THE FALL OF THE STANDARD:

William W. Davies and the "Walla Walla Jesus"

A Paper Submitted by

Tony Zbaraschuk

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I. INTRODUCTION

On the wheat-covered hills above Mill Creek, in rural Walla Walla County, lies an overgrown patch of ground. Near the edge, obscured by grass, is a small stone marker saying simply "W.W.D." The words "W. W. Davies. August 9, 1833. November 25, 1906" are inscribed on a larger grave-marker next to it. Nearby, a few other gravestones poke through the brush. Besides these stones, only some rolls of microfilm in the Walla Walla County Courthouse and a few scattered documents and memories preserve the memory of William W. Davies[1] and his "Kingdom of Heaven on Earth."

Davies' Kingdom was an autocratic commune, much like other nineteenth-century movements, and several historians have described it as a typical nineteenth-century utopia.[2] It is important to note, however, that Davies saw himself as the true successor to Morris, who in turn considered himself the legitimate prophet of the Mormons and thus the heir of Joseph Smith. Like Morris and Smith, Davies claimed to have visions, and to function as a direct connection between God

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1. The name is sometimes spelled (and was probably pronounced) "Davis" in contemporary records, but "Davies" is the general usage among present-day historians, and is also the form that appears on Davies' books and his tombstone. I have therefore chosen to use "Davies" throughout, except for direct quotes from contemporary sources.

2. For instance, Russell Blankenship, And Then There Were Men (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), pp. 79-94, and Melvin Van Dyk, "Morrisites and Daviesites: Forays into Communal Living" (M.A. thesis, Washington State University, 1977). Blankenship's book is a romantic and unreliable account, while Van Dyk's is a scholarly investigation.

and his followers. In his Kingdom, Davies drew heavily on early Mormon practice and that of the Mormon schismatic Joseph Morris for inspiration. Although Davies distanced himself from Mormon theology, his practices drew strongly on Mormon and Morrisite examples.

II. JOSEPH MORRIS AND THE MORRISITES

Davies's story begins with Joseph Morris, an English convert to Mormonism.[3] After his arrival in Utah in 1853, Morris became rapidly disenchanted with the Mormon hierarchy. On December 7, 1857, Morris wrote to Brigham Young, announcing that he, Morris, was the new prophet of the Mormon Church, although Young could retain the Presidency. Young did not reply to the initial messages. Morris continued to write. Eventually, Morris met Young, but apparently had no effect. Finally, in 1860, Morris despaired of Young's ever believing him, and began to build his own separatist movement at Kingston Fort, also known as South Weber, in Davis County, about thirty miles north of Salt Lake City.

Most of Morris' doctrines were orthodox Mormonism. He believed, though, that the Second Advent of Christ was imminent, and did not require physical preparations such as temples and cities built by the faithful. He believed strongly in reincarnation. His greatest difference with the

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3. My account of the Morrisites is drawn mainly from C. LeRoy Anderson, Joseph Smith and the Saga of the Morrisites (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1988), pp. 13-156.

Mormon authorities was the belief that he, Morris, rather than Brigham Young, was the true prophet whom God had called to succeed Joseph Smith. According to Anderson, Morris' opposition to polygamy may have been the largest factor in bringing in converts: many of the Scandanavian and English converts were shocked by the Mormon practice.[4] In view of Davies' later behavior, however, it is important to note that Morris' opposition to polygamy was not absolute; he believed merely that its practice was undesirable at the present time.

Disputes between Morrisites and local Mormons continued throughout 1861. Mormon harassment increased, and since the same Mormons controlled the local courts, the Morrisites could not turn to them for help. Morris continued receiving and producing revelations of the imminent Advent, which Morris expected would be triggered by a Mormon attack on the camp. Indeed, his behavior was an invitation to that attack. It was also an attempt to encourage his followers, some of whom were beginning to lose faith, and others to dispute over their proper place in the camp. Richard Cook and John Banks, Morris' two main lieutenants, repeatedly quarrelled over precedence: Morris had to issue repeated revelations to keep them in line.

William Jones, one of Morris' first followers,

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4. In addition to Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, pp. 73-74, 246, see J. H. Beadle, Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism, Being an Exposé of the Secret Rites and Ceremonies of the Latter-Day Saints, with a Full and Authentic History of Polygamy and the Mormon Sect from its Origin to the Present Time (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1870), p. 348.

eventually grew disenchanted with the continual series of revelations about the imminence of the Advent, none of which were fulfilled. Jones resolved to leave the camp, taking his considerable property with him. Morris forbade this, but Jones managed to get some of his property out, though his family chose to remain at Kingston Fort. Jones tried to obtain help from local Mormons. After some turmoil, the Morrisites captured him and two other would-be deserters and brought them back to the Fort. As would later occur with Davies, the actions of apostates led to the involvement of outside law and the eventual break-up of the community.

John F. Kinney, chief justice of the Third District Court at Salt Lake City, issued a writ of habeas corpus, commanding the Morrisite leaders to release their prisoners, one of whom had already escaped. The Morrisites tossed the writ to the ground and dumped a shovelful of coals on it when it was delivered on May 24, 1862. For Morris and his followers, the Second Coming was near at hand: this was the final battle.

On June 10, Kinney issued an arrest warrant for Joseph Morris, John Banks, Richard Cook, John Parson, and Peter Klemgard. The posse that went to arrest the Morrisite leaders numbered some 200 men, mobilized by the Mormon church's ward organization. Several hundred unofficial volunteers joined the posse on its march. By the time it reached Kingston Fort on June 13, the posse may have contained as many as one thousand men, led by Robert T.

Burton, a hero of the Mormon War of 1857.[5] When the posse reached Kingston Fort, Burton sent a warning message to the Morrisites and shortly thereafter opened fire with several cannon. The siege continued for three days; the Morrisites returned fire intermittently. Late on the afternoon of June 15, after the Mormon forces breached one wall, the Morrisites surrendered. The Mormons had killed between five and ten Morrisites during the siege. Morris himself was fatally shot during the surrender proceedings and John Banks was mortally wounded.[6]

Following the battle, the Morrisites who had fought were imprisoned in Salt Lake City. A few fled East, others west to Nevada. In March, 1863, seventy-nine Morrisites were tried and convicted on various charges, including second-degree murder and resistance to a court order. The court convicted seven men of second-degree murder, and fined the rest $100 each. The Territory Governor, Stephen S. Harding, pardoned all the Morrisites three days later; this action led to massive Mormon protests to Washington and Harding's ouster. By this time, the Morrisites realized they had to move. The Mormon church under Brigham Young was openly

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5. Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, p. 119, quotes the Morrisite historian Eardley here, but Morris received a revelation stating that there were "fewer than 700", and Anderson estimates that 500 is probably the closest guess.

6. Exactly what happened depends on whether one trusts the Mormon or Morrisite accounts. The Morrisite version is probably closer to the truth, though. See Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, pp. 140-142, and G. M. Howard, "Men, Motives, and Misunderstandings: A New Look at the Morrisite War of 1862" (Utah Historical Quarterly 44, Spring 1976) for a through discussion.

hostile and Utah was not a very promising environment in any event. Some Morrisites had already left Utah; many followed under the protection of the U.S. Army, traveling either to Carson City, Nevada, or to Soda Springs, Montana.[7]

This division helped to splinter the Morrisites beyond all hope of recovery. Morris had not appointed a successor before his death, and a number of prophets rose to claim his mantle, among whom George Williams, the "Prophet Cainan", was probably the most important.[8] Another was William Davies.

III. WILLIAM DAVIES

Davies had been born on August 9, 1833 in Denbigh in Eglwysfach county in North Wales. He was introduced to Mormonism at the age of fourteen, and converted at sixteen. He became a preacher at the young age of 18, in 1851. In 1855, a year after his marriage to Ann Elizabeth Jones, Davies crossed the Atlantic and came to Utah. The 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre, where a Mormon band masquerading as Indians slaughtered a westbound wagon train, shattered his faith in the Mormon hierarchy, though not its doctrines, and

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7. George S. Dove and James Dove, A Voice from the West to the Scattered People of Weber and All the Seed of Abraham (San Francisco: Church of the Firstborn, 1879), p. 13; James Dove, A Few Items in the History of the Morrisites (San Francisco: Church of the Firstborn, 1892), p. 1; Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, pp. 147-152.

8. Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, pp. 161-196 is a good account of the various Morrisite leaders, but see also Dove and Dove, A Voice from the West, pp. 13-14, and Dove, A Few Items in the History of the Morrisites, passim.

he begun a new search for truth. Davies found it in Joseph Morris. After the death of Morris and the trial of the Morrisites, Davies joined the northern Morrisite column.[9]

He became a leader at the Morrisite settlement in Deer Lodge, Montana, the largest such group in the north. For him, however, temporal leadership of the Montana Morrisites was not enough. They desperately needed a prophet and Davies did not accept the claims of George Williams, the "Prophet Cainan." Furthermore, Davies was very depressed. Though he apparently had a good job in the Montana gold fields, the revelations that he had believed and trusted had resulted only in Morris' death and the scattering of his followers.[10] According to Irma Miller's biography of her grandfather,

> William Davies believed in Mormonism sincerely but it had seemed to prove an unsound doctrine in its worship. He loved Joseph Morris and received his teachings as from a prophet of God. Yet he was dead. Now where was William Davies to look for truth that he could know was of divine origin? So he decided to cast away all belief, all doubt and without an opinion, seek for a communication direct from God to himself.[11]

On January 24, 1866, Davies got his answer. In vision,

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9. This account comes from Frank T. Gilbert, Historic Sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia, and Garfield Counties, Washington Territory, and Umatilla County, Oregon, (Portland, Oregon: A. G. Walling, 1882), p. 373 and Irma Miller, "William Davies" (typescript in possession of Mrs. Hazel M. Shields of Kennewick, Washington, 1982), pp. 1-3. E. Neal Klemgard, Peter, James, and John: Pacific Northwest pioneers, an historical novel (Chicago, Adams Press, 1977), p. 23, refers to Davies as a Mormon bishop in 1855; I have not found supporting evidence for this statement.

10. Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, pp. 144, 150-1, 159-62, 197-8; Irma Miller(?), "Facts and Beliefs of W. W. Davies" (typescript in possession of Mrs. Hazel M. Shields of Kennewick, Washington, n.d.).

11. Miller, "William Davies", p. 3.

he saw a great white throne in heaven, and learned that God and his Son had chosen him, Davies, to reveal their will to mankind, and to inaugurate "the kingdom of heaven upon earth." Henceforth, Davies dated events from this time as the "Millenial Era". When his fifth son, Joseph Bowman Davies, was born on June 17, 1866, Davies announced him to be the reincarnation of John the Baptist, the fore-runner of the Messiah. In the spring of the next year, 1867, following a divine revelation, Davies travelled from Deer Lodge, Montana along the Mullan Road to Walla Walla, where he established the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth.[12]

IV. THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN

Davies purchased 80 acres of fertile land near Mill Creek as a site for the camp. Echoing Brigham Young's words on reaching Salt Lake City, Davies said "This is the place," when he first saw the land.[13] He also purchased 160 acres of mountain land near the timberline, possibly another 240-acre farm nearby, and owned a 40- (or 80-)acre woodlot, possibly in Oregon. Some of his followers homesteaded nearby, and Davies purchased land for others.[14]

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12. Gilbert, Historic Sketches, p. 373; Miller, "William Davies", pp. 3-4; Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, p. 199; Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, pp. 83-84.

13. Miller, "William Davies", p. 4. Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, p. 199, suggests that Brigham Young's biographers may have borrowed this phrase from Davies, since Young's "This is the place" pronouncement is not recorded until several years after Davies' death in 1906.

14. The whole question of the land ownership of Davies

The theology of Davies' "Kingdom of Heaven" is fairly simple. Davies was a reincarnation of the Holy Spirit and thus God incarnate. When his wife gave birth to a son on February 11, 1868, Davies revealed that this child was none other than a reincarnation of Jesus, the Messiah, and though his legal name was Arthur Elijah, the boy was known as "Messiah, Son of David". Davies' next son, David, was a reincarnation of God the Father. Naturally, a sect whose leader <u>is</u> God has no real need of any theology.[15]

Nevertheless, in addition to the belief in reincarnation and in Davies as an inspired prophet, the "Kingdom of Heaven on Earth" did have some standard beliefs. According to Davies himself

> Our regular Sabbath day is Sunday, even the first and the last, the beginning and the end. We believe in pre-election, foreordination and predestination. We abstain from pork, liquor, and tobacco, etc., etc.[16]

Men and boys wore their hair long as a symbol of strength.

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and his followers is rather complicated. See <u>Cilley, A. B., A. J. Courtney, and Thomas Evans v. W. W. Davis, Alfred Davis, and W. Wood</u>, case .2373 (Walla Walla County Courthouse, Washington Territory, 1st District, 1880-81) (henceforth ".2373"), testimony of George Lee, p. 69; .2373, testimony of V. D. Lambert, pp. 116-117, 131; .2373, testimony of Broer Sorenson, p. 233 for some references. See also Walla Walla County Deed Records (henceforth "WW Deed Rec."), H:231, O:586, and Miller, "William Davies", p. 4. Blankenship, <u>And Then There Were Men</u>, p. 93, is mistaken in saying that none of Davies' followers ever homesteaded; see WW Deed Rec., X:32. I have not yet been able to check the Umatilla County deed records for Davies' land there. Davies' son William Alfred also owned land in the area: see WW Deed Rec., S:167, W:471 and others.

15. Gilbert, <u>Historic Sketches</u>, p. 376-77; Miller, "William Davies", p. 13; Blankenship, <u>And Then There Were Men</u>, p. 87.

16. Gilbert, <u>Historic Sketches</u>, pp. 376-77.

Photographs of both Davies and Grosvenor Andrus show hair reaching to the elbows, and lithographs of Davies' sons show long hair.[17] Submission to the will of Davies was of course necessary, since he and his youngest sons were God incarnate. New converts had to swear a vow:

> I, ----- -----, do hereby present myself before the Lord, and in the presence of William W. Davies, true representative of the Lord of Hosts upon the earth. And I hereby vow the vow of the covenant, that I will serve and love the Lord God of Israel, the God of my fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and that I will live a holy life and abide a holy law as fast as it shall be made known unto me. That I will exalt the name of the Lord with all my might while I dwell upon the earth, and I do covenant thus with the Lord in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; even so, amen.[18]

Davies claimed miraculous powers, including the ability to cure disease and prevent death, to lay down his life and resurrect himself. He said that he had the power of life and death over members of his camp.[19] There is no evidence that he ever directly invoked the latter, although Grosvenor Andrus, a convert who probably met Davies in Montana, and converted in 1869, took care of discipline for him. Andrus was Davies' right-hand man and quite important in the camp; often, he did trading for Davies.[20]

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17. Miller, "William Davies", p. 14; Walla Statesman, 1878; Gilbert, Historic Sketches, p. 368; photo of Andrus in possession of Mrs. Lois G. Norris of Walla Walla, Washington, a grand-daughter of Andrus; photo of Davies in possession of Mrs. Hazel M. Shields of Kennewick, Washington.

18. Gilbert, Historic Sketches, p. 376

19. Davies' theology is revealed at length in the .2373 trial record, both in the testimony recorded there and in copies of Davies' publications: see Appendix B.

20. Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, p. 88; testimony of A. B. Cilley, .2373, p. 18. See also the Walla Walla Union, June 4, 1881. Blankenship spelled the name wrong, and according to descendants, his impression of Andrus

Davies' theology had several strong similarities to Mormon beliefs. He believed in abstinence, as noted above, and in extensive missionary work. For him, a new printing press was "worth more than fifty ranches",[21] and Davies sent numerous missionaries out. They went both abroad and to several areas within the United States, including Portland, San Francisco, and even back to Utah, where the Miller family, which had arrived from Denmark in 1862, converted to Davies' beliefs and came to Walla Walla in 1868.[22] The missionaries went mostly to other Morrisite groups. Since these groups already believed Morrisite doctrine, they were more likely to hear Davies' message. R. J. Livingston, who had been one of Morris' apostles, left Carson City, Nevada, to join Davies' camp, along with a fair number of Morrisites.[23] According to Russell Blankenship, "so far as

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is inaccurate: Mrs. Lois G. Norris, interview by author, Walla Walla, Washington, May 10, 1989. Mrs. Norris believes that Andrus first met Davies in Montana: I think he may have first met Morrisite missionaries in San Francisco. James Dove, A Few Items in the History of the Morrisites, pp. 3-4, mentions a "Mr. Andrews" as a convert: this may be Andrus. See also Andrus' testimony in First National Bank of Walla Walla vs. Davis et al., case .3260 (Washington Territory, 1st District, 1883), p. 122. Idaho's current Governor, Cecil B. Andrus, is a grandson of Grosvenor Andrus.

21. Letter, Davies (signed "Father") to F. B. Evans, March 18, 1877, .2373.

22. Testimony of A. B. Cilley, .2373, pp. 1-2; testimony of Michael H. Kelly, .2373, p. 236, of S. W. Wood, .2373, p. 210; "Soren Miller Family", typescript in possession of Lois G. Norris, Walla Walla, Washington. A large number of Morrisites must have remained in Utah, since Morris had about 500 followers in Kingston Fort and another 500 sympathizers. While many doubtless lost faith, only 160 went north to Soda Springs (Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, p. 166) and it does not seem that many more went into Nevada, so several hundred may have been left in Utah.

23. Walla Walla Union, January 23, 1877, quoted in

one can tell no effort was made to induce local people to join. Certain pioneers say that no person from Walla Walla ever joined the group."[24] Some of Davies' missionaries may have sought out the local Indians. If true, this would be another link with Mormon practice.[25]

Another link with Mormon (and Morrisite) practice was Davies' communism. In Missouri, Joseph Smith had advanced the Order of Enoch, which involved consecrating all property to the Lord. The leaders of the church would then appoint the original owner as a steward to administer the property but retained final control in their own hands. At Kingston Fort, Morris likewise pursued a policy of property consecration accompanied by central administration. It was only to be expected that Davies, the proclaimed successor to Morris and hence to Smith, would follow a similar path. His requirement that followers swear to devote all they owned to the 'Standard of Israel' and to submit to his direction is thus easily explained.[26]

David Stevens, "The Kingdom of Heaven on Earth, Especially Around Walla Walla" (Whitman College senior thesis, 1960), p. 8); Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, p. 200.

24. Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, p. 86. It must be noted that Blankenship is not a reliable source. But I have found no converts coming from the Walla Walla Valley.

25. Letter, James G. Kerns (a descendant of R. J. Livingston) to Tony Zbaraschuk, May 1989. For Mormon efforts among the Indians, see Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-Day Saints (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), pp. 145-160.

26. William Alexander Linn, The Story of the Mormons: from the date of their origin to the year 1901 (New York: Macmillan, 1902), p. 146; Ray B. West, Jr., Kingdom of the Saints: The Story of Brigham Young and the Mormons (New York: Viking Press, 1957), pp. 7-8; Anderson, Saga of the Morrisites, pp. 69-70; Gilbert, Historic Sketches, p. 375-

Because anti-Mormon settlement was prevalent across the West at this time, Davies probably feared assault if he identified himself as a Mormon, the more so since his group was quite small. He was known as "Mormon Davis" in the Walla Walla Valley, but tried several times to distance himself from Mormonism. For instance, his 1883 interview with local historian Frank T. Gilbert does not suggest that Davies was himself a Mormon. Davies also invited the editors of the Walla Walla Statesman to his camp, and attempted to convince them that he was not a Mormon. Apparently, though, Davies told them little of his theology.[27] During the trial, Peter Klemgard testified that

> Davis and I were both members of the Mormon Church and we both seceded from that church under Morris and formed a new religious organization at Weber. We seceded because we differed from the Mormon church in belief.[28]

Davies, unlike Smith and Morris, did not make much of a local stir. Obviously, after seeing his prophet killed by the Mormons as well as experiencing the Mormon War in the 1850s, Davies would be cautious about revealing his beliefs.

Especially in the early years, life in the Davies camp was difficult. Initially, the group was quite poor, though this later improved somewhat. Though most supplies were

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376. For a full discussion of Mormon communism, see Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May: Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1976), and Edward J. Allen, The Second United Order Among the Mormons (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

27. Walla Walla Statesman, December 25, 1880; Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, p. 81; Walla Walla Statesman, August 10, 1878.

28. Testimony of Peter Klemgard, .2373, p. 40.

distributed evenly among the members, Davies, his family, and the women surrounding him usually received the most and best things.[29] Arthur and David Davies, the "Messiah" and "God the Father", were dressed in white and red velvet respectively on special occasions. But supplies were often short: other children sometimes had to go barefoot in the snow.[30] Members of the community shared work; even Davies labored on occasion as a brickmason, while men, women, and older children worked in the fields. Followers often had to work outside the community to raise funds for it, even though Davies received over $16,000 in donations, and members gave everything to the camp when they joined.[31]

When Davies invited the editors of the Walla Walla Statesman out to his camp, they judged that it was well-equipped and self-supporting.[32] But in 1881, when several disenchanted followers sued for the return of their gifts and a fair wage, Davies was unable to meet the judgement against

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29. This seems the easiest way of reconciling the contradictory statements in .2373, passim, and Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, pp. 85-86. During the 1881 trial, prosecution witnesses testified that Davies and his close circle got the first and best of everything, while defense witnesses testified that everyone shared alike.

30. Miller, "William Davies", p. 7; testimony of George Lee, .2373, pp. 112-113.

31. Stevens, "The Kingdom of Heaven", p. 7; Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, pp. 85-86; .2373, p. 223 and elsewhere; Van Dyk, "Morrisites and Daviesites", p. 53. The $16,000 figure comes from Van Dyk's notes on .2373, p. 231, probably Davies' testimony.

32. Walla Walla Statesman, August 10, 1878. According to this article, the Davies camp raised hemp and sugar-cane, and had much modern equipment. I am not sure about the reliability of this article: sugar-cane in the Walla Walla Valley? In my opinion, the article is a Davies P.R. job on the Statesman.

him, despite the large donations from outside the camp. He certainly spent large sums of money on missionary work and on his printing presses.[33] Russell Blankenship was probably correct when he wrote that "despite the industry of the colony, it is doubtful if it ever was wholly self-supporting."[34]

V. DAVIES ON TRIAL

Life, though difficult, went on in the camp from 1867 until 1879, when Davies' wife (whose name he had changed from Anne to Sarah) died of diptheria. Some followers begun to wonder about Davies' claims but the majority remained. Worse was to come, however. Davies had centered his theology around his two sons, so the diptheria outbreak in the spring of 1880 was a disaster. David, the Daviesites' "God the Father", died on February 15; Arthur, the "Walla Walla Jesus", died a week later.[35] This destroyed the faith of several of Davies' followers, causing severe tension through the summer. Gossip was rampant. One disenchanted follower criticized Davies in a letter to the Walla Walla Union:

> "A Victim" says that W. W. Davis did proclaim himself Commander in Chief of Heaven and Earth; that he did claim

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33. Van Dyk, "Morrisite and Daviesites", pp. 53-54; Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, pp. 84-86, 91; testimony of V. D. Lambert, .2373, p. 126; testimony of Swen Hagg, .2373, p. 202.

34. Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, p. 85.

35. Miller, "William Davies", p. 5; Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, p. 90. See also the Walla Walla Union, March 13, 1880, which states there were only two deaths, both in Davies' household. These must have been the two boys.

for himself divine powers; that he had at one time over 100 followers; that he taught that his son and daughter would be mated, not married, when old enough; that from his children a line of superior rulers would come forth for the benefit of mankind; that he taught his followers that intercourse with anyone outside of the Camp of Israel was contamination; and much more of the same sort. We give this much space to the communication of "A Victim" because he affirms of his own knowledge. If Mr. Davis chooses to deny we will give him as much space in our columns for his reply.[36]

When other community members agitated for the return of their property, Davies refused. But he had begun to lose credibility: after all, he had once claimed "I can throw my coat on a sick person, and death cannot take him or her while the coat is on. This can be done without their faith, and it has been done."[37] Now, though, not only his wife, but his two children, two members of the Trinity incarnate, had died. What kind of prophet could Davies be?

Finally, on October 16, 1880, three of the disenchanted followers, A. B. Cilley, A. J. Courtney, and Thomas W. Evans, filed suit in the district court. Cilley and Courtney were West Coast (Portland and San Francisco); Evan's past is unknown. The three claimed that Davies had falsely claimed miraculous powers in order to defraud them and that he had

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36. Walla Walla Union, October 30, 1880. The Union had the correspondent's name, but did not publish it. Evidence in the .2373 file supports several of the accusations in the letter. I have not found any evidence to support the charge of incest, though some points can be interpreted in support if one is sufficiently determined. As far as I can tell, Davies did not reply in the newspapers. The letter claimed to correct an article in the Cincinnati Gazette: I do not know how news of Davies reached Ohio.

37. William W. Davies, Daily Bread: An Abridgement of Remarks by Wm W Davies, Standard of Israel, Vol I. (Walla Walla: W. W. Davies private publication, 1878), p. 23.

purchased much land and personal property with his ill-gotten gains. The suit included Davies' son William Alfred and the camp's photographer, W. Wood, as Davies had given some of his gains to them. The plaintiffs asked for $14,380 as fair compensation for their time, labor, and donations.[38] The trial started during the winter of 1880.[39]

The witnesses for the prosecution included A. B. Cilley, Peter Klemgard, George Lee, and V. D. Lambert. Klemgard had been one of Morris' apostles, and an early follower of Davies: the others were all recent converts. For the defense, seven of Davies' followers testified, as did Davies himself. Three local merchants were character witnesses for Davies.[40]

Initially, the plaintiffs tried to discredit the Law of Consecration whereby the members of the Davies commune had given their money, time, labor, and possessions into Davies' hands. This was largely ineffective, since cross-examination revealed that the plaintiffs had known what they were getting

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38. Walla Walla Daily Statesman, October 23, 1880; Van Dyk, p. 57; Stevens, "The Kingdom of Heaven", p. 11; testimony of A. B. Cilley, .2373, p. 1-3; Dove, A Few Items in the History of the Morrisites, p. 4

39. Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, p. 90, and Stevens, p. 11, probably quoting him, say that the trial begun late in January. Van Dyk, p. 57, states that it begun on December 31. However, the Walla Walla Statesman for December 25, 1880 includes a summary of George Lee's testimony, and he was the third prosecution witness. My best guess (and it is only a guess) is that the trial started about mid-November.

40. At least, these are the only witnesses recorded. There is a 31-page gap in the .2373 case file pagination between Lee's and Lambert's testimony, and a 58-page gap between Lambert's testimony and the defense depositions. Courtney's and Evan's testimony may have been in these gaps, possibly along with that of other witnesses.

into. The defense was able to produce Cilley's and Lambert's signed oaths to Davies. The prosecution, unable to prevail here, dropped the issue and shifted to personal attacks on Davies' disciplinary and sexual practices.[41] Cilley, for example, testified that his arm had been accidently broken while laboring in the field. Davies had then told Cilley that his arm had been broken as punishment for Cilley's arguments with Davies.[42] Davies also used Grosvenor Andrus, the "Destroying Angel", to discipline those who disagreed with him.[43]

Davies had also expelled several followers from the camp on charges of immorality and had then claimed their wives for his own use.[44] This last charge became the focus of the trial, as prosecution witnesses revealed further lurid details. According to them, Davies had set up several women, including schoolteacher Cornelia Perkins, Mrs. Thomas Parker, and several others, in private houses. Then he visited them after dark. V. D. Lambert, the fourth prosecution witness, further testified that Davies had tried to seduce several girls in the camp, and that several babies and abortions had

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41. Van Dyk, p. 58-60; copies of oaths, .2373; testimony of V. D. Lambert, pp. 126-7.

42. Van Dyk, "Morrisites and Daviesites", p. 59; testimony of A. B. Cilley, .2373, pp. 8-9. See also testimony of Swen Hagg, .2373, .205.

43. Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, p. 88. This is the only source to give a long account of Andrus' behavior, but Miller, "William Davies", p. 5, also identifies Andrus as the "Destroying Angel". I cannot know how much of Blankenship's account is accurate here, but I refuse to believe that such a name is bestowed for nothing.

44. Testimony of Peter Klemgard, .2373, p. 51, 54-57.

resulted from these unions.[45]

Several Walla Walla merchants testified that Davies had always acted responsibly and honestly. Little or no testimony, however, directly contradicted the claims of immorality. Davies himself testified that marriage vows were sacred and that he himself had disciplined or expelled several engaged in immoral activities. But his credibility -- and case -- were lost.[46]

On May 22, 1881, the court decided in favor of Cilley, Courtney, and Evans, awarding them $3,750. The court ordered the auction of the land on which the camp sat and much of the community's property to pay the debt. The community property --including livestock, agricultural equipment, a buggy, and various tools -- brought $1,757 when it was auctioned off on June 11, 1881. Orley Hull, who had testified as a character witness for Davies, bought the land at auction on July 16 for $1975. The sale left the community embittered and impoverished, though they were able to move to another piece of property that Davies owned.[47]

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45. Testimony of V. D. Lambert, .2373, pp. 114-116, 129-131; Van Dyk, "Morrisites and Daviesites", p. 60.

46. Testimony of F. F. Adams, .2373, p. 218; testimony of Orley Hull, .2373, p. 219; testimony of C. T. Thompson, .2373, .220; Van Dyk, "Morrisites and Daviesites", pp. 60-62.

47. Sheriff James B. Thompson's notice of auction and report of auction, .2373; Van Dyk, "Morrisites and Daviesites", p. 62; Mrs. Lois G. Norris, interview by author, Walla Walla, Washington, May 10, 1989.

VI. AFTERMATH

Despite all this, many of Davies' followers continued to believe in him. Some of them, during the trial, had said such things as "I believe Mr. Davis is what he represents himself, also his two sons. I understand Mr. Davis to be the Standard of Israel one of the Trinity the Spirit"[48] and "Mr.Davis I believe is the third person in the Godhead, the boys the other two persons."[49] According to Russell Blankenship, the community begun to break up after Davies married Cornelia Perkins on September 1, 1881. But as late as the beginning of 1882, fifty or more people still believed in Davies. Several families left the camp in the summer of 1882, and it probably disintegrated soon thereafter.[50]

Though Davies continued to believe in reincarnation, he never tried to re-establish the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. He said that Josephine, his first daughter by Cornelia Perkins Davies, born June 13, 1882, was a reincarnation of his first wife, returned to complete her mission. His son Arthur, born August 17, 1888, was a reincarnation of the earlier Arthur. But there is no evidence that Davies ever proclaimed him to be the Messiah, or that Davies was ever a religious leader again.[51]

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48. Testimony of James Mortenson, .2373, pp. 208-209.
49. Testimony of Broer Sorenson, .2373, p. 235.
50. Walla Walla Union, September 3, 1881; Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, pp. 91-92; Gilbert, Historic Sketches, pp. 374-375; Van Dyk, "Morrisites and Daviesites", pp. 62-63; Miller(?), "Facts and Beliefs of W. W. Davies".
51. Miller, "William Davies", p. 13; Miller(?), "Facts

He had severe difficulties over the next few years. The First National Bank of Walla Walla sued Davies several times in the next few years, usually over Davies' failure to pay promissory notes. In 1889, he moved to San Francisco, where the Doves, local Morrisite leaders, recorded that Davies was "living on moneys he had gained in some way."[52] Little is known about Davies' life in San Francisco. He visited Walla Walla in 1904 and came back to die in 1906; the death certificate lists his occupation as brickmason.[53]

Some of Davies' followers went on to other areas and independent lives. Peter Klemgard is buried in a cemetery in Pullman, Washington.[54] Grosvenor S. Andrus, the "Destroying Angel", married Christine Miller, one of Davies' ex-followers, in 1882. Andrus, along with Davies, Davies' son William Alfred, and the bankers D. S. Baker and John F. Boyer, was a defendant in a lawsuit filed by the First National Bank of Walla Walla on October 20, 1882. The Bank asked that Davies' conveyance of a tract of land to Andrus be voided. Interestingly, the tract involved (the west half of the northwest quarter of section 34, township 7 north, range

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and Beliefs of W. W. Davies"; Van Dyk, "Morrisites and Daviesites", p. 63. Blankenship, And Then There Were Men, pp. 91-92, apparently confuses the daughter with the mother. Mr. Don Klicker, a descendant of R. J. Livingstone, assures me that Davies never tried to re-establish the Kingdom, despite having believing followers in the Valley.

52. Dove, A Few Items in the History of the Morrisites, p. 6

53. Miller, "William Davies", pp. 5-6; death certificate of William W. Davies, Walla Walla County Health Office, 1906.

54. E. N. Klemgard, Peter, James, and John, p. 113,

37 east) was the land the camp occupied.[55] Andrus later worked as a road engineer for Walla Walla County, but was fired in a dispute over road locations. In 1899, he moved to Grant County, Oregon, where he died in 1920. One of his grandsons, Cecil Andrus, is currently Governor of Idaho.[56]

Many of Davies' followers, though, remained in Walla Walla County, especially around Mill Creek. They told their children little about Davies and the details of the Kingdom of Heaven. I doubt that any held on to Davies' beliefs. Few of the almost two hundred descendants of the camp in the Walla Walla Valley know much of their heritage. Irma Miller, one of Davies' granddaughters, kept most of the family history materials, but these apparently burned after her death a few years ago.[57]

Like many religious movements, Davies' Kingdom of Heaven on Earth failed when its grandiose rhetoric encountered reality. Economic mismanagement had a part: Davies was unable to raise three thousand dollars to rescue the

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55. Walla Walla County Deed Records, 27:171; First National Bank of Walla Walla vs. William A. Davis, William W. Davis, Grosvenor S. Andrus, D. S. Baker, and John F. Boyer, case .3260 (Washington Territory, 1st District, 1883). Lois G. Norris suggests that this suit may have been the cause of Andrus' break with Davies' beliefs. This would be a fascinating subject for further study. Question: how and when did Davies get the land back from Orley Hull?

56. Obituary of Grosvenor S. Andrus, n.d.; Lois G. Norris, interview by author, Walla Walla, Washington, May 10, 1989. I have not yet been able to confirm much of this information.

57. Mr. Don Klicker, interview by author, Walla Walla County, Washington, April 1989; Mrs. Lois G. Norris, interview by author, Walla Walla, Washington, May 10, 1989; Mrs. Hazel M. Shields, interview by author, Kennewick, Washington, April 30, 1989.

community despite having received more than fifteen thousand dollars in donations. But chiefly the Kingdom failed because its members lost faith, because Davies lived in luxury while his followers went hungry, because, above all, the camp's proclaimed Messiah died in the house of one who claimed he could work miracles. Though followers clung to Davies for a time, unable to face reality, in the end most of them drifted away, and Davies left the Walla Walla Valley, returning only on his deathbed. The houses Davies built are long-gone, and only a few forgotten records and overgrown gravestones remain of the "Kingdom of Heaven on Earth." It was a fascinating chapter of American history, but has passed into the mists of time.

APPENDIX A: SOURCES CONSULTED

Allen, Edward J. The Second United Order Among the Mormons. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 419. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Though this focuses on the 1870's United Order, it does include a chapter on the earlier Law of Consecration that both Morris and Davies espoused.

Anderson, C. LeRoy. For Christ Will Come Tomorrow: The Saga of the Morrisites. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1981.

This is probably the definitive work on the Morrisites, and Anderson's bibliography is invaluable for further research. It includes and updates most of the information that Anderson published earlier in Montana magazine.

Anderson, C. LeRoy. Joseph Morris and the Saga of the Morrisites. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1988.

A paperback reprint of For Christ Will Come Tomorrow, with additional illustrations.

Arrington, Leonard J.; Bitton, Davis. The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979.

Arrington, Leonard J.; Fox, Feramorz Y.; May, Dean L. Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1976.

A standard account of Mormon communal and cooperative efforts.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. History of Utah, 1540-1887. San Francisco: The History Company, 1890.

A standard, reputable, 19th-century history.

Beadle, J. H. Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism, Being an Exposé of the Secret Rites and Ceremonies of the Latter-Day Saints, with a Full and Authentic History of Polygamy and the Mormon Sect from its Origin to the Present Time. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1870.

This is a classic anti-Mormon polemic, and includes some information on Morris. There is also a brief, and somewhat inaccurate, account of Davies. Beadle's judgements may be useful for studies of contemporary opinion of Davies and his followers, though.

Blankenship, Russell. And Then There Were Men. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942.
This is the only source for much of the information about Davies. However, it is a rather romantic account, and has numerous factual errors and mistaken interpretations. Blankenship, for fear of offending locals, said almost nothing about the 1881 trial. Future historians are advised to use Blankenship's account with caution. "Verify before you trust."

Blankenship, Russell. "The Mill Creek Messiah." Up-to-the-Times Magazine, November 1929.
An earlier version of the chapter "The Walla Walla Jesus" in And Then There Were Men.

Cannon, M. Hamlin. "The Morrisite War: Insurrection by a Self-Styled Prophet." American West VII.6, November 1970. p. 4.
A popular account, but useful.

Cilley, A. B., A. J. Courtney, and Thomas Evans v. W. W. Davis, Alfred Davis, and W. Wood, case .2373 (Washington Territory, 1st District, 1880-81).
This record, preserved on microfilm at the Walla Walla County Courthouse, is fragmentary: there are major gaps in the pagination of the trial record, possibly including the testimony of Courtney and Evans, and it is impossible to determine how much miscellaneous material has vanished. Despite that, it is an important, perhaps the most important source for anyone interested in Davies. It includes the only known copies of Davies' publications.

Davies, William W. Daily Bread: An Abridgement of Remarks by Wm W Davies, Standard of Israel, Vol I. Walla Walla: W. W. Davies private publication, 1878.
This is one of Davies' books, on microfilm in the .2373 trial records. It is largely what the title says, a synopsis of some of his sermons. I have found no record of a Volume II, if one ever existed.

Dove, George S. and Dove, James. A Voice from the West to the Scattered People of Weber and All the Seed of Abraham. San Francisco: Church of the Firstborn, 1879.
This is mainly an explanation of Morrisite theology, but is a primary source for the history of the sect as well. Both Doves, father and son, were among the dozen or so successors to Joseph Morris.

Dove, James. A Few Items in the History of the Morrisites. San Francisco: Church of the Firstborn, 1892.
This is likewise an invaluable primary source, though it focuses on Dove and the western Morrisites.

First National Bank of Walla Walla vs. William A. Davies and William W. Davies, case .3093 (Washington Territory, 1st District, 1882).

A preliminary reading of the trial record reveals that this was a suit for payment of various promissory notes: Davies did not answer the summons, and the First National Bank was awarded $4,259 plus costs plus interest.

First National Bank of Walla Walla vs. William A. Davis, William W. Davis, Grosvenor S. Andrus, D. S. Baker, and John F. Boyer, case .3260 (Washington Territory, 1st District, 1883).

I did not have time to more than glance at this case, but it might prove a very valuable source for further investigation: there are 188 pages of testimony, more than survives for .2373. This includes testimony by Grosvenor Andrus, which may provide more information about him than is available anywhere else. Since Davies and his son William Alfred also testified, further information about them may be available here.

First National Bank of Walla Walla vs. William A. Davies, William W. Davies, and Lewis H. Bowman, case .4262 (Washington Territory, 1st District, 1885).

Apparently rising out of the Davies' failure to pay notes signed to Bowman, amounting to $3909.60. Davies did not respond to the summons, and the judgement went to First National Bank by default. Again, I did not have time to do more than glance at this case.

Fogarty, Robert S. Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980.

A standard reference work. Most of its information on Davies apparently comes from Blankenship. I am not sure where Fogarty got his figure of 480 acres for the land Davies owned: it may be a misprint of Blankenship's, but it does correspond closely with the total acreage that Davies seems to have owned.

Gilbert, Frank T. Historic Sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia, and Garfield Counties, Washington Territory, and Umatilla County, Oregon. Portland, Oregon: A. G. Walling, 1882.

This local history includes an extremely valuable interview with Davies. Gilbert, however, skips over the 1881 trial so deftly one might never notice it was missing, were one not already familiar with it.

Gulick, Bill. "The Walla Walla Jesus". Inquiry Club paper, Whitman College, 1988.

This is useless for further research, as the information here is drawn entirely from Gilbert, Blankenship, and Stevens.

Howard, G. M. "Men, Motives, and Misunderstandings: A New Look at the Morrisite War of 1862." Utah Historical Quarterly 44 (Spring 1976).

An excellent scholarly account, though partially out-dated by Anderson's work.

Klemgard, E. Neal. Peter, James and John: Pacific Northwest pioneers, an historical novel. Chicago: Adams Press, 1977.

This is a novel, but the author is apparently a descendant of Peter Klemgard, one of Morris' apostles and later one of the prosecution witnesses against Davies. He could thus have had access to sources unknown elsewhere. This may be useful if treated with great caution.

Linn, William Alexander. The Story of the Mormons: from the date of their origin to the year 1901. New York: Macmillan, 1902.

An early 20th-century anti-Mormon account, though not as polemical as Beadle.

Miller, Irma. "William Davies." 1982. Typescript in the possession of Mrs. Hazel M. Shields, Kennewick, Washington.

Irma Miller, a grand-daughter of Davies, was apparently the family historian, and had access to numerous papers written by Davies, including (possibly) the journal of his wife, though I am not sure which wife. Regrettably, fires seem to have destroyed most of her collection after her death. The account is quite sketchy, but includes details on Davies' life, especially after 1881, which are available nowhere else. There are several appendixes, including a list of Davies' children, a description of the camp, and a list of all 113 persons who followed Davies at one time or another. This is extremely valuable, although Miller skips over the 1881 trial very quickly.

Miller, Irma (?). "Facts and Beliefs of W. W. Davies." n.d. Typescript in the possession of Mrs. Hazel M. Shields, Kennewick, Washington.

A loose collection of interesting facts. There is no author named, but I am fairly certain that Irma Miller collected these. Since she drew on sources otherwise unavailable, much of this information is found nowhere else.

Reid, Agnes Just. Letters of Long Ago. Tanner Trust Fund ed. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Library, 1973.
A collection of letters: one of them has a description of the attack on Kingston Fort. Reid was a grand-daughter of one of the Montana Morrisites.

Roberts, B[righam] H[enry]. A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One. In Six Volumes. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1930.
The standard Mormon history of the Latter-Day Saints. Useful as a reference work.

Smith, Joseph Fielding. Essentials in Church History: A History of the Church from the Birth of Joseph Smith to the Present Time. 26th edition. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1973.
A modern official Mormon history.

"Soren Miller Family", n.d. Typescript in possession of Lois G. Norris, Walla Walla, Washington.
A collection of genealogical data on one of the Danish families that followed Davies.

Stenhouse, T. B. H. The Rocky Mountain Saints. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873.
An anti-Mormon account, bordering on the polemic.

Stevens, David. "The Kingdom of Heaven on Earth: Especially Around Walla Walla." Senior thesis, Whitman College, 1960.
Though most of Stevens' information comes from Gilbert and Blankenship, he did extensive research in the Walla Walla newspapers and consulted the .2373 file in the courthouse.

Tri-City Genealogical Society. Index to the 1880 Census of Walla Walla County, Washington Territory. Richland, Washington: Private printing, 1969.

Van Dyk, Melvin. "Morrisites and Daviesites? Forays into Communal Living." M.A. thesis, Washington State University, 1977.
This is a detailed account of Morris and Davies and their followers. Van Dyk analyzes them both as typical 19th-century utopian communes, and achieves notable parallels. His account of Davies and the trial is the best yet published, and his bibliography in some areas surpasses C. LeRoy Anderson's.

Walla Walla County Deed Records. Walla Walla County Courthouse, n.p.

Walla Walla Statesman. Microfilm, Penrose Library, Whitman College. Walla Walla, Washington.
The local newspapers are full of interesting information, including facts, dates, and local opinion of the Davies group.

Walla Walla Union. Microfilm, Penrose Library, Whitman College. Walla Walla, Washington.

West, Ray B, Jr.. Kingdom of the Saints: The Story of Brigham Young and the Mormons. New York: Viking Press, 1957.
A fairly objective account, though leaning toward the Mormon view of things.

APPENDIX B: DAVIES' PUBLICATIONS

This list includes all of Davies' books and other publications present in the microfilm of the .2373 record. I do not know if other copies of these exist, or if Davies published any other books. Note that many of the works include an "& 13" or something similar after the date: this is Davies' own Millenial Era dating, which begun with his vision on January 24, 1866.

The Word of the Lord to the House of Israel, given through William W Davies, Standard of Israel

Holiness to the Lord: Notice and Warning to all Men Living, by a Swift Messenger

Synopsis of Remarks by W. W. Davies, S. I., at a Meeting, Jan 2nd 1876 & 10

The Telescope, or an Article on Authority, Power, Deliverance, &c, by W. W. Davies S. I. 1876 & 11

Daily Bread: An Abridgement of Remarks by Wm. W Davies, Standard of Israel, Vol I. 1878 & 13

Untitled book of poems

Poem "Deliverance", no date

Poem "Sing to the Father", September 1878 & 13

Poem "Emblems and Figures", May 30 (year ?)

APPENDIX C: SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Because of time constraints, my study of the Walla Walla newspapers covered only the period 1878-1882: since Davies came to Walla Walla in 1867, much information probably remains to be discovered.

It might be possible to study Davies' relations with the other Morrisite communities across the West; the Morrisite archives preserved at the University of Montana would probably be a good place to start.

I refuse to believe that all the Davies documentation went up in smoke with Irma Miller's collection. I have seen only her summaries, but it is quite possible that descendants on Mill Creek have more information tucked away in attics. Mrs. Lois G. Norris and Mrs. Hazel M. Shields inform me that, during the first part of this century, their families told them very little about the Davies affair, so family stories are probably not available, but documents (letters, memos, etc.) may remain somewhere. However, Mr. Don Klicker tells me that the camp descendants on Mill Creek are still very reticent even today.

Another fruitful possibility would be to trace other families involved in Davies' movement. For example, E. N. Klemgard, who wrote a historical novel about his ancestor Peter Klemgard, may have further documents from that period. As Davies is a major character in that novel, the Klemgards may have considerable information about Davies.

The whole land ownership question deserves investigation. Many details remain to be settled. A useful study would be to list all the members of the community (using Irma Miller's "William Davies") and then see what land each owned when. Investigating Davies' finances and comparing the various suits and land sales might be interesting.

Tracing the missing parts of the .2373 trial record might be possible. Melvin Van Dyk found portions of the record in the courthouse vault that Stevens had missed, and the missing testimony may be lying somewhere in the vault, or on microfilm separated from the main records. Of course, it is equally possible that it is gone forever.

There are references to pre-1881 lawsuits in the .2373 record; tracing these might provide further information.

While interviewing local residents, I heard of a third book on Davies, giving more information than either Gilbert or Blankenship. It is possible that this is E. N. Klemgard's novel Peter, James, and John, or one of Anderson's books, but I did not get that impression. An attempt to trace this might be useful.

Another subject might be the post-1881 breakup of the commune: exactly when and how did it disintegrate?

APPENDIX D: DAVIES' FOLLOWERS

Photocopied from Miller, "William Davies", pp. 9-12.

This is a list of all persons associated with the camp. No more than seventy or so were ever present at any one time, according to Gilbert's Historic Sketches.

People at the Colony

At first there were only 33 people at the colony but in the years following there were over 100.

The first ones:

William Davies
Mrs. William Davies
Grace Jones (Mrs. Davies mother)
Grace Davies
Alfred Davies
Henry Davies
Walter Davies
Edward Davies
Joe Davies

Jones
Mr. Jones
Mrs. Jones
John
Louisa
Sarah
Evan
Anne
Dave
Joe

Sorensen
Mr. Sorensen
Mrs. Sorensen
Annie
August
Isaace
Joe

Hagg 3
Thomas 1
Rasmussen 6

PEOPLE AT THE COLONY

1. Miller, Soren)
2. Miller, Inger Marie) Miller Family
3. Miller, Christian)
4. Miller, John)
5. Miller, Christina)
6. Perkins, Mira C.
7. Jones, John)
8. Jones, Rachel (Dora))
9. Jones, John)
10. Jones Louisa)
11. Jones, Sarah)
12. Jones, Evan) Jones Family
13. Jones, Anne)
14. Jones, David)
15. Jones, Joseph)
16. Jones, Martha)

17. Livingston, Robert John)
18. Livingston, Isabella)
19. Livingston, John) Gibb & Livingston families
20. Gibb, William)
21. Gibb, James (not at camp))
22. Anderson (Mrs. Jensen))
23. Anderson, Caroline) Married William Gibb
24. Anderson, Eleanora) Married W. A. Davies
25. Sorensen, Mr.)
26. Sorensen, Mrs.)
27. Sorensen, August (never married))
28. Sorensen, Isaac)
29. Sorensen, Joseph (drowned))
30. Sorensen, Anna (married Griffith (Kate Cochran)) Sorensen Family
31. Sorensen (married Poirier (Ethel Klicker))
Lena (Vina Weaver))
(Joseph Poirier))
(Ruth Simmons))

32. Parker, Mr.)
33. Parker, Mrs.) Parker Family moved to
34. Parker, Aline (married Peter McCue) Wallowa County
35. Parker, Edith (married Christensen)
36. Parker, Elizabeth (married Galloway)
37. Parker, Sam)
38. Parker Tom)

39. McCue, Mr.)
40. McCue, Peter (married Aline Parker)) John and Peter sons of Mr. McCue
41. McCue, John)

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42. Mortisen, Mr.)
43. Mortisen, Mrs. (sister of Ola Hagg))
44. Mortisen, Mariah (adopted))

45. Klemgard, Peter)
46. Klemgard, Mrs. Peter)
47. Klemgard, Lucy (married Andrew Tash)
48. Klemgard, Stevie)
49. Klemgard, Carrie) Born later - Linda
50. Klemgard, James) Adie
51. Klemgard, Emma) Maude
52. Klemgard, Amelia) John
53. Gray, William
54. Gray, Robert
55. Wardrobe, Andrew (1/2 brother to the Grays)
56. Wardrobe, Mrs.
57. Wardrobe, Elizabeth
58. Roberts, Mr.)parents of Emily Roberts Marsh Jones
59. Roberts, Jane Susanna)
60. Roberts, Emily (married Robert Marsh & John Jones
61. Marsh, Robert
62. Marsh (daughter of Robert & stepdaughter of Emily)
63. Marsh " " " " "
64. Marsh (son " " " ")
65. Andrus, G. S. (married Christine Miller)
66. Evans, Frances (blind man)
67. Evans, Mrs.
68. Evans, Joseph
69. Evans, Hyriem
70. Evans, Sam
71. Evans, Annie
72. Lambert, V. D.
73. Lambert, Mrs. V.D.
74. Lambert, George
75. Lambert, Mary
76. Lambert, William
77. Lambert, Sarah
78. Lambert, Martha (married Sanderson)
79. Lambert, Annie Codman
80. Lambert, John
81. Lambert, Vincent
82. Rasmuson, Mr.
83. Rasmuson, Mrs.
84. Rasmuson, Henry Irving (preacher) married a Shiniff girl, sister of Mrs. Glover
85. Rasmuson, William
86. Rasmuson, Lena
87. Woods, W. S. (a photographer)
88. Courtney, C. (baker)
89. Kelly, Micheal H. (sailor)
90. Corbett, Mary B.
91. Evans, Thomas
92. Thomas, David (went to Elgin)

93. Clore, Jesse (lived on Ira Cochran place)
94. Parker, Mary B.
95. Olsen, Oscar (nephew of Mortisen)
96. Lee, George (took up homestead in cove on J. Miller place)
97. Hagg, Mr. Ola (Buried in canyon on Ira Cochran place)
98. Parks, Mr. (called Daddy Parks - distilled peppermint oil)
99. Hagg, Swan
100. Silly (blacksmith)

Plus the Davies (W. W. & Anne Elizabeth)

Grace	Arthur E.		
W. Alfred	David F.		
A. Henry	Sarah M.		
Walter B.	Mary E.	& Grace Jones	(113)
Edward L.	Seth S.		
Joseph B.	Josephine		

/

OCCUPATIONS AT THE CAMP

1.	Davies	Brick mason
2.	Miller	Dairy
3.	Lambert	Coppersmith - made barrels, tubs, wooden bucket
4.	Wood	Photographer
5	Andrus	Blacksmith
6.	Livingston	Blacksmith
7.	Klemgard	Carpenter
8.	Jensen (Anderson)	Carpetweaver
9.	Rasmuson	Carpenter
10.	Mortisen	Shoemaker

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