

**“THOU AND ALL THY HOUSE:”**  
**THREE CASE STUDIES OF CLAN AND CHARISMA IN THE EARLY CHURCH**  
**A. J. Simmonds**

*Come thou and all thy house into the ark;  
 for I have seen righteousness before me in this generation.*  
 Genesis 7:1

One of the favorite themes in the filiopietistic *genre* of writing Mormon pioneer biography is that of the wrenching tale of a single convert leaving home and family to gather with the Saints. The picture of the early church as consisting of “one of a city and two of a town” (in the words of Jeremiah) probably started with Nancy Towle’s 1832 book, *Vicissitudes Illustrated*. Towle visited Kirtland in the fall of 1831 and wrote of the Mormon community there:<sup>1</sup>

. . . Of their numbers, I found ministers of different persuasions: and some, it appeared, who had once been eminent for piety. I found, also, many men, of both influence and wealth. Husbands, who had left their wives: and wives that had left their husbands.--Children that had left their parents: and parents, their children,--that they might be “accounted worthy,” as they said, “*to escape all the things that should come to pass; and to stand before the Son of Man* [italics in the original].

While that no doubt happened, it is also clear that in many instances huge family groups allied themselves with the new church, groups large enough to have-

-in the very early days--constituted a considerable percentage of church membership. In an analysis of Mormon origins in New York, James B. Allen and Leonard J. Arrington noted of the 55 identifiable members among the first 70 Mormons in New York<sup>2</sup>:

It might also be said that the new Church was a family-and-friend affair. Of the fifty-five identifiable persons, there was a direct family-friend relationship with the Smiths of at least thirty-one. . . [o]ne is indeed impressed with the importance of family and friends in the early growth of Mormonism. When it is also remembered that the real beginning of the Church in Ohio was the result of the conversion of Parley P. Pratt’s friend Sidney Rigdon and his closest associates, the point becomes even more impressive.

Even an outside observer like Mark Twain noted the family nature of the early Mormon Church. His caustic comment about the witnesses to the *Book of Mormon* is well known: he could not be more satisfied had *all* the members of the Smith and Whitmer family testified to the plates.

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Clan conversion seems also to have been a studied technique of the early Mormon missionary system. In writing of "Kirtland as a Center of Missionary Activity, 1830-1838," Davis Bitton has noted that the missionaries "... made special efforts to convert families and friends [italics in the original]. In the experience of the three families studied in this paper, it would seem that it was not just their own families that the missionaries sought to convert, but also other families and family groups.<sup>3</sup>

When Brigham Young's father's family joined the Church of Christ (the original name of the church, used until May 3, 1834) in the spring of 1832, the membership was immediately increased by some 44 converts with more to follow as the rest of Brigham Young's brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews joined the new church.<sup>4</sup>

It is against that introduction that this paper discusses three extended family groups, three clans, who joined the Mormon Church *en masse* in the 1830s: the Hulets in Portage County, Ohio, in 1831; the Graybills in Jackson County, Ohio, in 1833; and the Litzes in Tazewell County, Virginia, in 1839.

#### HULET

The Hulets were a Massachusetts family settled in Lee, Berkshire County, who moved to Nelson Township, Portage County, Ohio, in the Western Reserve in 1814. There were at least nine in the Sylvanus Hulet family who made the move. A year or so later they were followed by Sylvanus' eldest daughter, Sally Hulet Whiting, her husband Elisha Whiting, Jr., and five children.

There were only 33 heads of families in Nelson in 1815, and those families quickly intermarried. By February 1831 when John Whitmer and Lyman Wight, missionaries of the ten-month old Church of Christ, visited Nelson and preached there, the family of Sylvanus Hulet (by then dead for seven years), led by his two sons Charles and Sylvester, numbered at least 60 people. Tied by blood and marriage were the Noahs (father John Noah emerged in 1835 as a prophetic rival to Joseph), the Hurlbuts (including Philastus who authored the Spalding theory of *Book of Mormon* origins and collected the damning affidavits about Joseph Smith's youth), the Mills, the Hulets, and the Whitings. Most were apparently converted during the Whitmer and Wight mission. By the

close of 1831 Nelson was one of fifteen branches of the church in Ohio.<sup>5</sup>

The branch presented problems as well as strengths, for it seemed to be marked by a strong charismatic trend. One of the members, Ezra Book, who later became a very public critic of the Church with a series of letters from Nelson to the *Ohio Star* in the fall of 1831, wrote of the charismata at Nelson:<sup>6</sup>

A new method of obtaining authority to preach the Gospel was introduced into the church. One declared he had received a commission, directly from Heaven, written upon the palm of his hand, and upon the lid of his Bible, etc. Three witnesses, and they were formerly considered persons of veracity, testified that they saw the parchment, or something like it, when put into the hands of the candidate. These commissions, when transcribed upon a piece of paper, were read to the church, and the persons who had received them, were ordained to the Elder's office, and sent out into the world to preach.

This becomes significant when the later history of the family is traced.

At least 17 members of the Hulet family left Nelson for Jackson County, Missouri, in early May 1831. They were in Independence by summer when Margaret Noah Hulet (Mrs. Charles Hulet) bore her fifth daughter on July 22.<sup>7</sup>

The Hulets settled in Prairie Branch west of Independence. The charismata that marked Nelson also marked the Prairie Branch. In December 1832 John Corrill and Isaac Morley were appointed "to go forth and set in order the different Branches of the Church of Christ in the land of Zion. . ."<sup>8</sup>

It must have been Corrill and Morley who discovered the problems at Prairie Branch. In the late spring of 1833, W. W. Phelps and other Missouri leaders queried Church headquarters. The questions are known only from the answers sent to them over the signatures of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams from Kirtland on July 25, 1833. The most important part of the letter was the "Plat of the City of Zion" and its explanation. But one of the questions posed to Kirtland had to do with doctrinal points raised by Charles and

Sylvester Hulet. Regarding those questions, Smith wrote to Phelps:<sup>9</sup>

Say to the brothers Hulet and to all others, that the Lord never authorized them to say that the devil, his angels or the sons of perdition, should ever be restored; for their state of destiny was not revealed to man. . . . Truly Brother Oliver declared it to be the doctrine of devils. We therefore command that this doctrine be taught no more in Zion.

It is clear from later testimony that the Hulets were also claiming direct revelation from God during their year in Jackson County, revelations that may have been the bases of their doctrinal experimentations.

After the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson County, the Hulets settled in Clay County, where--joined by the Whitings and other family members from Ohio--they formed the Hulet Settlement. It is also likely that the Noahs, brothers-in-law of Charles Hulet, had been in Independence and joined the Clay County settlement.

Again, the Hulets were in the midst of a charismatic worship. The *Far West Record* records a length investigation of the Gift of Tongues at Hulet Settlement. Only reluctantly did the family accept the decision of David Whitmer that "As for the gift of tongues in the manner it was used in the Hulet Branch the devil deceived them."<sup>10</sup>

A family memory of the charismata in Clay County was preserved by the grandson of one of the participants:<sup>11</sup>

Two sisters had become angry with each other and had quarreled all week; and on Sunday they quarreled in tongues.

Grandma Elivira said she never felt such an awful spirit in her life.

When the Mormon population concentrated in Caldwell County in the late 1830s, the Hulets and their kin moved to Far West. Altogether, as many as 70 Hulet relations may have been in and around Far West. With the rest of the church, they evacuated Missouri in 1839, settling around Lima in Adams County and in Nauvoo.<sup>12</sup>

## GRAYBILL

The Graybills, descendants of Elizabeth Dick Eller, were a German Lutheran Family originally from Pennsylvania who had settled in Ashe County, North Carolina, just before the American Revolution. About 1815, after the War of 1812, they moved to Bloomfield Township in Jackson County in southern Ohio. They were apparently part of a large migration from western North Carolina of interrelated families and friends. At least two of Elizabeth Dick Eller's grandchildren were later married in Ohio to spouses born in western North Carolina.<sup>13</sup>

In the fall of 1833, Mormon missionaries visited Jackson County and the Graybills and their kin joined the Church of Christ. A genealogy of the descendants of George Michael Eller show that at least 50 members of the family became Saints. The members of this family and their in-laws' families must have constituted a substantial part of the Church in Jackson County, Ohio. Their commitment was deep enough that at least some were soon ordained to the priesthood and some left Bloomfield Township to visit the headquarters of the Church at Kirtland.<sup>14</sup>

The Graybills had their first charismatic experience in the fall or winter of 1833, shortly after their conversion. Grandson Levi Graybill remembered the event in his 1910 autobiography:

The first of the gifts I ever witnessed I was in Jackson County, Ohio, shortly after I was baptized. My own sister Catherine. . . spoke in tongues. Some time after this the same sister spoke in tongues again, when there was a linguist present by the name of John D. Baker, and he said the tongue spoken was Hebrew. . .

I myself enjoyed the gifts to some extent. . .

In the fall of 1837, the bulk of the family emigrated to Far West in Caldwell County, Missouri. They thus experienced the terrors of the Mormon War of 1838-1839 and the expulsion of the Saints from the State. They also experienced a further apocalypse. After the fall of Far West, Levi Graybill reported conversations with two Missouri militiamen who told him of seeing a company of horsemen, dressed in white and carrying silver trumpets, who impeded the Missourians' march.<sup>16</sup>

Crossing the Mississippi, the Graybills and their kin settled in Adams County some ten miles south of Quincy.

At this point it is appropriate to note that by 1838, when the Mormon population of Caldwell County, Missouri was about 4,500 people, at least three percent of that number were Graybills, Hulets and their relations. The Smiths and the Youngs may have numbered near five percent of the population. Four family groups, more clans than families, could have accounted for nearly eight percent of the total church population of Far West and Caldwell County. Though it did not happen, some 65 families of the size of the Hulets or the Graybills *could* have constituted virtually the entire Missouri membership of the Mormon Church!<sup>17</sup>

#### LITZ

The Litz family were residents of Burkes Garden, Tazewell County, Virginia, an area that was initially settled just after the American Revolution. A number of the first settlers were a group of closely related families of German descent who had emigrated from the Rhineland and Palatinate in the 1720s and 1730s, settling first in the Pennsylvania Dutch counties around Philadelphia, eventually moving in the second generation to Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, and then into the mountain country of far southwestern Virginia.

The families had lived in Burkes Garden for more than a generation when Jedediah Morgan Grant preached his second mission there in 1839. The 1840 census showed a white population in Tazewell County of only 5,000. And of the Burkes Garden population, virtually all were related in a tangled skein of blood and marital ties; the families of Gose, Litz, Fox, Higginbotham, Peery, Groseclose, Claypool, Bowles, Jamison, Cregar, Camahan, and Spangler were closely connected in a clan structure where double first-cousin marriages were common.<sup>18</sup>

Like the Graybills and their kin, the extended Litz family of Tazewell County were members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Family patriarch Colonel Peter Gose Litz and his relations helped build the first Lutheran Church in Tazewell County in 1826. Thirteen years later, after hearing the message preached by Jedediah and Joshua Grant, Peter Gose Litz reportedly became the

first man baptized into the Mormon Church in the state of Virginia. After praying about the message brought by the Grants, Peter Gose Litz reported being visited by a "Heavenly Messenger who commanded him to 'Doubt no more.'" Near the same time, his wife (and first cousin) Sarah Gose Litz, reported that after prayer, the Angel Moroni appeared to her and showed her the Golden Plates.<sup>19</sup>

By September 10, 1842, when an area conference was held at the Litz home, there were over one hundred Mormons in the immediate area, including William A. Litz, the Colonel's cousin, who was serving a mission in western Virginia. Some members had emigrated to Nauvoo by September 1842. More followed in 1843, including the Higgenbotham and Fox families--both Litz cousins, and William A. Litz, himself. His place as missionary was taken by native Virginian, Richard H. Kinnamon, who returned from Nauvoo in 1842 and married the daughter of Burkes Garden Branch President Peter Gose Litz in July 1844. In that year, Elder Kinnamon wrote of the area to the *Times and Seasons* in Nauvoo:<sup>20</sup>

The Church in this part of Virginia, numbers at this time over one hundred and seventy-five, besides many that were baptized here and have gone to Nauvoo, and the work is steadily increasing.

While it is likely that at least fifteen Litzes moved to Nauvoo, it is certain that at least 50 stayed in Virginia. The missionary successes of J. M. Grant and his companions in northwestern North Carolina and southwestern Virginia created a Mormon stronghold that even two generations later was called "the nest" by Utah missionaries. In August 1845, as the Nauvoo leadership was considering evacuation, at a Conference at Burkes Garden in Tazewell County, Presiding Elder Peter Gose Litz reported the local branch membership at 72. Of the three reported Elders in the branch, one was Litz himself and another his son-in-law Richard H. Kinnamon.

As with the Hulets and the Graybills, the branch dominated by the Litzes at Burkes Garden was marked by continuing charismata. In 1882 a former missionary reminisced in the pages of a book published in Salt Lake City of a night-long battle with evil spirits and their final exorcism from the Litz home in May 1844.<sup>22</sup>

## AFTER NAUVOO

However much an assault of evil spirits may have agitated the Litz house in Burkes Garden, the Nauvoo years were years of relative tranquility for the three families. The Hulets and the Graybills were resident in and around Nauvoo. A number of Litzes had moved to Illinois, though the majority of the family was still resident in Tazewell and Withe counties in far southwestern Virginia.

And then Joseph Smith was murdered in Carthage Jail on June 27, 1844.

In the three families discussed in this paper, a large number of related people joined the Mormon church either after a prominent member of the clan had experienced a charismatic gift or had seen their conversion quickly validated by charismata of some type--often ongoing charismata. While exercise of Apostolic Gifts continued in all three families after conversion, the gifts were clearly subordinate to the apocalyptic primacy of Joseph Smith. With Smith's death, the glue that held these clans together and that held them together within a single ecclesiastical structure was dissolved.

While it is open to question whether it was family loyalty that brought whole clans to Mormonism; clearly once they were within Mormonism, the focus of loyalty changed from clan to church. And with Joseph's death, there was the necessity for divining what *was* the Church. It was that question that again seemed to bring to the fore the exercise of charismata to determine post-1844 loyalties.

Richard Bennett's careful study of Mormon numbers in the late 1840s suggests that as many as 5,000 Mormons, 30 percent of the total Illinois membership, stayed in the Mid-West. Seventy percent may have followed Brigham Young to Utah; but the church split. So did the families studied in this paper; though they did not split in the percentages of the church at large. The majority stayed in the Mid-West or in the South. Only a minority went to Utah, and even then, they moved west in a broken stream well into the 1880s.<sup>23</sup>

With the assassination of Joseph Smith, the immediate prophetic office was empty; and a babel of private apocalypse split the Church. At least two of the extended groups mentioned in this study found new strength and new direction from a renewed charisma. In

the August 8, 1844 meeting in the Temple Grove at Nauvoo, Brigham Young faced Sidney Rigdon in a contest for leadership. It was at this time that the so-called "Mantle of Joseph" supposedly descended on Brigham Young. Sylvanus Cyrus Hulet, 24-year-old son of Charles Hulet, saw and testified to the phenomenon. Near the same time, Levi Graybill received divine assurance that Joseph Smith III was to lead the Church. In 1850, in the exile of Mt. Pisgah, Iowa, Levi Graybill's uncle, David Stoker, received a vision of his daughter and her husband preaching to the Indians and promising to care for their Temple Endowments. Stoker died near Winter Quarters while preparing to emigrate to Utah.<sup>24</sup>

After the evacuation of Nauvoo, the fragmentation continued. The Hulets and the Graybills seem to have moved west with the majority of the Nauvoo Church: the Hulets to Mt. Pisgah and the Graybills to the Pottawattamie Bottoms around Council Bluffs. and There the split occurred. By 1848 both families were fragmented.

The first to leave was Robert F. Mills, son of Rhoda Hulet Mills, who moved directly from Nauvoo to Voree, Wisconsin to join James J. Strang. A majority of the Whitings, children of Sally Hulet Whiting, gathered with Alpheus Cutler in Nebraska, later at Manti, Iowa, and eventually at Clitherall, Minnesota, where Chauncey Whiting became the second president of the Church of Jesus Christ (the Cutlerites). The Hulets moved to Utah, although at least one, Schuyler Hulet, nephew of family patriarchs Charles and Sylvester, and a Mormon Battalion veteran, returned to Council Bluffs where he died in 1908. While at least one of the Noahs was at Winter Quarters (Pleasant D. Noah was buried in the Mormon Cemetery there), that part of the family returned to Missouri and dropped out of Mormonism.<sup>25</sup>

Of the Graybills, only three moved to Utah. The rest settled in and around Council Bluffs where they gradually united with the Reorganization beginning with the baptism of Jacob Stoker by W. W. Blair on October 9, 1863. In 1911 Jacob's nephew, Levi Graybill, was believed "to be the senior member of the Reorganized Church."<sup>26</sup>

The Litzes represent a more difficult study. At least fifteen were in Illinois in the early 1840s, but none seem to have moved to Utah. William A. Litz, former missionary companion of Jediah M. Grant, evidently settled in Iowa where his son was baptized by Joseph

Smith III at the Semi-Annual Conference of October 1863. William A. Litz served for some years as a missionary for the Reorganized Church in Nebraska and the South.<sup>27</sup>

But the majority of the family stayed in Virginia maintaining the Branch organized by Grant and remaining loyal to the Twelve Apostles and to Brigham Young. Burkes Garden continued to be visited by missionaries until the 1860s by which time Burkes Garden and Virginia were part of the Confederate States of America. At least four members of this extended Mormon family, Colonel Peter Gose Litz, his sons John Tiffany and William Sawyers, and David H. Peery (later Mayor of Ogden, Utah), fought for the Confederacy. It is likely that Colonel Peter Gose Litz was the highest ranking Latter-day Saint in the Confederacy.

After the War between the States, the dislocations in western Virginia provided a push for emigration from Tazewell County. The family histories published by a local historian indicate a substantial out-migration during Reconstruction. For the Litzes and their kin, the push from a war-ravaged land was joined to a religious pull: the Spirit of Gathering.<sup>28</sup>

First to leave was David H. Peery, to be followed in the 1870s and 1880s by over one hundred relations who largely settled in Cache Valley in far northern Utah. While they were the most visible remnants of the Burkes Garden Branch of the 1840s, there was a residue left in Virginia. There was obviously some animosity against the Mormons in Tazewell County. As late as 1873 a deed for land for a new church in the county declared it to be for<sup>29</sup>:

The use of the Christian Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and free for the use of other religious denominations except Mormon and Roman Catholic.

That animosity did not prevent John Tiffany Litz, Colonel Litz's second son, from naming two of his sons Alma Zarahemla Litz and Moroni Orson Litz; the latter became an Associate Justice of the West Virginia Supreme Court!

Of the three families studied in this paper, each either converted to the Mormon church after an important member of the family had a charismatic or apocalyptic experience or their conversion was later validated by

such an experience. Because in each of the three families so many people joined the Mormon Church at one time, the ties of blood and marriage were probably a large part of the conversion rationale, a rationale re-enforced by charismata. But after conversion the individual charismata was subordinated to that of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and families of human relations were replaced by the spiritual family of the Mormon Church. When Joseph was murdered, the new spiritual family, chosen or validated by charismatic testimony (as the former had been) enabled individuals to destroy the tribe-like unity that had marked their histories before 1844.

The successor churches all claimed inspiration, but each showed it in different ways. Two hymns, sung by Brighamite and Josephite Mormons, indicate the difference. The Utah Church sang a hymn that began "A Church Without a Prophet is not the Church for me. . . ." The 1870 RLDS Hymnal has a similar hymn, but its beginning words were: "A Church without Apostles, or Prophets, or the Gifts. . . ."<sup>30</sup>

The difference is subtle, but each recognizes charismata as important to the faith and to the faithful, and each appeals to inspiration as testator for belief. It was a powerful appeal; and, in both forms, it created a unified Mormon Church that to itself and to its founding prophet drew large unified families. But it was so powerful an appeal that after Joseph's murder it resulted in the fragmentation of both faith and family.

## NOTES

1. Jeremiah 3:14; Nancy Towle, *Vicissitudes Illustrated, in the Experience of Nancy Towle in Europe and America* . . . (Charleston: 1832), pp. 141-142.

A classic RLDS memoir of leaving home and family to gather with the Saints is Ida Etzenhouser, "Autobiographical Sketch," *The Journal of History* (Lamoni, Iowa: 1912), V:354-379.

2. James B. Allen and Leonard J. Arrington, "Mormon Origins in New York: An Introductory Analysis," *BYU Studies* (Provo, Utah: 1969) IX:268-269.

3. Davis Bitton, "Kirtland as a Center of Missionary Activity, 1830-1838," *BYU Studies* (Provo, Utah: 1982), XI:504.

4. Richard F. Palmer and Karl D. Butler, *Brigham Young: The New York Years* (Provo, Utah: 1982), pp. 68-69
5. *Hulet History* (mimeographed), July 1961; Basic Hulet and Whiting history is in Clare B. Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah* (Salt Lake City: 1979) and Annette W. Farr, *The Story of Edwin Marion Whiting and Anna Maria Isaacson* (Provo: Utah 1969); *History of Portage County, Ohio* (Chicago: 1885), p. 489; Hulet Family Genealogy, in Mary Hulet Coburn Papers, Special Collections, Utah State University (hereafter cited as USU).
6. Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio: 1834), p. 185.
7. A. J. Simmonds, *John Noah and the Hulets: A Study of Charisma in the Early Church* (Logan, Utah: 1979), p. 9ff.
8. Far West Record (MS, LDS Archives, Salt Lake City), p. 33.
9. *Documentary History of the Church*, I:366.  
The heresy of Apocatastasis is an ancient one. It was propounded by Origen about 240 A.D. and finally condemned by the Emperor Justinian in 545 after a Church Council in Constantinople.
10. *Ibid.*, II:137-138.
11. Letter, August 28, 1947, Orville Cox Day to Mary Hulet Coburn, Coburn Papers, USU.
12. Christensen, pp. 71-95.
13. James W. Hook, *George Michael Eller and Descendants of His in America* (New Haven, Connecticut: 1958), pp.20-21, 88ff.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-123; Levi Graybill, Testimony," *The Journal of History* (Lamoni, Iowa: 1911), IV:108-109. Graybill was ordained an Elder in 1836.
15. Graybill, *ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
17. See Dean L. May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," in Thomas G. Alexander and Jessie L. Embry, eds., *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective* (Provo, Utah: 1983), pp. 39-69, esp. pp. 44-43.
- The figures for Church membership published in *The Deseret News Church Almanac, 1987*, pp. 252ff are too inflated to be of any value. The almanac shows 15,300 Mormons in the two Missouri Stakes of Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman.
18. Litz Family Genealogy, MSS, Oka Litz Lower, Logan, Utah.
19. *Times and Seasons*, January 2, 1843; April 15, 1844; Manuscript History of the Southern States Mission (MS, LDS Archives), January 14, 1897; Litz Family Genealogy.
20. *Times and Seasons*, January 2, 1843; April 15, 1844; *Saints Herald*, August 15, 1872. The Branch of the Church nearest Burkes Garden, just over the border in Wythe County, was known as "Little Nauvoo."
21. *Times and Seasons*, November 15, 1845; Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* (Urbana: 1982), p. 385.
22. H. G. B., "Contact with Evil Spirits," in *Early Scenes in Church History, the Eighth Book of the Faith Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: 1882), pp. 12-16.
23. Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852* (Norman, Oklahoma: 1987), pp. 89-90, 227, 270-271, 314.
24. Mary H. Coburn, "The Hulets," Journal, p. 145 (MSS, USU).
25. *The Gospel Herald* (Voree, Wisconsin), May 25, 1848. Robert Mills wrote from Beaver Island:
- I have been rocked in the cradle of Mormonism--I have been through the persecution of Jackson, Clay and Caldwell counties, Missouri, Hancock and Adams counties, Illinois, from thence to Voree, Wisconsin, and thence here, making the whole round with the saints. . .
- Pleasant D. Noah is listed on the Winter Quarters Cemetery monument. Christensen, pp. 259-270, 309-

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326; Chauncey Whiting, "Early Cutlerite History," *Saints Herald*, LIII:973ff; Carl V. Larson, *A Data Base of the Mormon Battalion* (Providence, Utah: 1987), p. 97. Almon and Edmond W. Whiting were also members of the Battalion. See Larson, p. 183.

26. *Saints Herald*, October 15, 1863; Graybill, p. 104.

27. *Saints Herald*, November 1862; July 15, 1863; October 15, 1873; March 15, 1865; April 15, 1865; December 1, 1865; December 15, 1865; August 15, 1872.

28. John Newton Harman, Sr., *Annals of Tazewell County, Virginia* (Richmond: 1925), I:308, Lower.

29. Harman, *ibid*.

None of the identifiable Litz relations in Nauvoo shows on the 1850 or 1860 census of Utah Territory. Even Richard H. Kinnamon, Jedediah M. Grant's missionary successor in Virginia, who returned to Nauvoo with his family in 1845, left Nauvoo in 1846 to live in Galesburg, Illinois, where he was killed in a well cave-in in 1847. His wife and two daughters returned to Burkes Garden to live with her father, Colonel Peter Gose Litz, though she moved to Utah with her second family in 1886.

30. Lester A. Hubbard, *Ballads and Songs from Utah* (Salt Lake City: 1961), p. 392; *The Saints Harp* (Plano, Illinois: 1870), #1074.