
Mapping Mormon Settlement in Caldwell County, Missouri

John Hamer

In the course of their many early migrations, nineteenth-century Mormons left their mark on a number of landscapes in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois—the remains of which are still apparent in some of these locales. For example, the spacious temple in Kirtland, Ohio, is an impressive monument that speaks to the vision and ambition of the early Latter-day Saints who gathered there. Likewise, the many well-built brick homes and shops that survive in Nauvoo speak to the industry of the Mormons who built their own city-state on the Mississippi.

Much less has survived to mark the Mormon presence in Caldwell County, Missouri, where the early Latter-day Saint Church had its headquarters between the Kirtland and Nauvoo periods (1838–1839). Only one structure survives from the Mormon period—a log house that originally belonged to Charles C. Rich, a leader who went on to become an apostle under Brigham Young.¹ In the former county seat—the one-time Mormon headquarters town of Far West—all that remains are the cornerstones of the unfinished temple. Every other relic of the town—the roads, buildings, even the graves in the burial ground—has reverted to farmland. Most traces of the past Mormon presence in Caldwell County, therefore, must be sought underground by archaeologists.

Aside from the artifacts that lie buried, and the sole remaining log house, one more visible imprint on the landscape survives from the Mormon period—the survey of the land itself. In this paper I discuss the land, the land records, the maps I have constructed using them, and the ways I believe these

JOHN HAMER (jhamer@johnwhitmerbooks.com) is an independent researcher living in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He currently serves as the executive director of the John Whitmer Historical Association. The author expresses appreciation to Ronald E. Romig, Michael A. Karpowicz, Steven C. LeSueur, Alexander L. Baugh, Mel Tungate, and Michael S. Riggs for their helpful corrections and suggestions.

tools will aid scholars in presenting a more complete picture of early Mormon settlement in Caldwell County.

Background History

Mormon activity in Missouri began soon after the Church was organized in April of 1830. In the fall of that year, the Church's second elder, Oliver Cowdery, led a mission to share the newly revealed gospel of the Book of Mormon with American Indians on the western frontier.² At the time, it was U.S. policy to relocate Indian tribes from the East onto the Great Plains. The government settled the Indians beyond the western border of Missouri, which was planned as a permanent Indian frontier line (Map 1). The final stop before reaching Indian Territory was the boom-town of Independence, in Jackson County, Missouri. However, Cowdery and his companions had little luck converting Indians to Mormonism.³ But Independence's strategic location impressed Joseph Smith. In a revelation given in Missouri in July of 1831, Smith taught that Independence would become the "center place" for the city of Zion, the New Jerusalem, when Christ returned again to the earth.⁴

The revelation and the accompanying commandment to gather had the effect of encouraging early Mormons to move to Independence and the surrounding area in Jackson County in preparation for the imminent Second Coming. Mormon settlement in the area was rapid—perhaps eight hundred had moved to the county by the end of 1832, swelling to 1,200 by the summer of 1833.⁵ The Church's headquarters and Joseph Smith himself remained in the East, in Kirtland, Ohio, which also saw its Mormon population swell rapidly. While Mormons and their neighbors did not get along well in either location, the opposition the Mormons met in Jackson County was much more determined and fierce. By the end of 1833, organized vigilante groups in Jackson County succeeded in expelling most of the Mormon settlers, who were forced to take refuge in neighboring counties.⁶ Clay County in particular housed most of the Mormons as they sought various means of returning to their land in Jackson County. The Missourians in Jackson County, however, remained firm in their opposition, and as years elapsed with no progress and as new Mormon converts continued to gather to the area, the citizens of Clay County began to push for a permanent solution to the "Mormon problem."⁷ This was partially achieved in 1836 when the Missouri legislature created a new county, set aside specifically for Mormon settlement. The new Mormon county, to the northeast of Clay and directly north of Ray, was named Caldwell (Maps 2A and 2B).⁸

Although leaders in Kirtland held out hope for the "redemption of Zion" (a return to Mormon lands in Jackson County), the weary leadership of the

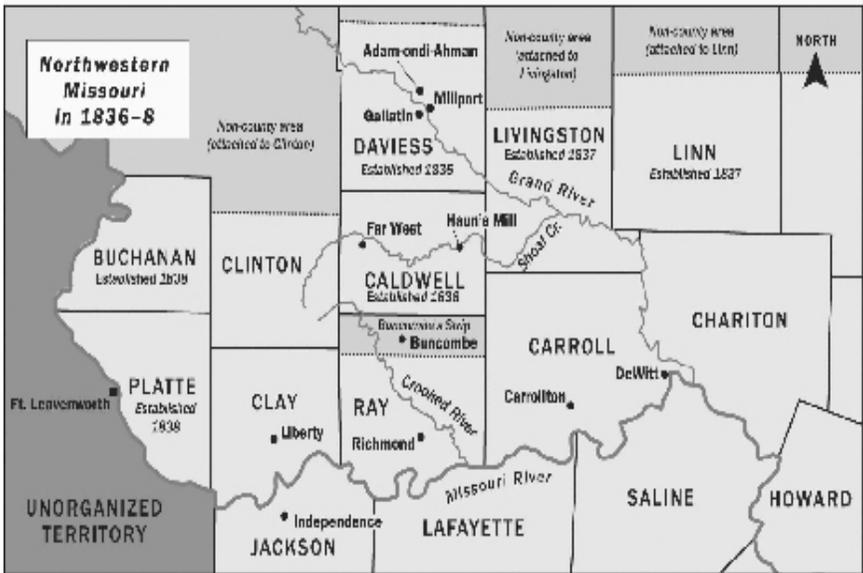
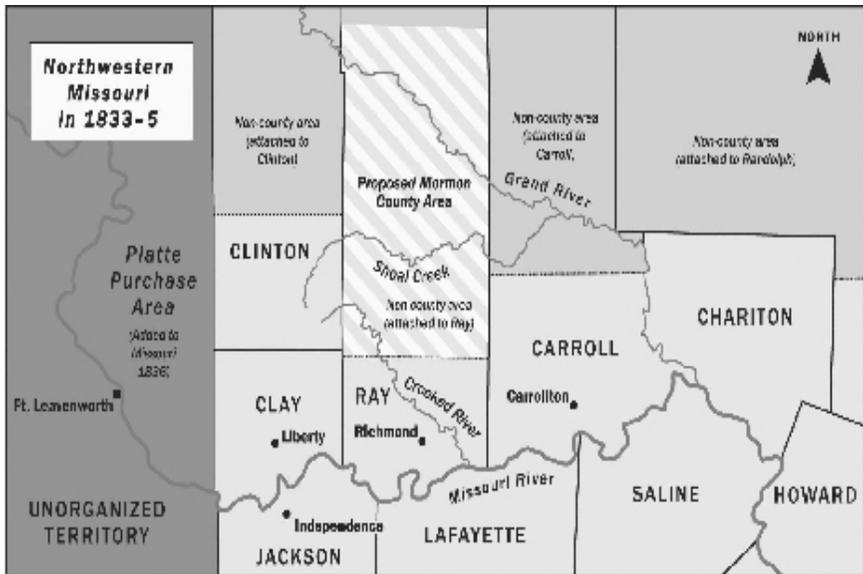


MAP 1: In 1833, the two primary nuclei of Mormon settlement—Kirtland, Ohio, and Independence, Missouri—were nearly on opposite sides of the country. At the time, the federal government had a policy of relocating Indian tribes from the eastern states to the unorganized territory of the Great Plains just west of the Missouri border. Map by John Hamer.

Church in Missouri embraced the compromise and began the work of relocating the Missouri Saints to Caldwell County, even before the county was formally created. Land throughout the county was surveyed and made ready for agriculture. Thousands of acres of land were purchased from the federal government by individual Mormons and also by the local church leadership in behalf of the Church. In the western portion of the county, Missouri Church leaders John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps laid out a one square mile plat (later expanded to four square miles) for a town which they named Far West. Far West became the county seat, and the settlement grew very quickly (Map 3).⁹

While the Saints began to settle in and build up Caldwell County, the Church in Kirtland began to unravel. Finally, in early January 1838, Joseph Smith and his counselor Sidney Rigdon abandoned Ohio permanently and relocated with their families to Far West. With them came hundreds of loyalists from Kirtland and the pace of Mormon settlement in northwestern Missouri quickened still further. Far West became the headquarters of the Latter-day Saint Church, which was renamed the “Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.”¹⁰

In the process of relocating the headquarters, supporters of the general Church presidency—Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Joseph’s brother Hy-



MAPS 2A and 2B: When the Saints were driven from their homes in Jackson County, they took refuge in neighboring areas, especially across the Missouri River in Clay County. At this time, in 1833, northwestern Missouri was still in the early stages of settlement. In 1836, Caldwell County was established and set aside specifically for settlement by the Mormons.

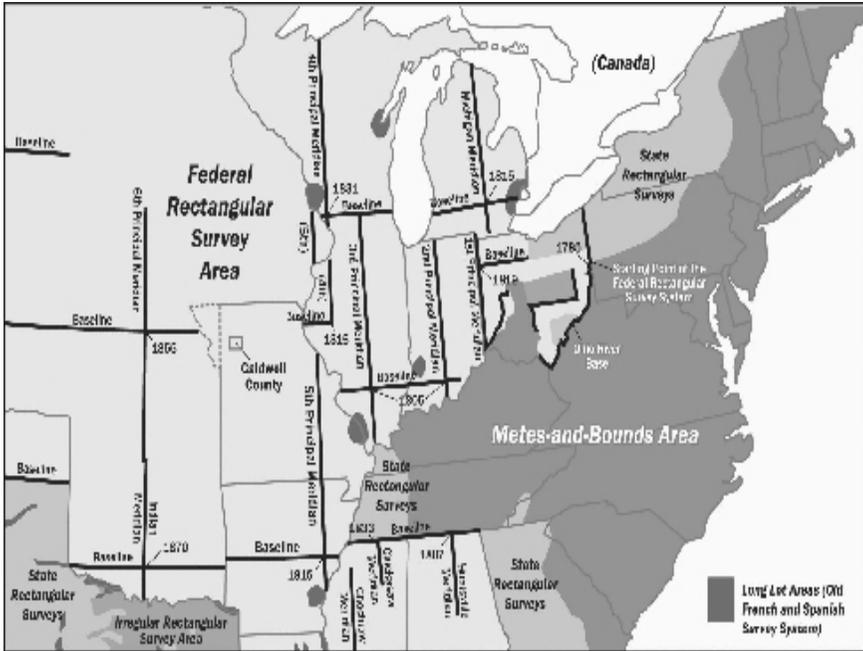
Map by John Hamer.

rum—came into conflict with several leading Missouri Church officers, including Oliver Cowdery, John and David Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps, among others. In the resulting power struggle, the Missouri leadership and their loyalists were excommunicated or withdrew from Church fellowship, and as a group they became known as “dissenters.”¹¹

Meanwhile, as Mormon immigration to the region increased, Church leaders began to plant new Mormon settlements in the counties surrounding Caldwell.¹² Daviess County and the non-county territory separating Ray and Caldwell Counties (known as the Buncombe Strip), in particular, were heavily settled by Mormons. This expansion renewed the fears of non-Mormons in northwestern Missouri that Mormons would one day out-number them and that non-Mormons would lose political and economic control of the whole region.

Mormon expansion in areas outside Caldwell led non-Mormons to begin to organize in opposition to Mormon settlement. Perceived threats from non-Mormons living in surrounding counties and from the dissenters living in Caldwell County, coupled with the fresh example of the Kirtland failures, led Smith, Rigdon, and other leaders to adopt a militant posture. An organized auxiliary known as the Danites succeeded in expelling most of the vocal dissenters and their families from Caldwell County. The leadership also organized a regular militia, and in a famous Fourth of July oration, Rigdon announced that if any “mob” attacked the Mormons “it shall be between us and them a war of extermination; for we will follow them, ’til the last drop of their blood is spilled.”¹³

A series of escalating conflicts between Mormons and Missourians followed during which time Missouri Governor Lilburn W. Boggs called out 2,500 state militiamen and issued his famous order that the “Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary, for the public peace.”¹⁴ In the face of overwhelming odds, in late October 1838, as state militia surrounded Far West, Smith, Rigdon, and other Mormon leaders surrendered and gave themselves up for trial. The illegal terms imposed by the Missouri militia commander obliged all Mormons to leave the state and to sign over their lands to pay for the militia muster. In early 1839, the bulk of the Latter-day Saints left Missouri, taking refuge in Illinois (Map 4).¹⁵ As a result, Caldwell County’s population—which may have reached seven thousand at its height—was reduced to less than a thousand.¹⁶ A century-and-a-half later, nearly all that has survived in the county to mark the Mormon presence is a single log house and, of course, the land itself.

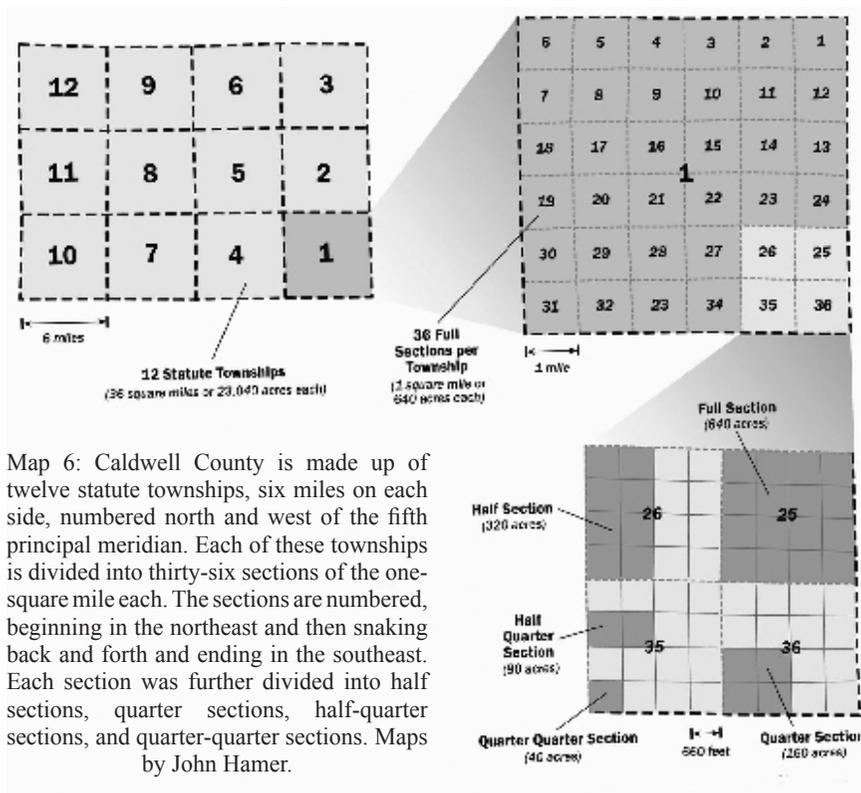


MAP 5: The land of Caldwell County, Missouri was surveyed using the federal rectangular system. Its twelve statute townships were measured north and west of the fifth principal meridian and baseline. (The dates indicate the initiation of the survey of each meridian and baseline.) Map by John Hamer.

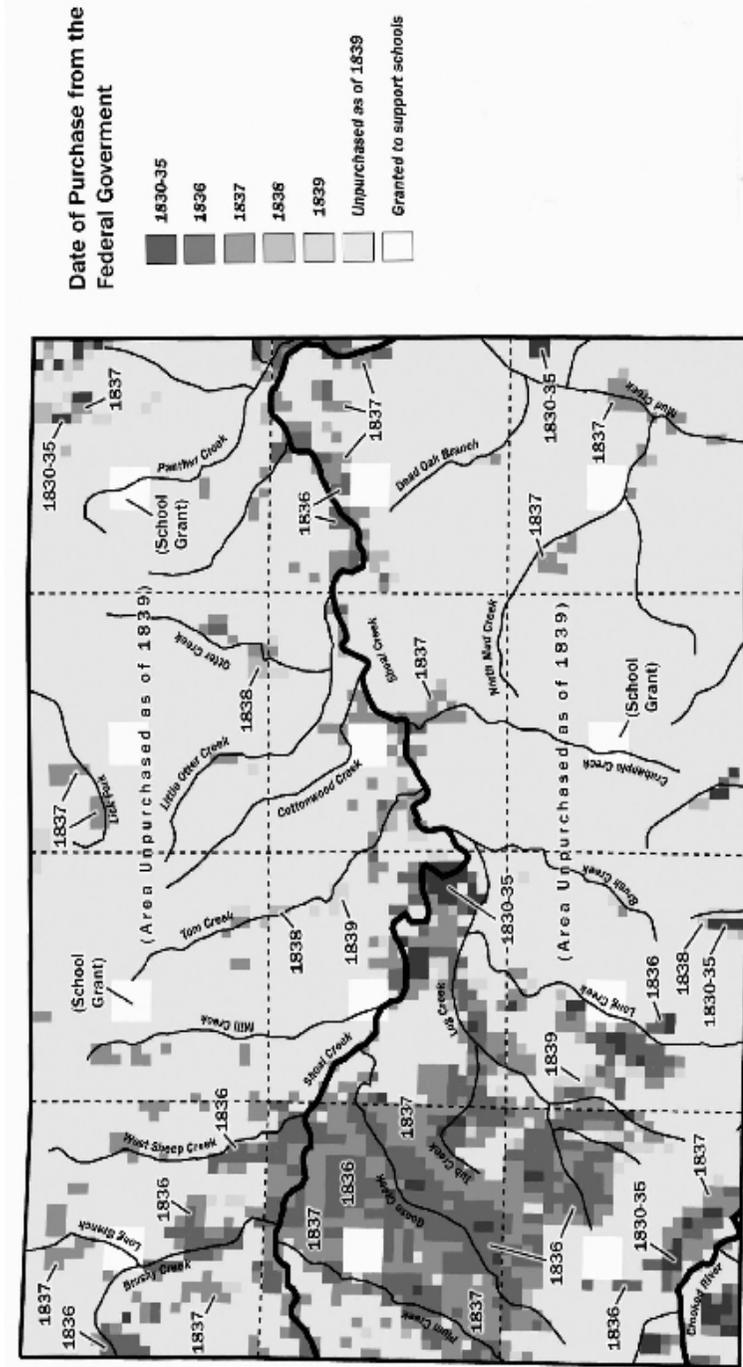
Land Records

The lands of Caldwell County are part of the great American grid that began with the Federal Land Ordinance of 1785. Previously, most land in America had been parceled off in irregular shapes called “metes and bounds.” In this system, the survey began with a recognized landmark and then followed a compass line or a waterway to another identified point and so on until the property was completely bounded. However, since the points in question were often such landmarks as “a very large rock” or “a great stump,” the system resulted in endless confusion and litigation.¹⁷

The rectangular survey greatly simplified property titles by imposing a standardized grid on the landscape. The federal government began the survey of each region opened up for settlement by marking off an east-west running baseline and a principal meridian running north and south. From these reference lines, land was divided into statute townships, six-miles square. Each statute township was identified by a township number north or south



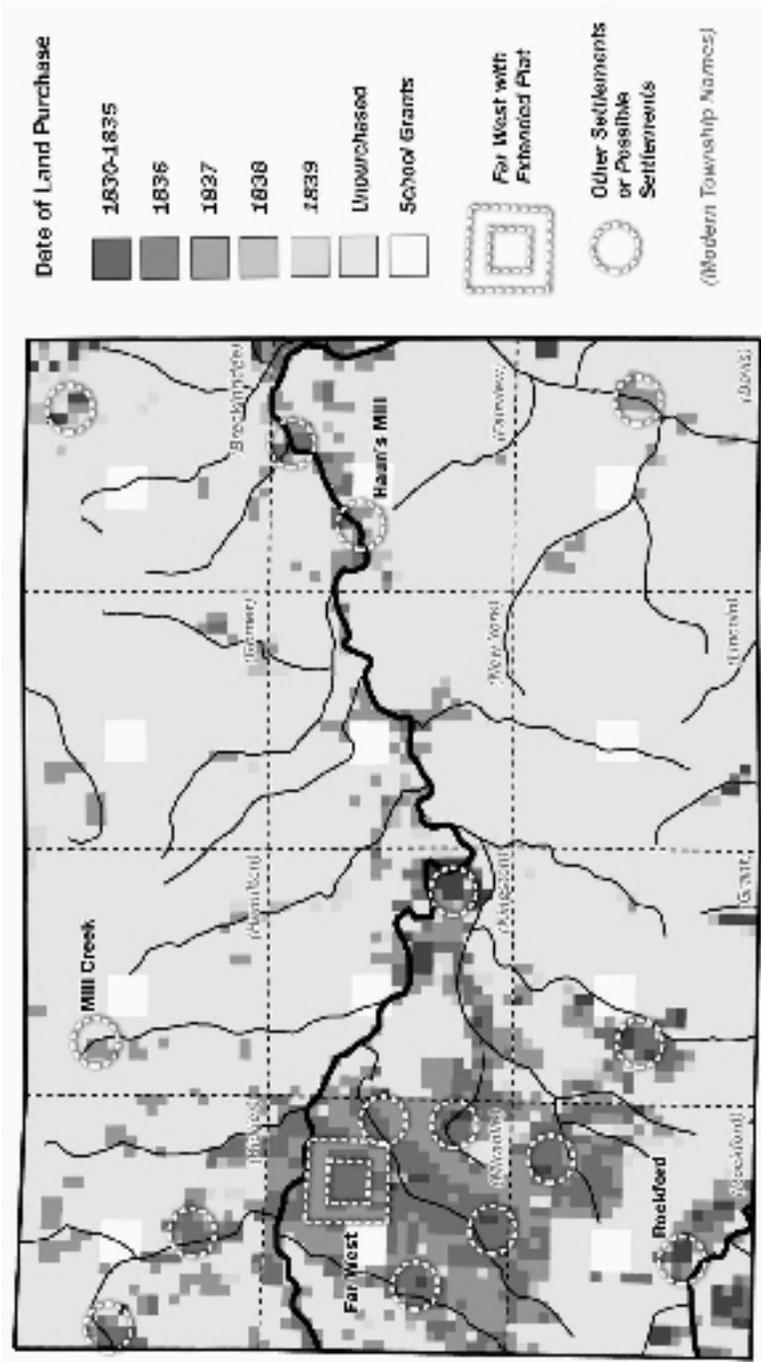
of the base line, and a range number east or west of the principal meridian. Caldwell County was composed of twelve statute townships—townships fifty-five through fifty-seven north, and ranges twenty-six through twenty-nine west of the fifth principal meridian (Map 5).¹⁸ Each statute township across the country was further divided into thirty-six numbered sections, each one-mile square. The land ordinance specified that lands in section sixteen in each township be sold for the benefit of local schools. Land in the remaining sections was divided into parcels of a full section (640 acres), a half section (320 acres), a quarter section (160 acres), a half-quarter section (80 acres) or a quarter-quarter section (40 acres) (Map 6).¹⁹ In Caldwell County, lands were sold at the government land office in Lexington, Lafayette County, Missouri, located about thirty-six miles from Far West. These lands were auctioned at a minimum price of \$1.25 per acre, and they rarely sold for more than the minimum price. A purchaser could also pay the surveyor's fee to enter the track with the government and then complete the purchase within two or three years by paying the balance owed.²⁰



MAP 7: Land purchased in Caldwell County by date. Relatively little land had been purchased from the federal government in the 1830-1835 period prior to heavy Mormon settlement in the area. This changed in 1836 and 1837 as Mormons gathered to the new county and began to bring the woods and prairies into agricultural production. Map by John Hamer.



MAP 8: A portion of the project to map the Caldwell County land records. The completed maps are constructed in layers. The bottom layers (shown in the lower segment) contain the terrain and modern road information. Above this is added the section lines and survey (shown in the middle segment), and finally the property owner and the date it was purchased from the federal government (shown in the upper segment). Map by John Hamer.



MAP 9: Concentrations of land purchases may point out new places for historians and archaeologists to look in attempting to identify early Mormon settlements in the county. Map by John Hamer.

As early as 1829, a small number of non-Mormon settlers began to purchase land in what would become Caldwell County, but less than four thousand acres had been purchased in the twelve townships as of 1835. The amount of land purchased increased dramatically in 1836 as the Saints moved to the area in response to the plan to create a Mormon county. Mormons bought even more land in 1837. By 1839, when most of the Mormons were forced to leave the state, over fifty thousand acres of land in Caldwell County had been purchased from the federal government (Map 7). Although the early county records themselves perished in a tragic fire in Kingston in 1860 (Kingston replaced Far West as the county seat), the federal government retained records of the initial purchases of land. The name of the original owner and the date of purchase were recorded onto a series of twelve plat maps that are now housed in the Caldwell County Recorder's Office.²¹ Clark V. Johnson and Ronald E. Romig used these plat maps to create an index of the land records titled *An Index to Early Caldwell County, Missouri Land Records* (Independence: Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation, 2002). Although the records do not include the purchase price, re-sale information, subsequent subdivisions of the land, or those settlers who squatted without purchasing, they are nonetheless valuable for the snapshots they provide.

Mapping Caldwell County

Because the original land record plats are schematic charts (showing no physical features), the property information they contain has not been systematically compared with terrain information on the ground. The terrain of Caldwell County is characterized by deep ravines that have been cut by numerous creeks. In my setting out to map early Mormon settlement of Caldwell County, my first goal has been to combine the property information with the terrain information. I accomplished this by creating a series of forty-eight original terrain maps using information published by the U.S. Geological Survey. On each of these, I overlaid the property information from the land records, using extant property lines to mark out the original lines of the survey (Map 8). The resulting maps were initially published in a black and white booklet titled *Northeast of Eden: A Historical Atlas of Missouri's Mormon County* (2004) by the now defunct Far West Cultural Center. An updated edition in full color is forthcoming from John Whitmer Books.

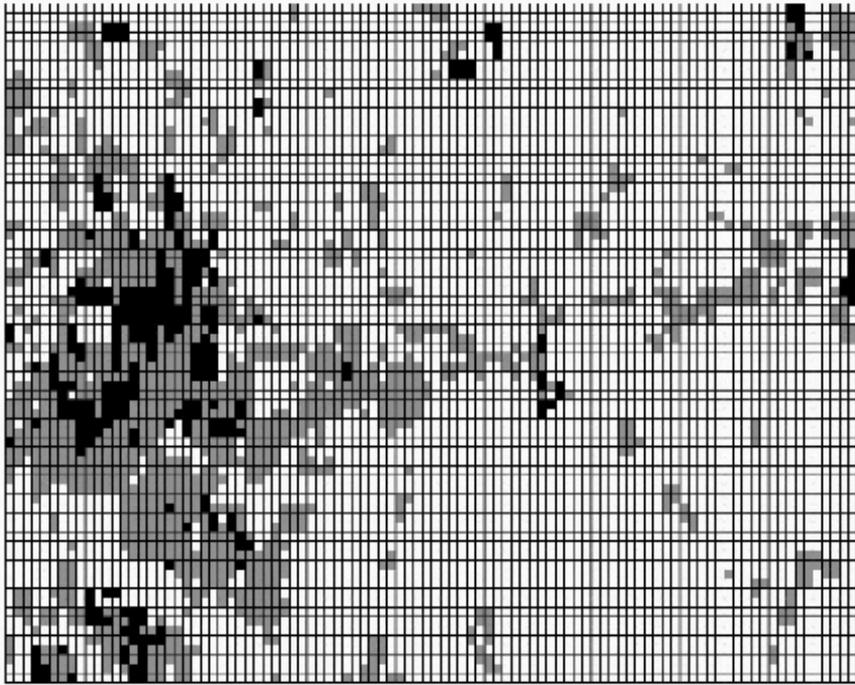
Several immediate observations can be drawn from the resulting maps. Most obvious is that early settlement followed the creek beds. This confirms hints left to us in narrative sources, but the pattern on the ground is somewhat different from that of prior speculation. For example, a map in the *Atlas of*

Mormonism emphasized the entire length of Shoal Creek as an area of heavy settlement.²² The new maps show us that settlement was heaviest in the westernmost townships, not only along Shoal Creek, but also along Goose, Log, Tub, Plum, and Brushy Creeks. A much larger proportion of the land around these creeks was purchased in the western townships relative to land bought around Shoal Creek in the eastern townships. A separate study and chart by LaMar C. Berrett for *Sacred Places: A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historic Sites, Volume 4: Missouri* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2004) confirms a similar settlement pattern.²³

Also evident on the new maps are outlying clusters of purchased property (Map 9). Some of these highlight known settlements like the Haun's (also Hawn's) Mill, Rockford, and Mill Creek settlements. Other concentrations pinpoint lesser known locations for historians to identify in conjunction with the written sources.²⁴ Also immediately apparent on the land records maps is the sudden fall-off in land purchases from the government beginning in 1838. Whereas 19,560 acres had been purchased in 1836 and 26,280 in 1837, the number dropped to a mere 1,920 acres in 1838.

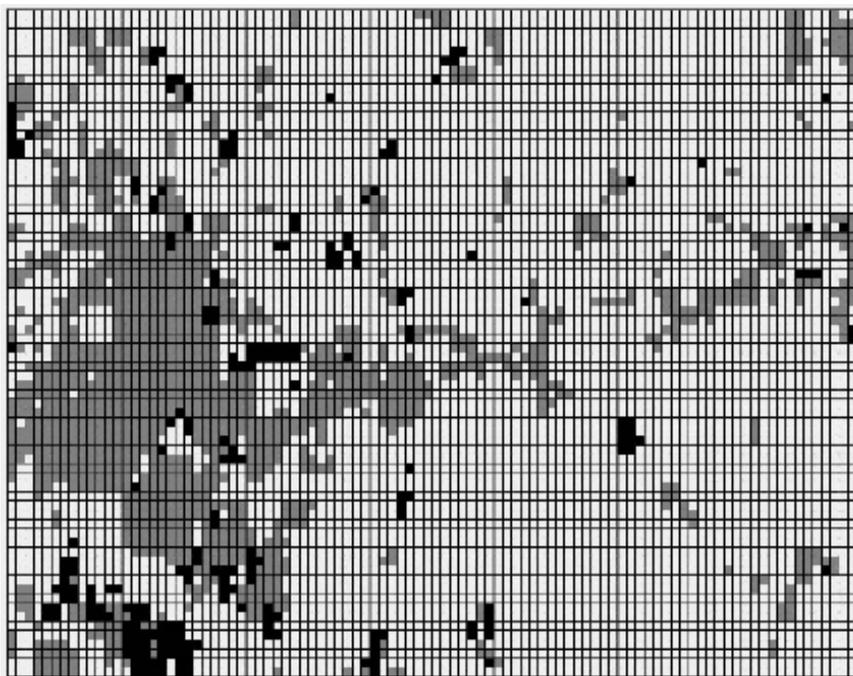
If anything, we can speculate that the pace of settlement quickened in 1838, evidence of a change of policy. One possibility is that Mormon leaders were directing all newcomers to settle areas outside of Caldwell County. While the Saints clearly had begun to focus on Daviess County, the Buncombe Strip, and De Witt in Carroll County, the extreme fall-off in purchases within Caldwell suggests a second possibility. The most likely conclusion is that while local Missouri Church leaders in 1836 and 1837 had a policy of buying up the land, beginning in 1838, the general Church presidency determined that the Saints should settle or squat on the new land even before payment was made for the land through the federal land office. If so, because squatters are unrecorded, the pattern of Mormon settlement in 1838 is lost.

The maps also show us that large gulfs separated the major purchasers from the minor purchasers of land in the 1836–1839 Mormon period. The ten largest land buyers accounted for 12.9% of the land bought up through 1839. The top twenty accounted for a total of 19.2% of the land. Some of these top purchasers—John Whitmer (1,120 acres), W.W. Phelps (1,080 acres), Oliver Cowdery (640 acres), and Joseph Smith (560 acres)—were clearly buying land as agents of the Church. Others, like Squire Bozorth (760 acres) and his brothers John and Abner Bozorth (400 and 360 acres, respectively), seem to have been acting on their own initiative. In contrast to large land owners like these, the majority of purchasers—men like King Follett, Alpheus Cutler, George Beebe, and Porter Rockwell—bought only a single quarter-quarter section (40 acres) (Map 10).



MAP 10: This schematic map represents all the quarter-quarter sections in Caldwell County. The black areas represent all the land purchased by the twenty largest purchasers in the Mormon period (up through 1839). The gray areas represent the land purchased by all other purchasers in the period. Map by Michael A. Karpowicz and John Hamer.

One surprising observation that can be drawn from the maps is that non-Mormon purchases in Caldwell County continued through the Mormon period of occupation. Despite Joseph Smith's statement that "the old settlers will sell for half price, yes, for quarter price they are determined to get away,"²⁵ some of the old settlers continued to purchase land throughout the Mormon period. In fact, one of the county's earliest non-Mormon residents, Samuel K. McGee, was one of the top land purchasers during the Mormon Period.²⁶ McGee's family came to the area in 1819 and had been among of the earliest permanent residents in Clay and Ray counties. In 1832 and 1833, he began to purchase land in the Rockford area of what became Caldwell County. He continued to buy land there in 1836 and 1837 and was still actively buying land in the 1850s, long after the Mormons had gone. Up through 1839, McGee had purchased 720 acres in Caldwell County from the federal government, making him the largest single purchaser after Mormons John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, Hyrum Smith, Squire Bozarth, and John Daley. Other old non-Mor-



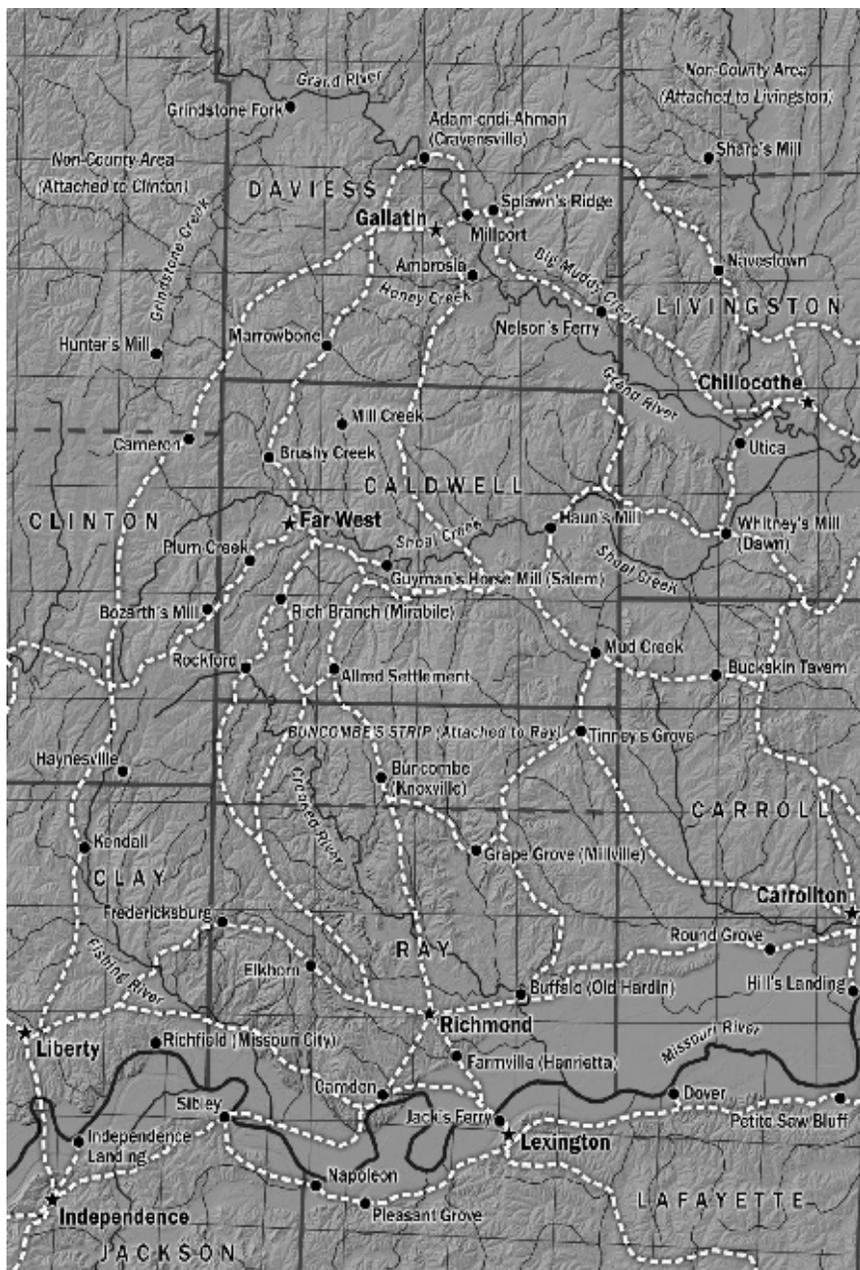
MAP 11: This schematic map highlights the lands purchased by old settlers before, during, and after the Mormon period in black. All other land purchased in the Mormon period is marked in gray. Map by Michael A. Karpowicz and John Hamer.

mon residents who continued to buy land from 1836 to 1839 include Francis McGuire (320 acres just east of present-day Kingston), John Conner and Stephen Woolsey (320 acres and 80 acres, respectively, in the area of present-day Breckinridge), Allen H. Thompson (160 acres in what is now Lincoln township), and Randolph McDonald (200 acres in what is now Grant township).

In all, twenty individuals bought land both before the end of 1838 and after the beginning of 1840 (Map 11). Many of these, like McGee, were old non-Mormon settlers. Others, however, were probably Mormons or Mormon dissenters who did not leave during the general exodus. This last group included John Corril (who bought land in the county through 1856), George Walter (buying land through 1851), John H. Ardinger (buying land through 1857), and Granville Jones (buying land through 1852). One prominent Mormon dissenter who we know lived out his life in Caldwell County, John Whitmer, does not appear in the land records after 1837. When most of the Saints left, Whitmer returned to the abandoned town of Far West and continued to acquire land. This land, however, was not purchased from the federal government but from Mormons who had left or from other third parties. One new



MAP 12: Potential neighbors—Mormon-era land purchases in the vicinity of present-day Mirabile, a few miles south of Far West. Map by John Hamer.

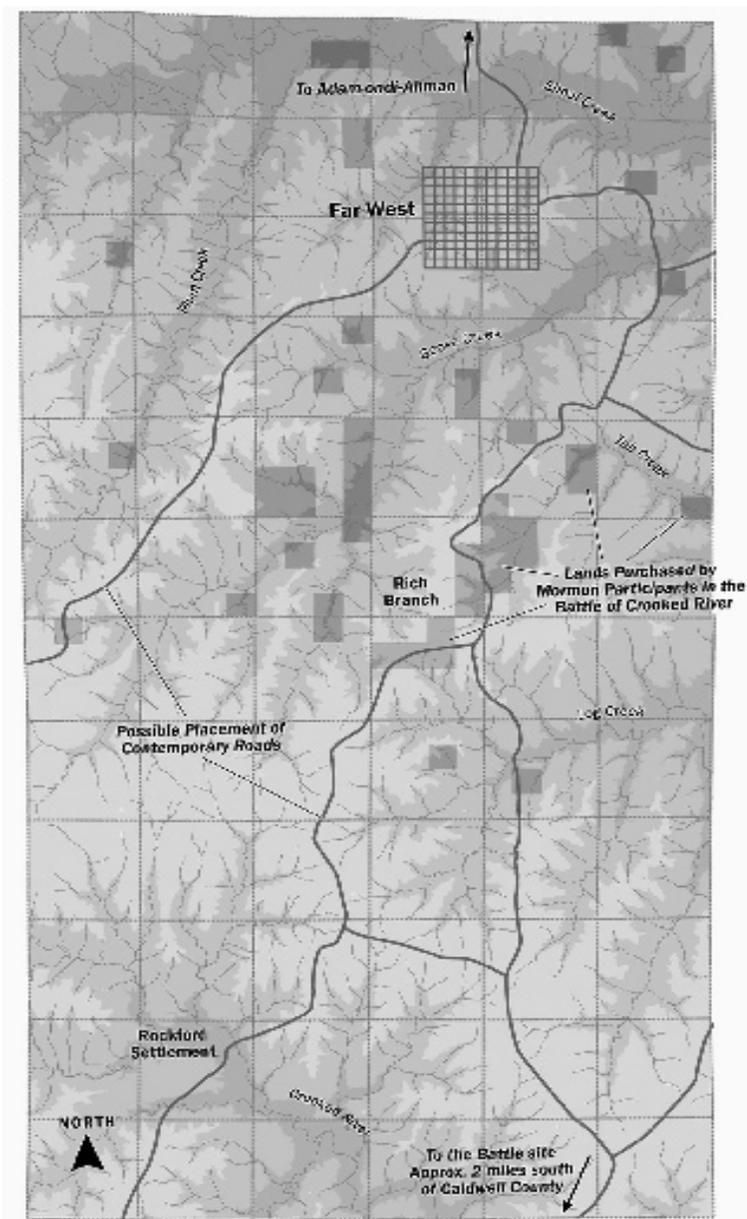


MAP 13: The vicinity of Caldwell County in 1838, showing contemporary settlements (with later names indicated in parentheses). Possible routes of Mormon-period roads are shown as dotted white lines. Map by John Hamer.

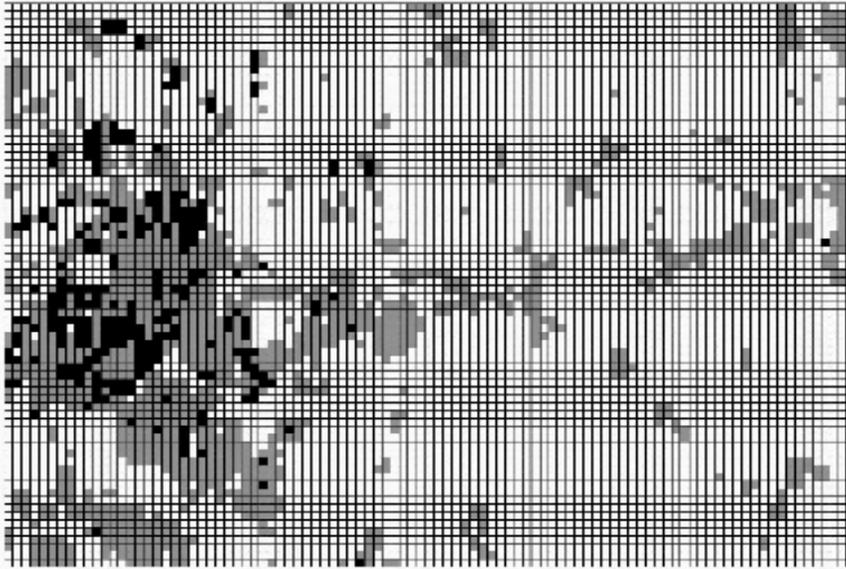
comparison the Caldwell County land record maps make possible is speculation that certain Saints were each others's neighbors. Such neighborhood ties might be useful to help explain later connections between families that migrated together or intermarried with one another. For example, records show that Porter Rockwell, Orrin Phelps, Calvin Beebe, Ambrose Palmer, John L. Butler, John Higbee, Moses Martin, James Emett, John Sayers, Joseph Hightower, Stephen Winchester, James Hendricks and Hosea Stout all bought land in the same area (Map 12). Do they share any other connections? The maps open up numerous possibilities for new comparisons. This information, however, must be treated with special caution because land records alone are not proof that the owner ever lived on the property. Furthermore, some land was no doubt bought on speculation and some owners bought multiple farms. Finally, because no subsequent sales of the land are recorded, we cannot know from the maps alone who may have lived on any given parcel at any given time. However, coupled with references in other written sources, the maps can provide intriguing hints at potential connections between individual Saints.

The combination of the land record data and the terrain data has also begun to help historians piece together the answers to other geographical questions. For example, where were the principal roads or paths used during the Mormon period?²⁷ What was the route used by settlers coming from the East, traveling up the Missouri to the Grand River and thence to Haun's Mill or Far West? Where was the route from Ray County through Far West and up to Adam-ondi-Ahman? From the written sources we know that these roads primarily followed the ridges between creeks, making as few fords as possible. The maps help us see that terrain in relation to property owned in the Mormon period. Using these in connection with the written sources and the few contemporary maps that show roads, we are able to estimate the most likely routes (Map 13). For example, in the lead-up to the battle between Mormon and Missourian militias at Crooked River just outside of Caldwell County, Mormon forces traveled south from Far West. En route, Mormon leader Charles C. Rich collected a number of participants. When the farms purchased by known Mormon participants in the battle are highlighted, many are found to be along the likeliest path between Far West and Crooked River (Map 14).²⁸

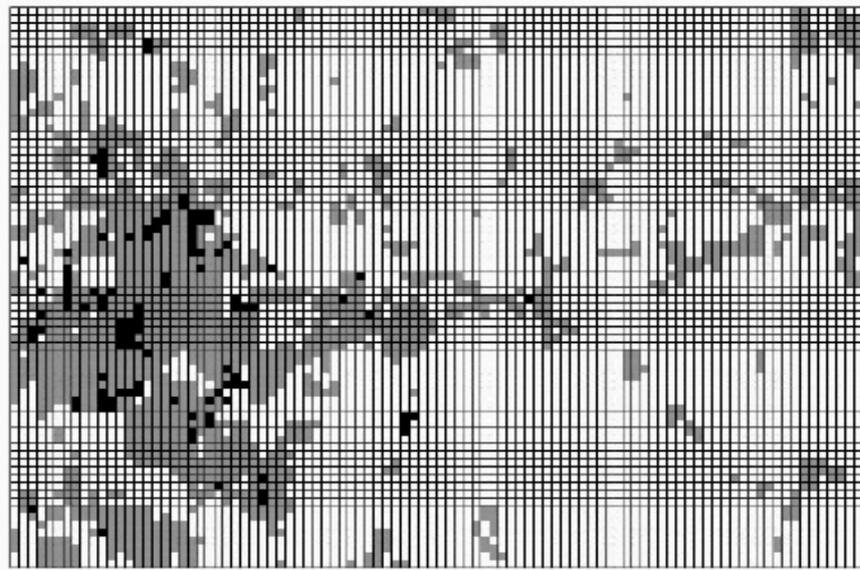
In addition to the maps, I have been able to produce some additional charts by assembling the land records information into a database, into which each individual and his property information have been entered. To this information any number of other data fields can be added. For example, fields could include those individuals who were Mormon dissenters, participants in the Battle of Crooked River, at Haun's Mill, Zion's Camp members, or those known or likely to have been members of the Danite band (Maps 15 and 16).



MAP 14: This terrain map highlights lands purchased by known Morked River. Contemporary roads probably followed ridges between the creek beds of Caldwell County, making as few fords as possible. The battle itself took place at a ford of Crooked River just south of the county line in a non-county area known as the Buncombe Strip. Map by John Hamer.



MAP 15: This schematic map shows land purchased by known Danites in black as opposed to all other land purchased in the period in gray. It appears that few known Danites had purchased land in the eastern or far southern portions of the county. Map by Michael A. Karpowicz and John Hamer.



MAP 16: Lands bought by Mormons who had been members of Zion's Camp. Map by Michael A. Karpowicz and John Hamer.

These and other fields can be entered into the database and then used to generate charts that may suggest interesting patterns.

If the database were expanded to include other biographical information, more charts would certainly be possible. One explanation often cited as a factor underlying the conflict between Mormons and Missourians is the idea that Mormons tended to be drawn from the Northeastern U.S., while their Missouri neighbors tended to be Southerners. Is this true? A future map drawn from the database could show the state of birth of all the land owners in Caldwell County. Other interesting biographical information could possibly include where each land owner ended up, how many found their way to Utah and the West, or how many remained in the Midwest. Did clusters of early members stay together and eventually become Cutlerites or Strangites or join the Reorganization? If information for the database could be fully populated, charts that highlight these characteristics could be generated almost automatically.

When they can be made more widely available, I am hopeful that these new maps and accompanying database will provide historians, archaeologists, and other scholars the opportunity to organize and synthesize information in new ways. I believe the observations and conclusions I present here are merely the first hints of what can be learned by scholars who study this portion of the Mormon cultural landscape.

Notes

1. See "Caldwell County, Missouri Log House on Charles C. Rich Property Update," *Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation Newsletter*, no. 11 (Summer 1996): 4–5; and "The Rich-Wallace-Gardner Log House," *Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation Newsletter*, no. 14 (Summer 1997): 8–9. For information on the Rich cabin see www.FarWestHistory.com.

2. Oliver Cowdery was called by revelation in September of 1830 to lead a mission to the "Lamanites"—the Book of Mormon term for the American Indians. See Phillip R. Legg, *Oliver Cowdery: The Elusive Second Elder of the Restoration* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1989), 50–53. The revelation is recorded in *A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ* (Zion [Independence, Missouri], W.W. Phelps & Co., 1833), XXX:7–16, LDS D&C 28:8–16; Community of Christ D&C 27:3a–5c.

3. See Warren A. Jennings, "The First Mormon Mission to the Indians," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 38 (Autumn 1971): 288–99.

4. See LDS D&C 57:1–5; Community of Christ D&C 57:1a–g. See also Mario S. DePillis, "Christ Comes to Jackson County: The Mormons of Zion and Its Consequences," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 23 (2003): 21–44.

5. See Richard H. Jackson, "First Gathering to Zion," in S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, eds., *Historical Atlas of Mormonism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 34.

6. See Warren A. Jennings, "The Expulsion of the Mormons From Jackson County,"

Missouri Historical Review 64 (October 1969):41–63.

7. See Max H. Parkin, “Latter-day Saint Conflict in Clay County,” Arnold K. Garr and Clark V. Johnson, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Missouri* (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1994), 241–60.

8. Alexander W. Doniphan, a non-Mormon member of the Missouri legislature from Clay County, made the proposal for the creation of a special Mormon county. See Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 23–25; also Clark V. Johnson, “Northern Missouri,” in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, 42.

9. See Ralph M. McAfee, “Far West, Missouri,” in Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan, eds., *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 365–66. See also Clark V. Johnson, “Let Far West Be Holy and Consecrated,” in Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black, eds., *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 226–45.

10. See LDS D&C 115:4.

11. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*, 37–38.

12. Mormon settlement appears to have occurred in Carroll, Chariton, Livingston, Clinton, Randolph, Monroe, Lafayette, Ray and Daviess Counties. See Clark V. Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–38 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1992), xxix, also LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*, 30–31.

13. Sidney Rigdon, *Oration Delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon, on the 4th of July, 1838, at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri* (Far West: Printed at the Journal Office, 1838), 12. The entire document has subsequently been published in Peter Crawley, “Two Rare Missouri Documents,” *BYU Studies* 14, no. 4 (Summer 1974): 517–27.

14. Lilburn W. Boggs to John B. Clark, October 27, 1838, in *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &C. In Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons; And the Evidence Given Before the Hon. Austin A. King, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of the State of Missouri, at the Court-House in Richmond, in a Criminal Court of Inquiry, Begun November 12, 1838 on the Trial of Joseph Smith, Jr., and Others, for High Treason and Other Crimes Against the State* (Fayette, Missouri: Boon’s Lick Democrat, 1841), 61.

15. William G. Hartley, “Missouri’s 1838 Extermination Order and the Mormon’s Forced Removal to Illinois,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 5–27.

16. Clark V. Johnson and Ronald E. Romig, *An Index to Early Caldwell County, Missouri Land Records* (Independence: Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation, 2002), vii.

17. Wilber E. Garrett and John B. Garver Jr., eds., *Historical Atlas of the United States* (Washington, DC: The National Geographic Society, 1993), 98.

18. Johnson and Romig, *An Index to Early Caldwell County, Missouri Land Records*, 1–12.

19. For a helpful description of the land ordinance system, see Garrett and Garver, *Historical Atlas of the United States*, 98–99.

20. Johnson and Romig, *An Index to Early Caldwell County, Missouri Land Records*, iii.

21. Johnson and Romig, *An Index to Early Caldwell County, Missouri Land Records*, iii–iv.

22. See map accompanying Johnson, “Northern Missouri,” in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, 43.

23. For comparison, see the map by Thomas S. Child in LaMar C. Berrett for *Sacred*

Places: A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historic Sites, Volume 4: Missouri (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2004), 286. Child's map is based on Berrett's research. Berrett's mapping work and my own were produced independently. His excellent charts are the result of decades of research in Missouri Mormon history.

24. Identifying settlement clusters remains highly conjectural. In his own work, Berrett used similar data to identify a somewhat different set of clusters. See Berrett, *Sacred Places: Missouri*, 286–357.

25. Joseph Smith to Stephen Post, September 17, 1838, as quoted in LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*, 36.

26. In his 1840 redress petition, Orrin Porter Rockwell remembered that "McGee & 2 sons" were part of the "Mob" who had "entered into an Agreement to drive the Mormons." See Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 526.

27. I am especially indebted to the work of Ronald E. Romig and Michael S. Riggs in identifying early roads both in the primary sources and on the ground today.

28. For a list of the Mormons who participated in the Crooked River battle see Alexander L. Baugh, *A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and *BYU Studies*, 2000), 197–202.