Hard Questions in Church History

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D&C 94-101, Expulsion from Jackson County Missouri June to December 1833

Questions to Consider

- What went wrong in Independence, MO?
- Is it possible that Joseph was wrong?
- Why did the Lord send them there, knowing they would fail?
- How did Independence Become a City of Thugs?
- Why did bad things happen to Good People?
- What sins did the Saints commit to bring such troubles?

Jackson County—Timeline

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1831	July 20	Joseph Smith identifies the Land of Zion & temple lot in Independence, MO.
	Summer	Saints settle in Kaw Township (now in Kansas City, MO.)
1831-1832	Winter	Saints build ferries, bridges, mills, dams, homes, fences in Jackson Co., MO.
1832	Spring	Church Storehouse and Printing Office are established, proceeds used to buy land.
	Fall	Schools started, lands were assigned as "inheritances"
	November	810 Latter-day Saints are in Missouri, in five independent settlements
1833	Spring	Some Church members circumvent and ignore the authority of their leaders.
		Others obtain property by means other than the laws revealed to the Church
	Summer	Jealousies, covetousness, neglect of the commandments, and boasting. Increasing
		hostilities against and by the "old settlers" of Jackson Co.
	July	The Church holds solemn assemblies, starts a School of the Prophets
		Book of Commandments nears publication
		Mob violence, printing press destroyed, Bishop Partridge tarred and feathered.
	July 20	Local citizens demanded that the Saints leave Jackson County.
	July 23	Threatened with violence by a mob, the Saints agreed to leave the county. Many
		move north into Liberty, Clay Co.; seen as temporary by the helpful locals there.
	Aug	D&C 94, 97, 98
	Oct	D&C 100
	Oct 20	Church leaders announce their intent to stay and defend themselves legally
	Oct-Nov	Mobs violence escalates in church settlements; Saints flee from Jackson County
	Nov 6-7	Saints ferry across Missouri River into Clay, Ray, and Lafayette Counties
	Dec	D&C 101
1834	June	Joseph returns to Jackson Co. with "Zions Camp," disbands, and averts outright
	-	war. The Prophet establishes a presidency under David Whitmer and a high
		council in Liberty
1836	June	In a publish meeting in Liberty, the Saints agree to honor their promise to leave.
	~	They move northeast into Caldwell Co., a newly created "Mormon county"

I. Historical Backgrounds

1821-1833 Santa Fe Trade Headquarters in Independence Missouri

By 1800, a need for precious metals in the United States drove entrepreneurial businessmen to trade with their southern neighbors for Spanish coins. In 1810, when Mexico overthrew Spanish rule, the

new independent nation was even more willing to establish trade with the United States. It became a place for quick profit of gold and silver. Shortly after that time, the United States Congress was working through the "Missouri Compromise."

On August 10, 1821, Missouri became the 24th state, with the most western border in the union. Three weeks after statehood was achieved, on September 1, 1821, William Becknell from Missouri jumped at the opportunity and began a company called the "Santa Fe Trade." A few adventurous, money-hungry men and a few pack animals started the company. It became an overnight bonanza. One man profited 1,500 percent in five months. It provided a "get rich quick" scheme for everyone who could return alive. From 1827 to 1843, the Missouri-based venture brought the States \$3M worth of gold (T. Edgar Lyon, "Independence, Missouri, and the Mormons," BYU Studies, 1972, 13.2).

In 1827, the Santa Fe company chose Independence, MO as their headquarters. It was the last town on the western boarder of the United States, and had a natural landing where steam boats could dock. Several merchants opened shops to outfit the wagon trains heading west into Mexican lands. That same year, this lucrative town became the county seat. Independence boasted a high trade volume, constant flow of money, plenty of saloons, gambling, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and prostitution.

Between 1828 and 1830, a traveling minister described the town as "a godless place, filled with so many profane swearers . . . not manifest[ing] Christian living." He continued:

In this town, one soon learns not to make inquiry concerning the names nor home towns of this class of men. Apparently[,] they are hiding something of their past of which they are not proud, and are also afraid of detection. Christian Sabbath observance here appears to be unknown. It is a day for merchandising, jollity, drinking, gambling, and general anti-Christian conduct. When the Santa Fe wagon trains return here, or pass through on their way eastward, there is a multiplication of sin beyond the usual amount. . . . Gouging and more serious forms of violence are common. The sheriff has little support from the populace, except to prevent burglars breaking into the merchants' shops. He confided to me that the citizens do not care to have the lawless punished (ibid.).

This continued until the spring of 1833, when flooding washed out the landing in Independence. Another dock was found upstream and the Santa Fe Trade headquarters was moved to Westport, Missouri. The locals blamed Independence's economic recession on the "Mormonites."

1831 to 1833 Status of the Saints in Independence

In January of 1831, when Elder Oliver Cowdery and his four companions arrived to cross over the nation's western border to preach to the Native Americans (whom they called "Lamanites"), they were shocked to find such a lawless people living in the town known as Independence, Jackson County, Missouri.

When the Prophet Joseph Smith arrived in Independence six months later—in July 1831—he, too was struck by the ruffians and recorded:

Our reflections were many, coming as we had from a highly cultivated state of society in the east, and standing now upon the confines or western limits of the United States, and looking into the vast wilderness of those that sat in darkness; how natural it was to observe the degradation, leanness of intellect, ferocity, and jealousy of a people that were nearly a century behind the times, and to feel for those who roamed about without the benefit of civilization, refinement or religion (josephsmithpapers.org, "History, 1838–1856," ol. A-1, p. 127;)

But that did not seem to stop the Prophet from receiving revelation that this would be the center place of Zion, the future New Jerusalem, and where some understood the Savior would return and partake the sacrament with the ancient prophets (D&C 27:5-14; 45:66; 57:1-3).

On July 20, 1831, the Prophet Joseph and the small band of Saints may not have attracted too much attention as they gathered to consecrate the land of Zion and lay their foundational log. The same was true a few weeks later in August, when Sidney Ridgon dedicated the land for the temple site. But when the trickle of immigrants grew into a steady stream of hundreds, and even 1,000 in under two years, the locals grew leery.

New Settlers Wanted to Change the Rules Permanently

Starting with the Colesville Saints' arrival in late July 1831 (fulfilling D&C 54), the Saints did not mix with the locals. Both groups' built houses, fenced their land, and began farming in the rich black soil. But the Saints stuck together, settled on the outskirts of town, traded goods amongst themselves, and worshiped together. They didn't visit the local saloons, social establishments, or invest in their trade associations. They started a separate free school for their children and, by June 1832, their own newspaper. Even more horrific in some eyes, the press also printed what the Saints referred to as new scripture or modern revelation. The news from that same press let everyone know that the "Mormonites" were there to stay—and that more were coming—but also that they wanted to change the town into a communal city of Zion. All these were cause of concerns for the old settlers (even though most of them had been there for under than a decade).

In the early summer of 1833, Parley P. Pratt began a weekly School of the Prophets in Jackson County, after the pattern that Joseph started in January of the same year in Ohio. The school was made up of about sixty priesthood holders who gathered outside and "prayed, preached and prophesied, and exercised [themselves] in the gifts of the Holy Spirit" (Pratt, Autobiography, 100).

Church leaders, including the Three Witnesses—David Whitmers, Oliver Cowdery, and Martin Harris—spoke freely of their experiences and proselyted in the community. This was offensive to the locals—even though the majority were not religious. Perhaps even more offensive, the Saints claimed that the city would be changed to become the City of Zion. On June 25, 1833, Joseph sent plans for the new city: one square mile, to be used in Independence.

German Immigrants

Richard Bushman's 1960 article "Mormon Persecutions in Missouri, 1833" sheds some light on the religious persecution by comparing the Mormonite expulsion and the German immigrants' welcome:

In this very decade, German immigrants were pouring into Missouri fresh from struggles for political liberty in Europe. They explicitly opposed slavery and actively sought to sway public opinion in this direction. They were far more likely objects of suspicion than the latter-day saints and yet suffered no physical persecutions like the Germans. The saints were never guilty of tampering with slaves or importing free negroes but unlike the Germans, the Mormons expressly repudiated all abolitionist sentiments. If mere suspicion of interference with [black Africans] aroused Missourians to violence the Germans should have been driven from the state before the Mormons (Richard L. Bushman, "Mormon Persecutions in Missouri, 1833," BYU Studies, Autumn 1960, 03.1, 11-20).

The German immigrants were as numerous and boldly opposed slavery. As abolitionists, they actively tried to sway public opinion. But the Saints had another more pressing cause. In addition to their respect for all people—including both African Americans and Native Americans—they had unusual religious views. Slavery was only a part of the problem. Religion lay at the core.

Religious Persecution

It was not just the size or numbers of "the Mormonite" immigration—it was their beliefs. The Saints shared openly their beliefs of a different Godhead, different scripture, different view of practicing enthusiastic spiritual gifts, and different view of Independence as a city of Zion for the Lord's Second Coming—just to name a few. Even though many of the locals were not religious people, they never attacked Baptist or Protestants. They saw the Saints, however, as aliens. Richard Bushman interpreted what "lay at the heart of gentile hatreds and fears" was the Missourians' "fear of religious aliens in power" (ibid. 10).

The Saints publicly preached the destruction of the wicked and other plagues of the last days that they could be spared if they repented. Their non-believing neighbors wrote that the Saints were fanatics or knaves to think they could perform miracles as the apostles did. Some considered the Saints' claims blasphemy. Joseph Smith's History likewise included that the mob was angered because the Saints "have wrought miracles have conversed with god and his angels and possess and exercise the gifts of divination and unknown tongues" (Joseph Smith, History of the Church, 1. 3978).

A Newspaper Article Became the Last Straw

By July of 1833, the combination of the economic downturn (from the flooding of their landing along the Missouri river, and moving of the Santa Fe Trade Company) and the growing political imbalance, the locals were ready to resort to violence. Many had fought hard to establish a slave-state above the Mason-Dixon Line, and felt it was worth fighting to maintain it. The tenuous nature of maintaining their slave -state seemed at risk. If many more Mormonite Democrats arrived, they might have swung the Whig rule of their county.

In early July 1833, the final straw came in the form of a newspaper article published by W.W. Phelps in the *Evening and the Morning Star*: "So long as we have no special rule in the church as to people of color," he wrote vaguely, "let prudence guide." The article had the opposite reaction than he intended. It was interpreted by non-believing neighbors as an invitation to "free people of color" to come to Missouri which, would jeopardize their slave-statehood. In reality, Phelps intended caution by warning the saints who wanted to immigrate that members of African descent should think twice about coming to a place so prejudiced, where the African Americans were almost all slaves. The first volume of Saints explains that:

In writing this and other words of advice, he [W.W. Phelps] hoped that Jackson County residents would read the paper too and see that the Saints were law-abiding citizens whose beliefs posed no threat to them or the local economy... [Yet,] some people feared that if the

Saints invited free blacks to Jackson County, their presence could cause slaves to yearn for freedom and rebel.

Since there were laws protecting the Saints' freedom of religion and speech . . . they could not put down this threat through legal means. But they would not be the first town to use violence to drive unwanted people from their midst. Acting together, they could expel the Saints from the county and get away with it (Saints, 174-175).

In a county that was like a tinderbox and in a situation that was complicated by numerous economic, legal, and social tensions, the newspaper article sparked a flame of fury. The leaders of Independence called a town meeting for July 20 to warn they Saints that they needed to leave or they would be driven out. 300 people signed their signatures to their manifesto. Ironically, July 20 was the second anniversary of the dedicated the Land of Zion in 1831.

In an attempt to calm the uproar, W.W. Phelps published an extra one-sheet flyer in the Star on July 16, 1833. The article exploded into more problems. Hoping to protect the Saints, he misrepresented the church and the Book of Mormon's teachings when he published: "We are opposed to having free people of color admitted into the state... and we say that none will be admitted into the church" (josephsmithpapers.org, "The Evening and Morning Star," Joseph Smith History, vol A-1, 326).

In response to the W.W. Phelps newspaper, the citizens of Jackson County wrote a very long letter, a portion of which follows:

The star printed in Independence, by the leaders of the sect. There is an article inviting free negroes and mulatoes [sic] from other States to become mormons [sic], and move and settle among us. This exhibits them in still more odious colours [sic]. It manafests [sic] a desire on the part of their society, to inflict on our society, an injury that they know would be to us entirely unsuportable[sic], and one of the surest means, of driving us from the country, for it would require none of the supernatural gifts that they pretend to, to see, that the introduction of such a cast[e] among us, would corrupt our blacks and instigate them to blood shed.

They openly blaspheme the most high God and cast contempt on his holy religion, by p[r]etending to receive revelations direct from heavn [sic] by pretending to speak in unknown tongues, by direct inspiration, and by divin[e] pretentions derogatory of God and religion, and to the utter subversion of human reason.

They declare openly that God has given them this Country of land and that sooner or later they must and will have possession of> our lands, for an inheritance (https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-from-john-whitmer-29-july-1833/3)

A portion of this manifesto was copied by John Whitmer in a letter to the Prophet Joseph dated 29 July 29, 1833.

Jackson County Meeting July 20, 1833

At the July 20th meeting, the Jackson County leaders demanded:

1) No more Mormonites could settle in Jackson County.

- 2) Those already in the county must sell their property and leave as soon as possible.
- 3) Printing The Evening and the Morning Star must stop immediately.
- 4) The church storehouse and shops must close as soon as possible.

Bishop Edward Partridge asked for three months to communicate with the Prophet in Ohio. They refused. In the end, they gave the Bishop fifteen minutes to decide. His unwillingness to obey them led to him being tarred and feathered.

Three Days of Mob Violence: July 20-23, 1833

As mob violence escalated over the next two days. Two years' worth of the Saints' labor, including homes, barns, fences, wells, crops, glass windows, were destroyed. With the Book of Commandments at the press, one of the most harmful acts against the Saints was the destruction of the printing press. The mob first threw it from the second floor and then into the Missouri River. Some of these stories are well known—including the heroic efforts to save a few pages of the nearly completed Book of Commandments by Caroline and Elizabeth Rollins, Vienna Jaques, and others (Saints, 178). During the next two days, settlements were attacked by mobs. By July 23, 1833, without waiting to hear from the Prophet, Bishop Partridge agreed to the mob's terms in order to stop the violence. When Joseph heard of the bishop's decision, the Prophet praised his action.

The violence was rekindled in late October and early November and continued until everyone was chased out. We have reports of:

- Unroofed twelve houses
- Burned farms or hay stacks
- Tarred, feathered, and whipped men
- Threatened women and children
- Destroyed houses with rocks, stones, and fire
- Stolen household goods and livestock

Historical Analysis

At the time, a local Missourian explained that, in addition to the complicated political and economic situation, the Saints' theology and their desire to change the norm all added fodder to their expulsion. Mr. McCoy recorded in 1833 that "hundreds of times" the Saints declared "this county was theirs the almighty had given it to them and that they would surely have entire possession of it in a few years" (McCoy cited by Richard L. Bushman, "Mormon Persecutions in Missouri, 1833," *BYU Studies*, Autumn 1960, 03.1, 11-20). The old settlers were fed up and wrote a manifesto based on five points that would justify their removal of the Saints—by violence, if needed. Their first charge was aimed at religious differences. T. Edgar Lyon's analysis follows:

- The Mormon people had a peculiar religion, which made them stand aloof from all other people in the county, as they did not participate in the contemporary community life. There was practically no social intercourse with them, hence there would be no leveling of their peculiarities through intermarriage or longer association together.
- 2) The Saints were accused of interfering with the settlers' black slaves, making them discontented by preaching a strange gospel to them.

- 3) The cultural mores of the Saints were not in harmony with those of the earlier inhabitants of the county, which were essentially Yankee in origin. The old settlers were mostly of southern backgrounds, with their roots in the slave culture.
- 4) The Mormons presented a political threat to the old settlers. Already 1,200 of the 3,500 inhabitants of the county were adherents of the new religion. More continued to arrive each month and it was openly boasted that thousands more were coming to settle in the county. By simple arithmetic, a few hundred additional Mormons could have wrested political control from those who had established the city and county.
- 5) Economically, the Mormons were a detriment to the city and county. They did not purchase goods from the local merchants, as they had no money, but traded among themselves at the Church storehouse. It was likely that this condition would continue to worsen as more Saints settled there. Some of the old settlers were selling their property to the Mormons and moving away. This meant fewer and fewer customers in the stores, and future financial ruin. Business conditions were deteriorating (Lyon, BYU Studies,13.2).

Religious persecution against the Saints began in the northern states. With the added issue of slavery (as W.W. Phelps tried to acknowledge in the Star: "slaves are real estate in this and other states"), a falling economy, and a different attitude about Native Americans, a social explosion ensured. Even in the godless town of Independence, the shocking religious differences were highly offensive to their neighbors (Richard Bushman, *BYU Studies*, 1960, 03.1, 11-20).

August 1833—Specific Background for D&C 94, 97, 98

Once the violence calmed down by July 29, 1833, John Whitmer was able to write up a report to the Prophet in Kirtland, Ohio. In answer to their letter, the prophet responded with three revelations from the Lord. As historical background of the revelations, the Joseph Smith Papers Project reads:

Just before the outbreak of violent confrontations between members of the Church of Christ and other Jackson County residents in late July 1833, Missouri church leaders sent two letters to Kirtland, Ohio—one from the school of the prophets in Jackson County and one from Oliver Cowdery. The content of those letters, including what they asked of JS and Kirtland leaders, is largely unknown, but they prompted the presidency of the high priesthood to write this lengthy epistle, which contains the texts of three revelations along with other brief comments and instructions. JS dictated two of the revelations on 2 August and the third on 6 August 1833. The three revelations were copied into and constitute most of this original letter. (www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-church-leaders-in-jackson-countymissouri-6-august-1833/1#historical-intro)

With slow mail travel, the mob activity worked faster than correspondence. By the time Joseph, Sidney Rigdon's and Fredrick G. Williams' letter arrived back in Jackson County, only the third revelation was still applicable. The saints were told not fight back.

If men will smite you, or your families, once, and ye bear it patiently and revile not against them, neither seek revenge, ye shall be rewarded . . . the second time . . . third time . . . they should not go out unto battle against any nation, kindred, tongue, or people, save I, the Lord, commanded them . . . And I, the Lord, would fight their battles (D&C 98:23-37).

During the Missouri trials, the Lord taught the Saints many truths. One of them was how to be peacemakers. His people are to promote peace, not violence.

Background for D&C 101—December 1833

By November 6-7, 1833, most of the Saints had fled north across the Missouri River to seek refuge in Clay County; some found refuge to the east in Lafayette and Ray Counties. Stories of the crowded ferries, separated families, and a lack of food fill the history books. Lyon concludes, "By the close of the year not a Mormon was left in the county" (BYU Studies,13.8).

Joseph received the news of the November expulsion from Jackson County and responded on Dec 16-17, 1833. He felt inspired that the saints should take steps to regain their lands. The Lord also revealed five clear answers why the church members were driven from Independence:

I, the Lord, have suffered the affliction to come upon them, wherewith they have been afflicted, in consequence of their transgressions . . . Therefore, they must needs be chastened and tried, even as Abraham, who was commanded to offer up his only son. For all those who will not endure chastening, but deny me, cannot be sanctified. Behold, I say unto you, there were jarrings, and contentions and envyings and strifes and lustful and covetous desires among them; therefore by these things they polluted their inheritances. They were slow to hearken unto the voice of the Lord their God; therefore, the Lord their God is slow to hearken unto their prayers, to answer them in the day of their trouble" (D&C 101:2, 4-7; also 85:3, 5; 105:2, 5. Smith, History of the Church, 1:320, 376).

The Saints had to endure the consequences of their behavior (or at least some of their leaders' behaviors), as well as live the standard of a Zion people before would be allowed to have a Zion Society. This includes living the law of consecration, among others. It took Enoch's people 365 years to learn to live as a Zion Society, and probably less time for Melchizedek's city of peace (Gen 5:23; Alma 13:18-19).

II. Why Didn't God Protect the Saints from the Missouri Violence

Throughout the Doctrine and Covenants, the Lord revealed to the Prophet that affliction and tribulation is part of this earth life's plan. In looking back on the various circumstances and shared problems that gave rise to the eventual removal of the Saints from Jackson Co., one must recognize that both sides stood partly to blame. Therefore:

Our behavior and our merciful God can lessen some of those trials, but at times we must learn from our mistakes and, in all cases, allowing our growth is always one of the Lord's main goals:

- D&C 24:1 the Lord lifts men out of afflictions
- **D&C 24:8** "be patient in afflictions" (also D&C 31:9; 66:9)
- **D&C 54:10** "be patient in tribulation until I come" (also 112:13)
- **D&C 58:4** "After much tribulation come the blessing. Wherefore the day cometh that ye shall be crowned with much glory; the hour is not yet, but is nigh at hand" (also 103:12)
- D&C 93:42 affliction is caused by failure to teach children
- D&C 97:26 the Lord will visit Zion "with sore affliction"
- **D&C 98:3** afflictions to work for your good

- **D&C 101:2** afflictions are a consequence of transgression
- D&C 121:7 "afflictions shall be but small moment"
- D&C 122:7 afflictions give experience
- **D&C 133:53** the Lord was afflicted in all afflictions

There are other times when bad things happen because of our own disobedience or the imprudent or selfish choices of people involved. God has revealed several lessons on Chastening:

- D&C 1:27 "They were chastened, that they might repent"
- **D&C 95:1** "Whom I love I also chasten that their sins may be forgiven"
- D&C 101: 2-5 All those who will not endure chastening cannot be sanctified
- D&C 105:6 "My people must needs be chastened until they learn obedience"
- D&C 136:31 "He that will not bear chastisement is not worthy of my kingdom"

While not all parts of the Missouri episode in Church History were negative, the question of God's allowance of these regrettable experiences in Missouri raises three other related issues:

- 1) Why do good people have to go through hard things?
- 2) Why do good people have to pay the consequences of other people's actions?
- 3) Why does God allow bad things to happen?

The answers are related, among other things, to (a) God's love for us, (b) the law of agency, and (c) our need to grow and learn through our choices.

The Lord's goals for our life are not always our goals. As the Master Gardener and Teacher, God values our growth to become more like Him. He would rather we learn through challenges than swoop in as a superhero figure to save us without learning from the experience. God prioritizes His children's growth and spiritual strength more than a life of ease.

It takes an eternal perspective to appreciate how the Lord uses trials to help. Life is designed for us to learn humility and become more Like Him. God teaches us that weaknesses can become strengths. This require us to bend our knees and hearts toward His mind and will. Developing greater faith, obedience, humility, and patience in the refiner's fires builds spiritual strength. Discipleship deepens with challenges.

One of the problems with challenges is the temptation to feel victimized by another or by God. Victimization is also a problem when we feel we do not deserve to be challenged this way. The Lord wants us to take responsibility for our actions, thoughts, and behaviors. When someone is mad at God, it is often because he or she is playing the role of a victim rather than moving forward with healing. If we can humbly acknowledge our mistakes and take responsibility for our sins by repenting, or accepting our trials as a tool of God to refine us—we shall see challenges in a healthier view. Hardships can become a time of growth and blessing.

In the scriptures, the Lord gives tools on how to grow closer to him throughout earthly trials:

- Proverbs 3:5 "Trust in the LORD with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding."
- Moses 1:39 "This is my work and my glory—to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man.

- D&C 6:14 "As often as thou hast required, thou hast received instruction of my Spirit"
- D&C 101:16 "Be still, and know that I am God." (Ps 46:10)
- D&C 122:7 "All these things shall give thee experience, and shall be for thy good."
- John 16:33 "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world."
- Hebrews 2:10 "To make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings."
- Romans 8:28, 38-39 "all things work together for good to them that love God . . . I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God."

Interestingly, each of the fifteen times the scriptures say, "be of good cheer," it is a challenging situation, with plenty of reason to be concerned or anxious. The Lord teaches that no matter how bleak the forecast, we can choose to trust His wisdom and be of good cheer because He is with us and He has overcome the world (Matt 9:2; 14:27; Mark 6:50; John 16:33; Act 23:11; 27:22, 25, 36; Alma 17:31; 3 Nephi 1:13; D&C 61:36; 68:6; 78:18; 112:4).

Further Reading:

Clark V. Johnson, "Missouri: LDS Communities in Jackson and Clay Counties," Encyclopedia of Mormonism 2:922-925, https://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Missouri, including a helpful map on p. 924, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/EoM/id/3940.