

THEMES IN AND COMPARISON OF SELECTED NEWSPAPER COVERAGE  
OF THE MORMON CONFLICT IN MISSOURI, 1831-1839

---

A Thesis  
presented to  
the Faculty of the Graduate School  
at the University of Missouri-Columbia

---

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

---

by  
VICKI KNASEL BROWN  
Dr. Debra Mason, Thesis Supervisor

DECEMBER 2014

The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis titled:

THEMES IN AND COMPARISON OF SELECTED NEWSPAPER COVERAGE  
OF THE MORMON CONFLICT IN MISSOURI, 1831-1839

presented by Vicki Knasel Brown,

a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

---

Dr. Debra Mason

---

Dr. Earnest Perry

---

Dr. Ryan Thomas

---

Dr. Richard Callahan

To Dr. Debra Mason and Sue Schuermann with deepest respect and heartfelt gratitude.

To the thesis committee: Dr. Debra Mason, Dr. Earnest Perry, Dr. Ryan Thomas, and Dr. Richard Callahan. Thanks for your encouragement.

And to Calvin, Chris and Jennifer, and Kara and Bob.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the helpful staff of the Frank Lee Martin Journalism Library, especially Senior Library Specialist Sue Schuermann, for assistance with searches for appropriate materials.

Thanks to the staffers at the State Historical Society of Missouri office on the MU campus who helped locate newspapers on microfilm and provided additional materials related to the Mormon conflict in Missouri.

Also, I want to thank the staffers at the American Baptist Historical Society on the campus of Mercer University in Atlanta, Georgia, for help with finding Baptist newspapers.

I also am grateful to Melody Bezenek and other staff at the Missouri Press Association for access to information about the publishers and editors of the commercial newspapers from the study period that had been compiled by William Taft.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abstract.....	v
Introduction.....	1
Newspapers Examined.....	6
General Circulation Newspapers .....	6
Religious Newspapers.....	8
Method .....	11
Background of Mormons in Missouri.....	14
Conflict Over Slavery .....	21
Tension Over Native Americans.....	23
Coverage of Religion in the 1830s.....	24
Social and Political Limits on the Commercial Press.....	29
Results and Discussion .....	31
How Commercial Newspapers Portrayed Mormons .....	31
Theology .....	33
Politics and Patriotism .....	35
Theocracy.....	37
Legal Processes and First Amendment Rights.....	39
War and Conflict.....	41
How Religious Newspapers Portrayed Mormons.....	42
Theology .....	43
Legal Processes and First Amendment Rights.....	47

Coverage of the Conflict Itself.....	50
Conclusion .....	54
Study Limitations.....	56
For Further Study.....	57
Notes .....	58
Bibliography .....	71
Appendices.....	79
A. Newspaper Articles Analyzed.....	79
B. Researcher Codebook.....	84
C. Researcher Self-Reflexivity .....	90

THEMES IN AND COMPARISON OF SELECTED NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF  
THE MORMON CONFLICT IN MISSOURI, 1831-1839

Vicki Knasel Brown

Dr. Debra Mason, Thesis Supervisor

ABSTRACT

Shortly after Joseph Smith founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the group left its New York roots in search of space to practice their faith in peace. They moved to Missouri in 1831, settling near Independence and Liberty. But conflict rose between the newcomers and those already settled in the area, leading to violence and death. This study examined how selected commercial and religious newspapers represented Mormons and the conflict that ultimately ended when Gov. Lilburn Boggs issued Executive Order #44, which forced the Mormons from the state. Textual analysis drew out five themes—theology, politics and patriotism, theocracy, legal processes and First Amendment rights, and war and conflict—while showing how the selected commercial newspapers portrayed Mormons, how the selected religious newspapers portrayed Mormons, how the selected newspapers portrayed the conflict, how coverage differed between general circulation and religious newspapers, and if and how coverage differed among the faith-based papers.

## Introduction

Most non-Mormons in the United States learned a little about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints when Mitt Romney ran for U.S. president in 2008 and 2012.<sup>1</sup> Particularly in the 2012 race when Romney was the Republican candidate, hundreds of stories—including stories about Romney’s membership in the Mormon Church—appeared in a variety of media throughout the election season. His visibility boosted his faith tradition’s visibility, as well.<sup>2</sup> In Missouri, 53.9 percent of voters chose Romney.<sup>3</sup>

But Missourians have not always been willing to support Mormons or even to have them as neighbors. In fact, clashes between early non-Mormon settlers and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints led Lilburn Boggs, Missouri’s governor from 1836 to 1840, to issue Executive Order #44—often called the Elimination or Extermination Order—on October 27, 1838, to force Mormons from the state.

While the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is more accepted as a mainstream Christian denomination now, it was not when Joseph Smith founded the group on April 6, 1830, in Fayette, N.Y. After encountering some resistance in New York, Smith determined to seek a place to the west, settling in Ohio. The first wave of Mormons came to Missouri in 1831, and at first, seemed to be well received.<sup>4</sup> Then Missouri settlers turned against the newcomers, with violence breaking out several times between the Mormons and the established non-Mormon settlers.<sup>5</sup> Mormons continued to move into Missouri as late as 1838. Animosity grew over the years and violence cost loss of life and property on both sides. After the governor signed Executive Order #44, the majority of Mormons in the state were forced out by the end of 1838. Surviving a hard

winter as they moved into Illinois, the Mormons established the town of Nauvoo seventy miles upriver from Quincy, Illinois.<sup>6</sup>

Although a great deal has been written about the Mormon migration to Missouri, the various battles between the Mormons and the established settlers, the government's role, and the aftermath of Gov. Boggs' order, little has been written about media coverage of the conflict that led to the expulsion of the Mormons from the state. There has been a growing scholarly evaluation of Mormon media, such as works by D.W. Scott, C.H. Chen, D.A. Stout, C.S. McDonald, and B.G. Van Dyke.<sup>7</sup> However, few works examine the press reports about the Latter-day Saints in Missouri in the Nineteenth Century. Only a few papers come close to that timeframe. One deals with press coverage of society's reaction to polygamy,<sup>8</sup> which arose in the early 1840s after the Mormons had left Missouri and moved near Quincy, Illinois.<sup>9</sup> Polygamy became a public practice in 1852 and became the most derided Mormon belief or practice, and one that shaped important early jurisprudence about religious freedom in the United States.<sup>10</sup> Another study deals with the role Mormon newspapers may have had in Smith's death in Illinois in 1844.<sup>11</sup>

To study media coverage of the Mormon expulsion in Missouri, this study examined the coverage of three general circulation newspapers and three faith-based newspapers from 1831-1839. The study sought to discover how the commercial newspapers portrayed the Mormons, how the religious newspapers portrayed the Mormons, how the selected papers portrayed the conflict itself, if and how the coverage of the conflict differed between the general circulation and the religious newspapers, and if and how coverage of the conflict differed among the faith-based papers. The study

gives a glimpse into the editors' perceptions of Mormons in the middle of massive upheaval across society—economic, political, religious, and journalistic. Overwhelmed with national change and dissension, editors seemed to mostly ignore the Mormons' plight and treatment in Missouri.

The 1830s saw citizens divide over several issues. Legislators argued and fought over re-establishing a federal banking system. Most states issued their own currencies, and counterfeiting was rampant.<sup>12</sup> A combination of real estate speculation and banking changes led to the Panic of 1837 and a six-year-long depression.<sup>13</sup> Naturally, politicians and the media pointed fingers over economic woes. Adding to the political fallout over the economy, tension was broiling over slavery. Missouri was in the middle of the slavery debate from the state's creation, when it was deliberately birthed as a slave state in 1821. Missouri had applied for statehood in 1819 but was delayed until the U.S. Congress could work out a proposal to maintain a balance in the number of states allowing slavery with those rejecting it. Under the terms of the Missouri Compromise, Missouri was admitted as a slave state the same year Maine joined as a free state.<sup>14</sup> Slavery challenged religious denominations, too. By the 1820s, fissures began developing among Baptists, with the gap between pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions “dramatically” growing throughout the 1830s.<sup>15</sup>

Religious demographics were changing, as well. Older Protestant denominations, such as the Congregationalist, were challenged by upstart groups. The period between the American Revolution and the Civil War saw social experimentation, including new ways of expressing religion. Short-lived movements, like secular and faith-based utopias, and longer sustained religions, such as the Shakers and the Oneida, sprang up.<sup>16</sup> The Second

Great Awakening, an evangelical movement that revived in the 1830s from the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, spurred revivalism.<sup>17</sup>

Journalism, too, underwent tremendous changes in the 1830s, especially due to advances in printing technology. In 1811, Friedrich Koenig of Saxony developed the first movable bed press in London. Three years later, paper could be printed on both sides. By 1822, a faster hand press was developed, and some automatic functions were added to it in 1827. David Napier of England added steam to operate the press. Then, using the Napier press, R. Hoe and Co. developed a faster model that could print 4,000 sheets on both sides in an hour. The faster press was able to produce newspapers and sell them for one cent, hence, the name “penny press.”<sup>18</sup> The lower cost meant more people could purchase newspapers, and publishers began shifting coverage to topics more citizens would want to read, particularly crime reports.<sup>19</sup> Newspapers produced in the fifty years from 1783 to 1832 catered to political parties. Journalism of the period was dubbed “a party press” because editors could be ruined politically and financially if they expressed opinions different from the political party they represented.<sup>20</sup> But with First Amendment protection and cheaper production costs, publishers and editors began to see news as a commodity that could be sold to citizens. Newspapers shifted from serving politicians and focused on covering news of daily life.<sup>21</sup>

Though it birthed news coverage, the penny press also was accused of “pander[ing] to the masses by sensationalizing the trivial and easily understood at the expense of the economically and politically significant.”<sup>22</sup> It extensively covered crime, trials and other titillating or shocking events.<sup>23</sup> Some newspapers, including the *New York Sun*, even fabricated stories to increase circulation.<sup>24</sup>

Naturally, influence was not erased from newspapers in the 1830s. Some editors, including those in capital cities, were active in political party local committees, or used their newspapers to push local, state, and national candidates and policies.<sup>25</sup> That political influence remained in the Jefferson City, Missouri newspapers throughout the 1830s.

## Newspapers Examined

Nearly fifty newspapers, including general circulation and religious in a variety of frequency, existed in Missouri from 1830 to 1840, many of them short-lived. Some of those, such as the *Anzeiger des Westens* in St. Louis, were language newspapers that catered to immigrant communities. This study examined articles from three English-language commercial newspapers—the Columbia-based *Missouri Intelligencer*, also known as the *Missouri Intelligencer/Boon's Lick Advertiser*, which became the *Columbia Patriot* in December 1835; the Jefferson City *Jeffersonian Republican*, which also was published as the *Jefferson City Republican*; and the St. Louis-based *Missouri Republican*, which became the *Missouri Republican Daily* on September 20, 1836. The study also included three religious publications—the Mormon newspaper, the *Evening and Morning Star*, started in Independence, Missouri, as a monthly in September 1831. It became the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* in October 1834, the *Elder's Journal* in November 1837, and *Times and Seasons* in November 1839; the Catholic newspaper, *Shepherd of the Valley*; and the Baptist publication, *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*.

### General Circulation Newspapers

Determining the most appropriate general circulation newspapers from the decade to study was a challenge. Many newspapers begun in the 1830s survived for only a year or two. Those that did thrive often changed ownership and names, making some of them difficult to trace. It was difficult to find newspapers that published throughout the decade and that had complete samples available. The availability of newspaper archives and an

attempt for diversity in location within the state and for varied political viewpoints were the primary factors in selecting the commercial newspapers studied. I chose the *Missouri Intelligencer/Boon's Lick Advertiser*, published from 1827 to 1835, in an attempt to find an available newspaper from the western part of the state that included a substantial portion of the timeframe to be studied. Unfortunately, several issues from 1835 are missing. F.A. Hamilton purchased the paper following the December 5, 1835 issue and changed its name to the *Columbia Patriot*. The first issue of the *Patriot* appeared on December 12, 1835. Only a limited number of issues published between November 1837 and January 1842 still exist.<sup>26</sup> Few newspapers were published in the western portion of the state until the mid- to late 1800s.<sup>27</sup>

The *Jeffersonian Republican* also went by the name *Jefferson City Republican*. Started by Calvin Gunn on June 14, 1826, the newspaper was published until 1847. The paper was considered the “official organ of the state and federal governments and Gunn was the state printer.”<sup>28</sup> It was included because it focused most of its coverage on state government and reflected the government’s position on most matters, including on Mormons, protection of all settlers, and expansion west and north.

The *Missouri Republican* was founded as the *Missouri Gazette and Louisiana Advertiser* in 1808, with the name later changed to the *St. Louis Missouri Gazette*.<sup>29</sup> Published weekly from 1822, the *Missouri Republican* expanded to become a twice-weekly on April 12, 1833, and then a tri-weekly. The paper became a daily on September 20, 1836, but the name did not change until new publishers took over on July 1, 1837. The paper was considered a top daily of that time.<sup>30</sup> I included the *Republican* because the Mormons considered it an ally.<sup>31</sup>

Though the “penny press” trend in the early and mid-1800s shifted many newspapers’ focus from partisan political or religious coverage to a more generalized approach, the editors of the selected commercial newspapers come across as shifting from a “the-party-says-this” approach to a “you-would-do-well-to-listen-to-me” stand.

### Religious Newspapers

Editors of the religious newspapers in this study appear to have approached journalism in much the same way as they approached biblical interpretation. They seemed to see their editorial role as pastoral. The most difficult argument is an interpretation of Scripture deemed authoritative because “God told me.” The editors/publishers were clergy and denominational leaders, not journalists, who promoted the position of their individual denominations and assumed their readers understood their stand. They targeted pastors, other denominational leaders, and publishers and editors, knowing most read as many newspapers as the mail delivered or constituents shared.

The study includes the Mormon newspapers published throughout the period to attempt a nuanced understanding of the coverage, even though the papers effectively were house organs, especially after non-Mormons destroyed the press at Independence, Missouri in 1833. The LDS Church began its first newspaper, the *Evening and Morning Star*, in Independence in September 1831. Although the newspaper published primarily church-related information, in its early volumes news from outside the Mormon community was included under the heading “Worldly Affairs.” But even that outside news “illustrated some point of Mormon doctrine.”<sup>32</sup>

The *Evening and Morning Star* was suspended for four issues while it was relocated to Kirkland, Ohio in 1833. After completing the *Evening and Morning Star's* second volume, the Mormons replaced it with the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, which was published from October 1834 to September 1837.<sup>33</sup> The *Messenger and Advocate* folded when the Mormon bank, an independent system that issued its own currency, failed in Kirkland during the Panic of 1837. With its closure, LDS founder and leader Joseph Smith re-started the Mormon publication, naming it the *Elder's Journal* and himself as editor. He chose as publisher the president of the Mormons' highest governing body called the Twelve Apostles.<sup>34</sup>

But the short-lived *Elder's Journal* was closed in November 1837 by an Ohio court to satisfy a legal judgment caused by the Mormon bank failure. Smith joined the Mormons in Far West, Missouri, and published issues of the *Elder's Journal* in July and August 1838 in Far West before more trouble developed with the non-Mormons. After the LDS Church relocated to Illinois, Smith's younger brother, Don Carlos, and Mormon Ebenezer Robinson started *Times and Seasons*, beginning in November 1839. Once again, Smith took over, becoming publisher and editor.<sup>35</sup>

I chose to examine a Catholic and a Baptist publication to discover whether they covered the Mormon issue at all and, if so, how they portrayed the LDS Church. Religious journalism grew throughout the 1800s across the country, with several denominations starting to publish tracts, Sunday school literature, magazines, and newspapers. The *Shepherd of the Valley*, a Catholic newspaper produced in St. Louis from 1832 to 1836, was one of the state's earliest denominational newspapers. Some historians suggest Protestants reacted to Mormons in the same manner they responded to

Catholics—out of fear that Mormons and Catholics planned to “usurp control of society.”<sup>36</sup>

I included the *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, even though it was produced in Louisville, Kentucky, beginning in 1828, and later moved to Upper Alton, Illinois. The *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer* was published semi-monthly by John Mason Peck, a denominational leader, and A. Smith. The paper started as the *Western Pioneer* and became the *Western Pioneer and Baptist Standard-Bearer* on June 30, 1836, covering Baptists in Illinois, Missouri, and states that bordered the Mississippi River, including Kentucky and Tennessee. In late 1837 or early 1838, the *Western Pioneer* and the *Baptist Banner* merged to create the *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, with John Waller of Louisville, Kentucky, and Peck as editors. In February 1839, The *Baptist* in Nashville, Tennessee, joined the *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*. Though technically not a house organ for Baptists, it espoused the Baptist viewpoint as its editors interpreted it. Each state’s Baptist organization apparently did not support Peck’s paper financially but did encourage members to subscribe.<sup>37</sup>

The *Shepherd of the Valley* was a house organ for Catholics in St. Louis, especially after the Western Catholic Association formed and, beginning with the paper’s second volume, replaced publisher Francis H. Taylor with a committee of three priests. The newspaper constantly berated Protestants of all stripes. The editors had running verbal battles in the *Shepherd’s* pages with Baptist John M. Peck, who responded through the *Pioneer*, and Presbyterian Elijah Lovejoy, editor and publisher of the St. Louis *Observer*, which he later moved to Alton, Ill. Both Peck and Lovejoy criticized Catholicism in their pages, with Peck calling the faith “trash” at one point.<sup>38</sup>

## Method

The study relied on textual analysis, as defined by Alan McKee,<sup>39</sup> as the most appropriate methodology because I sought to understand the sense-making practices of the people of historic time within their cultural setting. Not only does textual analysis seek to understand sense-making, the method also attempts to do so through an appropriate cultural lens. McKee recognizes “that we make sense of the reality that we live in through our cultures, and that different cultures can have very different experiences of reality.”<sup>40</sup> I attempted to understand the sense-making of the press “culture” of the six newspapers as they, in turn, reflected Mormon and non-Mormon culture and the societal concerns of the day.<sup>41</sup>

Researchers use several methods to analyze text. I approached it by looking for repetition of words and phrases and comparing the similarities and differences in the individual newspapers.<sup>42</sup> By using textual analysis applied to the historical record as it appeared in selected newspaper accounts, the study attempted to uncover themes that reflected Mormons, their religion, the upheaval the society of the 1830s was undergoing, and the conflict that flared between Mormons and non-Mormons.

Both the *Missouri Intelligencer/Boon's Lick Advertiser* and the Jefferson City *Jeffersonian Republican/Republican* were indexed by volunteers for the Missouri State Historical Society in the 1940s. I searched the index, using the terms “Mormons,” “Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” “Latter-day Saints,” “Joseph Smith,” “Sidney Rigdon,” the “Turner Committee” (the joint state Senate and House committee formed to investigate the so-called Mormon War after the Mormons were evicted from

Missouri), “extermination order,” and “Mormon War.” I also searched the words “imposter,” “delusion,” “fanaticism,” and “fanatics.”<sup>43</sup> These names, words and phrases were used to determine the sample of articles to analyze.

The other four newspapers selected for the study were not indexed. I read the available issues of each, and used the same research terms to determine the articles to analyze. This method yielded 187 articles with the pertinent key words from the six newspapers (see Appendix A). I read each article to determine if it should be included in the study,<sup>44</sup> and then through a second time for an overall understanding. On the third reading, I marked words and phrases that expressed recurring concepts about Mormons, non-Mormons, and the conflicts that broke out between the two groups. Then I coded each article (see Appendix B) to discover themes. Some themes were gleaned from historical background reading—theology, the tension between communalism and community, Christian socialism, theocracy, republicanism, and media coverage of religion.<sup>45</sup> Starting with themes historians see from their study of the period helped in understanding the culture of 1830s Missouri as reflected in the articles analyzed.

Several themes emerged that were pertinent to the questions this thesis sought to answer. Those themes were theology, politics and patriotism, theocracy, legal processes and First Amendment rights, and war and conflict.<sup>46</sup> The theological theme centers on disagreement over which group is God’s chosen people. The politics and patriotism theme focuses on how the newspapers perceived Mormons would vote, particularly on which party they would support.<sup>47</sup> Theocracy grows out of politics/patriotism because of the perception that Mormons believed God is to be obeyed first and foremost, even if obedience conflicts with legal authority. The legal processes and First Amendment rights

theme comes from the Mormons' attempt to bridge the religious differences between themselves and others by appealing to the U.S. Constitution. War and conflict seem to have been constant concerns in Missouri from before its statehood through the Civil War.

## Background of Mormons in Missouri

War and conflict characterized the Mormons' stay in early Missouri. Mormons moved to Missouri in 1831 at first to evangelize Native Americans, and then remained in the state, primarily in Jackson, Clay, Daviess (sometimes written as Davis), and Carroll counties until they were forced out in 1838. Although some historians focus on the outbreak of violence in 1838, difficulties between Mormons and non-Mormons started in 1833 in Jackson County where the Latter-day Saints first settled. They were forced from Jackson County because non-Mormons believed the Saints would take over politically. Mormon founder Joseph Smith had declared that God told him in a revelation that Jackson County was Zion and Independence would be the New Jerusalem. Only the righteous could live in Zion, and if the non-Mormons or "gentiles" did not leave, the Mormons believed God would destroy them. By 1833, Mormons already made up a third of the Jackson County population, and Smith encouraged Mormons remaining in the east to migrate to Zion to be ready for the Lord's return.<sup>48</sup>

Fearful that the Mormons would take over, non-Mormons destroyed the Saints' press. Several men also attacked Mormon businesses and homes. A non-Mormon citizens' committee and Mormon leaders reached an agreement which forced the Saints out of Jackson County. The Mormons moved into nearby Clay County. The Mormons considered Clay County non-Mormons as "accommodating as we could reasonably expect."<sup>49</sup> As trouble brewed there, the Saints moved into Ray and Daviess counties. Later, some migrated to Caldwell County, where Smith reestablished the *Elder's Journal* at Far West. Though Smith felt the non-Mormons in Caldwell County accepted his

followers,<sup>50</sup> suspicion and tension developed, and by 1838, violence had broken out between the two groups in Ray, Daviess, and Caldwell counties. Three battles—the standoff at DeWitt, Missouri, the raid on Gallatin, Missouri, and, in particular, the Haun Mill massacre in which a Mormon child was killed—were the culmination of the tensions that built across the state. References to the “Mormon War,” particularly in state government documents, generally mean the outbreak of violence in 1838, when the militia was called out in an attempt to calm the citizens.

The 1838 violence precipitated Gov. Boggs’ executive order and became the focus of the Turner Committee, a three-man, joint Missouri Senate and House committee tasked to investigate the government’s response to the violence in 1838.<sup>51</sup> After the legislature finally agreed to it, the investigation began in November 1838, ending in 1841 with the release of the Turner Committee’s report.

But why did the tensions escalate between Mormons and non-Mormons in Missouri? Some historians point to the religious atmosphere in the nineteenth century. The period between the Revolutionary and Civil wars was seen as a time of experimentation, with a host of religious, reform and social movements. Three basic types of movements formed along religious lines—short-term movements, such as utopian communities; longer-term groups, including the Shakers and the Oneida Community in New York; and new religious traditions, like the LDS Church, that endured.<sup>52</sup>

Evangelicalism—called “the largest, strongest, most sustained religious movement in U.S. history”<sup>53</sup>—strengthened and helped create a “common...religious culture.”<sup>54</sup> The movement embraced a broad spectrum of Christian traditions held

together by three core beliefs: the Bible as the sole source of revelation and authority; personal, emotional salvation; and the “missionary imperative,” a call to share the Christian gospel.<sup>55</sup>

Revivalism, fueled by the preaching and writing of Charles Grandison Finney and Lyman Beecher and the fervor of the Second Great Awakening (1800-1835<sup>56</sup>), expanded from New England into the frontier. The revivalist movement on the country’s western edge, including Missouri, relied on preacher-farmers and circuit riders to spread the gospel among their neighbors.<sup>57</sup> Finney published “Lectures on Revivals in Religion” in 1835, and the following year William Miller predicted Christ’s Second Coming would take place in 1843.<sup>58</sup>

Restorationism—“the belief that the true church had been lost through corrupt doctrine and alliances with the state”<sup>59</sup>—also moved throughout the nation in the 1800s. Those who held to the philosophy believed the church could be restored to its New Testament roots. Leaders included Barton Warren Stone whose followers were called “New Lights,” and Thomas and Alexander Campbell.<sup>60</sup> Alexander Campbell’s booklet published in 1832, “Delusions. An analysis of the Book of Mormon, with an examination of its internal and external evidences,” created quite a stir, causing Joseph Smith to declare Campbell as a Mormon “enemy.”<sup>61</sup> In the pamphlet, written on February 10, 1831, Campbell tells the Mormon “story” and then uses the King James Version of the Bible to attempt to discredit the Book of Mormon or the “Golden Bible,” as he referred to it. Campbell claimed the Mormon scripture “shows God as a liar.”<sup>62</sup> Other spiritual movements, like transcendentalism, also caught attention.<sup>63</sup>

In Missouri, the Roman Catholic Church was the first Christian denomination, becoming the largest in 1832 when it established St. Louis University. But the state's population grew throughout the nineteenth century, with settlers coming from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina. The newcomers were mostly Protestants—Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Disciples of Christ. Baptists began arriving in the state in the late 1700s. A Virginia Baptist preacher started the first Protestant church in Missouri in 1805, Old Bethel Baptist Church in Cape Girardeau. Baptists became the largest Protestant denomination in Missouri, with most churches later choosing to be Southern Baptist when that convention formed in 1845. The Methodist church was the second largest Protestant body. The Disciples of Christ, stressing restorationism, established its first church in 1817.<sup>64</sup>

Throughout the period, Protestantism dominated U.S. religious culture, and although most Bible translations and scripture of other faith traditions were recognized, most Protestants chose only the Old and New Testaments in the King James Version as the official Bible.<sup>65</sup> Some historians believe that because of the differences in religious understanding between Mormons and the rest of Protestantism, Mormonism became the “focused social enemy” on which the public could blame the country's ills. While many Christian leaders espoused church-state separation, they had “an implicit concern that disestablishment had left too much room for religious expression.”<sup>66</sup>

Religion and politics combined to stir Protestant ire against Catholics and to react to the Roman Catholic Church in ways similar to the approach to Mormons. “Both were suspected of plotting to usurp control of society.”<sup>67</sup> The religious papers included in this study discussed the merits of Catholicism. Baptist editor John M. Peck called the

Catholic Church “a decrepit old man”<sup>68</sup> and used his newspapers to keep up a running verbal battle with the editors of the Catholic newspaper *Shepherd of the Valley*, who did the same. The commercial papers refrained from criticizing Catholics and other established denominations. Instead, their editors often promoted events in stories and editorials. In strongly Catholic St. Louis, the *Republican* and the *Republican Daily* promoted a broad range of religious events, such as concerts at city houses of worship and the consecration of new cathedrals. They sometimes picked up stories about anniversary meetings of tract and Bible societies from Eastern papers. The *Republican Daily* even ran a list of the number of churches by denomination in New York.<sup>69</sup>

What were those differences in religious understanding between Mormons and the rest of Protestantism? Mormonism developed out of restorationism. A belief system indigenous to the United States, Mormonism was different than the faith of Missouri’s established settlers. Some of those differences angered the establishment. Mormons practiced a form of communalism that created distance between them and their neighbors. Joseph Smith proclaimed himself a prophet, and the LDS Church held strong millennial beliefs.<sup>70</sup> Mormonism attracted some followers because it gave the United States, a young nation, more religious prominence “for God had selected Americans to serve as the carriers of a restored gospel.”<sup>71</sup> Mormons taught that Jesus revealed himself to Native Americans in the New World, as well as to the Jews in the Middle East. Many Christian denominations held that revelation ended with the apostolic age. But for those who followed Joseph Smith, his finding the golden tablets and receiving new revelations could be interpreted to mean God intended to restore New Testament Christianity, beginning with Americans.

Much of church doctrine reflected a move toward a sort of Christian socialism and an understanding that God's disfavor would be reflected in the country's political structure.<sup>72</sup> At the time, Mormons believed that God's kingdom would come on earth, with Zion or the New Jerusalem to be established at Independence, Missouri.<sup>73</sup> Central to early Mormon theology was the idea that followers were to live with the expectation that God's kingdom would come soon, with Christ as king. While they waited for Zion on earth, though, they were to live as though God was the source of law in the present.<sup>74</sup> God's laws, rather than a nation's laws, were to be obeyed in the event of conflict between the two—another source of tension between Mormons and non-Mormons.

The idea that God's directives should trump the U.S. legal system contributed to political tensions that grew between LDS Church adherents and non-Mormons. A few years after the Book of Mormon was released, Mormon leaders praised the republic, but turned against it about 15 years later. By 1845, Brigham Young was openly denouncing the federal government.<sup>75</sup>

Historian Kenneth H. Winn describes the Missouri conflict primarily in terms of republicanism, with Mormons accusing non-Mormons of anarchy and non-Mormons accusing the Latter-day Saints of tyranny. The distrust and violence that erupted between members of the LDS Church and non-Mormons became cyclical—each violent act by either side provoked the other side to retaliate. Those outside the faith distrusted the Mormons' devotion to Smith and their unity. When distrust turned to scorn and attacks, both physical and political, the Mormons' fear that the country was corrupt grew.<sup>76</sup>

Some historians, notably J. Spencer Fluhman, believe religious differences—and Protestant unwillingness to consider or treat with respect other interpretations or

understandings of the Bible—as the primary reason for the political strain that developed. Though Mormons generally left an area when trouble surfaced over their religion, they also “routinely engaged” in partisan politics “as a means of counteracting what they regarded as infringements on their religious liberty.” Mormons agreed to leave Jackson County, Missouri in 1833, but decided to stand their ground in 1838. Later, Mormon leaders also chose a political avenue to gain some measure of recognition for the church and as a means to protect Mormon rights. Joseph Smith ran for the U.S. presidency in 1844, and Mormon leader Brigham Young served as governor of the Utah Territory.<sup>77</sup>

Political clout in Missouri’s western counties also was at issue for the established settlers, particularly in Jackson County. The non-Mormons feared LDS members would take over the government as Mormon migration into western Missouri continued and their numbers grew. Because the Mormons believed Jackson County was Zion, the unrighteous—the gentiles—should not be allowed to live there.<sup>78</sup>

## Conflict Over Slavery

Americans experienced political upheaval in other arenas, as well, in the 1830s. The country was moving closer to civil conflict over slavery. The abolitionist movement became, in part, a religious argument. William Lloyd Garrison began publishing the abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*, in 1831. Missouri had been birthed as a slave state in 1821 as part of the federal government's Missouri Compromise. Anti-slavery feeling supposedly contributed to non-Mormons' destruction of the Mormon press in Independence because non-Mormon settlers thought an editorial in the *Evening and Morning Star* favored abolitionism.<sup>79</sup> The growing unrest over slavery reached into other denominations, too. As early as 1822, prominent South Carolina Baptist minister Richard Furman preached a "biblical" defense of slavery. The schism grew until Baptists split into Southern and Northern factions and the Southern Baptist Convention was formed in 1845.<sup>80</sup> Baptist editor John Peck appeared to support the sentiment of Baptists in the North regarding slavery.<sup>81</sup> Presbyterians, too, were divided. St. Louis *Observer* Publisher and Editor Elijah Lovejoy used his newspaper to promote abolitionism. Pro-slavery citizens in St. Louis destroyed his press, and when he tried to establish his newspaper in Alton, Illinois, he lost his press and his life.<sup>82</sup>

Views on slavery and abolitionism appeared in the pages of the selected commercial papers, as well, including stories about and advertisements to reclaim runaway slaves. In 1833, the *Missouri Republican* ran reprints of a number of articles and letters to the editor regarding the possibility of civil war, which had appeared in newspapers in Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, the District of Columbia, and some northern

cities. The *Republican* also chose to run a proposal that had originally run in the *Missouri Intelligencer* promoting gradual dismantling of slavery. The *Republican* carried coverage of a citizens' meeting in St. Louis against Elijah Lovejoy's newspaper, the *St. Louis Observer*, calling such meetings overreactions by a "few misguided fanatics." He also said people in states in the South and Southwest were overreacting to a "few misguided fanatics."<sup>83</sup> Yet, earlier in the year, the editor opined that abolitionists were giving "wicked interference" to discussions on the fate of the institution.<sup>84</sup> The *Missouri Republican Daily* poked fun at Lovejoy for continuing his "indiscreet course" for the abolitionist cause after moving the *Observer* to Alton, Illinois.<sup>85</sup>

## Tension Over Native Americans

In addition to tension over slavery and abolitionism, Missourians in the western section feared Native Americans and believed Mormons were in “collusion” with the tribes on the frontier against the established settlers. The Mormons did befriend and work with Native Americans and encouraged them to convert.<sup>86</sup> However, the Mormon newspaper *Evening and Morning Star* reflected some ambivalence toward Native Americans. Smith declared that they were the remnants of the biblical tribe of Joseph. Yet, in September 1832, the *Star* editor approved of the federal government’s policy to place Native Americans on reservations. Native Americans “may rest assured that the object is good and they will soon be convinced that it is the best thing that has come to pass among them for many generations.” Commercial newspapers, including those in this study, may have contributed to the fear. Most papers printed reports from skirmishes with Native Americans along the Mississippi River and from the so-called Florida War with the Seminole tribe.

## Coverage of Religion in the 1830s

In addition to the political and religious climate of the time, another consideration is the way in which the commercial and the faith-based media approached coverage of religion in the 1830s. What was the press' attitude toward it? How was religion usually covered, and did the press cover Mormons differently than it did other religious groups?

In the United States, religious denominations, already publishing books, tracts, and magazines, began using the newspaper format in the early 1800s. While there remains some disagreement among historians, apparently the first U.S. religious newspaper was the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, started by Elias Smith in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on September 1, 1808.<sup>87</sup> Smith was a Baptist minister,<sup>88</sup> but, apparently, his effort was not financially supported through the church.<sup>89</sup> At least two religious magazines were already in circulation—*Missions to the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine*, which began in 1803, and Smith's *The Christian's Magazine* begun in 1805.<sup>90</sup>

Mormons contributed to religious journalism by publishing their first newspaper in Missouri. Based in Independence, the *Evening and Morning Star* produced primarily news about the church and its doctrine, but did include some secular news. Articles in the *Star* contributed to the Missouri conflict, as well.<sup>91</sup> Mormons believed humans were to help bring about God's kingdom on earth, politically, economically, and spiritually. That was a "major mission of the *Star*, as it was to be for all Mormon periodicals."<sup>92</sup> Because of violence in Missouri in which the *Star's* press and building were destroyed, the *Star* was moved to Kirkland, Ohio, where it became the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and*

*Advocate* and then the *Elder's Journal*, lost due to financial problems in Ohio. Smith restarted the *Journal* in Far West, Missouri, for the last two years the Mormons remained in the state. After the Latter-Day Saints moved into Illinois, they started *Times and Seasons*.

The LDS Church needed to get the message of God's kingdom to its people and its newspaper was a vehicle. Mark Silk describes the need for faith traditions to spread their message.<sup>93</sup> For some, religious knowledge is often inseparable from observance. "Nowhere did the dissemination of religious truth assume greater importance than in Christianity. Jesus himself is presented as the Word, the communication of God," Silk wrote. Part of the problem is that belief often cannot be separated from its expression, even in the news media. "Promiscuous traffic in religious messages can cause no end of trouble, particularly when individuals claim supernatural authority to tell others what to do and believe." Since New Testament times, church leaders "have undertaken to regulate what was written about questions of faith and morals."<sup>94</sup>

Most religious magazines and newspapers tended to be nonsectarian at first. But by 1830, several denominations had started publishing and most used them "to spread their particular version of Christianity."<sup>95</sup> Religious tract and Bible societies formed between 1805 and 1815. Historian David Nord considers the societies, most of which merged to form the American Bible Society in 1816 and the American Tract Society in 1825, as the true forerunners of mass media because of "their pioneering work in mass printing and mass distribution of the written word."<sup>96</sup>

Spreading its understanding of God's new revelation was a primary reason for the LDS Church to publish a newspaper, partly to counteract the "false reports and foolish

stories” other newspapers were printing about the Mormons.<sup>97</sup> But perhaps more importantly, Mormons believed that human beings would develop God’s kingdom and that building that kingdom on Earth was part of America’s mission. All Mormon periodicals had to “help build the ‘Kingdom’ politically, economically, and spiritually.” Historian M.B. McLaws sees the Mormons’ pursuit of their “mission,” including expressing it through the press, as the primary cause of conflict with non-Mormons in the 1800s.<sup>98</sup>

Publishers of religious newspapers may have had an inflated sense of the influence their printed words had on denominational adherents. Extensive illiteracy was a problem in some geographic areas.<sup>99</sup> Also, even though tract societies and denominations provided printed materials, particularly for Sunday schools, missionaries and church leaders spread the gospel primarily through the spoken word. Lucas Volkman contends that while the evangelical press helped improve literacy, it also “produced imagined communities of like-minded readers” because it overestimated its attraction.<sup>100</sup> Volkman points specifically to the effect on Missourians’ violent responses to slavery.<sup>101</sup> Likely, evangelical newspapers had that effect about other topics, too, including the LDS Church. Baptist editor John Mason Peck, for example, was a leader in Baptist denominational life. In addition to expressing editorial opinions in the *Western Pioneer’s* pages, Peck also wrote a pamphlet about Mormons, printed it on his press, and advertised it in his newspaper.

Although Christian denominations spread the gospel in Missouri, their newspapers apparently did little to encourage reasoned public discussion.<sup>102</sup> Instead, they promoted denominational business and theology.

Silk indicates that bias was part of the commercial media's coverage of, or at least references to, religion during that timeframe because in the West "anticlerical politics" had not made it acceptable for "overt hostility to religion." Instead, "[r]eligion stands outside the established order, at least officially, and woe to those who treat it with disrespect."<sup>103</sup> He notes that after a confrontation with the *New England Courant*, the Massachusetts legislature investigated and "concluded that the paper had both mocked religion and affronted the government." Because of that episode, the commercial press "generally steered clear of religion for more than a century."<sup>104</sup>

Media historian Doug Underwood believes commercial press coverage of religion became marginal after the Civil War. Early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, religion still influenced commercial newspapers.<sup>105</sup> But the advent of the "penny press" in the 1830s began to turn secular newspapers from partisan coverage, including religion, and caused most publishers to concentrate on circulation and revenue since they no longer had to rely on government or organizational patronage to remain in business. As the commercial press turned toward concentrating on revenue, by the 1830s, "religion was no longer dominant" but became just one among several news items to cover.<sup>106</sup>

Although most commercial newspapers had moved away from including religion in their pages, James Gordon Bennett recognized religion could be covered as news. Considered "one of the first and most powerful voices in the establishment of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century 'penny press,'"<sup>107</sup> Bennett "saw himself as the bearer of true Christian virtues in his battles with the civic, religious, and business establishment."<sup>108</sup> He pushed hard for the secular press to maintain social responsibility and proclaimed journalism "to be a potentially greater moral force than organized religion."<sup>109</sup> He pioneered coverage of

religion as news because he recognized the importance of religion to readers and began to include it in his newspaper, the *New York Herald*.<sup>110</sup> Though Bennett sometimes upset the clergy, his religious coverage helped sell papers. Soon other commercial newspapers followed his strategy, and even the *New York Times* was covering sermons by 1850. Apparently, the commercial newspapers selected for this study followed Bennett's example. They often promoted or covered local religious events.

The studied general circulation newspapers also reflected what their editors apparently perceived as common cultural understanding of religion and its value to a specific community and of religious terminology. Communication among people relies upon shared understanding or knowledge of the topic being discussed.<sup>111</sup> The biblical references and church language—"ploughshares turned to swords," "revival enthusiasm," "vengeance belongs to God alone"—editors of the selected general circulation newspapers often used indicate the editors assumed their readers either were religious or were familiar enough with Christianity and the Bible to understand biblical references.

## Social and Political Limits on the Commercial Press

The commercial press was limited as well because of a number of social and political factors. General circulation media took a soft approach to uncovering government abuse, which might have influenced coverage of the Mormon conflict in Missouri.<sup>112</sup> In the first half of the 1800s, the commercial press did not have a “strong sense of social responsibility,”<sup>113</sup> which Bennett had continued to push.<sup>114</sup> The commercial press was fragmented and localized so that it often did not deal with issues on a national scope.<sup>115</sup> The *Missouri Republican/Republican Daily* was an exception, however, choosing to fill its news holes almost exclusively with national and international political news and opinion. It rarely dealt with local concerns but slowly began to shift throughout the 1830s so that by the last few years of the decade, the *Republican Daily* began to include some coverage of city government meetings, pro-slavery and abolitionist gatherings, and public events.

Libel issues also caused many commercial newspaper publishers and editors to ignore, rather than to deal with a problem or conflict.<sup>116</sup> Government spending on “official” notices placed in commercial media kept some newspapers from reporting government abuses.<sup>117</sup>

How—or did—the Missouri press, both commercial and religious, of the 1830s portray Mormons and the attitudes between them and non-Mormons? Even people of that time believed the media contributed to the violence that occurred.

J.B. Turner, the senator who chaired the Missouri legislature’s joint Turner Committee to examine the incidents that led the governor to issue his executive order in

1838, confronted both the clergy and the press for their failure to help calm the conflict. “Did either the pulpit or the press through the state raise a note of remonstrance or alarm? Let the clergymen who abetted, and the editors who encouraged the mob, answer. We know that there were many noble exceptions, but alas, that they were so few!”<sup>118</sup>

Even the governor accused the press of portraying the state’s generals unfairly, and later accused newspapers of spreading the Mormons’ “lies” about what had taken place in Missouri.<sup>119</sup> The Mormon paper *Evening and Morning Star* was accused of starting at least one riot,<sup>120</sup> and the Mormons considered one selected newspaper, the *Missouri Republican Daily*, as an ally.<sup>121</sup>

The study attempted to discover and compare how the selected newspapers portrayed Mormons in the midst of the cultural and religious changes.

## Results and Discussion

To discover both how the selected newspapers portrayed Mormons and the conflict and how the coverage compared among those papers, textual analysis was used to uncover themes. Analysis of articles determined five themes that addressed the research questions — theology, politics and patriotism, theocracy, legal processes and First Amendment rights, and war and conflict. All five themes were used to answer how the selected general circulation papers portrayed Mormons, how the selected religious newspapers portrayed the Latter-day Saints, and how all the studied newspapers covered the conflict. Throughout the discussion of the portrayal of Mormons, comparison of the themes that emerged answers how coverage differed between the commercial and religious newspapers and how the faith-based papers differed from one another in coverage.

### How Commercial Newspapers Portrayed Mormons

The general circulation newspapers included in this study generally dealt with the Mormon story in Missouri primarily from a political perspective, including legal and First Amendment issues. Both the *Missouri Intelligencer* and the *Missouri Republican/Republican Daily* were remarkably even-handed in some respects. All the commercial newspapers relied on a variety of sources to provide content, often reprinting articles from other general circulation newspapers. The selected newspapers printed verbatim eyewitness accounts, and included either entire or excerpts from transcripts of legislative action and county meetings. The inclusion of such variety led to that even-handedness,

except in the Jefferson City papers. The two outside of the capital city also were willing to print letters from Mormon leaders and pro-Mormon eyewitnesses to the violence that erupted between Mormons and non-Mormons.

The *Missouri Republican/Republican Daily* was the most even-handed of the studied commercial papers. At first, its editor saw the Latter-day Saints as unworthy of coverage, although the newspaper had been reprinting stories from other papers and including minutes of non-Mormon meetings. The *Missouri Republican* editor sometimes editorialized as a lead into a reprinted story. He called Mormons a “sect of fanatics” in a comment to an account of a July 1833 non-Mormon citizen meeting in Jackson County. But he also pointed out that the actions of both sides—Mormon and non-Mormon—were “wholly at war with the genius of our institutions” and “subversive of good order.”<sup>122</sup> In late 1833 and early 1834, the paper printed a letter to the editor from a non-Mormon leader and a handbill from the Mormons that defended their actions in the Jackson County conflict. Then the editor declared he had included “sufficient” coverage and that “matters of more general importance claim precedence in our columns.”<sup>123</sup>

Yet, the paper never stopped including information in its pages. Coverage slowed down considerably from 1835 through 1837, with only two articles in 1835, three in 1836, and three in 1837. As the conflict broadened in western Missouri, the *Missouri Republican Daily* stepped up coverage beginning in September 1838. It covered nearly all the discussions in the Missouri House and Senate about the conflict and the governor’s response, likely because the editor concentrated on national and international news, and the political ramifications of the Mormon presence in Missouri, rather than religion or even First Amendment rights, were his first priority.

## Theology

Theology rose naturally since the commercial press was covering a religious community. The three selected newspapers did not use theology per se overtly to express like or dislike of Mormons as a group. They did not give extensive theological lessons, but provided a glimpse of Mormon beliefs and the non-Mormon response to them. When the editors chose to address Mormon theology at all, they usually did so only to denigrate it, sometimes including stories such as an account of Smith creating the appearance of an angel at baptisms in Ohio.

Surprisingly, the most in-depth piece on Mormon theology appeared in the *Missouri Intelligencer* April 13, 1833 issue as a reprint from the *Ohio Atlas*. While the article was worded in such a way that the explanation borders on sarcasm, it mentioned miracles, authority, angels, and other aspects of Mormon beliefs: “They all pretend to the gift of miracles, of tongues, of healing their sick, visions, &c. though, like all modern miracles—often TOLD but never SEEN.” The story explained that Mormons expected Christ to return and reign on Earth for 1,000 years; that the Saints were restoring the Bible to “its primitive purity;” and that Mormon leaders talked with angels, visited the third heaven and conversed “with Christ face to face.” The writer also acknowledged the Mormon place in the religious upheaval of the period: “It was introduced by a few illiterate disciples of Joseph Smith, in the summer of 1831, a time when religious excitements were the order of the day.”<sup>124</sup>

While most of the points were made in an effort to discredit the Saints, the writer either adhered to traditional Christianity or at least knew enough to use Christian

terminology such as “miracles,” “tongues,” and “visions” in context. The writer referred to “the Ark of the Covenant,” “Aaron’s Rod,” and “the Pot of Manna” without explaining what those articles were or their significance.<sup>125</sup> The *Missouri Intelligencer* staffers also must have felt their readers understood all the biblical references in the article and would understand the editor’s intention to discredit the Saints by reprinting the story.

Apparently, the journalists felt they needed to defend their personal faith or the faith tradition with which they had grown up by discrediting another.

Even though the commercial editors did not refer explicitly to Christianity, surprisingly, only a few letters to the editor from pastors and other church leaders appeared in the three examined commercial newspapers. The most notable pastoral account came from the Rev. Isaac McCoy of Shawnee in Jackson County. Apparently, his version of the violence in that county in 1833 appeared first in the *Western Monitor*, a newspaper in Fayette in Howard County, and picked up by other newspapers around the state. McCoy declared politics, not religion, caused the uproar in the west because Mormons were never disrupted as they worshipped:

An impression seems to prevail abroad that the Mormons are here persecuted on account of their peculiar notions of religion. This, I think, is entirely a mistake. In the efforts that have been made to induce them to leave this county, many have called them fools and fanatics, but I never heard that they had been once interrupted in the performance of their religious services, nor that the slightest injury had been done to either their persons or property on account of their religious opinions or practices.<sup>126</sup>

Perhaps pastors and lay leaders did not write letters to the commercial publications because they felt their ideas would be better understood by readers of their own denominational newspapers. Many pastors, particularly evangelicals on the frontier, had little formal theological training and most relied on the spoken word to communicate.

Editorial comment sometimes resorted to using derogatory names or adjectives about Mormons that smacked of religious undertones, particularly “deluded” and “fanatics” that appeared in the three papers, either directly in editorial comments or as part of reportage. The *Missouri Intelligencer*, in its June 23, 1832 issue, even praised the *Evening and Morning Star*, the first Mormon newspaper, when its first edition was released, calling it “handsomely executed.” But even while describing it and wishing the best for the Mormon paper, the *Intelligencer* still referred to the “strange doctrine promulgated.” Calling the Mormons and their religion derogatory names was a crude way for writers to at least lead readers to believe the newspapers were protecting the community’s religious beliefs.

The commercial newspapers sometimes showed restraint, as well. The *Missouri Intelligencer* occasionally softened its harshness. The newspaper included an extract of a letter to the editor in its November 16, 1833 issue, following the excerpt with an editorial. “Although we have always viewed those Mormons with abhorrence, we are not prepared to justify such outrageous proceeding on the part of the citizens,” the editorial proclaimed. Obviously, the *Intelligencer’s* staff drew a line between criticism of others’ beliefs and violence in the name of religion.

### **Politics and Patriotism**

During the conflict, both Mormons and non-Mormons argued that they best represented protection of the American system as patriots. Both sides used political tactics, particularly during town-hall-formatted meetings. The *Jeffersonian Republican*

stressed the patriotism of the non-Mormons, calling them “a feeling and patriotic people.”<sup>127</sup>

On the other hand, the Mormon papers stressed America’s premier place in the world:

The book of Mormon declares that the land which is now called America is a choice land above all others, and we believe it, because the Lord has said it, and we have seen it. At present, the world thinks much of America because it is trying the experiment of a free government; and the people of the Lord are beginning to lift up their heads and rejoice, because Jesus the Redeemer is setting up his kingdom upon the choice land above all others, and it is no more to be confounded.<sup>128</sup>

When giving its version of meetings between the two groups, each side stressed their efforts to end the tensions and establish order. Rev. McCoy declared non-Mormons in Jackson County had to call a citizens’ meeting to “prevent the maturity of the evils of which the people complained.”<sup>129</sup> But Jackson County leaders overstepped when they responded to Mormon calls to the governor for protection. In an editorial, the *Missouri Intelligencer* pointed out that those leaders stacked a Grand Jury with non-Mormons who had been involved with destroying Mormon homes and the press, “and...consequently it would be useless to prefer bills before *such* a Jury.... It thus appears that justice cannot be administered through the Judicial tribunals of Jackson county.”<sup>130</sup>

Several Missouri politicians and military members wrote letters that some commercial newspapers ran in their entirety. Many writers used the letters as a means to exonerate themselves from political blame over the treatment the Mormons received.<sup>131</sup>

Politics played into newspaper coverage, particularly around national elections and particularly in the *Missouri Republican/Republican Daily* because it focused on national and international news. On June 23, 1836, the newspaper denigrated Mormon participation in politics by tying the Saints to writer and lecturer Frances Wright and

declaring that both had “raised the Van Buren standard.”<sup>132</sup> It also reprinted two short sentences from the *Louisville [Ky.] Journal* to place Mormons in the Van Buren camp: “The Mormonites have established a paper in Ohio. They go for that trio of precious humbugs, Mormon, Van Buren, and Johnson.”<sup>133</sup>

Yet, at other times, the St. Louis newspaper stood with the Latter-day Saints. Its editors were among advocates who pushed for a legislative investigation of the violence against the Mormons and of the governor’s executive order.

The Catholic newspaper dealt with politics only with regard to constitutional rights of freedom of religion and speech. The Baptist papers included only one reference to political maneuvering, a reprinted article from the *Sangamo Journal* that insinuated Joseph Smith and his followers were part of the “Loco Focos,” an offshoot of the Democratic Party in the mid-1800s.<sup>134</sup>

Many Missouri leaders were concerned about Mormon participation in local politics because they were wary of the role the Mormons’ strong faith might play in it.

## **Theocracy**

Theocracy—the belief that God “governs” a nation—played a strong role, especially for the Saints. The Mormons’ calling America the “choice land” and declaring that “Jesus the Redeemer is setting up his kingdom upon the choice land above all others”<sup>135</sup> disturbed non-Mormons in the western counties. They interpreted such words as a Mormon declaration to take over the government.

That perception was particularly strong in Jackson County where the Saints first settled. In a July 20, 1833 citizens' meeting, committee leaders combined fear of Mormon beliefs with the fear of a political takeover:

When we reflect on the extensive field in which this sect is operating and that there exists in every country a leaven of superstition that embraces with avidity, notions, the most extravagant and unheard of, and that whatever can be gleaned by them from the perlews of vice, and the abodes of ignorance, is to be cast like a Wolf into our social circle, it requires no gift of prophecy to tell that the day is not far distant when the civil government of the county will be in their hands. When the Sheriff, the Justices, and the County Judges will be Mormons, or persons willing to court their favor from motives of interest or ambition.<sup>136</sup>

In his account of the early strife in Jackson County, Rev. McCoy added to non-Mormons' fears that the Saints could take over local politics:

Hitherto, the Mormons had been quiet upon the subject of politics. But it was easily perceived that as [they] were progressing, at no distant time they would carry with them an influence which would control all the county business. It is reasonable to suppose that this consideration [would] widen the breach between them and their opponents.

The *Missouri Republican/Republican Daily* often berated the Mormons for the political stand they sometimes took. In its June 23, 1836 issue, the paper reprinted an article from the *Louisville [Ky.] Journal* that claimed Mormons were blurring the lines between religion and politics:

Our readers, we presume, are aware that the Mormons, the new religious sect, have adopted Van Burenism as one of the articles of their creed. Below, we publish their first proclamation issued by their great leader, Gabriel Crane. It is to be followed, no doubt, by others of like character. Do not such things squint awfully towards a "union of Church and State?"

The circular, titled "Divine Proclamation—Day of Judgment," includes a statement that the Louisville editor interpreted as a call to theocracy:

And further saith the Lord through His holy spirit to the Churches—See ye that there be a new Congress elected now speedily, of such as fear my name: Isa.

xxviii. 14; Mal. iv. 2; and that my Organ be made President of the United States Government; Isa. iii. 13, 14; lest I smite this land with a curse, and the People and their leaders with judgment in my wrath; Rev. vi. 17; Mal. iv. 1.<sup>137</sup>

Although the St. Louis editor likely reprinted the Louisville editorial and the Mormon circular to scoff at Mormon presumption or misunderstanding, readers easily could have been angered by them.

The Catholic and Baptist newspapers steered clear of tying church and state together and did not address the Mormon claim that God intended to set up his kingdom in western Missouri at Jesus' Second Coming.

### **Legal Processes and First Amendment Rights**

Of the general circulation newspapers, the *Missouri Republican/Republican Daily* was the most outspoken about Mormons' rights as U.S. citizens, arguing for the Mormons from the perspective of the First Amendment and freedom of religion. But the paper showed bias over the destruction of the Mormon press on July 20, 1833. In its August 9, 1833 issue, the *Missouri Republican* printed a verbatim account of what took place at a non-Mormon citizens' meeting in Independence on July 20, at which participants decided to raze the Mormons' printing office, and a meeting on July 23, at which Mormon and non-Mormon leaders discussed options for peace. The editor led the account, editorializing that non-Mormons' approach undermined government while also insulting Mormons:

Some extraordinary proceedings have recently taken place in Jackson County, in this State, against the sect of fanatics called Mormons — the proceedings may find some justification for the necessity of the case, but they are wholly at war with the genius of our institutions, and is as subversive of good order as the conduct of the fanatics themselves. Perhaps, however, it is the only method which

could have been actually put in practice to get this odious [section?] of population out of the way. Banished as they are from that frontier, it may well be asked to what place will they now remove; how will they enjoy any better security in the [new?] abode which they may select?

At the meeting, the non-Mormon citizens' committee issued a list of demands, including that the Mormons were to close down their newspaper, the *Evening and Morning Star*, and close their printing press. When Mormon leaders gave no response to the committee's demands, committee members voted to destroy the press. Though the editor had called the "proceedings...wholly at war with the genius of our institutions," the *Republican* took no stand on the destruction of the Mormon press or for the Mormons' rights to publish under the First Amendment.

But two years later, the *Republican* defended freedom of the press in St. Louis. Presbyterian Elijah Lovejoy produced the *Observer*, a religious newspaper, in St. Louis. Lovejoy took an abolitionist stand against slavery in 1834. The *Republican* noted several times from 1835 until Lovejoy's murder in Alton, Illinois on November 7, 1837 that it believed Lovejoy brought trouble on himself. But it did call on citizens of St. Louis not to trample on press freedom.<sup>138</sup> Both the *Evening and Morning Star* and the *Observer* were religious publications. Why, then, did the *Republican's* editor raise no alarm over the Mormons' loss? Perhaps he did not consider the Mormon newspaper as important at the time because at first the *Evening and Morning Star* primarily published excerpts from the Book of Mormon and the writings of the Saints' leaders. Perhaps the *Republican's* editor did not see the Mormon conflict as a national concern as the slavery issue certainly was.

Even though the *Republican/Republican Daily* defended the Mormons more frequently than did the other selected commercial newspapers, it still showed bias in its

language—calling Mormons “those crazy lunatics” and “pretenders.” The editor also occasionally made fun of politicians by using references to Mormon leader, Joseph Smith.<sup>139</sup>

## **War and Conflict**

All of the commercial newspapers often used war terminology to describe Mormons and to accuse them of wrongdoing. The *Jefferson City Republican/Jeffersonian Republican* was openly against Mormons and the most strident toward them. The Jefferson City paper rigidly backed the government position by publishing only full legislative transcripts and accounts of conflict written by established Missouri citizens who were non-Mormons. The Jefferson City newspaper unleashed scathing editorials that called Mormon character into question. “It is with the most heartfelt regret, we this week spread before our readers the reality of all the accusations against this deluded and troublesome people, who are ravaging the counties of Daviess and Caldwell and carrying destruction and consternation along with their movements,” the *Jefferson City Republican* proclaimed in its November 3, 1838 issue.

It also editorially supported violence. In the same issue, the *Jefferson City Republican* editorialized:

After reading the following documents which we have been politely favored with, can a feeling and patriotic people ‘long debate’ what course to pursue? We will answer no! The country is already in arms and are marching in the relief of their distressed fellow citizens.

Although journalism had begun to shift its focus from rigid adherence to party loyalty, the Jefferson City newspaper at that time was still considered the state government’s official paper.<sup>140</sup> State legislators were divided over the Mormon conflict

as several accounts in the selected commercial newspapers indicated. Consequently, as the “official” newspaper, the *Jefferson City Republican* must have followed the preference of the governor’s office.

Sometimes article reprints that appeared in the papers reflected partisanship against Mormons, particularly those from the *Far West* and the *Boons Lick Democrat*. The *Jefferson City Jeffersonian Republican* published the *Far West* version of non-Mormon citizen meetings. In a September 22, 1838 editorial, the paper made its position toward Mormons painfully clear. After pointing out that “our ploughshares have been turned into swords”—a biblical reference—and that the Mormon war was the main topic of discussion, the editor wrote:

Even politics is submerged in deafening sound of drum and the din of arms. It is the general opinion, we believe, that there is something more than a prospect of war on the carpet. The proceedings which we publish of a numerous meeting from the Far West will show the feeling existing in that quarter. We hope a lesson will be taught to those deluded people who know no laws, and who are so regardless of morals, that they will not soon forget. The Mormons, from the best information we can obtain, present quite a belligerent attitude, and are about 2000 strong, well armed and entrenched in a strong fort.

The editor then lists the number of men from Daviess and each of the surrounding counties who were headed “for the seat of war.”

Publishing the accounts from the western papers, especially adding inflammatory editorial remarks to them, could have helped readers in the state’s eastern regions justify remaining silent while violence continued.<sup>141</sup>

### How Religious Newspapers Portrayed Mormons

The selected faith-based newspapers naturally portrayed Mormons in religious language and generally followed their denomination’s stand on theology. Both the

Catholic and Mormon papers dealt with religious liberty, while the Baptist editors remained silent about First Amendment rights.

## **Theology**

While the commercial newspapers concentrated on politics and assumed their readers understood biblical references, the religious papers considered spiritual questions and the Mormon place within Christianity.

Although the three selected religious newspapers postured from a theological perspective, theology itself—study of the nature of God—did not appear to be the primary concern. Instead, the three sought to show that God had chosen their denomination’s members as his people. They sought to answer the question: Whom did God favor?

From a theological perspective, the Catholic editors ignored the Mormons most of the time simply by lumping them together with all Protestants. The Catholic newspaper sometimes poked fun at Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon for their interpretations of the Bible: “Two *saints extrardiaary* of this new Protestant sect, Joseph and Sidney, have published some marvelous visions of late, which are as well authenticated as most of the *visionary* Scripture interpretations of the Protesting family!!!”<sup>142</sup>

The paper also pointed out that Mormons were not the first to perform miracles, but that Catholic saints had done so throughout history. In a letter to the editor in the September 18, 1832 *Shepherd of the Valley*, “Catholicus” challenges a Mormon editor to prove Mormons could work miracles:

Mr. Editor, In the last number of the Mormonite “Star” it is said that the gifts of the Almighty are differently imparted to different members of the church. As

among them the power of working miracles is also mentioned, one of your subscribers humbly requests the Editor of the above monthly, through your columns, to have the kindness to acquaint him with one of the *Saints of Zion* who is actually performing *miracles*.

The editors repeatedly claimed that Jesus had established the Catholic Church and that only he—“not [Martin] Luther, [John] Calvin, [John] Knox, [John] Westly (Wesley), [Thomas] Muncer (Muntzer), Sidney [Rigdon] or Joseph” [Smith]—is the head.<sup>143</sup> The Catholic editors saw all Protestants as essentially the same, as usurpers of the “true church.” In a June 8, 1833 editorial, the paper mimicked the words each Protestant denomination used to claim its theological place as the truth. “You have all departed from the way of truth—groans the spirit of Mormonism: *Sydney* and *Joseph* are the oracles of divine revelation in these *last days*—hear ye them! Come to the land of the saints—Independence, Mo.,” the editor characterized the Mormons. The editorial concluded by describing the “Protestant religion” as nothing more than “*strange sounds*” coming from “its *hundred mouths*.” One letter writer pointed out that all Protestants believed that the Christian church was an “undivided body,” and, yet, they were divided.<sup>144</sup>

The Baptist editors stuck to theology but did not support their criticisms of Mormons with Bible references. Not many issues of the Baptist papers are available to get an in-depth understanding from them of the position Baptists took on Mormons in Missouri. Although editor John M. Peck referenced the conflict in Missouri and the Book of Mormon, he seldom referred to his stand on Mormon beliefs in the *Pioneer*. Instead, he wrote a series for the *Sunday School Journal* in 1833 and printed his opinions in a pamphlet in 1835.<sup>145</sup> Peck did not address concerns about the Mormons from a political perspective.

The Mormon newspapers quoted extensively from the Saints' scriptures to prove that God had given them the land in Jackson County as Zion. The Saints were to come together in the "land of their inheritance,"<sup>146</sup> and Jesus would set up his kingdom there at his Second Coming.<sup>147</sup> The Mormon papers recognized that opposition to the Saints would continue but that God had ordained members should form Zion on Earth:

The opposition to this church [is] a circumstance that has always been experienced by the church of Christ.... [But] this church was established in these last days, by the will and commandments of the Lord, to bring to pass the gathering of his elect, even the righteous, preparatory to his second coming and the place of gathering, as has been before published, is in the western boundaries of the state of Missouri.<sup>148</sup>

The LDS newspapers often included portions of the Book of Mormon and leaders' discourses on doctrine. Men who were sent to spread the gospel to other areas would send reports of their successes. Early issues were generally positive in tone, but as friction increased between Mormons and non-Mormons in Missouri and in the Northeast, the newspapers published accounts of non-Mormon meetings and of the clashes in western Missouri. They often questioned how non-Mormons who called themselves Christian could say and write such scathing remarks and could condone violence against a peaceful people. The February 1834 *Evening and Morning Star* pointed out that even clergymen were opposed to the Mormons: "...and still more shocking to relate, even men who professed to be preachers of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ were busily engaged with their guns to drive from the county or destroy those who had never injured them or any individual in the slightest particular!"

Several times throughout the Mormons' stay in Missouri, Mormon editors questioned the conduct of professing Christians of other denominations. After extolling

the character and benevolence of the Mormon society, the June 1836 *Messenger and Advocate* asks:

Then why all this hue and cry against them? Not only are their characters vilified and slandered by every two-penny filthy sheet from Maine to Georgia, opposed to the rights of conscience, and especially by those (and with sorrow and mortification do I say it) who profess to be followers of the Savior of the world, though their actions bespeak them to be perfect antipodes to every characteristic that should mark the conduct of christians—but time and again are they [Mormons] perplexed and harassed....

The Mormon newspapers reflect that church leaders understood government behavior in theological or Christian terms and expected officials and politicians to act according to religious principles. Disregard for those principles brought shame on the entire nation, as W.A. Cowdery expressed in a letter to his brother, Oliver Cowdery, who was editor of the *Evening and Morning Star* in 1833:

I like your address to your patrons. I think it very well written and evincive of considerable taste in wielding a *goose quill*. I had read in other public prints some of the proceedings of the Missouri mob and felt in my heart the mingled emotions of sorrow and revenge. I feel to blush at the folly and imbecility of a government that should permit such daring outrages on its unoffending citizens with impunity. I have no doubt in regard to the veracity of the statement you have published relative to that unhappy affair and cannot but hope that ere long even-handed justice, though slow, will overtake the aggressors.

Oliver Cowdery agreed with his brother's assessment:

I am aware that the heart of every true citizen of our beloved country will, after a candid investigation of this shameful persecution, recoil with sorrow on the reflection that in our land men are so destitute of humanity and Christian feelings as to be found disgracing themselves by violently opposing any sect or denomination, let their professed tenets be what they may.<sup>149</sup>

This tenacious belief kept Mormon leaders convinced that the LDS Church would survive because the U.S. Constitution and the legal system would protect it.

The Catholic and Baptist newspapers seemed to ignore Mormon theology and spent more time writing about one another than about the Saints. The Baptist and Catholic editors used Bible verses and church history in an attempt to convince each other of the weaknesses in each denomination's theology. Their preoccupation with discounting others' theological opinions—especially that of Alexander Campbell and his followers—distracted both religious papers from dwelling on Mormonism in the 1830s. The Catholic editors felt the LDS Church was too new to be given much credence, as well.<sup>150</sup>

### **Legal Processes and First Amendment Rights**

Mormons clung to their faith in God for strength to face persecution, and they appealed to local, state, and national governments to honor the U.S. Constitution and legal guarantees of protection. LDS leaders repeatedly pointed to First Amendment rights to freedom of religion and of speech. Mormon newspapers reflected that call throughout the period the Saints resided in Missouri. By early 1833, Mormons were asking all Americans to consider the constitutional implications:

The feeling that is manifested by the world towards the members of this church is strange as it does not seem to arise because the members of the church have done wrong to their neighbors or intend evil to any one: it is, therefore, to be regretted that men should be persecuted for opinion's sake, or the sake of religion, when the constitution of our country allows all to worship according to the dictates of their own consciences. The freedom of speech, the liberty of conscience, and the liberty of the press are among the first principles of a republican government, and we hope they will be held sacred by every friend of his country.<sup>151</sup>

Through their newspapers, Mormons insisted they respected the law but had none for people and communities that misused or ignored it:

There is no defect in the law if it could be justly administered; but certain communities are held by an influence unhallowed and unsanctified, and the great fundamental principles of our Government are overlooked in a blind zeal to please a craft-ridden, or craft-making, set of men.<sup>152</sup>

Convinced of the significance of the guarantee of religious freedom, Joseph Smith included a long discourse on freedom and equal rights in the first issue of the Mormon newspaper, *Times and Seasons*, the successor to the *Elder's Journal*.

While the Catholic editors snubbed Mormon theology, they called for the state and national governments to honor Mormon rights under the First Amendment and to enforce laws that protected freedom of religion. Through their newspapers, they joined the Mormon and the *Republican Daily* editors to challenge readers to think about the conflict between Mormons and non-Mormons in terms of constitutional law. In a letter to the *Shepherd of the Valley*, “A Catholic American” pointed out that U.S. citizens boasted about their civil liberties, yet remained silent when the rights of others were “trampled upon” and chastised Protestants from turning on one another:

Scarcely a murmur issues from the *independent* presses of our city—indeed they seem to *wink* and even *exalt* at the outrageous proceeding which lately took place at the Mormons’ “Land of Zion”—where these enthusiasts were driven from their homes, and their Press destroyed by the *tolerant* spirits located within their neighborhood. Are the civil and religious rights of *twelve hundred* Mormons less sacred than those of any other Protestant sectarians? Or are Protestants privileged to persecute one another? If the latter be the fact—let Catholics, at least, raise up and protect rights, to them most sacred—let them at least offer to their weaker Protestant brethren that aid in defence of religious liberty, which they claim from others. Let Catholics, I say, . . . proclaim to their Protestant fellow-citizens *that no man shall be molested on account of his religious opinions*. And let us, if necessary, pledge *our lives, our fortune and our honor* in defence of these undeniable *rights of man*.<sup>153</sup>

The *Shepherd* editor expounded on tolerance of all religions from a First Amendment point of view in its December 1, 1832 paper. Readers were told not to

“insult” the religion of others but that they should stand up for their own beliefs, even if they were a government official. But in the same article, the editors declared that the Catholic Church would not compromise its theology. Several times the *Shepherd* quoted from or included articles from other sources promoting religious liberty.

The Baptist editors also must have felt some regard for law and order. Though no reason was given for reprinting it, a short article from the *Backwoodsman*, a small Cincinnati-based paper, appeared in the October 5, 1838 issue of the Baptists’ *Western Pioneer*. The *Backwoodsman* story encouraged a legal settlement to the friction in western Missouri:

If an appeal is made to arms, there cannot be a doubt of the result. The Mormons would undoubtedly be driven from the country, or *exterminated*. Whatever may have been the crimes of the *men*, their *wives* and *children* cannot be guilty, and it seems hard that *they* should suffer. In a land of laws, civil war can *never* be justifiable. If the Mormons have committed any offence, bring them to *trial* and *punishment*.<sup>154</sup>

Even while holding to the First Amendment stand, the Catholic paper still belittled Mormonism. The *Shepherd of the Valley* reprinted an article from the *Saturday Evening Post* about a Mormon preacher who claimed he could walk on water. Supposedly, he had built a wooden bridge underwater in an effort to fake the miracle. Some mischief-makers partially sawed through the boards in a couple of places, preventing the “miracle” and causing the preacher to fall into the water.<sup>155</sup> The Catholic paper reprinted a story from the *Rochester Republican* that Joseph Smith claimed an angel would appear at the conclusion of baptisms near Painesville, Ohio. A group of skeptical young men grabbed the “angel” after one service and unveiled Smith himself. The *Baptist Pioneer* printed a version of the story, as well.<sup>156</sup>

## Coverage of the Conflict Itself

The war and conflict theme captures most of the coverage of the violence that occurred over the Mormon settlements. All the selected newspapers published some details about the conflict itself, beginning with Jackson County pushing Mormons out in 1833. All but the Mormon newspapers relied on reporting by other newspapers, particularly located in and closest to the western counties. The selected commercial newspapers sometimes published reports of non-Mormon citizen-committee meetings in counties where violence occurred. Committee members signed the reports and mailed them to newspaper offices around the state. Descriptions in the general circulation newspapers indicate editors did not send correspondents to the scenes of violence. Neither the Catholic nor Baptist newspapers published citizen-committee verbatim reports. The three commercial newspapers also published eyewitness accounts and letters to the editor about the conflict; again, the Catholic and Baptist papers did not.

Though they did not send reporters, often editors of the general circulation newspapers tried to verify the news as it filtered to them from the west.<sup>157</sup>

Both the *Missouri Intelligencer* and the *Jefferson City Republican* primarily published the non-Mormon perspective on the conflict. The *Intelligencer* softened some of the accounts by stressing it did not approve of violent responses to protect rights, regardless of negative reports that circulated about Mormon character. The *Intelligencer* editor opined in the November 16, 1833 issue:

Jackson county is situated at the very extremity of civilization on our western frontier, and the inhabitants have, we believe, the character (whether justly or unjustly we do not know) of being very turbulent and lawless. The present occurrence is not calculated to remove that impression. That the Mormons may be, and probably are, a nuisance to the citizens of that county—but shedding their

blood, razing their dwellings, and destroying their property without the color of *law*, in the *night*, and in disguise is certainly not the *proper* course to remove it.

The *Intelligencer* writer called the conflict “the greatest outrage.”

The Jefferson City paper stuck to the official versions and did not publish any response from the Mormons. The *Jeffersonian Republican* only published Lilburn Boggs’ explanation of the Jackson County violence in 1833 and nothing more. Boggs was then serving as the state’s lieutenant governor. The *Missouri Intelligencer* also published Bogg’s account, which was written as a letter to the editors of the *Missouri Republican* and distributed statewide.<sup>158</sup>

The St. Louis *Republican Daily* included much more reporting than did the *Jefferson City Republican* or the *Missouri Intelligencer*, primarily because it covered more of the legislative discussions in 1839 about the conflict, especially the violence in 1838 and the governor’s subsequent executive order. The *Republican Daily* had to rely on outsiders’ accounts as the other two did. Both the *Republican Daily* and the *Intelligencer* published a lengthy account of the Jackson County conflict in 1833 from the Rev. Isaac McCoy, who claimed he was acting as a peacemaker between the Mormons and non-Mormons.

The Mormon newspapers told the Saints side of the conflict, often couching it in theological and First Amendment language. They used reports of non-Mormon citizen meetings to illustrate the point Mormon leaders consistently made: Non-Mormons hated Mormons for religious reasons or for no substantial reason at all. The proceedings often confirmed Mormon claims that people acted stupidly or spoke with malice. They had to rely on non-Mormon accounts for non-Mormon-only meetings and added their version of

what took place when representatives from both sides discussed demands that often came out of the citizen sessions. The Mormons accused McCoy of being a “pretend preacher” who carried a gun and ordered them to leave. The St. Louis paper reported:

They accuse the Rev. Isaac McCoy, instead of acting the part of a peace-maker (as he has stated) of appearing at the head of a company, with a gun on his shoulder, ordering the Mormons to leave the country forthwith, and surrender what arms they had; and ‘other pretended preachers’ are implicated by them in the persecution.<sup>159</sup>

The Baptist paper referenced the violence in Missouri only a few times, with most of its stories appearing in late 1838. The editor attempted to give an overview of the trouble in its December 13, 1838 issue, but had not yet received many newspapers from the west to verify the news: “Who were the first aggressors, and who are most to blame are questions beyond our comprehension from all that has yet appeared in the papers of Missouri.” Apparently, he had not learned about the Missouri governor’s October executive order.

The Mormon account sometimes changed in the retelling each time the Mormon newspapers published the history of the conflict. Numbers of the dead and wounded increased, the level of viciousness the non-Mormons exhibited was more fully described, and the concern that national leaders seemingly refused to honor the Constitution grew. The death toll rose to 60 and the number of wounded increased with the retelling in the *Times and Seasons* in November 1839.<sup>160</sup>

All the selected newspapers resorted to name-calling, some of it simply because derogatory names appeared in the accounts of others. Both non-Mormons and Mormons used the names “mob” and “banditti” to refer to each other. All the papers also used war language to refer to the conflict and to describe the actions that took place. Most referred

to the conflict, especially the violence of 1838, as the “Mormon war.” Several accounts described how non-Mormons were prepared to march to join their fellow citizens. Even politics were “submerged in the deafening sound of drum and the din of arms,” the *Jeffersonian Republican* declared in its September 22, 1838 issue. The newspapers reported the possibility of civil war. A group of non-Mormons in Jackson County declared that Mormons were “lawless” people “who entertain principles that lead to CIVIL WAR....”<sup>161</sup> A November 12, 1833 *Missouri Republican* headline declared the Jackson County conflict as civil war.

The selected general circulation newspapers used war terminology to describe most instances of conflict in any location. They referred to Indian conflicts along the Mississippi River, in Florida, and along the frontier as war. A boundary dispute with the Iowa Territory from 1837 to 1839 and Missouri’s attempt to tax settlers in the disputed strip of land was dubbed a “border war.”<sup>162</sup>

## Conclusion

The selected newspapers reported the Mormon sojourn in Missouri, couching the conflict in political and religious terms. Although the examined commercial newspapers used religious terminology, they mostly took a political approach to the conflict. Among the commercial newspapers, only the *Missouri Republican/Missouri Republican Daily* took a strong stand for religious liberty and freedom of speech. While the Mormon newspapers repeatedly pointed out that the Latter-day Saints were persecuted because of their religious views, they primarily argued for peace from a First Amendment perspective. Although the Catholic newspaper studied supported Mormons' right to freedom of religion, it and the Baptist publication basically ignored the Mormons and the Missouri conflict. Both seemed to believe the LDS Church would not last long.

The Mormon newspapers naturally argued from a theological perspective. Oddly, the Catholic and Baptist newspapers did not. The Mormon and Catholic newspapers reflected similar points of view about citizen rights under the First Amendment. I was disappointed that the Baptist newspaper did not do so, as well. Baptists were among the religious groups that came to America to seek religious freedom and that had pushed for religious liberty for all. John Mason Peck, the editor of the Baptist newspapers studied, expressed his theological position in a pamphlet and other writings. He could, and should, have supported the Mormons from a First Amendment perspective.

Many historians believe the conflict was born of misunderstanding and wariness over religion. Others regard the conflict primarily from a political perspective. I believe

the newspaper coverage shows the conflict involved both religion and politics, and that the two cannot be separated.

Also, other concerns competed for space in the commercial newspapers—economic problems, tensions between political parties, the dispute between abolitionists and pro-slavery factions, conflict with Native American tribes, and fights over territory. Most of these issues were of national concern. Although reports about Mormons circulated throughout the United States from the LDS Church's beginnings, the Saints and their plight were not considered of national importance. Those concerns overshadowed the Mormon conflict and likely stifled coverage of the Mormons' move into the state and the group's treatment at the hands of non-Mormons. Perhaps the conflict might not have escalated to the point of forcing the Saints from Missouri if the Jefferson City and St. Louis newspapers had had the resources and the desire to follow up on claims made by non-Mormon citizen committees in the western counties. Instead, Gov. Boggs' Executive Order remained legally in effect until Gov. Kit Bond rescinded it in 1976.

## **Study limitations**

The unavailability of many issues of each selected newspaper is one limitation on the study. But the primary limitation is that not enough issues of one of the western newspapers are available. Inclusion in the study of the *Western Monitor* and its successor, the *Missourian*, or another newspaper published in the affected counties would have added more depth.

### **For further study**

Additional studies would shed more light on the Mormon experience in Missouri. An analysis of the reaction of out-of-state general circulation newspapers to the Missouri conflict would indicate whether or not Missourians' feeling toward some eastern papers was justified.

Analyzing Missouri media portrayal of other religious movements that developed during the same period and comparing it to the portrayal of Mormons could reveal the similarities and differences between the reactions to other new forms of Christianity and spirituality.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> “Pew Forum Poll,” The Pew Research Center, July 26, 2012, accessed June 26, 2013, <http://www.pewforum.org/Politics-and-Elections/2012-romney-mormonism-obamas-religion.aspx>. A Pew Research Center poll in 2012 showed that voters still want presidents to “have strong religious beliefs.”

<sup>2</sup> Sherry Baker & Joel Campbell, “Mitt Romney’s Religion: A Five Factor Model for Analysis of Media Representation of Mormon Identity,” *Journal of Media and Religion* 9, no. 2 (2010) 99-121. DOI: 10.1080/15348421003738801, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15348421003738801>.

<sup>3</sup> “2012 Missouri Presidential Results,” Politico, November 19, 2012, accessed June 30, 2013, [www.politico.com/2012-election/results/president/missouri/](http://www.politico.com/2012-election/results/president/missouri/)

<sup>4</sup> Clark V. Johnson, “Missouri: LDS Communities in Jackson & Clay Counties” and Leland H. Gentry, “Missouri: LDS Communities in Caldwell & Daviess Counties,” *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1992, <http://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Missouri>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Monte B. McLaws, *Spokesman for the Kingdom: Early Mormon Journalism and the Deseret News, 1830-1898* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977) 11.

<sup>7</sup> Some of those works include D.W. Scott, “Mormon ‘Family Values’ Versus Television: An Analysis of the Discourse of Mormon Couples Regarding Television and Popular Media Culture,” *Critical Studies In Media Communication* 20, no. 3 (2003) 317; C.H. Chen, “‘Molympics’? Journalistic Discourse of Mormons in Relation to the 2002 Winter Olympic Games,” *Journal Of Media & Religion* 2, no. 1 (2003) 29-47; D.A. Stout, “Secularization and the Religious Audience: A Study of Mormons and Las Vegas Media,” *Mass Communication & Society* 7, no. 1 (2004) 61-67; D.W. Scott and C.S. McDonald, “Utah Newspapers Take Different Approaches to Coverage of First Amendment Controversy,” *Newspaper Research Journal* 26, no. 2/3 (2005) 119-123; and B.G. Van Dyke, “The Mormon University on the Mount of Olives: A Case Study in LDS Public Relations,” *Journal of Media & Religion* 12, no. 4 (2013), 181-195.

<sup>8</sup> S.B. Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America*. (Chapel Hill, N.C. and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> D.A. Copeland, “The ‘Mormon Problem’ and the Press,” in *Outsiders in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Press History: Multicultural Perspectives*, eds. F. Hutton & B.S. Reed (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995), 187-208.

<sup>10</sup> Gordon.

<sup>11</sup> L.O. Banks. 1950. "The Role of Mormon Journalism in the Death of Joseph Smith," *Journalism Quarterly* 27 (1950): 268-81.

<sup>12</sup> The selected commercial newspapers included several articles about the U.S. Bank and warnings when counterfeit currency was circulating.

<sup>13</sup> Harvard Business School Historical Collections, accessed November 11, 2014, [www.library.hbs.edu/hc/crises/1837.html](http://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/crises/1837.html).

<sup>14</sup> History.com. "Missouri Compromise," from *The Readers Companion to American History*, eds. Eric Foner and John A. Garraty (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Co., 1991), accessed at [www.history.com/topics/missouri-compromise](http://www.history.com/topics/missouri-compromise).

<sup>15</sup> Bill J. Leonard, *Baptist Ways: A History*. (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 2003), 186.

<sup>16</sup> Peter W. Williams, *America's Religions From Their Origins to the Twenty-First Century*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 177.

<sup>17</sup> Jon Butler, Grant Wacker and Randall Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 183.

<sup>18</sup> Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An interpretive history of the mass media*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1988), 112-113.

<sup>19</sup> Doug Underwood, *From Yahweh to Yahoo! The Religious Roots of a Secular Press* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 28.

<sup>20</sup> Frederic Hudson, "The Fourth Epoch 1783-1832," in *The American Journalism History Reader: Critical and Primary Texts*, eds. Bonnie Brennan and Hanno Hardt (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 62.

<sup>21</sup> Bonnie Brennan and Hanno Hardt, eds. "Introduction to Part Three," in *The American Journalism History Reader: Critical and Primary Texts*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), 145. Some historians believe the shift to news had little to do with concern for objectivity. (See Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An interpretive history of the mass media*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1988), 120.)

<sup>22</sup> Alfred McClung Lee, "The Editorial Staff," in *The American Journalism History Reader: Critical and Primary Texts*, eds. Bonnie Brennan and Hanno Hardt (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 189.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Emery and Emery, 119.

<sup>25</sup> Gerald J. Baldasty, “American Political Parties and the Press,” in *The American Journalism History Reader: Critical and Primary Texts*, eds. Bonnie Brennan and Hanno Hardt (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 272-273.

<sup>26</sup> Nathaniel Patten began the *Missouri Intelligencer* and Boon’s Lick Advertiser on April 23, 1819 in Franklin, Missouri. The newspaper was moved to Fayette, Missouri in June 1826 and then to Columbia, Missouri in April 1830.

<sup>27</sup> Few issues of many newspapers in the western section were retained. For example, the *Western Monitor*, based in Fayette, apparently was an influential newspaper during the period. Many editors across the state picked up and reprinted its articles for news from the west. The *Monitor* began sometime in the late 1820s and was published through 1837, when it became the *Missourian*, published from 1838-1840. A few scattered issues of the *Monitor* exist on microfilm in various locations.

<sup>28</sup> Cole County Historical Society. “Some Early Cole County Newspapers,” from James E. Ford. 1938. *History of Jefferson City 1821-1938* (Jefferson City, Mo.: The New Day Press), accessed October 5, 2014, [www.colecohistsoc.org/colenewspapers](http://www.colecohistsoc.org/colenewspapers). Information from the Missouri Press Association indicates publisher Calvin Gunn first established The Jeffersonian and a printing press at St. Charles, Missouri in October 1825. The following summer he relocated to Jefferson City and set up to print the proceedings of the state legislature when it was located there in November. Gunn was named the state printer.

<sup>29</sup> Missouri State Historical Society, “Early Journalism in Missouri,” accessed October 5, 2014, [shs.umsystem.edu/newspaper/mdnp/earlyjournalism.shtml](http://shs.umsystem.edu/newspaper/mdnp/earlyjournalism.shtml). Information available at the Missouri Press Association indicates George Knapp & Company was the publisher throughout the study period.

<sup>30</sup> Emery & Emery, 142.

<sup>31</sup> Leland H. Gentry, *Fire and Sword: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri, 1836-39* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), 485.

<sup>32</sup> McLaws, 6-7. The *Star* suspended publication after non-Mormon settlers destroyed the press, forced the editor’s wife and sick child from the building, and then leveled the facility. Non-Mormons said a *Star* editorial they thought favored abolitionism triggered their actions. But McLaws claims the established settlers attacked because they feared a political and economic takeover of Jackson County.

<sup>33</sup> J. Leroy Caldwell, "Messenger and Advocate," in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, based upon Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838*. Salt Lake City, 1983, accessed October 29, 2014, [eom.byu.edu/index.php/Messenger\\_and\\_Advocate](http://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Messenger_and_Advocate). During the *Messenger and Advocate's* first year, Editor Oliver Cowdery reprinted the *Star*, making editorial changes. Unfortunately, only edited versions seem to be available. Editors included Cowdery from October 1834 through May 1835, John Whitmer from June 1835 through March 1836, Cowdery again from April 1836 through January 1837, and Cowdery's brother Warren A. Cowdery from February through September 1837.

<sup>34</sup> McLaws, 9-10. According to McLaws, the *Messenger and Advocate* closed because Warren Cowdery blamed Joseph Smith for the Kirkland bank failure. Smith started the *Elders' Journal* and became its editor because Mormon leaders believed Satan would use the opposition to the church to subvert the newspaper. Smith decided the newspaper could no longer criticize church leaders or their decisions.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. Catholics and Baptists were already strong in Missouri. Catholics had settled especially in St. Louis.

<sup>36</sup> Richard L. Bushman, "Mormon Persecution in Missouri, 1833," *Brigham Young University Studies* 3 (1960), 19. J. Spencer Fluhman believes most non-Mormons of the period also were anti-Catholic. Non-Mormons "intuitively connected Mormon magic with Roman Catholic ritual practice and transubstantiation," he wrote. (J. Spencer Fluhman, *"A Peculiar People: Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America"* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 45).

<sup>37</sup> As the Baptist newspapers merged, each issue was published simultaneously at each location. For a time after the *Baptist* in Nashville was absorbed, the *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer* was published at Louisville, Kentucky; New Albany, Indiana; and Nashville, Tennessee. Baptists were one group nationally at that time. Associations of churches formed to cooperate in evangelism and mission efforts. Then associations in each state determined to work together, forming state conventions of Baptists. Baptists split over slavery and formed two national bodies in 1845. Peck also challenged Baptist leaders in editorials throughout the paper's circulation area to encourage subscriptions and to use Peck's printing service. An influential Baptist, Peck spent as much or more time in Baptist leadership as he did as an editor. He served as secretary of the Edwardsville Baptist Association in Illinois and, for a time, was recording secretary for that state's Baptist organization. He also was sought after as a preacher and speaker, traveling extensively throughout Illinois and Missouri and often to Eastern states, as well. He sometimes apologized in the *Pioneer's* pages for newspaper production delays because of his travel. He also was postmaster at Rock Spring, Illinois, and was president of a multid denominational educational society. Peck had considerable standing within state government circles as well, preaching the funeral of Gov. Ninian Edwards in 1833, according to notes the American Baptist Historical Society, based on the campus of

Mercer University in Atlanta, Georgia, has on John M. Peck, which were taken from the *Memoir of John M. Peck D.D.*, ed. Rufus Babcock (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1864).

<sup>38</sup> *The Western Baptist*, July 1, 1835.

<sup>39</sup> Alan McKee, *Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003) 1-33.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

<sup>41</sup> James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, N.J., Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1989). The authors stress the need to consult a variety of sources when attempting to interpret history. This study focuses on comparison of the newspapers themselves and does not attempt to determine the accuracy of the coverage. The authors also point out the factors that affect media reports, including “the disposition of the journalist involved, the nature of news, the demands of the audience, the imperfect quality of sources, and the pressure to make journalism a paying enterprise” (45). This study attempts to compare the selected newspapers in light of the “culture” of journalism in the 1830s. Startt and Sloan also warn of attempting to attribute causation. This study focuses on comparison and no attempt has been made to determine how or if the news reports caused reader reactions.

<sup>42</sup> Gery W. Ryan and H. Russell Bernard, “Techniques to Identify Themes,” *Field Methods* 15, no. 1 (February 2003): 85-109.

<sup>43</sup> Abilene Christian University, “Campbellite and Restorationist Traditions in the South,” converted to html from Charles Lippy, *Bibliography of Religion in the South*. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985), accessed August 15, 2014, [www.bible.acu.edu/crs/doc/cblt.htm](http://www.bible.acu.edu/crs/doc/cblt.htm). I restricted the search to articles that used those terms in relation to Mormons. Those words sometimes were used, particularly by the religious newspapers, to describe other individuals, such as Alexander Campbell, a restorationist whose movement founded the Churches of Christ. By the early 1900s, the group split in two, forming the Church of Christ and the Disciples of Christ denominations.

<sup>44</sup> A few articles, such as those relating to troop payments for the Mormon conflict and Indian skirmishes, were excluded.

<sup>45</sup> Although the study was restricted to examination of newspaper texts, I tried to constantly remain aware of historical bias, as Barbara W. Tushman suggests in *Practicing History: Selected Essays* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1981) resulting from the extensive background reading I had done on Mormons and the Missouri conflict. I also

tried to remain aware of my own possible religious bias as an evangelical Christian and as associate editor of a Baptist publication (see Appendix C).

<sup>46</sup> The readings included theology: Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York: Random House, 2012) and Fluhman; communalism and community: Richard N. Ostling & Joan K. Ostling, *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999) and Bowman; Christian socialism: Bowman; theocracy: Patrick Q. Mason, “The Wars and the Perplexities of the Nations: Reflections on Early Mormonism, Violence, and the State,” *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 (2012), 72-89; republicanism: Kenneth H. Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830-1846* (Chapel Hill, N.C. and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989); and media coverage of religion: Underwood.

<sup>47</sup> Because it was new, the Mormon form of Christianity was not yet understood. Its founder, Joseph Smith, was still living and continually receiving what he believed were revelations from God. As Smith began to emphasize restoration of God’s people by following the Old Testament pattern of separate nations, some wondered if Smith would be politically influential.

<sup>48</sup> Bushman, 14-15.

<sup>49</sup> *Evening and Morning Star*, January 1834.

<sup>50</sup> *Elders’ Journal*, July 1838.

<sup>51</sup> Several books provide an account of the specific clashes, some from the LDS viewpoint and some from outsiders. *The Mormon War: Zion and the Missouri Extermination Order of 1838* by Brandon G. Kinney, *Bones in the Well: The Haun’s Mill Massacre 1838* by Beth S. Moore, and *Fire and Sword: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri* by Leland H. Gentry are among the most recent. A Mormon historian, Gentry has written several articles for the church’s official *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, which is housed at Brigham Young University and found online at <http://eom.byu.edu>. The governor’s executive order and the Document of Correspondence that includes letters and other material circulated among the governor, generals, and other state leaders—correspondence the Turner Committee examined—can be found at the Missouri State Historical Society located on the University of Missouri-Columbia campus. A few accounts about Mormon activities, other than the conflict, also are housed at the historical society.

<sup>52</sup> Peter W. Williams, *America’s Religions From Their Origins to the Twenty-First Century*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008.), 177.

<sup>53</sup> Butler, Wacker, and Balmer, 183.

<sup>54</sup> Williams, 178.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 184.

<sup>56</sup> Paul Hammond, "From Calvinism to Arminianism: Baptists and the Second Great Awakening," Baylor University, (n.d.), accessed October 29, 2014, <http://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/98384.pdf>.

<sup>57</sup> Williams, 184.

<sup>58</sup> Winthrop S. Hudson and John Corrigan, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 109.

<sup>59</sup> Leonard, 182.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> *Evening and Morning Star*, January 1834.

<sup>62</sup> Alexander Campbell, "Delusions. An analysis of the Book of Mormon, with an examination of its internal and external evidences..." (Boston, B. H. Greene; Salt Lake City, 1832, reprinted [by] Morgan-Bruce Book Co., 1925).

<sup>63</sup> Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005) 6-7.

<sup>64</sup> Richard M. Pope, "Missouri" in *Religion in the Southern States: A Historical Study*, ed. Samuel S. Hill (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1983), 200-205. The Missouri Baptist Convention maintains historical records, with extensive information on Old Bethel Baptist Church, which the state organization has restored.

<sup>65</sup> Charles L. Cohen, "Religion, Print Culture, and the Bible before 1876," in *Religion and the Culture of Print in Modern America*, eds. Charles L. Cohen and Paul S. Boyer (Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008.), 4-8.

<sup>66</sup> Fluhman, 9.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>68</sup> *The Western Pioneer*, July 1, 1835.

<sup>69</sup> *Missouri Republican Daily*, October 21, 1836.

<sup>70</sup> Bowman, 29, 42.

<sup>71</sup> Butler, Wacker, and Balmer, p. 219.

<sup>72</sup> Bowman, xv-xvi.

<sup>73</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Doctrines & Covenants* 57:2-3 as cited in Johnson, “Missouri: LDS Communities in Jackson and Clay Counties.”

<sup>74</sup> Mason, 77-78.

<sup>75</sup> Winn, 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, 1-5. Winn also connected the economic and political aspects—that the economic divide among citizens was growing under President Andrew Jackson’s administration.

<sup>77</sup> Fluhman, 12.

<sup>78</sup> Bushman, 14.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, 11.

<sup>80</sup> Leonard, 186.

<sup>81</sup> The July 14, 1836 *Western Pioneer & Baptist Standard-Bearer* is one example of his stand. In an article about the General Association of Virginia, Peck noted that the editor of the *Religious Herald*, Virginia’s Baptist newspaper, was unhappy because several pastors had left that state and headed west. The *Herald* attributed the move to lack of support from the churches, but Peck pointed to slavery as the cause.

<sup>82</sup> Paul Simon, *Freedom’s Champion, Elijah Lovejoy* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 118-131.

<sup>83</sup> *Missouri Republican*, December 8, 1835.

<sup>84</sup> *Missouri Republican*, October 20, 1835.

<sup>85</sup> *Missouri Republican*, August 23, 1837.

<sup>86</sup> Bushman, 11.

<sup>87</sup> J. Martin Bailey, “Religious Journalism: A Legacy from the Christian Church,” United Church of Christ, n.d., accessed July 30, 2014, <http://ucc.org/about.us/hidden-histories-2/religious-journalism-a.html>.

<sup>88</sup> C.S. Humphrey. 2000. "Religious Newspapers and Antebellum Reform," in *Media and Religion in American History*, ed. W.D. Sloan (Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2000), 105.

<sup>89</sup> Bailey; Humphrey, 105.

<sup>90</sup> Bailey.

<sup>91</sup> McLaws, 5-7.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 6-7.

<sup>93</sup> Mark Silk, *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America* (Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 3-4.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>95</sup> Humphrey, 105-106.

<sup>96</sup> David Paul Nord, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815-1835," *Journalism Monographs* 88 (May 1984), ed. L.B. Becker (Columbus, Ohio: The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, 1984), 2.

<sup>97</sup> McLaws, 5.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>99</sup> Protes, et al., 34.

<sup>100</sup> Lucas P. Volkman, "Houses Divided: Evangelical Schisms, Society, and Law and the Crisis of the Union in Missouri, 1837-1876" (dissertation, University of Missouri, 2012), 302.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 303.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 303.

<sup>103</sup> Silk, 3.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>105</sup> Underwood, 40.

<sup>106</sup> Daniel A. Stout and Judith M. Buddenbaum. 2003. "Media, Religion, and 'Framing,'" *Journal of Media and Religion* 2, no. 1 (2003): 2.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, 38.

<sup>110</sup> Judith M. Buddenbaum, "The Penny Press and the Birth of Modern Religion Reporting," in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and the American News Media*, ed. D. Winston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 40.

<sup>111</sup> Teun A. Van Dijk, 1991. "Media contents: The interdisciplinary study of news as discourse," in *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*, eds. Klaus B. Jensen and Nicholas W. Jankowski (London: Routledge, 1991), 112.

<sup>112</sup> David L. Protess et al, 1991. *The Journalism of Outrage: Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1991), 32.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>114</sup> Underwood. 38.

<sup>115</sup> Protess, et al., 29.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, 34.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> J.B. Turner in Beth S. Moore, *Bones in the Well: The Haun's Mill Massacre 1838* (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2006), 57.

<sup>119</sup> State of Missouri, Office of the Secretary of State, Turner Committee. Document of Correspondence, 1841, 9.

<sup>120</sup> McLaws, 7.

<sup>121</sup> Gentry, 485.

<sup>122</sup> *Missouri Republican*, August 9, 1833.

<sup>123</sup> *Missouri Republican*, January 30, 1834.

<sup>124</sup> “The Mormons.” *Ohio Atlas* in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 13, 1833.

<sup>125</sup> The Hebrew Scripture or Old Testament depicts the Ark of the Covenant as a golden box the Hebrews constructed during their wanderings. It was considered their most holy possession and contained Aaron’s rod that budded and a jar of manna, the bread-like substance God had provided as food for the Hebrews as they wandered in the wilderness.

<sup>126</sup> “The Disturbances in Jackson County,” *Missouri Republican*, December 20, 1833.

<sup>127</sup> “The Mormon War again. Distressing News.” *Jeffersonian Republican*, November 3, 1838.

<sup>128</sup> *Evening and Morning Star*, December 1832.

<sup>129</sup> “The Mormons—Again,” *Missouri Intelligencer*, December 21, 1833.

<sup>130</sup> “The Mormons,” *Missouri Intelligencer*, March 8, 1834.

<sup>131</sup> For example, Daniel Dunklin, who was Missouri’s governor when the non-Mormons forced the Mormons out of Jackson County in late 1833, wrote a lengthy letter that appeared in several newspapers. He claimed that he would step beyond the boundaries of his duties if he were to “take upon myself the task of effecting a compromise between the two parties.” *Missouri Republican*, July 11, 1834.

<sup>132</sup> *Missouri Republican*, June 23, 1836. Francis Wright was a writer and lecturer who supported workers and promoted gradual emancipation, among other sensational causes. (See <http://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/frances-wright>, accessed October 31, 2014).

<sup>133</sup> The Mormons reestablished the *Evening and Morning Star* at Kirtland, Ohio after non-Mormons destroyed the press at Independence, Missouri. Richard Johnson served as Van Buren’s vice president.

<sup>134</sup> *Western Pioneer and Baptist Standard-Bearer*, October 5, 1838.

<sup>135</sup> *Evening and Morning Star*, December 1832.

<sup>136</sup> “Mormonism!” *Missouri Intelligencer*, August 10, 1833.

<sup>137</sup> President Martin Van Buren was a Democrat-Republican who had served as President Andrew Jackson’s vice president. The two were among several politicians who pushed for a minimal federal government.

<sup>138</sup> Paul Simon, 43.

<sup>139</sup> The *Republican Daily* editor poked fun at Col. Thomas Benson who had claimed that letters he had sent from more than six hundred miles away were received within two days. “Joe Smith, in the day of his inspiration, never performed [a] miracle akin to this!” the editor wrote in the June 5, 1837 issue.

<sup>140</sup> Cole County Historical Society.

<sup>141</sup> If the *Missouri Republican Daily* stories of the 1838 and 1839 legislative sessions are accurate, the western accounts apparently helped some senators and congressmen push for the legislative investigation.

<sup>142</sup> “Another Extravagance.” *Shepherd of the Valley*, August 11, 1832.

<sup>143</sup> All the men were early Protestant theologians.

<sup>144</sup> Letter to the Editor. *Shepherd of the Valley*, August 8, 1835.

<sup>145</sup> “The Book of Mormon,” *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, June 3, 1839.

<sup>146</sup> *Evening and the Morning Star*, November 1832.

<sup>147</sup> *Evening and the Morning Star*, December 1832.

<sup>148</sup> “Prospects of the Church.” *Evening and the Morning Star*, March 1833.

<sup>149</sup> Oliver Cowdery published his brother’s letter and followed it with his personal response in the January 1834 *Evening and the Morning Star*. The editor added that he hoped his brother would “excuse my freedom in giving publicity to your last to me.... The principles therein advanced are of too great a moment, in my opinion, to be suffered to remain unnoticed, or to sink in oblivion.”

<sup>150</sup> “One True Religion,” *Shepherd of the Valley*, September 15, 1832.

<sup>151</sup> “Prospectus of the Church,” *Evening and Morning Star*, March 1833.

<sup>152</sup> “A Summary,” *Messenger and Advocate*, December 1834.

<sup>153</sup> “The Mormons.” Letter to the Editor. *Shepherd of the Valley*, September 28, 1833.

<sup>154</sup> “The Mormon War.” *Western Pioneer*, October 5, 1838.

<sup>155</sup> *Shepherd of the Valley*, April 25, 1834.

<sup>156</sup> *Shepherd of the Valley*, July 18, 1835 and *Baptist Pioneer*, July 17, 1835.

<sup>157</sup> Though not included often, a statement such as the one in the November 16, 1833 *Missouri Intelligencer* appeared: “The above unpleasant intelligence is confirmed from other sources.”

<sup>158</sup> Because some of the issues of the Jefferson City newspapers are missing and the Missouri State Historical Society volunteers in the 1940s may have missed some articles when indexing, this study does not include articles from the Jefferson City *Republican* between December 21, 1833 and September 22, 1838. A paper-by-paper search might reveal additional coverage of Mormons during that period.

<sup>159</sup> “The Mormons.” *Missouri Republican*, January 30, 1834.

<sup>160</sup> Although the writer offered no distinction, possibly he included all deaths and injuries that occurred during the actual conflicts in western Missouri and those that happened as a result of the trek to Illinois and the establishment of a new home.

<sup>161</sup> “The Mormons—Public Meeting,” *Jeffersonian Republican*, September 22, 1838.

<sup>162</sup> The *Missouri Republican Daily* had several references, including in its December 4 and December 7, 1839 issues, for example.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abilene Christian University. "Campbellite and Restorationist Traditions in the South." From Charles Lippy. *Biography of Religion in the South*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985. Accessed August 15, 2014. <http://www.bible.acu.edu/crs/doc/cblt.htm>.
- Anderson, R.L. "Atchison's letters and the causes of Mormon expulsion from Missouri." *Brigham Young University Studies* 26 (1986): 3-47.
- Bailey, J. Martin. "Religious Journalism: A Legacy from the Christian Church." United Church of Christ. n.d. Accessed July 30, 2014. <http://ucc.org/about.us/hidden-histories-2/religious-journalism-a.html>
- Baker, Sherry and Joel Campbell. "Mitt Romney's Religion: A Five Factor Model for Analysis of Media Representation of Mormon Identity." *Journal of Media and Religion* 9, no. 2 (2010) 99-121. Accessed <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15348421003738801>.
- Baldasty, Gerald J. "American Political Parties and the Press." In *The American Journalism History Reader: Critical and Primary Texts*, edited by Bonnie Brennan and Hanno Hardt. New York and London: Routledge, 2011.
- Banks, Loy Otis. (1950). "The Role of Mormon Journalism in the Death of Joseph Smith." *Journalism Quarterly* 27 (1950): 268-81.
- Bowman, Matthew. *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith*. New York: Random House, 2012.
- Brennan, Bonnie and Hanno Hardt, eds. *The American Journalism History Reader: Critical and Primary Texts*. New York & London: Routledge, 2011.
- Buddenbaum, Judith M. "The Penny Press and the Birth of Modern Religion Reporting." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and the American News Media* edited by Diane Winston, 37-48. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Buddenbaum, Judith M. and Katherine B. Novak. *Applied Communication Research*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 2001.

- Bushman, Richard L. "Mormon Persecution in Missouri, 1833." *Brigham Young University Studies* 3 (1960):11-20. Accessed <http://ojs.lib.byu.edu/spc/index.php/BYUStudies/article/view/4015/3665>
- Butler, Jon, Grant Wacker, and Randall R. Balmer. *Religion in American Life: A Short History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Caldwell, J. Leroy. "Messenger and Advocate." In the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* and based upon Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838*. Salt Lake City, 1983. Accessed October 29, 2014. [http://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Messenger\\_and\\_Advocate](http://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Messenger_and_Advocate).
- Campbell, Alexander. *Delusions. An analysis of the Book of Mormon, with an examination of its internal and external evidences*. Boston: B.H. Greene; Salt Lake City, 1832. Reprinted by Morgan-Bruce Book Co., 1925.
- Chen, Chiung Hwang. "'Molympics?' Journalistic Discourse of Mormons in Relation to the 2002 Winter Olympic Games." *Journal Of Media & Religion* 2, no. 1 (2003): 29-47.
- Cohen, Charles L. "Religion, Print Culture, and the Bible before 1876." In *Religion and the Culture of Print in Modern America* edited by Charles L. Cohen and Paul S. Boyer, (pp. ?). Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008.
- Cole County Historical Society. "Some Early Cole County Newspapers." From James E. Ford. *History of Jefferson City, 1821-1938*. Jefferson City, Mo.: The New Day Press, 1938. Accessed October 5, 2014. <http://www.colecohistsoc.org/colenewspapers>.
- Copeland, David A. The "Mormon Problem" and the Press. In *Outsiders in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Press History: Multicultural Perspectives* edited by F. Hutton and B.S. Reed, 187-208. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995.
- D'Angelo, P. & Kuypers, J.A. (2010). *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Dent, John and Jimmy Allen. *Bridging the Gap: Religion and the News Media*. Nashville, TN: Freedom Forum's First Amendment Center, 2000.
- Eliason, Eric A., ed. *Mormons & Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2001.
- Emery, Michael and Edwin Emery. *The Press and America: An interpretive history of the mass media*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1988.

- Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick, N.J., and London: Rutgers University Press, 2005.
- Fischer, David Hackett. *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970.
- Fluhman, J. Spencer. *"A Peculiar People:" Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Folkerts, Jean and Dwight L. Teeter Jr. *Voices of a Nation: A History of Mass Media in the United States*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2002.
- Fortner, Robert S. *Communication, Media, and Identity*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth, U.K.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2007.
- Gaustad, Edwin and Leigh Schmidt. *The Religious History of America: The Heart of the American Story from Colonial Times to Today*. Rev. ed.s New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 2002.
- Gentry, Leland H. and Todd M. Compton. *Fire and Sword: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri, 1836-39*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Greg Kofford Books, 2011.
- Gentry, Leland H. "Missouri: LDS Communities in Caldwell & Daviess Counties." In *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. May 27, 2010, 1992. Accessed September 15, 2014, <http://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Missouri>.
- Gordon, Sarah Barringer. *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America*. Chapel Hill, N.C. and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Hammond, Paul. "From Calvinism to Arminianism: Baptists and the Second Great Awakening." Baylor University. Accessed October 29, 2014. <http://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/98384.pdf>.
- History.com. "Missouri Compromise," from *The Readers Companion to American History*, edited by Eric Foner and John A. Garraty. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Co., 1991.
- Hoover, Stewart M. *Religion in the News: Faith and Journalism in American Public Discourse*. Thousand Oaks Calif.: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1998.

- Hudson, Frederic. "The Fourth Epoch, 1783-1832." In *The American Journalism History Reader: Critical and Primary Texts*, edited by Bonnie Brennan and Hanno Hardt. New York and London: Routledge, 2011.
- Hudson, Winthrop S. and John Corrigan. *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992.
- Humphrey, Carol Sue. "Religious Newspapers and Antebellum Reform." In *Media and Religion in American History*, edited by Wm. David Sloan, 104-118. Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2000.
- Jensen, Howard Eikenberry. *The Rise of Religious Journalism in the United States*. PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1920.
- Johnson, Clark V. "Missouri: LDS Communities in Jackson & Clay Counties." In *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. May 27, 2010, 1992. Accessed September 15, 2014, <http://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Missouri>
- Johnson, Clark V. "The Missouri redress petitions: a reappraisal of Mormon persecutions in Missouri." *Brigham Young University Studies* 26 (1986): 31-44.
- Kerr, Peter A. "The framing of Fundamentalist Christians: Network television news, 1980-2000." *Journal of Media and Religion* 2, no. 4 (2003): 203-235.
- Kinney, Brandon G. *The Mormon War: Zion and the Missouri Extermination Order of 1838*. Yardley, PA.: Westholme, 2011.
- Lee, Alfred McClung. "The Editorial Staff." In *The American Journalism History Reader: Critical and Primary Texts*, edited by Bonnie Brennan and Hanno Hardt. New York and London: Routledge, 2011.
- Lee, Joseph and Marion R. Casey, eds. *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*. New York & London: New York University Press, 2006.
- Leonard, Bill J. *Baptist Ways: A History*. Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 2003.
- Mason, Patrick Q. "The Wars and the Perplexities of the Nations: Reflections on Early Mormonism, Violence, and the State." *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 (2012): 72-89.
- Mauss, Armand L. *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

- McBeth, H. Leon. *A Sourcebook for Baptist Heritage*. Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1990.
- McKee, Alan. *Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003.
- McCombs, Maxwell. *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 2004.
- McLaws, Monte Burr. *Spokesman for the Kingdom: Early Mormon Journalism and the Deseret News, 1830-1898*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977.
- Missouri State Historical Society. "Early Journalism in Missouri." Accessed October 5, 2014. [Shs.umsystem.edu/newspaper/mdnp/earlyjournalism.shtml](http://shs.umsystem.edu/newspaper/mdnp/earlyjournalism.shtml).
- Moore, Beth S. *Bones in the Well: The Haun's Mill Massacre 1838*. Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2006.
- Nord, David Paul. "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815-1835." *Journalism Monographs* 88 (May 1984) edited by L.B. Becker. Columbus, Ohio: The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, 1984.
- Ostling, Richard N. and Joan K. Ostling. *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise*. New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999.
- Otterson, Michael. For Mormons in Missouri, a Time of Healing [Weblog]. Accessed at [www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/guest-voices/post/for-mormons-in-missouri-a-time-of-healing/2012/04/23/gIQAgxhVcT\\_blog.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/guest-voices/post/for-mormons-in-missouri-a-time-of-healing/2012/04/23/gIQAgxhVcT_blog.html)
- The Pew Research Center (2012). Pew Forum Poll. Retrieved from [www.pewforum.org/Politics-and-Elections/2012-romney-mormonism-obamas-religion.aspx](http://www.pewforum.org/Politics-and-Elections/2012-romney-mormonism-obamas-religion.aspx)
- Pope, Richard M. "Missouri." In *Religion in the Southern States: A Historical Study*, edited by Samuel S. Hill. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1983.
- Proffess, David L., Fay Lomax Cook, Jack C. Doppelt, James S. Ettema, Margaret T. Gordon, Donna R. Leff, and Peter Miller. *The Journalism of Outrage: Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America*. New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1991.
- Reese, Stephen D. "Finding Frames in a Web of Culture: The Case of the War on Terror." In *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, edited by Paul D'Angelo & Jim A. Kuypers, 17-39. New York & London: Routledge, 2010.

- Riess, Jana. News Coverage of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and the American News Media*, edited by Diane Winston, 243-257. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Ryan, Gery W. and H. Russell Bernard. "Techniques to Identify Themes." *Field Methods* 15, no. 1 (February 2003): 85-109.
- Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005.
- Scott, David W. "Mormon 'Family Values' Versus Television: An Analysis of the Discourse of Mormon Couples Regarding Television and Popular Media Culture." *Critical Studies In Media Communication* 20, no. 3 (2003): 317.
- Scott, David W. and C.S. McDonald. "Utah Newspapers Take Different Approaches to Coverage of First Amendment Controversy." *Newspaper Research Journal* 26 no. 2/3 (2005): 119-123.
- Sherrill, Rowland A., ed. *Religion and the Life of the Nation: American Recoveries*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990.
- Schudson, Michael. "Media contexts: Historical approaches to communication studies." In *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research* edited by K.B. Jensen & N.W. Jankowski, 175-189. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Silk, Mark. *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America*. Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 1998.
- Simon, Paul. *Freedom's Champion, Elijah Lovejoy*. Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.
- Sloan, Wm. David, ed. *Media and Religion in American History*. Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2000.
- Startt, James D. and Wm. David Sloan. *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*. Hillsdale, N.J., Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1989.
- State of Missouri. Office of the Secretary of State. Document of correspondence for the November 12, 1838, trial of Joseph Smith Jr. and others for high treason and other crimes against the state. Missouri State Historical Society Archives, Columbia, Mo., 1841.

- State of Missouri. Office of the Secretary of State. Records Management & Archives Service. Guide to Mormon War Papers 1838-1841. Missouri State Historical Archives, Columbia, Mo., 1980.
- Stathis, Stephen W. "Mormonism and the Periodical Press: A Change is Underway." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 2 (1981): 48-73. Accessed at [https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi\\_old/articles/Dialogue\\_V14N02\\_50.pdf](https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi_old/articles/Dialogue_V14N02_50.pdf)
- Stout, Daniel A. "Secularization and the Religious Audience: A Study of Mormons and Las Vegas Media." *Mass Communication & Society* 7, no. 1 (2004): 61-75.
- Stout, Daniel and Judith M. Buddenbaum. *Religion & Popular Culture: Studies in the Interaction of Worldviews*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2001.
- Stout, Daniel A. and Judith M. Buddenbaum. "Media, Religion, and 'Framing.'" *Journal of Media and Religion* 2, no. 1 (2003): 1-3.
- Sweet, Leonard I., ed. *Communication and Change in American Religious History*. Grand Rapids, Mich: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993.
- Tuchman, Barbara W. *Practicing History: Selected Essays*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1981.
- Tuchman, Gaye. *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press, 1978.
- Underwood, Doug. *From Yahweh to Yahoo! The Religious Roots of a Secular Press*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2001.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. "Media contents: The interdisciplinary study of news as discourse." In *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*, edited by Klaus B. Jensen and Nicholas W. Jankowski, 108-120. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Van Dyke, Blair G. (2013). "The Mormon University on the Mount of Olives: A Case Study in LDS Public Relations." *Journal of Media & Religion* 12, no. 4 (2013): 181-195. doi:10.1080/15348423.2013.852032
- Vaughn, Stephen, ed. *The Vital Past: Writings on the Uses of History*. Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1985.
- Volkman, Lucas P. "Houses Divided: Evangelical Schisms, Society, and Law and the Crisis of the Union in Missouri, 1837-1876. PhD diss., University of Missouri, 2012. Accessed September 5, 2014.

<https://mospace.umsystem.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10355/15124/research.pdf?sequence=2>

Williams, Peter W. *America's Religions From Their Origins to the Twenty-First Century*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008.

Winn, Kenneth H. *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830-1846*. Chapel Hill, N.C. and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Winston, Diane, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and the American News Media*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

## Appendix A Newspaper Articles Analyzed

### ***Jefferson City Jeffersonian Republican/Jefferson City Republican***

To the Editors of the Missouri Republican, December 21, 1833  
The Mormon War, September 22, 1838  
The Mormon War and Cole Volunteers, October 6, 1838  
The Mormon War again. Distressing News, November 3, 1838  
Hostilities renewed by the Mormons! Houses burnt, &c. Meeting of the citizens of Ray County, November 3, 1838  
Letter from Judge King, November 3, 1838  
Untitled, letter to the editor, November 3, 1838  
Still Later from the War, November 3, 1838  
Public Sentiment. Meetings in Ray and Chariton Counties, January 19, 1839  
Payment of the Mormon Troops, July 13, 1839

### ***Missouri Intelligencer***

“The Morning and Evening Star,” June 23, 1832  
The Mormons, April 13, 1833  
The Mormons, April 20, 1833  
Mormonism! August 10, 1833  
War With The Mormons, November 16, 1833  
The Mormons, &c., November 23, 1833  
Untitled Mormon Memorial to Governor, November 30, 1833  
Governor’s Letter, November 30, 1833  
Disturbances in Jackson County, November 30, 1833  
The Mormons, The Leut. Governor’s account of the late disturbances, December 14, 1833  
The Mormons—Again, December 21, 1833  
The Mormons, &c., February 1, 1834  
Mormon Difficulties, March 8, 1834  
The Mormons, March 8, 1834  
Another Mormon War Threatened! June 7, 1834  
The Mormons, June 14, 1834  
The Mormons, June 21, 1834  
The Mormons, June 28, 1834  
The Mormons (from the Liberty Enquirer), June 28, 1834  
The Mormons, July 5, 1834  
The Mormons—Again, October 11, 1834

### ***Missouri Republican/Missouri Daily Republican***

War in the West, April 30, 1833  
Mormonism, May 3, 1833  
“Regulating” the Mormonites, August 9, 1833

The Mormonites, October 25, 1833  
Civil War in Jackson County, November 12, 1833  
The Mormons and the Anti-Mormons, November 15, 1833  
Untitled editorial, November 22, 1833  
Letter to the editor from then-Lt. Gov. Lilburn Boggs, December 6, 1833  
The Disturbances in Jackson County, December 20, 1833  
The Mormons, January 30, 1834  
The Mormon Mystery Developed, February 24, 1834  
Revival of the Crusades, June 5, 1834  
The Mormons, June 9, 1834  
The Mormons, June 23, 1834  
"The Mormons," June 30, 1834  
The Mormons, July 3, 1834  
Copy of a letter from Gov. Daniel Dunklin, July 11, 1834  
Cholera, July 15, 1834  
Untitled, July 25, 1834  
Reports and Motions, December 23, 1834  
House of Representatives, December 23, 1834  
Untitled, July 11, 1835  
Untitled, August 22, 1835  
Another Mormon Invasion, letter to the editor, May 17, 1836  
Untitled, June 23, 1836  
A Van Buren Proclamation, June 23, 1836  
A Conservative Letter, June 5, 1837  
Mormons, July 26, 1837  
Look out for impostors, November 4, 1837  
Trouble Among the Mormons, February 19, 1838  
More Mormon Difficulties, September 6, 1838  
Untitled Letter to the Editor, September 7, 1838  
Mormons, September 8, 1838  
Untitled Editorial, September 9, 1838  
Untitled Letter to the Editor, September 13, 1838  
The Mormons, September 15, 1838  
Mormon Troubles, September 19, 1838  
Mormon Difficulties, September 22, 1838  
Untitled, September 24, 1838  
The Mormons, September 25, 1838  
Mormons, September 29, 1838  
The Mormon War, October 1, 1838  
Mormon Difficulties, October 8, 1838  
Mormon War, October 11, 1838  
Further from the Mormons, October 13, 1838  
Untitled Letter to the Editor, October 18, 1838  
Untitled Letter to the Editor, October 20, 1838  
Mormon Difficulties, October 29, 1838

Alarming State of Affairs, November 1, 1838  
On board the Steamer Astoria, November 1, 1838  
Untitled copy of a military exchange, November 1, 1838  
Mormon War, November 2, 1838  
Meeting of the Citizens of Ray County, November 2, 1838  
Report, November 2, 1838  
Letter from Judge King, November 2, 1838  
Untitled military letter, November 2, 1838  
Mormon War, November 3, 1838  
The Mormons, November 7, 1838  
Untitled editorial, November 9, 1838  
The Mormon War Ended, November 9, 1838  
Another untitled editorial, November 9, 1838  
Untitled, January 8, 1839  
Untitled, January 9, 1839  
Letter From the Editor, January 9, 1839 (editor as reporter)  
Untitled editorial statement, January 9, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage, January 10, 1839  
Letter From the Editor, January 19, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage, January 11, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage, January 14, 1839  
Letter From the Editor, January 15, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage, January 17, 1839  
Letter From the Editor, January 18, 1839  
Untitled coverage of Missouri Senate, January 21, 1839  
Untitled, January 23, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage, January 25, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage 2, January 25, 1839  
Editorial, January 28, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage, January 30, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage, February 8, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage, February 11, 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage 2, February 11 1839  
Untitled legislative coverage, February 13, 1839  
Untitled, February 14, 1839  
Public Meeting at (unreadable), February 16, 1839  
Untitled letter from Gen. Atchison, February 20, 1839  
Mormon troubles in Illinois, July 1, 1839  
The Mormon Prisoners Escaped, July 11, 1839  
Mormon History, July 13, 1839  
Pay of the Mormon and Osage Troops, July 15, 1839  
Untitled, July 17, 1839  
The Mormons, September 20, 1839  
Untitled, October 4, 1839  
Untitled, November 14, 1839

**Mormon newspapers: *Evening and Morning Star, Messenger and Advocate, Elder's Journal, Times and Seasons***

*Evening and Morning Star*

The Book of Mormon, June 1832  
Untitled, August 1832  
The Gathering, November 1832  
Untitled, December 1832  
Signs of the Times, January 1833  
Prospects of the Church, March 1833  
To the Patrons of the Evening and the Morning Star, December 1833  
The Outrage in Jackson County, series of letters, December 1833  
The Outrage in Jackson County, Missouri, January 1834  
From Missouri, January 1834  
Untitled January 14, 1834 letter to Oliver Cowdery from W.A. Cowdery and  
January 23, 1834, Oliver Cowdery's response, in the January 1834 issue  
Later from Missouri, a letter from W.W. Phelps, January 1834  
The Outrage in Jackson County, Mo., February 1834

*Messenger and Advocate*

Untitled list of obituaries, obituary of Sally Knight, October 1834  
Untitled, October 1834  
Untitled, statement from Gov. Daniel Dunklin, December 1834  
A Summary, December 1834  
Trouble in the West, April 1835  
Bishop Partridge, June 1835  
Untitled letter from Joseph Smith, September 1835  
Untitled (check this one – just pulled part of a very long article of pieces of  
articles from newspapers across the nation – date?)  
Untitled May 3, 1836 letter to the editor, June 1836  
To the Saints Abroad, July 1836  
Public Meeting, a reprint from the *Far West* newspaper, Clay County citizens'  
meeting/Mormon committee response, and an editorial, August 1836  
Communications, July 1837

*Elders' Journal*

Untitled letter from Joseph Smith and Sydney Rigdon, November 1837  
Untitled, July 1838  
Letter from Thomas B. Marsh, July 1838

*Times and Seasons*

Address, November 1839  
Extract from the Private Journal of Joseph Smith Jr., November 1839  
A History of the Persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in  
Missouri  
“Communications,” Letter from Hyrum Smith

***Shepherd of the Valley***

The Death Blow, July 28, 1832  
Another Extravagance, August 11, 1832  
A Humble Request, letter to the editor, September 15, 1832  
One True Religion, September 15, 1832  
Progress of Mormonism, November 24, 1832  
Mormonism, December 22, 1832  
Untitled, February 23, 1833  
Lo Here!—Lo There! June 8, 1833  
Latest Protestant Improvement in Religion, June 8, 1833  
The Mormons, letter to the editor, September 28, 1833  
Look at Home, October 11, 1833  
Tragical Event, April 25, 1834  
Untitled, June 6, 1834  
The Mormons, June 13, 1834  
Distressing, July 4, 1834  
The Mormons, July 4, 1834  
“The Mormons,” July 4, 1834  
Mormons, August 1, 1834  
*An Angel caught*, July 18, 1835  
Letter to the editor, August 8, 1835

**Baptist newspapers: *The Pioneer, Western Pioneer & Baptist Standard-Bearer, Baptist Banner & Western Pioneer***

An Angel Caught, July 17, 1835  
Mormonism in Ohio, letter to the editor, January 20, 1837  
Mormonism, February 21, 1837  
The Mormon War, October 5, 1838  
Mormons, October 5, 1838  
The Mormons, November 5, 1838  
Summary of Intelligence, 1. The Mormon War, December 13, 1838  
Mormon Troubles in Illinois, August 1, 1839  
“The Book of Mormon,” June 6, 1839  
“Mormon Meeting,” July 25, 1839

**Appendix B**  
**Researcher Codebook**

<b>Code</b>	<b>Explanation</b>	<b>Exemplars</b>
Lawlessness	Unlawful acts	Laws disregarded by “Fanatics called Mormons” (Jeff Repub) “no excuse for shedding blood, razing dwellings and destroying property “without the color of <i>law</i> , in the <i>night</i> and in disguise...not the proper course” (Intelligencer) Jackson County at the “very extremity of civilization” “inhabitants” have the “character...of being very turbulent” (Intelligencer) charge with treason (Mo. Repub) razed the press (Mo. Repub) spreading anarchy (Mormon) “lawless measures” (Baptist)
Lawfulness	Using the law to win the conflict	“a resort to the laws will be more than useless” (Jeff Repub) “respect the laws of the State” (Argus) Mormon leaders arrested (Argus) “legalism would put the mischief beyond remedy” (Intelligencer) Mormons petitioned for a guard (Intelligencer)
Headlines	Examples of the headlines used during controversy	Hostilities renewed by the Mormons! (Jeff Repub) The Mormon Prisoners (Argus) Mormonism! (Intelligencer) Another Mormon War Threatened! (Intelligencer) The Mormons and the Anti-Mormons (Mo Repub) Mormons (all) Progress of Mormonism (Shepherd)

Sources of Information	Where information came from	<p><i>Far West</i>, a newspaper (commercial newspapers)</p> <p><i>Boons Lick Democrat</i>, a newspaper (commercial newspapers)</p> <p>County committee members (commercial newspapers, Mormon)</p> <p>Unsigned or pseudonym (like Occidentalists, &amp;c) letters to the editor (all, except Mormon)</p> <p>Legislative transcripts or reports (commercial newspapers)</p> <p><i>Ohio Atlas</i>, a newspaper (Intelligencer)</p> <p><i>Louisville Journal</i>, a newspaper (Mo. Repub)</p> <p><i>Western Luminary</i>, a newspaper (Shepherd)</p> <p><i>Cincinnati Daily News</i>, a newspaper (Baptist)</p>
Name Calling	Derogatory names each side directed to the other	<p>“belligerent attitude” (Jeff Repub)</p> <p>Fanatics and imposters (Jeff Repub)</p> <p>“robbers and desperadoes” (Jeff Repub)</p> <p>“infatuated villains” (Mo Repub)</p> <p>“crazy lunatics” (Mo Repub)</p> <p>“victimized dupes” (Mo Repub)</p> <p>“upstart” denomination (Shepherd)</p> <p>“oracles of divine revelation” (Shepherd)</p> <p>“designing &amp; wicked men” (Mormon)</p>
War	Terms used when referring to the conflict	<p>Politics “submerged in deafening sound of drum and the din of arms” (Jeff Repub)</p> <p>“Mormon War” (all)</p> <p>“holy war” (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Hostility more deeply seated (Mo Repub)</p> <p>Marching on Richmond (Mo Repub)</p> <p>Skirmish (Mo Repub)</p> <p>Right to bear arms (Mo Repub)</p> <p>Civil war can’t be justified (Baptist)</p> <p>“General” Joseph Smith (Mo Repub)</p>

Public Meetings	Citizens passed resolutions and took other actions about the conflict	In Ray County (commercial papers) Committee of seven in Jackson Co. (commercial papers) Jackson County declared the Star had to be closed, Mormons given timeframe in which to move (commercial papers)
Criticism of Government	Primarily directed toward the state	Civil unrest that wouldn't need "a destroying Angel nor the judgments of an offended God" to create (Intelligencer) "Legalism would put the mischief beyond remedy" (Intelligencer) "high-handed proceedings" (Intelligencer) County magistrate "set in defiance" (Intelligencer) Grand Jury was " <i>composed exclusively of such as had been concerned in the recent outrages!</i> " (Intelligencer) Appears "justice cannot be administered through the Judicial tribunals of Jackson county" (Intelligencer) Disappointment in governor's refusal to respond to Mormon request for aid (Mo Repub) Legislature should have thorough investigation (Mo Repub) Since people must pay bills, "they should know who got up and kept up the dance" (Mo Repub)
Religious References	Other than to Mormonism	"ploughshares turned to swords" (Jeff Repub) "revival enthusiasm" (Intelligencer) "vengeance belongs to God alone" (Intelligencer) "pretended preachers" (Mo Repub) Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists (Mo Repub) Catholics and Baptists (Mormon) all Protestants (Shepherd)

Violence	Violent actions both sides took against each other	<p>Jackson County voted to raze the Star and then did so (commercial &amp; Mormon)</p> <p>Several killed and wounded on both sides (commercial, Mormon, Baptist)</p> <p>Attack by mob of citizens (commercial &amp; Mormon)</p> <p>Small boy shot in the back (Intelligencer &amp; Mormon)</p> <p>Tarred and feathered Mormons (Intelligencer &amp; Mormon)</p> <p>Burned homes (commercial)</p>
Patriotism	Actions considered loyal to the American spirit	<p>“for service...willingly and patriotically rendered” (Jeff Repub)</p> <p>“a feeling and patriotic people” (Jeff Repub)</p>
Legal attempts to settle	Actions taken within the legal system	<p>Judge of the Circuit “attempted to interfere” (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Governor advised Mormons to pursue legal means (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Circuit Judge would act if their lives threatened (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Sue for damages already suffered (Intelligencer)</p> <p>“a resort to the laws will be more than useless” (Jeff Repub)</p> <p>“legalism would put the mischief beyond remedy” (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Judge King – just trial (Mo. Repub)</p> <p>“necessity of regarding the laws of the land” (Mo. Repub)</p> <p>never the first to break the law (Mormon)</p> <p>bring Mormons to trial (Baptist)</p> <p>Mormons file lawsuit (Mo Repub)</p> <p>Change of venue (Mo Repub)</p> <p>Obtain a warrant (Mormon)</p> <p>Expected protection by law &amp; the Constitution (Mormon)</p>

Blacks	Free blacks and slaves	Mormons invited free blacks from Illinois to join them in Zion (Intelligencer) “corrupting influence on our slaves” (Intelligencer)
Indians	Native Americans living on the frontier	Emissaries among Indians to “provoke their ignorant people” to join the “holy war” (Intelligencer) Mormons ignorant of laws regulating dealing with Indian tribes (Mo Repub)
Truth Telling	Being truthful	What Judge Milburn said is “substantially true” (Jeff Repub) “serve the cause of truth by publishing this statement in your paper” (commercial newspapers) reports believed to be true (Mo Repub)
Lying	Telling untruths	Lt. Gov. driven from the county (Intelligencer) Lt. Gov. compelled to call out the militia (commercial papers) Militia acted as a mob “altogether false” (Intelligencer) Mr. Hicks killed (Intelligencer) “base and wicked fabrication” (Mormon) “an exaggerated account” (Mormon) accused of “tapering with slaves” (Mormon)

Mormon Beliefs	Doctrine	<p>Detest all sects (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Talk with angels, visit the third heaven, converse with Christ face-to-face (Intelligencer)</p> <p>“gift of imparting the Holy Ghost” (Intelligencer)</p> <p>“pretended to have discovered” the location of the Ark of the Covenant and other biblical artifacts (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Expected Christ to return soon and reign on earth for 1,000 years (Intelligencer)</p> <p>“pretend” to have gifts of miracles, tongues, healing, vision. These are “often told but never seen” (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Golden Bible—an “absurd collection of dull, stupid and foolishly improbable stories” (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Elders had power over others (Intelligencer)</p> <p>Repent or be cut off (Intelligencer)</p>
Mormon converts to & from	Those who chose to join the sect or to leave it	Annexed letter from a seceding Mormon to his friends (Intelligencer)
First Amendment rights	Protections afforded by the Constitution, primarily freedom of religion	<p>First Amendment rights and rights by law (Intelligencer)</p> <p>“right to worship...unrestrained and unmolested” (Intelligencer)</p> <p>“outrageous” violation of the Constitution (Mo Repub)</p> <p>“aid in defence of religious liberty” (Shepherd)</p> <p>free state, free Constitution (Mormon)</p>
Equal protection	That all American citizens should be treated equally under the law	<p>Mormon no matter “how offensive” to their neighbors, have “rights of worship: and “rights of residency” (Intelligencer)</p> <p>“no right to expel” people from communities except for crime (Intelligencer)</p>

## **Appendix C**

### **Researcher Self-Reflexivity**

I have been a professed evangelical Christian since I was 9 years old, baptized as a member of a church affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention. I've been married to a minister, who now serves as an associational missionary, for 38 years. We spent seven years with the SBC's Foreign (now International) Mission Board, serving as missionaries in Tanzania, East Africa. I also have accrued some credit hours at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas, and at Central Baptist Theological Seminary in Shawnee, Kansas. I consider myself as a moderate to progressive Baptist with additional experience in other countries and among other cultures. Faith is the result of a personal relationship to God and connection to the human community, rather than rigid adherence to manmade religious legalism.

While I question some Mormon beliefs from a faith perspective, I believe that I read background material and the newspapers with an open mind. I learned about Mormon beliefs and how some changed over the years and understand the attraction to Mormonism. I believe I grasped some of the feelings, understandings, and misunderstandings that rose between Mormons and non-Mormons in Missouri in the 1830s.