46] However, the Mormons alone

cannot be blamed since similarily sized townships in both Lake and Geauga Counties experienced a like decline. Chart 3.2, shows that the decline in Kirtland Township fits into the overall pattern of Lake and Geauga Counties as well as the entire Western Reserve.

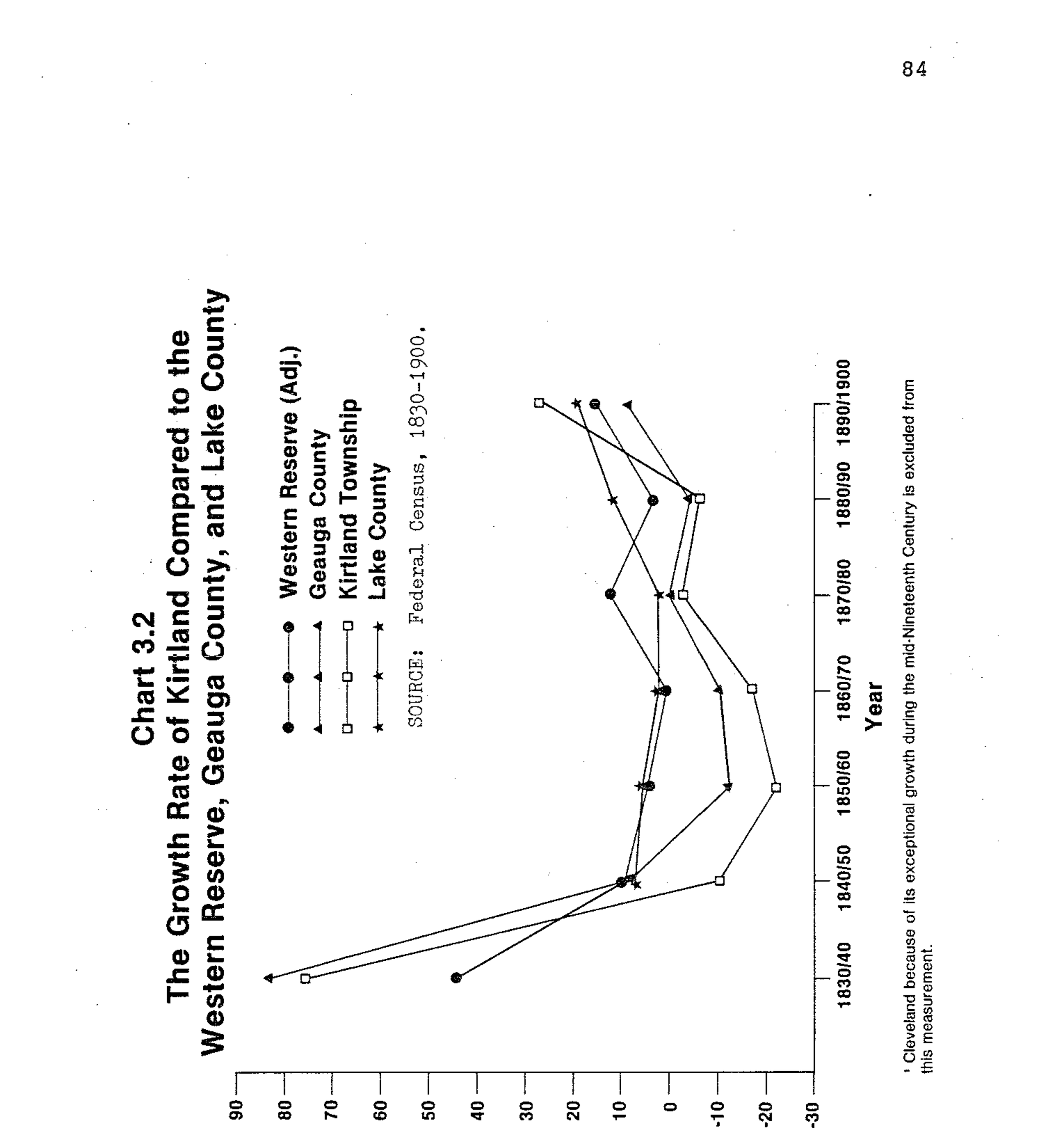
Rebecca A. Shepherd in a recent work on migration from Ohio, shows that various Ohio countries suffered marked declines in population as many landless heads of households pushed westward.[47] Similarly, a check of the 1850 Federal census shows that 64 percent of those leaving Kirtland were young and landless.[48] Thus, to cite the Mormon hegira as a precipitating factor in the lack of population growth is misleading.

Conclusions

The decade of the 1840s was one of hope and aspirations for the Mormons at Kirtland. Church leaders at Nauvoo, however, found it difficult to proceed with major plans in Nauvoo without the aid of those residing at Kirtland. By 1843, it was decided that the Church could not have two gathering places. Not only did it undermine the credibility of their prophet, but it was confusing to new members as well. Consequently, at the expense of the place designated by the movement's prophet, Kirtland could not remain a viable alternative. With the move to Utah, Kirtland was but a memory.

Besides quantifying the post-migration patterns of the Kirtland Saints, this study had shed light on the

Chart 3.2
The Growth Rate of Kirtland Compared to the Western Reserve, Geauga County, and Lake County



SOURCE: Federal Census, 1830-1900.

[1] Cleveland because of its exceptional growth during the mid-Nineteenth Century is excluded from this measurement.

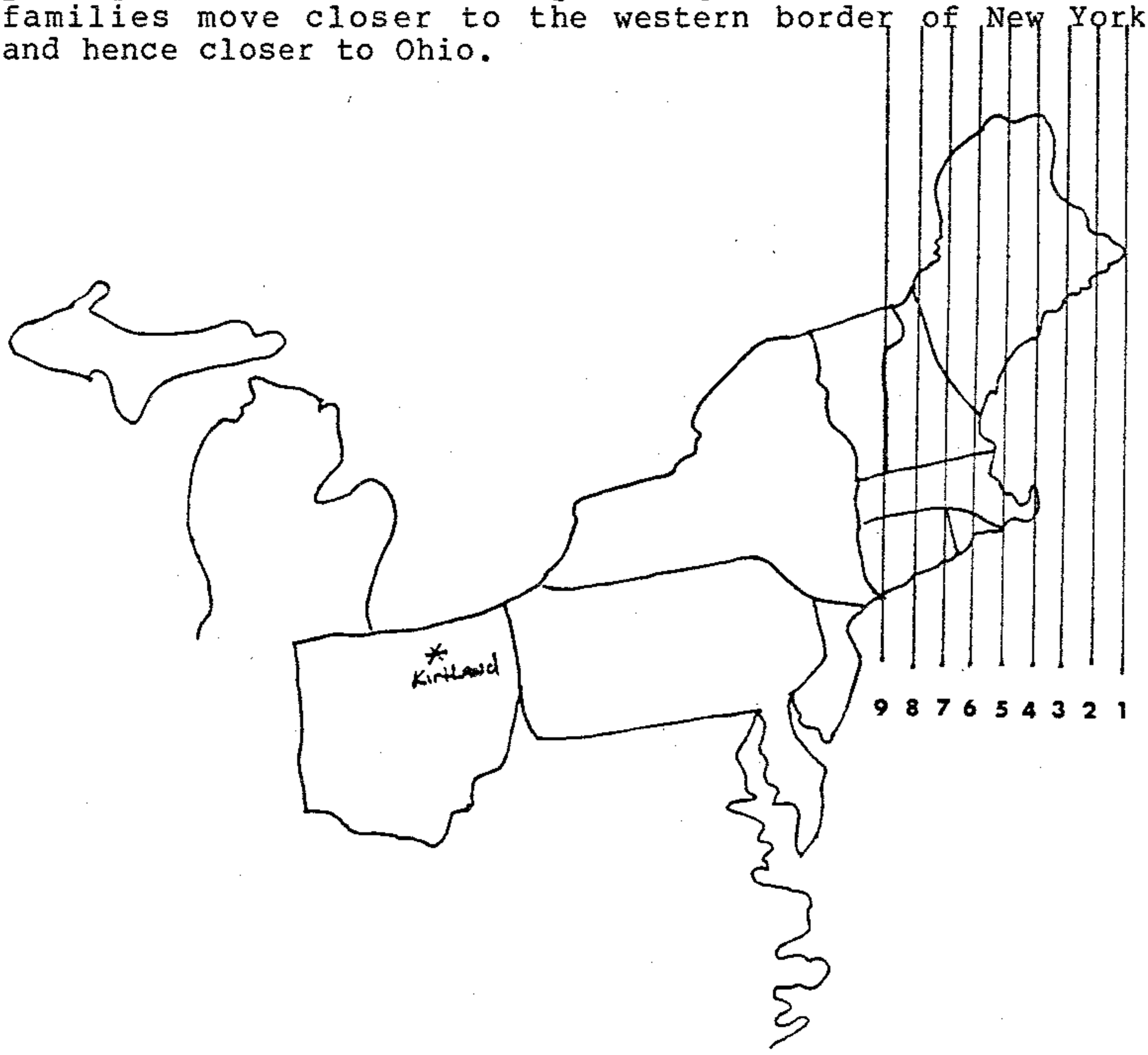
1837-1838 apostasy. It has been found that the vast majority of the Mormons remained faithful to their Church during their stay at Kirtland. Furthermore, the declining population of Kirtland after the Mormon exodus followed the pattern of the entire Western Reserve. Consequently, other alternatives such as westward expansion, and the "Panic of 1837" must be examined intensely prior to attributing the Mormon exodus as the precipitating factor in Kirtland's declining population.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Use of the Lines of Longitude to Determine Distance

Professor Robert C. Kenzer and graduate student, Mark R. Grandstaff, of Brigham Young University, developed a technique for measuring the length of migration by assigning numerical coordinates to the Lines of Longitude. Each Line of Longitude was divided into 30 minute coordinates from the very northeastern part of Maine through the Western Reserve. For example, (see map below) from the far eastern border of Maine to its western border spans eight coordinates (1 coordinate equals 25 miles) or about 200 miles. Table 1.2 clearly demonstrates the pre-Mormon expansion over the thirty year period as each five year segment decreases as the families move closer to the western border of New York and hence closer to Ohio.



APPENDIX II

Social Mobility of Non-Mormons, 1827, 1834-1839

See subsequent pages.

Social Mobility, 1827-1828		1827 Wealth Category 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Percent of Total
	1	21 (87.5%)	3 (12.5%)				24	21.8
1828	2	1 (4.0%)	15 (60.0%)	8 (32.0%)			24	21.8
Wealth	3	1 (4.3%)		14 (60.9%)	5 (21.7%)	3 (13.0%)	23	20.0
Category	4				12 (66.7%)	6 (33.3%)	18	16.4
	5	1 (5.0%)	1 (5.0%)		6 (30.0%)	12 (60.0%)	20	18.2
Totals							110	100.0

Social Mobility, 1834-1835		1834 Wealth Category 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Percent of Total
	1	26 (76.5%)	5 (14.7%)	3 (8.8%)			34	24.8
1835	2	1 (3.5%)	15 (51.7%)	5 (17.2%)	5 (17.2%)	3 10.4%)	29	21.2
Wealth	3	2 (6.5%)	5 (16.1%)	14 (45.2%)	4 (12.9%)	6 (19.4%)	31	22.6
Category	4	2 (8.3%)	1 (4.2%)	3 (12.5%)	13 (54.2%)	5 (20.8%)	24	17.5
	5				2 (10.5%)	17 (89.5%)	19	13.9
Totals							137	100.0

Social Mobility, 1835-1836		1835 Wealth Category 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Percent of Total
	1	35 (97.2%)	1 (2.8%)				36	24.8
1836	2	1 (2.7%)	30 (81.1%)	6 (16.2%)			37	25.5
Wealth	3		3 (8.8%)	255 (73.5%)	5 (14.7%)	1 (2.9%)	34	23.5
Category	4			2 (8.7%)	14 (60.9%)	7 (30.4%)	23	15.9
	5				1 (6.7%)	14 (93.3%)	15	10.3
Totals							145	100.0

Social Mobility, 1836-1837		1836 Wealth Category 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Percent of Total
	1	30 (76.9%)	7 (17.9%)	1 (2.6%)	1 (2.6%)		39	27.7
1837	2	1 (2.7%)	24 (64.9%)	9 (24.3%)	1 (2.7%)	2 (5.4%)	37	26.2
Wealth	3	2 (6.3%)	4 (12.4%)	17 (53.1%)	7 (21.9%)	2 (6.3%)	32	22.7
Category	4	1 (7.1%)		1 (7.1%)	8 (57.1%)	4 (28.6%)	14	9.9
	5				6 (31.6%)	13 (68.4%)	19	13.5
Totals							141	100.0

Social Mobility, 1837-1838		1837 Wealth Category 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Percent of Total
	1	28 (80.0%)	7 (20.0%)				35	28.0
1838	2	4 (12.1%)	21 (63.6%)	6 (18.2%)	2 (6.0%)	1 (3.0%)	33	26.7
Wealth	3		3 (12.0%)	16 (64.0%)	3 (12.0%)	3 (12.0%)	25	20.2
Category	4	2 (11.8%)			10 (58.8%)	5 (29.4%)	17	13.7
	5		1 (7.19%)	2 (14.3%)	2 (14.3%)	9 (64.39%)	14	11.3
Totals							124	100.0

Social Mobility, 1838-1839		1838 Wealth Category 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Percent of Total
	1	33 (78.6%)	5 (11.9%)	4 (9.5%)			42	28.8
1839	2	3 (8.3%)	28 (77.8%)	2 (5.6%)	1 (2.8%)	2 (5.6%)	36	24.7
Wealth	3		1 (3.6%)	17 (60.7%)	7 (25.0%)	3 (10.7%)	28	19.2
Category	4			6 (33.3%)	11 (61.6%)	1 (5.6%)	18	12.3
	5	2 (9.1%)		1 (4.5%)	2 (9.1%)	17 (77.3%)	22	15.0
Totals							146	100.0

APPENDIX III

Kirtland Township Elections, 1830-1838

PLDS = Pre-Latter-day Saint
LDS = Latter-day Saint
ALDS = Apostate Latter-day Saint

SOURCE: Kirtland Township Minute Book, 1817-1837.

April 1829 Election

Town Clerk:
N.L. Rupell

Trustees:
Jeremiah Ames
Isaac Morse
Roswell D. Cottrill

Overseer of the Poor:
Gideon Riggs (PLDS)
Lory Holmes

Fence Viewers:
Selah S. Griffin
John Parks

Constables:
Orrin Thompson
J. Ames

Treasurer:
Newell K. Whitney (PLDS)

Supervisors of the Highways:

<u>Districts</u>

1	Charles Slayton	10	Alvah Brown
2	Orrin Thompson	11	William Stannard
3	Jeremiah Ames	12	Argus Holbrook
4	Gideon Riggs (PLDS)	13	Seth Makepeace
5	Erastus Crary	14	J. Willard
6	William Blake	15	Ebenesar Doty
7	Abiel Piersons	16	John Wills
8	Isaac Skinner	17	John Hoffman
9	John F. Morse		

April 1830 Election

Town Clerk:
Josiah Jones

Trustees:
John F. Morse
Dexter Otis
George Smith

Overseer of the Poor:
Asa Ayers, Jr.
Jothan Maynard

Fence Viewers:
John Parks
Newell K. Whitney (PLDS)

Constables:
Arial Hanson
Benjamin Markell

Treasurer:
Enoch Morse

Justice of the Peace:
A.E. Russell

Supervisors of the Highways:

Districts

1	Jotham Maynard
2	Samuel F. Whitney (PLDS)?
3	Sherman Fairchild
4	Elijah Smith (PLDS)
5	Able Ames
6	Reynolds Cahoon (PLDS)
7	John Goodell, Jr.
8	Nathan Weathering
9	Enoch Morse
10	Levi Metcalf
11	William D. Stannard
12	Elam Sperry
13	Ebenezar Doty
14	Lyman Pitcher
15	David Lafter
16	Wm. Foster
17	Nathan P. Goodell

April 1831 Election

Town Clerk:
Roswell D. Cottrill

Trustees:
John F. Morse
Wm. Foster
John Wells

Overseer of the Poor:
Andrew Beardslee
Samuel F. Whitney (PLDS)?

Fence Viewers:
Oliver Harmon, Jr. (PLDS)
David Harrington

Constables:
Nathan P. Goodell
Chaney Morse

Treasurer:
Enoch Morse

Supervisors of the Highways:
Able Ames
Isaac Chatfield
Hardin Cleaveland
Nathan Wheeler
Josiah Kinnery
Jonathan Harrington
Walter S. Stannard
Barzella Millard
Harvey H. Morse
Abel Ames
Luke Wilson
Jeremiah Ames
Stephen Lapham
James Farmer?
John Wells
Isaac Luck?
Chester Bushnell

April 1832 Election

Town Clerk:
Roswell D. Cottrill

Trustees:
John F. Morse
Hardin Cleaveland
Jotham Maynard

Overseer of the Poor:
Lory Holmes
Asa Ayers, Jr.

Fence Viewers:
Oliver Harmon, Jr. (PLDS)
Samuel F. Whitney (PLDS)?
John Parks

Constables:
Isaac Doty
C.G. Crary

Treasurer:
Enoch Morse

Supervisors of the Highways:
John Parks
Moses Chair
Tunis Rochafellow
Isaac Alfred
Arial Hanson
Ebenezar Doty
Wm. Thompson
Enoch Morse
Nathan Hobart
John Hoffman
Thomas Knight (LDS)
John A. Baldwin
Robert French
Timothy D. Martindale
Jonathan Harrington
Charles Holmes
Jeremiah Ames
Arial Corning

April 1833 Election

Town Clerk:
O.A. Crary

Trustees:
Jedethan Ladd
Ezra Holmes
Spencer Phelps

Overseer of the Poor:
Roswell D. Cottrill

Fence Viewers:
David Holbrook
John Wells

Constables:
W.G. Crary
Stephen Whiman

Treasurer:
Enoch Morse

Justice of the Peace:
A.E. Russell
Josiah Jones

Supervisors of the Highways:
Hercules Carrel
James Dulmage
Levi Francis
Ezra Holmes
Chas. A. Holmes
E.W. Crary
C.G. Crary
Morgan Parks
Joseph Robinson
A.C. Rupell
John C. White
J.N. Kinney
Dexter Otis
Azariah Lyman
Sam Metcalf
Jacob Kinney
G.S. Pitcher
Wm. Foster, 2nd
E.L. Goodman
Ins. H. Swist

April 1834 Election

Town Clerk:
J.B. Seeley

Trustees:
John Johnson, Jr. (LDS)
Hardin Cleaveland
Jotham Maynard

Overseer of the Poor:
Arial Hanson
Solomon Webster

Fence Viewers:
N.K. Whitney (LDS)
Jeremiah Ames

Constables:
Luke Johnson (LDS)
Wm. K. Branch

Treasurer:
E.L. Goodman

Justice of the Peace:
Arial Hanson
Josiah Jones

Supervisors of the Highways:

Districts

1	Soloman Webster	13	Levi Sperry
2	William Foster	14	John Furnance
3	Reynolds Cahoon (LDS)	15	Jason Lance
4	Benjamin Austin	16	Samuel Gore
5	Jacob Sherman	17	Moses Crary
6	Eli G. Bunnell	18	Enoch Morse
7	Tunis Rockafellow	19	James Gillet
8	Luther Snow (LDS)	20	Charles Holmes
9	Jedethan Ladd	21	Richey Carrol
10	Benjamin Markell	22	John C. White
11	Erastus Crary	23	Hawkins Hendricks
12	Alvah Brown	24	Jasmion Smith

1835 Election

Town Clerk:
A.C. Rupell

Trustees:
Enoch Morse
Hardin Cleaveland
Caleb E. Cummings

Overseer of the Poor:
T.D. Martindale
Austin Loud

Fence Viewers:
James Lake
Joel McWithey

Constables:
William Branch
Lucius Parsons

Treasurer:
E.L. Goodman

Supervisors of the Highways:

Districts

1 Edmond Durfee (LDS)
2 Warren Smith (LDS)
3 Salmon Gee (LDS)
4 Robert French
5 John Hoffman
6 R.D. Cottrill
7 Bigelow Barber
8 William Barker
9 Jedethan Ladd
10 Samuel Billings
11 Andrew Bartlett
12 Stephen Rupell
13 Samuel Heath
14 Oliver Higbee (LDS)
15 Josiah Cotton
16 James Lake (LDS)
17 Jacob Kinney
18 Edward Gillett
19 Lorin Babbitt (LDS)
20 T.D. Martindale
21 Giles Cook (LDS)
22 William Manby
23 William Foster
24 Samuel T. Booth

April 1836 Election

Town Clerk:
Thomas W. Donavaon

Trustees:
Squire Eggleston
John Johnson (LDS)
Lory Holmes

Overseer of the Poor:
Turner Sheppard
Oliver Harmon, Jr. (LDS)

Fence Viewers:
Oliver Harmon, Jr. (LDS)
Lory Holmes
Nathan Hobart

Constables:
Jerome Bump (LDS)
Henry Green

Treasurer:
Lyman Pitcher

Justice of the Peace:
F.G. Williams (LDS)

Supervisors of the Highways:
Edmond Durfee (LDS)
Warren Smith (LDS)
Oliver Cowdery (LDS)
Benjamin Austin
---- Turner
Heman Hyde (LDS)
Benjamin Rupell
E.H. Crary
John Parks, Jr.
G.S. Pitcher
O.D. Call
John Swift
H.O. Stannard
Ebenezar Doty
Samuel Tomlinson
Oliver Harmon, Jr. (LDS)

April 1837 Election

Town Clerk:
Vinson Knight (LDS)

Trustees:
Reynolds Cahoon (LDS)
Simeon Wright
Caleb E. Cummings

Overseer of the Poor:
John Marton
Edmund Bosley (LDS)

School Examiners:
Thomas Burdick (LDS)
Warren A. Cowdery (LDS)
Elias Smith (LDS)

Fence Viewers:
Ezra Holmes
Ira Bond (LDS)
Jared Carter (LDS)

Constables:
James Markell
Burton Phelps (LDS)

Treasurer:
N.K. Whitney (LDS)

Justice of the Peace:
F.G. Williams (LDS)
Oliver Cowdery (LDS)

Supervisors of the Highways:
Isaac Bishop (LDS)
Franklin Redfield
Stephen Lapham
Gideon Carter (LDS)
Oliver Harmon, Jr. (LDS)
William Durrin
Chauncey Turner (LDS)
David White
Alden Burdick (LDS)
Ezekial Rider (LDS)
G.S. Pitcher
T.D. Martindale
Samuel Billings
James Randall (LDS)
E. Fairfield
J. Huntington
L. Thompson (LDS)
Benjamin Seeley

April 1838 Election

Town Clerk:
Alpheus Russell

Trustees:
Ezra Holmes
John Morse
John Shirts

Overseer of the Poor:
Seth Thompson
Lyman Pitcher

Fence Viewers:
Eliphalet Boynton (ALDS)
John Johnson, Jr. (ALDS)

Constables:
S. Frank
Luke Johnson (ALDS)

Treasurer:
Timothy D. Martindale

Justice of the Peace:
Warren A. Cowdery (ALDS)
Thomas Burdick (LDS)

Supervisors of the Highways:

Districts			
1	Solomon Webster	14	Gurdon Pitcher
2	William Foster	15	John D. Call
3	John Johnson, Jr. (ALDS)	16	John Sweet
4	Erastus Barber	17	Heman Hyde (ALDS)
5	Robert French	18	Jacob Kinney
6	Nathan Hobart	19	Jacob Bump (ALDS)
7	Turner Sheppard	20	James Whaley
8	F.P. Day	21	George Frank
9	Jedethan Ladd	22	Ira Sperry
10	Samuel Miller	23	William Manley
11	Erastus Crary	24	Ashbel Wright
12	Harvey Rockafellow	25	Samuel F. Booth
13	Samuel Heath		

APPENDIX IV

'Warnings-Out' of the Kirtland Mormons

SOURCE: Kirtland Township Minute Book, 1817-1837.

13 Jan 1831
1. Barnett Cole and Family
2. David Stratton and Family
3. Daniel Willard and Family
4. Harvey Whitlock and Family
5. Betsey Covert and Family
6. ? Johnson
7. Thomas Cahoon and Family
8. Elsey Clisbee
9. Simeon? Chase and Family
10. Sidney Rigdon and Family
11. H.D. Howe and Family
12. John Whitmer
13. Heman Bassett
14. Doctor Williams and Family
15. Mrs. Newton
16. Chapins and Family
17. Mrs. Cisco

Overseers of the Poor
1. Jotham Maynard
2. Asa Ayers Jr.

21 Oct 1833
1. William Barker and Family
2. Lewis Robbins
3. Hiram Stratton
4. Lucinda Bigelow and Family
5. Sylvester Smith and Family
6. John Smith and Family
7. Lyman Shermon and Family
8. Almon Shermon and Family
9. William B. Holley
10. Joseph Smith and Family
11. Joseph Smith Jr., and Family
12. Sydney Rigdon and Family
13. Hyrum Smith and Family
14. Zebedee Coltrin
15. John Murdock
16. Joseph Wood and Family
17. Samuel H. Smith and Family
18. David Patten and Family
19. Alexander Badlam and Family
20. Latters Seeley and Family
21. Harnel Howe
22. Alexander Whiteside

Overseers of the Poor

1. R.D. Cottrell
2. John Parks

Those not residing in Township when Writ is served:
1. Lewis Robbins
2. Zebedee Coltrin
3. John Murdock
4. Joseph Wood and Family
5. Hiram Stratton
6. David Patten and Family

October 1833
1. Gideon Carter and Family
2. Jared Carter and Family
3. Luman Carter and Family
4. Edson Fuller and Family
5. John Bird and Family
6. William Cowdery and Family
7. Leonard Rich and Family
8. John Johnson and Family
9. Joel Johnson
10. U.L. Davis and Family
11. In Reed and Family
12. Lyman Johnson and Family
13. Luke Johnson and Family
14. Levi Hancock and Family
15. Joseph Hancock and Family
16. Thomas Hancock
17. Moses Martin
18. Jedediah Grant
19. John Gander
20. Samuel Alger and Family
21. Jacob Bump
22. Mary Angel
23. Gladden Bishop and Family
24. Dowell (David?) Patten and Family
25. Martin Harris
26. Isaac G. Bishop
27. Giles Cook
28. Ira Ames

Overseers of the Poor
1. R.D. Cottrell
2. John Parks Writ served 20 Dec 1833

APPENDIX V

Tables

TABLE 1.1

NUMBER OF MOVES BY FAMILY WITHIN THE NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK AREAS, 1798-1839[1]

Number of Moves	Number	Percent
0	97	51
1	55	29
2	28	15
3+	10	5
Totals	190	100

SOURCE: Family Group Sheets collected from the Genealogical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

[1]Based upon the birthplace of the family's first child and that of the child either born in Kirtland or the child born prior to the family's moving there.

TABLE 1.2

MIGRATION FROM NEW YORK TO KIRTLAND

Years of Settlement	Number	Mean Coordinates	Median Coordinates	Median Miles
1810-1824	12	9.3	8.5	246
1825-1829	19	8.4	8.0	239
1830-1834	44	5.8	5.0	171

SOURCE: See Table 1.1.

TABLE 1.3

AGE AT BAPTISM

Age Cohort	Number	Percent
15-19	13	15.0
20-24	22	25.6
25-29	12	14.0
30-34	14	16.3
35-39	9	10.5
40+	16	18.6
Totals	86	100.0

SOURCE: Diaries, journals, autobiographies and family group sheets.

TABLE 1.4

EDUCATION

Level	Number	Percent
Little/Lower	15	22.7
Common/Elementary	48	72.7
Secondary	2	3.0
Some College	1	1.5
Graduate	0	0.0
Totals	66	100.0

SOURCE: See Table 1.3

TABLE 1.5

WEALTH OF CONVERTS[i]

Wealth Level[i]	Number	Percent
Poor	21	50.0
Moderate	12	28.6
Affluent	8	21.4
Totals	42	100.0

SOURCE: See Table 1.3.

[i]Due to the lack of actual dollar estimates of pre-Mormon wealth, the measurement is subjective. If the convert indicated in his diary that his early life was impoverished he was categorized as 'poor'. Likewise, if he indicated that his family was wealthy he was categorized as 'affluent'. Those that indicated neither extreme wealth nor poverty were classified as moderate.

TABLE 1.6

CONVERT'S RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BY THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF HIS PARENTS (In Percent)

Parental Affiliation	Convert's Affiliation						
	Unchurched	Meth	Bapt	Pres	CP[i]	Con	Other
Unchurched	80.0(8)	0	0	0	20.2(2)	0	0
Methodist	15.8(3)	63.2(12)	5.3(1)	0	15.8(3)	0	0
Baptist	37.5(3)	0	25.0(2)	0	37.5(3)	0	0
Presbyterian	9.1(1)	0	36.4(4)	36.4(4)	18.2(2)	0	0
CP	0	0	0	0	100.0	0	0
Con	40.0(2)	0	0	20.0(1)	0	40.0(2)	0
Other[ii]	0	0	0	16.7(1)	0	0	83.5(5)

SOURCE: See Table 1.3.

[i]CP stands for Christian Primitivist groups such as the Disciples of Christ, the Reformed Methodists, and the Reformed Baptists.

[ii]Other includes Universalist, Dutch Reformed, and the Church of England.

TABLE 1.7

CONVERT'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY THE
FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
(In Percent)

Father's Occupational Status	Convert's Occupational Status						
	Bus/Pro	MC	SK	CL	JR	SS	UnS
Business/Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Master Craftsman Manufacturer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shopkeeper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Journeyman Craftsman	0	0	0	10(1)	60(6)	30(3)	0
Labor/Semi-Skilled	2.9(1)	0	2.9(1)	14.7(5)	20.6(7)	58.8(20)	0
Unskilled	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

SOURCE: See Table 1.3.

TABLE 1.8

CONVERT'S AND FATHER'S
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Affiliation	Father's Number	Father's Percent	Convert's Number	Convert's Percent
Unchurched	10	15.2	21	26.9
Methodist	20	30.3	15	19.2
Presbyterian	11	16.7	8	10.3
Baptist	10	15.2	10	12.8
Reformed Baptist	0		11	14.1
Reformed Methodist	1	1.5	4	5.1
Campbellite	0		2	2.6
Universalist	3	4.5	2	2.6
Dutch Reformed	2	3.0	2	2.6
Congregationalist	5	7.6	2	2.6
Other[1]	4	6.0	1	1.3
Total	66	100.0	78	100.1

SOURCE: See Table 1.2.

[i]Other included Episcopal, Lutheran, and Church of England.

TABLE 1.9

REASONS FOR CONVERSION AS WRITTEN IN DIARY OR AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CONVERT

Reason	Number	Percent
Authority[i]	27	46.6
Book of Mormon	17	29.3
Spiritual Manifestations	8	13.7
Plainess of Doctrine[ii]	1	1.7
Primitive Simplicity	2	3.5
Impressed with Missionaries	3	5.2
Totals	58	100.0

SOURCE: See Table 1.3.

[i]Those who indicated in their writings that they joined the Church because of its Divine authority.

[ii]Individuals who recorded that they were convinced of the Church's authority because the doctrine could be easily understood.

TABLE 1.10

RATIO OF SEEKERS' TO ALL CONVERTS'
PLACE OF CONVERSION

Conversion Location	Seeker Number	Seeker Percent	Member Number	Member Percent	Ratio
Vermont	5	9.6	9	11.3	.56
New York	23	44.2	31	38.8	.74
Massachusetts	4	7.7	6	7.5	.67
New Hampshire	1	1.9	1	1.3	1.00
Ohio	17	32.7	25	31.3	.68
Other	2	3.9	8	10.0	.25
Totals	52	100.0	80	100.1	

SOURCE: See Table 1.3.

TABLE 1.11

SEEKERS' RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Affiliation	Number	Percent
Unchurched	16	30.2
Methodist	6	11.3
Presbyterian	4	7.5
Baptist	7	13.2
Reformed Baptist	11	20.8
Reformed Methodist	3	5.7
Campbellite	2	3.8
Other[1]	4	7.5
Totals	53	100.0

SOURCE: See Table 1.3.

[i]Other included Episcopal, Universalist, and Church of England.

TABLE 2.1

KIRTLAND TOWNSHIP POPULATION, 1830-1840

Year	Total Population	Non-Mormon	Mormon
1830	1,018 (Census)	963	55
1831	1,120	1,050	70
1832	1,170	1,070	100
1833	1,350	1,200	150
1834	1,540	1,140	400
1835	2,040	1,140	900
1836	2,550	1,250	1,300
1837	3,030	1,230	1,800
1838	3,230	1,230	2000
1839	1,600	1,500	100
1840	1,778 (Census)	1,653	125

SOURCE: Milton V. Backman, The Heavens Resound, A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), p. 140.

TABLE 2.2

MORMON AND NON-MORMON TOWN OFFICERS
KIRTLAND TOWNSHIP 1830-1839

Year	MAJOR OFFICES[i]				MINOR OFFICES[i]			
	Mormon #	%	Non-Mormon #	%	Mormon #	%	Non-Mormon #	%
1830	0	--	12	100	0	--	17	100
1831	0	--	11	100	0	--	17	100
1832	0	--	12	100	1	5	17	95
1833	0	--	12	100	0	--	20	100
1834	3	23	10	77	2	8	22	92
1835	2	18	9	82	7	29	17	71
1836[iii]	4	36	7	64	5	31	11	69
1837	12	71	5	29	8	44	10	56
1838[iv]	1	8	12	92	1	4	24	96
1839	0	--	11	100	0	--	26	100

SOURCE: Kirtland Township Poll Book, 1817-1839.

[i]Major offices included a town clerk, treasurer, three trustees, overseers of the poor, fence viewers, constables, and justices of the peace.

[ii]Minor offices are defined as supervisors of the highways.

[iii]In 1836, Oliver Harmon Jr., was elected as an Overseer of the Poor, as one of two Fence Viewers, and as one of the Supervisors of the Highway.

[iv]In 1838, five apostate Mormons were elected to one of the town offices.

TABLE 2.3

WEALTH DISTRIBUTION OF THE KIRTLAND COMMUNITY, 1830-1839[i]
(In Percent)

Year	Status	1[ii]	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Number of Families Taxed	Total Percent
1830	NM	0.8	0.8	---	1.6	2.4	4.0	4.0	10.3	19.8	56.3	123	100.0
	LDS	---	---	---	---	---	---	25.0	---	---	75.0	9	100.0
1832	NM	0.7	0.7	2.0	2.0	0.7	4.0	6.0	7.3	20.3	56.7	150	100.0
	LDS	9.1	---	---	---	---	---	9.0	9.1	9.1	63.6	11	100.0
1833	NM	1.7	0.6	0.6	1.7	---	2.9	4.0	12.1	16.8	59.5	173	100.0
	LDS	---	---	8.3	8.3	---	---	8.3	8.3	8.3	58.3	12	100.0
1834	NM	1.2	1.2	0.6	1.2	1.8	1.2	6.0	7.8	17.4	61.7	167	100.0
	LDS	2.7	---	---	---	---	---	5.4	2.7	5.4	83.8	37	100.0
1835	NM	0.6	0.6	1.2	0.6	3.6	3.0	7.1	14.8	18.9	49.7	169	100.0
	LDS	---	1.5	---	---	1.5	1.5	1.5	8.8	8.8	76.5	68	100.0
1836	NM	1.0	1.0	---	0.5	4.6	2.1	8.2	13.4	18.0	51.0	194	100.0
	LDS	0.9	---	---	0.9	---	1.9	0.9	5.7	3.8	85.8	106	100.0
1837	NM	0.5	---	0.5	1.0	1.5	3.0	3.0	16.6	13.1	60.8	199	100.0
	LDS	---	0.6	---	0.6	0.6	1.2	0.6	3.4	4.6	88.5	174	100.0
1838	NM	0.5	0.5	---	0.5	1.0	2.5	5.0	10.0	18.5	61.5	200	100.0
	LDS	0.6	---	---	---	0.6	0.6	1.8	3.7	3.7	89.0	163	100.0
1839	NM	0.4	---	0.8	---	1.2	2.9	2.5	12.0	17.0	63.1	241	100.0
	LDS	---	1.0	---	---	---	1.9	---	3.8	2.9	90.4	104	100.0

SOURCE: Geauga County, Real and Personal Property Owners' Tax List, 1830-1840, in Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[i]All of the taxpayers were ranked in the order of personal and property taxes assessed. After this ranking was completed, the wealth was divided into ten equal division, showing the percentage taxpayers in each wealth category. (Division 1 being the wealthiest; 10 the poorest.)

[ii]Excluding known speculators and those who did not pay a personal property tax.

TABLE 2.4

NON-MORMON WEALTH CONCENTRATION 1827, 1830-1839[i]

Year	Quintiles 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Gini[ii] Coefficient
1827	65.1	22.1	8.8	3.4	1.5	$30,612	0.614
1830	57.0	23.4	12.5	4.8	2.2	33,779	0.553
1832	60.9	22.3	10.5	4.5	1.6	42,534	0.573
1833	61.3	23.1	10.3	3.6	1.9	47,736	0.602
1834	60.8	21.1	10.5	5.4	2.2	46,642	0.562
1835	55.6	25.8	12.9	4.1	1.6	52,100	0.543
1836	56.4	25.7	12.2	4.3	1.5	55,379	0.550
1837	56.4	25.2	10.5	6.0	1.9	51,471	0.540
1838	57.6	23.1	13.0	4.8	1.3	79,158	0.554
1839	60.1	23.0	10.3	5.1	1.5	51,608	0.572

SOURCE: Wealth concentration data, turnover ratio data, from Geauga County, Real and Personal Property Owners' Tax List, 1832, 1839, in Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[i]All of the Mormon and non-Mormon taxpayers who paid a real and personal property tax were ranked in the order of the amount of taxes assessed. After the ranking was completed, they were divided into five equal divisions (quintiles), and the total share of all taxes paid by each division was calculated.

[ii]The Gini Coefficient of concentration is a more precise means of comparing the relative inequality within communities. The coefficient or (G) vaires between 0.0 if all landholders had the same amount of land (wealth) and 1.0 if one landholder had all the land.

TABLE 2.5

MORMON WEALTH CONCENTRATION 1835-1839[i]
(In Percent)

Year	Quintiles 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Gini Coefficient
1835	69.7	16.0	8.8	4.4	1.2	$11,338	0.632
1836	67.7	16.6	10.3	4.5	1.9	13,524	0.615
1837	65.5	14.9	10.9	6.6	1.9	20,785	0.586
1838	72.9	14.7	7.8	3.2	1.4	17,549	0.667
1839	84.5	8.8	3.3	2.0	1.3	9,235	0.753

SOURCE: For Mormon wealth concentration data, see Table 2.4 for source.

[i]As in Table 2.4, the wealth was divided into quintiles.

TABLE 2.6

NON-MORMON WEALTH CONCENTRATION BY ACRES OF LAND 1827, 1830-1839
(In Percent)

Year	Quintiles 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Gini Coefficient
1827	69.8	22.5	5.8	1.6	0.0	7,200	0.691
1830	58.5	25.8	13.8	5.9	0.7	6,944	0.589
1832	58.0	29.2	11.0	1.3	0.1	7,630	0.597
1833	58.7	29.4	10.9	0.6	0.5	8,720	0.600
1834	58.7	29.1	11.7	0.9	0.5	9,111	0.588
1835	57.9	26.7	14.4	0.87	0.2	9,827	0.587
1836	57.6	29.0	12.4	0.9	0.5	10,000	0.597
1837	64.5	25.6	8.6	0.9	0.5	8,716	0.628
1838	63.6	27.9	5.9	2.0	0.7	7,743	0.639
1839	62.3	31.6	4.0	1.3	0.8	8,878	0.636

SOURCE: For wealth concentration data, see Table 2.4 for source.

As in Table 2.4, the wealth was divided into quintiles.

TABLE 2.7

MORMON WEALTH CONCENTRATION BY ACRES OF LAND, 1835-1839[i]

Year	Quintiles 1	2	3	4	5	Land Total	Gini Coefficient
1835	70.7	17.8	0.72	0.60	0.1	1,141	0.760
1836	94.4	4.3	0.15	0.77	0.3	1,299	0.808
1837	90.1	1.8	6.60	1.18	0.4	2,405	0.850
1838	81.1	11.0	6.60	1.02	1.0	3,329	0.729
1839	83.6	12.0	2.40	0.89	1.1	1,768	0.766

SOURCE: See Table 2.4 for source.

[i]As in Table 2.4, the wealth was divided into quintiles.

TABLE 2.8

AVERAGE-SIZE FARM AT KIRTLAND, 1830-1839

Year	Estimated[i] Mormon Families	Total[ii] Acre	Average Acre Owned	Estimated Non-Mormon Families	Total Acre	Mean
1830	7	132.00	18.86	161	6,944	143.10
1832	17	146.5	8.62	178	7,630	42.87
1833	29	250.75	8.65	200	8,719.75	43.60
1834	71	500.20	7.05	190	9,111.00	47.95
1835	164	1,141.25	6.96	190	9,827	51.72
1836	236	1,299.25	5.51	208	10,020	48.17
1837	316	2,404.57	7.61	205	8,716	42.52
1838	357	3,329.02	9.32	205	7,743	37.77
1839	15	1,968.00	131.20	250	8,878	35.51

SOURCE: Geauga County, Ohio, "Land and Personal Property Tax Records, 1830-1839."

[i]The estimated Mormon families was determined by dividing the population figures of Table 2.1 by the average family size as determined from the family group sheets. The determination of the non-Mormon estimated families was done by using the average family size for 1820, 1830, and 1840. This number was then divided into the non-Mormon population figure of Table 2.1.

[ii]The total acres was determined from both Land and Personal Property tax records.

[iii]Average acres for Mormons and non-Mormons were established by dividing the total acres owned by the estimated number of families.

TABLE 2.9

LAND DISTRIBUTION OF THE KIRTLAND MORMON COMMUNITY, 1835-1838

Year	200+	100-199	50-99	20-49	10-19	1-9	Less Than 1	Number of Families Taxed
1835	0.0	7.4	10.3	4.4	1.5	13.2	63.2	68
1836	0.0	5.7	7.6	2.8	0.9	7.6	75.5	106
1837	1.7	3.5	3.5	9.2	4.6	10.3	67.2	174
1838	1.8	3.7	3.7	9.8	4.9	27.6	48.5	163

SOURCE: Geauga County, Real and Personal Property Owners' Tax List, 1835-1838, in Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

TABLE 2.10

THE GROWTH RATE OF NON-MORMON AND MORMON KIRTLAND, 1830-1839
(In Percent)

Years	Non-Mormons[i]	Mormon
1830-1832	+23.6%	+100.0%
1832-1833	+ 5.9%	+ 22.2%
1833-1834	- 4.9%	+208.3%
1834-1835	+ 5.1%	+ 83.8%
1835-1836	- 3.5%	+ 55.9%
1836-1837	- 9.3%	+ 64.2%
1837-1838	+18.3%	- 11.0%
1838-1839	+10.0%	- 36.2%

SOURCE: Geauga County, Real and Personal Property Owner's Tax List, 1830-1840, Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[i]The number of non-Mormon families used in the measurement was calculated by subtracting those who did not persist during a given year from the total number of families taxed during that year. Thus, in 1833, 175 families were taxed minus the 29 taxed families that did not persist equaled 144 families. The 144 families were then used in calculating the growth rate.

TABLE 2.11

KIRTLAND LAND PRICES IN CURRENT DOLLARS, 1830-1839

Year	Current Dollars
1830	6.54
1831	5.77
1832	7.24
1833	11.18
1834	16.21
1835	15.75
1836	25.59
1837	44.48
1838	25.59
1839	17.53

SOURCE: Marvin Hill, C. Keith Rooker, Larry T. Wimmer, The Kirtland Economy Revisited, A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics, (Provo: Brigham Young Universtiy Press, 1977), p. 21.

TABLE 2.12

NON-MORMON PERSISTENCE, 1827-1839[i]
(In Percent)

Year	Number	Persistence	Non-Persistence
1827	13/123	89.5	10.5
1830	18/128	86.0	14.0
1832	14/150	90.7	9.3
1833	29/173	83.2	16.8
1834	30/167	82.0	18.0
1835	25/169	85.2	14.8
1836	56/194	71.6	28.4
1837	73/199	63.3	36.7
1838	51/200	74.5	25.5
1839	42/205	79.6	20.4

SOURCE: Persistence data, from Geauga County, Real and Personal Property Owner's Tax List, 1830-1840, in Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[i]Persistence is the measure of how many people left the tax list during a given year. For example, in 1833, 83.2 percent of the population remained in Kirtland, while 16.8 percent emmigrated.

TABLE 2.13

NON-MORMON TURNOVER RATIO, 1832-1839[i]

Year	Incoming/Outgoing	Ratio
1832	39/14	2.79
1833	36/29	1.24
1834	25/30	0.83
1835	28/25	1.12
1836	51/56	0.91
1837	56/73	0.77
1838	72/51	1.41
1839	89/42	2.12

SOURCE: Turnover Ratio data, from Geauga County, Real and Personal Property Owners' Tax List, 1832-1839, in Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[i]The turnover ratio demonstrates the number of people who are entering an area versus those who are leaving.

TABLE 2.14

NON-MORMON SOCIAL MOBILITY
1827, 1834-1839[1]
(In Percent)

Years	Upward	Downward	Stable	Families on Tax List	Total
1827-1828	22.7	10.0	67.3	110	100.0
1834-1835	26.2	11.8	62.0	137	100.0
1835-1836	13.8	4.8	81.4	145	100.0
1836-1837	24.1	10.6	65.3	141	100.0
1837-1838	21.8	10.5	67.7	124	100.0
1838-1839	17.1	10.3	72.6	146	100.0

SOURCE: See Table 2.11 for source. Appendix B contains the tables from which the above data is based.

[i]All of the non-Mormons were ranked in the order of personal and real property assessment. After the ranking was completed, they were divided into five divisions and compared to the subsequent year. If an individual changed to a higher category, he was considered to be upwards mobile; if he changed to a lower category, he was downwardly mobile. If there was no change in his category from one year to the next, he was considered to be stable.

TABLE 2.15

NON-MORMON NON-PERSISTERS' WEALTH DISTRIBUTION[i], 1827, 1835-1839

Year	1	2	3	4	5	Total Number
1827	7.7	30.8	15.4	7.7	38.7	13
1830	11.1	5.6	11.1	27.8	44.4	18
1832	---	14.3	21.4	7.1	57.1	14
1833	3.5	6.9	10.3	31.0	34.5	29
1834	10.0	6.7	23.3	20.0	43.3	30
1835	---	---	8.0	56.0	36.0	25
1836	8.9	10.7	16.1	26.8	37.5	56
1837	8.2	8.2	21.9	31.5	30.1	73
1838	8.9	5.9	17.6	35.3	37.3	51
1839	7.1	7.1	26.2	33.3	26.2	42

SOURCE: For wealth distribution data, from Geauga County, Real and Personal Property Owners' Tax List, 1827-1839, in Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[i]All of the non-Mormons who left Kirtland during the year specified were ranked in the order of personal and real tax assessed. After the ranking was completed, they were divided into five divisions, showing the percentage of wealth in each category. (1 being the highest; 5 being the lowest.)

TABLE 2.16

NON-MORMON NEWCOMERS' WEALTH
DISTRIBUTION[1], 1835-1838
(In Percent)

Year	1	2	3	4	5	Total Number
1835	3.7	3.7	7.4	33.3	41.8	27
1836	8.1	2.0	10.2	26.6	53.1	49
1837	3.3	6.7	13.4	43.4	33.4	60
1838	6.3	8.9	18.9	30.4	35.4	79

SOURCE: Wealth distribution data, from Geauga County, Real and Personal Property Owners' Tax List, 1835-1838, in Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[i]All of the non-Mormons who had moved into Kirtland during the year specified were ranked in the order of personal and real tax assessed. After the ranking was completed, they were divided into five divisions, showing the percentage of wealth in each category. (1 being the highest; 5 being the lowest.)

TABLE 3.1

POST-MIGRATION PATTERNS OF THE KIRTLAND SAINTS, 1837-1838

Locations Where Mormons Lived After 1838	Probable[i] Kirtland Saints, Total=329	%	Possible[ii] Kirtland Saints, Total=127	%	Total[iii] Saints Total=456	%
Apostates	50	15.2	33	2.4	53	11.6
1. Church Leaders	14	4.3	--	---	--	---
2. Other Members	36	10.9	--	---	--	---
Missouri	227	69.0	97	76.0	327	71.
Nauvoo and Vicinity	250	76.0	65	51.0	315	69.0
Missouri, Nauvoo, and Vicinity, or Both	273	83.0	111	87.0	384	84.0
Kirtland (1840)[iv]	13	4.0	1	1.0	14	3.0
Utah or Plains[v]	148	45.0	28	22.0	176	39.0
Total (Individuals on Any One of Above Lists)	290	88.0	109	86.0	399	87.5

SOURCE: Journals, Diaries, Autobiographies, and family group sheets.

[i]Probable Saints are those actually identified as living in Kirtland.

[ii]Possible Saints were members who were either traveling through or living near Kirtland.

[iii]Heads of households.

[iv]Kirtland Census of 1840.

[v]Those who either died enroute to Salt Lake City, or were in Nebraska or Iowa during the Mormon trek west.

NOTES

[1]Eva L. Pancoast, "Mormons at Kirtland," (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Western Reserve University, 1929); Milton V. Backman, Jr., The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983).

[2]Anyone knowledgeable in the field of Mormon history will observe that my thinking was stimulated by Marvin Hill, C. Keith Rooker, and Larry Wimmer's work, The Kirtland Economy Revisited, (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977).

CHAPTER I

The Social Origins of the Kirtland Mormons

[1]History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio (Evansville, Indiana: Unigraphics Inc., 1973), p. 248.

[2]For a more extensive discussion on the rise of Mormonism in its New York setting, see Larry C. Porter, "A Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831" (Ph.D. Dissertation, College of Religious Instruction, Brigham Young University, 1971). For two interpretive articles on the New York period, see Leonard J. Arrington, "Mormonism: From Its New York Beginnings," New York History 41 (October 1980): pp. 387-410; Larry C. Porter, "The Church in New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831," in F. Mark McKeirnan et. al., ed., The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History, (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1979), pp. 27-61.

[3]See Mark Leone, Roots of Modern Mormonism (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 10-16, Klaus Hansen, Quest For Empire, The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of the Fifty in Mormon History (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), p. viii; Klaus Hansen, Mormonism in the American Experience (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 45-83; Mario De Pillis, "The Social Sources of Mormonism," Church History 37 (May 1968): 55-57; Gordon S. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism." New York History 41 (October 1980): 359-386; Marvin S. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," BYU Studies 9 (Spring 1969): 354; Marvin Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830-1844," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 4-5; and William Mulder, "The Mormons in American History," Utah Historical Quarterly 27 (January 1959): 59-77.

[4]Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District, the Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York: Harper and Row, 1950), pp. 88-109; Mario De Pillis, "Social Sources," p. 79. Both have argued that rural backgrounds were a distinctive trait of the Mormon convert. This study finds that approximately two-thirds of the conversion locations were rural areas with over fifty-percent of the converts being farmers. However, as eighty-percent of American work force was engaged in agriculture during the 1830s,

what does this really tell us about Mormons? Are there more Mormon converts from rural areas than those of other denominations? Religious historians have long maintained that the agrarian areas were breeding grounds for sectarianism and revivalism and hence, a catalyst for Mormonism. Yet as works by Paul Johnson, A Shopkeeper's Millenium, Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), pp. 15-61, and Paul Faler, "Cultural Aspects of the Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts's Shoemakers and Industrial Morality, 1826-1860," Labor History 15 (Summer 1974): 367-399, point out, revivalism had little to do with rural maturation or agrarianism. Both see revivalism as a tool employed by an urban ruling elite to maintain supervision and insure an orderly and efficient working class. For other alternatives to the rural thesis, see Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 60-104; Glen C. Altshuler and Jan M. Saltzgaber, Revivalism, Social Conscience, and Community in the Burned-over District, The Trial of Rhoda Bement (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 15-77, 143-169.

[5]Hansen, "American Experience," pp. 63-68; Hill, "Christian Primitivism," pp. 37-79; wood, "Evangelical America," pp. 375-384.

[6]Lawerence Foster, Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 10-14, 123-180; Foster "Between Heaven and Earth," Sunstone 7 (July-August 1982): 7-13.

[7]Cross, Burned-over District, pp. 3-109, 138-150.

[8]De Pillis, "Social Sources," pp. 61-72. For works which attempt to tie the birth of Mormonism to the 'Frontier Thesis,' see Dean C. McBrien, "The Influence of the Frontier on Joseph Smith," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, George Washington University, 1929); Milton R. Hunter, The Mormons and the American Frontier, (Salt Lake City: LDS Department of Education, 1940); Alexander Evanhoff; "The Turner Thesis and Mormon Beginnings in New York and Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly 33 (Spring 1965): 157-173.

[9]De Pillis expands the concept of religious authority in his work, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," Dialogue, (Fall 1966): 68-88.

[10]Marvin Hill, "The Rise of Mormonism in the Burned-Over District: Another View," New York History 41 (October 1980): 426.

[11]Lawrence Yorgason, "Some Demographic Aspects of One Hundred Early Mormon converts, 1830-1837," (M.S. Thesis, Department of History, Brigham Young University, 1974), attempted some analysis, but admittedly the information was limited and questionable representative of some 8,000 converts located in Ohio and Missouri.

The following table demonstrated the large amount of Kirtland Saints born in New York and New England (seventy-eight percent of the total). This provided the impetus for using this area in examining pre-conversion migration. However, it should be noted that the Church members at Kirtland may not be representative of the entire Church membership during this time.

BIRTHPLACES OF THE KIRTLAND SAINTS

State	Male	Female	Combined	Percent of Total	
New York	264	156	108	31.8	
Massachusetts	126	82	44	15.1	
Vermont	102	64	44	12.3	78%
New Hampshire	66	37	29	8.0	From
Connecticut	66	37	29	8.0	New
Maine	24	13	11	2.9	England
					and
Canada	42	23	19	5.0	New
Ohio	33	18	15	4.0	York
Pennsylvania	33	15	18	4.0	
England	19	6	13	2.3	
All Others	55	36	19	6.6	
Totals	830	487	343	100.0	

SOURCE: Biographies, Autobiographies and Family Group Sheets.

[12]The majority of the biographical data was available in the Genealogical Library and the Church Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The "family group sheet" is kept by the Church and contains data about each family member from birth, marriage, and death records as contained in various diaries, journals, and family histories. For

this migration study, four-hundred and twenty of these group sheets were found for the Kirtland membership. From this group, one hundred and ninety or 22 percent of the 836 members were reconstituted based on their nativity data and that of their first child's being from either New York or the New England Area.

[13]Walter Nugent, Structures of American Social History, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), p. 70, writing of the land rush into Vermont, draws the conclusion:

> By 1810, thirty years after the first mass waves of settlers, their sons and daughters were in much the same position as the emigrants from Massachusetts were a generation before. The choices were to stay on the family farm, probably subdividing it, where resources would not easily extend at the same level to themselves and a third generation, or to find new land on a new frontier. But again, new land there was, 50 or 100 miles away in New York, easily reachable, timbered, well-watered, less remote, and usually more fertile than Vermont. As land prices rose in Vermont out-migration began...even as in-migration was still going on.

[14]D.W. Meinig, "Geography of Expansion, 1785-1855," in Geography of New York State, John Henry Thompson, ed., (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1977), p. 145.

[15]Meinig, "Expansion," p. 144.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Andrew W. Young, History of Chautaugua County, New York: From Its First Settlement to the Present Time (New York: Matthews and Warner, 1875), pp. 446, 535.

[18]Joel Hills Johnson, "A Journal or Sketch of the Life of Joel Hills Johnson," (TS, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, hereafter cited as Special Collections), pp. 1-3. Land Records of Pomfret Township note Ezekial and Joel as original purchasers (1824 and 1825 respectively).

[19]Ibid., p. 3.

[20]Meinig, p. 144. Kirtland membership records show that over sixty-percent of the converts shared a common surname. For further work on kinship ties relating to migration, conversion, and position within the Mormon

Church Hierarchy, see D. Michael Quinn, "Organizational and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: A Prosopographical Study" (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Utah, 1973).

[21]Luman Andros Shurtliff, "The Journal of Luman A. Shurtliff," (TS, Special Collections), pp. 1-12.

[22]De Pillis, "Social Sources," p. 78.

[23]It is possible that historians often draw the conclusion that since Joseph Smith was a transient so were the bulk of the Mormons. However, only Smith and his father had made a significant amount of moves (Smith with 7 and 14 for his father).

[24]Yorgason, "One Hundred Converts," pp. 28-29, has argued that since the parents of these converts migrated more often than their children, this parental migration should be taken into account as part of the convert's migratory experience. Thus, he demonstrated an average of two moves per convert. Of the 190 reconstituted families, 59 (31 percent) of them could trace parental migrations. Using the Pearson Correlation Coefficient, the association between parental moves and that of the convert children are negligible (-.077) at the .05 level of significance. Neither does there seem to be a correlation between the number of moves and the changes in religious affiliation as seventy-eight percent of the converts and eighty percent of their parents who moved did not change religions. Of the convert's parents who did change religions, seventeen percent of their sons did likewise. Based upon these measurements, it would be difficult to label the children as transients.

[25]The Child-Step ladder method was introduced by Barnes Lathrop, in his study, Migration into East Texas (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1949). In this study, persistence was measured based upon the length of time a pre-Mormon convert stayed within a geographical area (a county), the mother's birth interval, and the child born in Kirtland.

[26]New York census records of 1800 revealed about 100,000 inhabitants west of the old colonial region besides the 10,000 in the Champlain area. By 1810, these totals increased to about 300,000 and 50,000 and in 1820, there were over 700,000 in the regions after the Revolution. After 1820, it was just a matter of filling in the overall pattern already established.

[27]Hill, "Burned-Over District," p. 420. While the ultimate causes of conversion and supernatural experiences are beyond the scope of social history,

understanding the social processes in conversion does not say that there are no supernatural or ideological influences involved. Certainly those who believe in an Omnipotent God must also believe that He can work through social processes and environmental influences which would appear natural to the detached social scientist or historian. See David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962), pp. 421-444.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Wood, "Evangelical America," pp. 361-365; Foster, "Between Heaven and Earth," p. 7; Ryan, Cradle, pp. 7-17; Johnson, Millenium, pp. 95-115.

[30]Ryan, Cradle, pp. 54-59, 102.

[31]Ibid., pp. 56-59, 72. This trend can be seen in the large numbers (32 percent) of Mormon converts who worked in a different occupation than their fathers. Notice that there are twenty-three percent fewer sons who are employed on farms. For an excellent work which deals with the effect of of the Industrial Revolution on occupational and social mobility, see Franklin F. Mendels, "Social Mobility and Phases of Industrialization," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 7 (Autumn 1976): 193-216.

CONVERTS' AND THEIR FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Father Number	Percent	Convert Number	Percent
Farmer	38	80.9	43	58.1
Miller	5	10.6	6	8.1
Shoemaker	2	4.3	1	1.2
Sailor	1	2.1	0	0.0
Other[i]	1	2.1	24	32.5
Totals	47	100.0	74	100.0

SOURCE: See Table 3.

[i]These occupations include teacher, hatter, tanner, carpenter, lawyer, clerk, Thomsonian Doctor, doctor, merchant, and minister.

[32]See George Rogers Taylor, The Transportation Revolution (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1951), pp. 207-228.

[33]Ryan, Cradle, pp. 56-57, 64.

[34]William McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 1-23; Foster, "Between Heaven and Earth," pp. 8-9; Hansen, American Experience, pp. 46-47.

[35]McLoughlin, Revivals, p. 10.

[36]Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist 58 (1956): 266-267.

[37]Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," p. 267: McLoughlin, Revivals, pp. 12-20.

[38]Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," p. 269.

[39]McLoughlin, Revivals, p. 12.

[40]Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," pp. 269-270.

[41]Wood, "Evangelical America," pp. 363-367.

[42]Ibid, pp. 361-364.

[43]McLoughlin, Revivals, p. 21; Donald G. Matthews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis," American Quarterly 21 (Spring 1969), p. 27, argues that the Second Great Awakening and revivalism had little to do with religious issues but rather it was an organizing process that, "helped to give meaning and direction to people suffering in various degrees from the social strains of a nation on the move into new political, economic, and geographical areas." Two recent works using this thesis are Johnson's Shopkeeper's Millenium, expecially Chapter five, and Ryan's, Cradle of the Middle Class, p. 1-95. See also Faler, "Cultural Aspects of the Industrial Revolution," p. 370.

[44]Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," pp. 267-268; McLoughlin, Revivals, p. 14.

[45]Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," pp. 270-275.

[46]McLoughlin, Revivals, pp. 16-23.

[47]Hansen, American Experience, pp. 1-4; Donna Hill, Joseph Smith, The First Mormon, (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1977), pp. 15-50; Hill, "Christian Primitivism," pp. 37-51.

[48]"Kirtland Letter Book," (MS, Church HIstorian's Office hereafter cited as CHO), 1835-1839, pp. 1-3.

[49]Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[50]Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. by B.H. Roberts, 7 volumes, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 1: 11-12.

[51]Ibid, pp. 11-13.

[52]Klaus Hansen, Quest, pp. xii-xv, 3-23; Hill, "Christain Primitivism," especially Chapter 2; Hill, "Shaping of the Mormon Mind," pp. 351-372; Hansen, "American Experience," pp. 51-52; Warren Jennings, "The City in the Garden: Social Conflict In Jackson County, Missouri," in F. Mark McKiernan, et. al., The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History, (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1979), pp. 99-119.

[53]Of the fifty-eight conversion accounts which could be found, nineteen or thirty-two percent recorded various tension forming crises. Considering that many

of the accounts were written years after the conversion experience, it is significant that these crises were recorded at all.

[54]McLoughlin, Revivals, p. 12.

[55]Joel Hills Johnson, "Journal," p. 1.

[56]Ibid., p. 2.

[57]Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid., p. 3.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid., p. 4.

[62]Ibid., p. 5.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid., pp. 5-7.

[67]According to the Chautaugua County Census of 1840, commerce and manufaturing made up fifty-three percent of the labor force in the Pomfret area. Furthermore, apporximately seventy-five percent less homespun cloth was produced in 1845 than in 1825. See also, Taylor, Transportation Revolution, pp. 211-220.

[68]New York State Census, 1825.

[69]See Table below:

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE POMFRET AREA, 1825-1835

Mobility	Number	Percent
Upward	38	70.4
Downward	8	14.8
No Change	8	14.8
Totals	54	100.0

SOURCE: New York State Census, Chautaugua County, 1825 and 1835.

[70]Joel Hills Johnson, "Journal," pp. 2-3.

WEALTH DISTRIBUTION OF POMFRET, 1825
(In Acres of Land)

Wealth Distribution	Number	Percent
0	93	17.2
1-9	155	28.5
10-19	103	19.0
20-49	147	27.1
50-99	35	6.5
100-199	9	1.6
200+	0	0.0
Totals	542	99.9

SOURCE: New York State Census, Chautaugua County, 1825.

[71]Benjamin F. Johnson, My Life's Review, (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co.), pp. 8-10; Joel Hills Johnson, "Journal," p. 2.

[72]Benjamin Johnson, Life Review, p. 8.

[73]Ibid., p. 12. Benjamin recalls that previous to the Mormon missionaries arrival in Pomfret, Ezekial was working in the village of Fredonia (northeast section of Pomfret), as a carpenter undoubtedly leaving Julia and the children to handle the fifty-five acre farm.

[74]Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[75]Ibid., pp. 13-15. Prior to Ezekial's leaving and against his wishes, Julia and some of the older children were baptized into the Mormon Church.

[76]Ibid., p. 20. Benjamin writes that, his mother left only after not hearing from Ezekial as it undoubtedly appeared that he had deserted her. Eventually, Ezekial moved to Kirtland and lived separate from the family because of "his continued unbelief, opposition to the truth, and intemperence."

[77]Ibid., p. 8. On the disharmony at home, Benjamin sadly writes,

> ...yet the fiend of unhappiness had entered our home to break the bonds of union between our parents and to destroy the happiness of their children. In looking back over my childhood it almost seemed that I was born a child of sorrow, for such was my love for both my parents that because of the troubles and unhappiness my heart would almost seem to burst with sorrow and grief, and a feeling always seemed with me to wish that I had died at my birth, or that I had never been born."

[78]Benjamin Brown, "Testimonies for the Truth," (TS, Special Collections), pp. 2-4.

[79]Ibid., p. 7.

[80]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[81]Ibid., p. 8.

[82]Ibid., p. 8-9.

[83]Ibid., p. 9-13.

[84]Joseph Bates Noble, "The Journal of Joseph Bates Noble," (TS, Church Archives), pp. 3-4.

[85]Ibid., p. 1.

[86]Ibid., pp. 1-3.

[87]Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[88]Mormons were not post-millenialists but believed in the imminent return of Jesus Christ. The concept of Mormon kingdom building is thoroughly discussed in Klaus Hansen's The Quest For Empire, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967).

[89]Sylvester J. Matthews, The Antiquarian, (Auburn, New York) tabloid dated January 18, 1902.

[90]Henry Hall, History of Auburn, (Auburn, New York, 1869), pp. 120-22; Richard F. Palmer and Karl D. Butler, Brigham Young, The New York Years, (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books), pp. 11-40.

[91]Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," presented serially in Latter-day Saints Millenial Star, 132 volumes. (Manchester and Liverpool: Latter-day Saint Book Depot, 1840-1870), 25: 423.

[92]Ibid.

[93]Ibid., 25: 424.

[94]Luman A. Shurtliff, "Journal," p. 8.

[95]Ibid., pp. 7, 12.

[96]Ibid., p. 11.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Ibid., p. 12.

[99]Ibid.

[100]Ibid., p. 13.

[101]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[102]Ibid., pp. 17-25.

[103]Of the surnames, 418 of 691 (60.4 percent) were shared by two or more heads of households.

[104]Seventy-percent of the converts moved one or less times. Similarly, seventy-eight percent did not change religious affiliation prior to their conversion to Mormonism.

[105]For a contrasting work on the Mormons' reasons for conversion, see Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-1852," Journal of Mormon History 4 (1977): 59-65.

[106]These fifty-eight journals of Mormon heads of household represent about fourteen percent of all Mormon heads of household (58 of 415).

[107]For recent study of the effects of status inconsistency on religious commitment which demonstrates that there was a high correlation between sect-like religiosity and lower-social status person, see M.S. Sasaki, "Status Inconsistency and Religious Commitment," in Robert Wuthenow, ed., The Religious Dimension: New Directions in Quantitative Research (New York: Academics, 1979), pp. 152-154. Wayne A. Meeks, in a recent social history of the early Christians, argues that a status inconsistent person was perhaps the most likely to join the early Christian sects. See Wayne Meeks The First Urban Christians, The Social World of the Apostle Paul (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 55. N.J. Demerath III, in his work Social Class in American Protestantism (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 137, on sect-like religiosity makes the distinction between those who join established churches, and religious sects: "To the church-type, the religious experience is valuable in his reinforcement of secular values. To the sect-type, religion is important as alternative orientation."

CHAPTER II

The Impact of the Mormon Emmigration on

Kirtland, Ohio, 1830-1839

[1]United States Bureau of the Census, 5th Census of the United States: 1830 Population. (Washington D.C.: Duff Greene, 1832), pp. 118-143. Kirtland township had 1018 citizens compared to Cleveland's 1074.

[2]For the most detailed analysis of the Mormon's impact on Kirtland, see Marvin S. Hill, C. Keith Rooker, and Larry T. Wimmer, The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977).

[3]United States Bureau of the Census, 6th Census of the United States: 1840 Population. (Washington D.C.: Blair and Rives, 1841, pp. 289-344. Kirtland's 1830s population was 1018 compared to its 1840 population of 1778.

[4]If the Mormons had stayed, Kirtland would have experienced at least a 317 percent growth in population.

[5]Painesville Telegraph, 7 February 1834.

[6]For a good general history of the Western Reserve, see Harlan Hatcher's The Western Reserve: The Story of New Connecticut in Ohio. (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1967).

[7]Ibid., p. 14.

[8]Charles Whittlesey, Early History of Cleveland, Ohio (Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict and Co., 1867), p. 213.

[9]Virginia A. Billings, Kirtland, n.d., Exhibit A, Billings Collection MSS., Lake County Historical Society.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Christopher Gore Crary as quoted in William Brothers, History of Lake and Geauga Counties, Ohio. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott and Co., 1878), p. 246.

[12]Ibid. For an additional work on the settlement of Kirtland, see Ann Prusha's "A History of Kirtland,

Ohio," (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Kent State University, 1971), pp. 1-64.

[13]Richard Henrie Morley, "The Life and Contributions of Isaac Morley," (M.A. Thesis, College of Religious Instruction, Brigham Young University, 1965), pp. 1-6.

[14]United States Bureau of the Census, 4th Census of the United States: 1820 Population. (Washington, D.C.: Duff Greene, 1822), pp. 120-161.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Kirtland Township Record, (1817-1838), 1:1.

[17]Clarence H. Danhoff, Change in Agriculture: The Northern United States, 1820-1870. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 3.

[18]Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860. (Washington D.C.: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1925), pp. 37, 115. For a recent work on the sizes of Ohio farms, see Lee Soltow "Inequality Amidst Abundance: Land Ownership in Early Nineteenth Century Ohio," Ohio History, 82 (Spring 1979): 133-151.

[19]Geauga County, Ohio, "Land Records, 1826," (Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah).

[20]Danhoff, p. 114. Danhoff provides a good sketch of what a small farm looked like in the northern United States during the early nineteenth-century.

[21]For an excellent description of crops planted in Kirtland, see Robert L. Layton, "Kirtland: A Perspective on Time and Place," BYU Studies 11 (Summer 1971): 432-434.

[22]Geauga County, Ohio, "Personal Property Tax Records, 1826," (Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah).

[23]Francis P. Weisenburger, The Passing of the Frontier, Vol. 3, The History of Ohio, Carl Wittke, ed., (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1941), p. 71.

[24]Danhoff, Agriculture, p. 31.

[25]Brothers, History, p. 247.

[26]Danhoff, Agriculture, pp. 29-30.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Newel K. Whitney Account Book, Mss., (Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives, Independence, Missouri).

[29]Max H. Parkin, "Kirtland, A Stronghold for the Kingdom," in The Restoration Movement, Essays in Mormon History, F. Mark McKiernan ed., (Independence, Missouri: Herald House, 1979), p. 66.

[30]Prusha, "History of Kirtland," pp. 48-50.

[31]Christopher G. Crary, Kirtland: Pioneer and Personal Reminiscences, (Marshalltown, Iowa: Marshalltown Printing col, 1893), p. 20. For an additional work focusing on the Congregational Church in Kirtland, see Mary B. Sims, "Old South Congregational Church," (Lake County) Historical Society Quarterly, 2 (Summer 1960): 1-3.

[32]Max Parkin, "The Nature and Causes of Internal and External Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838," (M.A. Thesis, College of Religious Instruction, Brigham Young University, 1966), pp. 10-13.

[33]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[34]A.S. Hayden, Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio, (Cincinnati, 1876), pp. 44-53.

[35]The Kirtland phase of Mormonism has been the subject of several secondary works. An early study of this period is given by Eva L. Pancoast, "Mormons at Kirtland," (M.S. Thesis, Department of History, Western Reserve University, 1929). In "The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, Indiana University, 1957), Robert Kent Fielding provides a major study of the economic situation at Kirtland during the Mormon occupation. For an excellent critique of Fielding's approach, as well as his findings, see Marvin Hill, Footnote 2. Max H. Parkin in his work, "The Nature and Cause of Internal and External Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838," (M.A. Thesis, College of Religious Instruction, Brigham Young University, 1966), discusses several reasons why the Mormons were persecuted in Geauga County. Parkin also has written an important interpretive essay in "Kirtland: A Stronghold for the Kingdom," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul Edwards, eds., The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 63-98; D. Michael Quinn has also written an excellent re-synthesis

of the Kirtland experience in his article, "Echoes and Fore-shadowings: The Distinctiveness of the Mormon Community," Sunstone, 3 (March-April 1978): 12-17.

[36]Joseph Smith, Jr., The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 28:8; 30:5; 32:1-3. Henceforth cited as the D&C; Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Impact of the First Preaching in Ohio," BYU Studies 11 (Summer 1971): 476-496.

[37]Doctrinal History of the Church 1:120-125; D&C Sections 35 and 36.

[38]Ibid., p. 128. See also D&C Sections 35 and 36.

[39]D&C, 38:22.

[40]For a brief description of the Mormon imgration to Ohio from New York, see Larry Porter's "The Church in New York and Pennsylvania," pp. 50-54.

[41]In Religion and Sexuality, Lawrence Foster discusses and compares both social and religious views of the Oneida perfection, the Shakers and the Mormons.

[42]For an excellent article which explores Smith's increasing authority as well as the reaction of both members and non-members to it, see Marvin S. Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom: A Reconsideration of Kirtland Dissent," Church History, 49 (September, 1980): 286-297.

[43]"Journal of Newell Knight," 24 November 1835, (Historical Department of the Church, Salt Lake City). The day after Joseph Smith performed the wedding, Knight recorded that Joseph said that he performed the marriage, "by the authority of the Holy Priesthood, and the gentile law had no power to call me to account for it". Marriage records of Geauga County recorded Smith's name on at least 18 marriage licenses during his stay at Kirtland.

[44]"Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs, 1903," in Special Collections, BYU. See also Danel W. Bachman, "New Light on an old Hypothesis: The Ohio Origin of the Revelation on Eternal Marriage." Journal of Mormon History 5 (1978): 19-32.

[45]Parkin, "Kirtland: A Stronghold for the Kingdom", p. 89.

[46]In "Kirtland Dissent", pp. 296-297, Hill concludes that it was this infallible authority of Smith's

which led to the disillusionment of both the Church members and the Kirtland community.

[47]Max H. Parkin, "Mormon Political Involvement in Ohio," BYU Studies, 9 (Summer 1969): 485-487.

[48]Kirtland Township Record, 1:129.

[49]Painesville Telegraph, 20 February 1835.

[50]Painesville Telegraph, 24 November 1836; 19 November 1840. The results of the elections were:

		Kirtland	Geauga County	Ohio
1836				
	Van Buren	396	1487	96,948
	Harrison	116	3274	106,405
1840				Lake County
	Van Buren	103	653	124,870
	Harrison	191	1887	148,141

[51]Painesville Telegraph, 17 April 1835. One disgruntled Kirtland citizen recorded his opinion of Kirtland's political battles with the Mormons:

> Now, the people of this township who are not governed by the pretended revelations of Joe Smith, think they can comprehend the designs of these religious imposters. Their object is to acquire political power as fast as they can, without any regard to the means they made use of. They are ready to harness in with any parties that is willing to degrade themselves by asking their assistance. They now carry nearly a majority of this township, and every man votes as directed by the prophet and his elders. Previous to the recent township elections here, it was generally understoond that the Mormons and the Jacksonians had agreed to share the "spoils" equally, in consequence of which the other citizens thought it useless to attend the polls. This brought out an entire Mormon ticket which they calculated to smuggle in, independent of the "democrats" not under

> the orders of the Prophet. This caused the citizens to rally and make an effort, which by a small majority, saved the township from being governed by "revelation" for the year to come.

[52]These sentiments appear to be widespread, as one citizen of Jackson County, Missouri, recorded:

> It requires no gift of prophecy to tell that the day is not far distant when the civil government of the courts will be in their hands; when the sheriff, the justices, and the court judges will be Mormons.

For this statement by Robert Johnson, chairman of the mob committee see, Doctrinal History of the Church 1:397.

[53]Mormons gained important town offices during this election, including the office of Trustee, Town Clerk, Treasurer, School Examiner, and Fence Viewer. See Appendix III for the names of those who held offices during this time period.

[54]Kirtland Township Record, 1:76. See also Appendix IV for a list of Latter-day Saints who were warned-out.

[55]Painesville Telegraph, 7 February 1834.

[56]Mormon poverty, while not to be condoned, can be reasonably explained. As previously noted, the Mormons who migrated to Ohio expected an endowment of power from Deity. On June 1, 1833, a revelation was given to Joseph Smith, which told the Church members that this endowment would only be received in a temple built there (Kirtland). For almost the next three years, Mormons who would come to Kirtland spent much of their time and monetary resources in its building. This was unlike many non-Mormon settlers, who upon arriving in Kirtland, would set out to build a comfortable home and start planting and managing their farms. For works on the Mormon temple at Kirtland see Clarence Field, "History of the Kirtland Temple," (M.A. Thesis, College of Religious Instruction, Brigham Young University, 1963); Lauritz G. Peterson, "The Kirtland Temple," BYU Studies 12 (Summer 1978): 400-409.

[57]Caroline Barnes Crosby, "Caroline Barnes Crosby's Autobiography," (Church Archives, Salt Lake City).

[58]The Latter-day Saint's Messenger and Advocate, (July 1836).

[59]The Ohio Observer, 11 August 1836.

[60]Messenger and Advocate, December 1836.

[61]Willis Thornton, "Gentile and Saint at Kirtland," Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly 63 (January 1954): 10. See also Milton V. Backman, "The Quest for a Restoration: The Birth of Mormonism in Ohio," BYU Studies 12 (Summer 1972): 356-364.

[62]Painesville Telegraph, 18 January 1831.

[63]Thornton, "Gentile and Saint", p. 10; Davis Bitton, "Kirtland as a Center of Missionary Activity, 1830-1838," BYU Studies 11 (Summer 1971): 497-516.

[64]Messenger and Advocate, July 1836.

[65]By 1836, the Mormons had seven mercantile firms, compared to two non-Mormon firms, in Kirtland. Most of the light industry in Kirtland was Mormon-owned, including a tannery, brick kiln, and ashery. These light industries were busily engaged in producing necessary materials for the building of the temple. Heavy industry such as the sawmill, grist mill, and carding factory were owned by non-Mormons. For a description of Kirtland industry, see Marvin Hill's, The Kirtland Economy Revisited, p. 13.

[66]As previously discussed, Table 2.9 demonstrates, that few Mormons had adequate farm land. This made them extremely vulnerable to both fluctuating market prices and any starvation measures employed by their antogonists. For more information on the average-sized farm in the United States as well as in Ohio, see Footnote 18.

[67]Wilford Woodruff, "Wilford Woodruff Journal," 6 April 1837. (Church Archives, Salt Lake City); Dean C. Jessee, "The Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff" BYU Studies 12 (Summer 1972): 365-399, further exhibited optimism about Kirtland's future when he wrote:

> Joseph presented us in some degree the plot of the city of Kirtland (which is the stronghold for the daughter of Zion), as it was given him by vision, it was great, marvelous, and glorious. The city extended to the east, west, north, and south, steam boats will come puffing into the city. Our goods will be conveyed upon railroads from Kirtland to many places and probably to Zion. Houses or worship would be reared unto the most high, beautiful streets was (sic) to be made for the Saints to walk on, Kings of the earth would come to behold

> the glory thereof and many glorious things no now to be named would be bestowed upon the Saints...

[68]Marvin Hill, The Kirtland Economy Revisited, pp. 41-48; Scott H. Partridge, "The Failure of the Kirtland Safety Society, BYU Studies 12 (Summer 1972): 437-454.

[69]Hill's work on the Kirtland economy showed that rising land prices were linearly related to the increasing Mormon population. In fact, the 1837 land values (see Tables 2.1 and 2.4) were five times the amount of 1832, and double the 1836 price level. See Hill, The Kirtland Economy Revisited, pp. 17-24.

[70]Rather than contend that the Mormons were responsible for the increasing non-Mormon exodus from Kirtland, other factors such as westward expansion and the "Panic of 1837" should also be cited as possible factors in the decreasing persistence.

[71]An exception to this was a group of wealthy Congregationalists, who moved to Boonesville, Indiana, because they perceived the Mormons as breaking up their society in Kirtland. For more information on this group, see Mary B. Sims, "Old South Congregational Church," p. 21.

[72]Years such as 1834 and 1838 were years where land prices dropped. The wealthiest 40 percent remained relatively unaffected (see Table 2.15), while the poorest two quintiles began to sell their land and leave. For instance, the years 1834-1835 saw an increase in persistence (see Table 2.12), upward mobility (see Table 2.14), and a decrease in land prices. While persistence increased overall (see Table 2.12), of those who did not persist, 92 percent were from the lowest two quintiles (see Table 2.15).

[73]In 1840, part of Geauga County and part of Cuyahoga County merged to form the new Lake County. The growth rate of the combined counties was 116 percent.

[74]See Table below:

Town	Population 1830	Population 1840	Growth Rate
Kirtland	1018	1778	+74.7
Painesville	1499	2580	+72.0
Madison	1898	2800	+47.5
Perry	1148	1339	+16.6

SOURCE: See Footnotes 1 and 3.

The Mormon Exodus and the Kirtland Aftermath

[1]For the most extensive work on the conflict arising in Kirtland see, Max Parkin, "A Study of the nature of External and Internal Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838".

[2]See Milton V. Backman. The Heavens Resound, A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 327-329: Parkins, "Conflict at Kirtland," pp. 279-328.

[3]For events leading to the "apostasy" see Backman. The Heavens Resound, pp. 327-341 and Parkins. "Kirtland. A Stronghold For the Kingdom," pp. 80-93. Parkins, "Conflict at Kirtland" is devoted to an extensive discussion of the specific reasons resulting in dissension within the Mormon ranks. See also Marvin Hill's "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom," pp. 286-297, for a work on the apprehension some Mormons had over Smith's increasing ecclesiastical and political power.

[4]John Whitmer, History of John Whitmer, (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, n.d.), p. 21; Charles Woodward, "The First Half Century of Mormonism," New York Public Library, p. 195.

[5]Geauga County, Ohio. "Land Records, 1837." (Genealogical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah). Smith was accused of taking advantage of incoming Mormons by charging exorbitant prices for real estate. For an alternative explanations on Smith's land speculations, see Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer, "The Kirtland Economy Revisited," pp. 16-24.

[6]Parkins, "Conflict at Kirtland," p. 312.

[7]Heber C. Kimball in the Journal of Discourses. 4:108.

[8]Parkins, "Conflict at Kirtland." pp. 313-318.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid., p. 325,: William E. Berrett, The Restored Church, 14th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1969), 132, asserted that more than fifty-percent of the Mormon membership became dissaffected.

[11]Messenger and Advocate 3 (July 1837): 537-538.

[12]Hill, "Cultural Crisis," pp. 296-297.

[13]Manuscript History of the Great Lakes Mission-Ohio, January 17, 1838, Church Archives, Autobiography of Caroline Barnes Crosby, 1838, Church Archives.

[14]Painesville Telegraph, May 31, 1838: Autobiography of Zera Pulsipher, Brigham Young University, pp. 9-10.

[15]Autobiography of Luman Andros Shurtliff, Brigham Young University, pp. 30-31; Hezibah Richards to friends, March 23, 1838, Richards Family Papers, Church Archives.

[16]William F. Cahoon, cited in Stella Cahoon Shurtliff and Brent Farrington Cahoon, Reynolds Cahoon and His Stalwart Sons, (no city or publisher given, 1960), p. 18. George A. Smith, a Mormon Apostle, estimated the loss at over one million dollars. Journal of Discourses, 13: 107.

[17]See Chapter Two, Table 2.1.

[18]Joseph Smith, Doctrinal History of the Church, 3: 345.

[19]Ibid., 4:39.

[20]Ibid., Times and Seasons, Vol. 1:29.

[21]"Journal History of the Church", March 9, 1840, a compilation in scrapbook form found in the Church Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah.

[22]Ibid., April 27, 1840.

[23]Almon Whiting Babbitt was born in Berkshire County, Massachusetts on October 12, 1812. Immediately after his baptism he was called to serve a mision to New York. He also served another mission to New York as well as to Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Canada. His work as a Church leader often caused contention as he was called before the High Council for breaking the word of wisdom, traducing the character of Joseph Smith, and teaching false doctrine. Later, on two occasions in Kainesville, Iowa, he was disfellowshipped. Once for disagreeing with one of the Apostles and another time for giving liquor to the "people". He was finally excommunicated in 1854. In Utah, he served in the territorial legislature. Babbitt was killed in 1856 when defending a Federal Government supply train from an Indian attack. For additional work on Babbitt's role in the Kirtland aftermath see Davis Bitton, "The Waning of Mormon

Kirtland, BYU Studies 12 (Summer 1972): 455-464: See also Jay D. Ridd, "Almon Whiting Babbitt, Mormon Emissary," (M.S. Thesis, Department of History, University of Utah, 1953).

[24]"Journal of History", July 22, 1840.

[25]Ibid.

[26]For a similar argument see Robert Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 251.

[27]Joseph Smith Doctrinal History of the Church, 5: 302-303.

[28]Ibid., 4: 443-444. See also Artel Ricks, "Hyrum's Prophecy," Improvement Era 57 (May 1956): 305-7, 340-42.

[29]Ibid., 4: 476.

[30]"Journal History", October 30, 1842.

[31]Times and Seasons, 1:62-63.

[32]Ibid., 1:282-286.

[33]"Journal History", January 18, 1844.

[34]Manuscript History of Brigham Young, Edited by E.J. Watson. (Salt Lake City, 1968), 169.

[35]"Journal History", December 17, 1844.

[36]Ibid., December 21, 1844.

[37]Ibid., December 31, 1844.

[38]Ibid., December 3, 1844.

[39]Times and Seasons, 6:871-872.

[40]Letter dated August 7, 1851, in the Deseret News, December 13, 1852.

[41]Bitton, "The Waning", pp. 459-460.

[42]"Journal History", April 5, 1846.

[43]Richard W. Young, "In the Wake of the Church," The Contributor 4, (December 1882): 105-108. For a thorough discussion of the events leading to the Reorganized Church obtaining deed to the Kirtland Temple

see Paul E. Reimann, The Reorganized Church and the Civil Courts, (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1961), 49-100.; Clarence L. Fields, "History of the Kirtland Temple", pp. 89-107.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid., p. 108.

[46]Prusha, "The History of Kirtland", pp. 137-138.

[47]Rebecca A. Shepherd. "Restless Americans: The Geographic Mobility of Farm Laborers in the Old Middle West, 1850-1870", Ohio History 89, (Winter 1980): 25-45. For additional works on the decline of population in the Kirtland area, see Harry F. Lupold, "The Rise and Fall of a Forgotten Lake Port: Richmond, Ohio," Lake County Historical Society Quarterly, 25 (October 1983); Fairport Harbor Bicentennial Committee, A History of Fairport Harbor, Ohio, (Fairport Harbor, Ohio: Lake Photo Engraving Inc., 1976), pp. 46,79.

[48]United States Bureau of the Census, 7th Census of the United States: 1850 Population. (Washington D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853). In "Opportunity and Persistence in the Pacific Northwest: A Quantitative Study of Early Rosenburg, Oregon," Pacific Historical Review 39 (August 1970): 296; William Robbins finds that the length of residence was directly proportional to economic standing. Both Stephen Threstrom, Poverty and Progress; Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), and Merle Curti, The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier Community, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), 73-76, found similar results.

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THE IMPACT OF MORMON MIGRATION ON THE COMMUNITY OF KIRTLAND, OHIO, 1830-1839

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ABSTRACT

In the early decades of the nineteenth-century, an era of cultural change and disorientation, many turned to revivals to displace insecure emotionalism and to insure themselves of a place in the emerging society. Others, such as the Mormons sought an all encompassing plan that would dispel confusion and restore order to a decadent society. This search led some Mormons to follow their Prophet to Kirtland, Ohio. Once in Kirtland, various sociological conflicts developed which affected how the citizens of Kirtland would perceive their Mormon neighbors. Tantamount to these conflicts was the rapidly increasing Mormon population which triggered a corresponding rise in the land costs and thus affected Kirtland's social structure. This study has also found that during the apostasy of 1837 few, other than the leadership, disaffiliated. Finally, it was shown that Kirtland's lack of population growth after 1840 was similar to the declines experienced by other areas of the Western Reserve.

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