

**Copyright**

**by**

**Richard Donald Ouellette**

**2012**

**The Dissertation Committee for Richard Donald Ouellette  
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:**

**THE MORMON TEMPLE LOT CASE:  
SPACE, MEMORY, AND IDENTITY  
IN A DIVIDED NEW RELIGION**

**Committee:**

---

**Robert H. Abzug, Supervisor**

---

**G. Howard Miller**

---

**Virginia Garrard-Burnett**

---

**Michael P. Young**

---

**Philip L. Barlow**

**THE MORMON TEMPLE LOT CASE:  
SPACE, MEMORY, AND IDENTITY  
IN A DIVIDED NEW RELIGION**

by

**Richard Donald Ouellette, B.A.**

**Dissertation**

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2012

For Sheri

## Acknowledgements

I have benefitted from the friendship, patience, encouragement, and intelligence of many individuals over the course of this effort.

First and foremost, I'd like to thank Sheri, who has lived with this project like no other. We've made a wonderful home together over the years, and I could not have completed this work without her love, humor, and support.

My mother, Nicole, has lived with Sheri and me for almost the entire duration of this project, and I'm mighty glad that she has lived to see this day.

To my friends and loved ones over this long journey: Steve, John, Sylvia, Amy, Debbie, Shauri, Megan, Cindy, Alan, Lynne, Kelly, Linda, Sherry, Dave. Thank you.

I thank the members of my dissertation committee: Robert H. Abzug, for allowing me to write the dissertation I envisioned; Howard Miller, for extraordinary warmth, friendship, and encouragement; Philip L. Barlow, for reaching out to an unknown and providing unstinting support; Michael Young and Virginia Garrard-Burnett, for substantially improving my committee at late notice.

I thank the administrators and advisors who helped me along the way: Marilyn Lehman, for enabling me to make it happen from long distance; Mary Helen Quinn, for cheering me on early on; James Sidbury and Jacqueline Jones, for giving me the time I needed; Michelle Broadway, for helping a stranger in a pinch.

I thank the History Department of the University of Texas at Austin for the History Department Fellowship and the Professional Development Award.

I thank the following research institutions: The Tarlton Law Library of the University of Texas at Austin; the Library-Archives of the Community of Christ in Independence, Missouri, in particular Ronald E. Romig, Sue McDonald, and Barbara J. Bernauer; the National Archives and Records Administration in Kansas City; the Kansas City Public Library; the Beinecke Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut; the Houghton Library at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts; the Church History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City; the Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City; the Special Collections Department of the University of Utah's Marriott Library in Salt Lake City; the Utah Historical Society in Salt Lake City; the Salt Lake City Public Library; and the L. Tom Perry Special Collections of the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. I also thank the staffs of the Interlibrary Loan Departments at the Perry-Castaneda Library of the University of Texas at Austin and the David O. McKay Library at Brigham Young University-Idaho in Rexburg, Idaho.

Finally, I would like to thank Gary for giving me the opportunity.

I alone am responsible for the errors of this work.

**THE MORMON TEMPLE LOT CASE:  
SPACE, MEMORY, AND IDENTITY  
IN A DIVIDED NEW RELIGION**

Richard Donald Ouellette, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

Supervisor: Robert H. Abzug

Mormonism is among the most studied religious phenomena of American history. Yet little attention has been devoted to one of its most telling and, at the time, most famous chapters, the “Temple Lot Case” of 1891-1896, a legal battle over sacred space, cultural memory, group identity, and judicial intervention in religion.

The suit involved three rival Mormon sects: Granville Hedrick’s Church of Christ, based in Independence, Missouri; Joseph Smith III’s Reorganized Church, based in Lamoni, Iowa; and Brigham Young’s LDS Church, based in Utah. In previous decades, the churches had forged distinct identities from one another, stemming from their divergent interpretations of Mormonism’s founding prophet, Joseph Smith Jr. (1805-1844). The “Hedrickites” lionized the teachings of Smith’s early years, the “Josephites”

emphasized the moderate teachings of Smith's middle years, and the "Brighamites" institutionalized the controversial semi-secret teachings of Smith's final years.

In 1891, the Reorganized Church filed suit in the Eighth Federal Circuit Court for possession of the Temple Lot Smith dedicated at Independence in 1831. The Hedrickites owned it, the Josephites thought they had a better claim to it, and the Brighamites sought to prevent the Josephites from obtaining it. The Reorganized Church presented evidence demonstrating it was the rightful successor of Joseph Smith's church; the Hedrickites and Brighamites countered with evidence of their own. The case produced an array of notable witnesses, including elites from Mormonism's founding generation, leaders from its divided second generation, and figures from Missouri's colorful past. Newspapers from the *New York Times* to the *Anaconda Standard* followed the suit closely.

The present work is the first book-length study of the Temple Lot Case. It offers one of the most in-depth treatments of a U.S. religious property suit to date. It chronicles the establishment and fragmentation of arguably America's most successful native-born religion. It examines the contestation of an American sacred space. And it traces the differentiation of collective memory and identity among competing religious siblings.



# Contents

Preface.....1

## **SECTION I: A NEW FAITH, FOUNDED AND FRACTURED**

### PART ONE: THE FOUNDING OF MORMONISM

1. Primitive Mormonism, 1829-1834.....13

2. Kirtland Mormonism, 1834-1838 .....54

3. Militant Mormonism, 1838-1839.....85

4. Nauvoo Mormonism, 1839-1844.....125

5. Fissures of the Founding, 1829-1844 .....164

### PART TWO: THE FRACTURING OF MORMONISM

6. Succession Crisis, 1844 .....176

7. The Twelve, 1844-1851 .....201

8. Mormons Who Did Not Go West, 1844-1851 .....230

9. The Brighamites, 1851-1859 .....251

10. The New Organization, 1851-1859.....267

11. The Crow Creek Branch, 1852-1863 .....285

12. The Josephites, 1860-1880.....304

13. The Hedrickites, 1863-1881.....337

14. Brigham and Beyond, 1860-1880.....367

## **SECTION II: THE BATTLE JOINED**

### PART THREE: TO TRIAL

15. Conflict and Cooperation in Zion, 1880-1887 .....411

16. Allies and Antagonists, 1887-1890.....	446
17. Darkness Descending, 1890-1891 .....	479
18. The Great Struggle Inaugurated, August 1891-January 1892 .....	514
PART FOUR: DEPOSITIONS	
19. The Reorganization Calls Its First Witnesses, January-February 1892.....	539
20. The Temple Lot Case Comes to Utah, March 1892 .....	557
21. The Reorganization Calls Its Final Witnesses, April-May 1892 .....	606
22. The Church of Christ Calls Its Final Witnesses, May-August 1892.....	645
23. The Reorganization Presents Rebuttal Testimony, August 1892 .....	680
PART FIVE: ABSTRACTS	
24. The Trial Delayed, August 1892-May 1893 .....	708
25. Abstracts, Abyss, and Awe, June-August 1893 .....	733
26. Reevaluating Identity at the World’s Fair, August-September 1893.....	767
PART SIX: BRIEFS	
27. The Reorganization Hones Its Arguments, September-October 1893.....	799
28. The Church of Christ Responds, October-November 1893.....	827
29. The Reorganization’s Reply, December 1893 .....	870
<b>SECTION III: JUDGMENTS</b>	
PART SEVEN: THE COURT OF JUDGE PHILIPS	
30. Oral Arguments, January-February 1894 .....	894
31. The Verdict, March 1894.....	928
32. The Verdict in Legal Context, 1813-1914 .....	950

33. Reaction, March 1894.....975

PART EIGHT: CLOSING ARGUMENTS

Epilogue, 1894-1896.....1000

Bibliography .....1005

## Terminology

The nomenclature of the Temple Lot Case can get quite confusing and redundant at times, as multiple churches and individuals shared similar or even the same names. I've therefore taken the following steps to minimize the muddle and repetition.

Throughout the study, I use the terms "Mormon," "Mormons," and "Saints" in a broad sense to refer to anyone who considers Joseph Smith Jr. (1805-1844) a prophet of God, regardless of their particular factional affiliation. Similarly, "Mormonism," "Mormondom," "Mormon movement," "Mormon tradition," "Mormon universe," and "Mormon restoration" refer to the movement Smith led from 1830-1844 and the diverse array of churches that arose therefrom after his death. When I speak of "Mormons," the "Mormon tradition," and like terms, I am *not* singling out the LDS Church in Utah.

I should note that some churches tracing their origins back to Joseph Smith currently reject the "Mormon" label in favor of the term "Restorationist." I find "Restorationist" somewhat problematic, however, as there are many brands of Christian "Restorationists" and most did not arise from Joseph Smith. "Mormon" was the most common nineteenth-century label for all of Smith's followers, whatever the faction.

During Joseph Smith's administration, the church he led went through three official names: "The Church of Christ" (1830-1834), "The Church of the Latter Day Saints" (1834-1838), and "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" (1838-1844). I utilize each title herein when chronologically appropriate. As catch-all terms for Smith's church, I sometimes use the terms "early church," "mother church," "Mormon Church" and "Latter Day Saints" (the latter with a capital "D" and no hyphen between

“Latter” and “Day”). Because so many churches arose within the Mormon universe following Smith’s death, I do not use the terms “Mormon Church” or “Latter Day Saints” in reference to any particular posthumous faction; “Mormon Church” and “Latter Day Saints” are used exclusively in reference to Smith’s church in Smith’s era.

“LDS,” “LDS Church,” “Utah Church,” “Utah Mormons,” “Brighamites,” and “Latter-day Saints” (with a small “d” and a hyphen) refer to the institution and members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, based in Nauvoo, Illinois (1844-1846), Winter Quarters, [Nebraska] (1846-1847), and Salt Lake City, Utah (1847-present). To avoid confusion with Joseph Smith’s similarly-named church, I use “LDS Church” in reference to the Utah Church alone, never Smith’s church.

“RLDS,” “RLDS Church,” “New Organization,” “Reorganization,” “Reorganized Church,” and “Josephites” refer to the institution and members of The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, based in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois (1851-1860), Nauvoo, Illinois (1860-1865), Plano, Illinois (1865-1881), and Lamoni, Iowa (1881-1920). In 2001, the Reorganized Church changed its name to the “Community of Christ,” which I abbreviate in the reference endnotes as “CofC.”

“The Church of Christ,” “Crow Creek Branch,” “Hedrickites,” and “Church of Jesus Christ (of Latter Day Saints)” (with parentheses in the title) refer to the institution and members now known as The Church of Christ (Temple Lot), based in Woodford County, Illinois (1852-1867) and Independence, Missouri (1867-present). The context of a given passage should make it clear whether I am referring to this organization, Granville Hedrick’s “Church of Christ,” or Joseph Smith’s earlier “Church of Christ.”

As the foregoing indicates, I sometimes use the slang simplifiers of the period—“Brighamites,” “Josephites,” “Hedrickites,” and so forth—to refer to specific factions. Terms like these were often employed in a pejorative sense; I do not use them with the same intent. Rather, I find the terms helpful on occasion not only for their clarity, but also because they convey some of the flavor of the era’s rhetoric.

To distinguish individuals with the same surname, I often use given names. To distinguish Mormon founder Joseph Smith Jr. from his father Joseph Smith Sr., son Joseph Smith III, and myriad other Smith family members, I frequently refer to him as “the Prophet,” a term applied in his lifetime as both an honorific and a sneer. In similar manner, I sometimes refer to his brother, Hyrum Smith, as “the Patriarch.”

The Temple Grounds at the heart of this study went through several permutations in the nineteenth-century. “Temple Tract” refers to the original 63.27 acres Bishop Edward Partridge purchased in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri in 1831 on behalf of Joseph Smith Jr.’s Church of Christ. “Temple Lot” refers only to the 2.5 acre section of the property under dispute in the Temple Lot Case. When no acreage is necessarily specified, I sometimes use the generic term “Temple Grounds.”

“Temple Lot Case” refers to the prolonged legal battle (1891-1896) between The Reorganized Church and The Church of Christ. Specifically, the following suits:

*The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints v. The Church of Christ, et. al.*, 60 F. 937 (C.C.W.D. Mo. 1894).

*The Church of Christ in Missouri v. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 70 F. 179 (8th Cir. 1895).

*The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints v. The Church of Christ*, 71 F. 250 (8th Cir. 1895).

*The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints v. The Church of Christ*, 163 U.S. 681 (1896).

## Abbreviations

- APR* Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books and Smith Research Associates, 1989).
- BC* *A Book of Commandments, For the Government of the Church of Christ, Organized According to the Law, on the 6th of April, 1830* (Zion [Independence], MO: W. W. Phelps & Co., 1833).
- BJW* Bruce N. Westergren, ed., *From Historian to Dissident: The Book of John Whitmer* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995).
- CA* *In the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Western Division, at Kansas City. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Complainant, vs. The Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri; Richard Hill, Trustee; Richard Hill, Mrs. E. Hill, C. A. Hall, President; Mrs. C. A. Hall, George Frisbie, Mrs. E. Frisbie, Miss Nannie Frisbie, Daniel Bauder, and G. D. Cole, as members of and doing business under the name of the Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri, Respondents.: Complainant's Abstract of Pleading and Evidence* (Lamoni: Herald Publishing House and Bindery, 1893).
- CIC* John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius, eds., *Cultures in Conflict: A Documentary History of the Mormon War in Illinois* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995).
- D&C (1835)* *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God, and Compiled by Joseph Smith Junior, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams* (Kirtland, OH: F. G. Williams & Co., 1835).
- D&C (1844)* *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God* 2d ed. (Nauvoo, IL: J. Taylor, 1844).
- D&C (LDS)* *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Containing Revelations Given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet, with Some Additions by His Successors in the Presidency of the Church* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981).



- D&C* (RLDS) *Book of Doctrine and Covenants: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God, and Given in the Order of Their Dates* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1978).
- Dialogue* *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (1966-present).
- DN* *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, 1850-present).
- Document* *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, MO: Office of the Boon's Lick Democrat, 1841).
- E&MS* *The Evening and the Morning Star* (Zion [Independence], MO, 1832-1833; Kirtland, OH, 1833-1834).
- E&MS(R)* *The Evening and the Morning Star* (Kirtland, OH, 1835). A revised "reprint" of the original *Evening and the Morning Star*.
- EJ* *The Elders' Journal* (Kirtland, OH, 1837; Far West, MO, 1838).
- EMD* Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents* 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996-2003).
- FARMS* Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies.
- FWR* Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983).
- HC* Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. by B. H. Roberts. 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-1932; 2d. rev. ed [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978]).
- HCK* Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* Significant Mormon Diaries Series (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987).
- HMH* Matthew S. McBride, *A House for the Most High: The Story of the Original Nauvoo Temple* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2007).

- HRC* Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith (vols. 1-4) and F. Henry Edwards (vols. 5-8), eds., *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* 8 vols. (Lamoni, IA: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1896-1903 (vols. 1-4); Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1969-1976 (vols. 5-8).
- HS* Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964).
- JD* *Journal of Discourses by Brigham Young, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, His Two Counsellors, the Twelve Apostles, and Others* 26 vols. (London and Liverpool, England: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886).
- JMH* *Journal of Mormon History* (1974-present).
- JSJ* Dean C. Jessee, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Journals, Volume 1: 1832-1839*, and Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds., *Journals, Volume 2: December 1841-April 1843*, vols. 1 and 2 respectively of the Journals series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2008-2011).
- JSQA* Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, eds., *Joseph Smith's Quorum of the Anointed, 1842-1845: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005).
- JST* Scott H. Faulring, Kent P. Jackson, and Robert J. Matthews, eds., *Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible: Original Manuscripts* (Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2004).
- JWC* George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1995).
- JWJ* *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* (1981-present).
- KCS* *Kansas City Star* (Kansas City, 1880-present).
- KCT* *Kansas City Times* (Kansas City, 1867-1990).
- KHCM* Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, eds., *The Kirtland Council Minute Book* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 2002).

- M&A*      *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, OH, 1834-1837).
- MH*        D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates), 1994, 1997.
- MHR*       *Missouri Historical Review* (1906-present).
- MHS*       *Mormon Historical Studies* (2000-present).
- MRB*       Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile edition, first volume of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2009).
- MRLDS*    Susan Easton Black, comp., *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* 6 vols. (Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1993).
- MS*        *The Latter Day Saints' Millennial Star* (Manchester, Liverpool, and London, England, 1840-1970).
- NCM*       John S. Dinger, ed., *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011).
- NEC*       Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, eds., *The Nauvoo Endowment Companies, 1845-1846: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005).
- OS*        *Ogden Standard* (Ogden, UT., 1888-1908, and continuing to the present as the *Ogden Standard-Examiner*).
- PGP*       *The Pearl of Great Price: A Selection from the Revelations, Translations, and Narrations of Joseph Smith, First Prophet, Seer, and Revelator to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981).
- PJS*        Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-1992).
- PM*        Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *The Historical Record* 6 (May 1887), 219-240.

- PWJS* Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984).
- RPM* Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, eds., *The Reed Peck Manuscript: An Important Document Written in 1839 Concerning the Mormon War in Missouri and the Danite Band* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, n. d.).
- RS* Maurice L. Draper (vols. 1-3), Clare D. Vlahos (vol. 1), A. Bruce Lindgren (vol. 2), Debra Combs (vol. 3), Marjorie B. Troeh (vol. 4), Darlene Caswell (vol. 5), Wayne Ham (vol. 6), Ruth Ann Wood (vol. 7), Joni Wilson (vol. 7-9), Peter A. Judd (vol. 10), eds., *Restoration Studies: A Collection of Essays About the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*; subtitle changed with vol. 8 to *A Collection of Essays About the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Community of Christ*; subtitle changed with vol. 10 to *Theology and Culture in the Community of Christ and the Latter Day Saint Movement*. 10 vols. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1980-2005 [vols. 1-9]; Independence, MO: John Whitmer Historical Association and Community of Christ Seminary Press, 2009 [vol. 10]).
- SH* *Saints' Herald* (Cincinnati, 1860-1863; Plano, IL, 1863-1881; Lamoni, IA, 1881-1921; Independence, MO, 1921-present).
- SLT* *Salt Lake Tribune* (Salt Lake City, 1871-present).
- T&S* *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, IL, 1839-1846).
- TLC-C* Temple Lot Case, Complainant's Testimony, deposition transcripts, 2 vols. (Kansas City: Eighth Federal Circuit Court, Western Division of the Western District of Missouri, 1892). Community of Christ Archives, Independence, MO.
- TLC-R* Temple Lot Case, Respondent's Testimony, deposition transcripts, 3 vols. (Kansas City: Eighth Federal Circuit Court, Western Division of the Western District of Missouri, 1892). Community of Christ Archives, Independence, MO.
- TT* *The Truth Teller* (Bloomington, IL, 1864-65; Independence, MO, 1868).
- UHQ* *Utah Historical Quarterly* (Salt Lake City, 1928-present).
- WE* *Woman's Exponent* (Salt Lake City, 1872-1914).

- WJS* Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980).
- WWJ* Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journals, 1833-1898* 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-1985).
- ZE* *Zion's Ensign* (Independence, MO, 1891-1932).