

# Hard Questions in Church History

Lynne Hilton Wilson

Zion's Camp: May and June 1834

## Questions to Consider

- Was Zion's Camp a failure?
- What went wrong?
- Why didn't the Lord protect them from the cholera outbreak?
- Why were women and children included in the march?
- Who was Zeph and what does he have to do with Book of Mormon Geography?

## Timeline

1831	July 20	Joseph Smith identifies Independence, Jackson County, Mo., as the Land of Zion and future Temple
	Summer	Saints settle just west of Independence in Kaw Township (now in Kansas City), Missouri
	Dec	~538 members of the Church living in Zion, Jackson County
1832	Nov	~810 Saints live in five independent settlements around Jackson County
1833	July	Missouri Saints hold solemn assembly, start a School of the Prophets (following the guidelines revealed in D&C 88 on Dec 27 1832, and the publication of the Book of Commandments nears completion
	July 20	Local citizens demanded that the Saints leave Jackson County, the LDS population having climbed to one third of the county's population. Angry mobs destroy printing press and homes, burn crops; Bishop Partridge and Charles Allen tarred-feathered
	July 23	After three days of mob violence, church leaders agree to relocate the Saints out of Jackson County the following January and April 1834
	Aug	D&C 94, 97, 98
	Oct	D&C 100—Governor Dunklin encourages Saints to seek local redress of grievances, promises his help; local authorities ignore Governor's call for peaceful relations
	Oct 20	With the Governor's promise of help, Church leaders announce their intent to stay or return to Jackson County and defend their property
	Oct 26	Mob of fifty "voted in a hand to move the Mormons" (B.H. Roberts, <i>Missouri Persecution</i> , 1900, 95)
	Oct 31	Mobs attack Whitmer settlement, unroof and demolish several homes, whip men, drive women and children into the forest at night; Saints beg for peace
	Nov 1	Mobs attack Gilbert store and violence escalates in the church settlements. Saints appeal in vain to Squire Silvers for a peace warrant in vain
	Nov 3	Saints convince Judge John Ryland of the circuit court for a peace warrant
	Nov 6-7	Saints wait in long lines to ferry across Missouri River into Clay, Ray, Lafayette Counties
	Nov 22	News of the Saints' expulsion from Jackson County reaches the Prophet
	Dec	D&C 101
1834	Feb 22	Parley Pratt & Lyman Wight arrive in Kirtland to tell the Prophet in person more about persecution
	Feb 24	D&C 103—The Lord explains why Zion's Camp will not redeem Zion at that time
	April 2-9	Joseph in Chardon, OH, before the Geauga County Court of Common Pleas, in the case of State of Ohio v. Hurlbut (which had begun in January); Joseph elated that his action of assault against Hurlbut is upheld

	May 5	Joseph organizes a company of men and left Kirtland to assist Missouri Saints at the head of Zion's Camp (Martin Harris)
	Jun 4	Zion's Camp arrives at Mississippi River, ferries into the state of Missouri, more recruits arrive
	Jun 19	207 men, eleven women, and seven children in Zion's Camp arrive at Clay County, Missouri and camp on the Fishing River
	Jun 22	D&C 105—Accepting the sacrifice but rebuking some Church members for not sufficiently supporting the Camp; they are not to fight but wait for the Lord to redeem Zion
	June 30	Zion's Camp disbanded on Burkett's Farm north of Liberty, Clay County
	Aug 1	Joseph and most of the Camp return to Kirtland
1835	Feb 14	Quorum of Twelve organized (selection assisted and ordination by the Three Witnesses)
	Feb 28	Quorum of Seventy organized

### Review: Tensions Increase in Jackson County, Missouri

Between July 20, 1831 and July 1832—the first year after Joseph identified Jackson County, Missouri as the land of Zion—over 500 Saints gathered to the county and built bridges, mills, dams, homes, and fences. As a church, they built a storehouse and printing office. Even though no chapel was ever built, they gathered in the larger homes to worship together. They stretched into five settlements and established schools. Over their second year, the number of Saints in the area steadily increased to over 800, a forty percent growth rate.

Many saints were deeply converted, lived the law of consecration, and tried to get along with their neighbors. Others allowed selfish behaviors, jealousies, and covetousness to infect their Zion society. Insensitively, some boasted to their new Missouri neighbors that this area would become their city of Zion. On top of their political, economic, and social differences, this claim led to increasing hostilities between the saints and those who did not share their beliefs. Both parties hold part of the blame for the deteriorating relationship.

On July 20, 1833 (the second anniversary of Joseph's dedication of the land as Zion) the local town leaders exploded when church leaders refused to leave. Mob skirmishes turned into unabashed violence. After three days of destruction, Bishop Partridge agreed to that the Saints would leave Jackson County between January and April 1834. During those interim months, mob violence decreased but did not stop. The Saints reached out to Governor Daniel Dunklin for protection, who consented and gave them the confidence to attempt again to work through the courts to maintain their rights and land. This shift resulted in more violence until the Saints were prematurely driven from their property in Jackson County on 5–6 November 1833. They ferried north across the Missouri River and became religious refugees in three neighboring counties (For more, see my lecture and handout on Missouri in this series covering D&C 51-59, and D&C 94-101 from “Come Follow Me” May 17-30, and August 30-Sept 12, 2021.)

### Call for Help (Feb 22, 1834-June 1834)

In addition to the horrific religious persecutions that forced the Missouri Saints to relocate outside of Jackson County, the Saints also felt confused spiritually. Why did God say not to fight back? Why didn't God protect them? When are they to go back? Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight were dispatched to deliver the latest report on their refuge plight to the Prophet Joseph in person. Parley and Lyman made the 900-mile journey in the cold of winter and arrived on February 22, 1834.

In four previous revelations the Lord counseled the Saints not to fight back, but to “sue for peace” (D&C 105:38). However, on Sunday, February 24, 1834—just two days after Oliver’s arrival—the Lord revealed to Joseph the reason they lost the land of Zion:

I will give unto you a revelation and commandment, that you may know how to act in the discharge of your duties concerning the salvation and redemption of your brethren, who have been scattered on the land of Zion; Being driven and smitten by the hands of mine enemies, on whom I will pour out my wrath without measure in mine own time. For I have suffered them thus far . . . that those who call themselves after my name might be chastened for a little season with a sore and grievous chastisement because they did not hearken altogether unto the precepts and commandments which I gave unto them (D&C 103:1-4).

God explained His key role in redeeming Zion: “the redemption of Zion must needs come by power” (D&C 103:15). The Lord called Joseph to gather men (ideally 500, or a smaller number of forces) to help the refugee Saints scattered across eastern Missouri.

Joseph immediately began preparing to gather troops to redeem Zion. The same day at their Sabbath meeting, the Prophet called for volunteers to help their fellow members who were refugees in Missouri. When he asked for supplies, money, and personal service, John and Elsa Johnson consecrated property and funds. He sent out eight men to recruit volunteers and call for financial help.

Word spread to the Saints on the east coast as well. Sister Ruth Voce, a convert from Boston, sent a letter to Joseph with a substantial donation to support the relief funds. Wilford Woodruff reported it was \$250; others conjecture \$150 but it was at least a half a year’s wages for a laborer. Its arrival came in answer to a prophecy. Joseph and other church leaders worried about financing the expedition with the church already in debt and the Saints stretched financially. Nevertheless, small amounts slowly trickled in. Wilford Woodruff recorded that one day Joseph announced that he needed money for Zion’s Camp, which would arrive the following day. Sure enough, much to the leaders’ joy, Sister Ruth’s surprising letter from Boston arrived the next day.

### The Camp of Israel as a Relief Force

One of the purposes of Zion’s Camp, or “the Camp of Israel” as Joseph referred to it, was to act as a force to relieve the suffering of the Saints in Missouri. The Encyclopedia of Mormonism summarizes:

A revelation . . . (D&C 103), commanded the Saints to send to Missouri a relief force consisting of at least 100 and as many as 500 volunteers. Eight Church leaders were told to recruit participants for the March, which later was called Zion's Camp. Four teams of two men each went east to obtain men, money, and supplies. A fifth pair, Lyman Wight and Joseph Smith's brother Hyrum Smith, went to Michigan and Illinois. The northern group was to join the marchers from Kirtland at the house of James Allred, a Church member living on the Salt River in eastern Missouri about one hundred miles northwest of St. Louis (4.1627).

An advance party of twenty left Kirtland on May 1, 1834 to prepare the first camp at New Portage (near present-day Akron), Ohio, and the main group of about eighty-five joined them on May 6. By the time Joseph and Hyrum's contingents met up at the Allred settlement east of Paris, Monroe County, Missouri, there were approximately 200 men, eleven women, and seven children.

Included in these figures were the twenty men, women, and children comprising Hyrum's company from the Pontiac, Michigan, area. By the time Zion's Camp was fully formed, the recruits numbered 207 men. For a contemporaneous diary of this often-neglected group led by Hyrum Smith, see the article by Craig Manscill in *BYU Studies* (<https://byustudies.byu.edu/article/journal-of-the-branch-of-the-church-of-christ-in-pontiac-1834-hyrum-smiths-division-of-zions-camp/>).

The Lord taught the Saints again how to live in a Zion Society on August 22, 1833 (D&C 97:18-21, 27). God's message not to retaliate but to forgive is repeated least ten times in the three most recent revelations since July 1833, when the extreme violence had broken out in Jackson County. in July 1833.

### Forgive Enemies

August 6, 1833	D&C 98:16	"Renounce war and proclaim peace."
August 6, 1833	D&C 98:34	"If a nation should proclaim war . . . first lift a standard of peace."
August 6, 1833	D&C 98:35-36	"If that people did not accept the offering of peace, neither the second or third, they should bring this testimonies before the Lord; Then I, the Lord would. . . justify them in going out to battle against that nation."
August 6, 1833	D&C 98:39-40	"If after thine enemy has come upon thee the first time, he repent and come unto thee praying thy forgiveness, thou shalt forgive him, and shalt hold it no more as a testimony against thine enemy—And so on unto the second and third time; and as oft as thine enemy repenteth of the trespass wherewith he has trespassed against thee, thou shalt forgive him, until seventy times seven."
	D&C 98:42-43	"If he trespass against thee the second time, and repent not, nevertheless thou shalt forgive him. And if he trespass against thee the third time, and repent not, thou shalt also forgive him."
August 6, 1833	D&C 98:44-45	"If he trespass against thee the fourth time thou shalt not forgive him, but shalt bring these testimonies before the Lord . . . if he do this [repent], thou shalt forgive him with all thine heart; and if he do not this, I, the Lord, will avenge thee of thine enemy an hundred-fold"
December 16, 1833	D&C 101:11, 16	"Mine indignation is soon to be poured out without measure upon all nations when the cup of their iniquity is full . . . be still and know that I am God"
June 22, 1834	D&C 105:25-26	"I will give unto you favor and grace in their eyes, that you may rest in peace and safety, while you are saying unto the people: Execute judgment and justice for us according to law, and redress us of our wrongs . . . in this way you may find favor in the eyes of the people, until the army of Israel becomes very great."
June 22, 1834	D&C 105:38-39	"And again I say unto you, sue for peace, not only to the people that have smitten you, but also to all people; And lift up an ensign of peace, and make a proclamation of peace unto the ends of the earth."
June 22, 1834	D&C 105:40	"Make proposals for peace unto those who have smitten you, according to the voice of the Spirit which is in you, and all things shall work together for your good."

### Why did Women and Children Join Zion's Camp?

Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight oversaw recruiting in Michigan. They left Kirtland at the end of winter and arrived in Pontiac Michigan by late April. The small Pontiac branch of Saints hoped to relocate and settle in Missouri. When that opportunity arrived, they quickly made their preparations

to leave within days. By May 5, 1833, a group of nine men, three women, and three boys formed the Michigan detachment of Zion's Camp. Two of the women who had joined the ranks of Zion's Camp were Nancy Holbrook and her sister-in-law, Eunice Holbrook.

These two women had joined the church with their husbands and moved to Kirtland, where they had planned on joining the Saints on Zion's Camp, along with their small children. At the Salt River in Missouri, the Prophet anticipated a battle and suggested that homes be built in which the women and children could stay safe. However, Nancy Holbrook recorded that he asked, "If the sisters were willing to undergo a siege with the camp, they could go along with it." Truly it was a revolutionary notion for the sisters to accompany the men into a possible military skirmish the women said they would like to go and they liked brother Joseph better than before for the privilege he gave them of continuing in the camp" (Andrea G. Radke, "We Also Marched: The Women and Children of Zion's Camp, 1834," *BYU Studies* 39, 1-1-2000, 146-164). Both Holbrook sisters suffered along with all the camp—including contracting cholera—and then chose to stay in Missouri with the refugee Saints.

### Zion's Camp Armed for Battle

Most of the people involved in Zion's Camp understood they would be fighting with the Missourians to retake their lands in Jackson County. The *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* summary of Zion's Camp (4.1627) continues:

The marchers were well armed, carrying muskets, pistols, swords, and knives, and they attempted to prevent the Missourians from knowing of the expedition. But Jackson County residents learned of their coming and burned down virtually all the remaining Mormon buildings. Lacking in military training, the members of Zion's Camp conducted military exercises and sham battles along the way of the 900-mile journey. They were organized into groups of ten and fifty, with a captain over each. After the rendezvous at the Salt River on June 8, Lyman Wight, a veteran of the War of 1812, was elected general of the camp, and William Cherry, a British dragoon for twenty years, was made drill master.

The Saints had suffered much; contention was driven by fatigue from the long march, hunger to due rationed meals, sleep deficits from camping in all sorts of weather and on hard surfaces, military training drills in the heat, and clashing personalities.

The arguments and strained emotions tested even the Prophet when someone threatened to kill his dog, Old Major, for barking. The Lord chastened them:

Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom . . . therefore, in consequence of the transgressions of my people, it is expedient in me that mine elders should wait for a little season for the redemption of Zion (D&C 105:5, 9).

The Lord explained that He had not broken His promise to redeem Zion: the self-centered argumentative saints had broken the rules required to redeem it. He also promised that He will "not require at their hands to fight the battles of Zion" (D&C 105:14). He did protect them though. In mid-June, Zion's Camp was stationed just north of Jackson County in Clay County on a bluff above Fishing River. A group of over 300 aggressive Missourians gathered in hopes of fighting the 207 in Zion's Camp. Before they could attack, however, the Lord intervened with a devastating hailstorm.

The river rose, making it impossible for the Missouri aggressors to harm anyone. Most of the saints left their drenched tents to spend the night in a dry, unoccupied church building nearby.

### Cholera Outbreak

The Lord protected the Camp of Israel from the Missourians, but not from cholera. The *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* explains:

Contrary to the attempted military discipline, the men sometimes quarreled among themselves. On June 3, as the group approached the Mississippi, Joseph warned them that in consequence of their misconduct a scourge would strike the camp. His words proved prophetic when, at the conclusion of their journey on June 23 at Rush Creek in Clay County, Missouri, cholera struck the camp. Some sixty-eight men were afflicted, and thirteen of them and one woman died of the disease (4.1627).

The Lord's chastening with a cholera outbreak echoes the plague of snakes that infested the camp of Israel under Moses. The devastating illness taught the Saints that Zion would be redeemed not by rifles and more strife, but only with the principles of righteousness. The tutoring also refined several committed men in the Camp for their future calls to the Quorums of The Seventy and Twelve Apostles within the year after the Camp of Israel or Zion's Camp.

### The Lord's Expanded Purposes in Leadership

The Lord used the Camp of Israel in part as a testing ground to determine which men were his most valiant and loyal. It was a type of separating the wheat from the chaff. In February 1835, a few months after Zion's Camp, the Lord organized the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and Quorum of the Seventies. All of the Seventies and nine of the twelve apostles had supported Joseph completely in the Camp of Israel or Zion's Camp (*Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4.1629).

### Who was Zelph?

As the Camp of Israel trekked across Illinois toward Missouri, they traveled near a burial mound. Old bones were visible, and one was identified by the Prophet as belonging to a man named Zelph. The Book of Mormon Central KnoWhy on Zelph's bones records:

While marching with Zion's Camp in June 1834, Joseph Smith and the brethren "visited many of the mounds" which Wilford Woodruff speculated were "flung up ... probably by the Nephites & Lamanites" (Wilford Woodruff, *Diary . . .*). In a letter to Emma, Joseph Smith said they had been "wandering over the plains of the Nephites, recounting occasionally the history of the Book of Mormon." Joseph even said they were "picking up their skulls & their bones, as a proof of its divine authenticity" (Letter to Emma Smith, 4 June 1834, p. 58, available online at [josephsmithpapers.org](http://josephsmithpapers.org), spelling standardized). On one such occasion, several of the brethren remembered Joseph having identified the bones of a Lamanite warrior named Zelph, who had died in battle.

None of Joseph's own writings mention Zelph. Four men who traveled with Joseph in the camp did, however, record in their journals that Joseph had identified part of a skeleton as an ancient warrior named Zelph.

It appears that the earliest record written was by Rueben McBride (“possibly written within days of the event”). His short account says Zelfh “was killed in battle.” Wilford Woodruff’s 1834 account added another detail—Zelfh “was killed in battle with an arrow” (Godfrey, “The Zelfh Story,” 34, 36; Cannon, “Zelfh Revisited,” 98, 101). Wilford Woodruff also wrote later accounts with more details but modern scholarship has reason to question his later additions.

### Mistakes in Recording Zelfh’s History

The historical record of Zelfh has problems. After Joseph’s death, a church historian pieced together the different accounts and wrote it in first person as if it had come from Joseph himself. Some of the combined accounts were written much later than the event and they appear to have added further speculations to their memories. The 1846 “History of Joseph Smith” mistakenly connects Zelfh with the Hill Cumorah and the last battles between the Nephites and Lamanites:

The visions of the past being opened to my understanding by the spirit of the Almighty I discovered that the person whose skeleton was before us, was a white Lamanite . . . He was a warrior and chieftain under the great prophet Omandagus [sic], who was known from the hill Cumorah, or Eastern sea, to the Rocky Mountains. His name was Zelfh. . . . He was killed in battle, by the arrow found among his ribs, during the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites (*Times and Seasons* 6, no. 20 (January 1, 1846): 1076).

When we investigate the original manuscript of the history in the Joseph Smith Papers, we find that Joseph, prior to his death, had crossed out certain words that were added back in later. As a result, misinformation was passed down through some versions of the History of the Church (1930).

Book of Mormon Central systemized the major problems arising from three phrases in particular:

1. “And Nephites”: None of the early accounts written by people in Zion’s Camp about Zelfh mention the Nephites. Furthermore, in the pre-publication manuscript, written under Joseph Smith’s guidance and direction in 1842–1843, “and Nephites” is crossed out. While some of the early accounts say Zelfh died in battle, most do not specify which groups were engaged in the battle. In 1843, Heber C. Kimball said that Zelfh “fell in battle . . . among the Lamanites,” perhaps simply meaning that it was a battle between warring Lamanite factions [Native Americans were usually identified as “Lamanites” by the early Saints] (See Godfrey, “The Zelfh Story,” *BYU Studies* 29, no. 2 (1989): 31–56; Donald Q. Cannon, “Zelfh Revisited,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Illinois*, ed. H. Dean Garrett [Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1995], 97–111).
2. “The last great struggle”: As with “and Nephites,” the word “last” is actually crossed out in the same pre-publication manuscript. Thus, when reading the manuscript and leaving out the crossed-out phrases, we only find that Zelfh, himself a Lamanite, “was killed . . . during a great struggle with the Lamanites” . . .
3. “hill Cumorah”: Once again, in the pre-publication manuscript, “hill Cumorah” is crossed out, and thus Onandagus is only said to be “known from the eastern sea to the Rocky Mountains.” Unique among the six early accounts, Wilford Woodruff’s record (the oldest, dating from 1843) mentions the Hill Cumorah, stating that “the great prophet . . . was known from the hill Cumorah to the Rocky mountains” (Godfrey, “The Zelfh Story,”

36). In the earlier account written by Rueben McBride, it was Zelfh himself who was “known from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains” (ibid., 34). Kenneth Godfrey, a historian who studied the account of Zelfh in detail, summarized: “Most sources agree that Zelfh was a white Lamanite who fought under a leader named Onandagus (variously spelled). Beyond that, what Joseph said to his men is not entirely clear, judging by the variations in the available sources” (Godfrey, “The Zelfh Story,” 47; Godfrey, “What Is the Significance of Zelfh,” 75).

### Book of Mormon Geography

This story has been misused to point to a geographical location for the latter portions of the Book of Mormon but this is a misunderstanding of the actual documents and facts. From what we know from the Book of Mormon text itself, the distance between the land of Nephi and Zarahemla was relatively small:

- A. **Mosiah 23:3; 24:25** The journey from the southern lands of Nephi and Shilom to the land of Zarahemla was made by families with women, children, and flocks in only a few weeks. (Alma the Elder and his people traveled eight days and twelve days to Zarahemla.)
- B. **Alma 63:4–9; Helaman 3:3–8; 6:6** In the mid-First Century BC, groups of people who had gathered with the descendants of Lehi (probably included Jaredite, Mulekite, and Lehite descendants) traveled out of the original small area from Nephi to Zarahemla, sailing to other lands. Hagoth and others led these expeditions. Some travelers “were never heard of more” (Alma 63:8).
- C. **Helaman 4:7** Zarahemla was near the narrow neck of land that was the distance of a day's journey for a Nephite. (We do not know if that means on foot (walking or running), or on a horseback, twelve hours or twenty-four hours.)

When we discuss Book of Mormon geography, we must match what the text says about the land itself. The Book of Mormon also describes a north-south running river that is strong enough to carry hundreds of bodies out to sea, but shallow enough to be forded during other seasons. Its sea coast was wide on the eastern coast and narrow on the west. The lands of Nephi and Zarahemla were filled with ore and other metals, stone monuments, palaces, highways, literate peoples, immigration of three-cultures, highland lakes, trees in the south, cement buildings in barren north, many specific animals, grains, and much more. We have not found a geographical location that exactly fits this description offered in the Book of Mormon, although many places seem plausible. The Lord has not revealed it and has asked us not to argue over it (3 Nephi 11:29).

### Geography of Pike County, Illinois: Zelfh's Mound

Archaeological excavations of the area in Illinois where Zelfh's bones were discovered have unearthed another tribe of Native Americans: “a ceremonial mortuary center for regional Hopewellian populations during early portions of the Middle Woodland period (ca. 50 BC–AD 100, uncalibrated)” (Farnsworth, “Lamanitish Arrows,” 34). Bones from other nearby mounds were also tested by radiocarbon and “cluster in the last century BC and the first century AD” (ibid., 181, 193–197). Such an early date was surprising, as some of the bones were near the surface. Book of Mormon Central quotes Farnsworth's conclusion as follows:



Perhaps as early as 50–0 BC, construction of the Naples 8 earthwork began” (p. 181). This would place the beginning of the Hopewell community which started the mound at about the same time-period in which Book of Mormon peoples were migrating northward, some of whom could have hypothetically settled in the Illinois River Valley and joined with these Hopewell groups. It is impossible to be certain exactly when Zelph himself [is] dated . . . based on these findings, but given that remains close to the surface were dated to the first century AD, it seems most likely that Zelph (who was found at a similar depth) dated to this same time-period. Some radiocarbon data (p. 169, 184) suggested that the mound was used in the Late Woodland period (ca. 12th–14th century AD) for cremation ceremonies, leaving the possibility open that Zelph came later, but the primary use of the mound appears to be between 50 BC–AD 10).

Dating the bones of Zelph’s skeletal remains and identifying what Joseph said about him are relatively unimportant pieces of history but when they are used to attack the validity of the Prophet Joseph, this topic takes on larger importance. These details have also been used to anchor a Book of Mormon geography which has been a source of contention in some circles. Both of these claims can be best assessed in light of much research on this subject; see below in “Further Readings.” Much of this is summarized in KnoWhy #336 on Book of Mormon Central.

### Further Reading

Kenneth W. Godfrey, “What Is the Significance of Zelph in the Study of Book of Mormon Geography?” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 8, no. 2 (1999): 70–79, 88. Kenneth W. Godfrey, “The Zelph Story,” *BYU Studies* 29, no. 2 (1989): 31–56. Donald Q. Cannon, “Zelph Revisited,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Illinois*, ed. H. Dean Garrett (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1995), 97–111. Thomas J. Riley, “Joseph Smith, Zelph’s Mound, and the Armies of Zion: The Construction of American Indians from Archaeological Evidence in Illinois in the Nineteenth Century,” *Illinois Archaeology* 5, no. 1–2 (1993): 25. John L. Sorenson, “Mesoamericans in Pre-Columbian North America,” in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon: A Decade of New Research*, John W. Welch, ed. (Salt Lake City and Provo, UT: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1984), 218–219. Kenneth Farnsworth and Karen A. Atwell, “Excavations at the Blue Island and Naples-Russell Mounds and Related Hopewellian Sites in the Lower Illinois Valley,” *Illinois State Archaeological Survey Research Report 34* (Urbana-Champaign, IL: Prairie Research Institute, University of Illinois, 2015).