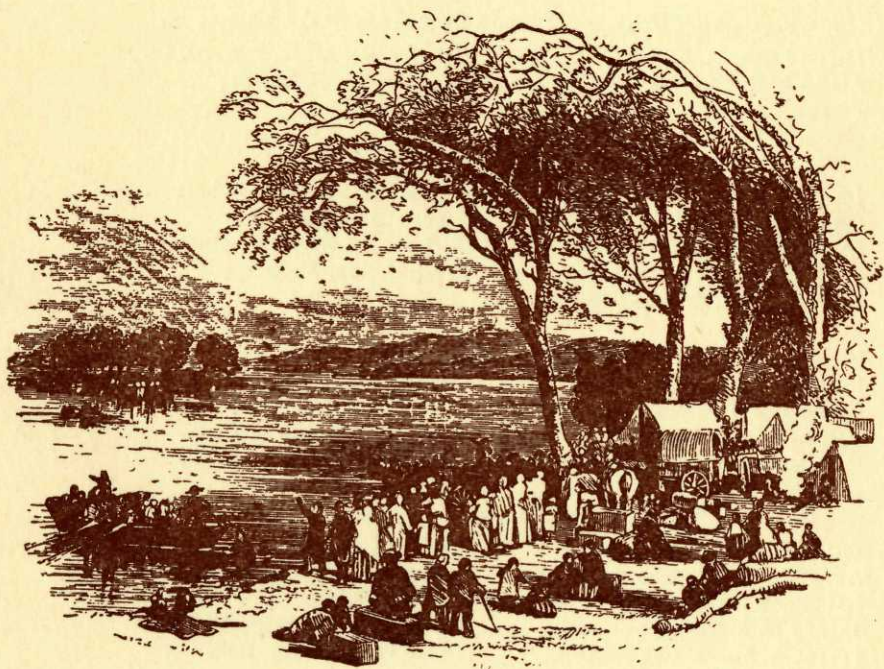


# Missouri Historical Review



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# THE EVENING AND THE MORNING STAR

BY LOY OTIS BANKS\*

Located only twelve miles from the state's western boundary and about three miles south of the Missouri River, Independence was destined in 1827 to assume the role of a frontier boom town. For those whose destiny lay westward, with the wagon trains headed down the Santa Fe Trail, it was to become an important supply center. Here within a few years blacksmiths, storekeepers, and horse and fur traders would find what seemed a never-ceasing demand for their goods and services, and a Mexican dollar would buy either.

But Independence was only a raw village with a few scattered houses, a log courthouse, and a half-dozen stores when Joseph Smith looked down at it for the first time from a summit near the Blue River. Even so, from a distance the land looked promising. It seemed to him then a valley of peace, the promised land for his people.

## THE STAR IS BORN<sup>1</sup>

Independence had no printing press and only one church when Joseph Smith and his followers arrived in the frontier town in the summer of 1831. Parley P. Pratt, who had been

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<sup>1</sup>Title: *The Evening and the Morning Star*, 1832-1834. Price: \$1.00 per year. First issue: June, 1832. Last issue: September, 1834. Periodicity: Monthly. Publication was suspended during August, September, October, and November, 1833. Publishers: Independence, Missouri, W. W. Phelps and Company, June, 1832-July, 1833; Kirtland, Ohio, Oliver Cowdery, December, 1833-September, 1834. All numbers from June, 1832, to July, 1833, were reprinted by F. G. Williams and Company at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835, with revisions. Editors: William Wine Phelps, June, 1832-July, 1833; Oliver Cowdery, December, 1833-September, 1834. References: Elbert A. Smith, "Forerunners of the Saints' Herald," *Saints' Herald*, LVII (January 26, 1910), 81; Minnie Organ, "History of the County Press," *Missouri Historical Review*, IV (January, 1910), 123.

sent out several months before with Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson as missionaries among Missouri's Indians, reported this fact in September, 1831, at a conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, held at Hiram, Ohio. The Church leaders thereupon instructed William W. Phelps "to stop at Cincinnati on his way to Missouri and purchase a press and type, for the purpose of establishing and publishing a monthly paper at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri . . ."<sup>2</sup>

The Church recognized in Phelps a capable organizer. A poet-journalist from Canandaigua, New York, where he had edited a party newspaper, Phelps came to Kirtland, Ohio, in May, 1831, and a month later became a member of the Church. With Oliver Cowdery, a former Manchester, New York, school teacher, and John Whitmer, the son of Peter Whitmer, to assist, the firm of W. W. Phelps and Company was more than adequately staffed to publish the proposed sixteen-page monthly.

For the sake of sound, as well as sequence, the title should have read, "The Morning and the Evening Star." But Joseph Smith, W. W. Phelps, and the small group of Church leaders were less interested in the laws of euphony than in finding an accurate symbol for their publication. "As the forerunner of the night of the end, and the messenger of the day of redemption," wrote Phelps in his prospectus, issued at Independence on February 23, 1832, "the *Star* will borrow its light from sacred sources . . ."<sup>3</sup> And so was born *The Evening and the Morning Star*.

The *Star* office, located in a two-story brick building on Liberty Street, south of Lexington, housed also *The Upper Missouri Advertiser*, a weekly newspaper devoted to general news and published by the Phelps firm.<sup>4</sup> Together, the

<sup>2</sup>*Times and Seasons*, V (February 1, 1843), 481.

<sup>3</sup>Walter W. Smith, "The Periodical Literature of the Latter Day Saints," *Journal of History*, XIV (July, 1921), 257.

<sup>4</sup>Title: *The Upper Missouri Advertiser*, 1832-1833.

First issue: August, 1832. Last issue: July, 1833.

Periodicity: Weekly.

Publishers: Independence, Missouri: W. W. Phelps and Company, August, 1832-July, 1833.

Editor: W. W. Phelps, August, 1832-July, 1833.

papers employed a working force of seven. Issued monthly on a quarto sheet, the *Star* was printed in brevier type. In his prospectus, Editor Phelps had informed his readers that "if required," a supplement containing advertisements would be published weekly.<sup>5</sup> The *Star*, however, in its twenty-four numbers devoted little space to advertisements beyond listing for sale the Church's own religious books and pamphlets.<sup>6</sup>

Editor Phelps took great pride in the fact that the *Star* was located "about 120 miles west of any press in the state."<sup>7</sup> A pioneer religious journal, the *Star* was the first regularly published newspaper in Jackson County.<sup>8</sup>

Since organization of the Church at Fayette, New York, on April 6, 1830, foremost and always had been the idea of the "gathering." Even in the first number of the *Star*, Edward Partridge, who had made the trip west from St. Louis on foot with Joseph Smith, felt it was necessary to instruct members as to the nature of the gathering movement.<sup>9</sup> Prominently displayed was his address to "Saints Scattered Abroad," in which he cautioned them against hasty emigration to Missouri.<sup>10</sup>

For a church that had been founded on revelation, it was not strange that almost the entire front page of its newspaper should be taken up by the "Articles and Covenants." In publishing this statement of faith, the *Star* gave its readers a preview of its coming preoccupation with fundamental church organization and doctrines, indicating already that it had virtually become the official organ of the Church.

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<sup>5</sup>The *Star* for August, 1832, merely mentioned that "in connection with the *Star* we publish a weekly paper, entitled, *The Upper Missouri Advertiser*," which would "contain sketches of the news of the day, politics, advertisements, and whatever tends to promote the interest of the great west."

<sup>6</sup>An "Extra" was issued with the last number of the *Star* (July, 1833) published at Independence.

<sup>7</sup>*The Evening and the Morning Star*, I (June, 1832), 6.

<sup>8</sup>"The year 1840 marks the establishment of the first newspaper [non-sectarian] at Independence, *The Chronicle*. Joseph Lancaster was publisher."—Minnie Organ, "History of the County Press," *Missouri Historical Review*, IV (January, 1910), 151.

<sup>9</sup>The Western Mission left Kirtland, Ohio, in February, 1831. The missionaries, composing about thirty elders, traveled in pairs, each taking a different route and ministering along the way.—Joseph A. Geddes, *The United Order among the Mormons* (New York, Thesis, Columbia Uni., 1922), p. 33.

<sup>10</sup>*The Evening and the Morning Star*, I (June, 1832), 2.

Comparatively few of the *Star's* columns were filled with news from other papers. Under "Foreign News," however, were news bits from Portugal, Ireland, and France. "We select an item or two of foreign news to give the reader an idea of the world and its agitations at the present day," explained the editor.<sup>11</sup> Knowing the unreliability of much of the news of foreign countries, he wisely remarked that "in giving the News of the world, we take it as we find it, and will not be responsible for its truth."<sup>12</sup> Under "Worldly Matters" appeared brief gleanings from the *New York Journal of Commerce*, *New York Courier and Enquirer*, and the *Christian Watchman*.

Although this first issue of the *Star* was essentially grave in tone, as were the twenty-three numbers which followed, Editor Phelps must have known that his readers would take an unfeigned delight in learning that "Robert Dale Owen, the free thinker, who was in favor of free intercourse independent of matrimony, has lately been married."

"Worldly Matters" soon became a lively column, with humor and pathos mixed. In September the *Star* reprinted under the heading, "Murder," the *Batavia Advocate's* account of how John Steeprook, an Indian from the Tonnewanda Reservation, beat his squaw to death after she accused him of stealing pork.

Many of the hymns written by Church members during the years 1832-34 were published first in the *Star*.<sup>13</sup> Notable among them was Phelps' "Redeemer of Israel," which is still a favorite at Church conferences.<sup>14</sup> Always reflecting the mission of the Church, their hymns bore such titles as "New Jerusalem," "Zion, City of Our God," and "God Our Guide." The last hymn contained two lines which then must have had a peculiar significance for Saints on the Missouri frontier:

<sup>11</sup>*The Evening and the Morning Star*, I (June, 1832), 7.

<sup>12</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup>Six hymns, including "Redeemer of Israel" and "Zion, City of Our God," appeared on page eight of the June, 1832, number of the *Star*.

<sup>14</sup>This song appears on page 190 of *The Saints' Hymnal*, published by the Herald House, Independence, Missouri, for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Guide us, O thou great Jehovah,  
Saints, unto the promised Land.

Since many of the newly arrived Saints in Missouri were anxious to have back issues of the *Star*, Phelps notified his readers at the end of the year "that we are happy to say that with our present arrangements the subscribers to the reprinted *Star* will continue to receive its numbers . . . until the work is completed, having just engaged an experienced and faithful workman to accomplish the same."<sup>15</sup> Significant of the role which the Missouri River played in development of the West was W. W. Phelps' further explanation concerning the *Star* reprints:

For the benefit of those who receive their numbers at this office, we just say that as soon as navigation is opened we expect a bindery, which will enable us to bind in any manner for such as choose.<sup>16</sup>

Although, as the *Star* reported in November, the number of Saints in the regions surrounding Independence was eight hundred and thirty, certainly hundreds more were living east of the Mississippi. The *Star's* paid circulation at this time, then, might reasonably have reached a thousand.<sup>17</sup> Typical of the frequent drives for subscriptions was this notice in 1834:

Our patrons are entitled to acknowledgments from us for their liberality heretofore, and we still solicit an exertion on their part to enlarge our subscription. . . .<sup>18</sup>

That Joseph Smith's concern that the *Star* should be properly conducted was ever constant is apparent in his letter of January 14, 1833, addressed to W. W. Phelps:

We wish you to render the *Star* as interesting as possible, by setting forth the rise, program, and faith of the church, as well as the doctrine; for if you do not render it more interesting than at present, it will fail, and the church will suffer a great loss thereby.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup>*The Evening and the Morning Star*, I (December, 1832), 8.

<sup>16</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup>No figures of importance on the *Star's* circulation have been published. One may assume, of course, that a substantial number of the Saints were subscribers.

<sup>18</sup>*The Evening and the Morning Star*, II (April, 1834), 8.

<sup>19</sup>Elbert A. Smith, "Forerunners of the Saints' Herald," *Saints' Herald*, LVII (January 26, 1910), 81.



Phelps responded to the Church Prophet's advice by filling the *Star's* pages more and more with articles on Church doctrine. The April number contained a long article headed "Rise and Progress of the Church of Christ." In June, Phelps began publication of the first chapters of the *Book of Mormon*.

In a letter to Phelps dated June 25, 1833, the Church presidency appended the following postscript:

We feel gratified with the way which Bro. William W. Phelps is conducting the *Star* at present; we hope he will render it more and more interesting.<sup>20</sup>

Ostensibly the *Star* was a private undertaking, edited and published outside the direct authority of the Church. Nevertheless, the Church leaders reserved to themselves the right to select the editor who should represent them. Wide circulation of the *Star* among Church members thus depended upon a certain amount of official Church sanction. But not until the Saints had set up headquarters in Nauvoo, Illinois, and the first number of the *Times and Seasons* (November, 1839) appeared on the streets, was a publication carrying news of the Church officially designated a Church organ.<sup>21</sup>

#### TRoubles Arise Between the Saints and Older Settlers

Early in 1832, when the Saints had barely begun to filter into the regions surrounding Independence, irritations arose between the Saints and the older settlers. In the same year accusations were made that the Saints had been sowing the seed of sedition among the slaves.

As to the way the world received the *Star*, Joseph Smith wrote of its first appearance in Kirtland, Ohio, in July, 1832:

So embittered was the public mind against the truth that the press universally had been arrayed against us; and although many newspapers published the prospectus of our new paper, yet it appeared to have been done more to calumniate the editor than give publicity to the sheet.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup>"History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, VI (February 15, 1845), 801.

<sup>21</sup>Elbert A. Smith, "Forerunners of the Saints' Herald," *Saints' Herald*, LVII (January 26, 1910), 81.

<sup>22</sup>"History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, V (September 2, 1844), 626.

The *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser* (Columbia, Missouri), reported receiving "a printed circular, issued from the *Mormon* press in Jackson county, and headed '*Star Extra*' . . . ."<sup>23</sup> It was Colonel Lilburn W. Boggs who mailed the *Star's* prospectus to the Columbia editor. Already, Boggs, soon to be Missouri's governor, was taking a keen interest in the new religious colony. Before the decade ended, the Saints would find their fortunes, and in some instances their lives, in the hands of this high state official.

Not until April, 1833, however, did the *Star* give more than a hint of the rapidly developing opposition to the Church. Only in the last number of the *Star* issued from Independence did Phelps record evidence that pointed surely to coming violence. And even then he gave voice to a groundless optimism. "We have abundant reason to be thankful that we are permitted to establish ourselves under the protection of a government that . . . gives all its citizens a privilege of worshipping God according to their own desire," Phelps editorialized.<sup>24</sup> But if there was a note of appeasement in his words, it was not yet meant to suggest a retreat from policy. The *Star's* editor had made no statements affecting Church principles or doctrine which retraction could alter, as he should very soon discover.

Thunder finally broke from the gathering clouds over western Missouri in July, 1833, a short time after that month's *Star* had been run off the press. It was inevitable that word of the new faith should reach the ears of the Negroes. It was inevitable, too, that some of their number should wish to join the Church in Missouri. But a Missouri statute permitted immigration only of those who had a certificate of citizenship from another state.<sup>24a</sup>

Upon learning that small numbers of Negroes had planned the trip to Missouri, Phelps published in the July number of the *Star* a reprint of the Missouri law, "to prevent any misunderstanding among the churches abroad respect-

<sup>23</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, June 2, 1832.

<sup>24</sup>*The Evening and the Morning Star*, II (July, 1833), 6.

<sup>24a</sup>*Laws of the State of Missouri 1825*, II (St. Louis, E. Charles, 1825), 600.

ing Free people of color, who may think of coming to the western boundaries of Missouri as members of the church."<sup>25</sup> Phelps had written with caution. "Slaves are real estate in this and other states," he continued, "and wisdom would dictate great care among the branches of the Church of Christ on this subject."<sup>26</sup> This editorial, regardless of Phelps' ideas in publishing it, did furnish grounds for a new distrust of the religious settlers. To the already inflamed Missourians, here was an open invitation to all free Negroes to enter the state.

Unfortunate, therefore, was Phelps' concluding commentary, which appeared on the last page of the *Star*. Although a statement of fact, none of his readers could doubt where his sympathies lay. "As to slaves," he wrote, "we have nothing to say. In connection with the wonderful events of this age much is doing toward abolishing slavery, and colonizing the blacks, in Africa."<sup>27</sup>

On July 18 a considerable number of Jackson County citizens circulated a manifesto, in which they charged that "in a late number of the *Star* . . . there is an article inviting free negroes and mulattoes from other states to become Mormons and remove and settle among us." After further accusing the Saints of open blasphemy and "utter subversion of human reason," the document concluded:

We, therefore, agree, that if after timely warning, and receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they cannot take with them, they refuse to leave us in peace, as they found us, we agree to use such means as may be sufficient to remove them, and to that end we each pledge to each other our bodily power, our lives, fortunes, and sacred honors.<sup>28</sup>

A *Star Extra* was issued on July 16, 1833, two days before the manifesto appeared on the streets, to help clear up misunderstandings caused by the Phelps editorials. "We feel duty bound to state . . . that our intention was not only to stop free people of color from emigrating to this

<sup>25</sup>*The Evening and the Morning Star*, II (July, 1833), 5.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, II (July, 1833), 5.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, II (July, 1833), 7.

<sup>28</sup>William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York, Macmillan, 1923), pp. 170-172.

state, but to prevent them from being admitted as members of the church," wrote the *Star's* restive editor.<sup>29</sup>

In the form of a handbill, the *Star Extra* was distributed as promptly as possible. The *Extra* had no effect on the old settlers for they still claimed that the article was published to give directions and cautions to the Negroes preparing to enter Missouri. Phelps, of course, had now gone too far in stating that the Church would admit no Negroes into its membership. Such was never the doctrine or policy of the Church.

On July 20, 1833, according to the document signed and placed in the hands of Missouri's governor, Daniel Dunklin, by six Church officials, between four and five hundred persons assembled at the Independence courthouse and demanded publicly that these six men "should immediately stop the publication of the *Evening and Morning Star*, and close printing in Jackson County," and that they as elders of the Church "should agree to remove out of the county forthwith."<sup>30</sup>

#### THE STAR MOBBED

Seldom has a mob been known to exercise reason. The mob that gathered four or five hundred strong at the old log courthouse in Independence was no exception. The march from the square took only a few minutes. The mob then swarmed into the Phelps building, tore out the press, pied the type, and generally demolished the whole establishment.<sup>31</sup> Loss of the publishing house, including stoppage of the *Star*, was estimated at six thousand dollars.<sup>32</sup>

*The Evening and the Morning Star* was not the first or the last newspaper to be destroyed by a mob. One writer lists eleven separate outrages against Missouri papers from

<sup>29</sup>*Times and Seasons*, VI (March 1, 1845), 819.

<sup>30</sup>Joseph and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Lamoni, Ia., Board of Publications of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ. . . , 1897), I, 315.

<sup>31</sup>From the petition to Governor Dunklin, as published in Joseph and Heman C. Smith's *Church History*, I, 315-316.

<sup>32</sup>This is the Saints' estimate and probably included the home of W. W. Phelps, where the printing office was housed, furniture and fixtures, and books which had been published. *Times and Seasons*, VI (July 15, 1845), 960-961.

1833 to 1865.<sup>33</sup> All of these listed, with the exception of the violence against the *Star*, were in connection with Civil War troubles, primarily.

The career of the *Star's* press following the Independence mobbing was one of the most unusual in the history of American journalism. It was destined to endure for almost half a century and to inaugurate three more newspapers. Joseph Smith wrote on December 27, 1833, that the mob had recovered the press and turned it over to "Messrs. Davis & Kelley," of Liberty, Missouri, who began publishing the weekly *Missouri Enquirer*.<sup>34</sup> Davis and Kelley afterward paid the Saints' attorneys three hundred dollars for the *Star* press and equipment, the money being applied on the one thousand dollar fee which the Saints' lawyers required to plead their case in the Missouri courts.<sup>35</sup>

In 1845 the *Star's* press was sold to William Ridenbaugh, who employed it in founding the *St. Joseph Gazette*.<sup>36</sup> Ridenbaugh kept the press until 1859, when he sold it to a Captain Merrick, who used it to publish the first paper in Colorado, the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*.<sup>37</sup>

#### MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS ON THE "MORMON WAR"

Many skirmishes broke out following the assault on the *Star*, and rumor was rampant. The *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis) reported that Lieutenant-Governor Boggs had been driven from the state, and the *Missouri Intelligencer*, on December 14, 1833, published Boggs' letter of protest.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup>"Destruction of the Press in Missouri up to 1865," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXVI (October, 1941), 72-75.

<sup>34</sup>"History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, VI (July 15, 1845), 960-61.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 960.

<sup>36</sup>Minnie Organ, "History of the County Press," *Missouri Historical Review*, IV (January, 1910), 123.

<sup>37</sup>*Loc. cit.*; Heman C. Smith, "Independence Publications," *Journal of History*, V (April, 1912), 147-48; *Missouri Historical Review*, XLII (July, 1948), 377.

<sup>38</sup>Boggs' letter was datelined Independence, Mo., November 26, 1833, and was addressed to the *Missouri Republican*:

"The object of this communication is to correct some erroneous publications in relation to myself, which I discover are taking the rounds in the public papers, and also to correct other statements in relation to the recent difficulties which have occurred in this country, between the Mormons and their opponents."

The old settlers, hearing magnified reports to the effect that the "Mormons" were arming for a life-or-death struggle, called for the state militia. "It is probable that they [Mormons] designed to kill or drive out all the inhabitants and to destroy the village," wrote Isaac McCoy in a letter to the *Missouri Intelligencer*.<sup>39</sup>

Curiously, at a time when most of the news from Jackson County was sensationalized in the Missouri press, the *Free Press* (St. Louis) erred on the side of conservatism. Almost a month after the *Star* was mobbed, the *Free Press* reported that an attack on the *Star* was "prevented from being carried into execution by a subsequent agreement in which the Mormonites stipulated for the removal of their society, and the discontinuance of the publication of the 'Star'."<sup>40</sup>

Actually, the Saints had set up only a patrol around their settlements to prevent marauders from making further attacks on their homes and storehouse. It was Lieutenant-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs who mobilized the militia. Never sympathetic with the plight of the Saints, and himself the owner of a vast tract of land near Independence, he placed Colonel Thomas Pitcher, one of those who signed the manifesto ordering the Saints from Jackson County, at the head of the military force.

Approached near the western limits of Independence by Pitcher's troops, the Saints, upon demand, turned over their scanty arms. When news spread that the "Mormons" were without arms, a mob quickly gathered and rushed to the attack. The older settlers had previously, on July 23, 1833, made an agreement with the Saints whereby the settlers would "use all their influence to prevent violence" if a number of the Saints leaders promised to leave the county by January 1, 1834. These leaders were to use their influence to induce their brethren to follow suit, one half by January 1 and the other half by April 1. The Saints, however, feeling that this agreement was made under duress and without official sanction from state authorities, had sent Oliver Cow-

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<sup>39</sup>December 21, 1833.

<sup>40</sup>*Free Press* (St. Louis), August 15, 1833.

dery to Kirtland to advise with the Church officers as to the best procedure. They decided that legal measures should be taken to establish their rights in Missouri and accordingly sent W. W. Phelps and Orson Hyde to Jefferson City with a petition to Governor Dunklin. Encouraged by a letter of October 19 from the governor sympathizing with their treatment and advising them to appeal to the courts for redress, the Saints commenced a number of suits against various old settlers and at the same time stopped preparations for departure from the county. These facts having become apparent to the people of Jackson County, they did not wait for the time limit of the agreement to expire, but seized the opportunity when the Saints were unarmed and again attacked them in October, 1833.<sup>41</sup>

Rumors and exaggerated reports came also from the Saints. In November the Boonville *Missouri Herald* published a letter from Orson Hyde, a member of the Church who had just made the trip from Independence to Boonville aboard the steamboat *Charleston*.<sup>42</sup> What Hyde reported as an eye witness was never disputed by the *Herald's* editor. The Boonville newspaperman did take issue, however, with Hyde's report that recently there had been a second skirmish between the Saints and the older settlers, and that one man had been killed. Before his paper went to press, the *Herald* editor had talked with a Colonel McLelland, who arrived from Independence several days after Hyde, and therefore knew the latest developments in the "Mormon War." There had been no second outbreak, McLelland said.

To the editor of the resuscitated *Star* at Kirtland, Hyde later addressed a letter of retraction, admitting that subsequent news from Jackson County failed to verify his report of a second engagement.<sup>43</sup> "It will be remembered," he added, "that I did not vouch for the correctness of all my

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<sup>41</sup>Joseph and Heman C. Smith, *Church History*, I, 324. Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians Land of Contrasts and People of Achievement* (Chicago, Lewis, 1943), I, 456; Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*. . . . pp. 175-177.

<sup>42</sup>This letter was reprinted in *The Evening and the Morning Star*, II (December, 1833), 235.

<sup>43</sup>*The Evening and the Morning Star*, II (December, 1833), 239-40.

statements, but published them as report only."<sup>44</sup> What Hyde objected to in the *Herald's* columns was McLelland's further denial that the Saints had ever been mistreated or suffered damage to their property. According to Hyde there were hundreds of witnesses to the contrary. "I saw the office of the *Evening and Morning Star* lying in a pile of ruins," he concluded. And even while the two men were carrying on their dispute the "Mormon War" began anew in Jackson County.

As attacks against their communities increased in violence, the Saints in late October started north, most of them crossing into Clay County. Some of them, however, encamped for days in the groves along the Missouri River and were exposed to mob forays. Governor Dunklin, hearing of the outrages, ordered courts of inquiry, but the Missouri courts of that day offered little protection to the Saints. Finally, on November 13, 1833, the old settlers succeeded in driving virtually every "Mormon," almost twelve hundred men, women, and children, from the county. Left in their wake were burned homes, spoiled crops and countless personal possessions.

The mobs harassing the Saints failed, however, in their eagerness for a fight, to reckon with public opinion. After the first mob assault, the Missouri press took up the cause which the *Star's* rusting type could no longer champion.<sup>45</sup> The outrages evoked much editorial comment from such Missouri newspapers as the St. Louis *Free Press*, *Liberty Enquirer*, *St. Louis Missouri Republican* and *Columbia Missouri Intelligencer*. Most outspoken against the religious persecutions in Jackson County was the St. Louis *Free Press*, whose editors, Peach and Ruggles, made an eloquent plea for tolerance towards the Saints:

Had individuals of this sect, or even the whole body of it committed legal offenses, the civil tribunals of our country could have given sufficient redress, but to proceed against them as a religious body . . . must be considered *persecution* in the most odious sense of the word. . . .<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>45</sup>Following the mobbing in July, 1833, publication of the *Star* was suspended until December of that year, when the religious monthly was revived at Kirtland, Ohio.

<sup>46</sup>*Free Press*, August 15, 1833.



Hearing of the recurrence of hostilities in early November, and that "some three or four lives had been lost," the editor of the *Jeffersonian Republican* commented that "the condition of the Mormons is represented to be truly distressing."<sup>47</sup> Probably no paper championed the Saints' cause in Jackson County with more down-to-earth zeal at this period than the *Salt River Journal*.<sup>48</sup> Even the politically powerful *Missouri Republican* at St. Louis was not above reprinting the *Journal's* biting editorials against the Missouri mob actions.<sup>49</sup> "The people of Jackson . . . have taken very singular, and we think disruptable grounds, to redress their imaginary grievances," wrote the *Missouri Intelligencer's* editor in November, shifting his editorial prestige at least temporarily to the side of the Saints.

#### THE STAR IN OHIO—END OF A VOLUME

Even before the last member of the Church in Missouri had been driven from his home in Jackson County the remnant of Church leaders in Kirtland, Ohio, a newly-appointed stake, were busy drawing up plans for reestablishing *The Evening and the Morning Star*. Only fourteen numbers of the monthly journal had been issued from Independence; ten remained to complete the volume. The financial loss sustained by the Saints in Missouri had been considerable and resumption of the *Star* at Kirtland would mean the purchase of both new type and press.

On September 11, 1833, Joseph Smith, F. G. Williams, Sidney Rigdon, N. K. Whitney and Oliver Cowdery met in council at Kirtland and ordered a press from New York. At the same time, they appointed Oliver Cowdery the *Star's* new editor.<sup>50</sup> In a church ceremony on December 18, the

<sup>47</sup>*Jeffersonian Republican*, (Jefferson City) November 16, 1833.

<sup>48</sup>Published at Bowling Green, Missouri.

<sup>49</sup>On November 30, 1833, the *Missouri Republican* reprinted the following from the *Salt River Journal*:

"Are the people of Jackson County determined to drive off the Mormons on account of their peculiar religious tenets? Were the worshippers of the moon to settle in this State, no one would have a right to molest them, on account of those tenets."

<sup>50</sup>"History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, VI (April 1, 1845), 850. According to a letter from Frederick G. William, written to elders in Inde-

new press was dedicated, and the printers made proof impressions of the first number of the *Star* to be published at Kirtland.<sup>51</sup>

By July, 1834, the controversy in Missouri, which had been given a thorough airing in the *Star's* columns, was finally dropped. In September, Editor Cowdery notified his readers of a change of publication:

As this number closes the second volume of the *Star*, the publishers have thought proper to issue another paper entitled the Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate. . . .<sup>52</sup>

*The Evening and the Morning Star* had proved itself indispensable in the pioneer phase of the religious organization. It had been an arm reaching out to unify and consolidate. In days when travel was slow and difficult, when missionaries frequently traveled on foot and printed material was by no means abundant, the influence of the *Star*, which could be passed from house to house, was extraordinary. The *Star's* effectiveness in spreading the Church doctrine and principles could be measured by the enthusiastic letters of readers from virtually every state of the nation, and certainly by hundreds of converts. In the early months of its publication, under continuous sniping from an unfriendly press, and later under threats of violence, the little religious monthly had championed the cause of Latter Day Saintism with a fervor unequalled on the western frontier.

One blot, however, remained on the *Star's* record. In the face of a mob, W. W. Phelps in the *Star Extra* had finally retreated from his editorial championship of the Negro. He had betrayed in the end the cause which both he and the Church had vigorously supported. The *Star Extra* had done little to abate mob violence; in the eyes of the Saints it had done much to discredit their editor.

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pendence on October 5, 1833, the Church had authorized Cowdery to make an outlay of \$800 for the press and other equipment—Joseph and Heman C. Smith, *Church History*, I, 375.

<sup>51</sup>Joseph and Heman C. Smith, *Church History*, I, 383-4.

<sup>52</sup>*The Evening and the Morning Star*, II (September, 1834), 369.

