ERRATUM: We goofed. The cover picture of Frederick G. Williams for Spring 1972 issue of BYU Studies is actually a picture of George W. Bean. A photograph of a painting of Frederick G. Williams appears on page 538.
JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH

IN MEMORIAM

1876-1972
JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH
Prophet, Scholar, Historian, Author, Counselor, and Friend

EARL E. OLSON*

As President Joseph Fielding Smith left the Church Administration Building on what was to be his last day at the office, he stopped to greet some of the personnel in the Historical Department. This was a typical action of this great man, showing the closeness he felt to those with whom he had associated over a period of seventy years. He became involved with the writing of Church history and the preservation of Church records when he started work in 1902 as a clerk in the Office of the Church Historian. He then became directly responsible for the history and the records when after an additional fifteen years he was called as the Church Historian in 1917, a position he filled for forty-nine years until he was sustained as the tenth president of the Church. During his tenure as Church Historian many advancements were made in the Historian's Office, involving record keeping, records management, microfilming, and processing and preservation of the Church records. One of his exceptional characteristics was that he could always be found at his desk or filling a Church assignment. Even when he was handicapped with his foot in a cast, he was busy at his desk from early morning until late afternoon. During these years he was productive in writing—fifteen publications coming from his pen, together with numerous pamphlets and articles, poems and hymns.

President Smith was an unassuming humble man, yet he could be stern when sternness was needed. He was often

*Earl Olson has worked closely with President Smith in the Church Historian's Office for thirty-eight years, first as a clerk (1934), then as Church Librarian (1948), then as assistant Church historian (1965). With the reorganization of the Historical Department of the Church, he was named Church Archivist. He is also a member of the Editorial Board of BYU Studies.
brief and direct in answering queries when he thought the inquirer should already know the answers. And yet, he had great empathy for those who had problems, and his door was always open, not only to those who worked under his direction, but to visitors who sought his counsel. He felt great love for little children and his face would light up whenever the little ones were ushered into his room. He was concerned for the members of the Church and for their proper understanding of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Many came to him for an interpretation of the scriptures and left well satisfied.

To those who knew him well, Joseph Fielding Smith was a warm personality. He was a devoted scholar, historian, author, and counselor. In his passing we have lost a great friend and leader.
Joseph Fielding Smith: In Memoriam
1876-1972

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The opinions and statements expressed by contributors to Brigham Young University Studies are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Brigham Young University, the editor or editorial board.
Guest Editor's Prologue

TRUMAN G. MADSEN*

"This is your finest issue to date." So a preassessment by historiophiles has affirmed. Annually (this is our fourth year) the Institute of Mormon Studies has presented historical research findings in the summer issue of BYU Studies. This year we conclude our investigation of the Kirtland Era.

As expected we offer here some resounding firsts. One is a transliteration by Dean Jessee of a full forty pages of President Wilford Woodruff's diary from November 1836 to May 1837. With vision like Isaiah's and fervor like Paul's, Wilford Woodruff made journal entries, almost daily, for 63 years, thus creating as B. H. Roberts puts it, "an original documentary historical treasure which is priceless." In this Kirtland segment one can feel the whole rich moving drama of the growing Church through the soul of a man who was in every way a modern saint.

A second first is Oliver Cowdery's "Sketch Book" for Kirtland, also transcribed by Dean Jessee and commented on by Leonard Arrington. Beginning in January 1836, it portrays many phases of the movement, the organizational unfoldings, and the drives of the early Church. It also manifests the intellectual vigor of the Hebrew School and many prime personalities of the Church. It is, of course, revelatory of Cowdery himself.

Both the Wilford Woodruff and Oliver Cowdery diaries enable us to see the importance of the House of the Lord after its dedication—interlocking authoritative keys, covenants,

*Dr. Madsen, director of the Institute of Mormon Studies, is professor of philosophy at Brigham Young University. Former president of the New England Mission for the Church, he has lectured and published widely in the history and philosophy of religion.

washings and anointings, and quorum activities. A closeup of the Kirtland Temple is contained in a piece by Lauritz Petersen. He gives us an authentic outline of the roots of Temple ordinances, showing how early and how pervasive they were in the consciousness of the Prophet Joseph Smith. More, he presents details of its physical planning, and from original manuscripts offers insight into the pulpit arrangements, the organizations they represent, and the meaning of their initials.

The recent discovery of the Kirtland Safety Society Stock Ledger Book is a catalyst of two articles on the Kirtland Safety Society. Business historian Scott H. Partridge places the bank failure in context, trying on the one hand to disentangle it from irrelevant claims and counterclaims and on the other to show what actual forces were at work in the financial matrix of the time. Economists Larry T. Wimmer and D. Paul Sampson contribute a description and analysis of the ledger itself, its entries and personalities and procedures, and the new answers and the new questions it poses.

Milton V. Backman, having researched the restorationist and Campbellite backgrounds of the Ohio area, writes with renewed clarity on the question of what was and was not Campbellite, the movement which formed much of the religious setting of the early missionary efforts of the Church to and from Kirtland. He shows how accurate and significant was the repeated missionary cry: "The field is white already to harvest!"

Davis Bitton details the aftermath of the Kirtland period as the rolling waters of Mormonism flowed toward Missouri. He helps us see who departed and who remained and some of the, until now, blurry why's.

For bibliographers, the last and best of this issue is the meticulous product of Peter Crawley, a 73-page annotated chronology of all Mormon publications (dozens of them herefore unknown) in the period 1830 to 1838. He has spent two decades in the search.

In a special way this issue of research into the history of the Church at Kirtland stands as a memorial to President Joseph Fielding Smith, who for so many years served as the Church Historian. More than any other man in our generation, President Smith has made the history of the Church available
to its members. Under his direction as Prophet, the Historical Department of the Church was reorganized and assigned to prepare a new sesquicentennial comprehensive history of the Church. This commission gives body to the hope envisioned in our first special issue of BYU Studies (Spring 1969), which delves into the origins of the Church—the hope that we might help lay the groundwork for that new history. We have been commissioned by Leonard J. Arrington, the new Church Historian, to continue our research and publishing and thus to do as much of the preparatory work for the new comprehensive history as possible.

So with that charge, in our next issue of Studies we move on to Missouri. And we once more invite students, writers, historians, and all who have any interest in any phases of that period to contact us for lines of approach and relevant materials.
The Quest for a Restoration:
The Birth of Mormonism in Ohio

Milton V. Backman, Jr.*

In the latter part of October 1830, four Mormon missionaries—Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, Jr., Parley P. Pratt, and Ziba Peterson—appeared in Mentor, Ohio, and introduced the restored gospel to one of the influential preachers of the Western Reserve, Elder Sidney Rigdon. Within one week, these elders had not only preached in Mentor, Euclid, and Kirtland but had created the nucleus of a branch of the Church by baptizing seventeen in Kirtland. Moving from Rigdon's home to the farm of Isaac Morley, they continued to declare their faith in the community where they were enjoying their greatest success; and on Sunday, 31 October, the missionaries held another meeting in Kirtland which was followed by the confirmation of a dozen newly baptized converts. On the ensuing Sunday, 7 November, about thirty additional settlers were confirmed at a meeting held in Mayfield. During the subsequent week, they preached in Warrensville and other communities located near the small town of Cleveland. On Sunday, 14 November, Sidney Rigdon preached in the Methodist meetinghouse in Kirtland and probably was baptized the following Monday.

*Dr. Backman, professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University, is an authority in early Church history. The author of American Religions and the Rise of Mormonism (1965) and Joseph Smith's First Vision (1971), he is a frequent contributor to BYU Studies.


When the elders left, about one month after their arrival in Ohio, they had not only proclaimed the restored gospel in many communities of northeastern Ohio but had also baptized approximately 130 settlers and had initiated a theological flame that was being fanned widely by the newspapers of the Western Reserve. When Joseph Smith arrived in Kirtland on 1 February 1831 to direct the activities of the new converts, the branch of the Church in that community consisted of about one hundred members.

The relative success of the four Latter-day Saint missionaries in Ohio appears most significant when compared to the previous growth of the Church. Six months after the Church had been organized, membership was reported to be sixty-two which was an increase of thirty-five from the preceding conference held three and a half months earlier. Although a number of converts baptized by traveling Mormon elders were probably not counted in these membership figures, the fact remains that about twice as many people were baptized in the Kirtland area in one month as had been converted in other parts of the new nation during the first half year of the history of the Restored Church; and the rapid growth continued in Ohio after the missionaries resumed their journey to Missouri.

After learning of the significant increase in Church membership in Ohio during the winter of 1830-1831, many ask why the conversions were so numerous in that section of America. Why was the Western Reserve such a fruitful field ready to harvest at the beginning of the 1830s?

An examination of the religious conditions in Kirtland and vicinity in 1830 provides one key describing the fertile conditions prevailing there then. Immediately prior to the introduction of Mormonism in the Western Reserve, four Christian societies worshipped in Kirtland—Congregationalists,

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3. Far West Record, p. 2, LDS Church Historian's Office.

4. John Murdock reported that immediately after being baptized and ordained he began preaching the restored gospel and baptized about seventy in four months. Diary of John Murdock, p. 2.
Methodists, Regular Baptists, and a group sometimes called "reformers" who were not affiliated with any denomination but were seeking a return to New Testament Christianity.

The Congregational Church of Kirtland was constituted in September 1819, after ten members united and endorsed a creed patterned after the Westminster Confession of Faith which included the five points of Calvinism—total depravity of man, unconditional election or predestination, limited atonement, irresistibility of grace (man cannot reject the call), and perseverance of the saints (man cannot fall). After meeting in the homes of the early settlers, members of this society constructed a log meetinghouse in 1822 on the site of the present Old South Congregational Church.  

After the arrival of the Latter-day Saints in Kirtland, some members of this society sold their property to the new immigrants and a few families moved to Indiana. There is no evidence, however, that many in this congregation were attracted to the restored gospel, and their membership does not seem to have been seriously affected by the arrival of the Saints in Kirtland. Even though some Congregationalists emigrated in the early 1830s, the reduction in membership was offset in 1834 when fifty-six were added to this society.  

Approximately the same year that the Congregationalists of Kirtland united, Methodists commenced holding services and in about 1820 erected a small church building on the corner of the cemetery lot, across the street from where the Kirtland Temple was constructed. When originally constituted, the Methodist society was included in the Grand Circuit which consisted of forty-four preaching stations in Ashtabula, Geauga, and Trumbull counties. Every four weeks, a Methodist circuit rider preacher traveled about two hundred miles to visit the classes and congregations included in this vast circuit. Since records of this society have not been uncovered, one cannot determine the numbers from this group who might have been attracted to Mormonism; but diaries of the Kirt-

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7Records of the Presbyterian Church of Kirtland, copied from the original by Lucy M. Morley, Western Reserve Historical Society; "Extracts from 'A Brief History of the Congregational Church of Kirtland, Ohio,'" p. 2. written copy in Lake County Historical Society, Mentor, Ohio.

8Mary B. Sim, "Old South Congregational Church," The Lake County Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 2 (Summer 1960), p. 2; "Extracts from 'A Brief History of the Congregational Church of Kirtland, Ohio,'" p. 2.
land converts reveal that few left the Methodist Church and united with the Latter-day Saints.9

There was also a Baptist society in Kirtland in 1830. This congregation had been admitted into an alliance of closed-communion Calvinist Baptist churches in 1828 called the Grand River Association; and since there was no settled minister to serve the needs of these Protestants, for almost five years this group was irregularly supplied by visiting elders assigned by that alliance.10

Prior to the arrival of the four Latter-day Saint missionaries in Ohio, the Calvinist Baptists of Kirtland had rejected a view popularized by reforming preachers concerning the need to restore the everlasting gospel. They had committed themselves to the belief that their church creed was a proper expression of faith; and, like most Congregationalists and Methodists of Kirtland, the Baptists were not receptive to the message of the Restoration. Between 1828 and 1834 their membership remained almost the same, fluctuating from twenty-one to twenty-five. The only significant impact the introduction of Mormonism seems to have had on this group is that it failed to grow after the Saints established Kirtland as one of the headquarters of the Church. In 1833 when Elder Rufus Rider was serving as minister, there were only twenty-one belonging to this congregation; and in 1834 when there were twenty-five members, these Baptists complained that their small church was struggling "with many and severe difficulties, being surrounded by Heresies."11

There also was a congregation in Kirtland in 1830 that was not affiliated with any denomination. Members of this re-

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9Christopher G. Crary, *Kirtland: Personal and Pioneer Reminiscences* (Marshalltown, 1895), p. 20; John Marshall Barker, *History of Ohio Methodism* (Cincinnati, 1898), p. 109. On 22 May 1838, the Methodist meeting-house in Kirtland was destroyed by fire. A "ruthless villain" also cut the well rope and hid the buckets kept near the church which prevented others from controlling the blaze. That same night individuals attempted to "fire the stone Temple" but the fire in a small bundle of straw failed to "kindle into a blaze." Recent heavy rains prevented the destruction of other buildings located near this meetinghouse. *Telegraph* (Painesville), 31 May 1838. According to Zera Pulsipher, an attempt was made to blame the Mormons for the destruction of the Methodist church, for he wrote, "The next day the mob circulated news that the Council of Seventies had burnt down the Methodist meeting house."

igious movement called themselves "Reformers," "Reformed Baptists," "Reforming Baptists," "Christians," and "Disciples"; but their opponents often referred to these protestors as "Campbellites." But Alexander Campbell, one of the leaders of this reform movement, vehemently opposed this designation, for he insisted that Christians should not be identified by the names of human leaders.  

Although Campbell believed that the "Reforming Baptists" who contended "for the ancient gospel" could "legitimately assume the name 'Christian,'" he preferred not to use that title because a similar restorationist movement which had emerged in New England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had adopted that name. Under the direction of Abner Jones and Elias Smith, the "Eastern Christians" spread from Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts across New York and Pennsylvania into Ohio and other parts of the Old Northwest. Although Campbell recognized that members of this denomination held a number of views that harmonized with his convictions, he concluded that they had failed to restore the purity of the gospel as taught by those called "Christians first at Antioch." They did not immerse for the remission of sins, Campbell declared. They neglected to hold a weekly Lord's Supper; and, he added, they incorrectly believed that the Father and Son were separate and distinct beings. Consequently, to avoid being associated with the Eastern Christians or members of the "Christian Connection," Campbell suggested in August 1830 that individuals who endorsed his interpretation of the New Testament continue calling the local congregations the churches of Christ and refer to the people and the general movement as the "disciples of Christ."  

When the missionaries to the Lamanites introduced the re-

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stored gospel in the Western Reserve, there were approximately fifty Reformed Baptists living on Isaac Morley’s farm in Kirtland. All these reformers joined the Church.¹⁶ Many others seeking a restoration were living in Mentor, Painesville, Warrensville, Mayfield, Chardon, and other communities located near Kirtland; and a number of these persons also joined the Church shortly after the gospel was introduced in Ohio.²⁷ More members of this religious movement were attracted to the restored gospel in 1830 than emerged from any other society; and when the first branches of the Church were constituted in that state during the winter of 1830-1831, they were located in Kirtland, Mentor, Warrensville, and Mayfield, communities where a distinct form of a restorationist movement prevailed.¹⁸

Many farmers, merchants, and craftsmen of Kirtland and vicinity had launched a quest for a restoration of New Testament Christianity after they had been inspired by one of the influential preachers of the Western Reserve, Sidney Rigdon. Elder Rigdon arrived in the area of Kirtland in 1826 when he was called to be minister of a Regular Baptist congregation located in Bainbridge, Geauga County, a community lying about fifteen miles south of Kirtland.¹⁹ Within a year after assuming this position, Sidney Rigdon accepted the call to be leader of another Regular Baptist Church in Mentor, located nine miles northeast of Kirtland. A former elder of the Mentor church, Warner Goodall, had died in June 1826, and members of that congregation became acquainted with Rigdon


¹⁸Journal History, 31 December 1830, LDS Church Historian’s Office.

¹⁹“History of Joseph Smith,” Times and Seasons, Vol. 4 (15 May 1843), pp. 193-94. There is an excellent biographical sketch of Sidney Rigdon included in the “History” written by the Prophet which was prepared while Rigdon was available for consultation.

Although two biographies have been written on Sidney Rigdon—Daryl Chase, “Sidney Rigdon: Early Mormon” (Master’s thesis, University of Chicago, 1931) and Mark F. McKiernan, “The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness” (Doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas, 1969)—this article emphasizes the evolution of Rigdon’s theology and beliefs held by the followers of Rigdon when the restored gospel was introduced to the inhabitants of the Western Reserve.
when he delivered the funeral sermon. During the summer of 1826, however, this group called Reverend Thomas B. Stepheson to be their spiritual leader, but, after serving only a few months, Stepheson agreed to direct the Baptists in Euclid. The path was then opened for Sidney Rigdon to begin his labors that affected the lives of many people living in northeastern Ohio.

Before arriving in Geauga County, Sidney Rigdon had concluded that the Baptist creeds contained incorrect expressions of faith; that all the popular creeds of Christendom should be replaced by one rule of faith, the Bible; and that there was a need to restore the ancient order of the gospel.

Rigdon had arrived at this conclusion while serving as minister of the First Baptist Church in Pittsburg, which was the first society to call him to the ministry. He had been set apart and ordained by members of the Beaver Baptist Association in 1819 after studying a short time under the direction of the Reverend Andrew Clark. After his ordination, which in the opinion of the Baptists was a public acknowledgment that he could exercise the priesthood, Rigdon moved to Warren, Ohio, where he lived with the Reverend Adamson Bentley. During his first year in Warren, he not only met and married Phebe Brook but also helped Bentley baptize about fifty-six converts. Recognizing Rigdon’s eloquence as a preacher, the Baptists of Pittsburg in 1822 selected him to be their leader; but two years later, he informed this congregation that he could no longer uphold the doctrines which they endorsed. Consequently, he labored as a tanner for two years to support his wife and three children.

In 1824 many of Rigdon’s beliefs were in harmony with tenets popularized by Alexander Campbell; and Rigdon’s temporary withdrawal from the ministry coincided with Camp-
bell's increased popularization of the impropriety of creeds and the need to restore the ancient gospel. Rigdon had become acquainted with Campbell's beliefs through personal conversations with him and by reading *The Christian Baptist* which Campbell commenced publishing in 1823 in Bethany, West Virginia (then Virginia).\(^{25}\)

The year that Rigdon left the ministry of the Baptist Church in Pittsburg, Campbell enunciated his opposition to creeds by writing in *The Christian Baptist* that the popular creeds of Christendom were composed of "propositions deduced by logical inferences, and couched in philosophical language." To present such creeds to individuals, he added, "shocks all common sense. This pernicious course is what has paganized Christianity."\(^{26}\)

The following year, Campbell clearly emphasized his belief concerning the need for a restoration in the first of a series of thirty-two articles appearing in *The Christian Baptist* entitled "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things." "All the famous reformation in history," Campbell proclaimed, were alterations "of creeds and of clergy" rather than of religions; and the reformation which have occurred since the apostasy disrupted the Primitive Church have "left religion where it was." "Human creeds," he added, have been "reformed and re-reformed" but have remained "erroneous." "Very much is wanting" to harmonize the churches of this age with New Testament standards.\(^{27}\)

\(^{25}\)Ibid.; Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (Cincinnati, 1872), Vol. 2, pp. 44-45. Alexander Campbell's faith in the popular creeds of Christendom had been shaken while he was studying theology in Scotland and upon arriving in America in 1809 had united with his father, Thomas Campbell, in rejecting all denominations and endorsing the New Testament as the only guide for religious truth. A few years later, in 1812, this former Presbyterian preacher was baptized by a Baptist elder and led the independent congregation of about thirty who supported him and his father into the Baptist fold, uniting the Brush Run society with the Redstone Baptist Association in 1815. When Alexander Campbell joined that alliance he claimed that he did not present a creed to that body, only a written declaration of faith which he did not consider binding as a term of communion. As Campbell continued to proclaim his views he met opposition from that association. Consequently, in 1823 Campbell became pastor of a Baptist society in Wellsburg composed mainly of members dismissed from the society at Brush Run and the following year united with Baptists who had formed the Mahoning Association in 1820.

\(^{26}\)Campbell, *The Christian Baptist*, pp. 92-93; Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, 1815 (Pittsburg, 1815), pp. 4-5.

\(^{27}\)Ibid., pp. 126-28. This series on "The Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things" continued from 7 February 1825 to 7 September 1829.
Campbell further announced that in the summer of 1825 many conscientious ministers gathered in Warren, Ohio, and expressed an earnest desire to witness "the ancient order of things restored." After describing this unusual assembly, Campbell asserted that he sincerely hoped that a return to the New Testament order would "soon be exhibited in the practice of the disciples meeting on the first day of the week."\textsuperscript{28}

Although Rigdon endorsed the basic concepts popularized in *The Christian Baptist*, he was invited to become minister in Bainbridge. Emphasizing the autonomy of each congregation, every Baptist society selected its minister; and even though the Bainbridge group had adopted a Calvinistic creed and had joined the Grand River Association, Rigdon was called to serve without being required to endorse the local articles of faith.\textsuperscript{29} Members of the Grand River Association were undoubtedly not aware of Rigdon's unorthodoxy in 1826.

Rigdon's popularity as a preacher and his recognized capacity of leadership is evidenced in part by his being invited to preach to delegates of the Mahoning Baptist Association in 1826 and 1827.\textsuperscript{30} Although he was not a member of this alliance, Rigdon was approved to sit in council with them, and he joined Alexander Campbell (who united with that association in 1824) in addressing the representatives from fourteen Baptist congregations.

The unorthodox views of Campbell, Rigdon, and other restorationist theologians were gradually being adopted by most members of the Mahoning Association. In 1825, for example, this body took one step towards departing from the Baptist fold by voting that they would admit into membership any congregation "which acknowledges no other rule of faith and practice than the Scriptures"\textsuperscript{31} on condition that they walk according to the New Testament rule. Baptists, with few


\textsuperscript{31}Record of the Mahoning Baptist Association, pp. 76-78, 80-82. McKiernan incorrectly concluded that in 1826 Rigdon accepted "a pastorate at Mentor, Ohio, which was in the Mahoning Baptist Association." The Painesville-Mentor congregation belonged to the Grand River Baptist Association. F. Mark McKiernan, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1971), pp. 23, 25.

\textsuperscript{31}Record of the Mahoning Baptist Association, pp. 74-75.
Map of the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and [West] Virginia area referred to.
exceptions, insisted that creeds were not only lawful, but necessary to maintain "unity, purity, and harmony." Without these expressions of faith, they predicted that the church would become "corrupt" by the emergence of "false and spurious interpretations of the Bible."32

Restorationist theologians living in the early Republic not only denounced the propriety of creeds but before 1828 concluded that "spurious interpretations of the Bible" were contained in the articles of faith endorsed by orthodox Baptists and other Protestants. Individuals subscribing to the views popularized in The Christian Baptist held that Calvinistic expressions of predestination infringed upon man's free will and that various creedal statements concerning the Godhead were unscriptural. Although Campbell's position concerning Deity was not clearly understood by others at this time, his rejection of the "Calvinistic doctrine of the Trinity," especially the use of the term Trinity, was being circulated in the Western Reserve prior to 1830.33

While serving as minister of the Regular Baptists in Mentor, Sidney Rigdon formally departed from the Baptist fold. Possibly his denunciation of the creeds of Christendom would have been sufficient for the Baptists of the Grand River Association to expell him from their alliance. But his departure from traditional Baptist orthodoxy seems to have advanced about 1828 when he began emphasizing that a remission of sins and the reception of the Holy Ghost would follow the immersion of a repentant believer. Most Baptists asserted that baptism, a symbol of acceptance of Christ, did not remit sins, that such a remission was con-

32Minutes of the . . . Grand River Baptist Association, 1829 (Ashtabula, 1829), pp. 6-9; Minutes of the Beaver Baptist Association, 1829 (Pittsburg, 1829); Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association 1812 (1812), pp. 6-7. See also Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association for 1827.

33Campbell, The Christian Baptist, pp. 254, 333-34. The Arian views of the Eastern Christians and of Barton Stone were also being circulated in Ohio about 1830 through The Christian Palladium and The Christian Messenger; and Campbell denounced Arianism while he was rejecting popular expressions of the Trinity. Although he attacked the "unintelligible jargon, the unmeaning language of the orthodox creeds on" the subject of the Trinity, Campbell held that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are "three Divine persons in one Divine nature." Many in Ohio, however, were confused as they attempted to relate Campbell's position concerning the Godhead and some incorrectly classified him as an Arian. The Observer and Telegraph (Hudson), 11 November 1830, p. 3; 17 March 1831, p. 4; Royal Humbert, ed., A Compend of Alexander Campbell's Theology (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1961), pp. 84-86.
nected with faith alone. And Baptists, with few exceptions, contended that reception of the Holy Ghost was not a consequence of the immersion of the faithful.\textsuperscript{34}

Before 1827, the doctrine that a remission of sins followed baptism had not been "practically and effectively presented" to the inhabitants of the Western Reserve, even though Sidney Rigdon had heard this doctrine taught by Alexander Campbell in 1823. While serving as a minister in Pittsburg, Rigdon rode to Kentucky to witness a debate between Campbell and a Presbyterian preacher, the Reverend W. L. Macalla. Rigdon took notes during this debate which aided Campbell in the preparation of a tract published in 1824. Quoting Acts 2:38, Campbell told the reverend that baptism was a "divine institution designed for putting the legitimate subject of it in actual possession of the remission of sins." But Campbell confessed that since his "opponent paid little or no attention" to this doctrine, the subject "was not formally debated."\textsuperscript{35}

The person generally credited with being the first to popularize widely in eastern Ohio the concept enunciated on the Day of Pentecost is Walter Scott, a friend of Rigdon's while he was living in Pittsburg. In September 1827 Scott was called by the Mahoning Association to preach without binding him to creed or congregation; and, shortly after this appointment, he began proclaiming six basic principles: faith, repentance, believer's baptism, remission of sins, reception of the Holy Ghost, and eternal life.\textsuperscript{36} One contemporary, Samuel

\textsuperscript{34}Campbell, \textit{The Christian Baptist}, pp. 454-55, 630. Six of the original members of the Mahoning Association, including the church at Warren, sanctioned in their articles of faith as an apostolic practice the laying on of hands on baptized persons, but most Baptists did not agree with the views of Scott, Rigdon, and Campbell concerning baptism as a prerequisite for receiving the gift of the Holy Ghost. See Mary A. Smith, "A History of the Mahoning Baptist Association" (Master's thesis, West Virginia University, 1943), p. 27; Records of the Mahoning Baptist Association, p. 9.


\textsuperscript{36}Hayden, \textit{History of the Disciples}, p. 71; Walter Scott, \textit{The Gospel Restored} (Cincinnati, 1836), p. vi. Scott claimed that he taught the concept of baptism for the remission of sins to Campbell and Rigdon and that Rigdon converted the Mormon missionaries to that belief. Although it appears that this doctrine was not emphasized in the preaching of most reformers before 1827, Campbell and Rigdon understood this concept before that date. The view was also clearly enunciated in the Book of Mormon and in the in-
Robbins, reported the "great excitement" which erupted in Braceville, Ohio, in February 1828, after Scott unfolded these views. "It was common practice," Robbins also observed, for him [Walter Scott] to illustrate the five items [leading to eternal life]—viz: Faith, Repentance, Baptism, Remission of Sins, and the Holy Spirit—by holding up his left hand and using his thumb for Faith, and so on; then contrast it with the five points of Calvinism; and thus he made the Scripture order of the gospel so plain, that little boys could carry it home.37

Prior to the summer of 1828 Sidney Rigdon was also effectively proclaiming Peter's Day-of-Pentecost message from Mentor to Mantua. According to Amos Hayden, another restorationist preacher, Rigdon and Scott discussed these principles in Warren in March 1828, after which Rigdon, accompanied by Adamson Bentley, rode to Mentor. There they proclaimed this doctrine in the neighborhood where Rigdon lived. After converting more than fifty inhabitants and baptizing more than twenty settlers to that which was called the "scriptural order of the gospel," these elders rode to Kirtland and converted fifty additional individuals.38 Others living in Warrensville and Mayfield also embraced these doctrines.39 Meanwhile, in 1827, Rigdon had been called to serve the settlers in Mantua, Portage County, who had belonged to the Baptist church in Nelson. It was while he was "building" a "large and respectable" reformed society in that community that Rigdon advanced the doctrine that believers would receive the gift of the Holy Ghost following baptism by immersion for the remission of sins.40

Amos Hayden was not the only contemporary who reported Rigdon's success in the Western Reserve. In the summer of 1828 Alexander Campbell announced in The Christian Baptist that "Bishops Scott, Rigdon, and Bentley, in Ohio, within

37Hayden, History of the Disciples, p. 143.
38Ibid., pp. 193-94.
the last six months, have immersed about eight hundred persons."41

Members of the Grand River Association clearly recognized that Sidney Rigdon and members of the congregation over which he presided had departed from the historic Baptist tradition; and when they assembled in September 1828, they promptly "voted to withdraw fellowship from the Painesville and Mentor Church," agreeing that this congregation should no longer be listed in their minutes. Representatives from the seventeen congregations forming this alliance further resolved that, since the "sentiments and practices propagated by the leading men in the Mahoning Association [were] derogatory to the doctrine of Christ," fellowship with that body was terminated.42 Summarizing their attitude concerning the views of the restorationist theologians, these Baptists resolved that this Association deeply deplore the existence of such evils in any of our Churches as were complained of in many of the Letters presented this session with reference to sentiments propagated by Alexander Campbell, and this Association desire to have it distinctly understood that we have no fellowship for those sentiments which have been introduced into this vicinity contrary to the original faith and platform of this body—and would caution our brethren against receiving such men or Ministers as manifest any disposition to trample upon or disregard this bond of union by which we are cemented.43

Rigdon's group was the first to be expelled by the Grand River Association for endorsing the views popularized in The Christian Baptist. In 1830 two other churches located southeast of Kirtland, one in Chardon, lying eight miles away, and the other in Huntsburg, a distance of nineteen miles, were also dismissed because they had "departed from the faith of the gospel, by embracing the novel notions of A. Campbell."44

Although in an attempt to return to New Testament Christianity, a few congregations, such as the Baptists of Mantua and Mentor, had withdrawn from associations in 1827 and 1828 and had denounced their former creeds, many historians date the rise of a new denomination, the Disciples of

42Grand River Baptist Association Records, pp. 83, 86.
43Ibid., p. 86.
44Ibid., p. 99.
Christ, with the dissolving of the Mahoning Association in September 1830. When delegates of that alliance assembled in Austintown for their annual meeting, they severed all connections with the Baptist faith by agreeing to discontinue their yearly gatherings as an association and to return to the primitive purity of New Testament Christianity.45

Shortly before the Mahoning Association was dissolved, Campbell commenced publishing another periodical, The Millennial Harbinger, which a few months later replaced The Christian Baptist. In the original issue of January 1830, Campbell inserted as a heading for this work a quotation from his version of Revelations 14:6: "I saw another messenger flying through the midst of heaven, having everlasting good news to proclaim to the inhabitants of the earth."46

Alexander Campbell not only continued to include the scripture from Revelations on the cover of his Harbinger but emphasized restorationist concepts in the last issues of The Christian Baptist. He proclaimed early in 1830 that groups had already commenced to restore the ancient gospel and predicted that this blissful revolution would produce a state in society far surpassing the fruits of righteousness, peace, and joy that had resulted from any previous religious revolt "since the great apostasy from Christian institutions."47

While various reformers were establishing independent congregations based on their versions of the New Testament Church, Sidney Rigdon and many other leaders of this movement concluded that such action was a precursor to the millennium. Hayden remembered that many restorationist theologians proclaimed in 1830 that "the millennium had now dawned, and that the long expected day of gospel glory would very soon be ushered in." The return to conditions existing in the Primitive Church was viewed as an initiatory move-

45Mary A. Smith, "History of the Mahoning Association," p. 93. The first church of the Campbell movement in the area of the Mahoning Association to reject its creed was the society in Mantua organized on 27 January 1827. The following November, the Baptists in New Lisbon abandoned their articles of religion and in 1828 a similar action was taken by the members of the Braceville church. Ibid., pp. 93-94.


ment preceding the gathering of the Jews to Jerusalem and the Second Coming of the Savior of mankind.\textsuperscript{48}

Another significant development occurred a few months prior to the arrival of the Latter-day Saint missionaries in Ohio. As Reformed Baptists of the Western Reserve compared their interpretations of the New Testament with views espoused by Campbell and other preachers, some concluded that many restorationists were teaching incorrect doctrines. In an attempt to restore New Testament Christianity, Isaac Morley, for example, convinced some of the followers of Rigdon that they should create a communitarian system. Under the direction of Morley and Lyman Wight, about eight families agreed to have all things in common, pooling their property and establishing an order called the "Family" or the "Big Family." A few settlers living in Mayfield in 1830 also decided to organize a communal society.\textsuperscript{49} While Rigdon approved of this action, Campbell denounced the system; and after comparing beliefs, the two men rode from Austintown in the fall of 1830 with conflicting views concerning the ancient Christian order.\textsuperscript{50}

The economic actions of the reformers in Kirtland were not the only issue which kept some of the followers of Rigdon from endorsing Campbell’s efforts to restore New Testament Christianity, for significant disagreements existed in 1830 concerning gifts of the Holy Spirit and authority to perform ordinances ordained by Christ.

Alexander Campbell held that after individuals through faith and baptism became the sons of God they would receive the spirit of Christ which was the Holy Ghost. Such recipients, he taught, would be filled with peace and joy and become habitations of God. He insisted, however, that individuals who received the gift of the Holy Ghost would not receive some of the spiritual gifts manifested in the early Church but would be blessed with the fruits of the spirit. Explaining this concept, Campbell stated that miracles similar to those wrought by the Holy Spirit during the generation of the apostles (such as healing and speaking in tongues) would not reappear in the latter days. Miracles performed by the

\textsuperscript{48}Hayden, \textit{History of the Disciples}, pp. 183-86.


\textsuperscript{50}Hayden, \textit{History of the Disciples}, p. 209.
apostles, he contended, were to confirm the new religion and prove its divine origin. Such manifestations were for a limited time, and Campbell emphatically maintained that "this limited time" had "expired."51

Campbell also did not deviate from the traditional Protestant position regarding authority. Since he held that all believers in Christ were bearers of the priesthood, he did not recognize the need for a restoration of the right and power to act in God’s name.52

In contrast to the opinions of Campbell, some Reformed Baptists in Ohio, especially individuals who had been influenced by Sidney Rigdon, were engaged in a quest for the same power of God described so vividly in the Holy Scriptures. One preacher, John Murdock, wrote that, after being associated with Reformed Baptists for about three years, he became concerned because Alexander Campbell and many other restorationist theologians had rejected latter-day miracles and, in his opinion, had thereby denied the gift and power of the Holy Ghost. Murdock further asserted that the Holy Ghost should be conferred on others by the laying on of hands.53

Shortly before the appearance of the Latter-day Saint elders in Ohio, Murdock was asked by an inquirer, "Where is the man to commence the work of baptising? or where shall he get this authority?" Murdock replied that no one had the authority. "If they are out of the way as we believe," he said, "they have lost all authority." There is only one way in which the priesthood of God can be restored, Murdock explained. "The Lord must either send an angel to baptise the first man, or he must give a special command to some one man to baptise another."54

Edward Partridge, a successful Painesville hatter, also recalled that prior to the arrival of the Mormon missionaries he had concluded that it was "absolutely necessary" for God to "again reveal himself to man and confer authority upon some one, or more, before his church could be built up in the last days, or any time after the apostacy." Partridge further remembered that he did not consider the subject of restoration

52Ibid., pp. 26, 231-33, 243, 260-61.
53Ibid., p. 8-9.
54Ibid., p. 9.
of the priesthood until after he was convinced that God's true church was not upon the earth. Then he concluded that all men with whom he was acquainted "were without authority from God."  

Newell Kimball Whitney, another reformer who operated a store in Kirtland, was also seeking a restoration of God's power in 1830. Shortly before the introduction of Mormonism in the Western Reserve, Whitney and his wife prayed earnestly to the Lord, requesting to know how they might be endowed with the Holy Ghost. Like many other followers of Rigdon, Whitney rejected Campbell's view concerning the permanent cessation of miracles. It was also his conviction that Campbell's position was actually a denial of the authority to confer the Holy Ghost on others.  

Recognizing that many Reformed Baptists living in the Western Reserve had rejected the creeds of Christendom, were seeking a restoration of New Testament Christianity, believed in faith and repentance as requisites to baptism, held that remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost would follow the immersion of the faithful, denied Calvinistic expressions of predestination, criticized some of the creedal expressions of God, believed in the imminence of the Second Coming, and were engaged in a quest for a restoration of God's power and authority, Parley P. Pratt unfolded to these seekers many truths which they were seeking. Before his conversion to the restored gospel, Pratt had been a reformer and had learned the message of the restoration which Sidney Rigdon was proclaiming, and therefore explained efficaciously the glad tidings of the everlasting gospel to the inhabitants of northeastern Ohio. In this announcement, he declared that, while the inhabitants of the Western Reserve had not been "legally baptized" God's authority had been restored.  

But not all aspects of Parley P. Pratt's testimony harmonized with views previously held by reformers in Kirtland, Mentor, and nearby communities. Sidney Rigdon and other restorationist theologians, for example, had emphasized that the Bible was the sole norm of faith. Therefore, after the elders circulated copies of the Book of Mormon to the settlers.

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55Edward Partridge Papers, 26 May 1839, LDS Church Historian's Office.
56Andrew Jensen, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City, 1901), Vol. 1, p. 223.
57Pratt, Autobiography, p. 50.
of Ohio, many cautiously but thoughtfully and prayerfully ex-
amined the contents of this new witness for Christ. Many
immediately recognized that this record was a priceless account
of God's dealings with some of his other sheep; and after re-
ceiving a witness of its truthfulness and embracing the basic
teachings of the restored gospel, many "came forward, . . .
were baptized by us, and received the gift of the Holy Ghost
by the laying on of hand, and prayer in the name of Jesus
Christ."58

As one continues to examine the history of the Church,
he recognizes that many leaders emerged from the men living
in Kirtland and vicinity who were seeking a restoration in
1830. Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams became mem-
ers of the First Presidency. Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight,
and Orson Hyde were set apart as members of the Quorum
of the Twelve Apostles. Edward Partridge and Newell K.
Whitney served as Presiding Bishops, and Isaac Morley was
first counselor and Titus Billings second counselor to Bishop
Partridge.

As clearly enunciated in many revelations recorded by the
Prophet Joseph Smith, the field was white, all ready to harvest,
and one of the most fruitful fields in the early nineteenth
century was northeastern Ohio.

58Ibid. Hayden reported that the missionaries arrived in Ohio with carpet
bags filled with copies of the Book of Mormon. Hayden, History of the
The Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff

DEAN C. JESSEE*

The diary of Wilford Woodruff, fourth president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is one of the significant documents of Mormon history. Covering the years from his acceptance of the faith in 1833 until his death in 1898, President Woodruff's diary offers a keenly perceptive view of life in the early Church from the perspective of a leading official. Joining the Church during the Kirtland era, Woodruff's rise to leadership was almost immediate. He was appointed to the seventies quorum in Kirtland in 1836 and two years later was called to the Council of Twelve Apostles—a calling that culminated with his appointment as President of the Church in 1889. He also served as Church Historian for thirty-three years and was president of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. Among his civic assignments, Wilford Woodruff sat with the Nauvoo City Council, the Utah Territorial Legislature, and was president of the Utah Horticultural Society.

Revealing a sensitive spirit and an intense feeling of destiny, Woodruff's diary is a masterful chronicle. Explaining his motivation to keep a diary, Elder Woodruff wrote in 1857: "I have been inspired & moved upon to keep a Journal & write the affairs of this Church as far as I can . . . you may say that this is a great deal of trouble very well it has been . . . it has occupied nearly every leisure moment of my time . . . but what of it . . . ." He continued:

I have never spent any of my time more profitably for the benefit of mankind than in my Journal writing for a

*Brother Jessee is senior historical associate in the Historical Department of the Church and a frequent contributor to BYU Studies.
great portion of the Church History has been compiled from my Journals & some of the most glorious Gospel sermons truths & revelations that were given from God to this people through the mouth of the Prophets Joseph Brigham Heber & the Twelve could not be found upon the Earth on record ownly in my Journals & they are compiled in the Church History and transmitted to the saints of God in all future generations does not this pay me for my trouble it does.¹

On another occasion, Elder Woodruff wrote:

We are not apt to think of the importance of Events as they transpire with us but we feel the importance of them afterward we are living in one of the most important Generations that man ever lived on Earth & we should write an account of those important transactions which are takeing place before our Eyes in fulfillment of the prophesies & the revelation of God there is a great flood of revelations fulfilling in our day & as they are transpiring before our eyes we want a record made of them.²

Wilford Woodruff was born in Farmington, later named Avon, Hartford County, Connecticut, on 1 March 1807. He assisted his father at the Farmington Mills until he was twenty years old. After buying a farm and sawmill in Richland, New York, in the spring of 1832, he and his brother settled in business.

Although Wilford made no profession of faith until 1830, his life was not devoid of religion. From reading the Bible, he had felt that, "the church of God would be re-established upon the earth," and that he should live to see it.³ On 29 December 1833, he heard the preaching of two Mormon elders—Zerah Pulsipher and Elijah Cheney—who were passing through New York.

I truly felt that it was the first gospel sermon that I had ever herd I thought it was what I had long been looking for I could not feel it my duty to leave the house without bearing my witness to the truth before the people I opened my eyes to see my ears to hear my heart to understand & my doors to entertain him who had administered unto us.⁴

¹Wilford Woodruff, "Diary," 17 March 1837. MS, Historical Department of the Church. (Hereafter designated HDC.) All quotations from this diary retain the spelling and punctuation of the original.
²Woodruff, 6 September 1836.
³"History of Wilford Woodruff," Deseret News, 7 July 1858, p. 81.
⁴Woodruff, 29 December 1833.
Wilford Woodruff (1807-1898) by courtesy of the Historical Department of the Church.
Feeling that it would be better to be a "door keeper in the house of God than to dwell in the tents of wickedness," Wilford was baptized on 31 December and two days later was ordained a teacher in the newly established branch of the Church at Richland.  

About the first of April 1833, Harry Brown and Parley P. Pratt arrived in Richland, recruiting volunteers for Zion's Camp—the company of men being organized to go to the aid of Church members who had been driven from their homes in Jackson County, Missouri. Woodruff accepted the call and on 10 April left Richland for Kirtland, Ohio, which had been designated as the meeting place for the volunteers.

Traveling with Harry Brown, Warren Ingalls, John Murdock, and Orson Pratt, Wilford arrived in Kirtland "at night" on 25 April 1834. His first experience at Kirtland lasted five days:

There for the first time I had a view of our beloved Brother Joseph Smith the Prophet & Seer which God hath raised up in these last days through whom the Saints receive Revelations from time to time. Brother Joseph invited us to take up our abode with him & accordingly we did and boarded at his house most of the time for a week here I became not only acquainted with him and his family but with many of the brethren both high Priests, Elders, and private members those which were making it their home at Kirtland and also those which were gathering for the purpose of going up to Zion I here first time became acquainted with Elder Milton Holmes who travel with us in the camp to Mo. I was introduced to Elder Brigham Young; Heber C. Kimball. Br Young gave me a Butcher knife on the 27th of April being the Lords day I attended meeting and herd several of the Brethren preach Brother

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3Woodruff, 2 January 1834.

Milton Holmes later served as a member of Zion's Camp and was associated with Wilford Woodruff in the second quorum of seventy in Kirtland.

3Brigham Young (1801-1877) was thirty-five years old when he first met Wilford Woodruff. He was born in Whitingham, Vermont, and was residing in Mendon, New York, in 1829 when he was converted to Mormonism. He moved to Kirtland in September 1833 and worked on various building projects, including the temple. He was a member of Zion's Camp in 1834 and was appointed one of the Twelve Apostles in February 1835.

3Born in Sheldon, Vermont, Heber C. Kimball (1801-1868) was converted to Mormonism in April 1832, moving to Kirtland in the fall of 1833. He served with Zion's Camp in 1834 and was chosen to the Council of the Twelve in February 1835. He was engaged in missionary work in the East in 1835-1836 and returned to Kirtland on 2 October 1836.
Sidney Rigdon, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt and others spoke Joseph Smith closing during the meeting. It appeared to me there was more light made manifest at that meeting respecting the gospel and Kingdom of God than I had ever received from the whole Sectarian world.

On the first day of May 1834, four baggage wagons and twenty men, including Wilford Woodruff, left Kirtland for Missouri as the first contingent of Zion's Camp. It was two and one-half years before he returned to Kirtland.

After the Camp was disbanded in Missouri in June, Woodruff was employed with Lyman Wight in building and brickmaking. At a high council meeting the following November, he was ordained a priest and called by Bishop Edward Partridge to go into the southern states as a missionary. His travels took him through Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky. As a result of his ministry, upward of one hundred persons were baptized, and he organized the first company of Mormon converts to emigrate from the southern states. He returned to Kirtland on 25 November 1836.

Woodruff's diary, during the six months that he remained in Kirtland prior to his departure for a New England Mission on 31 May 1837, is a significant mirror of the men and institutions of Kirtland. Noteworthy are his lucid account of Pentecostal events that transpired in the temple, his observa-

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9Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876) was a native of St. Clair, Pennsylvania. After moving to Ohio, where he became a popular Campbellite preacher, Rigdon was converted to Mormonism in November 1830. He served as a scribe to Joseph Smith and was appointed first counselor in the Church Presidency in March 1833. In the absence of Joseph Smith with Zion's Camp in 1834, Rigdon assisted Oliver Cowdery in directing the affairs of the Church in Kirtland. He was also a trustee of the Kirtland High School.

10Orson Hyde (1805-1878) was born at Oxford, Connecticut, and was residing in Ohio when he was converted to Mormonism by Sidney Rigdon in the fall of 1831. He performed five missionary assignments for the Church between 1832 and 1835; returning in October 1836, he spent the winter in Kirtland.

11Orson Pratt (1811-1881) was converted to Mormonism by his brother Parley in September 1830 and went to Kirtland in 1831. He was a member of Zion's Camp and, after returning to Kirtland in 1835, was appointed to the Council of the Twelve. He performed extensive missionary work during the 1830s and taught a grammar school in Kirtland.

12Woodruff, 25-30 April 1834.

tions of Joseph Smith and the Prophet’s reaction to opposition, and the undercurrent of dissension and strife that manifested itself and eventually aborted the whole Kirtland experiment. The diary also provides insight into such institutions as the Kirtland Stake, the Kirtland Safety Society, the Monroe Bank, and the organization of the seventies quorums. Equally significant is the view one obtains of Wilford Woodruff himself, sensing a profound depth of commitment in his writings. This is reflected in his intense drive for knowledge, both spiritual and temporal; his unwavering support of Joseph Smith; his willing service and devotion to the cause of Zion; and his eschatological interpretation of events. While not grammatically polished, the style of the diary reflects a sincerity and spiritual forthrightness that illuminates the personality and character of one who eventually inherited the highest office his Church could bestow. The following is a transcription of the forty pages of Wilford Woodruff’s 1836-1837 Diary which are devoted to his six months’ sojourn in Kirtland.

Nov 25th [1836] Took the parting hand with Elder Sherwood24 I then set out in company with Elder Smoot15 on foot in a hard snowstorm for Kirtland we came in sight of the Temple of the Lord16 before we reached the village & I truly felt to rejoice at the sight as it was the first time that mine eyes ever beheld the house of the Lord built by commandment & Revelation. We soon entered the village & I spent one of the happiest days of my life at this time in visiting Kirtland & the House of the Lord & the Presidents & Elders of the Church I was truly edified to again strike hands with President Joseph Smith Jr. & many other beloved saints of God who are rolling on the mighty work of God & of Israel after being seperated from them for 2½ years & amoung the rest I was filled with joy with the priviledg of again meeting with Elder Warren Parrish17 & also being made acquainted with his

24Henry G. Sherwood had come to Kirtland from New York about 1832. He worked on the Kirtland Temple and was a member of the Kirtland high council in 1837.

25Abraham Owen Smoot (1815-1895) was born in Owen County, Kentucky, and was baptized into the Church by Warren Parrish on 22 March 1835. He was a companion to Wilford Woodruff for a time during Woodruff’s mission in the southern states in 1835-36.

26The first such edifice constructed by the Latter-day Saints, the Kirtland Temple, was built between 23 July 1833 and 27 March 1836 at an approximate cost of $70,000.

27Warren Parrish had been a missionary companion to Wilford Woodruff in the southern states and was an officer in the Kirtland Bank. After being suspected of embezzlement in 1837, he united with others for the overthrow of the Church.
companion Sister Parrish. Ther is an enjoyment in meeting our brethren & companions in tribulation that the world knows not off because it flows from a Celestial Source. After spending a short time in conversing with my friends a more important scene was now to open to my view than Kings ever saw or Princes ever Knew in this generation which was to visit the Temple of the Lord & its contents Elder Smoot and myself visited each appartment of the House accompanied by Elder Parrish & I must confess the scenery is indisscrivable When I entered the threshold of the house & Passed into the lower room their was great solemnity if not awe immediately overwhelmed me I felt indeed as if my footsteps were in the Temple of the Lord After walking into the Pulpets erected for the Priesthoods & viewing the curtains all bespeaking that grandure, solemnity & order that nothing short.of wisdom from God could invent. We then visited the upper rooms & there viewed four Egyptian Mumies & also the Book of Abram written by his own hand & not ownly the hieroglyphicks but also many figures that this precious treasure contains are calculated to make a lasting impression upon the mind which is not to be erased many other important views I was Privileged with in the upper story the school rooms. belfry &c. all indicating great architecture & wisdom we then spent some time in visiting the Bank & Printing office But wonder on wonder strikes my sense to look into the casket of the great work of Israels God in these last Days as the Prophet exclaims he does things we looked not for. Two & a half years since I left Kirtland with my Brethren in their Poverty to go fourth to visit our brethren in tribulation in Zion then our Brethren in Kirtland were poor. despised. & even looked upon By the pomp of babylon with disdain & disgrace who stood waiting with eager eyes to behold them sink into forgetfulness. But how changed the scene now I behold a cheerfulness beaming upon every countenance that indicates Prosperity & the noise of the ax & the hammer & the sight of their walls & dwellings newly erected & their Bank & market & especially house of God speaks in language loud as thunder that the saints will have a City in prosperity in spite of all the falls Prophets of Baal or even earth or hell because God is with them & his Temple stands in honor of his Kingdom while babylon begins to wonder & will soon perish we spent the day with Elder Parrish [word in shorthand] 9 mile

The money I expended i expended in my travels from Paducah KY to Kirtland Ohio fees aboard steam Boats & stagees. board lodgings &c was $16.65 also I Paid $5.00 for a cloak making $21.65 in all

26th NOV I visited President & Doct Cowdery at the Printing office & made a general settlement with them for the M & Advocate for

18President Woodruff's shorthand appears to be a kind of Pitman shorthand, but we have not found anyone to date who can read it.

19Oliver Cowdery (1806-1850) was born at Wells, Vermont. He met Joseph Smith in 1829 during the translation of the Book of Mormon. He went to Missouri in 1831 and, after the destruction of the Church printing press in Jackson County in 1833, returned to Kirtland where he was appointed to take charge of the printing office. He assisted in directing the affairs of the
the subscribers of the South I gave 9 new subscribers to them & Paid them $41.50 for the M. & Advocate which settleed all matters between us. I receieved som Counsel from Presidents Smith & Rigdon to Elder Parrishes house & spent the day in writing

Nov 29th [27] Upon this Lords day Elder Smoot & myself accompanied Elder Parrish to the house of the Lord for the first time to behold the Congregation of the Saints assembled within its walls for the Purpose of worshipping God it was truly an interesting scene it brought a lengthy catalogue of transactions contemplations & experience of my youth to my to my mind & the experience of this day fulfilled many things of a spiritual nature which I had looked for a number of years which I viewed as Promises of God. After I entered the house & was seated I cast my eyes upon the Pulpits aranged in order for the High Priest I beheld the Patriarch Joseph Smith sen. standing in the upper Pulpet. & President Joseph Smith jr. & Elder Carter in the second one & in the third Elders Parley & Orson Pratt & W. Parrish was seated soon Elder Carter arose & opened meeting by Prayer & then Preached the gospel unto us & was followed by President Joseph Smith jr When meeting was dismissed & after an intermishion of an hour we again met in the house of the Lord & I was called into the stand in company with Elder Smoot & requested me to Preach to the People I opened by Prayer & read the LVI Chapter of Isaiah & made some brief remarks upon the same & gave a sketch of my travels in the South. I was then followed by Elder Smoot after he closed I was blessed with the privilige of communing with a multitude of Saints in the house of the Lord assembled together from the the east, west, north & south many with whom I had been intimately acquainted I truly felt to thank God that his promises had been verified unto me by giving me a seat & a name within his house & within his walls [Word in shorthand] as of Sons & of daughters Their was four confirmed after the sacrament under the hands of Elder O Hide President J. Smith addressed the congregagion & the meeting Closed spent the night with Elder W. Parrish

29 Spent the day in writing wrote two letters one to my Parents & the other to Brother Asahel Woodruff

30 I Setteled with Elder Reynolds Cahoon20 for the subscriptions put into my hands by the Saints of the South Country for the building

Church in Kirtland during Joseph Smith’s absence with Zion’s Camp in 1834. “Doct” Cowdery was Warren A. Cowdery (1788-1851), a brother of Oliver. He came to Kirtland in 1836 and was a scribe for the Prophet and also editor of the Messenger and Advocate.

The Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate was a Church periodical published in Kirtland between October 1834 and September 1837. Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer also served as editors.

20Reynolds Cahoon (1790-1861) was a counselor to Bishop Newel K. Whitney at Kirtland. He was born in Cambridge, New York, and was a veteran of the War of 1812. He affiliated with Mormonism in October 1830 and went to Missouri in 1831. After returning to Kirtland in 1832, he was appointed to the committee to oversee the building of the Kirtland Temple.
of the house of the Lord in Kirtland Ohio I Paid him one dollar which was all the back money that was due this made $91.75 cts that I had the charge of that I forwarded for the house. I also Purchase a Latten grammer of Elder P. Pratt for $ [smudged] I am now expecting to enter upon a course of study may the Lord open my way in temporal & spiritual things that I may be useful in my day & generation have a good warfare keep the faith & receive a crown of glory

Dec 1st Repaired to the house of the Lord where Father Smith met a number of Saints to Pronounce upon them a Patriarchal Blessing This was the first meeting of the kind that I ever attended & I found it to be highly edifying & interesting as their was great & glorious things pronounced upon their heads by the spirit of Prophesy & Revelation spent the evening at Elder Parrishes accompanied by Brother Joseph Smith which was an interesting interview Dec 2nd I Wrote a Letter to Br Azmon Woodruff it being the first Communication between us for two years I also wrote a Letter to Col Joseph Rowlett at Owengton Owen County KY.

3rd Traded with Brother Bump in Goods $12.89

4th Sunday I went up to the house of the Lord to worship Elder Parish Preached in the forepart of the day several spoke in the Latter Part of the day President RIGDON called a vote of the Church to discountenance the use intirely of all liquors from the Church in sickness & in health except wine at the Sacraments & for external Washing the vote was carried unanimously I spent the night with Elder Parrish

5th This monday morning in company with Elder Smoot I entered the School & commenced studying the Latten Grammer under the instruction of Professor Haws I commenced boarding also this

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18Parley Parker Pratt (1807-1857) was a native of Burlington, New York. Following his baptism in 1830, he performed a mission to western Missouri and returned to Ohio in 1831. He was in Missouri again when the Mormons were driven from Jackson County in 1833. Following his appointment to the Council of the Twelve in 1835, he was engaged in missionary activity in the eastern states and Canada.

20Joseph Smith, Sr. (1771-1840), the father of the Prophet, was the Patriarch to the Church.

21The eldest brother of Wilford Woodruff, Azmon, was born 29 November 1802.

22Joseph W. Rowlett was born in Kentucky in 1799 and was a relative of Abraham O. Smoot.

23Jacob Bump, a native of Silver Creek, New York, was the chief mason of the Kirtland Temple who did the plastering of the inside of the temple.

24Heber C. Kimball noted that "schools were initiated for the use of the Elders and others. Some studied grammar and other branches. We also employed the celebrated Hebrew teacher Mr Seixas, who gave us much insight in a short time into that language. The first presidency, the twelve, the Bishops, high councillors and Elders and church had been previously commanded to seek learning and study the best books, and get a knowledge of counties, kingdoms, languages &c., which inspired us with an untiring thirst
morning with Brother Bond at $2. dollars Per week I paid him $10. dollars in advance

6.7.8.9.10 I spent in school in the evening of the 10 I wrote two Letters one to Elder Alexander & the other to Sister M Atkinson both in Tenn

11th Sunday morning after an interview with Priest Turpin I went up to the house of God to worship & O what a meeting May it be printed upon my heart as a memorial forever For on this day the God of Israel sharply reproved this stake of Zion (Kirtland) through the Prophets & Apostles for all our sins & backslidings & also a timely warning that we may escape the Judgments of God that otherwise will fall upon us even the Case of the travels of the Camp of the Saints from Kirtland to Zion in 1834 Was Presented to us for an example [finishes sentence in shorthand]

Spent the past week in school in the Lords house

18 Sunday I went up to the house of the Lord to worship Sermon delivered by Elder William Smith Elder Joseph Young admin-

after knowledge: "The Journal and Record of Heber Chase Kimball . . .", 1835, pp. 34-35. MS, HDC.

The school attended by Wilford Woodruff on this occasion was the Kirtland High School which met in the attic story of the temple under the tuteslalge of H.M. Hawes, Esq., professor of Greek and Latin. "The school numbers from one hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and forty students, divided into three departments, where mathematics, common arithmetic, geography, English Grammar, writing, and reading are taught; and the juvenile department, the last two having each an assistant instructor. The school commenced in November, and on the first Wednesday in January the several classes passed a public examination in presence of the trustees of the school, parents and guardians, and their progress in study was found of the highest order." Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1948), 2:474-75. (Hereafter designated H.C.)

One student at the Kirtland High School reported studying "Whelpby's Compend of History, Kirkham's Grammar, Olney's Geography and Jacob's Latin Grammar. The school was in three departments, the first or juveniles were taught by Elias Smith, the more advanced by Marcellus F. Cowdery, and Professor Haws taught the classics." "Memoirs of Geo. A. Smith," pp. 87-88. MS, HDC.

Probably Ira Bond (1798-1887), who was born in Caldwell, New Jersey. After moving to Mendon, New York, Bond was converted to Mormonism by his townsmen, Joseph Young. He bought thirty-nine acres of land in Kirtland in May 1834 and was chosen to preside over the deacons in January 1836. He assisted in building the Kirtland Temple and was a member of the Kirtland Safety Society.

Jesse Turpin (1816-1854) was born in Stewart County, Tennessee. He was converted shortly after the organization of the Church.

William Smith (1811-1893), a younger brother of Joseph Smith, was among the early members of the Church. William accompanied Zion's Camp in 1834 and was appointed to the Council of the Twelve in February 1835.

Joseph Young (1797-1881) was the elder brother of Brigham Young. He was born in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, and later became a Methodist preacher. He was introduced to Mormonism by Brigham in 1832. After serving with Zion's Camp, he was selected as one of the presidents of the first quorum of seventy in 1835.
istered the Sacrament President Joseph Smith Jr. columnized the rights of matrimony. At candle light, I preached at Mr. Daytons & was followed by Elder Smoot & Nobles.

19-20 Was spent in school. I commenced studying the Greek Grammer on Monday the 19th Dec. 1836.

20 At candle light I repaired to the house of the Lord for a meeting with the quorum of the Seventies. The third Seventies had been chosen & the business of this meeting was to organize them & ordain them but as they were not all present they were not all ordained or organized. Their was 27 twenty seven of the third Seventy ordained to the high priesthood & as members of the third Seventy Elder Abram O. Smoot was among the number ordained to the third Seventy which fulfilled what I pronounced upon his head by the testimony of Jesus on the 30th of June while in Tenn. See June 30th 1836. The above mentioned were ordained under the hands of Presidents Aldrich, Young, & Coltrin. We had an interesting meeting much of the spirit of Prophecy was poured out upon those Presidents while ordaining the third seventy, they proclaimed great & marvelous things upon their heads. President Young had visions while performing this ordinance.

22 I attended Prayer meeting in the house of the Lord at night.

24 Spent the past week in school.

25 Sunday went up to the house of God to worship & herd a discourse from Brother Samuel Smith. Brother Hiram Smith brok
bread which closed the meeting Elder Smoot was quite sick & healed by the laying on of hands

Dec 27th Met at the house of the Lord at Candle light with the quorum of the Seventies their was about one hundred Elders of Israel Preant of 1.2. & 3rd Seventy it is expected the seventies will meet every tuesday evening through the winter for the Purpose of worshiping God & sanctifying themselves before him. Elder Smoot was again taken sick

28.29.30 & 31st was Principly spent in taking care of Elder Smoot who was confined to his bed with the scarlot fever at the house of Brother Bonds in Kirtland On the 31st of DEC being the last Day of 1836 I aranged the account of my Journals & recorded the same in the following manner. Thus ends the year 1836 which hath quickly passed with its report into ETERNITY

1st I Traveld six thousand five hundred & fifty seven miles 6,557
2nd I Held one hundred & fifty three Meetings 153
   I Attended four Conferences 4
   & Held four debates 4
   I Planted one Branch of the Church
3rd I Baptized twenty seven Persons 27
   I confirmed 27
4th I ordained two Elders. three Priests. one Teacher. & two Deacons.
   I esstablished 2 preaching places
5th I attended to the ordinance of blessing nineteen children 19
6th There was four Persons healed of deseases under my hands 4
7th I Procured twenty two subscribers for the M & Ad. 22
   I also Procured Seventy Dollars for the M & Ad $70.
8th I gave six dollars & Procured eighty five more for the building of the house of the Lord in Kirtland $91
9th I wrote thirty four Letters 34
   & Received seven Letters 7
10th I had three mobs come together against me But always as yet deliverd from their hands. 3

The before mentioned is an account of the most Conspicuous part of my Procedings during the year of 1836 which has gone into eternity with its report as the year before it hath done & as the one following & all others must do. O time how swift & how precious thou art. How great the events that are bourn upon thy wings, especially in the dispensation of the fullness of times. 1836 is gone it cannot be recalled. Europe hath began to tremble at thy departure. The endowment of the Latter Day Saints hath spake a God in Israel, & is sufficient to show that though the heavens & earth pass away the word of God spake through the Prophets must all be fulfilled. It is true that the thoughts of man may now retrace his footsteps through 1836 that is Past. But who can tell where the end of 1837 will leave him. Yea that important year that is mounting the
The third Book of

Villford for 1637

O Lord I seek the holy name of Jesus Christ the Son, to look upon thy Servant Villford, who now occupies a place in Hungary, this poor state of men which thou hast appointed in this last dispensation. I call on thee for the salvation of the Saints, O God of Israel, inspire the heart of thy Servant at this time, to hear the answer of the Decision which he will receive from the Lord, through the change and the change of things in the land of Judah. O Lord, thy servant, as above, I beseech, may thy grace come and visit us, and may thy mercy be known throughout the whole earth. I pray thee, save me from the enemies of God, the power of temptation which tryeth my soul. I pray thee, save me from the temptations of the Devil, that I may know the power of God. O Lord, if it be thy will, give me the privilege of recording in this year, the great blessings I have received upon my head, from above, from under the hands of the world, from the blessing of the Lord. An account of great visions. The opening of the heavens, the appearance of Jesus Christ unto me, the King. May I be a special witness of these. O Lord, to my knowledge, I have the administration of holy gifts, that I may be taught of the eternal things of the sacred book. If I am called to preach the word, the law, I may be blessed with words for my hire. If I write my book, let it be an instrument of bringing down the Celestial Kingdom, the heavens of heaven and earth, as the Prophet says. Let the above blessings go through the kingdom in the name of Jesus Christ Amen.
wheels of time to stand upon the stage of existance, to do its Perfect work. Will not its gigantic operations. & its magnus works stand upon the Archieves of heaven as great events. Will this gentle generation still sleep in this late hour, if so sleep on & take thy rest which is short for thy end is come, & the day hath broke that Israel must be awoke from his slumber for the last time & Prepare himself for the Bridegroom. Then let 1837 finish its work with speed & let its departure say who hath gone to the tomb & what Kingdom overturned. & what Kingdom established & may God grant that 1837 may report as she departs that Zion & her Stakes indicates that God rules in her midst with POWER STRENGTH & GLORY Thus ends the year of 1836

THE THIRD BOOK OF WILLFORD FOR 1837

O Lord I ask thee in the name of Jesus Christ thy Son, to look upon thy servant Willford, who now occupies a place in Kirtland, this first Stake of Zion, which thou hast appointed in this last Dispensation, & fulness of times for the gathering of thy Saints. O God of Israel, inspire the heart & pen of thy Servant at this time, & hear & answer the Petition which he will put unto thee at this time, & remember the Covenant which thy servant Willford will make with thee at this time, O mighty God of Jacob. O Lord thou hast spared my life, to behold the commencem of 1837. May my life, health, & strength be precious in thy Sight, through the year. Wilt thou save me by thy grace from all sin, & the Powers of temptation, which try the souls of men. Wilt thou give me favor during this year, with God & the Saints. Wilt thou bless me while in school, & in meeting with the quorum of the Seventies, & while attending all other meetings in Kirtland for Divine worship. O Lord if it be thy will, give me the privilege of recording in this years Journal great blessing, Pronounced upon my head from mine anointing & from under the hands of the Patriarch JOSEPH. & an account of Great visions, & the opening of the heavens, & the revelation of JESUS CHRIST Unto me that I may be a special witness of Thee. O Lord. & may I also have the administering of Holy angels, that I may be taught of the Eternal things of the Priesthood. If I am called to Preach thy word this year, may I be bless with souls for my hire. if I visit my kinsman, wilt thou make me an instrument, of bringing them into thy Celestial Kingdom. & I Covenant with Thee, Heavenly FATHER, to go & come at thy bidding. I ask the above blessings, through the Priesthood in the name of JESUS CHRIST AMEN.

Jan 3rd At early Candle light I repaired to the house of the Lord in company with Elder Milton Holmes for the purpose of meeting with the quorum of the Seventies President Aldrich opened the meeting by prayer & after a few appropriate remarks from President Coltrin about twenty of the third Seventy was ordained to the high Priesthood & as members of the third Seventy under the hands of the above named Presidents After these were ordained Elder M. Holms
Jan 1st 1834. In the morning of this Lord's Day I repaired to the house of the Lord to worship. I had two discourses delivered from the American Song by Bishop Whitney & Governor Gideon. They also broke the bread. The latter part of the day was spent in attending to the general services of a Church. 2nd printed, the St. Paul EXCH. also the 3rd. By turns a letter from Brother Joseph Biddleworth.

Jan 3rd. At early Candle light I repaired to the house of the Lord in company with Elder Nixon to attend for the purpose of meeting with the Quorum of the Twelve. President Alridge opened the meeting by prayer. After a short appropriate prayer from President Colton, about twenty of the third Quorum were ordained to the high Priesthood as members of the third Quorum under the hands of the above named President. After these were ordained Elder M. Holmes & myself we was called upon by the Presidents to come forward to be ordained as members of the first Quorum. Elders of Israel to bear the name of Jesus to the nations of the earth. The first Quorum was chosen out of the Camp that went up to Zion for the redemption of the Saints in the Spring of 1834. But as we were not present when the first Quorum was chosen, we was afterwards chosen in the second Quorum. (See May 3, 1836, in this journal.) But being two vacancies in the first Quorum we was chosen to fill them. President Alridge ordained Elder Holmes & myself to this appointment. At a council before me I was pronounced great blessings upon my head. President J. Colton ordained me as a member of the first Quorum & pronounced great blessings upon me by the Spirit of Prophecy & Revelation of some of them.

I will mention 1 which are as follows: That my enemies may confine me in prison & chains & that I would send the prison to Great Britain.

The name of Jesus CHRIST so that the Lord would give me great power, knowledge & wisdom & that I would heal the sick, raise the dead, & speak to & command the demons. To live my mouth to command the demons. To live my mouth to command the demons.
& myself was called upon by the Presidents to Come for ward to be ordained as members of the first Seventy Elders of Israel to bear the name of Jesus to the nations of the Earth. The first Seventy was chosen out of the CAMP that Went up to Zion for the redemption of it & the Saints in the Spring of 1834 But as we were not present when the first Seventy was chosen we was afterwards chosen in the second quorum (See May 31th 1836 in this Journal) But there being two vacancies in the firs quorum we were chosen to fill them. President Aldrich ordained Elder Holmes to this appointment & Pronounced great blessings upon his head. President Z. Coltrin ordained me as a member of the first Seventy & pronounced great blessings upon my head by the spirit of Prophecy & Revelation Some of them I will mention which are as follows. THAT my enemies may confine me in Prisons & chains & that I would rend the prisons & chains in twain in the name of JESUS CHRIST & that the Lord would give me great Power, Knowledge, & wisdom & faith so that I should heal the sick caus the Blind to see the lame to leap as an heart the Deaf to hear stop the mouths of Lions & rase the dead to life & waft myself (as did Philip) from River to river from Sea to sea & from Continant to Continant for the Purpose of Preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ & that I should stand before Kings & Princes & that they would send for me to receieve wisdom knowledge & instruction at my mouth because they considered me wiser than themselves in like manner as the Egyptians sought wisdom at the hand of JOSEPH. And that God would give me a multiplicity of Blessings that I should Preach to the nations of the earth & to the inhabitants upon the Islands of the sea & that I should then return & stand upon Mount Zion in the flesh even in Jackson County Missouri at the cumming of Christ & that I should be caught up to meet him in the Clouds of heaven for he said this was the word of God unto me & Also that I should visit COLUB [Kolob] & Preach to the spirits in Prision & that I should bring all of my friends or relatives forth from the Terrestrial Kingdom (who had died) by the Power of the gospel These & many other Blessings were Pronounced upon my head. & further said that I should be appointed & my life sealed unto me & that their would be still greater blessing Pronounced upon my head. I felt much of the Power of God rest upon me in this ordinance & Bear witness of the truth of the above

PROCLAMTION

Jan 4th I met in company with the high School of Kirtland in the house of the Lord for the purpose of a public examination it being the last day of the first quarter the examination lasted about three hours then after an intermission of one hour we again repaired to the house & herd an interesting lecture deliverd on Education by Professer Haws We have now a vacation of four weeks & the next term will then commence

37See Acts 8:39.
38See note 26 above.
5th I repaired to the house of the Lord for a Prayer meeting at 2 o clock PM We had a good time one man gave us an account of the general gathering of Israel in the gift of tongues I interpreted the substance of the same

6th I visited the office of the Kirtland Safety Society and saw the first money that was issued by the Treasurer or Society it was given to Brother Bump (in exchange for other notes) who was the first to Circulate it I also herd President Joseph Smith jr declare in the presence of F Williams. D Whitmer, S. Smith, W. Parrish. & others in the Deposit Office that he had receieved that morning the Word of the Lord upon the subject of the Kirtland Safety Society he was alone in a room by himself & he had not owmly the voice of the spirit upon the subject but even an audable voice He did not tell us at that time what the LORD said upon the subject but re- marked that if we would give heed to the commandments the Lord had given this morning all would be well. May the Lord bless Brother Joseph with all the Saints & support the above named institution & Protect it so that every weapon formed against it may be broaken & come to nought while the Kirtland Safety Society shall become the greatest of all institutions on EARTH

Jan 6. Wrote a Letter to Brother Asahel H Woodruff

8. Sunday Went up to the house of the Lord to worship we had an interesting meeting, their was about fifteen hundred people assembled their was two discourses deliverd from the Aaronic Priest-hood one from Councillor Knight & the other from Priest Willey Priest Willey had much of the Spirit of God in Preaching to the

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39The Kirtland Safety Society was organized on 2 November 1836, in order to strengthen the economic structure of the Saints at Kirtland by forming a banking institution titled the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company. The Society was managed by thirty-two directors. The failure of the bank during the economic collapse of 1837 was one of the contributing factors to the demise of the Kirtland Stake.

40Frederick Granger Williams (1787-1842), born in Suffield, Connecticut, was baptized in October 1830 and immediately left on a mission to Missouri. He served as a scribe to Joseph Smith and in March 1833 was named second counselor in the First Presidency. He was a member of the committee to arrange the interior of the Kirtland Temple and assisted in establishing the printing business there. He accompanied Zion's Camp as paymaster.

41David Whitmer (1805-1888) met Joseph Smith in New York in 1828 during the writing of the Book of Mormon. He moved to Missouri in 1831 and was with the Mormons driven from Jackson County in 1833. He was one of the presidents of the Church in Missouri.

42Following the death of Wilford Woodruff's mother on 11 June 1808, his father married Azubah Hart on 9 November 1810. Asahel H. Woodruff was the second child of this marriage, born 11 April 1814.

43Vinson Knight (1804-1842), a druggist, was a counselor to Bishop Newel K. Whitney at Kirtland. He came to Kirtland from Perrysburg, New York, and was a member of the Kirtland Safety Society.

44Possibly Jeremiah Willey (1804-?), born in Northfield, New Jersey, who was a member of the Kirtland Safety Society.
Church after breaking bread Elder Sherman\textsuperscript{46} sung in the gift of tongues & proclaimed great & marvelous things while clothed upon by the power & spirit of God Elder Smoot for the first time after his sickness also attended meeting I spent the evening with Priest Turpin at Bishop Whitneys\textsuperscript{46} had a vary happy time in speaking singing hearing & interpreting tongues & in prayer with the family.

10 Tuesday evening I met in the house of the Lord with the quorum of the Seventies their was about 12 ordained of the third Seventy under the hands of Elder Shermon we had a spiritual meeting Elder Brigham Young one of the twelve gave us an interesting exhortation & warned us not to murmer against Moses (or) Joseph or the heads of the Church.

11 Wrote two letters one to A B Willson & [smudged] other to Brother Levi Tailor\textsuperscript{47}

12 Wrote two Letters one to Brother Daniel Thomas\textsuperscript{48} the other to Simeon Hendricks

14 Wrote two Letters one to Wright Akeman in the Arkansas & the other to David Cranshaw

15 Sunday attended meeting in the house of the Lord President Rigdon preached in the Spirit & exhorted the Church to union that they might be prepared to meet every trial & difficulty that awates them.

Jan 16th Elder Abram O Smoot was again attacked by the destroyer which brought him upon a bed of great distress We immediately called upon the Elders of the Church, viz. Elders O Hide & H C Kimble of the twelve & B. Nobles. M. Holmes. & myself of the first Seventy We prayed with & for him & lade hands upon him according to the scriptures & he was immediately healed of his pain & fever [short-hand]

17th Met at candle light with the quorums of the seventies & was favored with a lecture from President David Whitmer he warned us to humble ourselves before God lest his hand rest upon us in anger for our pride & many sins that we were runing into in our days of prosperity as the ancient Nephites did & it does now appear evident that a scourge awates this stake of Zion even Kirtland if their is not great repentance immediately & almost every countenance indicates the above expectation especially the heads of the Church See Dec 11th 1836 May the Lord in mercy enable us to meet every event with resignation.

\textsuperscript{45}Lyman Royal Sherman (1804-1839), born in Monkton, Vermont, was a president of the first quorum of seventy and a member of the Kirtland Safety Society.

\textsuperscript{46}Newel Knight Whitney (1795-1850) joined the Church in November 1830 and was appointed bishop of the Church at Kirtland. Newel was engaged in the mercantile business in Kirtland.

\textsuperscript{47}Levi Taylor was a member of the Church in Henry County, Kentucky.

\textsuperscript{48}Daniel Thomas (1803-1876) was a member of the Church in Sumner County, Tennessee.
20th Wrote a Letter with Brother Kimble to Brother Thomas B Marsh\(^{49}\) in Zion

22nd Sunday went up to the house of the Lord to worship. Elder John E. Page\(^{50}\) occupied the former part of the day with an interesting relation of his travels for the last eight months in the province of upper Canada he stated that he in company with Elders James Blakesley & Harris had Baptized 267 persons he also gave an account of his persecutions &c which he had to endure The latter part of the day was occupied by Elders Kimble & green\(^{51}\) & of Communion. Also at candle light I herd an interesting discourse from Elders P.P. Pratt & J.E. Page. at Brother Bosleys\(^{52}\) Elder Pratt also warned us to humble ourselves before God & feed the poor & clothe the needy & put away all our sins lest Judgment overtake us speedily

Jan 23rd As Elder Abram O Smoot hath been much out of health since he hath been in Kirtland he desired to return home into the South Country to spend the winter in a warm climate with his friends. I accompanied him to father Smiths to officiate in the office of a scribe while he received his Patriarchal blessing Accordingly the Patriarch JOSEPH SMITH sen Pronounced his blessing upon his head in the name of the LORD & I wrote it down for him It was truly a great blessing we had it recorded & I gave Elder Smoot a copy of it in print that he might take it home with him as he was expecting to leave the day following

24th Took the pains to assist Elder Smoot to settle his business in Kirtland which took up the major part of the day I met at candle light in the house of the Lord with the quorum of the seventies we had an interesting interview their was several ordained under the hands of President Silvester Smith\(^{53}\) to the third Seventy then we herd two lengthy discourses one from Elder J.E. Page and the other from Elder P.P. Pratt which was interesting in the first degree the meeting closed but little before midnight We had been threatened by a mob from Panesville to visit us that night & demolish our Bank

\(^{49}\)A native of Acton, Massachusetts, Thomas Baldwin Marsh (1799-1866) was baptized in 1830 and became physician to the Church. He journeyed to Kirtland in the spring of 1831 and during the next five years was engaged in missionary work in Missouri and the East.

\(^{50}\)John E. Page (1799-1867) was born in Trenton, New York. He was baptized in 1833 and arrived in Kirtland in 1835. He became a member of the Council of the Twelve in 1838, but later left the Church.

\(^{51}\)John P. Greene (1793-1844) was a member of the Kirtland high council. He had joined the Church in April 1832 and moved to Ohio in October. He had spent part of 1836 engaged in missionary work and soliciting funds for the Kirtland Temple. He returned to Kirtland on 15 September.

\(^{52}\)Probably William Bosley, a member of the second quorum of seventy, who had worked on the Kirtland Temple. Bosley left Kirtland on 9 May 1837 with Erastus Snow on a mission to the New England states.

\(^{53}\)Sylvester Smith joined the Church at an early date and was actively engaged in missionary work. He was a member of Zion's Camp and the first high council organized at Kirtland in 1834. In 1835 he was appointed one of the presidents of the first quorum of seventy.
& take our property but they did not appeare but the wrath of our enemies appears to be kindled against us this in part is the scourge that hath awated us But may the Lord show us mercy & deliver us from the hand of our enemies for Christ sake

25th Took the Parting hand with Elder A O Smoot & he started on his journey may the Lord bless him & enable him to reach his friends in peace At early Candlelight the heavens began to show forth the signs in fulfillment of the Prophecy of JOEL recorded in the 2nd chap 30th vers of the Book of Joel the clouds of fire & blood began to arise in the N.E & reached unto the N.W which principly covered the horizon the reflection of the clouds upon the earth which was covered with snow presented a vary red appearance It commenced at 6 o'clock & continued untill 10 or past [shorthand]

Jan 27th Wrote a Letter for Elder M. Holmes

28th I attended a court with the quorum of the Seventies to settle a difficulty between Elder Hiram Stratton54 & I.H. Bishop55 Elder Holmes and myself was chosen among the counsellors Elder Stratton acknowledgd his faults & was restored

29th Sunday I met at Elder J.P. Greens at 9 AM in company with 7 others to act as bearers to convey the corps of Sister Mary Boyington to the house of the Lord where a funeral sermon was delivered by Elder P.P. Pratt the latter part of the day was spent in communion & addresses from Presidents O. Cowdery & J Smith Jr JOSEPH blessed us in the name of the Lord & said if we would be faithful we should rise above our imbarresments & be delivered from the hands of our enemies

30 spent the day in writing wrote a peace for the Messenger & Advocate56

31st Met in the house of the Lord at 10 ocklock AM & herd an address from Presidents J. Smith jr & S Rigdon on the temporal business of the Church & Petitioned for a charter to the Assembly of the State for the Kirtland Safety Society & the presidency of the Church bought the Monroe charter57 & we all lent a hand in establishing it

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54Hiram Stratton (1812-?), a native of Windham County, Vermont, had been a member of Zion’s Camp and was named to the first quorum of seventy in February 1835.

55Isaac H. Bishop was a member of the Kirtland Safety Society.

56Woodruff’s article entitled “For we walk by faith, not by sight,” appeared in the February 1837 issue of the Messenger and Advocate.

57The bank at Monroe, Michigan, had been organized under a legislative act approved on 29 March 1827, with John Anderson, Josiah Wendell, Robert Clarke, Oliver Johnson, Charles J. Lanman, Dan B. Miller, and Harry Conant as its directors. Stock was fixed at $100,000, with an option to increase to $500,000, provided 12½ percent should be paid at time of subscription. The bank issued currency to the amount of $50,000. In common with many other financial institutions, the Bank of Monroe failed in 1837. Evidence of Mormon connection with the Bank of Monroe is seen on notes in the Historical Department of the Church that contain the signature of “O. Cowdery.”
that it might be beneficial to us in forwarding the building of the temporal Kingdom

Feb 1st I again commenced School confining myself to the Latin language mostly

5th Sunday spent the day in the house of the Lord in worship

12th Sunday spent the day in the Lords house Communed with the Saints

Feb. 19th I repaired to the house of the Lord & stood in the midst of the congregation of the Saints where I beheld President JOSEPH SMITH Jr arise in the stand & for several hours addressed the Saints in the power of God. Joseph had been absent from Kirtland on business for the Church, though not half as long as Moses was in the mount, & many were stir'd up in their hearts & some were against him as the Israelites were against Moses but when he arose in the power of God in their midst, as Moses did anciently, they were put to silence for the complainers saw that he stood in the power of a Prophet, O how weak is man.

26 Sunday President Joseph Smith Jr again addressed the Congregation of the Saints in the power and spirit of God

March 1st I spent in school. This is my birthday bringing me to 30 thirty years of age. How fleet is time.

4 Saturday I spent in School during the day I was called to lay hands upon Elder Sherwoods son that was sick with the plurisy, He was deaf and dumb, he was healed of his sickness

VERA
AMICITIA

4 Thou scenes of life how variant, how transient,

5 Sunday wrote a Letter to my friends in the east

22 The last seventeen Days have been principally spent in school I have attended some interesting meetings during the time

March 24th I left school under view of spending some time in studying History & preparing for the endowment

March 23rd. I repaired to the house of the Lord at an early hour in the morning to spend the day in prayer and fasting with the saints in Kirtland, as this was a day set apart for that purpose. Immediately after entering the house in company with several other Elders, I went within the veil and we bowed down before the Lord in the Aronic stand & offered a morning sacrifice, & the Spirit of God rested upon us with joy to our Souls. I was Called upon, by the Patriarch JOSEPH to read a chapter in the book of Mormon; I then read the third chapter of the Book of Jacob, which contains the parable of the tame olive tree likend unto the house
of Israel as was spake by the Prophet Zenos. The same God that touched Isaiah's lips with hallowed fire, gave Zenos great wisdom in setting forth this parable. After I had made some brief remarks upon the subject the congregation took their seats, for the services of the day, in the following order The house being divided into four parts by veils, the females occupied two parts & the males the others. Some of the presidency presided in each appartment The time was taken up during the day in each appartment in singing, exhortation, & prayer, some had a tongue, others an interpretation, & all was in order. The power of GOD rested upon the people the gifts were poured out upon us some had the administering of angels & the image of GOD sat upon the countenances of the Saints. at 4 o'clock PM. the Veils were all rolled up together which brough the whole congregation in full view of each other and while the presence of the LORD filled the house the congregation of the Saints fell upon their knees & all as one man, vocally poured forth rejoicing, supplication & Prayer, before the God of Israel which closed the services of the day, after contributing for the support of the poor [3 lines in shorthand].

March 26th  Sunday communed with the saints in the fore part of the day In the latter part, Elder W. Parrish Preached the funeral sermon of Sister Pratt the wife of Elder P.P. Pratt one of the twelve who died March 25th 1837

March 27th I signed $50. fifty Dollars for the building of the house of the Lord in Zion the subscription list was in the hands of Elder Elisha H. Groves

April 2nd Attended worship in the Lords house upon this Sabbath day. I have spent the time for several days past In perusing the Outlines of ancient and modern HISTORY on a new plan, By Rev Royal Robbins It strikes the reflecting mind with deep sensibility to contemplate the scenery of the rise, progress, decline & fall of the Nations and kingdoms of the earth from the days of ADAM untill 1837 years after Christ And it is equally interesting to contemplate the day that is now at hand & hath already began in fulfillment of ancient prophecy in bringing the Church of Christ out of the wilderness in establishing Israel upon those lands by a Theocratical government in fulfillment of the covenants God made with Abram Isaac & Jacob. As this hath began in my day & I am called to act a part in the work by being planted with the first Seventy Elders of Israel to become a special witness of Jesus Crist to all nations I need much faith fortitude, holiness, & wisdom. May the Lord enable me not to seek honour from man but God & be faithful in clearing my garments of the blood of Gentile & Jew and do honour to the HOLY Priesthood & the Anointing that now awaiteth me

58Thankful Halsey Pratt died while giving birth to a child. She was born 18 March 1797 and married Parley P. Pratt on 9 September 1827.
59Elisha Hurd Groves (1797-1867) was born in Madison County, Kentucky.
April 3rd The day had now arrived for the preparations for the column assembly the Anointing & the endowment of the Elders of Israel or at least for those that were not endowed in Kirtland the strong hold of the daughter of Zion in the Spring of 1836 & as I was absent at that time my day is now come & my time at hand for those blessings & I shall record the events of each day of the endowment for the benefit of the generation to come. I upon this third day of April met in the house of the Lord with a number of the seventies to receive counsel respecting our washing & anointing. I was appointed with Elder G. Meeks to visit President F.G. Williams & have the perfumes & oil prepared against the day following I considered it a privilege to wait upon the Elders of Israel in this thing that we might become the annointed of the Lord according to the words of the Poet & the Revelations of JESUS CHRIST

We'll wash and be washed and with oil be anointed
Withal not omit the washing of feet
For he that receiveth his PENNY appointed
Must surely be clean at the hearvest of wheat

After attending to the duties above spoken I repaired to a room in company with Elder Meeks & Priest J Turpin to attend to our first washing after washing our bodies from head to foot in soap & water we then washed ourselves in clear water next in perfumed spirits the spirit of God was with us & we had a spiritual time. we spent the evening with several Elders in Prayer before God & the Power of God rested upon us.

April. 4th I met at the house of Elder Hales at one o'clock. PM. in company with twenty three Elders President Joseph Young making one of the number for the purpose of attending to the ordinance of washing the body with clean water & perfumes that our bodies might be prepared for the anointing President Young opened the meeting by prayer we then proceded to the ordinance myself & Elder G.W. Meeks were the first washed under the hands of President Joseph Young we then assisted President Young in washing our Brethren the Elders much of the spirit of God rested upon us I washed & perfumed the bodies of a number of my Brethren & the interview closed after expressing our feelings to each other. We again met together in the quorum of the seventies at the upper part of the Lords house at early candle light to receive our anointing. The quorums

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60 Garland W. Meeks was ordained a seventy 20 December 1836 by Joseph Young in Kirtland.

61 This is the fourth stanza of the song, "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning," written by William W. Phelps that was sung at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in March 1836.

62 Jonathan H. Hale (1800-1846) was born in Bradford, Massachusetts. He was converted to the Church in Dover, New Hampshire, in 1834 and journeyed to Kirtland, Ohio. He labored as a missionary with members of the Council of the Twelve in the eastern states and returned to Kirtland with his family in July 1836. He assisted in building the Kirtland Temple and was a member of the third quorum of seventy.
of the Deacons, Teachers, & Priest occupied one apartment the Elders another & the Seventies the third. each quorums met for the anointing. Three of the presidents met with the seventies viz H Aldrich J. Young and Z. Coultrin President Coultrin opened the meeting by prayer & after conversing plainly to those who were to be anointed they proceeded to business the presidency consecrated the oil before God that it might be holy. The person to be anointed then took a seat & the presidency then laid hands upon his head & consecrated him unto God & then anointed him in the name of the Lord & pronounced such blessings upon his his head as the testimony of Jesus shall direct which is the spirit of prophecy. We had a glorious season indeed in this column ordinance of the house of the Lord there were fifteen anointed in our quorum mostly by President Coultrin. the Power of God rested upon us. President Coultrin anointed me & the following are some of the blessing that he pronounced upon my head while clothed upon by the Spirit & Power of God, viz. that God would bless me with all the powers of the Priesthood & give me a multiplicity of blessings that kings would tremble upon their thrones at my word. that I should become a Counsellor & multitudes should seek counsel at my mouth & I should have great wisdom & power to fly through the midst under heaven as Philip travled by the spirit that I should have power over my enemies & have long life & bring many into the kingdom of God Also that I should have the riches of the earth & that I should have sons & consecrate them priests unto God in Zion & that I should tread upon the ashes of my enemies in Jackson County those that had sought to take my life & the life of my brethren that went to redeem Zion & he also sealed upon my head all the blessing that had previously been pronounced upon me & thes blessing were sealed upon my head with a loud amen from all of the anointed present in the name of Jesus Christ Much of the power & spirit of God & a sens of the virtue of the ordinance rested upon me May God enable me to possess those blessing & obtain those visions that have been promised me in this & other column ordinances & keep me from dishonouring my anointing & the Holy Priesthood for Christ sake Amen.

The interview closed about 10. o'clock P.M. I then repaired into the lower Court of the Lords house in Company with Elders Joseph B. Nobles & G.W.Meeks to spend the night (after being anointed) in prayer & fasting before God the vales being closed we entered the Elders pulpit & there upon our knees we plead with God & we covenanted with each other in the holy stand that we would not give sleep to our eyes neither take food untill we receieued a blessing from God by the outpourings of his spirit upon us if it was untill the end of three days and according to our covenant we commenced praying & a part of the night we had a severe trial of our faith by great temptation from Satan but before day we gained a good degree of victory over the Devil & the Lord poured out his spirit upon us & we felt it good to be in the house of God while nature was hushed in silenced by the sable shades of night. After spending the night in
prayer we returned to our homes in the morning intending to spend
the day in prayer & fasting for still greater blessings this being upon

April 5th I spent a part of the day in attending the high Council the
remainder in writing, Prayer, & fasting I again repaired to the upper
lower part of the house of the Lord at 5 o'clock PM. with the quorum
of the Seventies for a column assembly anointing &c. Three out of
the seven presidents were present & anointed twelve the spirit of God
sat upon us & we were satisfied with our blessing consequently I re-
turned home with those brethren with whom I had covenanted for
a blessing & took some food & retired to rest being 24 hours since we
had taken food or sleep. There was much of the spirit of Prophecy &
revelation poured upon the heads of the anointed in the different
quorums

April 6th 1837. This being more particular the day of the Solumn
assembly, or a day that is looked upon annually with feeling of greater
interest in Celebration of the 6th of April 1830 as upon that day
the Church of Latter day Saints was first organized in this last dis-
pensation & fulness of times Henceforth the column assembly of the
Elders of Israel & all official members that can, will meet in the
LORDS house annually to attend to the most Solumn ordinances of
the house of GOD & of receiving the visions & great things of
heavens Therefore I shall be more particular in recording the trans-
actions of this day than others for it is something similar to the Pente-
cost that St Paul speak of at Jerusalem

I repaired to the house of the Lord at 8 o'clock A.M. & after
spending an hour in the lower part of the house the presidency of
the Church called the quorums of the Seventies into the upper part
of the house that they might be by themselves for a while as there
was some business to be attended to in these quorums before they
could procede to the business of the day below In the first place
six of the Presidents of the Seventies were to leave the Seventies &
take a station in the quorum of the traveling high priesthood and six
other Presidents chosen in their stead I shall not here give the par-
ticulars of this change of Councillors suffice it to say that all of the
councillors first chosen excepting Joseph Young were high priest
befor the organization of the seventies & they had a right to officiate
in the lower offices of the Church & there was some difference in
the authority and office of the quorums of high priesthood & seven-
ties. The six new Presidents chosen out of the seventies to take the
place of thos that were to leave were John Gould, Josiah Butter-
field, Salmon Gee, Foster, John Gaylard.

63John Gould, a member of the second quorum of seventy, was chosen
to replace Hazen Aldrich in the seventies presidency.
64Josiah Butterfield, a native of Maine, had assisted in building the Kirt-
land Temple and was a member of the Kirtland Safety Society. He was a
member of the second quorum of seventy, chosen on this date to replace Ly-
man Sherman in the presidency.
65Salmon Gee (1792-1845) was born in Lyme, Connecticut, and joined
the Church in July 1832. He moved to Kirtland in 1834 and was chosen a
member of the second quorum of seventy in 1836.
After this matter was arranged there was a glorious ordinance performed upon the heads of those who had been anointed (by the first presidency of the Church Joseph Smith jr Sidney Rigdon &c was this ordinance performed. it was as follows. while all of the anointed present lifted there hands towards heaven this first presidency of the Church confirmed & sealed upon our heads all the blessings of our ordination, anointing & patriarchal with a seal in the presence of God & the Lamb & holy angels that they should all be fulfilled upon our heads that not one jot or tittle should fail & the seal was confirmed upon our heads with a shout of all the anointed with uplifted hand to heaven HOSANNA. HOSANNA. HOSANNA. to GOD & the LAMB. Amen. Amen. & Amen. Hosanna Hosanna. Hosanna. to God & the LAMB. Amen—Amen. & Amen. Hosanna, Hosanna. Hosanna. to GOD & the LAMB. Amen. Amen. & Amen. This was repeated as it is written & if ever a shout entered the cabinet of heaven that did & was repeated by angels on high & caused the power of God to rest upon us. (O ye Priest of Baal. O, ye gentle religionest O, ye inhabitants of Babylon possessing the mark of the beast What knowledge have ye of the ordinances or blessings or virtues of the house & Church of God) Great and marvelous are the blessings and power of the ordinances of the Lord & his gospel made manifest on these occasions After being in the upper room about two hours we again joined the congregation of the Saints in the lower Court & the house came to order for the business of the day. the veils were closed & each apartment commenced the duties of the day the washing of the feet of the anointed was the first business that was performed. The twelve assisted our presidency in washing the feet Elder Heber Kimble one of the twelve apostles attended to the washing of my feet & prophesied upon my head & pronounced me clean from the Blood of this generation this as it was with JESUS when he washed his disciples feet. great were the blessings that rested upon us in this ordinance. After the washing of feet, the veils were rolled, which brought the congregation into one assembly, the stand of the Priesthood were still coverd with the veils the Presidency stood in the lower stand & President Joseph Smith jr arose and addressed the congregation for the term of three hours clothed with the power, spirit, & image of GOD he unbosomd his mind & feelings in the house of his friends He presented many things of vast importance to the minds of the Elders of Israel. O that they might be written upon our hearts as with an iron pen to remain forever that we might practice them in our lives That fountain of light, principle & virtue that came forth out of the heart & mouth of the Prophet JOSEPH whose soul like Enochs sweld wide as eternity I say such evidences presented in such a forcible manner ought to drive into oblivion every particle of unbelief & dubiety from the mind of the hearers, for such language sentiment principle & spirit cannot flow from darkness. Joseph

"James Foster (1775-1841) was a member of the second quorum of seventy at Kirtland prior to his appointment to the presidency.

"John Gaylord (1797- ?), a member of the Kirtland Safety Society, was chosen to replace Sylvester Smith in the seventy's presidency."
Smith jr is a prophet of God rised up for the deliverance of Israel as true as my heart now burns within me while I am penning thes lines which is as true as truth itself. President Hiram Smith followed Joseph with many useful remarks he also was clothed with much of the spirit of God. Joseph desired us to give heed to his words & teaching this once & be wise that Zion & her stakes might spedily be redeemed he instructed us to be sure & ask those that enter the Kingdom to send up their wise men to Kirtland with there money to counsel with the presidency & purchase an inheritance before they move their families or bring the poor to the places of gathering for to suffer. Also that we must keep in view the institution of the Kirtland Safety Society & if the Elders of Israel would be faithful & do what was in their power this once Kirtland should spedily be redeemed & become a strong hold not to be thrown down. Joseph presented us in some degree the plot of the City of Kirtland (which is the strong hold of the daughter of Zion) as it was given him by vision, it was great marvelous & glorious. the City extended to the east, west, north, & south, steam boats will come puffing into the city our goods will be conveyed upon railroads from Kirtland to many places & probably to Zion. houses of worship would be reared unto the most high beautiful streets was to be made for the Saints to walk in Kings of the earth would come to behold the glory thereof & many glorious things not now to be named would be bestowed upon the Saints, but all these thing are better imagined than spoken by the Children of Jacob

President Oliver Cowder followed Hiram Smith & made but few remarks but verry appropriate, he called upon the Elders to keep within the bounds of their knowledge & to let the great mysteries of the Kingdom alone for the gentiles had not a knowledge even of the first principles of the gospel. that it was far better to preach what the people would call the small things of the Bible than to enter into the vishions of Isaiah. Ezekiel, & John &c. President Sidney Rigdon next spoke & said many important things and impressd it upon the Elders of Israel with great force & eloquence to lay to with their mights this once for the redemption of Kirtland that Israel may be safe & free and have a place to set his foot [sentence in shorthand]

After the Presidency closed their remarks the twelve were called upon to break bread for the multitude (as Jesus did in the days of the Apostles) that they might all be filled they did so & we were all filled & was made glad while feasting with Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelest, Pasters, Teachers, & Deacons. After the feast was Closed thanks was returned to GOD with uplifted hands to heaven this being about the seting of the son all had the privilege of returning to thir homes that felt disposed & the rest might spend the night in the house of the Lord in prayer, & exaortation, praise & thanksgiving. At about candle light the meeting commenced with great interest Joseph requested the congregation to speak their feelings freely & pray according to the spirit the saints began to open their mouths & they were filled with language unto edification one a
prayer another an exhortation some a doctrin & a psalm others a tounge. some an interpretation Prophecy was also poured out upon us & all things was done decently & in order & the night was spent gloriously by the saints much of the gifts of the gospel rested upon us. One Brother clothed with the gift of tongues laid his hands upon my head and prophesied great blessing upon me another Brother possessing the interpretation uttered it unto me to my joy & consolation with the many blessing pronounced upon my head he rehearsed the blessing that Jacob pronounced upon the heads of Joseph & said that I should possess the blessings of heaven & of earth & be much blessed in my ministry &c. much Prophecy was uttered upon the heads of many of the Saints in other languages & was interpreted which was glorious, thus was this day & night spent gloriously & those scenes will long be remembered Rejoice O, earth & shout O heavens for the natural fruit of the tame olive tree is again manifest in the earth, the fig tree is putting forth leaves. The Church of Christ is travling out of the wilderness with her gifts & graces which edify the body of Christ. The house of God is reared in beauty & splendor according to the pattern given by the vishions of heaven & the revelations of Jesus Christ O, ye gentiles come & receive the gospel repent & be baptized for the remishion of your sins & receive the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands & partake of the blessing of God with Israel that you may be hid under the shadow of the ALMIGHTY in the day of GODs wrath & indignation upon babylon which is at hand. The meeting continued until break of day when we all dispersed to our homes with great Joy & consolation May the Lord bless the Saints & have mercy upon the poor the sick & the afflicted & deliver Israel from the gentile yoke for Jesus sake amen

April 7th I spent the day in writing my Journal. & when the shades of evening began to appear I repaired to the house of the LORD in company with Elders Milton Holmes, & Joseph B Nobles for the purpose of worshiping God we entered one of the stands within the veils & fell upon our knees & satan appeared also but not to worship God but to deprive us of the privilege satan strove against us with great power by tempting & otherwise he at one time drove me from my stand while I was striving with my brethren to enter into the visions of heaven notwithstanding his apparent victory good grew out of it for by going into the outer Court. I there found Elder Freeman Nickerson an aged father in Israel who was faithful & Prayed to God alway I solicited him to join us in prayer that we might gain a victory over satan & get a blessing at the hand of God. He joyfully accepted the invitation & we again entered the stand being four of us in number of one accord in one place, we had great cause to be united in heart we all had traveled together about 1,000 miles in the spring of 1834 for the redemption of Zion we at that time offered to lay down our lives & our offering was accepted as was Abrams. We felt considering those circumstances that we could kneel down & unitedly

Freeman Nickerson (1778-1847) was baptized in April 1833 and had labored in Ohio and Canada as a missionary.
get a blessing by faith through Jesus Christ we fell upon our Knees & began to cry unto God Satan departed, temptation found no place in our harts. The power of God rested upon us & we were baptized with the Holy Ghost & the spirit of God was like fire fire shut up in our bones we were immersed in the liberty of the sons of God many great things were shown unto us the power of God & the spirit of prophesy & revelation rested upon us I arose & proclaimed many glorious thing upon the heads of my beloved brethren that were present which were dictated in my heart by the Holy Spirit And I Willford testify in the name of Jesus Christ that many precious things were shown me concerning my brethren by the Holy Spirit in prophecy & revelation. Our hearts were made glad & we went our way rejoicing.

April 8th. Spent the day in writing my Journal spent the evening at Elder Milicans⁶⁹ in good company.

9th Sunday morning I repaired to the house of the Lord to worship with the Saints Father John Smith⁷⁰ opened the meeting by prayer then read the twelfth chapter of the second Book of Nephi & preached from it unto the people. In the latter part of the Day Elder Kimble addressed the saints in the power of God Elder O. Pratt followed with few remarks after communion. President S Rigdon addressed the congregation & laid before them their situation as to temporal things as the gentiles are striving to besiege the saints in Kirtland & would be glad to starve the saints to death.⁷¹ He also stated that the Presidency had used every means for the deliverance of the Church but

⁶⁹Possibly Nathaniel Milliken who was doorkeeper of the Kirtland Temple.

⁷⁰John Smith (1781-1854) was an uncle to Joseph Smith. He was baptized in 1832 and moved to Kirtland in 1833, where he was a member of the Kirtland Safety Society.

⁷¹Reference to efforts of gentiles to starve the Mormons at Kirtland is elaborated by George A. Smith: "In the Spring of 1835, a majority of the inhabitants of Kirtland combined together and warned all the Saints to leave the town, this was done to prevent any of our people becoming a Town charge in case of poverty. They then bought up all the grain that was for sale in the country around, and refused to sell a particle of it to our people. Mr. Lyman a Presbyterian owning the Kirtland Mills was at the head of the movement, he accumulated several thousand bushels of grain in his mill and refused to sell the least portion of it to any of the Saints. This arrangement was brought about by a combination of all the religious sects in the vicinity. Mr. Chase a Presbyterian neighbor of ours who had a quantity of grain on hand and had refused to sell a particle at any price, came to my father one morning and asked him if he could board the Schoolmistress his portion, assigning as a reason that he had not got provisions to feed her on, my father, although he had eaten the last morsel of bread stuff we had, for breakfast, told him he could board her as well as not. This was done to ascertain our straitened condition, but Joseph on learning the plan of our enemies, got the brethren to put their mites together and sent to Portage County and purchased a supply of wheat at a reasonable price and carried it to a mill owned by one of the brethren several miles from Town, so that our christian friends not only had the mortification of not starving out the Saints but had when harvest came around a large quantity of grain on hand and no market for it, as our people had raised a supply for themselves." "Memoirs of Geo. A. Smith," pp. 59-60. MS, HDC.
as many of the Church had refused Kirtlan currency which was their temporal salvation in consequence of this they put strength in the hands of their enemies & those that had done this thing must suffer by it Sidney closed and Joseph arose & like the lion of the tribe of JUDAH he poured out his soul in the midst of the congregation of the Saints but who can find language to write his words & teachings as with an iron pen in a rock that they may stand for future generation to look upon A fountain of knowledge rolled from his mouth to the people which was the word of God. Yea in the name of God he proclaimed that severe Judgment awaited those characters that professed to be his friends & friends to humanity & the Kirtland Safety Society. But had turned tritores & opposed the currency & its friends which has given power into the hands of the enemy & oppressed the poor saints such have become covenant breakers for which they will feel the wrath of God as true as Joseph is a prophet Joseph uttered the feelings of his soul in pain while viewing the poverty & afflictions of Ephraim or the Saints in Kirtland at least that false brethren should be whitened walls & bring perrils upon the saints. Joseph is as a father to Ephraim & to all Israel in these last days, he mourns because of unbelief & the negligence manifest with many who have receieved the gospel in obeying the commands of God he fears lest but few be left to receive an inheritance. There is not a greater man than Joseph standing in this generation. The gentiles look upon him & he is to them like bed of gold concealed from human view. they know not his principle, his spirit, his wisdom, virtue, philanthropy, nor his calling. His mind like Enoch's swells wide as eternity. Nothing short of a God can comprehend his soul.

April 10th I wrote two letters to the land of Zion one to Elder A.O. Smoot & the other to Elder Alexander.

A Conference of Elders to be held at Mane Aug 12th & 13th AD 1837. on Saturday & Sunday.

Direct a letter to Freeman Nickerson south Dennis Post Office Barnstable County Massachusetts.

My first acquaintance with Miss Phebe W. Carter was on the eve of the 28th of Jan. 1837 at which time I was introduced to her at Elder Millikens by the politeness of Elder M. Holmes after two & half months acquaintance we were joined in Matrimony the account of which will be found on the following pages.

MATRIMONY

WILLFORD WOODRUFF. Born March 1st 1807
PHEBE W. CARTER. Born March 8th 1807

April. 13th 1837. Marriage being an institution of heaven & honourable in all. I accordingly accepted the honour, upon this memorial day, by joining hands with Miss. PHEBE W. CARTER in the bonds.
of matrimony and took upon ourselves the marriage covenant. Elder Johnathan Holmes also took the same responsibility upon himself at the same time by giving his hand to Miss Mary Carter in the marriage covenant. We were married at the house of President JOSEPH SMITH, Jr. The ceremony was solemnized by President Frederick G. Williams President J. Smith sen the Patriarch then blessed us in the name of the Lord and pronounced great Blessings upon us & our posterity. President. J. Smith Jr was expecting to solemnize the ceremony, but his life was so beset & sought for by wicked and ungodly men for the testimony of JESUS, that he was under the necessity of fleeing from his house & home for a few days. O when will the prophets of God rest upon the earth.

We were married at 2 o'clock P M and at 4. PM. the whole company consisting of about. 16 couple walked from President J. Smiths. to President. S Rigidons where we were gratified with the privilege of seeing Elder George Robinson & Miss Thalia Rigdon also joined in matrimony by President FG Williams The company dispersed at the sitting of the sun I spent the night at President Joseph Smiths May the Lord bless us all with salvation.

The sun in the east arose to gladden earth & shed oer nature his pleasing beams to wellcome the return of delightful spring that dreary winter might be forgotten. No day more pleasing than April thirteenth 1837 while all nature smiled without friendships purest joys were felt beneath a prophets roof where the brides and bridesgroom found a welcome reception. While by law with the nuptial cord their hands were bound their congenial hearts in one, lay cemented bearing the seal of Eternal life. Their friendship formed from principle pure, virtue unsued, bid refinement oer those hearts to rule, possessing the love of GOD the ownly foundation of true friendship. True the prophet Joseph from his wife, children, & house for a moment had fled had torn himself from their embrace in some lonely place to seek a shelter to escape the blood thirsty gentiles hands against him raised for bearing the testimony of Jesus Christ. A Patriarch yet was left. He Possessing a Holy Priesthood more ancient than his gray hairs arose upon his feet to bless in the name of GOD the married four. Being clothed in the spirit through the power of the priesthood he pronounced upon the wedded heads and their posterity blessing that never decay.

While heaven smiles upon the Elders of Israel friendship presents each with a bride as a help meet whose prayers will be wafted by a more holy breeze than wind up to the throne of GOD for their companions while bound in chains & vaults in prisons cast for the word of God & the testimony of Jesus. These feeble words inspire their harts to call on God that he may here & send deliverance to the bridegroom in distance lands while under Zions banner the bride finds protections.

17George W. Robinson (1814-?) was a member of the Kirtland Safety Society and clerk of the Kirtland high council. He later became general Church recorder.

18Athalia Rigdon was the eldest daughter of Sidney Rigdon.
O heaven protect the four that they their covenants may fulfill that friendship may grow old But pure and strong as death that peace and harmony may crown their lives. Let God direct their steps their hearts possess his love while personal friendship joins their hearts and hands in one may light and truth their way direct untill they meet the great bridegroom

Vera amicitia est sempiterna

[At this point in his diary Elder Woodruff records his patriarchal blessing which was given April 15, 1836, and that of his wife, Phebe, which was given in November 10, 1836. Both blessings were given at Kirtland, Ohio, by Joseph Smith, Sr.]

THE LAST DISPENSATION OF THE GOSPEL

Solemn and interesting are the scenes and living realities of the present generation of the human family. The reflecting mind may flit back with the rapidity of lightning to the day when GOD spake and chaos herd and this world came into order, then from the days of ADAM trace the history of man down to 1830 years after Christ both sacred and profane and place their history in a point of light to comprehend in one combined mass all the rise, progress, decline, and fall of all the nations, Kingdoms, and empires of the earth and they do not form a more compounded scenery of grand awful sublime and important events than is to transpire in this last dispensation of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The prophets and Apostles & all inspired men of God in every age of a theocrahical government have looked, spake, & written respecting this generation with feelings of the deepest interest. In 1830 the stone began to roll. The Church & body of Christ became visible It will continue to be propelied by the arm of JEHOVAH untill the Kingdom fills the whole earth & Israel gatherd. Babylon falls & Christ reigns. Then marvel not O ye reader that the Patriarch Joseph pronounces blessings upon the children of EPHRAIM

April 20th Spent this day in the house of the Lord in prayer and fasting with the congregation of the Saints. Much of the power, gifts, and graces of the gospel was poured out upon us. speaking and interpreting of tongues was manifest in the congregation one brother sung a lengthy song in tongues & sister Hide interpreted the same it was great & glorious much of it was respecting the fame of Joseph and his magnus works

April 21. I paid $37. dollars to Elder Harvy Redfield for Jacob Bump which balanced all of my account with them both. I paid $5. dollars to Elder Heber Kimble [sentence in shorthand]

April 22nd Received a Letter from my father in Law Ezra Carter under date of April 9th

30th spent the last week labouring with my hands for Elder H. Kimble

Evidence of Woodruff's Latin study in the Kirtland High School: "True friendship is eternal."
May 1st Mrs Woodruff with myself removed our boarding place to Elder W Parrishes where we tarry for the present

5th While labouring for Elder J. Young in the latter part of the day we experienced a very sudden, hard, & rapid storm of wind and rain a vane of it passed south of the temple in the form of a whirl wind or tornado it destroyed and injured several buildings it crushed one of Elder Young buildings instantly and removed the one we were in yet no lives were lost nor persons injured soon all was calm again

10th Brother Henry Harmon75 arrived in Kirtland from the State of Maine and Mrs Woodruff received nine Letters from our friends in the state of Maine

May 14th we wrote two Letters to our friends in the State of Maine

23rd Spent several of the Last weeks in labouring with my hands for Elder Joseph Young. Spent the fore part of this day in attending a Patriarchal meeting I wrote a Patriarchal Blessing for Brother Henry Harmon

25th I comenced boarding with Elder Jonathan. H. Hale

27th I wrote a Patriarchal Blessing, as it was delivered from the mouth of the Patriarch JOSEPH, for Elder Rufus M Lord76

28th Sunday I repaired to the house of the Lord to worship the GOD of Israel with the congregation of the Saints in Kirtland. Behold, it was a day of experience, of interest, & of Knowledge. The same spirits of murmuring, complaining, & of mutiny, that I spake of in Feb. 19th in this journal, hath not slept from that day to the present they have been brewing in the family circle in the secret chamber & in the streets untill many & some in high places had risen up against Joseph the servant whom God had raised up to lead Israel and they were striving to overthrow his influence & cast him down untill Joseph was grieved in spirit to stand in such perils among fals brethren.77 But notwithstanding this thick cloud of darkness

75Henry Harmon (1816- ?) was a native of Scarborough, Maine.
76Rufus M. Lord was a member of the third quorum of seventy at Kirtland.
77The conditions that prevailed to eventually terminate Kirtland as a Mormon gathering place are summarized by Heber C. Kimball:

"On our arrival in Kirtland we were much grieved to see the spirit of speculation that was prevailing in the church; trade and traffic seemed to engross the time and attention of the Saints: when we left Kirtland a City lot was worth about 150 dollars, but on our return to our astonishment the same lot was said to be worth from 500 to 1000 dollars according to location; and some men who when I left could hardly get food to eat, I found on my return to be men of supposed great wealth; in fact every thing in the place seemed to be moving in great prosperity, and all seemed determined to become rich; in my feelings they were artificial or imaginary riches. A Bank was also established called the Kirtland safety society in which myself and most of the Twelve were appointed directors. This bank issued paper to a considerable extent. This appearance of prosperity led many of the
standing over Kirtland Joseph being unmoved in the cause entered the congregation of the Saints arose in the stand & spake to the people in the name of the Lord in his own defence the Lord was with him by his power & spirit to the convinceing of the honest that he would stand & his enemies fall. Sidney followed him with an able discourse & several others spake in the spirit in the spirit of God maintaining Joseph in his integrity. But: Alas, one arose, once a friend, (not now) in the blackness of his face & corruption of his heart stretched out his puny arm and proclaimed against Joseph. Joseph acted wisely while all saw the spirit of his foe O. [words in shorthand] when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren O my God deliver me from such a crime I pray thee

May 29th I met in the house of the Lord to attend an important conference or meeting of the high Council to attend to some important business of the Church let memory speak upon this subject two [words in shorthand] two [words in shorthand] one [words in shorthand] it was considered not [words in shorthand] try [words in shorthand] before the high council but before the Bishop the Presidents withdrew the council closed without transacting business I met with the quorum of seventies 20 times from Jan to May 30th

30th Rode to Panesville in company with the Presidency & many other official members of the Church of latter day Saints for the purpose of attending a Court, President Joseph Smith jr was ac-

Saints to believe that the time had arrived for the Lord to enrich them with the treasures of the earth and believing so, it stimulated them to great exertions, so much so, that two of the Twelve Lyman E. Johnson and John F. Boynton went to New York and purchased to the amount of twenty thousand dollars worth of goods and entered into the Mercantile business, borrowing considerable money from Polly Voce and other Saints in Boston and the regions round about, and which they have never repaid.

"This state of things did not continue long, for our enemies being filled with jealousy and hatred, drew upon the Bank till money began to fail, and in proportion as adversity came upon us, the faith of many began to fail, and being filled with the spirit of speculation, they ran greedily into the world, erred from the faith, and joined our enemies; some who were entrusted with the Bank, robbed it of a considerable amount, which was palmed upon us, as a means to overthrow us, also a counterfeit which was said to have been issued from the Bank; those of integrity in the church replaced the robbed money at the expense of all they had. I may safely add that a greater specimen of integrity was never known among men.

"Warren Parrish, who was a clerk in the Bank, afterwards acknowledged he took 20,000 dollars, and there was strong evidence he took more . . . .

"This order of things increased to such an extent during the Winter, that a man's life was in danger the moment he spoke in defence of the Prophet of God. During this time I had many hours and days of sorrow and mourning, for my heart sickened to see the awful extent that things were getting to. The only source of consolation I had, was in bending my knees, continually before my Father in heaven and asking him to sustain me and preserve me from falling into snares; and from betraying my brethren as others had done; for those who apostatized sought every means and opportunity to draw others after them; they also entered into combinations to obtain wealth by fraud and every means that was hellish. . . ." "History of Heber Chase Kimball by his own Dictation," pp. 47-48. MS, HDC.
cused of endangering the life of Newell\textsuperscript{78} this was done out of spite not because he was guilty of the charge the court adjourned until Saturday following we then returned home distance of the day 18 miles I spent the evening in preparing myself to go forth from Kirtland into the eastern country on a mission to again proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ in company with some of my brethren may the Lord prosper our way.

May 31st The day had now arrived for me to take the parting hand with the saints in Kirtland and again go into the vineyard to proclaim the word of God. I accordingly took my departure from Mrs Woodruff my Companion & Sister Hale who were expecting to tarry together for a season. I then left Kirtland in good spirits in company with Elder Hale. . . .

\textsuperscript{78}Reference is made to the case in which Grandison Newell, a prominent resident of Mentor, Ohio, brought charges against Joseph Smith for threatening Newell's life.
The Kirtland Temple

LAURITZ G. PETERSEN*

The Kirtland Temple stands to this day as a physical link with the Church's beginnings—the first of first temples. It became a place of revelation, communion, inspired learning—a place of awe and joy. Today millions revere it as a place of sacred awakening, and above all, a House of God.

PRELUDE TO ENDOWMENT

Less than a year after the Church was organized, the Prophet Joseph Smith received this commandment:

   Wherefore, for this cause I gave unto you the command-
   ment that ye should go to the Ohio; and there I will give
   unto you my law; and there you shall be endowed with
   power from on High.

   And from thence, whosoever I will shall go forth among
   all nations, and it shall be told them what they shall do;
   for I have a great work laid up in store, for Israel shall
   be saved, and I will lead them whithersoever I will, and
   no power shall stay my hand.¹

This is the earliest modern mention of the word "endow-
ment" in the literature of the Restored Church, and it has
come to be understood as an endowment of power in a temple.

A month later, on 1 February 1831, the Prophet Joseph
Smith with his wife, Emma, arrived in Kirtland, Ohio. Almost
immediately there arose a controversy which showed the need
for mature spiritual discernment in the Church. A certain Mrs.
Hubble had been claiming that she had received revelations

¹The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter-day Saints, 1968), 38:32-33. (Hereafter cited in text as D&C.)

*Lauritz Petersen is supervisor of the Public Service Section of the Archives
Division of the Historical Department of the Church.
from the Lord for the Church. The Prophet prayed concerning this matter and received what is now known as Section 43 of the D&C. Verse 16 of this section contains a second reference to an “endowment”:

And ye are to be taught from on high. Sanctify yourselves and ye shall be endowed with power, that ye may give even as I have spoken [italics added].

And the *Far West Record* of 25 October 1831 states:

Joseph Smith Jr. said that the order of the High Priesthood is that they have power given to them to seal up the Saints unto eternal life. And said, it was the privilege of every Elder present to be ordained to the High Priesthood.

Thus, the Prophet Joseph Smith at this early date was already acquainted with the sealing power, a sealing power associated with apostleship. He was named an apostle on 6 April 1830 when the Church was organized (D&C 20). It is not unlikely that “sealing,” as the crowning ordinance of the Temple, was already foreshadowed in his mind.

Two days after Christmas in 1832 a revelation rich in doctrine and wisdom was given called, perhaps because of its compassionate tone, the “Olive Leaf” (D&C 88). Here was the explicit commandment to erect a temple:

Organize yourselves; prepare every needful thing; and establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God (D&C 88:119).

This house of God is not the same as “the house prepared for the presidency of the school of the prophets” mentioned in verse 127. The context outlines a temple complex, with a central core of administrative buildings. Verses 130 and 131 state that when the president comes into this house of God, “he should be first in the house—behold, this is beautiful, that he may be an example—Let him offer himself in prayer upon his knees before God, in token or remembrance of the everlasting covenant.”

Again one is led to wonder whether the Prophet knew much more concerning the endowment than he had yet re-

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*See John Whitmer, “History of the Church,” chapter 3, photo copy of an unpublished manuscript in the Historical Department of the Church.*
vealed to the body of the Church. John Whitmer writes in his history dated 1 June 1834:

[Joseph] Received a revelation that it was not wisdom to go to Jackson County at this time and that the armies of Israel should become very great and terrible first, and the servants of the Lord ben [sic] endowed with power from on high previous to the redemption of Zion. . . .

The first Elders were to receive their endowment at Kirtland, Ohio in the house of the Lord built in that stake.3

Thus, the “endowment” spoken of was to be given “in the house of the Lord built in that stake.” Kirtland was to be called a stake, and the stake was to have a temple.

A plan now begins to appear in outline. A city of Kirtland is to be built, and is to have a central complex of several different houses, or temples. The city is to be a stake, and a special building called the House of God is to stand in its center. Special ordinances are to be performed within this one building. This is suggestive of the later plan of the City of Zion mentioned in the prophet Joseph’s history of the Church,4 also of the plan of the city and stake of Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman. Each of these was to be a stake with a special House of God and other administrative buildings.

For 4 January 1836, John Whitmer recorded:

Now the time drew near when the Lord would endow his servants and before he could do this we must perform all the ordinances that are instituted in his house. There was one ordinance Viz, the washing of feet that we had not yet observed, but did perform it according to revelation, which ordinance belongs only to ordained members and not the whole church.

For particulars read the private history of Joseph the Seer.

After the washing of feet came the anointing with holy oil, which was performed by Joseph Smith, Senior, among the presidents then the presidents of each Quorum

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3It is interesting to note here also that the date recorded by John Whitmer for this revelation is different from that which is given in the heading of D&C 105 today. Orson Pratt may have overlooked this bit of information or he may have thought John Whitmer in error on his dating. Another possibility is that there may have been two revelations combined to make Section 105.

proced [sic] to annoint the members thereof in their proper
time and place.6

The "proper time and place" was in part determined by age. It is puzzling that the Prophet Joseph had recorded that on 23 January 1833 "we proceeded to the washing of feet (according to the practice recorded in the 13th chapter of John's Gospel), as commanded of the Lord."6 He then tells the procedure that was followed. Yet here, nearly three years later, John Whitmer records that this ordinance had not yet been observed, perhaps meaning not yet in the House of God. Earlier, one infers, the Prophet had received inspired knowledge of the writings of John and had undertaken to introduce the practice. Now further light and understanding were given and they "did perform it according to revelation."7 Apparently a form of sealing was attached to this ordinance given in 1833 and again in 1836.

Something of a pattern is apparent here; clearly, ordinances had been performed outside the temple. Later baptism for the dead was performed outside the temple as a preface to the completion of the Nauvoo Temple. The complete temple endowment was given in 1842 in the upstairs room of Joseph Smith's store prior to the dedication. So all the ordinances performed in the temples today were performed outside the temple, the sealing of children to parents being the only exception, so far as we know.8

Wilford Woodruff, who was not present at the dedication services in Kirtland, nor at the earlier ceremonies, received his endowment the following year. He observes in his journal that whatever had been given before was confirmed and renewed in the finished Kirtland Temple.9 With what little we have mentioned it is clearly evident that the manner of giving the endowment or at least part of it was understood as early as 1834. A close study of the contents of the revelations received after the dedication of the Kirtland Temple shows that the Prophet Joseph Smith received many more

5Whitmer.
6H. C., 1:323.
7This agrees with the sermon of Brigham Young in February 1846 to the First Council of the Seventy.
9See 3 April 1837 entry.
keys of authority and instructions pertaining to temple endowments during the period of dedication than he transmitted to the Twelve or the Saints. Sometime before 4 May 1842 the Prophet gave the complete temple endowment to several of the Twelve in the upper rooms of his store in Nauvoo.\(^\text{10}\)

The eventual influence of temples built or anticipated in stakes such as Kirtland, Independence, Far West, and Adam-ondi-Ahman clarifies D\&C 36:124, which is an explanation of the sacred import and the central influence of temple worship on all the functions of the Church. The Kirtland Temple served as a place to receive those keys necessary for these unfolding powers which the Prophet taught were essential to a fullness of the glory of God. The Saints caught the vision. A grasp of the scope of the divine plan emerged. In the stress of persecution, they derived strength from the recognition that certain basic principles are eternal. A unique doctrine of the necessity and universality and eternality of ordinances and covenants grew out of Kirtland.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEMPLE

Section 94 of the D\&C tells us of the revealed plan of the pattern of the city of the Stake of Zion in Kirtland. Brigham Young said several times that the pattern of the Temple was also revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith.

In a sermon given 6 April 1853 Brigham Young said:

Soon after, the Church, through our beloved Prophet Joseph, was commanded to build a Temple to the most High, in Kirtland, Ohio, and this was the next House of the Lord we hear of on the earth, since the days of Solomon's Temple. Joseph not only received a revelation and commandment to build a Temple, but he received a pattern also, as did Moses for the Tabernacle, and Solomon for his Temple; for without a pattern, he could not know what was wanting, having never seen one, and not having experienced its use.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{\text{10}}\)For some reason one important personality was left out of the revelation (Section 110) as having appeared in the Kirtland Temple—Peter, the ancient apostle. Heber C. Kimball, speaking on the subject of home manufacturing on 9 February 1862 said: "Some of you have got an idea that wool will not do, but let me inform you that when Peter came and sat in the Temple in Kirtland, he had on a neat woollen garment, nicely adjusted round the neck" (\textit{J. D.}, 9:376). It is strange that this information should seem so commonplace that it had not been officially recorded.

Orson Pratt echoed that idea when he said:

He revealed the pattern according to which that house should be built, pointing out the various courts and apartments, telling the size of the house, the order of the pulpits, and in fact everything pertaining to it was clearly pointed out by revelation. God gave a vision of these things, not only to Joseph, but to several others, and they were strictly commanded to build according to the pattern revealed from the heavens.¹²

and later when he said:

When the Lord commanded this people to build a house in the land of Kirtland, he gave them the pattern by vision from heaven, and commanded them to build that house according to that pattern and order; to have the architecture, not in accordance with architecture devised by men, but to have everything constructed in that house according to the heavenly pattern that he by his voice had inspired to his servants.¹³

In 1881 Erastus Snow speaking in the St. George Stake said:

The general features of the St. George Temple are in conformity to those of the Kirtland Temple which was dedicated in April 1836.

That temple may be said to have been built to show forth the order of the Priesthood, Aaronic and Melchizedek—the priesthood there received the ordinance of the washing of feet and the anointing of the head with oil. This was confirmed to those holding the Priesthood. There was no baptismal font in the temple at Kirtland for that ordinance had not yet been revealed to the people.

By the time the Nauvoo Temple was being built the doctrine of the baptism for the dead was revealed and one of the first things attended to there was the preparation of the font for the Baptisms of the Dead. It was revealed here in St. George to the Prophet Brigham Young that there should be variations made in the temples to be built. This was given unto the Prophet Brigham in answer to his question, "Oh Lord show unto thy servants if we shall build all temples after the same pattern?" The answer came. "Do you all build your houses after the same pattern used when your family is small? So shall the growth of the knowledge of the principles of the Gospel among my people cause diversity in the pattern of temples."¹⁴

¹²J. D., 13:357.
¹³J. D., 14:273.
¹⁴St. George Stake Historical Record, no. 97707, 20 November 1881.
In the Zion city of Independence a twenty-four-building complex is projected, each building being called a temple. Only the pattern of the House of the Lord for the Presidency is provided. The design of the other buildings remains to be given.15

On 21 April 1834, "Elder Rigdon gave an account of the endowment of the ancient apostles, and laid before the conference the dimensions of the House to be built in Kirtland, and rehearsed the promise to the Elders in the last days, which they were to realize after the House of the Lord was built."16 No specific detail is added. On 6 June 1833 a conference of high priests assembled in Kirtland and instructed the building committee to obtain stone, brick, lumber and other materials for the building. On 23 July of the same year the cornerstones of the Lord's House, or the Kirtland Temple, were laid after the order of the Holy Priesthood.

In the Archives of the Historical Department of the LDS Church are some hand-drawn sketches in both pencil and ink of the temple pulpits or stands. The pencil drawings give an outline of the stands together with the initials that were to appear on them. These drawings show that the first thing a person facing east would see is a communion table. Slightly higher than the floor, this table is called the "4th stand" and bears the initials "P.E.Q." (Presidency of Elders Quorum). This reflects a stake level of priesthood organization. In the day of the Kirtland Temple all priesthood was organized on a stake basis and not yet on a ward level as we know it today.17

The next higher stand, or "3rd stand," bears the initials "P.H.P.Q." (Presidency of High Priests Quorum). Still higher, the "2nd stand" carries the initials "P.S.Z." (Presidents of Seventy). The reason for the "Z" is unclear. Perhaps it should have been a "Q" for "Quorum." The upper stand bears the initials "P.M.P.H." (This may have stood for Presidency of Melchizedek High Priests. If so, the last two

15The "Temple of the Presidency" was not constructed in Kirtland, nor was it built in Independence. It is to be built in the future in Jackson County in fulfillment of prophecy. No drawn plans exist in our present archives for the Kirtland Temple. There are, however, some hand-drawn plans for the "Temple of the Presidency." These plans were used as suggestions for the size of the visitors' center now completed in Independence, Missouri.

16H. C., 2:54.

17The present-day pattern was outlined in July 1877 when Brigham Young began to correlate the Church programs.
The drawings of the pulpits by courtesy of the Historical Department of the Church.
initials should have been reversed.) Facing west one would see another communion stand bearing the initials "P.D.Q." (Presidency of Deacons Quorum). This was called the "4th stand" also.

The drawings of the Temple of the Presidency do not show a specific altar for the elders or for the deacons but do show a table. Further study is needed of the changes made for the lettering on the stands, since, when the Prophet presided at the altar, the initials were different. Neither the pencil drawing nor the pen and ink drawing shows a stand or altar for the elders or deacons, but each does show a table. This table was 10 feet 7½ [inches?] long. It was 2 feet wide except at the extreme end, where it was 2 feet and 3 inches wide. It was a simple, straight, flat table and not in the shape of the higher stands.

Determining more about these stands and their initials will require further study of records which are not presently on file in the Historical Department Archives.

The next higher stand, or "3rd stand," on the west bears the initials "P.T.Q." (Presidency of Teachers Quorum). Still higher, the "2nd stand" has the initials "P.P.Q." (Presidency of Priests Quorum). The upper stand has the initials "P.A.P." (Presidency of Aaronic Priesthood).

Having one stand for the presidency of the priests quorum and another for the presidency of the Aaronic Priesthood, which is the bishopric, seems out of order today. But these were likely drawn before D&C 107 was given. It is in this section that the Prophet is informed that the bishop is the president of the priests quorum.18

Another document, carefully executed in black ink, shows the initials to be upon the pulpits. This document is not dated but was apparently made after the temple was completed. The direction of the stands for the Melchizedek Priesthood and the Aaronic Priesthood are reversed and the initials are different from those on the pencil drawings.

In this description there is no mention of a stand for the Seventy or the Elders. The writer of the document names a definite stand at which the Prophet presided. These initials must have been there at the time of Joseph Smith's presidency.

18 This places this drawing sometime before 28 March 1835.
The initials on the Kirtland Temple stands by courtesy of the Historical Department of the Church.

Note that there is no mention of a place for the deacons. The place for the elders and the deacons must have been at the communion tables.¹⁹

¹⁹The problem of these initials is complicated by an analysis of the Reorganized Church in the Saints Herald for 9 March 1953. It gives the following designations for the initials: P.D.A., Presiding Deacon Aaronic; P.T.A., Presiding Teacher Aaronic; P.A.P., Presiding Aaronic Priest; B.P.A., Bishop Presiding over Aaronic; P.E.M., Presiding Elder Melchizedec; M.H.P., Presiding Melchizedec High Priesthood (Quorum of Twelve or Stake High Council); M.P.C., Melchizedec Presiding Counsel (Presidency of Church or Presidency of Stake).
Oliver Cowdery’s
Kirtland, Ohio, “Sketch Book”

Leonard J. Arrington*

As a witness of significant events in the rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Oliver Cowdery’s importance is superseded only by that of the Prophet Joseph Smith. With the exception of Joseph’s First Vision and the appearances of Moroni, Cowdery participated with the Prophet in the key events of the Restoration. The scope of his experiences include the translation of the Book of Mormon, the restoration of the Priesthood, the organization of the Church, the first extensive missionary work of the Church, and divine manifestations in the Kirtland Temple.

The youngest of eight children, Oliver Cowdery1 was born 3 October 1806 in Wells, Rutland County, Vermont. In 1825 he moved to New York, where he worked successively as a clerk in a general store, as a blacksmith, and as a farmer. In 1828 he entered the teaching profession in Manchester, New York, where he first became acquainted with the religious claims of Joseph Smith. His entry into the mainstream of Mormon history occurred in April 1829 when he traveled to Harmony, Pennsylvania, to meet Joseph Smith, who was

*Dr. Arrington is Historian of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He is particularly grateful for the help of Dean Jessee, senior historical associate, Historical Department of the Church, in editing this historic document.

engaged in the translation of the Book of Mormon. Cowdery assisted Joseph as a scribe during the translation of the major part of that work, and his name appears in the Book of Mormon as one of the witnesses to the reliability of the claims of Joseph Smith regarding its origin and method of translation.

Oliver Cowdery testified that he was with Joseph Smith in the spring of 1829 when they "called upon the Lord, and he answered us out of the heavens, and while we were in the heavenly vision the angel came down and bestowed upon us this priesthood; and . . . after this we received the high and holy priesthood." Oliver’s description of the events he witnessed is more than a colorless statement of facts:

Earth, nor men, with the eloquence of time, cannot begin to clothe language in as interesting and sublime a manner as this holy personage. . . . The assurance that we were in the presence of an Angel; the certainty that we heard the voice of Jesus, and the truth unsullied as it flowed from a pure personage, dictated by the will of God, is to me past description, and I shall ever look upon this expression of the Savior’s goodness with wonder and thanksgiving.3

Oliver Cowdery held many positions of importance and was engaged in a variety of experiences during the initial eight years of his Church activity. He was present at the meeting that marked the official beginning of the Church on 6 April 1830 and delivered the first public discourse to members of the new organization five days later. In the fall of 1830 he traveled west from New York with three companions on one of the most portentous missionary journeys in the annals of Church history. After baptizing 130 disciples in Ohio in less than four weeks and traveling some 1500 miles to western Missouri, in what has been described as "a journey perhaps as spectacular as any of the apostle Paul,"4 Cowdery and his associates taught the message of the restoration to Indians along America’s western frontier. He was one of eight men with Joseph Smith who participated in the dedication of the temple site at Independence, Missouri,

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3Part of an introduction to some blessings given by Joseph Smith, Junior, written by Oliver Cowdery in "The Book of Patriarchal Blessings, 1834," pp. 8-9, MS, Historical Department of the Church, Salt Lake City. (Hereafter designated HDC.) This volume consists mainly of patriarchal blessings given by Joseph Smith, Senior.
4Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate (Kirtland, Ohio), 1 (October 1834), 16.
on 3 August 1831. As one of the presidents of the Church in Missouri, Oliver saw the expulsion of the Latter-day Saint community from Jackson County in 1833. In February 1834 he was named to the High Council in Kirtland, Ohio, acting first as clerk, and later, as president of that body. In December of that year he was ordained Assistant President of the Church—second only to Joseph Smith. In February 1835 he officiated, with fellow witnesses to the Book of Mormon, in the selection, instruction, and ordination of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. And although he served as Church Historian and Recorder in 1830-31, he was again appointed to that office in Kirtland in 1835.

Oliver Cowdery also performed a variety of activities as a printer and publisher for the Church. In June 1831 he was named in a revelation to direct the selection, writing, and printing of books for the instruction of children in the Church schools. After returning to Kirtland from Missouri in the summer of 1831, he was called to a committee to review and prepare Church revelations for publication. Then, in company with John Whitmer, Elder Cowdery was sent back to Missouri with the revelations for publication by the Church press in Independence. After the destruction of the press in 1833, Cowdery was directed to re-publish the Church paper, The Evening and the Morning Star, in Kirtland. He later edited two other Church papers—the Northern Times and the Messenger and Advocate.

After allying himself with dissenters from the Church, Oliver Cowdery was excommunicated in Missouri on 12 April 1838. During the following ten years that he remained out of the Church, Oliver resided in Kirtland and Tiffin, Ohio, and Elkhorn, Wisconsin. He practiced law in all three communities, participated in local political and civic affairs, and edited two newspapers.

In October 1848, through the instrumentality of his brother-in-law, Phinehas Young, Oliver returned to the Church at the time Latter-day Saints were encamped at Council Bluffs, Iowa, during their trek across the Plains to Salt Lake Valley. He was initiated into his former faith by Orson Hyde, who baptized him in the Missouri River on 12 November 1848. Less than two years later, on 3 March 1850, Cowdery succumbed to tuberculosis while visiting relatives in Richmond, Missouri.
The words of an ex-law partner, William Lang, give a vivid description of Oliver Cowdery, typical of the esteem in which he was held among his associates:

Mr. Cowdery was an able lawyer and a great advocate. His manners were easy and gentlemanly; he was polite, dignified, yet courteous. He had an open countenance, high forehead, dark brown eyes, Roman nose, clenched lips and prominent lower jaw. He shaved smooth and was neat and cleanly in his person. He was of light stature, about five feet, five inches high, and had a loose, easy walk. With all his kind and friendly disposition, there was a certain degree of sadness that seemed to pervade his whole being. His association with others was marked by the great amount of information his conversation conveyed and the beauty of his musical voice. His addresses to the court and jury were characterized by a high order of oratory, with brilliant and forensic force. He was modest and reserved, never spoke ill of any one, never complained.  

Oliver Cowdery’s involvement in the beginning events of Church history establishes his writings as essential to any study of the claims of Joseph Smith and Mormon beginnings. In light of the role he played in early Church history, the recent finding of a Cowdery diary covering three months in 1836 is of more than passing significance. The diary is written in Cowdery’s own hand, and in the back of it is a volume of the Nauvoo High Council minutes. Filed in the Church Archives, the twenty-two page “Sketch Book” contains valuable insight into the life and character of the Second Elder of the Church, and gives a detailed account of his activities immediately preceding the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. The diary provides a view of persons and events in Kirtland from a significant perspective. It is reproduced here in its entirety without editorial corrections.

**OLIVER COWDERY’S SKETCH BOOK,**  
January 1836

January 1, 1836.

This year came in on Friday: the Lord having spared me another year, and my family also enjoying health, I pray that I may be spared from the temptations of the adversary, and that I and my family may have health.

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*William Lang, History of Seneca County (Springfield, Ohio, 1880), p. 365. For a fuller treatment of Cowdery’s ten years out of the Church see Anderson, “Oliver Cowdery, Esq.: His Non-Church Decade.”*
The man that keeps the commandements of the Lord will never be forsaken: his soul shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, his days shall be many, and his seed shall inherit the earth.

Saturday, the 2nd.

Presided with Presidents F. G. Williams and David Whitmer in a high council, in the case of elder Wm. Smith, was was brought before the same for unchristianlike conduct. He acknowledged the charges to be correct, and was forgiven.

Sunday the 3rd

This morning I left for Columbus, the capital of this State, to attend a Convention to nominate a candidate for Governor, in company with Benj. Adams, Lyman Root and Simeon Wright. I did not like to start a journey on Sunday, but was obliged to do so, or go in the stage: this I could not do for want of means. From the 3rd to the morning of the 8th I was on the road, a part of the way being very muddy. My company used me with perfect respect, and spoke favorably of the cause of truth.

Friday & Saturday, the 8th & 9th

Sat in Convention in the Theatre: a great many men assembled from different parts of the State. Here the delegation from this section treated me with deference, and appointed me on an important committee in preference to others.

While in Columbus I had several interviews with Mr. John A. Bryan [Bryan], the Auditor of State, from whom I received expressions of the most perfect friendship and confidence. My only wish in forming acquaintances with the great men of the nation, is, that I may be of service to my fellow beings and benefit the cause of truth and righteousness. I would that all these were men of God, walking in the path of holiness. While in Columbus I also visited the house of Cyprian Rudd, a member of the Church of Christ: his wife was very low of a fever.

Sunday the 10th

Left for home in company with Mr. Root and Wright. On my way I called on Silas Austin, the son of my present mother: he received me with a smile, and wished me to remember him.

6Oliver Cowdery had been elected by the Geauga County Democratic Convention on 10 October 1835 as a delegate to the State Convention to be held at Columbus on 8 January 1836.

7Lyman Root was one of the original settlers of Ridgeville, Lorain County, Ohio, in 1810.

8John A. Bryan, a Democratic editor of the Columbus Sentinel, was a native New Yorker and an opponent of excessive state banking privileges. In 1835 he was being mentioned in the public press as a candidate for governor of Ohio. In a letter dated 15 October 1835 Oliver Cowdery pledged his support for Bryan in the up-coming state convention. See "Cowdery Letter-book," pp. 51-52, MS, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

9Cyprian Rudd was born in Bennington, Vermont, and was fifty-three years of age in 1836.

10Oliver Cowdery's mother, Rebecca Fuller Cowdery, died on 3 September
Monday the 11th

Left Newark, Licking Co. and left Mr. Wright, who is to come home another way. Nothing of importance occurred from this till I arrived home of importance.

Thursday the 14th

Arrived home this evening, and found my family all alive, though my child was some unwell. My heart was truly greatly to God for extending his mercy, and suffering me to behold them once more, after fateaguing my body so long. My soul also rejoiced to meet my brethren of the Church, with whom I have lived since the organization of the same.

Friday the 15th.

The several Quorums of the authorities of the Church met today, and transacted important business preparatory to the endowment. The Spirit of the Lord was in our midst.

Saturday the 16th

Wrote a letter to my brother Warren on the subject of a difficulty which exists between him and the Twelve. Wrote another

1809 when Oliver was two years old. The following year his father, William, married Mrs. Keziah Pearce Austin. Silas Austin was a son of Oliver's stepmother by a former marriage.

Reference is made here to Maria Louise, the first of six children born to Oliver and Elizabeth Ann Whitmer Cowdery. Born on 11 August 1835, Maria was the only one of the Cowdery children who grew to maturity.

"The "endowment" referred to was not the ordinance performed in later Latter-day Saint temples, but a preliminary ordinance of washing and anointing. At this meeting Oliver's father, William, was appointed to preside over the Priest's Quorum in Kirtland. See Joseph Smith, "Diary," 1835-1836, 114-119, MS, HDC.

Warren A. Cowdery (1788-1851), an older brother of Oliver, was born in Poultney, Vermont, in October 1788. He practiced medicine in Vermont and in Freedom, New York, between 1816 and 1831, and was also the first postmaster of Freedom, beginning in 1824. He joined the LDS Church about 1830 and moved to Kirtland, where he remained until his death on 23 February 1851. Warren succeeded his brother, Oliver, as editor of the "Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate," and assisted Joseph Smith as a scribe.

The difficulty that existed between Warren A. Cowdery and the Twelve is summarized in a published notice at the time the problem was concluded in March 1836: "NOTICE is hereby given to all whom it may concern, that Messrs. T. B. Marsh and others, denominated the 'Twelve' while on their mission to the East, last season, received a letter from the Presidency of the church in which they were censured for neglecting to teach the Church in Freedom Cattaraugus County, N. Y., the necessity of contributing of their earthly substance for the building of the House of the Lord in this place. The rebuke from the Presidency, (as the undersigned has been informed) was predicated upon a letter addressed by him, to the Presidents or some one of them, stating that they, the Twelve taught no such thing. The undersigned although actuated by the purest motives at the time he wrote believing he had stated nothing but the truth, has since become satisfied from the best of evidence, that, that particular item in their instructions was not omitted as he had represented, he, therefore, most deeply regrets it, being sensible as he now is, that he was the cause (although innocent) of wounding the best of feelings, and depressing spirits buoyant with hope, while in a field of useful labor at a distance from home. W. A. COWDERY. Kirtland, March 7th 1836." Messenger and Advocate, 2 (February 1836), 263.
to John A. Bryan, of Columbus, Auditor of State, on the subject of the Post Office. See Post Script below.

Sabbath the 17th

The quorums of the Church were organized in the presence of the Church, and commenced confessing their faults and asking forgiveness. The Holy Spirit rested upon us. O may we be prepared for the endowment,—being sanctified and cleansed from all sin.

Post Script to Saturday the 16th.

Met in the evening with bro. Joseph Smith, jr. at his house, in company with bro. John Corrill, and after pure water was prepared, called upon the Lord and proceeded to wash each other's bodies, and bathe the same with whiskey, perfumed with cinnamon. This we did that we might be clearn before the Lord for the Sabbath, confessing our sins and covenanting to be faithful to God. While performing this washing unto the Lord with solemnity, our minds were filled with many reflections upon the propriety of the same, and how the priests anciently used to wash always before ministering before the Lord. As we had nearly finished this purification, bro. Martin Harris came in and was also washed.

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James M. Carrel describes the post office difficulty that existed in Kirtland at this time which no doubt explains Oliver's correspondence on the subject. In a letter to R. M. Williams, Post Master of Potter, New York, dated 29 October 1835, Carrel charges the Whig postmaster of Kirtland with "gross neglect of duty, and disqualified for the office," on the grounds that when absent from his office he "leaves it in the care of a woman!" and when he is in the office "he is entirely destitute of that spirit of accommodation, and gentlemanly deportment towards those having business in the office, that should characterize the conduct of every man who is living on the bounty of the government." Carrel charges further that the Whig postmaster treats those of an opposite political sentiment "with marked indignity and contempt." Furthermore, instead of publishing his lists of letters in the Northern Times where everyone in town "could see when there was a letter for him," and which was published "almost at his own door," the postmaster posted the lists in the local tavern, to the inconvenience of the town's people. Carrel concluded his letter by giving reasons "that lead us to petition for the appointment of Mr. Oliver Cowdery" as postmaster at Kirtland. See "Cowdery Letterbook," pp. 58-60.

John Corrill (1794-1839) was born 17 September 1794 in Worcester, Massachusetts. He was living in Ashtabula, Ohio, in the fall of 1830 when Oliver Cowdery and fellow missionaries passed through Ohio and baptized him. In June 1831 he was ordained a high priest and set apart as second counselor to Bishop Edward Partridge. Soon after this, he was sent to Missouri, where he presided over branches of the Church in Jackson County. At the time of the difficulties in Jackson County in 1833, Corrill was imprisoned for a time in Independence, where he had been engaged in terminating the business of the Church. He returned to Ohio with Joseph Smith following the Zion's Camp march in 1834 and was appointed to take charge of the final construction of the Kirtland Temple. After dedication of the Temple in March 1836, Corrill returned to Missouri, where he participated in building up the Church center at Far West. He was appointed as a Church historian along with Elias Higbee in 1838, but soon afterward left the Church. See John Corrill, A Brief History of the Church . . . (St. Louis, 1839).

Martin Harris (1783-1875) was born in Easttown, Saratoga County, New York. With Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, he was one of the
Monday the 18th

Recorded blessings until evening, when a man came in by the name of Lee Reed, and said he had been sued for an assault, and that his opponent had sought thus to destroy him; he urged me to go before the court and plead his cause. On examining the same before the court, I saw the man was guilty of a misdemeanor, and could not say but little in his behalf. He was finally bound over to await his trial before the court of common Please: this descission was just, for he was guilty of throwing a stick against a little child.

Tuesday the 19th

Wrote blessings: this day I felt more like dedicating my self to the Lord than usual. O my God, my soul desires to see thee as thy favored ones in days of old. Received a letter from Joel Sweetland, of East Evans, Erie County, N.Y. and answered the same. Peace be to my soul forever.

Wednesday the 20th

Copied blessings until evening, at which time I went, in company with my wife, to Elder John F. Boynton's wedding: a large company assembled, and after the services we were treated with wine and cake very sumptuously. While these things were passing, and joy filled each heart, I reflected back to the seasons in my life when I, like a stranger, was cast out of society of men, without the common blessings of nature; and also did I think upon the afflictions of the Saints, in being driven from their homes; and further, upon the time when the righteous will enjoy peace and plenty, aside from the society of the Gentile. Then, as when Israel walked in favor with God, will our sons and daughters be united in marriage, and joy will possess each witnesses to the divine origin of the Book of Mormon. Nine years after his birth his family moved to Palmyra, New York, where, in 1827, he became acquainted with Joseph Smith. Harris assisted the Prophet financially and clerically during the translation and publication of the Book of Mormon. He was appointed as a member of the High Council of the Church in Kirtland in 1834 and assisted Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer in instructing and ordaining the Twelve Apostles at the time of the calling of that Quorum in February 1835. Three years later he became dissatisfied and remained in Kirtland after the Church moved west. He did not return to the Church until he came to Utah in 1870.

Thirty-five pages of the patriarchal blessing book kept by Joseph Smith, Senior, are in the handwriting of Oliver Cowdery. Several of the blessings were written during the first months of 1836.

A copy of Cowdery's letter to Joel Sweetland, in which he suggests reasons Sweetland did not receive his Messenger and Advocate subscription, is found in the "Cowdery Letterbook," p. 76.

John F. Boynton (1811-1890), who married Susan Lowell on this date, was a native of Bradford, Essex County, Massachusetts. He was baptized by Joseph Smith at Kirtland in September 1832. He engaged in proselyting activity for the Church in Pennsylvania in 1832 and in Maine in 1833-34. He was ordained an Apostle under the hands of the Three Witnesses in February 1835. Boynton left the Church in 1837 and took up residence in New York, but in 1872 he visited Brigham Young and his former associates in Utah. He was engaged as an engineer in the invention of weapons systems during the Civil War, and at least thirty-six patents were issued under his name. He died in Syracuse, New York, 20 October 1890.
bosom, there being nothing to molest or make afraid. O my [may] the Lord my God roll on the day of peace and rest!

Thursday, the 21st

This morning, at 15 minutes past nine, my little daughter is 5 months old. O Lord, I thank thee that thou hast thus been merciful and spared my only child. At about three o’clock P.M. I assembled in our office garret, having all things prepared for the occasion, with presidents Joseph Smith, jr. F. G. Williams, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, David Whitmer, John Whitmer and elder John

21See note 11 above.

22Frederick G. Williams (1787-1842) was born 28 October 1787 in Suffield, Hartford County, Connecticut. He was baptized in Kirtland by Oliver Cowdery during Oliver’s mission to Missouri in 1830-31. Williams became second counselor to Joseph Smith in the Church presidency on 18 March 1833. In Kirtland he was the owner of the F. G. Williams and Company printing establishment, and was a member of the committee to arrange the interior of the Kirtland Temple. In 1834 he served as paymaster in Zion’s Camp. Williams was excommunicated from the Church at a conference in Quincy, Illinois, on 17 March 1839, but was reinstated in April 1840. He died in Quincy on 10 October 1842. See Nancy Clement Williams, After 100 Years (Independence, Mo., 1951), and Frederick G. Williams, ‘Frederick Granger Williams of the First Presidency of the Church,” BYU Studies, 12 (Spring 1972), 243-261.

23Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876) was born in St. Clair, Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, on 19 February 1793. He was a popular Campbellite minister in Mentor, Ohio, when Oliver Cowdery converted him to Mormonism in the fall of 1830. In 1831 Rigdon accompanied Joseph Smith to Missouri and was present at the dedication of the land of Zion. After returning to Kirtland, Sidney assisted Joseph as a clerk, and in March 1833 he was appointed as a counselor to the Prophet in the First Presidency. During Joseph Smith’s absence with Zion’s Camp in 1834, Sidney assisted Oliver Cowdery in directing the affairs of the Church in Kirtland. Rigdon taught penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography in the Kirtland School, and assisted in the publication of the Doctrine and Covenants of the Church in 1835. He left Kirtland with Joseph Smith in 1838 and in the following year was imprisoned during the Mormon difficulties in Missouri. After the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, Rigdon left the main body of the Church. He died at his home in Friendship, New York, in 1876. See F. Mark McKiernan, The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971).

24Hyrum Smith (1800-1844), an older brother of Joseph Smith, was born in Tunbridge, Vermont, on 9 February 1800. He was a faithful supporter of his brother and the cause of the Latter-day Saints from the beginning. His name is among the witnesses of the Gold Plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated. He was a leader of Zion’s Camp in 1834 and was chosen to serve on the Kirtland High Council that same year. In September 1837 Hyrum was appointed as assistant counselor to the First Presidency of the Church and two months later replaced Frederick G. Williams as second counselor in the Presidency. He was appointed Patriarch to the Church in 1841. Hyrum lost his life by the side of his brother, Joseph, in Carthage, Illinois, on 27 June 1844. Pearson H. Crockett, Hyrum Smith, Patriarch (Salt Lake City, 1963).

25David Whitmer (1805-1888) was born 7 January 1805 near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He met Oliver Cowdery in Palmyra, New York, while on a business trip in 1828. Whitmer was associated with Joseph Smith during the translation of the Book of Mormon at the Whitmer residence in Fayette, New York, and became one of the Three Witnesses of that work. He was
Corrill, and washed our bodies with pure water before the Lord, preparatory to the anointing with the holy oil. After we were washed, our bodies were perfumed with a sweet smelling oderous wash. At evening the presidents of the Church, with the two bishop and their counsellors, and elder Warren Parrish, met in the presidents’ room, the high councils of Kirtland and Zion in their rooms. Those named in the first room were appointed with the same kind of oil and in the man[ner] that were Moses and Aaron, and those who stood before the Lord in ancient days, and those in the other rooms with anointing oil prepared for them. The glorious scene is too great to be described in this book, therefore, I only say, that the heavens were opened to many, and great and marvelous things were shown.

Friday, the 22nd.

Copied blessings. At evening met in the president’s room where were the presidents, the twelve, the presidents of the 70, the high councils of Kirtland and Zion, and the bishops and their counsellors. The presidents proceeded and appointed Thomas B. Marsh, the

ordained a High Priest by Oliver Cowdery in October 1831, and went to Missouri, where he settled in Jackson County. After the Mormon expulsion from that county in 1833, David Whitmer settled in Clay County, where he was appointed president of the High Council on 3 July 1834. Whitmer then became dissatisfied and was rejected by the Church in 1838. After leaving the Church he resided in Richmond, Missouri, some fifty years, until his death on 25 January 1888.

John Whitmer (1802-1878) first met Oliver Cowdery in 1829 during the translation of the Book of Mormon. He was born 27 August 1802 in Fayette, New York. In March 1831 he was appointed Church Historian and later that year accompanied Oliver Cowdery to Missouri to prepare the Church revelations for printing. He was a presiding officer of the Church in Missouri and Ohio. John Whitmer left the Church in 1838 and settled in Far West, where he died in 1878.

Warren Parrish was an officer in the Kirtland Bank and a member of the Quorum of Seventy in Kirtland. He had accompanied Zion’s Camp to Missouri in 1834 and was a scribe to Joseph Smith. Charged with conduct injurious to the Church, Parrish denounced his membership in 1837 and associated with others in open dissent. See also D. Paul Sampson and Larry T. Wimmer, "The Kirtland Safety Society: the Stock Ledger Book and the Bank Failure," in this issue of BYU Studies.

Joseph Smith’s description of events on 21 January was recorded extensively in his diary. Among other things he noted that “the heavens were opened upon us and I beheld the celestial Kingdom of God, and the glory thereof, whether in the body or out I cannot tell,—I saw the transcendant beauty of the gate through which the heirs of that Kingdom will enter, which was like unto circling flames of fire, also the blasing throne of God, whereon was seated the Father and the Son,—I saw the beautiful streets of that Kingdom, which had the appearance of being paved with gold . . . .” Joseph Smith, "Diary," 1835-1836, pp. 134-38.

Thomas Baldwin Marsh (1799-1866) was born in Acton, Massachusetts, on 1 November 1799. He first met Oliver Cowdery in 1829 after traveling to Palmyra, New York, to investigate rumors he had heard about Joseph Smith. He moved to Palmyra from Massachusetts in the fall of 1830 and was baptized. In the spring of 1831 he went to Kirtland, Ohio, and the following year settled in Missouri. He was driven from his home in the 1833 Mormon expulsion from Jackson County. After returning to Kirtland in 1835 he was appointed as one of the Twelve Apostles and ordained by Oliver Cowdery. Marsh left the Church during the Missouri difficulties
president of the twelve, and he anointed the other eleven. The
twelve then proceeded, president Marsh taking the lead, and an-
ointed the presidents of the Seventy. Elder Don Carlos Smith was
ordained and appointed president of the high priesthood of the Mel-
chisedek priesthood, by the presidents of the Church. Near the close
of the meeting, 2 o'clock in the morning, almost all present broke
out in tongues and songs of Zion.

Saturday, the 23rd.

Was, most of the time, in the office, though I did not write much.
Conversed considerable time with president Rigdon on the subject
of his vision concerning the return of the Ten Tribes. In the evening
Elder Marsh called at my house: we talked much upon the subject
of visions: he greatly desired to see the Lord, Brother Marsh is a
good man, and I pray that his faith may be strengthened to behold
the heavens open.

Sunday, the 24th.

The quorums met today: we had a good season. At evening met
the presidency in the upper room in the printing office, and con-
versed upon the time of, and preparation and sanctification for the
endowment.

Monday the 25th. Wrote a little: settled with James M. Carrel, who left the office. I gave him a reproof for urging himself into
the society of a young female while he yet had a wife living, but
he disliked my admonition: he however confessed his impropriety.

Tuesday, the 26th. This day commenced the Hebrew language
under the tuition of Mr. J. Seixas besides making selections for
the Northern Times. My family are well.

of 1838, but was re-united with the Latter-day Saints in Nebraska in 1837
and settled in Ogden, Utah, where he died in 1866.

Don Carlos Smith (1816-1841) was the youngest of Joseph Smith's
brothers. In 1833 he was employed by Oliver Cowdery who taught him the
business of printing. He published the Elder's Journal in Kirtland prior to
the fire that destroyed the printing office in 1837 and later edited thirty-two
issues of the Times and Seasons in Nauvoo, where he also served on the
City Council. He died of tuberculosis in Nauvoo on 7 August 1841. Don Carlos
was the father of California's first poet laureate, Ina Coolbrith.

Joseph Smith described this occasion in these words: "... the gift
of tongues fell upon us in mighty pour, angels mingled their voices with ours,
while their presence was in our midst, and unseasing prases swelld our
bosoms for the space of half an hour. ... " Joseph Smith, "Diary," 1835-
1836, p. 141.

James M. Carrel was a member of the Kirtland Safety Society. He was also the recorder of several of the letters in the "Cowdery Letter-
book" at the Huntington Library.

Joshua Seixas, a resident of Hudson, Ohio, taught Hebrew in the Kirt-
land School for two months beginning 26 January 1836. He was held in high esteem by Joseph Smith, and the School was attended by many of the
leading men of the Church in Kirtland.

The Northern Times was a political newspaper edited by Oliver Cow-
dery and published by Frederick G. Williams in Kirtland beginning in Feb-
ruary 1835. A Democratic sheet, the Times, supported the candidacy of Martin
Van Buren in 1835-36.
P. S. To Monday: In the evening the high priests and elders, all who did not belong to the quorums, met in the Lord's house, and also the Lesser priesthood, with the bishop at their head, to receive instructions relative to washing and anointing a large number of elders convened; more than I had supposed resided in Kirtland. Wednesday, the 27th. Attended the Hebrew School. Thursday, the 28th. Attended Hebrew School: at evening met many brethren in the Lord's house, who assembled to receive anointing.

Friday, the 29th. Attended Hebrew School.

Saturday, 30. Attended Hebrew School: at evening met in the upper rooms with the 70, elders & priests, who were anointing.

Sunday, 31. Attended meeting in the forenoon: the quorums met as before. In the afternoon went, but the house being full did not go in.

February 1836

Monday, February 1. Met with the remaining committee of the School and assisted to make up the other Hebrew class of 30, or 31.

Tuesday, 2. Attended Hebrew School, At 11 o'clock the new class of 31 members took their first lesson. In the evening I finished the selections for this week's Times, and wrote a short article on the present agitating question of slavery and antislavery. There is a hostile spirit exhibited between the North and South, and ere long must make disturbances of a serious nature. If the North says that Slavery is unjust the South says, you are endangering our lives, and we will not endure it.

Wednesday, 3. Attended school. At evening went to a wedding at bishop Whitney's;\(^{35}\) elder Joseph C. Kingsbury\(^{36}\) was married to Caroline Whitney, sister of bishop Whitney. This day a man arrived, as he said, from Jackson County, Mo. and wished to join the Church: Suspicions are entertained that he is not an honest man. Time will tell.

\(^{35}\)Newel Kimball Whitney (1795-1850) was born in Marlborough, Vermont, on 5 February 1795. He served in the War of 1812 before moving to Ohio about 1817. He was a partner in the mercantile firm of Gilbert and Whitney in Kirtland, Ohio, when he met Oliver Cowdery and the Indian missionaries in November 1830 and was converted. Newel was appointed bishop of the Church at Kirtland in December 1831, and was identified with the mercantile affairs of the Church during the Kirtland years. After the Latter-day Saints were driven from Missouri in 1839, Bishop Whitney assisted in locating and settling them on newly purchased land in Illinois. He officiated as bishop and was Trustee-in-trust of the Church in the years prior to his death in Salt Lake City in September 1850.

\(^{36}\)Joseph C. Kingsbury (1812-1898) was born 2 May 1812 in Endfield, Connecticut, and was baptized in January 1832 in Kirtland. On 13 January 1836 he was appointed to the High Council in Kirtland in the place of Orson Hyde who had been ordained an Apostle. Kingsbury migrated to Utah in 1847 and served as a bishop of the Salt Lake City Second Ward.
Thursday, 4. Attended school. After our class had recitation, the committee selected a new class of 15 who are to receive lessons in the Hebrew. In the evening wrote two editorial articles for the Times, one on the subject of our difficulties with France and another upon the subject of Slavery. Our country is agitated, & many look with anxious eyes for coming events. May the Lord preserve his people. Amen.

Friday, 5. Attended Hebrew School.

Saturday, 6. Attended Hebrew School. In the afternoon wrote a letter in the name of the committee containing a request to Professor Seixa’s wife, for a valuable Lexicon. In the evening met with the presidency any [and] quorums in the Lord’s house, when their anointing blessings were sealed by uplifted hands and praises to God. Many saw visions, many prophesied, and many spoke in tongues. Closed a little before 12 o’clock.

Sunday, 7. Copied the committee’s letter to Mrs. Seixas, as her husband was urging for it. The quorums met in the room below the printing office and proceeded as previous. In the afternoon assisted Pres. Phelps in keeping the door, seating the congregation, and keeping order out at the door. Met the presidency and presidents of the 70 soon after meeting in No. 2 printing office, blessed one of the sons of Zion, and also selected another quorum of 70 from among the elders. Previously to the close of the afternoon services I asked for a letter from the Church for bro. James M. Carrel, now absent:—the church directed me to send him one.


Signed by the First Presidency and Oliver Cowdery, the letter to Madam Seixas expresses a belief that her husband “has been sent to this institution through the immediate directions of God,” and solicits the purchase of the valuable lexicon “as our only object is to do good to lay aside error when we discover it forsake evil and follow righteousness and truly be the better prepared and qualified to render assistance to our fellow men and glorify the name of the Lord . . . .” Dated 13 February, the letter is recorded in the “Cowdery Letterbook,” pp. 77-78.

William W. Phelps (1792-1872) was born on 17 February 1792 in Hanover, New Jersey. Arriving in Kirtland in 1831, he was called to assist Oliver Cowdery in printing and writing books for the schools of the Church. He was the editor of The Evening and the Morning Star, (Zion [Independence, Mo.]) and published the Book of Commandments in Missouri prior to the destruction of the press in 1833. In Kirtland he assisted the committee appointed to compile the Doctrine and Covenants and was appointed to revise and arrange the hymns of the Church for printing. In July 1834 Phelps was appointed as a counselor to David Whitmer in the presidency of the stake in Missouri. As a scribe for Joseph Smith he drafted and signed numerous Church documents. In 1838 he became embittered toward the Church and was excommunicated. In 1841, however, he returned to the Church and was prominent in literary and agricultural affairs in pioneer Utah. See Walter D. Bowen, "The Versatile W. W. Phelps: Mormon Writer, Educator, and Pioneer" (M.S. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958).
Tuesday, 9. Att. Heb. School. Also wrote a letter to my Mother, now in Ellery, Chautauque County, N. Y. Received a letter from my brother Stephen F. Cowdery, of Buffalo, N. Y. Also wrote a letter to James M. Carrel, informing him that I could not send him a certificate of fellowship, as I heard that he had been intoxicated since he left. Wrote another letter to Gen. Joseph Thompson, now a Member of Congress, for the Congressional Globe, and also upon the Post Office business.

Wednesday, 10. Attended Heb. School. In the evening took supper, in company with pres. Phelps, at my father's table, with my wife. My sister Lucy was also there.

Thursday, 11. Received a letter from my bro. Warren, from Freedom, N. Y. accompanying a letter to the High Counsil, and one to the Twelve. Read them to pres. Rigdon, who thought that they would be satisfactory—I hope they may. In the evening met bro. Phelps and J. Whitmer in the upper room of the office and studied our Heb. lessons.

Friday, 12. Att. Heb. School. Met the quorums in the presidents' room in the evening to transact some church business.—regulating the manner and power to ordain.


Sunday, 14. At home—the weather cold & house crowded, was the reason why I did not go to meeting.

Monday, 15. Att. Heb. School. The profess. being abscent, our class appointed myself to look over them for the time. After, assisted pres. Smith to overlook the 11 o'clock. In the afternoon met Pres's. J. Smith, jr. S. Rigdon, W. W. Phelps John Whitmer and elder S. James in the office study and united in prayer for Professor Seixas and his family, pres. Smith taking the lead: The items asked for were in substance as follows: That the Lord will have mercy upon the man whom we have employed to teach us the Hebrew language; that all evil prejudice may be taken from his heart, and that the Spirit of God may visit him continually by night and by

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30See note 10 above.
31Stephen Fuller Cowdery (1791- ), an older brother of Oliver, was living with his family in Buffalo, New York, in 1835 when Oliver traveled east to purchase books and equipment for the Church. A letter to Warren Cowdery from Oliver on 22 November 1835 reveals that at the time of Oliver's visit in Buffalo, Stephen's home had been demolished by "wind and water," but they escaped injury. "Cowdery Letterbook," p. 63.
32A Democrat, John Thompson was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the Chillicothe District of Ohio.
33Lucy was Oliver's half sister, the second of three girls born after their father married Keziah Pearce Austin in 1810. Lucy later married Phinehas H. Young, the brother of Brigham Young.
34Samuel James was appointed to the High Council in Kirtland on 13 January 1836 in the place of Joseph Smith, Senior. In the following years he undertook extensive missionary labor for the Church in the East.
day, that he may be lead to embrace the gospel and believe the book of Mormon; that he will give him the spirit of humility and meekness that we may become his teachers in the things of salvation, that he may come forth and be baptized into the Church of Christ, that we may be benefitted with the knowledge he has of languages: and that the Lord will have mercy upon his family, and visit them with his Holy Spirit and cause them to embrace the fulness of the gospel, that they may be saved with him. We do not ask to become his teachers only that he may become our brother in the faith of the gospel, that his soul may be saved: all of which are asked in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.


Friday, 19. Att. Heb. School. Visited profess. Seixas in the evening, with pres. J. Smith, jr. & S. Rigdon. We found him weary with his labors in teaching the school.

Saturday, 20. Att. Heb. School. Received a letter from James M. Carrel, and also wrote him an answer—in which I enclosed a certificate from the Church, having learned that the accusation was untrue charging him with intoxication since he left this place. Received another letter from my brother Lyman Cowdery, of Manchester, N. Y. Wrote a letter to Mr. S. Burnett, of Orange, Ohio, on the subject of the Post Office in this place.

Sunday, 21. Attended meeting in the afternoon.

Monday, 22. At the school (Heb.)

Tuesday, 23. At school. (Heb.)

Wednesday, 24. Attended Heb. school. In the evening met the quorums of the Church in the Lord’s house, and heard the petitions of several brethren, who wished to be ordained. Was appointed by the council, in company with pres. Orson Hyde and Sylvester Cowdery, an older brother of Oliver, resided in Freedom, New York, and later became a prominent lawyer and judge in Wisconsin.

Orson Hyde (1805-1878) was born in Oxford, Connecticut, on 8 January 1805. At the age of fourteen he walked from Connecticut to Ohio, and was a clerk in the Gilbert and Whitney store in Kirtland. He joined the Campbellites under Sidney Rigdon in 1827 and became a pastor. He was converted to Mormonism in 1831 and ordained a high priest by Oliver Cowdery in October of that year. During the next four years he performed lengthy missionary journeys to the East. On 15 February 1835 he was chosen one of the Twelve Apostles in Kirtland and ordained by Oliver Cowdery. He was prominently involved in Church affairs until the time of his death in Spring City, Utah, on 28 November 1878. See Marvin S. Hill, "An Historical Study of the Life of Orson Hyde, Early Mormon Missionary and Apostle" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955).
Smith,\textsuperscript{46} to draft resolutions to be adopted as a rule of Church, regulating the recording of licenses, and conference minutes.

Thursday, 25. My brother Warren and family arrived this morning from Freedom, N. Y. I was glad to see them—they were well. Att. Heb. School. This evening conversed with a brother-in-law of mine, upon the subject of religion, and found him very stubborn, and ignorant, and withal far from God. His name is Winslow Wilber:\textsuperscript{47} he married my sister Olive.

Friday, 26. Attended Hebrew School

Saturday, 27. Professor Seixas left this morning to visit his family at Hudson, Ohio. I was called to lay hands upon pres. T. B. Marsh, in company with pres. J. Smith, jr. and also upon my brother-in-law, Peter Whitmer, jr.\textsuperscript{48} the latter was very sick of a Typhus fever, and was immediately healed and arose from his bed. I heard the other was better. In the afternoon and evening met pres. Orson Hyde and Sylvester Smith in committee and dictated resolutions to be introduced Thursday evening for the consideration of the quorums.

Sunday, 28. Attended meeting on the flats, and preached in the forenoon. In the afternoon broke bread and administered the Sacrament.

Monday, 29. Professor Seixas not being in town my class met and studied together.

March, 1836.

Tuesday, 1. Attended Heb. School.


Thursday, 3. Att. Heb. School. met the quorums in the evening in the Lord’s house, and read the committee’s report previously drawn, which was adopted without amendment, except a small addition in the last article, extending the power of certain conference further, in signing licenses. I confess the hand of God in this matter, in giving me his Holy Spirit, to indite this valuable article, as by it the elders will enjoy their privileges as citizens, and the churches be freed from imposition.

\textsuperscript{46}Sylvester Smith was a president of the Seventy in Kirtland from 1835-1837. He had been ordained a high priest by Oliver Cowdery in 1831 and was a member of the High Council organized in Kirtland in February 1834. He also accompanied Zion’s Camp in 1834.

\textsuperscript{47}Winslow Shepherd Wilbur was a member of the Seventy in 1837 and accompanied the Kirtland Camp to Missouri in 1838.

\textsuperscript{48}Peter Whitmer, Junior, (1809-1836) was born in Fayette, New York, on 27 September 1809. He first met Oliver Cowdery in the summer of 1829 during the final stages of the translation of the Book of Mormon, of which Whitmer was one of the witnesses. He was a companion of Oliver Cowdery on the Indian Mission in 1830-31. Employed as a tailor in Independence, Whitmer was among the Saints driven from Jackson County, Missouri, in 1833. He died of tuberculosis near Liberty, Missouri, on 22 September 1836.

Saturday, 5. Attended Heb. School. In the evening met the Twelve, pres. J. Smith, jr. & S. Rigdon, and my brother Warren, in the upper room of the printing office. The Twelve had prefered a charge against my brother for a letter he wrote last summer upon the subject of their teaching while at the Freedom conference. My brother confessed his mistake, upon the testimony of the Twelve, and said he was willing to publish that they were not in the fault, but that he was satisfied they delivered those instructions which he had supposed they had not.⁴⁹

Sunday, 6. Did not attend meeting in consequence of there not being sufficient room for so many in the small houses occupied for meetings.


From this time to Saturday the 19th attended Hebrew School, without anything of note's transpiring.

From Saturday 19th attended Heb. School, up to Saturday the 26. Nothing of note's transpiring. This day our school did not keep, we prepared for the dedication of the Lord's house.⁵⁰ I met in the president's room, pres. J. Smith, jr. S. Rigdon, my brother W. A. Cowdery & Elder W. Parrish, and assisted in writing a prayer for the dedication of the house.⁵¹

Sunday, the 27th attended on the dedication of the Lord's house. For the particulars of this great event see my account written by myself, and printed in the March No. of The Messenger and Advocate, signed C. In the evening I met with the officers of the church in the Lord's house. The Spirit was poured out—I saw the glory of God, like a great cloud, come down and rest upon the house, and fill the same like a mighty rushing wind. I also saw cloven tongues, like as of fire rest upon many, (for there were 316 present,) while they spake with other tongues and prophesied.

⁴⁹See note 14 above.
⁵⁰Construction of the Kirtland Temple began 23 July 1833. The building was dedicated 27 March 1836. See Lauritz G. Petersen, "The Kirtland Temple," in this issue of BYU Studies.
⁵¹The dedicatory prayer of the Kirtland Temple is published as Section 109 in the Doctrine and Covenants.
The Kirtland Safety Society: The Stock Ledger Book And The Bank Failure

D. PAUL SAMPSON* and LARRY T. WIMMER**

A previously unreported stock ledger book of the Kirtland Safety Society was recently discovered among the papers in the Mormon collection of the Chicago Historical Society. The ledger, which contains an alphabetical index of names and 287 account pages, is unquestionably authentic and carries the accounts of 205 members of the Church at Kirtland, including most of the Church’s leaders. The handwriting in the ledger has been identified by Dean Jessee, senior historical associate in the Church Historical Department, as that of Warren Parrish, a leading ecclesiastical and bank figure of the time. Each account occupies two open pages—or in some cases, two accounts share two pages. The verso (left) page denotes debits, and the recto (right) page lists credits (also labeled “Contra”). Each page has two columns of figures. The first column on the verso-debit side lists the number of stock shares for each individual, and the second column lists the total face value of those shares at $50.00 per share. Any loans taken out are also listed in the second column. The first column on the recto-credit page lists the date of the entry, and the second column gives the amount paid into the bank (being specie, notes, values of mortgages, or whatever).

The first account entry is Sidney Rigdon’s and shows that he paid $12.00 on 18 October 1836 for 2,000 shares of stock,

*Mr. Sampson is an economics graduate and a master’s candidate in history at Brigham Young University. He currently teaches history at Cody High School in Cody, Wyoming.

**Dr. Wimmer is chairman of the Department of Economics at Brigham Young University and will be on leave the 1972-73 school year teaching and doing research in Taiwan.
with another 1,000 shares added and an additional $818.00 in payments made by 16 November. He, Joseph Smith, Edmund Bosley, and John Johnson were the largest stockholders, each owning 3,000 shares; ten other people held 2,000 shares and some sixteen, 1,000 shares. These constituted a total of thirty different people holding 48,000 of the 69,636 shares subscribed. Eight of these thirty were members of the Smith family who, until 8 June 1837, collectively held about a sixth of the stock. A note on the Prophet Joseph's account shows that on 8 June 1837 he transferred his holdings to "O. Granger and J. Carter" as did nine other stockholders. Five more transferred their stock to Granger and Carter on 10 June, one on 13 June, one on 14 June, five on 15 June, four on 17 June, one on 19 June, and two on 20 June. By the close of business on 20 June 1837, Oliver Granger and Jared Carter held more than 20,000 shares of stock.

An analysis of the ledger shows the $50 per share face

18 June 1837 might be a good terminal date to work from in determining the Prophet Joseph's disassociation with the bank, since in his history he said: "Some time previous to this [7 July 1837] I resigned my office in the "Kirtland Safety Society," disposed of my interest therein, and withdrew from the institution; being fully aware, after so long an experiment, that no institution of the kind, established upon just and righteous principles for a blessing not only to the Church but the whole nation, would be suffered to continue its operations in such an age of darkness, speculation and wickedness. Almost all banks throughout the country, one after the other, have suspended specie payment, and gold and silver have risen in value in direct ratio with the depreciation of paper currency" (Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1965], 2:497. [Hereafter designated H. C.])

This date might also indicate the date Oliver Granger became the Prophet Joseph's business agent with the special assignment to clear up his Kirtland business affairs. "As I was driven away from Kirtland without the privilege of settling my business, I had, previous to this, employed Colonel Oliver Granger as my agent, to close all my affairs in the east; and as I have been accused of . . . running away, cheating my creditors, etc., I will insert one of the many cards and letters I have received from gentlemen who have had the best opportunity of knowing my business transactions, and whose testimony comes unsolicited:

A Card

PAINSVILLE, October 19, 1838.

We, the undersigned, being personal acquaintances of Oliver Granger, firmly believe that the course which he has pursued in settling the claims, accounts, etc., against the former citizens of Kirtland township, has done much credit to himself, and all others that committed to him the care of adjusting their business with this community, which also furnishes evidence that there was no intention on their part of defrauding their creditors."

[Signed] THOMAS GRIFFITH
JOHN S. SEYMOUR

(H. C., [1964], 3:164-65.)
value of the stock to have been highly inflated. Actually, a fairly consistent 261/4 cents was paid for each share of the stock, or $262.50 per thousand shares. A few subscribers, such as Joseph Smith, Jr., paid in more than that amount; a few others paid less, with some subscribers paying half that figure. A few took out loans or made payments periodically. It is possible that the 261/4 cents per share was meant to be but a first installment with further installments to be paid later, since several accounts have notations of payments for first installments.

Whether the stock credited in the ledger was actually distributed is doubtful, because no specimen of such stock has come to light and no diaries report such. Whether the subscribers received bank notes in return for their subscriptions is also not known. This may have been the method by which the notes were placed in circulation, though the ledger does not tell us explicitly what the relationship was between bank payments and Kirtland Bank notes. It does, however, indicate that there was some relationship as the Lorenzo Wells account (pages 29-30) notes that "Wells refused to sign transfer / paid back Kirtland money / $6........." The ledger account shows that he had purchased 20 shares of stock for $5.25 on 26 October 1836. Just how much Kirtland money was in circulation is still unknown.

Although some writers have alleged that the bank had collapsed by February 1837, the ledger shows them to be in error. It contains many entries made in April, May, and June of 1837, and the last entry carries a 2 July 1837 date.

The ledger records that the highest price paid for stock was $1.201/2 per share (more than four times the 261/4 cents). On 12 June 1837, Joseph Fielding paid $25.00 for 20 shares of stock. A few others paid 521/2 cents (double 261/4 cents). This would indicate that these were individuals who "paid in" additional installments. However, more than ninety-five percent of the subscribers were given credit for paying only 261/4 cents per share. Thus, when contemporary observers reported that the value of the stock fell to 121/2 cents, this would appear to be only about a 50 percent drop in real value from 261/4 per share, the subscription price paid by the overwhelming majority of owners, rather than the striking drop from $50 per share.
It seems likely that bank officials used projected real estate values as a basis for establishing the $50 per share face value. The high face values of shares owned could possibly be the reason for the complaints in some letters and journals that the Saints were given to worldliness and to thinking that they were now wealthy. One might excuse them for thinking so, for with $5.25 they could purchase twenty shares of stock with a bank-credited face value of $1,000. The failure to realize such inflated values might explain the widespread discontent and apostasy after the bank's failure.

Analysis of the stock ledger reveals much about individuals who later apostatized. It shows that John Boynton withdrew his wife's (Elipheralet) account in July, and he must have been sorely disappointed that those 200 shares were worth so little. Luke Johnson and Leonard Rich did not come close to paying for their shares of stock even at 26¼ cents per share. Johnson paid $11.16 on 12 December 1836, and either $35.50, $25.50, or $15.50 on 5 January 1837, for 2,000 shares of stock. Although the second entry has been written over so that reading the exact numbers is difficult, the total of $46.66 is very clear and would make the $35.50 payment necessary; but the clearest number is $15.50. Rich paid $50.00 for 1,000 shares of stock on 12 December 1836. There are no other notations on the account pages for these two men. Could it be that their apostasy was a way of avoiding responsibility for the remainder of their obligation? Another "eye witness" to events (and a later apostate) was Cyrus Smalling, whose name is completely missing from the ledger.

Although the presence of the Kirtland Safety Society ledger book is a boon to scholarship in that matter, it does not tell us why the bank failed. We must look to other sources for that answer. As the reader can note in Professor Partridge's study in this issue of BYU Studies, the failure of the bank was not a unique nor even an unusual event in Ohio in the bank crisis of 1837. But we must try to find whether there are attributable reasons for its failure in addition to the general bank failures of that summer.

George A. Smith, a contemporary of those times and later an apostle in the Church, had this to say:

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5See H. C., 2:509-10, where John F. Boynton is noted as linking his falling away from the Church with the bank's failure.
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In addition to the entries above, there are additional notes and calculations throughout the ledger. The ledger is a historical record kept by the Kirtland Safety Society.
Warren Parrish was the teller of the bank, and a number of other men who apostatized were officers. They took out of its vault, unknown to the President or cashier [Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith], a hundred thousand dollars, and sent their agents around among the brethren to purchase their farms, wagons, cattle, horses and every thing they could get hold of. The brethren would gather up this money and put it into the bank, and those traitors would steal it and send it out to buy again, and they continued to do so until the plot was discovered and payment stopped.  

Brigham Young was said to have discovered irregularities when he placed some bank notes with his mark on them in the bank, and much to his surprise, a few days later he found them in circulation. Perhaps he did not realize that all banks operate on fractional reserves and any notes paid into a bank are subject to being paid out to a borrower or creditor of the bank. During the later division of the Church in Kirtland, Benjamin Johnson said that the apostate faction had the greater amount of wealth.

Warren Parrish, the secretary of the Kirtland Safety Society, later became a prominent leader of the faction that opposed Joseph Smith. Parrish was a teller of the bank under Smith, and after Joseph Smith resigned from the bank in July 1837, Parrish and Frederick G. Williams took over its management. Parrish was also signatory to the 2 January articles of organization; yet his name is missing from the ledger. This is surprising, especially when most of the prominent names are there, including signatories to the articles and several of those who later apostatized. Joseph Smith accused Parrish of taking $25,000. An editorial in the new Church magazine Elders' Journal, August 1838, said:

He [Warren Parrish] had the handling of large sums of money, and it was soon discovered, that after the money was counted and laid away, and come to be used and counted again, that there was always a part of it missing; this being the case, repeatedly, and those who owned it, know-

4Andrew Jenson, Historical Record (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson, 1888), 5:435.
5There is only one place where Parrish's name appears. This is in a notation on page 51 in an entry for John P. Green, 21 October, and it reads: "Cash had of W. Parrish."
Pages 193-94 of the Kirtland Safety Society Stock Ledger Book showing two entries on a two-page spread.
ing that there was no other person but Parrish who had access to it, suspicion of necessity fixed itself on him.6

Lucy Smith, the Prophet's mother, said that Joseph Smith, suspecting Parrish, demanded a search warrant to attempt to find the missing money.7 B. H. Roberts, compiler of A Comprehensive History of the Church, suggests that the above took place before June of 1837, which was before Smith withdrew from the bank.8 The Elders' Journal further says that

After this affair, Parrish began to discover that there was great iniquity in the Church, particularly in the editor of this paper [i.e. Joseph Smith].9

Benjamin Johnson and George A. Smith also accused Parrish of irregularities, Benjamin Winchester wrote that Parrish may have printed up $25,000 or more in notes at a critical "time when the bank should have been curtailing its issue," and that then "the circulated notes came pouring in like a flood."10 Andrew Jenson writes:

But the dishonest took advantage of every opportunity they could to swindle. It was on this account that Joseph withdrew. . . .

Warren Parrish was the principal in the business. He had his partners and they did not stop until they had taken out all the money there was in the bank and also signed and issued all the notes they could.11

Warren Parrish may have been dishonest and instrumental in bringing about the failure of the bank. According to the stock ledger, only a little more than $20,000 was actually paid in (in some form) to the bank. If someone, before June of 1837, had embezzled that much money, it would have been disastrous. According to Heber C. Kimball, Parrish later admitted to taking $20,000.12 Having been Joseph

8C. H. C., 1:409.
9C. H. C., 1:409.
11Jenson, 5:433-34.
Pages 201-2 of the Kirtland Safety Society Stock Ledger Book showing the accounts of Artemus Millet, the architect of the Kirtland Temple, and Truman O. Angel, the architect of the Salt Lake Temple.
Smith's personal scribe and close associate, a signer of the original articles of the Kirtland Safety Society, and a teller, a secretary, and a cashier of the Kirtland bank, Parrish certainly was in a position to manipulate bank funds. And it is strange that Parrish should have been a bank officer without owning any stock. Newel K. Whitney, in a letter to his brother four years later said: "... the bank book is in the hands of Warren Parrish. ... Parrish scratched out his name and wrote others over them."\(^\text{13}\)

There are a few irregularities in the ledger, but they do not suggest dishonesty on the part of Parrish or anyone else. On page 223 between the consecutive pages of entries, there is a blank entry with no name at the top. This is the only blank page in the entire ledger. Could the name have been erased? On the bottom of page 121 there is a definite erasure (perhaps the name of Kellogg).

As is too often the case, new evidence while solving some old problems almost invariably introduces new ones. We now see that the existence of the ledger disproves the allegations of fraud or dishonesty on the part of the Church leaders in Kirtland who had allegedly destroyed the ledger to hide the evidence of their evil. However, its existence does not "tell all" about the Society and its failure, but its "discovery" now makes it available to scholars.

\(^{13}\)Newel K. Whitney to brother Samuel (in Kirtland), 18 July 1843, p. 1. Whitney Collection, BYU Library.
The failure of the Kirtland Safety Society, the Ohio Mormon bank, in 1837 has tended to promote extreme opinions. On the one hand, it convinces critics of the Church that the early Mormon leaders were knaves at worst, or false prophets at best. On the other hand, it convinces many Mormons of the wickedness of their enemies— who helped bring about the fall of the bank, and who, since that time, have used its demise as an argument against the divinity of Mormonism.

The argument over the Kirtland Safety Society is typical of historical discussions in which much is made about the “facts” of a situation. It is as if the truth were somewhere “out there” and if we could somehow manage to separate fact from opinion, we would know what really happened. This idea neglects to consider the point that the facts of history seldom come to us in pure form, since they are always filtered through the mind of the historian who wrote them.¹ There are no “facts” waiting in splendid isolation for discovery by the historian, but only the observations of earlier writers who had their own prejudices. Thus, the anti-Mormon writer who sees the “facts” as damning to the Church and the pro-Mormon writer who sees them as further proof of the validity of his own argument might be wise in working to obtain a broader perspective of the problem in order to reevaluate that which they have come to accept as fact.

¹“When we take up a work of history, our first concern should be, not with the facts which it contains, but with the historian who wrote it.” Edward Hallett Carr, What Is History? (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 24.
The purpose of this paper is to reexamine the story of the Kirtland Safety Society in the light of what has been concluded about that period by economic and business historians. Emphasis will be placed on the social and economic environment within which the events took place. It will reject out of hand the extreme positions already mentioned because the significance of the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society turns on whether it was something unusual for the time and place, or whether it was a typical happening. If it was typical, it then loses much of its significance as evidence for or against the management skills of the Mormon leadership. How typical or representative an institution might be in a given period is crucial in the historical analysis of economic institutions. As stated by the British economic historian, Sir John Clapham: "Every economic historian should have acquired what might be called the statistical sense, the habit of asking in relation to any institution, policy, group or movement the questions: How large? How long? How often? How representative?"

With this theoretical underpinning as a starting point, the main hypotheses of this paper are: (1) that the events connected with the rise and fall of the Kirtland Safety Society were typical, that they were representative of the years 1836-1837 in Ohio; (2) that the failure of the bank indicates little more than that the bank (like many others) was unable to weather the crisis of 1837; and (3) that (like many others) it eventually failed. Admittedly, this approach removes some of the fun and excitement from the study of the subject, but it might, in the long run, provide a more realistic perspective of this period in Mormon history.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE KIRTLAND SAFETY SOCIETY

Areas of Agreement. Some points relative to the story of the Kirtland Safety Society can be accepted as historical facts with little argument. Specifically, there seems to be general agreement on the following:

1. During the period prior to and including the operation of the bank, the Church was in desperate financial difficulty.

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5Canceled.

Quoting Joseph Smith, "There are many causes of embarrassment, of a pecuniary nature now pressing upon the heads of the Church." The causes of this embarrassment were (1) that the Church had no means of support except the contributions of its members—who were themselves not wealthy—and (2) that it had assumed obligations in excess of its limited ability to pay. "They began poor; were needy, destitute, and were truly afflicted by their enemies; yet the Lord commanded them to go forth and preach the Gospel, to sacrifice their time, their talents, their good name, and jeopardize their lives; and in addition to this, they were to build a house for the Lord, and prepare for the gathering of the Saints. Thus it is easy to see this must [have] involved them [in financial difficulties]." In addition to promoting extensive missionary effort and the building of the temple, the Church had entered into large contracts for purchase of land in the Kirtland area.

2. Church leaders believed that a financial institution in Kirtland would help solve some of the financial problems of the Mormon community. They had the choice of establishing a regular state-chartered bank or a joint stock association with limited powers to issue notes.

3. The Mormon leaders were unsuccessful in obtaining a bank charter from the state of Ohio. Either they were refused a charter as Joseph Smith states, or they were persuaded of the uselessness of attempting to obtain one from an unfriendly legislature dominated by anti-bank Democrats. In any case, although they would have been pleased to obtain a charter, they were apparently unable to do so.

4. The founders selected the alternative of organizing a joint stock company with note-issuing powers. This "bank" they called the "Kirtland Safety Society Antibanking Company." Joseph Smith, as treasurer, signed the promissory notes issued by the Society. The articles of incorporation established regular procedures for management and auditing the affairs

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6H.C., pp. 478-79.

7H.C., p. 479.

8Fielding, p. 177.

9H.C., p. 468.

of the organization and set the liability of individual members at $100,000.

5. Joseph Smith encouraged the members of the Church to come to Kirtland and invest in the Kirtland Safety Society. As he stated in his history, "We invite the brethren from abroad, to call on us, and take stock in our Safety Society. . . ." 11

6. The notes of the Mormon bank were accepted in the community for a time and evidently improved the commercial health of Kirtland. 12 The capital base of the Society was the land owned under mortgage by Church members. The Society would issue notes to land owners and receive in return a mortgage on the land. This mortgage then became an asset against which additional notes could be issued. Although "the capital structure of the Mormon bank was unquestionably weak, . . . apparently a large segment of public opinion received it favorably and did not regard it as unusual." 13

7. The condition of the Society declined as a spirit of speculation swept through the membership and leadership of the Church itself 14 and as the financial condition of the state and nation exerted great pressure on all banks.

8. Joseph Smith withdrew from association with the bank sometime before 7 July 1837 15 and warned the Saints against accepting the bills of the Society as, he said, "I know them to be detrimental to the best interests of society, as well as to the principles of religion." 16

9. The Kirtland Safety Society failed in the summer of 1837, and those holding its notes were unable to recover any of the face value.

10. The failure of the bank caused a great amount of criticism outside the Church and bitterness among Church members. Even some of the Twelve Apostles used it as justification for misconduct in office. 17

Areas of Disagreement. If there is general agreement with regard to the above statements, there is general disagreement

11 H.C., p. 473.
12 Fielding, p. 191.
13 Ibid., p. 177.
14 H.C., p. 487.
15 H.C., p. 497.
17 H.C., p. 509-10
in other areas. A partial list of the areas of disagreement would include the following:

1. What were the motives for beginning the Kirtland Safety Society?
2. What responsibility did Joseph Smith share for the failure of the bank?
3. What was the financial strength of the bank relative to other banks of the area in that period? Was it typical?
4. Did the bank fail because it was caught in events beyond the control of its management, or did it fail because it was mismanaged?
5. What significance does the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society have within the context of Mormon history? Does it "prove" anything?

It is not pretended that definitive answers to all or any of these questions can be developed in this paper, but it is hoped that an examination of the events surrounding the story of the Mormon bank will throw some light on them. At this point, it might be useful to outline the history of American banking during the first few decades of the nineteenth century.

ECONOMIC AMERICA: 1800-1840

General Economic and Social Background. The three decades prior to 1838 were particularly crucial ones in the economic growth of the United States. It was during this period that the nation's economy began to accelerate and industrialization was born.\(^1\) Along with these rapid changes in economic life, the country was also undergoing profound adjustments in social outlook. The Jeffersonian ideal that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were best attained by the yeoman farmer was being replaced. New immigrants were coming from Europe who had more aggressive economic motives than did their predecessors in the previous century, and people were greatly excited by the prospects of becoming rich. Writing about this period, Bray Hammond noted that

Liberty became transformed into *laissez faire*. A violent,

aggressive economic individualism became established. The
democracy became greedy, intolerant, imperialistic, and law-
less. It opened economic advantages to those who had not
previously had them. . . . Wealth was won and lost, lost
and won. Patient accumulation was condemned. People be-
lieved it was not what they saved but what they made that
counted. . . . Among men of every age and every position
in society, through all grades was the same all-pervading,
all-engrossing anxiety to grow rich.\textsuperscript{19}

Thus, the Jacksonian Revolution signified that the tra-
ditional, conservative methods of business and banking were
no longer acceptable to Westerners eager to reap personal
profit from the rapidly developing frontier. In particular, the
Westerner rejected the methods and advice of much more con-
servative eastern capitalists. The feeling was that anyone in
America could get rich through his own efforts—if he had a
little luck.

It is no surprise that under such conditions, where raw
materials and labor were readily available, where entrepre-
neurial talent was abundant, the limiting factor on pro-
ductive growth would be a shortage of capital. As Herman
Krooss summarized it, "As a general proposition, the Ameri-
can economy was characterized by a chronic shortage of
capital and capital funds."\textsuperscript{20} It was this insatiable demand for
capital funds that spurred the rapid growth of financial in-
termediaries in the western states prior to 1840.

\textit{Speculation and Inflation.} The general rate of economic
expansion in the United States was comparatively slow until
the 1820s. Thereafter, it picked up momentum and increased
rapidly until brought to an end by the crash in 1837.\textsuperscript{21} In the
southwest and northwest, speculative land sales grew tre-
mendously, reaching a peak in 1836.\textsuperscript{22} In addition to over-
trading in land, "speculations in unimproved town lots, mines,
and every description of rash undertakings increased at the
same rate."\textsuperscript{23} The whole nation was in a fever of expansion and excitemet stimulated by streams of immigrants and capi-

\textsuperscript{19}Bray Hammond, \textit{Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to
\textsuperscript{20}Herman E. Krooss, \textit{American Economic Development} (Englewood Cliffs,
\textsuperscript{21}North, p. 190.
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 199.
\textsuperscript{23}James S. Gallatin, \textit{The Banks of New York, Their Dealers, Etc.} (New
York, 1858), p. 82.
tal goods pouring in from Europe. The situation was well summarized by J. M. Balestier when he wrote that so utterly reckless had the community grown that they chased every bubble that floated in the speculative atmosphere; madness increased in proportion to the foulness of its ailment; the more absurd the project, the more remote the object, the more madly they were pursued. The prairies of Illinois, the forests of Wisconsin, and the sand-hills of Michigan, presented a chain almost unbroken of supposititious villages and cities. The whole land seemed staked out and peopled on paper. If a man were reputed to be fortunate, his touch, like that of Midas, was supposed to turn everything into gold, and the crowd entered blindly into every project he might originate.24

WESTERN BANKING

Growth of Western Banks. The net effect of all this speculative madness was to induce an unprecedented inflation of bank credit, which, in turn, further encouraged speculative activity. In 1790 there were only three commercial banks in the United States with a total capital of $2,100,000; by 1829 this had increased to 329 banks with $110,000,000; and by 1837 it had reached 788 banks with capitalization of $290,000,000.25

Andrew Jackson’s veto of the Bank Recharter Bill in 1836, which ended the life of the Bank of the United States, helped to bring matters to a climax. Although certainly not a perfect institution, the Bank had helped to impose some restraint on a fundamentally weak and unstable American banking system. With the demise of the Bank, one didn’t have to be a prophet to agree with the editor of Nile’s Register that “the rag system will become as perfect as ever it was after the restraining power of the bank of the United States shall cease—every nook and corner of our country will again have its own rag shop and currency.”26 Thus, in addition to a tremendous increase in the number and capitalization of state banks, note circulation more than doubled between 1830 and 1837. Loans and discounts increased from less than $200 million to over

25August C. Bolino, The Development of the American Economy (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, 1961), p. 188.
26Madeleine, p. 69.
$500 million. Banks were able and willing to meet the demand for money by the simple process of exchanging the notes of a bank for the promissory note or bill of exchange of a firm or individual, i.e., by exchanging one kind of debt for another. The evidence of a bank’s debt had general acceptability as a medium of exchange; the evidence of a firm’s or individual’s debt did not. Thus, by monetizing private debt, the growing demand for money was met.

The specific motives for establishing banks varied considerably. In some cases, state governments encouraged the formation of banks, since they helped promote commerce and facilitated the raising of funds for public works. The Federal government also encouraged the inflationary expansion of state banks by accepting their notes in payment for public lands and by building up their reserves through the deposit of public moneys. In addition, the upsurge of laissez-faire encouraged the notion that anyone had the right to engage in business and banking. And finally, in areas where capital was particularly scarce, there was great public demand for long-term loans on poor security, and hence a great increase both in banks and in the issuance of notes. Because of this demand, and because in the more backward regions there was a general ignorance of banking principles and procedures coupled with laxity in the enforcement of those banking laws that existed,

unstable banking moved with the frontier. There the demand for credit was linked to investment in fixed capital which often combined high potential productivity with high risk. ... During the 1830s boom-and-bust banking was particularly prevalent in two regions, one bounded by upstate New York, Ohio and Michigan, and the other on the southern frontier. ...  

In addition to banks started in response to the demand for capital and an economic need for their services, there were some that were started with the motive of reaping a quick profit and getting out. Schemes were concocted by men without capital seeking to obtain credit which would be denied by legitimate sources. Those who were desperately in

debt often believed that the best way to escape their difficulties was to join together with other debtors and make a bank. The result was a number of amusing and sometimes tragic episodes. The term "wildcat" banking, for example, arose from the practice of locating redemption offices in inaccessible spots such as the depths of a forest where there were few human habitations "but plenty of wildcats." Promoters of this kind of bank were little more than counterfeiters since they had no intention of running a regular banking institution. However, these people were in a very minor position in the banking structure of the time, and in spite of the implication to the contrary of some writers of history, "their importance should not be exaggerated, since quantitatively they probably were not of great significance."29 "The fundamental reason for the growth of banks was the urgent need for credit in a nation that was experiencing rapid economic growth brought on by technological changes and the establishment of new industries."30

Bank Failures. There were many bank failures during the 1830s, but the exact number will likely never be known. This scarcity of data was lamented by John Jay Knox in 1900. "The losses to the public under the various state systems of banking were undoubtedly large, as may be gathered from the detailed history of the several states. Exactly how large will never be known, because the records of the period, in this respect, are surprisingly incomplete."31 From the few sources available, Knox concluded that "it is probable that the loss to note holders was about five percent, per annum, and the losses to depositors and stockholders cannot be definitely ascertained."32 "The losses from the failures of the banks under these ill-advised systems of banking have never and will probably never be calculated. On November 1, 1836, eighty-nine state banks held over forty-nine millions of public deposits and twenty-six millions of individual deposits. They had outstanding about forty-six millions of dollars in circulation. In less than a year all but six of these had suspended."33

30Bolino, p. 192.
32Ibid.
33Ibid., p. 13.
summary, some indication of the failure record of state banks during this period can be gleaned from the comment by Trescott that "nearly one-half of the banks formed between 1810 and 1820 failed before 1825, and a similar proportion of the banks formed between 1830 and 1840 closed by 1845."  

Why Banks Failed. Some banks failed because they were never meant to succeed. It is not hard to find cases of outright fraud and dishonesty in bank failures of the period. For example, Michigan's free-bank act of 1837 provided that any person or resident of the state desirous of establishing a bank might do so. The result was a system under which some "bankers" spent most of their energies in outwitting examiners rather than in conducting useful banking activity. In at least one case, a bank filled its specie kegs with glass, lead, and ten-penny nails, topping these materials off with silver to fool the examiners.  

The more usual case was bank failure as the result of imprudence and inexperience rather than outright dishonesty. Entry into banking was easy, and frequently the officials of a failed institution would plead as a defense, as managers of a Massachusetts bank did, that they were "not themselves capitalists, nor men of previous experience in banking; and acquired their first knowledge of its rules and principles in this comparatively humble institution."  

But these were strictly minor reasons for bank failures during the first half of the nineteenth century. Most economic historians do not believe that banks at that time were usually operated by unprincipled men for selfish ends. More typically, it is the consensus that the instability of bank credit was inherent in the structure of the banking system and involved factors beyond the control of individual banks. The main flaw in state banking in the 1830s was that it was predominantly a rural institution and had little liquidity or shiftability. In the large cities of the East, loans could be liquidated—that is, turned into cash quickly—by simply calling for payment, but this could not be done in the outlying areas. This viewpoint is nicely summarized by Herman Krooss:

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34Trescott, p. 19.
The basic weakness of most state commercial banks lay in the fact that they were attempting to do a commercial banking business on the basis of savings bank assets that could not be easily turned into cash. Only in the large cities were banks able to carry on genuine commercial banking, for only where industry was located could banks make enough short-term commercial loans to maintain liquidity. In small towns and country districts, banks made long-term loans against farm mortgages and issued short-term liabilities in the form of bank notes to borrowers. The borrowers, in turn, used the bank notes to purchase commodities—mostly capital goods—from industrial and commercial centers. When the notes were presented for redemption, the average state bank could not turn its assets into cash fast enough to meet these demands and found it difficult to maintain specie payments. Bank notes circulated at a discount and often became completely worthless.37

Thus, the reckless and inexperienced management of many state banks was combined with a scarcity of productive commercial loans to create a state banking system with grave weaknesses. As a consequence, most state banks fulfilled their functions at the expense of constant bank failures, violent business fluctuations, and enormous losses to noteholders and depositors.

Summary. It is difficult to overstate the chaos that existed in American banking during the first half of the nineteenth century. So little faith was had in the stock of new banks that some states made it illegal for religious and educational organizations to invest in them.38 In fact, by the 1840s, the reaction to wildcat banking had become so strong that nine states made all banking illegal.39 Experience with banking instability led one prominent journalist to remark in 1833 that "banks were the principal source of social evil in the United States," and found expression in the hope of James Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury, that the production of gold in California would shortly enable the country to dispense entirely with bank money.40

On the other hand, admitting that banking during this period was inefficient, many students of American economic

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37 Krooss, p. 229.
38 Williamson, p. 236.
39 Robertson, p. 176.
development contend that in the long run it acted to promote
growth. Studenski and Krooss, in their definitive Financial
History of the United States, state that "inefficient Banking
had some advantages. It was one of the roots of prosperity
as well as pain, and it is questionable whether a conservative
banking policy would have made possible the rapid economic
development of the West which took place under loose bank-
ing."\(^{41}\)

**THE CRASH OF 1837**

*Bank Failures.* Like many other banks, the Kirtland Safety
Society went under in the great crash of 1837. This depres-
sion, which had national and international repercussions, hit
particularly hard in the state of Ohio. Ohio banks, with one
exception, refused to pay their notes during the emergency.\(^{42}\)
The situation became so serious that the Ohio legislature, in
December of 1837, by resolution required the auditor of the
state to obtain from state banks general statements as to their
condition. One of the questions asked was, "What were the
causes which led them to suspend specie payments?" In re-
sponse the cashier of the Lancaster, Ohio, bank replied in
a summary which was accepted as a rationale for most of the
other banks:

> At the time the Ohio banks declined the redemption of
their bills with specie, they were apprised that the banks of
the states North and South, East and West, had generally,
if not universally, suspended specie payments. The Ohio
banks were well aware that a continuance of specie payments,
under such conditions, would subject them to heavy and
constant drafts on their coin; and that, too, by banks of other
states, which had closed their doors to this mode of pay-
ment. They deemed it gross folly—nay, worse, highly
criminal, to continue a course of operation which must re-
sult in abstracting, to their full amount, the precious metals
from Ohio, while so far as they could see, no corresponding
benefit would result therefrom. In this condition of the
monetary affairs of the country, and with the further em-
barassment arising from the refusal of the land offices to
receive bank paper in payment of the public lands, the
Ohio banks felt it to be an imperative duty to adopt the
course they did, for the purpose of guarding against conse-

\(^{41}\)Studenski and Krooss, p. 108.
\(^{42}\)Knox, p. 677.
quences which they foresaw must prove fatal to the banks and disastrous to the best interests of the state.\textsuperscript{43}

\textit{Crisis in State Finances}. The severity of the depression is illustrated by the fact that, in addition to nearly universal failure of the state banks to redeem their notes, the state government itself was in dire financial difficulties. The state was engaged in numerous building activities, having been swept up in the canal-building mania of the time, and had sold securities to the public to gain funds. In addition, it had borrowed over a million dollars from two of the larger state banks with which to continue the work. During the crisis, the state found itself unable to meet its obligations.\textsuperscript{44} In the legislature, opposition to the canal projects expressed itself in a desire to repudiate the debts, but eventually the credit of the state was saved by a Mr. Alfred Kelly, who personally raised a quarter of a million dollars to tide things over.

Thus, not only was the state banking structure put in a difficult position by the crash, but the financial strength of the state of Ohio itself was unable to weather the storm. The net result of the lessons learned during this period was the passage, in 1845, of reform banking legislation establishing requirements for those wishing to engage in bank operations.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the above discussion has been to lay a firm groundwork for dealing with areas in which there is not general agreement concerning the historical implications of the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society. In this part of the paper an attempt will be made, first, to deal with one of the most scholarly of the works dealing with the events under discussion by Dr. Robert Kent Fielding, and secondly, to tie the analysis back into the five areas of disagreement outlined at the beginning of this paper.

\textit{The Fielding Thesis}. In 1957 Robert Kent Fielding completed a well-written and scholarly thesis entitled "The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio" as part of the requirements of the doctoral program at Indiana University.\textsuperscript{45} A large chapter in his work is devoted to a study of the Kirt-

\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., p. 675.
\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., p. 679.
\textsuperscript{45}Fielding, p. 177.
land Safety Society, and a number of students of Mormonism have expressed some dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded the early leaders of the Church. This writer tends to side with the critics rather than with the supporters of Fielding's work, even while acknowledging that his work is carefully done and well supported by the data he has selected. Disagreement is not so much with the evidence Fielding presents but with the conclusions that he draws. Specifically, he makes the following assertions:

1. A basic cause of the relatively desperate financial condition of the Church was that it had undertaken obligations beyond its ability to pay.

The implication of this statement is that the leadership of the Mormon Church was less prudent than other managers of organizations at the time. Yet, undertaking financial obligations beyond the ability to pay was almost the national pastime during the first half of the nineteenth century. The booster element in American society wanted to accomplish "everything," and wanted it done as soon as possible. As a result, states, municipalities, and business organizations regularly undertook projects beyond their ability to pay and also regularly defaulted on their obligations. The situation of the Church was typical for the time and place.

2. The position of the Mormon merchant was particularly difficult, with goods both bought and sold on credit, and the constant fear of failure through insufficient funds to pay obligations.

Again, the implication is that the situation of Mormon merchants was relatively worse than other merchants of the time. Yet careful study of the development of marketing institutions in the United States shows that the situation Fielding describes was very common during the period under consideration. The general store was the typical retail outlet, and farmers were the typical customers. Because farm income tends to come in an annual lump, it was the custom to establish long lines of credit down the distribution line from manufacturer to the final consumer, and the representative frontier merchant did, indeed, buy and sell goods on credit. Professor Theodore Marburg, writing on "Marketing and Trade Before 1865," notes that "a large portion of sales were charged on open book account, with a closing of the books
taking place only once a year. Such infrequent settlement was suited to the shortage of cash and the confused currency conditions prior to 1865. But the extension of credit to purchasers added to retailing costs and it increased the local merchant's dependence upon credit from jobbers.”

3. The Kirtland Safety Society was "the child of desperation" which was to solve all the problem of debts, credits, capital needs, unemployment, etc.

Again, there is nothing unusual in the situation as described for the time and place in question. Many frontier banks were organized for just the purposes described. It should be kept in mind that the techniques of running a bank were often not well known by people who organized them, and that a bank was considered by many a frontier community to be the agent of salvation for their problems. After all, these people were rich, if we measure the value of the farmland they owned. The problem was that many frontier bankers lacked a firm understanding of the problems they were creating by using this agricultural land as the basis for distributing redeemable notes.

4. The bank was organized from the beginning without a hope of success. "To a banker, the articles fairly shouted: 'This is a wildcat, beware!'"

This is nonsense! The question of whether the bank had a hope of success was dependent on a great number of factors, including the national and state economic climates. Certainly, the founders believed that it had a hope of success, based on experience over the previous decade, or they would not have organized it! As for the Kirtland Safety Society's being a wildcat bank, the charge is wrong by definition. A wildcat bank was one in which the managers of the bank made a deliberate effort to evade paying off notes by making the place of redemption inaccessible to those trying to trade notes for specie. Certainly, the middle of Kirtland was not the best place to hide the headquarters of the Kirtland Safety Society. If the principles of sound banking were not always known, the principles of wildcat banking were.

5. 1837 was not a good time to start a bank, and warnings to that effect were plentiful in the newspapers.

46Williamson, p. 512.
Mr. Fielding knows that and I know it, but I am not sure that the founders of the Kirtland Safety Society knew it. The prevailing atmosphere was one of optimism and not until the crash actually came did most people believe what was to be. The same argument can be stated with regard to the Great Crash of 1929; all indicators, in retrospect, indicate that something was liable to happen, yet the greatest minds of the country persisted in the notion that "we had reached a permanent plateau of prosperity."

6. The fall of the bank was not caused by the poor business conditions and bank failures of 1837, but by the poor judgment of its leaders and the lack of a firm economic base within the Mormon community.

This is the heart of Dr. Fielding's argument and one with which I must strongly disagree. Even a casual student of Mormon history must admit that the early leaders of the Church undertook tasks that "good judgment" would have cautioned them not to undertake. The sending of missionaries to England during the darkest hour of persecution; the building of the Kirtland Temple; the establishment of Nauvoo and the construction of its temple; the long trek west to the Rocky Mountains; the establishment of a viable independent economy in the isolation of Utah Territory—all were actions that more timid souls would not have undertaken. Combined with a willingness to take great risks in the hopes of great gains was a characteristic pragmatic philosophy that tried new things, and that turned to other programs when failures occurred. The historian can logically judge that the establishment of the Kirtland Safety Society was the result of poor judgment, but at the same time should acknowledge that given more favorable economic conditions it might well have succeeded—as did other even more difficult undertakings attempted by the early Mormon leaders. The establishment of the Kirtland Safety Society was one of many activities undertaken with the goal of establishing Mormonism on a solid footing in Western America. That it should fail given the circumstances is not particularly surprising. What is important is that after its failure, those responsible recognized their failure and tried again in other ways.

Areas of Disagreement. To return to the "Areas of Disagreement" referred to earlier, we can summarize the conclu-
sions reached in this look into the economic and social environment within which the Mormon bank existed.

*What were the motives for beginning the Kirtland Safety Society?* Like most other banks of the time on the western frontier, the Mormon bank began because its founders were in desperate need of credit. There are, certainly, indications that they lacked knowledge and skill in banking, but on the other hand, there is no evidence produced to demonstrate that there was ever an intent to defraud. The Kirtland Safety Society was not a wildcat bank, but simply one of a great number of banks organized by men with little banking experience but with a lot of hope that a bank would help solve some of their problems.

*What responsibility does Joseph Smith share for the failure of the bank?* He seems to share in the failure with those others who were involved in its formation and early management. There is no need to shield him or any other early Mormon leader from association with its failure. The early history of the Church is one continuous struggle against opposition—and eventual success was preceded by many failures and disappointments. The failure of the bank indicates only that something was tried and that it failed, but little more. Certainly, Joseph Smith was partly responsible, but that fact should not be built into something more than it is.

*What was the financial strength of the bank relative to other banks of the area in that period? Was it typical?* A reasonable conclusion would be that the financial strength of the Society was not equal to all other banks at that time in Ohio, but that it was, within a broad range, somewhat typical of banks that failed to survive the Crash of 1837. It suffered, as has been shown, from the chronic difficulty of being based on agricultural land which could not be converted into specie to redeem notes, and this was typical for the time.

*Did the bank fail because it was caught in events beyond the control of its management, or did it fail because it was mismanaged?* The answers to both of these questions are positive. The bank was caught in events beyond the control of its management, and it was also mismanaged. Again, however, this was typical of banking at the time. Remembering that half the banks organized during the 1830s failed by
1845, it is obvious that it was a risky business. There were not many competent bank managers anywhere, certainly not many on the Ohio frontier; but even if endowed with superb management, it is doubtful that the bank could have survived the crisis of 1837.

What significance does the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society have within the context of Mormon history? Does it "prove" anything?

The conclusion here is that the failure of the Mormon bank has only passing significance insofar as Mormon history is concerned. The part played by Joseph Smith and early Church leaders was real, but to return to an earlier comment by Sir John Clapham, one’s "statistical sense" would indicate that the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society was a very typical event for Ohio in 1837, when many other banks and the state itself were having grave financial difficulties, when the proper operation of financial institutions was not well understood, and when credit was in such short supply that banks were viewed as devices to somehow magically solve the universal problem of debt. A reasonable attitude would be to accept this particular effort as unsuccessful and admire those who failed for their ability to pick up the pieces and move on to greater effort and accomplishment.
The Waning of Mormon Kirtland

DAVIS BITTON*

On the night of 12 January 1838, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon made their escape from Kirtland, riding sixty miles on swift horses before stopping to rest. The collapse of the bank, desertion by trusted friends, angry denunciations and threats, a relentless buildup of lawsuits—all this seemed to leave the Prophet little choice but to leave Kirtland to its own fate.¹

Many of his followers had already left Kirtland, of course, or had gathered to Missouri without stopping in Ohio. Others, including his immediate family, followed during the early months of 1838. Soon a revelation came that seemed to ring the death knell of Kirtland as a Mormon center: "Kirtland is and will be scourged."² Sensing the impending doom, scores of families worked feverishly, selling property, buying teams and wagons, sometimes borrowing from friends or family, and packing in preparation for the organized evacuation planned for the summer. Finally, on 6 July 1838, a string of teams and wagons more than a mile long moved out along the old Chillicothe road and headed toward Chester.³

*Dr. Bitton is assistant Church historian and professor of history at the University of Utah. He has published widely in journals in his field and is the author of two books, The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640 (1969) and The Reminiscences and Civil War Letters of Levi Lamoni Wight (1970).


²Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 Vols. (Salt Lake City, 1948), 3:45. (Hereafter referred to as H.C.)
It is customary to end the history of Mormonism in Kirtland with the departure of this company (usually known as “Kirtland Camp”), and in a sense it is true that its central role was over. But it is surprising how long it took for Mormonism in Kirtland to fade away.

In November 1839, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball stopped in Kirtland on their return from the British Mission and found “a good many friends and brethren who were glad to see us.” Young explained that many of these brethren “lacked the energy to move to Missouri last season, and some lacked the disposition.” The Kirtland Temple was still available for use, for Brigham Young preached a sermon there and “anointed” John Taylor in an evening ceremony.

In spring of the following year, there were encouraging signs that the latter-day work still had a future in Kirtland. Hiram Kellogg wrote: “The Lord is reviving his work in this place; there is more or less baptised here every week. We have about 125 members in the society here, and more going to be baptised next Thursday. Many of the old inhabitants of this place, have been standing and looking on until they are convinced that this is the work of the Lord, and are willing to embrace it.” Although letters from Joseph Smith express disappointment with the spirit of contention there, he expressed a desire to see Kirtland “flourish.” In October 1840, Almon W. Babbitt was named to preside in Kirtland, that it might be built up and serve as a gathering place for brethren from the east.” At conference in May 1841 the Kirtland Stake was said to consist of between 300 and 400 members.

The latter-day work seemed to prosper under Babbitt’s direction. In October 1841, he was sustained as president by the Kirtland Saints. Babbitt wrote to the Prophet: “There is now about 500 members in this place and a good many churches adjacent to this stake. We have got the House of the Lord in mideling good repair. We are now about

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3Fielding, p. 306.
4On Kirtland Camp, see H.C., 3:87-148.
5Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801-1884, ed. E. J. Watson (Salt Lake City, 1968), pp. 56-58.
6Journal History, 27 April 1849, compilation in scrapbook form in Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
7Journal History, 22 July 1840.
9Times and Seasons, 2 (July 1841):458-60, containing minutes of the Kirtland conference of 22 May 1841.
lying a new bell deck. We have made provisions for the poor." These poor included 100 English Saints who did not have the resources to get all the way to Nauvoo. The Kirtland Saints had bought some good farm land, according to Babbitt, and were converting the old steam mill into a furnace.

While optimistic about events in Kirtland, Babbitt complained of rumors from Nauvoo that Kirtland was to be abandoned: "There is so much written from your place that it would require more than the influence of an angel to keep down the excitement." Clear directions were needed. Should they plan to stay or not? What should be done with the Temple and other property? He had reason to be concerned, for at October conference in Nauvoo he had been disfellowshipped for teaching false doctrine, although this could not have been known to him at the time he wrote the letter. And at the end of October, Hyrum Smith wrote without ambiguity: "All the Saints that dwell in that land are commanded to come away...."

Nevertheless, Mormonism did not quickly disappear from the Kirtland scene. Financial problems undoubtedly prevented immediate migration for some. Moreover, Almon Babbitt was insisting that "the scourge will fall on Nauvoo before it falls on Kirtland." At a conference in October 1842, Lyman Wight still found many Saints, 75 of whom heard him preach in the temple in the morning; in the afternoon, he reported, the congregation contained about 150 "with cheerful countenances." The next day 500 to 700 people were in attendance, and several baptisms were performed in the Chagrin River. During this conference, Wight reported 30 elders ordained and 203 baptisms. "We are now holding meetings every night," he reported, "and shall do so as long as there is from three to ten coming forward a day, which is now the case."

Justin Brooks, who took over as presiding elder in Kirtland, reported that "many smart intelligent young men have been ordained Elders," and that "such an anxiety to learn the doctrines of this church, has never before been manifest

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10Journal History, 19 October 1841.
11H.C., 4:424.
12H.C., 4:443-44.
13Journal History, 10 August 1842. Babbitt was specifically discouraging people from going to Nauvoo, saying that Kirtland was the place for him.
14Journal History, 28 October 1842; 29 October 1842; 31 October 1842.
since the commencement of the church." The following April, in 1843, with Lyman Wight again representing the authorities, "about one hundred apostates and a few new members were baptised during the Conference." In some respects, this was a last vigorous push before departure, for a resolution was passed at the same conference "for the removal of all the Saints in that place to Nauvoo." Before the end of the month, Lyman Wight and Justin Brooks were in Pittsburgh trying to buy a steamboat "to convey the Kirtland Saints to Nauvoo." Some Saints undoubtedly moved. On 9 June 1844 Brigham Young preached in the Kirtland Temple on the subject of Nauvoo. He found the Kirtland Saints "dead and cold to the things of God." But at the end of 1844, L. Hollister wrote asking for someone to help manage affairs in Kirtland, "if you think us worth saving." Phineas Young summarized the situation:

Here we are called Josephites, and at Nauvoo apostates; the first we glory in, the latter we are willing to bear till our brethren shall have proven us faithful by seeing our faith and good works. There are at this time some 40 or 50 good brethren in this place, which constitutes a majority of the Church here . . . we are favored with the house [the temple] and the control of it.

Young said he was willing to stay or go as directed. Apparently the earlier instruction had not been carried out. Again the Kirtland Saints received word to come to Nauvoo, "leaving neither man, woman or child behind that desires to come up here with a pure heart, leaving Kirtland to the owls and the bats for a season. . . ." The general willingness to gather to Nauvoo was reaffirmed at a Kirtland conference in April 1845 as it had been two years earlier. Sacrament was administered to about one hundred Saints.

From the spring of 1845, it becomes difficult to keep track

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15 Brooks to Joseph Smith in Journal History, 7 November 1842.
18 Journal History, 25 April 1843.
19 Manuscript History of Brigham Young, p. 169.
20 Journal History, 15 November 1844.
21 Journal History, 31 December 1844.
22 Journal History, 26 November 1844.
23 Journal History, 21 January 1845.
24 Times and Seasons, 6(1845-46):871-72.
of the Saints in Kirtland. Many must have responded to the decision to “gather” that was agreed upon at April conference. No October conference at Kirtland was reported in the Church periodicals; by the fall, the main topic of discussion was the forthcoming departure from Nauvoo and the preparations for it. At the end of 1845, it was reported that a group of “rioters” had seized control of the Kirtland Temple—a report that indicates both the declining strength of the Kirtland “loyalists” and their continued existence.\(^{25}\)

By this time, there were many families in Kirtland, once Mormon, who had decided to have nothing more to do with the movement. Others were Mormon in a general sense, still susceptible to being “reactivated,” but content to lie low until firm leadership was provided. And by this time, too, several splinter groups had sprung into existence; it is not surprising that some of them sought to promote their cause in Kirtland.

One such schismatic preacher hoping to pick up the pieces in Kirtland was William E. McLellin, who arrived in late 1846. He soon won the support of such men as Leonard Rich and Jacob Bump. At a conference in January 1847 they officially adopted the name Church of Christ.\(^{26}\) Two of the guiding principles of the movement were: (1) to accept David Whitmer as the proper presiding authority of the Church; and (2) to declare Kirtland to be once again the proper center for the Church. The group was estimated variously at 42 and “about one hundred” members. At the end of 1847 in the *Ensign of Liberty* we read: “Our members continue to increase steadily, yet but slowly.” Partially because of David Whitmer’s refusal to move to Kirtland, the movement began to break up, apparently fizzling out in late 1849.\(^{27}\)

By this time, another group calling itself the Church of Christ had appeared. Looking to young James C. Brewster as leader, this group was later known as Brewsterites. In August 1848 they began publication of a newspaper, *The Olive Branch*, and on 23 June 1849, held a “General Assembly” in

\(^{25}\)H.C., 7:484.

\(^{26}\)Ensign of Liberty, (no. 1) (March 1847), reporting on a conference held 23 January 1847. For a valuable introduction to this periodical and other Whitmerite works, see Dale L. Morgan, “Churches of the Dispersion,” *Western Humanities Review*, 7, (no. 3) (Summer 1953):162-75.

the Kirtland Temple. Moving spirits behind the movement in Kirtland were Hazen Aldrich and Austin Cowdles. Brewer-
ster himself lived in Springfield, Illinois, and by July 1849
the publication of the newspaper had changed to Springfield.
In October an article entitled "The Gathering at Kirtland" ex-
plained that Kirtland could serve as a temporary gathering
place but that ultimately the loyal Brewerterite Saints were ex-
pected to gather to California. Some indication of the size
of the Brewerterite congregation can be gained from the fact
that only six of those attending the June 1849 assembly passed
the "test" of accepting young Brewerster's "revelations." Com-
pared to its earlier "boom" period, Mormonism in Kirtland,
even including schismatic factions, had decidedly diminished
in importance. No longer did it occupy the center of the
stage.

One of the best glimpses into life at Kirtland at mid-
century is the diary of Patience Cowdery. Wife of Warren
A. Cowdery (Oliver's brother), she had been closely involved
with Mormonism at Kirtland during the 1830s. Her husband,
a prominent doctor who had practiced medicine in Freedom,
New York, became editor of the Latter-day Saints Messenger
and Advocate published in Kirtland. They became disaffected
in 1837 and 1838, but continued to live in Kirtland.

In 1849, when she began keeping her record, Patience
Cowdery turned 55 years old. Perhaps the "depressed" econo-
my of Kirtland is reflected in the fact that her husband and
sons were under the necessity of seeking work in nearby
towns. At times only she and her two daughters were living
at the Kirtland home, but usually her husband and one or
more of the four sons were also there.

Life was busy in the Cowdery household. They operated
something of a weaving establishment. Yarn was twisted for
stockings and for carpeting. The girls did a good deal of sew-

28The Olive Branch (Kirtland, Ohio), August 1848 and March 1849.
Cf. Rich, pp. 31-33; and Morgan, pp. 141-46.
29Patience Simonds Cowdery, Diary, 1849-1851, in Historical Depart-
ment of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latte. day Saints.
30Warren A. Cowdery, born in Poultney, Vermont, in 1788, practiced
medicine and conducted an apothecary's business in Freedom, New York, from
1815 to 1830. He built the first brick house in 1828 and was the first post-
master in the town. He moved to Kirtland at the end of 1835 or beginning
of 1836 and was soon editing the Messenger and Advocate; in the September
1837 issue he states that he had actually edited the paper for sixteen months,
even though he was not nominally editor. He was one of the group associated
with Warren Parrish and was excommunicated in 1837.
ing. And at candle-dipping time the house was transformed into a veritable workshop; twenty-five dozen candles were dipped in one day. Other chores included preparing husks for beds and picking apples and blackberries.

Besides the long hours of work suggested by such activities, the Cowderys found time for reading the scriptures, various periodicals, and such books as a life of Washington. A certain zeal for self-improvement is noticed in such entries as the following:

We have had quite a school this evening among ourselves in reading and spelling.
We have commenced a school in our large room in hopes to continue it through the winter for the benefit of our own family. It has gone on very pleasant thus far. We have attended to spelling and defining this evening.

Nor was it all hard work. Probably spelling bees were common, and such games as checkers occupied some of the evening hours.

The Cowdery family seemed very much involved in community affairs. Earlier, in 1841 and 1842, Warren A. Cowdery had served as an election judge and was still sufficiently interested in politics at age 62 to travel to Painesville to attend a political convention. Lectures at either the temple (now serving as a community hall) or the Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary were a common occasion for entertainment and instruction. Patience herself was sufficiently part of the reform enthusiasm of the day to belong to a Moral Reform Society, attending its meetings and subscribing to its periodicals. In 1850 she heard an antislavery sermon on Sunday and attended at least one meeting of an antislavery female sewing society. Nor surprisingly, too, there were such small-town activities as weddings, funerals, quilting bees, and "donation" parties.

The Cowderys were not without religion, although by this time they were not Mormons. In 1849 Patience often attended church and made notes on the sermons. This may have been the Baptist Church. At least a small donation was made toward the construction of a new Baptist meeting house in 1850. As time went on, she more usually stayed at home on Sundays while the children attended church. She did read the Bible regularly, noting in her diary the completion of chapters and books.
What about Mormonism? About all the notice given to their former religion was prompted by visits from individuals. In 1849, for example, Martin Harris "called here this morning and warned us of our danger if we did not imbace the gospel and says he has now cleared his skirts whether we give heed or not." A few days later, Harris came "to see about selling us some land and staid some little time and conversed upon things that he said he knew." She mentions reading six issues of The Olive Branch—that this was the Brewsterite newspaper—that Austin Cowles left for their perusal. One detects a note of detachment if not scepticism in the references to the preaching of these zealots. In 1850, the family was visited by a Mr. McLenithan who "considered [it] to be his duty . . . to warn the people to flee the wrath to come. He considered the judgments to be near at hand."

Perhaps the enthusiasm for Mormonism of the 1830s had been "burned out" by the bitter recrimination of 1837 and 1838. Still, there was sufficient interest that one of the Cowdery daughters read the Book of Mormon. And such men as Harris still obtained a hearing when they called on the family. While not in close contact with Warren's brother Oliver, apparently they did receive the news of his death in 1850 and must have heard of his return to the Church.

The Warren Cowdery family was hard-working and interested in the affairs of the day. Patience was a devout reader of the Bible. She had an almost transcendentalist feeling toward nature, as expressed in a beautiful passage on 16 June 1850:

The weather is calm and serene. The air seems pure and wholesome. All nature seems to have put on a lively green since the reviving rain. I do take sweet comfort in viewing the beauties of nature. The lively green woods that looks so beautiful and happy while all is calm and peaceful at home. Ought we not to possess hearts of gratitude that we have been thus highly favored, with kind children that ever ready to sooth and wait on us in sickness, . . . they are kind and good. Truly this makes home pleasant and seems to give everything around us a pleasing aspect.

There was much goodness in the life of this family.

In 1851 Elder James W. Bay found a few signs of spiritual life in Kirtland. As he reported in a letter to Brigham Young:
There have been all kinds of false prophets here in Kirtland, but I have found a few that begin to feel that west is the place, and the authority is there. Bro. Isaac Bullock and I succeeded in getting an organization here, and they begin to have the gifts, and are blessed, and calculate to gather west to the valley.\textsuperscript{31}

Although there was a branch organization, it cannot have been large. Elder Bay said that he had baptized thirteen during the year, but all of these may not have been at Kirtland. At nearby Cleveland there was a branch of 30 members. The emphasis of Bay’s preaching was not to build up permanent branches but to encourage gathering: “I have been hunting up the saints, and encouraging them to go to the valleys of Ephraim to be hid up while the indignation be overpast, and I feel that this land is to be pruned with a mighty pruning.”

Four years later, when Thomas Colburn visited Kirtland, he found a “few that called themselves Saints, but very weak, many apostates, who have mostly joined the rappers.”\textsuperscript{32} Those who now had possession of the temple he denounced as “no better than thieves and robbers.” The single encouraging conversation, as far as we can gather, was with Martin Harris, who was on the verge of deciding to move to Utah.

Population figures do not support the contention that Kirtland had become nearly deserted. But it did decline and gave an impression of lethargy.\textsuperscript{33} A generation later, in 1882, Richard W. Young visited “the now feeble village of Kirtland.”\textsuperscript{34} The general mood evoked by his description is one of decay and sadness. He and his companion called on a family who had once been Saints, now blind and decrepit. They looked for the former house of Brigham Young but found only some broken pieces of pottery. The temple could be seen only from the outside, since the elders of the Reorganized Church had left town with the keys.\textsuperscript{35} “The building is in poor repair,” Young said; “much of the interior wood

\textsuperscript{31}Letter dated 7 August 1851, in Deseret News, 13 December 1852.

\textsuperscript{32}Two letters published in the St. Louis Luminary, 17 February 1855 and 2 May 1855.

\textsuperscript{33}For some discussion of population decline, see Artel Ricks, “Hyrum’s Prophecy,” Improvement Era, 59(1956):305ff.

\textsuperscript{34}Richard W. Young, “In the Wake of the Church,” Contributor, 4(1833): 105-8.

\textsuperscript{35}Young could not resist scoring a point at the expense of the Reorganized Church elders, who “had gone off with the keys—the door keys, I mean; the other keys, those to the doors of eternal truth, were taken from the Kirtland Temple forty-five years before.” Richard W. Young, p. 107.
work has been taken away for fire wood, and the sashes contain more broken than undamaged panes of glass. Paint it has not seen for a generation at least."

The days when crowds of newly arrived converts thronged the streets of Kirtland, when the air rang with shouts and the hammer blows of construction, when reports of divine manifestations in the temple were communicated in excited whispers—all of this was part of the past. As Richard W. Young said of the temple, "Its chief glory is of course in the past, and to a Latter-day Saint the brightness of that glory was sufficient to cause it even now to shine with its retained splendor."
A Bibliography of
The Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter-day Saints
in New York, Ohio, and Missouri

Peter Crawley*

Basic to the study of the history and philosophy of any religion are the books produced by that faith during its formative years. Especially is this true of Mormonism, for the printing press played a vital part in the Church's progress as well as its reversals. Mormonism literally commenced with a book. By means of the press its claims were advertised and its message spread, and twice during the first decade its adherents were driven from their homes in part because of what they had put in print.

A Mormon press became a reality with the conversion in June, 1831, of William Wines Phelps, a New York newspaperman. A month after his baptism Phelps was designated "a printer unto the church"; and in September, a conference of the Church in Ohio directed Phelps to purchase a press and type in Cincinnati for the purpose of publishing a newspaper in Independence, Missouri, newly appointed as the gathering place for the Saints.¹ It appears that Phelps started for Missouri about the middle of October.² On November 20, 1831, Oliver Cowdery, who had been called to assist Phelps,

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²See "Journal History," October 1831; USI.C. (Hereafter designated "J.H.")
left for Independence, arriving January 5, 1832. Three weeks later Cowdery wrote to Joseph Smith, "We expect soon to be ready to print and hope that Brother Martin [Harris] can supply the paper." At the end of February, 1832, a prospectus for the Mormon newspaper The Evening and the Morning Star was published; and in May the Mormon press did a bit of job work, printing, ironically enough, a circular for Lilburn W. Boggs announcing his candidacy for lieutenant governor of Missouri. On May 29, 1832, the Church leaders in Missouri gathered at the printing office on the second floor of W. W. Phelps's house on Liberty Street, "120 miles west of any press in the state," and Edward Partridge dedicated the building and its apparatus to the Lord. Finally, in June, 1832, the Mormon press, under the firm name of W. W. Phelps and Company, began issuing The Evening and the Morning Star, a monthly newspaper directed to the Saints, and the Upper Missouri Advertiser, a weekly community newspaper. For over a year this little press was in operation, until the printing office was destroyed by the local Missourians July 20, 1833.

The history of the Star's press subsequent to the destruction of the printing office is itself rather interesting. Late in 1833 it was sold to Messrs. Kelly and Davis (for $300 against the $1,000 owing the Saints' attorneys), who used it to print the Upper Missouri Enquirer in Liberty, Missouri. In 1845 the press was sold to William Ridenbaugh and employed in founding the St. Joseph Gazette. Fourteen years later Ridenbaugh sold the press to a Captain Merrick, who used it in publishing the first Colorado newspaper, the Cherry Creek Pioneer.

Seven weeks after the Star office was razed, the leaders of the Church met in Kirtland, Ohio, and resolved to establish another press in Kirtland under the firm name of F. G. Williams and Company, to continue the Star in Kirtland until it could be moved again to Missouri, and to publish, as soon as practicable, a Kirtland periodical entitled the Latter-day

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5 No copy of this circular is extant. It is described in the Columbia Missouri Intelligencer, 2 June 1832, p. 2.
7 H.C., 1:470.
8 Banks, 319ff.
Saints' Messenger and Advocate. On October 1, 1833, Oliver Cowdery left Kirtland for New York with $800 in borrowed money to purchase a press and type. The new press reached Kirtland about the first of December; Cowdery and Newell K. Whitney began distributing the type on the fourth; and on the eighteenth the elders gathered at the printing office and after dedicating it to the Lord, took the first sheet of the resurrected Star out of the press. For four years the Kirtland press operated, producing some of Mormondom's most important books.

Late in 1834 the Kirtland press was moved to its permanent location adjacent to the Kirtland Temple. It was housed on the upper floor of a two-story building, the lower floor of which was used for the School of the Prophets. In November, 1835, at the peak of its production, the printing office employed four journeyman printers and typesetters and three apprentices and still was not able to meet its deadlines. At this time the operation was further enlarged by the addition of a bindery.

Originally the Kirtland press, like the Independence press, was essentially owned by the Church. In April, 1834, however, ownership of the printing office was transferred to Oliver Cowdery and F. G. Williams, who did the Church's printing on a contractual basis, still under the firm name of F. G. Williams and Company. The firm was dissolved and bought out by Oliver Cowdery in June, 1836. Eight months later the printing office was transferred to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon; and three months after that it was transferred to William Marks, a new convert in New York, with Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon operating the office. These changes and the frequent pleas to the subscribers of the Messenger and Advocate to pay their past-due subscriptions suggest that the printing office operated on the brink of financial collapse for

9 H.C., 1:409.
10 H.C., 1:418. Oliver Cowdery to Elizabeth Ann Cowdery, Kirtland, 1 January 1834, "Cowdery Letterbook"; CSmH. (Hereafter designated "C.L.")
13 W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, Kirtland, 14 November 1835, as quoted in "J.H.", 14 November 1835.
14 Oliver Cowdery to Warren A. Cowdery, 22 November 1835, "C.L.
much of its life.\textsuperscript{16} Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon left Kirtland for Far West, Missouri, January 12, 1838. Three days later the press was attached for an indebtedness of the First Presidency and sold at auction to a Mr. Million, an apostate Mormon. Shortly after midnight January 16, 1838, the printing shop caught fire and all its contents were destroyed.\textsuperscript{17}

Just how the Saints obtained a press in Far West, Missouri, is a mystery. A letter from Oliver Cowdery to his brother Warren, written at Far West, February 4, 1838, suggests that W. W. Phelps was then attempting to acquire a press.\textsuperscript{18} By the tenth of May a press was in Far West and was being assembled by Oliver Cowdery, who at this point was out of the Church.\textsuperscript{19} The July, 1838, issue of the \textit{Elders' Journal} discusses the press but provides little additional information:

It is indeed somewhat unexpected to us, to be able to commence printing the Journal again so soon, but the general interest felt in it by the Saints in general, soon, in a degree, repaired the loss which was suffered in the burning of the press in Kirtland; and another establishment, by the exertions of the Saints in Far West, has been obtained, sufficiently large, to print the Journal; and soon will be greatly enlarged, so as to do all the printing necessary for the whole church.

We have no doubt, but liberal minded men will continue to aid with their means, until the establishment will be sufficiently supplied with means to make the largest of the kind, anywhere in the region of country where it is located.

Only a prospectus, two issues of the \textit{Elders' Journal}, and Sidney Rigdon's Fourth of July oration in pamphlet form issued from the Mormon press in Far West before the difficulties with the Missourians in October, 1838, stopped its operation. At the time of the Mormons' surrender at Far West, the press and type were buried in a Brother Dawson's yard and the following spring were dug up and hauled to Nauvoo, where they were used to print the \textit{Times and Seasons}.\textsuperscript{20}

The fifty-one items described below are the Mormon "books" of the New York, Ohio, and Missouri periods, when the Mormon presses at Independence, Kirtland, and Far West

\textsuperscript{16}See for example \textit{H.C.}, 2:434 and \textit{M.A.}, p. 329.
\textsuperscript{17}Parkin, p. 322.
\textsuperscript{18}Oliver Cowdery to Warren A. and Lyman Cowdery, 4 February 1838, "C.L."
\textsuperscript{19}Oliver Cowdery to Warren A. and Lyman Cowdery, 10 May 1838, "C.L." \textit{H.C.}, 3:16-17.
\textsuperscript{20}\textit{H.C.}, 4:398.
were in operation. More precisely, they are the books produced by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in support of the Church, before the Nauvoo press commenced regular operation in November, 1839. Thirty-one were published by the Independence, Kirtland, and Far West presses. The remaining twenty were printed on commercial presses in other cities.

Here the term book includes any item with one or more pages containing printed text bearing on some doctrinal point or historical incident. Not included are printed elders' certificates, printed receipt forms, or bank notes.

An attempt has been made, of course, to be complete; but to claim completeness would be naïve. Several of the items described below, for example, have come to light only in the last three or four years; and it is to be hoped that other books will be discovered as attic trunks are opened and garages are searched.

No attempt has been made to locate every existing copy of a given book. Instead, the twenty-four institutional libraries listed below have been surveyed; and those owning a particular book are indicated at the end of the discussion of that book.

Many have contributed to this bibliography. Especially do I acknowledge with gratitude the contributions and assistance of Chad J. Flake, Brigham Young University Library; Paul Foulger, Dean Jessee, Jeff Johnson, and Janet Jensen, LDS Church Historian's Library; and Richard P. Howard, RLDS Church Department of History. In addition, I am grateful for the help of Joan Hofman, Yale University Library; William Matheson, Library of Congress; Grant T. Dean, Chicago Historical Society; Richard Colles Johnson, Newberry Library; Roger D. Bridges, Illinois State Historical Library; Ellen Oldham, Boston Public Library; Howard Peckham, William L. Clements Library; Mrs. Oliver Howard, State Historical Society of Missouri; Mrs. Fred C. Harrington, Missouri Historical Society Library; James Mooney, American Antiquarian Society; Lewis M. Stark and Maud D. Cole, New York Public Library; Laura L. Chace, Cincinnati Historical Society Library; Kermit J. Pike, Western Reserve Historical Society Library; Howell J. Heaney, Free Library of Philadelphia; Edna Sue Herzog, DeGolyer Foundation Library; and Charles Shetler, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library.
Census

CSmH Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CtY Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.
CU-B The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
DLC Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
ICHi The Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.
ICN The Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
IHl Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Ill.
MB Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
MoHi State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
MoInRC RLDS Church Department of History, Independence, Mo.
MoShi Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, Mo.
NjP Princeton University Library, Princeton, N. J.
NN New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.
OChp Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio
OClWhi Western Reserve Historical Society Library, Cleveland, Ohio.
TxDaDF DeGolyer Foundation Library, Dallas, Tex.
UpB Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.
USIC LDS Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City, Utah
UU University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
WHi State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library, Madison, Wisc.

1. The book of Mormon: an account written by the hand of Mormon, upon plates taken from the plates of Nephi. . . . By Joseph Smith, Junior, author and proprietor.

Palmyra [New York]: Printed by E. B. Grandin, for the author, 1830.

Little of what ultimately was the manuscript of the Book of Mormon had been produced when Oliver Cowdery arrived April 5, 1829, at Harmony, Pennsylvania, where Joseph Smith was staying with his wife's parents. Two days later Cowdery began writing Joseph Smith's dictation, and the work on the manuscript proceeded with little interruption until about the first of June. At this point, David Whitmer invited Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery to move their labors to his father's house in Fayette, New York, and during the month of June they continued working on the manuscript at the Whitmer home in Fayette, completing it about the first of July, 1829.21

With the manuscript near completion, efforts were directed toward its publication. A copyright was secured June 11, 1829. Egbert B. Grandin, publisher of the Palmyra Wayne Sentinel, was approached early in June about printing the book. Initially, Grandin refused, and he published the title page of the Book of Mormon in the Wayne Sentinel, June 26, 1829, with the comment, "It is pretended that it [the Book of Mormon] will be published as soon as the translation is completed." Following Grandin's refusal, an application—also unsuccessful—was made to Thurlow Weed, publisher of the Rochester Telegraph. Elihu F. Marshall, a Rochester book publisher, was solicited next, and Marshall agreed to publish the book upon suitable security. With a publisher in hand, Martin Harris again went to Grandin, urging him to do the printing because of the convenience of a local printer. Grandin relented, agreeing to print and bind in leather 5,000 copies for $3,000. As security, Martin Harris gave Grandin a mortgage on his farm, dated August 25, 1829, wherein Harris agreed to pay the $3,000 within eighteen months. As a matter of fact, Harris sold his farm for $3,000 in April, 1831, apparently to pay Grandin.22

When the original dictated manuscript was completed, Oliver Cowdery supervised the production of a second manu-

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script copy to be used by the printer. This printer's manuscript, copied from the original by several people, embodies numerous spelling corrections but, like the original, is totally free of punctuation. (Seventy-two leaves—about a third—of the original dictated manuscript are held by the LDS Church Historian's Library; the entire printer's manuscript is in the possession of the RLDS Church.)

The printing of the Book of Mormon took place on the third floor of the building that housed a bindery on the second floor and Grandin's Palmyra Book Store on the first. According to John H. Gilbert, who set the type for the Book of Mormon, the printing began in August, 1829. The printer's manuscript was delivered to the typesetter by Hyrum Smith a few pages at a time. All the punctuation and paragraphing was supplied by Gilbert as he set the book in type. Generally, the printing was monitored by Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and Martin Harris, with Cowdery doing the bulk of the proofreading. Joseph Smith was in Pennsylvania most of this time and had little to do with the actual printing of the Book of Mormon.

In January, 1830, excerpts from the Book of Mormon appeared in the Reflector, a small Palmyra newspaper published irregularly by Abner Cole, alias "O. Dogberry," and printed at Grandin's shop. The January 2, 1830, issue of the Reflector contains what is now 1 Nephi 1:1 through 1 Nephi 2:3; the January 13 issue, 1 Nephi 2:4-15; and the January 22 issue, Alma 43:22-40. When Cole's piracy was discovered, Joseph Smith was sent for in Pennsylvania; and armed with the copyright, he persuaded Cole to cease printing parts of the Book of Mormon text.

The Wayne Sentinel for March 19, 1830, indicated that the Book of Mormon would be ready within the week, and seven days later the Sentinel announced that the Book of Mormon was "for sale, wholesale and retail, at the Palmyra Book Store."

The 1830 Book of Mormon was originally bound in full

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brown calf with a black leather label on the spine stamped "Book of Mormon." The testimonies of the three and of the eight witnesses appear on both sides of the leaf following page 588. A preface, occupying pages [iii]-iv and appearing only in the first edition, explains the loss of the initial 116 pages of manuscript taken from the plates of Mormon and the injunction not to retranslate that portion but to begin the translation with the plates of Nephi. The copyright notice appears on the verso of the title page.

A number of variants of the 1830 Book of Mormon are known. Janet Jensen of the LDS Church Historian's Library has found some forty points in the text where variants occur. For example, in some copies page iv is numbered vi; on page 81, line 20, the phrase Holy One appears as Holy one in some copies; the word carcasses on page 91, line 9, also appears as carcasses; Judges on page 231, line 6, is rendered judges in some copies; and so on. No pattern to these variants has emerged, and it is likely that none will. Most probably, certain corrections were made at various times while a particular signature was being printed, and the entire run saved, thus giving rise to a number of variants of that signature; and the books were assembled from sheets in several stages of correction, producing a large number of printing variants. To date, Janet Jensen has examined about fifty copies of the 1830 Book of Mormon, no two of which are the same.

In July, 1884, William Kelley, Alexander H. Smith, and Thomas W. Smith, a committee appointed by the RLDS Church, compared the printer's manuscript with a copy of the 1830 Book of Mormon. They discovered some three hundred differences, mainly typographical errors in the printed Book of Mormon or errors in the manuscript, corrected in the printed book. A tabulation of these differences is published in the Saints' Herald for August 23, 1884.

CSmH, CTh, CU-B, DLC, ICHi, ICN, MB, MH, MiU-C, MoHi, MoInRC, MWA, NjP, NN, OCIWHi, PP, TxDaDF, UPB, USIC, UU, WHi.

2. [Prospectus for The Evening and the Morning Star.]  
   [Independence, Mo., 1832.]  
   Broadside?
No copy of this prospectus is known to have survived. Its existence is inferred from the reference to the "prospectus, which was published last winter," in the article "To Man," appearing in the first issue of *The Evening and the Morning Star*, and from the comment in Joseph Smith's history that he received a copy of the prospectus in March, 1832.²⁶

Fortunately, the text of the prospectus was added to the Kirtland reprint of *The Evening and the Morning Star* (Item 16), appearing on the first page of the reprinted *Star*. Dated February 23, 1832, and undoubtedly written by W. W. Phelps, it announces that the *Star* will discuss the revelations of God and provide the Saints with beneficial information "without interfering with politics, broils, or the gainsaying of the world." The prospectus further states that the *Star* will be issued monthly, at one dollar a year, until it seems proper to publish it more often. Parenthetically it mentions that "a supplement will be published weekly, if required, containing the advertisements of Jackson county, &c.," anticipating the *Upper Missouri Advertiser*.


Monthly. 2 vols. (24 whole nos.) 192 pp. 31.2 cm.

The first Mormon newspaper had its conception at a mid-September, 1831, conference in Ohio when

Brother W. W. Phelps was instructed to stop at Cincinnati on his way to Missouri and purchase a press and type, for the purpose of establishing and publishing a monthly paper at Independence, Jackson county, Missouri, to be called *[The] Evening and [the] Morning Star.*²⁷

William Wines Phelps was no stranger to the world of journalism. Before his conversion to Mormonism in June, 1831, he had edited or published three newspapers, the most recent of which was the anti-Masonic *Ontario Phoenix* in Canandaigua, New York. That July he had been designated "a printer unto the church," and subsequently Oliver Cowdery was

²⁶H.C., 1:259.
²⁷H.C., 1:217.
called "to assist W. W. Phelps in conducting the printing business of the Church." 28

Shortly after the first of the year, Phelps and Cowdery were in Independence; and by the end of February, 1832, the new press was in operation enough to issue a prospectus for The Evening and the Morning Star (Item 2). The first number of the Star appeared in June, 1832, to the joy of its supporters. "Delightful, indeed," Joseph Smith recorded in his history,

was it to contemplate that the little band of brethren had become so large, and grown so strong, in so short a time as to be able to issue a paper of their own, which contained not only some of the revelations, but other information also,—which would gratify and enlighten the humble inquirer after truth. 29

Fourteen monthly issues were edited and published by Phelps in Independence from June, 1832, to July, 1833, before the Mormon press was destroyed July 20, 1833.

The power of the press was much too important to the leaders of the Church for them to allow the Star to die, particularly with the Mormon side of the Jackson County difficulties to be aired. Consequently, on September 11, 1833—seven weeks after the destruction of the Star office—during a council in Kirtland, the leaders of the Church resolved to establish a new press in Kirtland under the firm name of F. G. Williams and Company and to continue the Star in Kirtland under Oliver Cowdery's editorship until it could be transferred to Missouri. 30 About the first of December, 1833, Oliver Cowdery and Newell K. Whitney reached Kirtland with a press; on the fourth they began distributing the type; and on December 18, 1833, the first sheet of the Star printed in Kirtland was taken out of the press. 31 Ten monthly issues of the Star were published in Kirtland between December, 1833, and September, 1834, making a total of twenty-four issues in two volumes.

Each issue of the Star consists of eight royal-quarto pages, printed in double columns. None of the pages are numbered for the first twelve issues; but beginning with the thirteenth issue, the pages are numbered consecutively from [97] to 192.

29 H.C., 1:273.
30 H.C., 1:409.
31 H.C., 1:448, 465.
The first fourteen issues of the *Star*, published by Phelps in Independence, include the earliest authorized printings of revelations given to Joseph Smith. The first issue commences with the "Articles and Covenants of the Church of Christ" (now Section 20); and throughout these fourteen issues are published all or parts of twenty-three revelations, each subsequently incorporated into the Doctrine and Covenants.

In addition to the revelations, Phelps included in the *Star* doctrinal discussions, instructions for the Saints, letters from the elders in various parts of the country, and bits of national and foreign news, particularly the catastrophic, which he saw as foreshadowing the Second Advent. Each issue but one contains hymns on the back page, a number composed by Phelps himself, and several which have remained Mormon favorites.

On January 14, 1833, Joseph Smith wrote to Phelps,

We wish you to render the *Star* as interesting as possible, by setting forth the rise, progress, and faith of the Church, as well as the doctrine; for if you do not render it more interesting than at present, it will fall, and the Church suffer a great loss thereby.

In response, Phelps inserted in the April, 1833, issue of the *Star* a brief summary of the history of the young Church entitled, appropriately enough, "Rise and Progress of the Church of Christ"; and in each of the succeeding three issues he included articles or lengthy letters on the progress of the Church and the experiences of the elders abroad.

The fourteenth issue of the *Star*, July, 1833, contains an article, "Free People of Color," that does little more than repeat the laws of Missouri regarding the emigration of free blacks into the state. But a more pointed editorial comment appears on page 111 of the same issue:

As to slaves we have nothing to say. In connection with the wonderful events of this age, much is doing towards abolishing slavery, and colonizing the blacks in Africa.

According to the February, 1834, *Star Extra*, Phelps published these articles to scotch the rumors that the Mormons were

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22The apostate Ezra Booth published a series of letters in the Ravenna Ohio *Star*, October-December 1831, that includes extracts from some of the revelations to Joseph Smith. See also E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, Ohio, 1834), pp. 175-221.

33H.C., 1:317.
tampering with the Jackson County slaves. Their effect, however, was to ignite the fears and hatreds of the local Missourians, leading immediately to the destruction of the Star printing office, and ultimately to the removal of the Saints from Jackson County.

The ten issues published in Kirtland reflect the change in editor. For example, they contain no revelations, and the articles which are included are generally longer and better arranged than in the earlier issues. But of course, Oliver Cowdery was presented with "hot copy," and eight of the ten Kirtland issues of the Star include detailed—and historically important—discussions of the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County. Three long serial articles, "Millennium," "Faith of the Church," and "The Gospel," all written by Sidney Rigdon, commence in this portion of the Star and continue into the Messenger and Advocate.

The circulation of the Star was small, probably no more than a few hundred copies; and apparently by September, 1834, relatively few files existed. (Only two complete files are extant today.) Consequently, the entire twenty-four issues were reprinted in Kirtland between January, 1835, and October, 1836 (Item 16), so that a larger part of the Church membership could become acquainted with, and preserve for their children, this first collection of Mormon writings.

CSmH, MoInRC[nos. 1-14], USIC.


Weekly. 46.4 cm.

Only a single issue of the Upper Missouri Advertiser is extant: no. 3, dated July 11, 1832. A notice in this issue announces that "The Advertiser will be published weekly at Independence, at the rate of seventy-five cents a year, till the sheet is printed on both sides—then one dollar a year: in advance.—Advertisements the customary prices." Presumably the first issue appeared two or more weeks before July 11, 1832. The Saints' petition to Daniel Dunklin, September 28, 1833, refers to "the stoppage [on July 20, 1833] of The Even-

35 E.M.S., p. 192.
ing and Morning Star, a monthly paper, and the Upper Missouri Advertiser, a weekly paper," indicating that the Advertiser was published until the Mormon press in Independence was destroyed.\textsuperscript{36}

The prospectus of The Evening and the Morning Star (Item 2) suggests the possibility of a supplement. And the July, 1832, issue of the Star refers to the Advertiser, published "in connection with the Star," commenting that "it will contain sketches of the news of the day, politics, advertisements, and whatever tends to promote the interest of the Great West." Thus, the Upper Missouri Advertiser was intended to be a community newspaper, serving the non-Mormons as well as the Mormons, whereas the Star was directed primarily to the Saints.

The surviving number consists of a single sheet, 46.4 x 24.1 cm., printed on one side in three columns. It includes news items regarding various parts of the world taken from other newspapers, legal notices, and a list of letters remaining at the Independence Post Office, in addition to an ad soliciting job printing, a notice that Wynkoop Warner has opened a new tavern, and a notice that Peter Whitmer, Jr., has opened a tailoring business in the upper room of Colonel Boggs's house, opposite Warner's Tavern. One further glimpse into the contents of the Advertiser is provided by the Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer for December 11, 1832, which reprints an article in the Advertiser concerning the return of a Captain Bent from a trading expedition to Santa Fe.

\textsc{MWA[no. 3 (11 July 1832)]}

5. Be it known, that I, [blank space] Of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, having become a member of the church of Christ, organized according to [first two lines of print].

[Independence, Mo., 1832?]

Broadside 31 x 19.2 cm.

Be it known, that I, [blank space] Of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, bishop of the church of Christ,

\textsuperscript{36}H.C., 1:412.
organized according to law, and established [first two lines of print].

[Independence, Mo., 1832?]

Broadside 31 x 19.2 cm.

Ordinarily, printed deed forms would not be included in this bibliography. However, these two forms, printed on the Star press, convey such a clear picture of the way the law of consecration as initially conceived was intended to work that they are included here.

The first form conveys property from the Church member to the bishop of the Church. The printed portion indicates that the property is to be used "for the purpose of purchasing lands and building up of the New Jerusalem, even Zion, and for relieving the wants of the poor," and that the member forever releases all rights to it. The second form comprises a lease of property from the bishop to the member. The printed text provides that the leasee agrees to pay all the taxes and to pay yearly to the bishop any surplus income from the property over and above the needs of his family. The lease is to be binding during the life of the leasee, unless he transgresses and is expelled from the Church, in which case the property is forfeited back to the bishop. If the leasee becomes unable to earn a living, he is to be supported by the bishop. Upon the death of the leasee, the lease then applies to his widow until her death, or, if both parents are dead, to the children until they become of age. Both forms provide spaces for the names of the bishop and the member, and for a description of the property under consideration, to be entered in manuscript.

Generally the terms of these two agreements are consistent with the outline of the law of consecration in chapter 44 of the Book of Commandments. The intent of the law, of course, was that those with considerable property would convey to the bishop more than they leased back; and from the surplus thus created the bishop would lease property to those with none and finance the programs of the Church.

None of the five pairs of these forms in the LDS Church Historian's Library bears a date, even though they are filled out in manuscript to particular people. The Historian's Library does have a completely manuscript copy, made in 1862, of
Joseph Knight’s deed dated October 12, 1832. The two forms filled out to Titus Billings are reprinted in *History of the Church* 1:365-7, with no distinction between the printed and manuscript portions.

USIC[Edward Partridge Mss.]

6. The Evening and the Morning Star Extra.—July 16, 1833.

[Independence, Mo., 1833.]

Broadside 21.5 x 16 cm.

Rushed off the press in an effort to dispel the local Missourians’ wrath over the article “Free People of Color” and Phelps’s editorial in the July, 1833, issue of the Star, this Extra declares that the purpose of the article was actually to prevent free people of color from emigrating into the state, and further, that “none will be admitted into the Church.” Copies “were posted up in the village of Independence, at sundry times, and immediately pulled down by the mob.”

One suspects, however, that the Extra itself was counterproductive, despite its overreaching disavowal; for it repeats the comment in Phelps’s editorial, “in connection with the wonderful events of this age much is doing towards abolishing slavery,” that certainly was offensive to the slave-holding Missourians.

The text of the Extra is printed in Joseph Smith’s history (*History of the Church* 1:378-9) with a couple of unimportant—yet perplexing—changes.

USIC

7. A book of commandments, for the government of the Church of Christ. Organized according to law, on the 6th of April, 1830.

Zion [Independence, Mo.]: Published by W. W. Phelps & Co., 1833.

160 pp. 11.5 cm.

Three months after the Church was organized, Joseph Smith and John Whitmer began to arrange and copy the

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27 *E.M.S. Extra*, February, 1834.
revelations that Joseph Smith had received up to that time.38 And during this early period, manuscript copies of certain of these revelations were distributed to a few of the Church members.39 With the prospects of a Mormon press came the possibility of printing Joseph Smith's revelations and making them more widely available to the Church membership. At a conference in Hiram, Ohio, November 1-2, 1831, six weeks after the decision to establish a press in Independence, it was agreed to print the revelations—more than sixty at this point—in book form under the title "Book of Commandments," in an edition of 10,000 copies. And Oliver Cowdery was delegated to carry the manuscript revelations to Missouri for printing.40 In the afternoon of the first day of this conference, the preface to the Book of Commandments (now Section 1) was revealed through Joseph Smith, and two days later he received the revelation known as the "Appendix" (Section 133), which was to conclude the book.

For two weeks following the conference, Joseph Smith reviewed and arranged the manuscript revelations.41 Two additional revelations related to the Book of Commandments were given him at this time, the first (Section 69) directing John Whitmer, the official Church recorder and historian, to accompany Oliver Cowdery to Missouri; and the second (Section 70) calling Joseph Smith, Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, Sidney Rigdon, and W. W. Phelps to be "stewards over the revelations and commandments." This group, subsequently known as the "Literary Firm," was to assume the responsibility for publishing the revelations. Their support was to come from the proceeds of this publishing venture and any profits over and above what was needed for their support were to be paid into the bishops storehouse.

Cowdery and Whitmer left Kirtland November 20, 1831, arriving in Independence January 5, 1832.42 That April, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and others journeyed to Independence, bringing with them paper for the Independence

38H.C., 1:104.
39Orson Pratt, for example, remarks in the Seer, March 1854, p. 228, that he had personal copies of the revelations. The LDS Church Historian's Library has three small manuscript notebooks that belonged to private individuals and that contain revelations.
40H.C., 1:221-22, 229.
41H.C., 1:235.
42Heman C. Smith, p. 135.
press. On April 30, 1832, the publishing of the revelations was again taken up:

A council meeting of the Literary Firm was held in Zion, Jackson County, Mo. There was present: Joseph Smith Jun, Sidney Rigdon, John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, Wm. W. Phelps and Jesse Gause (one of the President's Counselors). The Council ordered that 3000 copies of the Book of Commandments should be printed as the first edition. . . . Brother Wm. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer were appointed to review the Book of Commandments and select for printing such as should be deemed by them proper, as dictated by the spirit, and make all necessary verbal corrections.

It would appear that the revelations of Joseph Smith were originally recorded on individual pieces of paper such as those now in the Brigham Young University's Whitney Manuscripts Collection. Mary Rollins Lightner remembered the brethren at her home in Independence discussing the revelations before they were printed, and recalled that the revelations "were in large sheets, not folded." Ultimately, a printer's manuscript was made, from which the Book of Commandments was set in type. The RLDS Church owns four leaves of this printer's manuscript, in the handwriting of John Whitmer and bearing the marks of its usage by the typesetter.

The Book of Commandments was in the press by December, 1832. Five months later the *Star* published the "Appendix" with the comment that

the book from which this important revelation is taken, will be published in the course of the present year, at from 25, to 50 cents a copy. We regret that in consequence of circumstances not within our control, this book will not be offered to our brethren as soon as was anticipated. We beg their forebearance, and solicit an interest in their prayers, promising to use our exertions with all our means to accomplish the work.

Early in June, Phelps was far enough along in the printing to write to the Church leaders regarding binding the Book of Commandments and shipping copies to Kirtland. In re-

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43 *H.C.*, 1:266.
44 "J.H.,” 30 April 1832.
46 *E.M.S.*, December 1832.
sponse Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams advised,

First, as respects getting the Book of Commandments bound, we think it is not necessary. They will be sold well without binding, and there is no bookbinder to be had that we know of, nor are there materials to be had for binding, without keeping the books too long from circulation.47

By July 20, 1833, the first five signatures, comprising 160 pages of the Book of Commandments, had been printed. That afternoon a large body of Missourians swarmed into the Star office, throwing the press and type out of an upper story window before pulling down the building. Close by, Mary Elizabeth Rollins and her sister Caroline watched the destruction; and in a heroic moment the two girls rescued some of the Book of Commandments sheets. Years later Mary Rollins described the incident:

When the mob was tearing down the printing office, a two story building, driving Brother Phelps' family out of the lower part of the house, they (the mob) brought out some large sheets of paper, saying, "Here are the Mormon commandments." My sister, 12 years old (I was then 14) and myself were in a corner of a fence watching them. When they spoke about them being the commandments, I was determined to have some of them. So while their backs were turned, prying out the gable end of the house, we ran and gathered up all we could carry in our arms. As we turned away, two of the mob got down off the house and called for us to stop, but we ran as fast as we could, through a gap in the fence into a large corn field, and the two men after us. We ran a long way in the field, laid the papers on the ground, then laid down on top of them. The corn was very high and thick. They hunted all around us, but did not see us. After we were satisfied they had given up the search, we tried to find our way out of the field. The corn was so tall we thought we were lost. On looking up we saw some trees that had been girdled to kill them. We followed them and came to an old log stable, which looked like it had not been used for years. Sister Phelps and family were there, carrying in brush and piling it up on one side of the stable to make their beds on. She asked us what we had. We told her and also how we came by them. She took them and placed them between her beds. Subsequently Oliver Cowdery bound them in small books and gave me one.48

47H.C., 1:362.
48Mary E. Rollins Lightner to the Editor, 12 February 1904, Deseret Evening News, 20 February 1904, p. 24. See also "Diary of Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner."
(Mary Rollins's copy of the Book of Commandments is now in the DeGolyer Foundation Library, Dallas, Texas.)

Some time later when the press had been moved from the street and Edward Partridge had apparently recovered from his tarring and feathering, a second batch of Book of Commandments sheets was salvaged by John Taylor, a twenty-year-old Mormon convert of seven months from Kentucky:

In 1833 at the time of the destruction of the printing press in Independence, Jackson Co. the printed sheets of the Book of Commandments and the pied type and press were thrown in an old log stable by the mob. I asked Bp. Partridge if I might go and get out some copies of the Book of Commandments. He said it would most likely cost me my life if I attempted it. I told him I did not mind hazarding my life to secure some copies of the commandments. He then said I might go. I ran my hand into a crack between the logs and pulled out a few at a time until I got as many as I could carry, when I was discovered. A dozen men surrounded me and commenced throwing stones at me and I shouted out "Oh my God must I be stoned to death like Stephen for the sake of the word of the Lord." The Lord gave me strength and skill to elude them and make my escape without being hit by a stone. I delivered the copies to Bp. Partridge who said I had done a good work and my escape was a miracle. These I believe are the only copies of that edition of the Book of Commandments preserved from destruction.49

Sets of sheets of the Book of Commandments were saved in other ways. William E. McLellin, for example, reportedly said that to compile his copy he gathered up the leaves as they blew about the street.50 And it is apparent from the letter of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams to W. W. Phelps, June 25, 1833, that at least one copy of the fourth signature was sent to Kirtland.51 Copies of the other signatures were undoubtedly sent also.

49Statement of John Taylor dictated to Leo Hawkins and George A. Smith, Salt Lake Cit, 15 April 1858; MS, USIC. See also "J.H.," 20 July 1833. For biographical information on John Taylor (not to be confused with the third President of the Church), see "Family Group Record of John Taylor (1812-1896)," Genealogical Society Library Salt Lake City; F. Esshom, Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah (Salt Lake City, 1913), p. 1285; and In the Circuit Court of the United States . . . the Reorganized Church . . . vs. the Church of Christ . . . Complainant's Abstract of Pleading and Evidence . . . (Lamoni, Iowa, 1893), pp. 188-94.
50Saints' Herald 31(1884), p. 563.
51H.C., 1:364.
The salvaged Book of Commandments consists of 160 pages. The phrase "Copy Right Secured according to Law" appears on the verso of the title page. The revelations, received by Joseph Smith between July, 1828, and September 11, 1831, are arranged essentially chronologically in sixty-five chapters numbered with Roman numerals, and occupy pages [3]-160. Curiously enough, the title page occurs in three states:

state a: without a border,
state b: with border of fleur-de-lis-like figures,
state c: with a border of point-to-point diamonds.

The reason for the different title pages is not known. Perhaps Phelps had been experimenting, and because only a limited number of sheets were rescued, all varieties of the title page were used to compile complete sets of the five signatures. The surviving copies of the Book of Commandments occur in a diversity of bindings, many obviously homemade, a reflection of the salvaged nature of the book.

Despite some argument to the contrary (e.g., David Whitmer's *Address to All Believers in the Book of Mormon* [Richmond, 1887], p. 5), it is clear that the Book of Commandments was incomplete at the time the Mormon press was destroyed. The "Appendix," which was to be the final chapter of the book, is not included. Moreover, the printer's manuscript owned by the RLDS Church shows that the last page of the Book of Commandments ends three-fourths of the way through chapter 65; the manuscript includes the latter half of this chapter and bears the printer's "take sign" around the word Ephraim, the last word on page 160, leaving fifteen manuscript lines of the chapter unprinted.

Just what the completed Book of Commandments would have contained is, of course, conjectural. Eight revelations printed in the Star do not appear in the Book of Commandments. Presumably all these were to have been included. The RLDS Church's printer's manuscript contains two others (Sections 66 and 81) that are not printed in either the Star or the Book of Commandments. If the Book of Commandments was to have contained all the sections that appear in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants and that were received

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52 E.M.S., p. 189.
by Joseph Smith after chapter 65 of the Book of Commandments and before the “Olive Leaf” (Section 88)—the latest revelation included in the Star—then twenty-one additional chapters were intended for the finished book. It would seem, therefore, that the completed Book of Commandments would have contained at least ten, and possibly as many as twenty, additional chapters.

Parts or all of fifteen revelations in the Book of Commandments appear in the Star; in each case the two printings are the same. All of the chapters in the Book of Commandments are reprinted in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, but with substantial changes.

CSmH[a], CtY[b], CU-B[b], DLC[b], ICN[a], MoInRC[a, b,c], NN[b], TxDaDF[b], UPB, USLC[a], UU[a]

8. [Handbill dated December 12, 1833.]
[Liberty, Mo.? 1833?]
Broadside?

[Kirtland, 1834.]
Broadsheet 31.7 x 24.2 cm. In two columns.

No copy of the Missouri printing of the December 12, 1833, handbill (Item 8) has been located. Its existence is established, however, by several contemporary references. The “Second Petition to the President of the United States,” dated at Liberty, Missouri, April 10, 1834, refers to the handbill, a copy of which accompanied the petition. In a letter written February 10, 1834, Oliver Cowdery remarks:

I received a long circular, or handbill, this evening from Zion, written by our brethren in that country and printed; I shall have it set out, and sent, Extra Star.

And the Star Extra (Item 9) that reprints the handbill contains two references to the original.

An educated guess can be made about the place the hand-

\[H.C., 1:483.\]
\[O. Cowdery to S. W. Denton, Kirtland, 10 February 1834, “C.L.”\]
bill was printed. After the *Star* office was destroyed, the press was put into operation by Messrs. Kelly and Davis, who began publishing the *Upper Missouri Enquirer* in January, 1834. The *Enquirer* advertised for job printing in its January 25 issue. And W. W. Phelps did have some business with this shop, as shown by Oliver Cowdery's inquiry of January 21, 1834, about Phelps's dealings with "the new office in Liberty." So it seems probable that the original handbill was printed at the shop of the *Upper Missouri Enquirer* in Liberty, Missouri, late in December, 1833, or in January, 1834.

The February, 1834, *Star Extra* (Item 9) contains, together with two comments by Oliver Cowdery, editor of the *Star*, the reprinted text of the Missouri handbill entitled " 'The Mormons' so called," and signed Parley Pratt, Newell Knight, John Carrill [Corrill], December 12, 1833. Beginning with a brief reference to the Mormon emigration into Jackson County, the handbill recounts the events leading up to the destruction of the *Star* office, the agreement of the Mormons to leave Jackson by April 1, 1834, and their violent expulsion in November, 1833. This account largely agrees—at a number of points word for word—with the corresponding part in Parley Pratt's *History of the Late Persecution* (Item 51), making it clear that Parley Pratt actually wrote the handbill and used it five years later in composing his *History of the Late Persecution*. It is a bibliographical milestone, therefore, signaling the entrance into print of one of Mormondom's most gifted writers. The *Extra* itself is a valuable source, supplying some details of the Jackson County difficulties not readily available elsewhere.

Item 9: USIC

10. Verily, I say unto you, concerning your brethren [first line of text].

[Kirtland? 1834?]

Broadsheet 32 x 19.5 cm. In two columns.

11. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, who have assembled [first line of text].

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55O. Cowdery to W. W. Phelps and J. Whitmer, 21 January 1834, "C.L."
[Kirtland? 1834?]
Broadsheet 32 x 22 cm. In two columns.

12. Behold, blessed saith the Lord, are they [first line of text].

[Kirtland? 1834?]
Broadside 24.6 x 17.8 cm. In two columns.

The first of the two broadsheets above (Item 10) consists of the revelation given to Joseph Smith December 16, 1833 (now Section 101), explaining the loss of Mormon lands in Jackson County, Missouri. Only the text of the revelation is contained in the broadsheet; there is no title, imprint, or additional explanatory text. It would appear that this was printed late in December, 1833, or early in January, 1834. The Painesville Telegraph for January 24, 1834, printed the revelation (as in the broadsheet except for modifications in punctuation and paragraphing) preceded by the comment that

soon after the above accounts [of the Mormon removal from Jackson County] were received at the head quarters of the Mormon Prophet, in this county, the following document (which they call a revelation) was printed and privately circulated among the deluded followers of the imposter Smith.

The second broadsheet (Item 11) consists of two revelations to Joseph Smith: what is now Section 88:1-126, the "Olive Leaf," revealed December 27, 1832; and Section 89, the "Word of Wisdom," Mormondom's rule of health, received February 27, 1833. The identical type faces and overall similarity in format, together with the differences (differing column widths and center rules), suggest that the two broadsheets were printed about the same time, but not as a pair, on the Mormon press in Kirtland. In any case, the second broadsheet was printed after December 18, 1833, when the Kirtland press began operation.

As far as is known, none of the three revelations included in these two broadsheets appeared earlier in print, with the exception of the last three paragraphs of the broadsheet version of the "Olive Leaf" which were printed in The Evening and the Morning Star, February, 1833, with a few minor
differences. All three revelations appear in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants (as Sections 97, 7, and 80, respectively) textually the same as in their broadsheet printings. In the 1835 and subsequent editions of the Doctrine and Covenants, however, additional material is added at the end of the broadsheet text of the "Olive Leaf." That material appears in the present edition as verses 127-41. Presumably this added portion was not a part of the "Olive Leaf" as originally sent to W. W. Phelps by Joseph Smith January 14, 1833, for when he printed the extract in the February, 1833, Star, Phelps remarked that this was the "concluding paragraph of a late revelation." A part of the added portion was published separately in the March, 1833, issue of the Star.

The broadside (Item 12) contains the text of the revelation now printed as Section 59. Revealed to Joseph Smith August 7, 1831, it outlines a standard of conduct for the Saints, with emphasis on the observance of the Sabbath. In format the broadside is similar to the broadsheets, except that the text begins with an enlarged boldface letter "B" and is divided into numbered verses. Again only the text of the revelation is printed, without a title, date, or additional material. This revelation appeared earlier in the Star (July, 1832) and as chapter 60 in the Book of Commandments. Its text in the Book of Commandments (which also commences with a boldface "B") is identical to that in the broadside, including an identical division into numbered verses. It also appears in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants (as Section 19) with one grammatical change, a number of changes in punctuation, and a different versification. There is little doubt that the broadside is a Kirtland imprint: the boldface "B" is the font of the Kirtland press rather than that of the Independence press, and the center rule is the same as that in the second broadsheet. Since the broadside employs the earlier text in the Book of Commandments and generally follows the format of the two broadsheets, it was probably printed early in 1834, about the same time as the broadsheets.

Items 10 and 11: UPB
Item 12: USlC

13. Sidney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery.

56H.C., 1:316.
Dear Brethren,—[Signed and dated at end:] Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery. Kirtland, Ohio, May 10, 1834.

[Kirtland, 1834.]

Broadsheet 31.5 x 19.4 cm.

This important document was actually written by Oliver Cowdery; it is copied into his letterbook, now in the Huntington Library, under the title, "Circular to the churches, written by Oliver Cowdery." Generally overlooked by historians in the past, it is vital to an understanding of Zion's Camp inasmuch as it expresses the Mormons' assumptions and expectations at the outset of the expedition.

Dated five days after Joseph Smith and the main body of Zion's Camp left Kirtland, the circular states that upon the arrival of the Camp in Missouri, the brethren there will inform the governor, Daniel Dunklin, that they are ready to move back upon their Jackson County lands. "The Governor is bound to call out the Militia and take them back," the circular continues, "and has informed our brethren of his readiness so to do, previous to this time." The circular goes on to explain that after the militia has escorted the Mormons back to their lands, the Jackson County Saints together with Zion's Camp will be enough to "maintain the ground" after the militia has been discharged.

Mainly, the circular is an appeal to those in the various branches of the Church to join Zion's Camp and contribute funds to sustain the Saints in Missouri until new crops can be put in and harvested. Additional men are needed, the circular explains, so that Mormons moving between Missouri and Ohio can do so in groups large enough for their protection, and so that a sufficient number of Saints in Missouri can be maintained when some need to return to Kirtland.

USIC

[Kirtland, 1834.]

Broadsheet 32.9 x 25 cm. In two columns.

This appeal was composed by the leaders of the Church in Missouri in July, 1834, and sent to Kirtland for printing.\(^{57}\) It was published both in the August, 1834, issue of the Star and as an extra. Copies of the Extra were mailed to various newspapers and reprinted in some (e.g., the Columbia Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser for October 11, 1834).

Alluding to the events accompanying the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County and the futile attempts to obtain redress, the appeal quotes from the Book of Commandments to show that the Saints are forbidden to obtain redress by the shedding of blood, and asks the leaders of the nation for a peaceful restoration of the Mormons' rights to own land in Jackson County and to worship as they please. It further declares that a "gathering" has begun in Missouri for the purpose of building a holy city, and urges an honest examination of Mormon principles. In conclusion it pleads for peace and for the protection of the Saints wherever they might be.

Both texts of the appeal in the Extra and in the August, 1834, Star are printed from a rearrangement of the same type setup.

USIC

15. Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate. Kirtland, Ohio, October 1834—September 1837.

Monthly. 3 vols. (36 whole nos.) 576 pp. 23 cm.

At the council meeting in Kirtland, September 11, 1833, where the decision was reached to establish a press in that city, it was also resolved that the Star would be continued there temporarily and at some future time a Kirtland periodical would be commenced entitled the Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate.\(^{58}\) One year later the twenty-fourth issue of the Star (September, 1834) announced the implementation of this decision:

\(^{57}\)Heman C. Smith, p. 295.

\(^{58}\)H.C., 1:409.
As this number closes the second volume of the Star, the publishers have thought proper to issue another paper entitled The Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate, upon the same size sheet, in octavo form, for the more easy and convenient purpose of binding . . . .

As the Evening and the Morning Star was designed to be published at Missouri, it was considered that another name would be more appropriate for a paper in this place; consequently, as the name of this church has lately been entitled the church of the Latter Day Saints, and since it is destined, at least for a season, to bear the reproach and stigma of this world, it is no more than just, that a paper disseminating the doctrines believed by the same, and advocating its character and rights, should be entitled "MESSENGER AND ADVOCATE."

In October, 1834, the first number of the Messenger and Advocate appeared, and for the next three years it issued monthly from the Mormon press in Kirtland. As with its predecessor, one dollar purchased a year's subscription.

Oliver Cowdery continued as editor of the Messenger and Advocate for the first eight issues. In May, 1835, he was replaced by John Whitmer, apparently because of Cowdery's increased responsibilities resulting from his appointment as an assistant president of the Church in December, 1834.50 Whitmer served as editor for the next ten issues, June, 1835, to March, 1836. Despite the statement in Oliver Cowdery's valedictory in the May, 1835, Messenger and Advocate that John Whitmer would conduct the paper from Missouri, Whitmer remained in Kirtland during the time he was editor and was active in the printing office.60 W. W. Phelps was also in Kirtland during this period, and it is apparent from his diary and from the number of articles in the Messenger and Advocate signed with his boldface initial "P" that Phelps performed a substantial part of the editorial labors.61 Oliver Cowdery again assumed the editorial chair in March, 1836, presumably because of the return of Phelps and Whitmer to Missouri; and the Messenger and Advocate listed him as editor for ten issues, whole numbers 19-28 (April, 1836—January, 1837). It was Oliver Cowdery's brother, Warren

50 H.C., 2:176.
61 "Diary of W. W. Phelps" (1835); MS, USIC.
A. Cowdery, however, who carried the editorial burden during this period. He officially became the editor with the February, 1837, issue (whole number 29), serving until the Messenger and Advocate ceased publication in September, 1837.

The changes in ownership of the Kirtland printing office are reflected in the Messenger and Advocate's publishers. F. G. Williams and Company is listed as the publisher of the first nineteen numbers, and Oliver Cowdery as "editor and proprietor" of whole numbers 21-28. J. Smith, Jr., and S. Rigdon appear as publishers of the next two issues, and William Marks is listed as publisher and proprietor of whole numbers 31-34. No publisher is indicated for the last two numbers.

Each issue of the Messenger and Advocate consists of sixteen pages, octavo in size, printed in double columns. The entire file comprises three volumes of twelve numbers each, the whole continuously paged. The paper was a monthly, but on a number of occasions it appeared very late, a fact that must be kept in mind when one attempts to date a particular event from its pages. The first issue, for example, carries an apology for its delay. And in a letter to his wife, November 14, 1835, W. W. Phelps remarks that "the Messenger and Advocate has been and is yet five or six weeks behind its time." This delay continued, for the January, 1836, issue contains a letter dated February 1. The first issue of the third volume indicates that the publishers had hoped to begin publishing the Messenger and Advocate as a semi-monthly, but abandoned the idea because of so many unpaid subscriptions.

The prospectus of the Messenger and Advocate, printed in the last issue of the Star, announced that the authors of communications published in the Messenger and Advocate would be identified by name. During the first eight issues this policy was fairly well followed. Starting with the ninth issue, however, a number of articles and hymns are signed with the initials "P," "C," and "R," in boldface, designating W. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, and Sidney Rigdon, respectively. From the nineteenth issue on, frequent contributions of Warren A. Cowdery occur signed with a "W."

63 W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 14 November 1835.
The *Messenger and Advocate* is a basic source for the study of the Ohio period of Mormonism. In its pages are found doctrinal essays, official statements of the Church leaders, announcements and minutes of conferences and meetings, news of the progress of the Church in Kirtland and elsewhere, responses to anti-Mormon attacks, and letters from the elders in outlying branches of the Church. Eight of the first thirteen numbers, for example, print letters from Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps that contain the first published account of the birth of Mormonism.

CSmH, CtY, CU-B [v. 1-2], MH [v. 1-2], MiU-C, MoInRC, NN, OCHP, OCIWHi [v. 1], UPB, USIC, UU

16. Evening and Morning Star. Independence, Mo. and Kirtland, Ohio, June 1832—September 1834. [Kirtland, January 1835—October 1836.]

2 vols. (24 whole nos.) 384 pp. 24 cm.

The final number of *The Evening and the Morning Star* (September, 1834) announced in a prospectus that the entire two volumes of the *Star* would be reprinted by F. G. Williams and Company in octavo format suitable for binding, and that at least two numbers of the reprint would be issued each month, commencing that November, at two dollars for the two volumes, payable in advance. Despite the positiveness of this announcement, the first issue of the reprinted *Star* did not appear until January, 1835. Four more issues came off the press during the next five months; only one further issue appeared during the nine months following, undoubtedly because of the printing of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants and the 1835 hymnal; and then between April and October, 1836, the remaining eighteen issues were reprinted, completing the two volumes.

Oliver Cowdery conducted the reprinting of the *Star*; his name appears as the publisher of the last thirteen issues of the reprint, and a statement at the end of the first reprinted issue regarding changes in the revelations is signed by him as editor of the *Messenger and Advocate*.64

64See also O. Cowdery to N. K. Whitney, 4 February 1835; Whitney MSS, UPB.
The reprinted Star bears a shortened name: Evening and Morning Star. It consists of twenty-four sixteen-page octavo issues, in double columns and continuously paged, the format of the Messenger and Advocate rather than of the original Star. More important, the content of the reprint differs from that of the original. First there are additions: the text of the prospectus of The Evening and the Morning Star (Item 2) is added to the first reprinted issue; the first and third reprinted issues contain statements regarding changes in the revelations; four hymns not in the original are added to the fifth and sixth issues; the fifth reprinted issue contains an apology for its delay because of the printing of "a book of much importance" (the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants); and the seventh reprinted issue includes both an assurance that the reprinting will soon be completed and an announcement that a bindery will shortly be established. There are also omissions: the article "Worldly Matters" is deleted from the first reprinted issue, and "Hosea Ch. III" and the poem, "The Body Is but Chaff," from the second. Generally much of the material appearing in the original is rearranged in the reprinted Star; for example, the minutes of the May 3, 1834 conference at which the name of the Church was changed, originally printed in the twentieth number of The Evening and the Morning Star, are in the twenty-second issue of the reprint.

The more difficult problem, however, involves textual changes. A curious one occurs in the article, "The Gathering," in the sixth issue. Here the population of the Jackson County Saints is originally given as 465 Church members and 345 nonmembers and children, while in the reprint these figures are changed to 472 and 358, respectively. The most significant changes, of course, are those in the printed revelations. Apart from numerous grammatical improvements, these changes mainly reflect additions to the Church's government structure and adjustments in the implementation of the law of consecration. The prospectus for the reprint as well as the statements in the first and third reprinted issues pass these changes off simply as corrections of typographical and copying errors. But this seems less than candid in view of the letter of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams, June 25, 1833, that mentions typographical errors
in the Book of Commandments and lists only four obvious and minor ones.\textsuperscript{65}

CSmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, MH, MiU-C, MoHi, MoInRC, NN, OCIWHi, UPB, USIC, UU

17. Northern Times. Kirtland, Ohio, February 1835—
Weekly. 54 cm.

The idea of a Mormon political newspaper dates as early as 1833. On November 29, 1833, Oliver Cowdery wrote to Horace Kingsbury that "we shall print the Democrat in this place [Kirtland], as circumstances render it impossible to print it elsewhere. We shall draw a Prospectus soon."\textsuperscript{66} And six days later Joseph Smith wrote to Edward Partridge, "We expect shortly to publish a political paper, weekly, in favor of the present administration . . . for thereby we can show the public the purity of our intention in supporting the government under which we live."\textsuperscript{67} Not until over a year later, however, did these hopes materialize. In February, 1835, the Northern Times appeared, to a chorus of derisive welcomes from other local newspapers (e.g., the Painesville Telegraph, February 20, 1835, and the Chardon Spectator and Geauga Gazette, February 21, 1835). The Chardon Spectator subsequently remarked that the Times had previously appeared as "two little black half sheets, under the same title, just before our late [fall, 1834] election."\textsuperscript{68} Whether this refers to a Northern Times prospectus or an abortive attempt to launch the Times, or is simply a Spectator error, is not known.

Only three complete issues of the Times and fragments of two others are extant, spanning the period August 7, 1835, to January 13, 1836. The exact date of the first issue and the length of the newspaper's life are unknown. The surviving issues indicate that the Times was a six-column, four-page weekly, printed on the Kirtland press by F. G. Williams and Company, with Oliver Cowdery as its first editor.\textsuperscript{69} In May,
1835, Frederick G. Williams was appointed to edit the *Times*; but it is apparent from Oliver Cowdery's correspondence that Cowdery remained the guiding spirit, and from W. W. Phelps's diary that, at least in June, 1835, Phelps was doing much of the editorial work.⁷⁰

A partisan newspaper reflecting the Democratic inclination of the Mormons, the *Times* printed local and national news, editorialized on local, state, and national political questions, and endorsed candidates for public office. The issues of October 2 and 9, 1835, urged the local residents to the polls to vote the Democratic ticket in the upcoming county election and prominently displayed an ad supporting Martin Van Buren for president and Richard M. Johnson for vice-president, thirteen months before the national election.

CtY [v. 1, nos. 27-28(2,9 Oct. 1835)], UPB [v. 1, no. 19(7 Aug. 1835) first leaf], USIC [v. 1, no. 36(2 Dec. 1835) and v. 1, no. 42(13 Jan. 1836) first leaf]

18. Parley Parker Pratt.

A short account of a shameful outrage, committed by a part of the inhabitants of the town of Mentor, upon the person of Elder Parley P. Pratt, while delivering a public discourse upon the subject of the gospel; April 7th, 1835.

[Kirtland? 1835?]

11 pp. 18.7 cm.

While the other members of the newly called Quorum of the Twelve Apostles were preparing for their first mission as a quorum, Parley Pratt visited the town of Mentor, five miles northeast of Kirtland, on a preaching expedition, with disastrous results. This little pamphlet describes the incident.

The first section tells of Parley's return to Mentor in order to fill an appointment to preach two days after his initial visit. Commencing his discourse on the steps of the Campbellite meetinghouse, Parley was soon greeted by the local band who played as loudly and competitively as they could. When it became apparent that their music would not

drive him from the meetinghouse steps, the musicians pelted Parley with eggs, thereby hastening the close of his sermon.

The second section of the pamphlet contains a summary of Parley’s discourse on the occasion; the third includes a few editorial remarks; and the fourth provides another account by one who signs himself “A New Englander.”

A brief description of the incident is also given in Parley Pratt’s *Autobiography* (1874), pages 138-39.

One’s expectation that the pamphlet was printed on the Mormon press in Kirtland is confirmed by a comparison of the pamphlet’s type face with that of *The Evening and the Morning Star*; for example, the characteristic type of the phrase *town of Mentor* in the pamphlet’s title agrees with that of the word *Prospectus* on the last page of the *Star*.

USIC

19. Parley Parker Pratt.

The Millennium, a poem. To which is added hymns and songs on various subjects, new and interesting, adapted to the dispensation of the fulness of times. . . .

Boston: Printed for Elder Parley P. Pratt, author and proprietor, 1835.

52 pp. 14.7 cm.

The preface of this first book of Mormon poetry explains that “The Millennium was written in about two months, while journeying the distance of ten or twelve hundred miles, and preaching almost daily, and also attending seven or eight missionary conferences of the elders of the church.” This clearly refers to the missionary journey of the Twelve Apostles that extended from May 4 to September 26, 1835, during which Parley Pratt twice visited the city of Boston.71

The book is comprised of “The Millennium,” a long narrative poem in six chapters (pp. 9-30); eleven hymns (pp. 31-52); and a preface (pp. 5-7) that seems to have been written mainly by someone other than Parley Pratt. “The Millennium” outlines the major gospel events from the dis-

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persion of Israel to the millennial reign of Jesus Christ, and is more important as an early expression of Mormon thought than as a piece of poetry.

Each item in this 1835 publication is reprinted in Parley Pratt's less rare *Millennium and Other Poems . . . .* (New York, 1840). Parts of "The Millennium" are included in his *Voice of Warning* (1837), pages 121, 159, 168-71, and 192. Eight of the eleven hymns appear in the first European Mormon hymnal, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns . . . .* (Manchester, 1840). And one of these hymns, "Ye Chosen Twelve, to You Are Given," is maintained in the current LDS hymnal.

DLC, USIC


[Kirtland, 1835.]

Broadside 36 x 26 cm. In three columns.

This broadside comprises the first of the seven "Lectures on Faith" that begin the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. A comparison of broken type shows that the broadside was printed from a rearrangement of the same type setup used to print the first lecture in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. And the few changes that occur between the two suggest that the broadside is the earlier printing. The Doctrine and Covenants was in the press in June, 1835, so the broadside was apparently struck off about this time for advanced distribution.

Only a single copy of this item is extant, in the possession of William Powell, a private collector in California. (Photocopies are at UPB and USIC.)

21. Doctrine and covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints: carefully selected from the revelations of God, and compiled by Joseph Smith Junior, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams, [Presiding Elders of said Church.] Proprietors.

Kirtland, Ohio: Printed by F. G. Williams & Co. for the proprietors, 1835.
A second effort to publish the revelations in book form was specifically launched at a meeting of the High Council at Kirtland, September 24, 1834. After some preliminary business,

the council then proceeded to appoint a committee to arrange the items of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, for the government of the Church of Latter-day Saints. . . . These items are to be taken from the Bible, Book of Mormon, and the revelations which have been given to the Church up to this date, or that shall be given until such arrangements are made.

Councilor Samuel H. Smith nominated President Joseph Smith, Jun., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams to compose said committee, which was seconded by Councilor Hyrum Smith. The Councilors then gave their vote in the affirmative, which was also agreed to by the whole conference.

The council then decided that said committee, after arranging and publishing said Book of Covenants, have the avails of the same.\textsuperscript{72}

In May, 1835, W. W. Phelps was added to this committee.\textsuperscript{73} Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Phelps, of course, were members of the original Literary Firm that undertook the publishing of the Book of Commandments. Frederick G. Williams, Church printer and a scribe to Joseph Smith, as well as one of the First Presidency, apparently was added to the firm in March, 1833.\textsuperscript{74} Phelps's correspondence and a reference in Joseph Smith's history make it clear that the publishing of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants was also the Literary Firm's enterprise.\textsuperscript{75}

A printer's manuscript for the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants has not been found. The manuscript volume "Kirtland Revelations," now in the LDS Church Historian's Library, contains a number of the revelations printed in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. In addition, it bears some corrections in the handwriting of Joseph Smith that are consistent with the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, as well as the notation "To go

\textsuperscript{72}H.C., 2:165.

\textsuperscript{73}H.C., 2:227. "Diary of W. W. Phelps."

\textsuperscript{74}Doctrine and Covenants, Section 92.

\textsuperscript{75}H.C., 2:434. W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, Kirtland, 16 September 1835, as quoted in "J.H.," 16 September 1835.
into the covenants" by a few of the revelations. These facts suggest that "Kirtland Revelations" was used in the preparation of a printer’s manuscript. (Incidentally, Oliver Cowdery’s copy of the Book of Commandments bearing his handwritten corrections for a second edition surfaced momentarily thirty years ago.)

A notice in the fifth issue of the *Evening and Morning Star* indicates that the Doctrine and Covenants was in the press in June, 1835. By August 17, 1835 (when Joseph Smith and Frederick G. Williams were in Michigan), it was complete enough that it could be presented by Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and W. W. Phelps to a general assembly of the Church for approval. The August, 1835, issue of the *Messenger and Advocate*, which includes the minutes of this August 17 General Assembly, announced that "the Doctrine and Covenants . . . is nearly ready for sale. At any rate it may be expected in the course of a month, as one thousand copies have already been delivered to the binder.” By mid-September the first copies were delivered by the Cleveland binder. Writing to his wife from Kirtland, September 16, 1835, W. W. Phelps remarked,

We received some of the Commandments from Cleveland last week. I shall try and send 100 copies to the Saints in Zion this fall by Brother William Tippets; he starts next week. I know there are 100 Saints who will have their dollar ready when he arrives for a book. We put them at a dollar in order to help us a little, considering how much we have lost by the Jackson mob. I would not be without one for $5.00. . . . David Whitmer and Samuel H. Smith have been appointed general agents for the literary firm to take and sell books among the extensive branches of the Church etc.76

The book’s preface (pp. [iii]-iv), signed by Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams, February 17, 1835, alludes to the "aversion in the minds of some against receiving anything purporting to be articles of religious faith," and defends the book as a needed statement of the beliefs of the Latter-day Saints, who have been so widely misrepresented. (Years later David Whitmer, in his *Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, 1887), described his

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76W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 16 September 1835.
opposition to the Doctrine and Covenants because it enunciated a creed for the Latter-day Saints.)

The first main part of the book (pp. [5]-74) is occupied with the seven "Lectures on Faith." These lectures, delivered before the school of the Elders in Kirtland during the preceding winter, cover such basic doctrines as the necessity and effect of faith; the attributes of God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost; man's relationship to God; and the nature of salvation; with supporting citations from the Bible, Book of Mormon, and in some cases, the Book of Commandments. Three of these lectures appeared earlier in print, the first as a broadside (Item 20) and the fifth and sixth in the May, 1835, Messenger and Advocate. Exactly who authored the lectures is not clear, although Sidney Rigdon is a possibility. In any case, their final form bears the influence of Joseph Smith, who in his history remarks, "During the month of January [1835], I was engaged in the school of the Elders, and in preparing the lectures on theology for publication in the book of Doctrine and Covenants . . . ."77 The "Lectures on Faith" were maintained in the various LDS editions of the Doctrine and Covenants until 1921.

The second main part of the book (pp. [75]-257) contains 100 revelations spanning the period July, 1828, to March 28, 1835, as Sections 1-4 and 6-100 with two sections erroneously numbered 66; the minutes of the organization of the first High Council, February 17, 1834, as Section 5; an article on marriage and an article on government and laws in general as Sections 101 and 102; and the minutes of the August 17, 1835, General Assembly. The sixty-five chapters in the Book of Commandments are reprinted in the Doctrine and Covenants with substantial changes consistent with those changes made in the revelations in reprinting The Evening and the Morning Star. Ten of the chapters in the Book of Commandments are combined into three sections of the Doctrine and Covenants, so that fifty-eight sections actually comprise that portion originally published in the Book of Commandments. Traditionally, the articles on marriage and government have been attributed to Oliver Cowdery. These were read at the General Assembly of August 17, 1835, and accepted as part of the Doctrine and Covenants. The article

77H.C., 2:180.
on marriage appeared in all LDS editions until 1876, while the article on government is still included as Section 134. The minutes of the General Assembly occur only in the 1835 edition. An index comprises pages i-xxiii, and page xxv contains errata.

Apparently the changes in the printed revelations troubled a certain few of the brethren. At a meeting of the High Council at Far West, April 24, 1837, David W. Patten charged Lyman Wight with teaching false doctrines, among others that "the book of Doctrine and Covenants was a celestial law; and the Book of Commandments (a part of the revelations printed in Jackson county) was a celestial law." Wight was censured for these teachings, and directed to acknowledge his error to the churches where he had preached.\(^78\)

CSmH, CtY, Cu-B, DLC, ICHi, ICN, IHi, MH, MiU-C, MoInRC, MWA, NjP, NN, OCHP, OCiWHi, TxDaDF, UPB, USIC, UU

22. A collection of sacred hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints. Selected by Emma Smith.

Kirtland, Ohio: Printed by F. G. Williams & Co., 1835.

iv[5]-121, v pp. 11 cm.

The first Mormon hymnal has its beginnings in the revelation through Joseph Smith to his wife Emma, July, 1830 (Section 25), in which she is directed "to make a selection of hymns." Apparently Emma complied, for ten months later, at a conference in Independence, Missouri, May 1, 1832, it was "ordered that W. W. Phelps correct and print the hymns which had been selected by Emma Smith in fulfilment of the revelation."\(^79\) The destruction of the press in Independence delayed the printing of the hymns, and it was not until the printing of the Doctrine and Covenants was completed that Phelps again turned his attention to the hymnal. On September 11, 1835, Phelps wrote to his wife Sally, "I am now revising hymns for a hymn Book."\(^80\)

\(^{78}\)H.C., 2:481-82.

\(^{79}\)H.C., 1:270. (Cf. "J.H.,” 30 April 1832.)

\(^{80}\)W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 11 September 1835; Microfilm F110 at Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City.
Three days later at a meeting of the Church authorities in Kirtland, Phelps's efforts were officially sanctioned when it was "decided that Sister Emma Smith proceed to make a selection of Sacred Hymns, according to the revelation; and that President W. W. Phelps be appointed to revise and arrange them for printing." Quite clearly the prime responsibility for the hymnal rested on Phelps.

Ebenezer Robinson, the typesetter in the Messenger and Advocate office, remembered fifty years later that the hymns were printing at the same time as the Doctrine and Covenants. What this means, most likely, is that the printing of the hymns commenced shortly after the completion of the printing of the Doctrine and Covenants, probably around the middle of September. The printing proceeded slowly. Writing to his wife on November 14, 1835, Phelps complained of the backlog in the printing office, remarking that "the hymn book is not likely to progress as fast as I wish."

Two hymns, "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning" and "The Glorious Day Is Rolling On," both in the 1835 hymnal, are printed in the January, 1836, Messenger and Advocate; and even though the February, March, and August 1836, issues of the Messenger and Advocate print hymns, none of these is included in the hymnal. The implications are that the hymnal was still in the press when the January, 1836, Messenger and Advocate was issued (sometime in February), but was finished soon after.

The hymnal contains ninety hymns (pp. [5]-121) following a preface (pp. [iii]-iv) that was certainly written by Phelps. As in all the Mormon hymnals prior to 1889 (except the 1844 Little-Gardner hymnal), only the words are printed; no music is included. Of the ninety hymns, forty-two had appeared earlier in The Evening and the Morning Star, the Evening and Morning Star, and the Messenger and Advocate. Helen Hanks Macare has found thirty-four to be of Mormon authorship: twenty-six by W. W. Phelps, three by Parley P. Pratt, one by Thomas B. Marsh and Parley Pratt, and one each by Eliza R. Snow, Edward Partridge, Philo Dibble, and William C. Gregg. Seventeen of the borrowed hymns are

51H.C., 2:273.
52Return, June 1889, p. 88.
53W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 14 November 1835, as quoted in "J.H.," 14 November 1835.
by Isaac Watts. \(^8\) And because of the predominance of Baptist hymns among those borrowed, Ms. Macare suggests that "the hymnal would appear to be based on a Baptist book, perhaps on one current among the Campbellites." \(^8\) Twenty-nine of the hymns—almost a third of this first collection—appear in the present LDS hymnal.

CSmH, CtY, MiU-C, MoInRC, TxDaDF, UPB, USIC, UU

23. References to the Book of Mormon.

[Kirtland? 1835?]

iv pp. 17.5 cm. In double columns.

This four-page item is usually found tipped into a copy of the 1830 Book of Mormon. Typographically it closely resembles the products of the Messenger and Advocate press; for example, the Old English type in the word References matches that in the word Index on page i of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. Since it does apply to the first edition, it was undoubtedly printed before the second edition of the Book of Mormon went to press in the winter of 1836-37. And in view of the activity of the Kirtland School of the Elders and the Mormon press in 1835, it was probably printed about this time.

Its title is misleading. Rather than being a set of references, it is really a book-by-book outline or an extended table of contents for the first edition of the Book of Mormon. (The collector should note that the presence of this item in an 1830 Book of Mormon doubles the value of the book!)

CSmH, CtY, CU-B, ICN, MoInRC, MWA, NN, OCHP, OCIWHi, UPB, USIC

24. Extract from the new translation of the Bible, It being the 24th chapter of Matthew; but in order to show the connection we will commence with the last verse of the 23rd chapter, viz. [At end:] Published for the benefit of the Saints.

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[Kirtland? 1835?]

Broadside 31.5 x 20 cm. In two columns, within an ornamental border.

This broadside prints Matthew chapter 24 as revised by Joseph Smith in the spring of 1831.85 Two manuscripts containing this text are in the possession of the RLDS Church: the original manuscript (NT 1), and a copy made by John Whitmer in the summer of 1831 with later corrections by Joseph Smith (NT 2).85 The broadside differs at a number of points from both NT 1 and NT 2, but generally follows NT 1.86 It also differs from the version of Matthew 24 in The Holy Scriptures (Plano, 1867) that employs NT 2 with a small number of insignificant improvements, and from the version in the Pearl of Great Price (Liverpool, 1851) that mainly follows NT 1 but embodies three significant modifications written into NT 2.

Considerable debate has taken place over the date this broadside was printed. Some have suggested that it was published in Nauvoo in 1842 or 1843 to refute the teachings of William Miller that the Second Advent would be April 3, 1843; and it is so entered in C. K. Byrd's Bibliography of Illinois Imprints (Chicago, 1966), no. 782. On the other hand, there are reasons for believing that it was printed earlier. Of all the early Mormon presses, the typeface of the Messenger and Advocate press most closely resembles that of the broadside. In addition, the text of Joseph Smith's revision of Matthew 24 is printed in John Corrill's Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints (St. Louis, 1839) exactly as in the broadside except for one omission and improvements in punctuation and capitalization. Corrill introduces the text with the peculiar phrase, "the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, but in order to shew the connection, I will commence with the last verse of the twenty-third chapter, viz," suggesting that he took his version from the broadside. These considerations together with the activity of the Mormon press in 1835 have led me to list this broadside tentatively as an 1835 Kirtland imprint.

86 I am grateful to Richard P. Howard for detailed comparisons of the manuscripts with the broadside.
The two extant copies of the broadside differ in the ornamental border. But a comparison of broken type shows that the textual portions of both were printed from the same type setup.

CtY, UPB


[Kirtland? 1836?]

Broadside 31.2 x 20 cm. Within an ornamental border.

The names of the Twelve Apostles and the seven presidents of the First Council of the Seventy, as initially chosen in February, 1835, are listed in this broadside together with those of the First and Second quorums of Seventies. A product of the Messenger and Advocate press, it was apparently printed after the Second Quorum was selected, February 3, 1836, and before the excommunication of Charles Kelley, one of the First Quorum of Seventies, on May 23, 1836.87

UPB, USIC

26. Prayer, at the dedication of the Lord's House in Kirtland, Ohio, March 27, 1836,—By Joseph Smith, jr. President of the Church of the Latter Day Saints.

[Kirtland, 1836.]

Broadsheet 28 x 18.4 cm.

A detailed account of the dedication of the Kirtland Temple appears in the Messenger and Advocate for March, 1836. And a rearrangement of the same type setup used to print the dedicatory prayer in this issue of the Messenger and Advocate was also used to print the broadsheet entered here. In his diary now in the LDS Church Historian's Library, under the date Saturday, March 19, 1836, Oliver Cowdery records:

I met in the President's room, Pres. J. Smith Jr. [,] S. Rigdon, my brother W. A. Cowdery & Elder W. Parrish, and

87H.C., 2:391, 442-44.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NEW YORK, OHIO, MISSOURI
assisted in writing a prayer for the dedication of the [Lord’s] house.

The prayer appears in all the LDS editions of the Doctrine and Covenants since 1876 as Section 109, differing at two or three points from the text in the broadsheet.

USIC

27. Oliver Cowdery.

Supplement of J. Seixas’ Manual Hebrew Grammar, for the Kirtland, Ohio, Theological Institution.


The imprint date and pagination of this entry are taken from a note by the late Dale Morgan, who twenty-five years ago examined a copy at the RLDS Church Library that has since disappeared. The only presently known copy, at the Brigham Young University Library, lacks the lower fifth of the title page, deleting the date of publication; it also collates 2 p.l. [7]-31[1], so possibly it is missing the second or third leaf.

The elders in Kirtland were deeply involved in the study of Hebrew in the early part of 1836. Between January 26 and March 29, 1836, they were instructed by a professional teacher, Joshua Seixas; but after this there was little apparent activity in Hebrew study.\(^{88}\) Precisely when this Supplement was published is not clear. It is asserted in the preface that the book was prepared expressly for the Kirtland elders, suggesting that it was published about the time Seixas was conducting his course.

The preface (pp. [7]-8), written by Oliver Cowdery, indicates that the lessons in the book were abridged by Seixas from his Manual Hebrew Grammar (two editions: Andover, 1833 and 1834), and arranged in book form by Cowdery as a help to the beginning student. The main portion (pp. [9]-27) consists of this series of grammatical lessons, and

\(^{88}\)H.C., 2:355ff.
the first chapter of Genesis, in Hebrew, runs from the verso of page 31 to page 28.

UPB


[Kirtland, 1836.]

Broadside 54 x 20 cm. In three columns.

At a public meeting in Liberty, Missouri, June 29, 1836, a report was issued by a committee of nine (named in this entry's title), listing sources of conflict between the citizens of Clay County and the Mormons and urging the Mormons to leave the county in order to avoid civil war. On July 1, a large group of Mormon elders met and agreed to move to another part of the state. The following day the citizens of Clay again met in Liberty and, acknowledging the Mormons' response, resolved to assist them in finding a new location.

A letter from Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, F. G. Williams, and Hyrum Smith to the committee of nine in response to their report comprises the Messenger and Advocate Extra listed here. Praising the committee's candor and acknowledging the hospitality of Clay County, the letter replies to the various allegations and defends the Missouri Saints, not in an attempt to dissuade the committee from acting in conformity with "the resolutions offered to the people of Clay county, on the 29th ult. but from a sense of duty to a people embarrassed, persecuted, and afflicted."

The August, 1836, Messenger and Advocate reprints the minutes of the three meetings, the report of the committee of nine, and the letter to the committee. The textual portion of the Extra is printed from a rearrangement of the same type setup used to print the letter in the Messenger and Advocate.

National Archives (photocopies at MoInRC, UPB, USIC)
29. Orson Hyde.

A prophetic warning to all the churches, of every sect and denomination, and to every individual into whose hands it may fall. By O. Hyde, preacher of the gospel, and citizen of the United States. [Dated at end:] Toronto, August, 1836.

[Toronto, Canada? 1836?]

Broadside 46.2 x 29.8 cm. In three columns.

Orson Hyde's *Prophetic Warning* constitutes a bibliographical milestone: it is the first genuine Mormon missionary tract. The text of *A Prophetic Warning* also appears in the July, 1836, issue of the *Messenger and Advocate*, where it is dated June 16, 1836, presumably the date of writing. It would seem, therefore, that the place and date printed at the end of the broadside refer to the place and date of publication, implying that the broadside was printed in Toronto during Hyde's mission to Canada, August—October, 1836.

*A Prophetic Warning* commences with an argument that the Second Advent is yet to come and asks if the Christian world is prepared. It then shows that an apostasy from the primitive church was foretold by the New Testament writers and argues that the churches of the day have strayed from the teachings of Jesus. Outlining the events at the Second Coming, it concludes with an appeal to its readers to repent and be baptized by the authority of Jesus Christ. And even though it urges baptism by someone with authority, nowhere are the Latter-day Saints specifically mentioned. A final paragraph announces Orson Hyde's intention to publish an exposition of the ancient prophecies in book form, under the same title as the broadside.

Ten months after it was published in Canada, *A Prophetic Warning* was widely distributed in New York City. Writing from New York, June 28, 1837, three days before he and Elders Hyde, Richards, Fielding, Goodson, Russell, and Snyder sailed for the first British mission, Heber C. Kimball remarked,

We have spent most of two days of distributing brother hides [Hyde's] prophetic warnings in the city we did up
about one hundred and fifty in letter form and directed
to Every priest of Every profession in the city.89

It is conceivable, of course, that this refers to an unlocated
second printing. A revised version of *A Prophetic Warning*
was published under the title *A Timely Warning* in England
in 1839 (Item 47), and twice more in the early 1840s.

MoInRC

30. Parley Parker Pratt.

[Doth our law judge a man before it hear him?]
[Kingston, Canada, 1836.]
Broadside?

31. Parley Parker Pratt.

[Printed handbill advertising two meetings.]
[Toronto, Canada, 1836.]
Broadside?

Neither of the foregoing two items got out by Parley Pratt
is located. Our knowledge of them comes from his *Autobi-
ography* (1874), pages 173-80.

As Parley Pratt was about to return to Kirtland in Octo-
ber, 1836, after missionarying in Canada that spring and
summer, his Canadian friends urged him to meet a Mr. Caird,
an Irvingite, whose teachings seemed consistent with Mormon-
ism and who was creating something of a stir in eastern
Canada.90 Caird was in Kingston at the time, and although
Parley had a vivid dream that his efforts would be in vain,
he delayed his trip home and took the steamer from Toronto
to Kingston. Upon arriving in Kingston, Parley attempted
to contact Caird but was ignored. That evening he went to
hear Caird preach and was astonished to hear Caird slander
the Mormons. "Next morning," Parley explains in his *Auto-
bioigraphy,*

we published a printed handbill with a statement of his
lying . . . and a statement of our doctrine as Latter-day

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89Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, New York City, [29] June 1837; microfilm, USIC. (Cf. *H.C.*, 4:314.)
90Typed extracts from the Toronto *Constitution*, 21 September 1836; Pratt MSS, USIC.
Saints. . . . We circulated the handbills in the streets by hundreds, and then sent plenty of them by mail to our friends in Toronto. The bill was headed: "Doth our law judge a man before it hear him?"

Both Caird and Parley Pratt returned to Toronto, where Caird's friends urged him to meet with Parley. But Caird refused and continued to misrepresent the Saints in his public discourses. "I now applied to Wm. Lyon McKenzie, a printer and editor [of the Toronto Constitution], in King Street," Parley continues in his Autobiography, for some large public halls or rooms of his . . . and we put out a bill, advertizing two meetings, and pledging to the public that we would prove to a demonstration that Mr. Caird, who was now preaching in this city, was a false teacher, whom God had never sent, and that no believer in the Bible, who listened with attention, should go away unconvinced of that fact, or the truth of the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Twice Parley preached above the Constitution printing office, satisfying his friends that he had fulfilled his pledge in the handbill, but with no effect on Mr. Caird.

32. Messenger Extra. Kirtland, Ohio, December, 1836. Minutes of a meeting of the stockholders of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank; held on the 2nd day of November, A.D. 1836. When the following preamble and articles were read three times by Orson Hyde, and unanimously adopted.

[Kirtland, 1836.]
Broadside 32 x 17.5 cm. In two columns.

33. Messenger, Extra.—March, 1837. Minutes of a meeting of the members of the "Kirtland Safety Society," held on the 2d day of January, 1837.

[Kirtland, 1837.]
Broadside 48 x 20 cm. In two columns.

The initial organizational meeting of the Kirtland Safety Society was held on November 2, 1836. Articles of agreement were drawn up, Oliver Cowdery was dispatched to Philadelphia to purchase plates to print notes, and Orson Hyde
was delegated to obtain a bank charter from the state legislature in Columbus. Hyde failed to secure the charter, so the stockholders convened, two months after the first meeting, to annul the old constitution and to adopt new articles of agreement, this time for a note-issuing joint-stock company rather than for a chartered bank. Brief minutes of these two meetings, together with the articles of agreement, comprise the two extras listed here.

At both meetings Sidney Rigdon was chairman; Oliver Cowdery was the clerk of the first, while Warren Parrish was the secretary of the second. Generally the two sets of articles of agreement are the same, the second obviously a modification of the first. The first set of articles specifies the name of the company as the "Kirtland Safety Society Bank," while the second modifies the name to "Kirtland Safety Society Banking Company"; and where the first set refers to the institution as the "bank," the second avoids "bank" in favor of "firm" or "company." Both articles capitalize the company at "not less than four million dollars." The second articles eliminate the office of chief clerk provided for in the first; and while the president is implicitly the principal officer in the first set of articles, the cashier appears to be the principal officer in the second. (Until they withdrew about the first of July, 1837, Joseph Smith was cashier and Sidney Rigdon was president.) The major change in the articles of agreement is the addition, in the second set, of two articles dealing with the issuance of bank notes, the first added article binding the stockholders for the redemption of the notes. In addition, the March, 1837, Extra includes a list of 187 stockholders.

The minutes of the November 2 meeting do not appear to have been printed elsewhere. The January 2 minutes are included without the list of stockholders in the January, 1837, issue of the Messenger and Advocate, and with that list in the March, 1837, issue. In fact, the March Extra is printed from the same type setup used to print the minutes in the March, 1837, Messenger and Advocate.

Items 32 and 33: USIC

34. The book of Mormon: an account written by the hand of Mormon, upon plates taken from the plates of Nephi. . . . Translated by Joseph Smith, Jr.


A second edition of the Book of Mormon was contemplated as early as the summer of 1833. The letter of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and F. G. Williams to W. W. Phelps and others, June 25, 1833, remarks, "As soon as we can get time, we will review the manuscripts of the Book of Mormon, after which they will be forwarded to you." And the July, 1833, issue of The Evening and the Morning Star notices the intention to publish a new edition of the Book of Mormon "at no very distant period."

The destruction of the Independence press and the publishing of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, the 1835 hymnal, and the Evening and Morning Star delayed a new edition until late in 1836. But during the winter of 1836-37, a second edition of the Book of Mormon was printed.93

The preface of the 1837 edition (pp. [v]-vi), signed by Parley Pratt and John Goodson, indicates that inasmuch as the first edition was out of print they had obtained the rights to publish 5,000 copies of the Book of Mormon. It further states that in preparation for a new edition, the first edition was "carefully re-examined and compared with the original manuscripts" by Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery.

Richard Howard has found that more than 2,000 changes were written into the printer's manuscript of the 1830 Book of Mormon and incorporated in the second edition, and over 1,000 other changes occur in the 1837 edition that were not recorded in the manuscript.94 It would appear, therefore, that the 1837 Book of Mormon was printed from the corrected printer's manuscript of the first edition; and in addition to the changes made by Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery when they compared the first edition with the manuscript, further changes were made (by Oliver Cowdery?) as the

93H.C., 1:363.
94Return, August 1889, p. 115; May 1890, p. 258.
95Howard, pp. 41-49.
book was being set in type. Most of the changes are grammatical and stylistic. A few, however, have theological implications (e.g., those where "God" or "Eternal Father" on p. 25, line 3; p. 25, line 10; p. 26, line 9; and p. 32, line 9, are changed to "Son of God" or "Son of the Eternal Father").

The testimonies of the three witnesses and of the eight witnesses appear on the two pages following page 619. A note at the end explains that although the original intention was to publish both the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants in one volume, as mentioned in the preface, the publishers were induced to abandon that idea because the two books together "would make a volume, entirely too unwieldy for the purpose intended, that of a pocket companion."

In some sense the 1837 Book of Mormon is the parent of the present LDS edition. From it was printed the first (1841) of a sequence of British and Salt Lake City editions that culminated in the present one. Consequently, the current LDS edition of the Book of Mormon does not embody some of the changes incorporated by Joseph Smith in the 1840 Nauvoo edition (e.g., that in 2 Nephi 30:6).

CSmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, ICHi, ICN, MH, MiU-C, MoInRC, MWA, NjP, NN, OCHP, OClWHi, UPB, USIC, UU, WHi

35. Newell Kimball Whitney, Reynolds Cahoon and Vinson Knight.

To the Saints scattered abroad, the Bishop and his Counselors of Kirtland send greeting. [At head of title:] Kirtland, Ohio, September 18th, 1837. [Signed at end:] N. K. Whitney, R. Cahoon, V. Knight.

[Kirtland, 1837.]

Broadside 52 x 32.5 cm. In four columns.

Apostasy, proliferating lawsuits, and a massive onerous debt confronted the authorities of the Church as they met with the Saints in the Kirtland Temple, September 17, 1837. Newell K. Whitney, the bishop in Kirtland, announced to the assembly that "the time had arrived when it became necessary for him to travel," and the conference decided that the bishop and his counselors should send abroad their
memorial to the Saints.\textsuperscript{95} The bishopric's memorial was issued as the above broadside the next day—evidence of the urgency of the situation.

Primarily an appeal for financial assistance directed to the Saints outside Kirtland, the memorial begins by outlining the various circumstances that contributed to the penury of the Church in Kirtland and suggests that the appropriate way to finance the work of the last days is to tithe the Saints, foreshadowing the revelation of July 8, 1838 (Section 119). It points out that the salvation of the Saints depends on the building up of Zion and her stakes, linking the well-being of Kirtland with that of Zion; and it urges the Saints to see clearly their responsibility and respond favorably to the appeal by gathering up their means and sending it on to the leaders of the Church.

The text of the broadside also appears in the \textit{Messenger and Advocate} for September, 1837, and both the broadside and its text in the \textit{Messenger and Advocate} are printed from a rearrangement of the same type setup.

UPB, USIC

36. Parley Parker Pratt.

A voice of warning and instruction to all people, containing a declaration of the faith and doctrine of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, commonly called Mormons. By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. . . .

New-York: Printed by W. Sandford, 29 Ann-St., 1837.

x[11]-216 pp. 14.7 cm.

Fleeing from the strife and apostasy that characterized the Church in Kirtland in 1837, Parley Pratt reached New York City late in July and immediately began to preach and write.\textsuperscript{96} And before the summer passed, he had produced a Mormon classic, the \textit{Voice of Warning}. In a letter to Don Carlos Smith, dated New York, October 3, 1837, Parley announces his new book:

Besides other labors, I have in two months past written 216 pages, which with the assistance of Eld. Elijah Fordham

\textsuperscript{95}H.C., 2:513.

\textsuperscript{96}Pratt, \textit{Autobiography}, p. 184.
who has been laboring faithfully with me, is now issuing from the press and the first will be bound and ready for sale tomorrow or the next day, three Thousand copies are printed, it is entitled A Voice of Warning.97

No other Mormon book, apart from the "standard works," has had the impact of the Voice of Warning. A basic missionary tool throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, it has passed through numerous editions in a number of languages.

Opening with a series of Biblical examples of the fulfilment of ancient prophecy, the book next discusses those prophecies that foretell the establishment of a new covenant, the gathering of Israel and rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the events at the second coming of Jesus. The third chapter discusses the Kingdom of God, arguing mainly that repentance and baptism by those with authority from God are necessary for entrance into this kingdom. The Book of Mormon is the theme of the next chapter, which, quoting from the Old Testament (including Ezekiel 37), argues that America is a promised land to the seed of Joseph, that the Lord revealed himself to Joseph's seed, and that a record of these revelations would come forth in the last days. And here it is suggested that the American Indians are a remnant of Joseph's seed. At this point the book interposes, as chapter five, a proclamation urging its readers to repentance and baptism. The sixth chapter takes up the resurrection and redemption of the earth, arguing that the earth will be restored to its original form at the time of creation. Analyzing the resurrection of Jesus, it infers that the saints will be resurrected with perfected bodies of flesh and bone and will dwell forever with the Messiah on the redeemed earth. Further, it argues both that America is a promised land and that it is the location for the New Jerusalem. The central concept of the seventh chapter is that God deals with various generations by direct revelation, and that his revealed word to one generation does not necessarily apply to those in past or future generations. God has spoken to men in the nineteenth century, the book declares, and it challenges its readers to heed those men. The closing chapter compares, in two

columns, certain doctrines of God with the corresponding doctrines of men.

Throughout, the *Voice of Warning* reflects Parley Pratt's complete conviction and certainty, epitomized by the following assertion in the opening pages: "No believer in the Holy Scriptures, who reads it with attention, shall close this volume without being fully convinced of the great and important truths contained therein."

CSmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, ICHi, ICN, IHi, MB, MiU-C, MWA, OCIWHi, UPB, USIC, UU, WHi


1 vol. (4 whole nos.) 64 pp. 25 cm.

The August and September, 1837, issues of the *Messenger and Advocate* carry a prospectus signed by Sidney Rigdon announcing a new periodical, the *Elders' Journal*:

As the Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate . . . is to be closed with the present volume which closes in the month of September, and as the publishers of that paper have declined publishing any more for the present, at least[,] A large body of the elders of the church of Latter Day Saints have united and rented the printing establishment, for the purpose of publishing a paper with the above title. This paper is intended to be a vehicle of communication for all the elders of the church . . . through which they can communicate to others, all things pertaining to their mission, and calling . . . . As there have been many desires expressed by the elders of said church, to have a periodical of this kind published; it is hoped that the present proposals will meet with their most unqualified approbation . . . .

The JOURNAL will be edited by Joseph Smith Jun. and printed once a month . . . at one dollar a year in advance: and should the subscription list justify, it will soon be published semimonthly at two dollars a year.

Implicit in this announcement is a dissatisfaction with the *Messenger and Advocate* under Warren A. Cowdery that had been printing ponderous articles on ancient history, philosophy, and world events, to the exclusion of news of
the progress of the Church. And with the appearance of his article in the July, 1837, *Messenger and Advocate* criticizing Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon for their parts in the Kirtland Bank fiasco, Warren Cowdery himself became offensive to the Church leaders. (An allusion to this appears in the second issue of the *Elders' Journal*: "We calculate to pursue a different course from that of our predecessor in the editorial department.—We will endeavor not to scandalize our own citizens"; and a specific condemnation of Warren A. Cowdery occurs in the fourth issue of the *Journal*.) Consequently, two things were accomplished by terminating the *Messenger and Advocate* and beginning under Joseph Smith's editorship a periodical with a new name and objective: the official Church organ was made more appealing to potential subscribers, and its control was brought into more congenial hands.

Beginning in October, 1837, two issues of the *Journal* were edited by Joseph Smith and printed and published by Thomas B. Marsh in Kirtland. A notice on the back page of each directed all correspondence to Don Carlos Smith, who performed the bulk of the editorial labors for these two numbers.\(^98\) The second issue contains the minutes of the two Far West conferences, November 7 and 10, 1837, and most likely did not appear until after Joseph Smith returned to Kirtland from Far West about December 10. A month later Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon left Kirtland for the last time, insuring that no further issues of the *Journal* would be published there.

On April 30, 1838, a prospectus (Item 38) was issued announcing that the *Elders' Journal* would be revived in Far West on the same terms as before, with Joseph Smith as editor and Thomas B. Marsh as publisher. Two additional issues were published in Far West in July and August, 1838, before the outbreak of violence against the Mormons permanently ended the *Journal's* life. The third and fourth issues bear a slightly different name: *Elders' Journal of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*; and the fourth issue includes "an extract of revelation given, Far West, April 26th, A. D. 1838" (Section 115), officially naming the Church.

\(^{98}\) *H.C.*, 4:393.
In size and format the *Elders' Journal* conforms to the *Messenger and Advocate*: each issue contains 16 pages, in double columns, the four numbers continuously paged. The *Journal* consists almost entirely of letters from the elders abroad and minutes of conferences and council meetings. The third issue contains an interesting—and now famous—series of questions and answers by Joseph Smith. The fourth issue, rather a harbinger of the calamity to befall the Mormons within the month, includes the minutes of the fourth of July celebration and a vitriolic denunciation of the Mormon dissenters.

CSmH, CtY, CU-B, ICHi [no. 1], MH, MiU-C [no. 1], MoInRC, NN, OCIWHi [nos. 1-2], UPB, USIC, UU

38. Prospectus for the Elder's [sic] Journal, of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints. [Dated at end:] April 30, 1838.

    [Far West, Mo., 1838.]

    Thirteen lines of text, following the title, printed on the upper right-hand third of a sheet folded to 40.6 x 25.9 cm.

    This prospectus announces the resuscitation of the *Elders' Journal* at Far West. Presumably it was printed on the face of a large folded sheet so that it could be used to gather the names of subscribers. The prospectus is also printed in the July, 1838, issue of the *Journal* where it is dated April 26, 1838.

USIC

39. Parley Parker Pratt.

    Mormonism unveiled: Zion's Watchman unmasked, and its editor, Mr. L. R. Sunderland, exposed: truth vindicated: the Devil mad, and priestcraft in danger! By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. . . .

    New-York: Printed for the publisher, 1838.

    47 pp. 18 cm.
40. Parley Parker Pratt.
New-York: Published by O. Pratt & E. Fordham, 1838.
47[1] pp. 18 cm.

41. Parley Parker Pratt.
New-York: Published by O. Pratt & E. Fordham, 1838.
47[1] pp. 18 cm.

Parley Pratt's Mormonism Unveiled marks another bibliographical milestone: it is the first of a vast number of pamphlets written in reply to anti-Mormon attacks. In this tract, Parley responds to an eight-part article in the New York Zion's Watchman, edited by La Roy Sunderland, that appeared between January 13 and March 3, 1838.

All three editions of Mormonism Unveiled were printed from the same type setup, with a few changes. The title page is slightly different in each edition. The second and third editions contain Parley Pratt's poem, "A Lamentation on Taking Leave of New-York," on the verso of page 47, which is blank in the first edition. Moreover, the second and third editions occur in two states: the first state is characterized by the presence of deflections in the last line of page 38 and THIER in the last paragraph of page 43, which are corrected to perfections and THEIR in the second state. Interestingly enough, the second edition of Mormonism Unveiled at Yale and the third edition at the LDS Church are of the first state, while the second edition at Brigham Young University and the third edition at the Bancroft Library are of the second state. The implication is that all three editions were printed about the same time, and the books comprising the second and third editions were
assembled simultaneously from sheets of both printings. The pamphlet bears the date March 24, 1838, on page 47, and Parley Pratt left New York for Missouri that April; so it would seem that all three editions of *Mormonism Unveiled* were printed about April, 1838. And as the second and third editions were published by Orson Pratt and Elijah Fordham, these were probably printed after Parley left New York City.

The pamphlets originally appeared with paper wrappers. Eighteen years ago Edward Eberstadt and Sons, the New York booksellers, offered for sale a copy of the first edition with original printed wrappers (Catalogue 134, item 451). Traces of the original yellow wrapper can be seen on the Brigham Young University copy.

Sunderland's article, also published as the pamphlet *Mormonism Exposed and Refuted* (New York, 1838), adopts the approach of Alexander Campbell's *Delusions* (Boston, 1832) and E. D. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled* [sic] (Painesville, 1834). It attacks the Book of Mormon by pointing to grammatical errors and alleged inconsistencies, contradictions, and plagiarisms. And by referring to a number of passages in the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants and *Voice of Warning*, it attempts to show that Mormonism is absurd, fraudulent, and inconsistent with the Bible. The eighth installment of the article repeats the Spaulding-Rigdon theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon, originally pronounced by E. D. Howe. With considerable enthusiasm and a touch of vitriol, Parley's *Mormonism Unveiled* responds to the bulk of Sunderland's objections. And in replying to the Spaulding-Rigdon theory, the pamphlet details Parley Pratt's conversion and his part in first introducing Mormonism to Sidney Rigdon.

Item 39: OCLWHi, UPB, USIC
Item 40: CtY, MH, MoInRC, UPB
Item 41: CU-B, MH, USIC, UU

42. Sidney Rigdon.

Oration delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon, on the 4th of July, 1838, at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri. . . .

Far West: Printed at the Journal Office, 1838.

12 pp. 18.8 cm.
The Fourth of July celebration in Far West in 1838, signaled the beginning of the end of the Mormon community in Missouri. Forming in a long procession at 10:00 a.m., the Far West Saints, accompanied by Dimick Huntington’s band, marched to the excavation for the new temple, where the four cornerstones of the temple were laid by the Church authorities. The crowd then moved to the speaker’s stand to hear Sidney Rigdon deliver the day’s oration, “at the close of which, there was a shout of hosanna.” Subsequently, Rigdon’s oration was printed in pamphlet form on the Mormon press at Far West, and according to Ebenezer Robinson, who printed the pamphlet, a copy was furnished the editor and printed in the Liberty Far West.

Six years later, Jedediah M. Grant acknowledged that Sidney Rigdon’s Fourth of July oration “was the main auxiliary that fanned into flame the burning wrath of the mobocratic portions of the Missourians.” Not only was the speech inflammatory, but it was put into print to be read and reread, galvanizing the Mormons as well as the Missourians.

While Grant lays the responsibility for the oration squarely on Rigdon, it is clear that it must be more broadly shared. Ebenezer Robinson, in his reminiscences, asserts that “President Rigdon was not alone responsible for the sentiment expressed in his oration, as that was a carefully prepared document, previously written, and well understood by the First Presidency, but Elder Rigdon was the mouth piece to deliver it.” And a notice in the August, 1838, issue of the Elders’ Journal, signed by the editor—Joseph Smith—announces that the oration is available in pamphlet form, and commends it to the Saints:

We would recommend to all the saints to get one, to be had in their families, as it contains an outline of the suffering and persecutions of the Church from its rise. As also the fixed determinations of the saints, in relation to the persecutors, who are, and have been, continually, not only threatening us with mobs, but actually have been putting

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99 Elders’ Journal, p. 60.
100 Return, November 1889, pp. 170-71. The Union Catalog lists no file of the Far West for this period.
101 Jedediah M. Grant, A Collection of Facts, Relative to the Course Taken by Elder Sidney Rigdon . . . (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 11. See also Times and Seasons 5 (1 October 1844):667. (Hereafter designated T.S.)
102 Return, pp. 170-71.
their threats into execution; with which we are absolutely determined no longer to bear, come life or come death, for to be mobed any more without taking vengeance, we will not.

The bulk of the oration is inoffensive enough. Beginning with a statement of respect and loyalty to American political and governmental institutions, it moves to a discussion of the persecution endured by the Church, identifying separated Church members as a significant class of persecutors. It includes a description of the temple under construction in Far West, one part of which is to be devoted to worship and the other to the education of the Saints. It is only in its closing moments that the oration becomes extreme. Proclaiming that persecution will be no more endured, it declares that henceforth when a mob disturbs the Saints,

it shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them, till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us; for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses, and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed.

The text of the oration is reprinted in James H. Hunt's *Mormonism: Embracing the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Sect . . . .* (St. Louis, 1844), pp. 167-80.

ICHi, MH, UPB, USIC

43. David White Rogers.
A collection of sacred hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints. Selected and published by David W. Rogers.
New-York: C. Vinten, Printer, 63 Vesey-Street, 1838.
iv[5]-118,ix pp. 10 cm.

David W. Rogers, a New York chair maker, came into contact with the Mormons in the winter of 1837-38 while Parley P. Pratt was proselytizing in New York City, and outfitted a room for a meeting place for the little congregation of New York Saints. On Christmas Day, 1837, Rogers was baptized into the Church by Parley P. Pratt. And in November, 1838, he traveled to Quincy, Illinois, meeting the first groups of Mormon refugees from Missouri. During
the next six months Rogers involved himself in the negotiations to purchase land in Illinois and Iowa, assisted the Saints—including Parley Pratt’s family—to move from Missouri, and carried messages to Joseph Smith in Liberty Jail. Rogers settled with the Saints in Nauvoo; and when the Mormons began vacating the city in 1846, he remained to assist in the city’s defense. In 1850 he emigrated to Utah, establishing his home in Provo. Rogers served a mission for the Church in Canada in the mid-1850s, and in 1873 he was ordained a patriarch. On September 21, 1881, David Rogers died in Provo, thirteen days before his ninety-fourth birthday.103

Hymnals were always in short supply, particularly in the outlying branches of the Church, so it is not surprising that Rogers, a man apparently of some means, would undertake to publish one for the New York Saints. According to Rogers’s dedicatory hymn, the idea of the hymnal came to him in a dream.

Rogers’s hymnal clearly shows the influence of the 1835 Emma Smith hymnal. The preface is verbatim that of the 1835 hymnal, and forty-nine of the eighty-nine hymns comprising Rogers’s collection are taken from the 1835 hymnal. (Rogers’s hymns are numbered 1 through 90, with “Awake, O Ye People” appearing twice as no. 7 and no. 51.) Five of the remaining forty hymns are from Parley Pratt’s The Millennium, a Poem (Boston, 1835) (Item 17). Twenty-four others are clearly of Latter-day Saint authorship: in addition to the dedicatory hymn (no. 90) written by Rogers and signed “DWR,” thirteen are signed with the initials “DW,” eight with “RB,” and two with “EC.” DW, RB, and EC have not been identified; it is possible that these initials represent only part of the names, and that DW, for example, is actually Rogers himself.

Unfortunately Rogers’s initiative brought him difficulty. At the October, 1839, General Conference in Commerce, Illinois, it was resolved “that a new edition of Hymn Books be printed immediately, and that the one published by D. W. Rogers be utterly discarded by the Church.”104

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104 H.C., 4:14.
later, Thomas Grover presented charges against Rogers to the general conference, one of them "for compiling a hymn-book, and selling it as the one compiled and published by Sister Emma Smith." The next day Rogers's case was taken up, and it was resolved that he "be forgiven, and the hand of fellowship be continued towards him."\footnote{H.C., 4:105-6.}

None of the hymns Rogers added to Mormon hymnody appear in the later authorized LDS hymnals, presumably the result of the official action taken at the October, 1839, General Conference.

\textit{CtY, DLC, MiU-C, USIC}

44. Ephraim Owen, Jr.

\textit{Mormons. Memorial of Ephraim Owen, Jr., late of Green county, Indiana, now of Davis [sic] county, Missouri, asking of Congress to afford protection to the people called Mormons, in the enjoyment of their civil rights as citizens of the United States; and complaining of loss of property, \\&c. December 20, 1838. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed. [At head of title:] 25th Congress, 3d Session. Doc. No. 42. Ho. of Reps.}

\textit{[Washington:] Thomas Allen, print., 1838.}

5 pp. 23 cm.

Ephraim Owen was baptized into the Church by Reynolds Cahoon and Samuel H. Smith in Green County, Indiana, September 4, 1831, during the missionary journey appointed to these two elders by the August 12, 1831, revelation to Joseph Smith \textit{(Section 61:31-35)}. Owen remained in Indiana with a small branch of Saints until he moved to Missouri in June, 1838, one of the first Mormon settlers in Daviess County. He was involved in the difficulties in Daviess to the extent that Adam Black identified him as one of the group of Mormons who had ridden up and conferred with Black at his house August 8, 1838. Moving with the Mormon refugees into Illinois, Owen read a paper of his—conceivably a version of his memorial—at a meeting in Quincy, Illinois,
March 9, 1839, convened to solicit aid for the emigrating Saints. At the general conference of the Church at Commerce, Illinois, October 5, 1839, it was "voted that Ephraim Owen's confession, for disobeying the word of wisdom be accepted." A month later Owen and many others presented claims for their losses in Missouri, his amounting to $5,711.18. At this point Ephraim Owen seems to fade from view, no mention of him appearing in Church records subsequent to 1839.\textsuperscript{106}

Owen's memorial is a curious document, apparently an independent and individual effort. Several other petitions and memorials were drawn up during this time, none of which seem to have involved Owen. For example, at a meeting of the high council and some of the Twelve Apostles in Far West, December 19, 1838, Edward Partridge and John Taylor were appointed to draft a petition "to the general government, and send it by mail."\textsuperscript{107}

The memorial deals with the difficulties in northern Missouri during the summer and fall of 1838. It asserts that initially the Mormon settlers were welcomed by the Missourians in Daviess County, but that after the election-day fight between Mormons and Missourians in Gallatin August 6, 1838, the Missourians moved their families out and began advertising that the Mormons were driving them from the county, causing considerable excitement on both sides. Peace was temporarily restored with the arrival of David R. Atchison and state militia. Following this, the memorial claims, the Missourians in Daviess began selling out to the Mormons, but stopped after word came that the Mormons had been driven out of Carrol County. The memorial briefly summarizes the events following the battle at Crooked River, culminating in the expulsion of the Mormons from the state. It estimates the Mormon loss at $1,332,000, and in conclusion, calls for a congressional investigation and the restoration of Mormon rights.

CtY, CSmH, DLC, ICHi, ICN, MH, MoSHi, MWA, NjP, NN, OCLWHi, TxDaDF, UPB, USIC, WHi


\textsuperscript{107} H.C., 3:240-41.
45. Francis Gladden Bishop.

A brief history of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints, from their rise until the present time; containing an account of, and showing the cause of their sufferings in the state of Missouri, in the years 1833-38. And likewise a summary view of their religious faith. By Francis G. Bishop, a minister of the order.


Baptized and ordained an elder in the Church July 2, 1832, Francis Gladden Bishop immediately began traveling and preaching in the eastern states and Canada. In February, 1836, he was among those chosen for the Second Quorum of Seventies, and by 1840 he had preached the gospel in fourteen states and baptized 123 into the Church. Bishop is mainly remembered, however, for his schismatic activities. As early as 1835 he was temporarily disfellowshipped for teaching erroneous doctrine; and in March, 1842, he was “removed from fellowship” for receiving his own revelations. Little is known about Bishop during the next six years. In 1848, however, he had some contact with James J. Strang; and about 1850 he began organizing his own little church in the Kirtland area and publishing in its behalf. Although he did not personally visit Utah, he was successful in attracting a small following there, bringing upon himself the anathemas of Brigham Young and Parley Pratt from the Salt Lake pulpit in March, 1853. Eventually Bishop gathered a group of followers in Iowa, where he presumably died sometime before 1878.108

In a letter dated February 4, 1840, Bishop describes the events surrounding the writing of his pamphlet. Commenting that he had been preaching for two years in Virginia and North Carolina, he explains,

When in North Carolina, a most unwarranted and unparalleled persecution was raging against the saints in Missouri, meanwhile misrepresentations touching the troubles in Missouri and our faith were spreading in every direction through

the papers of the day and by letters from hostile Missourians. . . . It was during this that I published a small pamphlet, for the purpose of correcting the misrepresentations, which had prejudiced the public against the Latter Day Saints, and then circulated this pamphlet gratis by mail in almost every direction, this had the desired effect for as the pamphlet circulated prejudice and hostile feelings seemed to abate on every side, as I had no means of obtaining all the particulars of the Missouri persecution, but few particulars are in the pamphlet, and as it was extremely difficult to obtain confirmed facts, likewise in it are some few mistakes, but I believe nothing of any particular consequence.\textsuperscript{109}

Even though the Library of Congress catalogues the place of publication as Salem, Massachusetts, Bishop’s presence in North Carolina and the name of the printer on the title page make it clear that the pamphlet was printed by John Christian Blum in Salem, North Carolina.\textsuperscript{110} Generally a propaganda piece, the pamphlet begins with an overview of the Mormon experience in Jackson and Clay counties, briefly describes the settling of Caldwell County, and then presents a condensed and somewhat garbled account of the conflict between the Mormons and the Missourians in Daviess and Caldwell counties. Bishop describes the Haun’s Mill massacre, for example, as occurring on “Splawns creek” and involving a company of Saints traveling to the interior of the state, with thirty-five Mormons killed in the encounter! The text concludes with a summary of Latter-day Saint beliefs. A poem, “The Murder in Missouri,” occupies pages 13 and 14; and on the recto of the leaf following page 14 appears a notice that Bishop intends to publish a small work entitled \textit{A Scriptural Illustration of the Peculiarities of the Religious Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Also a Choice Selection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs.}

DLC

46. Benjamin C. Elsworth.

A collection of sacred hymns, for the Church of Christ of the Latter Day Saints. Selected and published by Benjamin C. Elsworth.

\textsuperscript{109}T.S. 1 (March 1840): 78.

\textsuperscript{110}Mary Barrow Owen, \textit{Old Salem North Carolina} [Winston-Salem, 1946], p. 118.
Little appears recoverable about Benjamin C. Elsworth. On November 16, 1836, presumably soon after his baptism, he was ordained a teacher by John E. Page at a conference at South Crosby, twenty-five miles north of Kingston, Canada. Fifteen months later in Kirtland he was ordained a member of the Second Quorum of Seventies. It would seem that most of Elsworth's life in the Church was spent in eastern New York. In a letter to the editors of the Times and Seasons written from Palermo, Oswego County, New York, October 18, 1840, Elsworth indicates that he had been laboring in that area and had baptized 100 or so during the preceding year. At a conference in Port Ontario, Oswego County, New York, March 14, 1841, Elsworth was charged with some undisclosed offense, and the charge sustained. Yet when those appointed to serve in the various missions of the Church were listed in the April 15, 1844, issue of the Times and Seasons, he was among those assigned to New York. One year later, however, Elsworth was excommunicated from the Church. Following his excommunication he joined James J. Strang, rising to the office of apostle in Strang's church. But in October, 1847, Elsworth was excommunicated from the Strangite church "for teaching and practicing the spiritual wife system."

Since Elsworth is known to have been laboring in the vicinity of Oswego County, New York, during the latter part of 1839, it is probable that his hymnal was published in that area. In 1840 an edition of Parley Pratt's History of the Late Persecution was printed at the office of the Oswego County Democrat in Mexico, Oswego County, New York; and it is conceivable that Elsworth's hymnal was printed there also.

Elsworth's hymnal is almost totally based on the two earlier ones. Again the preface is verbatim that of the 1835 hymnal. Elsworth's collection contains 112 hymns in all, 88 from David W. Rogers's hymnal (the only hymn in Rogers's collection that Elsworth does not include is Rogers's own

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dedicatory hymn), and 17 others from the 1835 hymnal. Of the remaining 7 hymns, 4 are published in the Messenger and Advocate, 1 is a part of Parley Pratt’s “Millennium” that appears in the Voice of Warning (1837), page 121, and 2 are standard protestant hymns. Interestingly enough, the two protestant hymns, Charles Wesley’s “Come Let Us Anew Our Journey Pursue,”” and “Farewell, All Earthly Honors I Bid,” are maintained in the current LDS hymnal.

CtY, MoInRC, USIC

47. Orson Hyde.

A timely warning to the people of England, of every sect and denomination, and to every individual into whose hands it may fall. By an Elder of the Church of Latter Day Saints, late from America. Preston, 19th August, 1837. [Dated at end:] May 4th, 1839.

Manchester: Reprinted by W. R. Thomas, Spring-Gardens, [1839].

Broadside 50 x 38 cm. In three columns, enclosed in an ornamental border.

A Timely Warning is a revision of Orson Hyde’s Prophetic Warning published in 1836 (Item 29). The two are virtually identical for the first half of the text. In the second half, A Timely Warning eliminates the references to the more morbid occurrences predicted for the last days and is less severe in condemning the sectarian clergy, but adds a comment on the clergy’s tendency to cry “false teachers” at the Latter-day Saint elders without seriously considering their claims. And unlike A Prophetic Warning, A Timely Warning clearly identifies itself as a Latter-day Saint tract.

This broadside, published a year after Orson Hyde returned to the United States from the first British mission, suggests that there was an earlier British edition of A Timely Warning. The title is dated Preston, August 19, 1837 (a month after Hyde first arrived in England), and the colophon reads: “Reprinted by W. R. Thomas.” (italics added). No copy of an 1837 English edition, however, has been found.

Two later English editions of A Timely Warning are extant, one a Manchester broadside printed in 1840, and the
other an eight-page pamphlet printed in Orford-Hill in the early 1840s.

USIC


Facts relative to the expulsion of the Mormons or Latter Day Saints, from the state of Missouri, under the "exterminating order." By John P. Greene, an authorised representative of the Mormons.


iv[5]-43 pp. 21.3 cm.

49. John Portineus Greene.

Facts relative to the expulsion of the Mormons from the state of Missouri, under the "exterminating order." By John P. Greene, an authorised representative of the Mormons.


iv[5]-43 pp. 21.3 cm.

At a conference of the Church held in Quincy, Illinois, May 6, 1839, John P. Greene, a brother-in-law of Brigham Young, and a prominent elder, was appointed to go to New York City and preside over the Church in that area. In addition, he was commissioned to publicize the Mormon expulsion from Missouri and to collect funds for the relief of the destitute Saints. A month later Greene departed on this mission, and as a part of his campaign to publicize the plight of the Saints, he published his *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons.*

The two states of this pamphlet were printed from the same type setup, with a few insignificant internal differences in addition to the change in title. For example, the fourth page is numbered v in the first state (Item 48) and iv in the second state (Item 49); the word *Vide* at the bottom of page 11 in the second state appears as *Vdie* in the first; and the phrase *at a* in the first line of page 43 in the first

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state reads *a ta* in the second. So it is not clear which is the earlier state. The two are also arranged differently in signatures: the first collates A-C⁶, D¹, and the second collates [A]-E⁴, F². Both states were originally issued in paper wrappers; in the first state the title page is reprinted within a border on the front wrapper while in the second the wrapper is plain.

It appears that the pamphlet was printed late in June or in July, 1839. Greene had sent copies back to Quincy by August 5, and the pamphlet includes a resume of a meeting in Cincinnati that he addressed June 24, 1839.¹¹³

Greene's *Facts* is a fundamental source, for it contains primary documents relating to the Mormon difficulties in Missouri as well as Greene's own firsthand observations. The principal part of the pamphlet consists of the "Memorial to the Legislature of Missouri," signed by Edward Partridge, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Theodore Turley, Isaac Morley, George W. Harris, John Murdock, and John M. Burk, December 10, 1838, with a considerable number of annotations by Greene. This memorial is a summary of the Mormons' experiences in Missouri, beginning with Jackson County, and emphasizing, of course, their mistreatment at the hands of the Missourians. It was presented by John Corrill to the Missouri House of Representatives on December 19, 1838, evoking considerable debate in the House.¹¹⁴ Adding detail and examples to the events summarized in the memorial, Greene's annotations comprise 60 percent of the pamphlet, and include, for instance, Joseph Young's account of the Haun's Mill massacre, Governor Boggs's extermination order, General Clark's November 6, 1838, speech, and the petitions of Caleb Baldwin, Lyman Wight, Joseph Smith, Alexander McRae, and Hyrum Smith to Judge Tompkins, March 15, 1839. (Three or four years ago the original manuscript of Joseph Young's account turned up among the effects of Evan M. Greene, oldest son of John P. Greene, and is now owned by a private collector in California.)

Item 48. CSmH, CtY, CU-B, DLC, ICN, IHi, MiU-C, MoSHi, MWA, NN, TxDaDF, USiC, WHi

¹¹³F. D. Richards to Phineas and Wealthy Richards, Quincy, Ill., 5 August 1839; MS, UPB.

50. John Taylor.

A short account of the murders, robberies [sic], burnings, thefts, and other outrages committed by the mob and militia of the state of Missouri, upon the Latter Day Saints. The persecutions they have endured for their religion, and their banishment from that state by the authorities thereof. By John Taylor, Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints. [Caption title.]

[Springfield, Ill., 1839.]

8 pp. 25.5 cm.

John Taylor (the third President of the Church) and Wilford Woodruff left Nauvoo August 8, 1839, enroute to their mission in the British Isles. At Macomb, Illinois, they were joined by Zebedee Coltrin and there the brethren were given a horse and a saddle. On August 16 the three reached Springfield, Illinois, where John Taylor engaged the printing of 1,500 copies of his Short Account. Four days later Elder Taylor sold the horse and saddle to pay the printer, and the three elders continued their journey eastward. Some of the pamphlets were given to Coltrin to sell, the earnings to be used to support Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Woodruff while their husbands were in Europe.\(^{115}\)

John Taylor's pamphlet is important because it is the statement of a participant, a fact established in the opening paragraph. After outlining the election-day fracas in Gallatin, the pamphlet describes the encounter with Adam Black and prints Black's affidavit, which John Taylor claims he had before him at the time of writing. It further charges that Black himself incited anti-Mormon excitement because he coveted Mormon property. The events leading up to the destruction of the Mormon colony at DeWitt, which John Taylor witnessed, are related in detail. After summarizing the anti-Mormon activity in Daviess County and the battle at Crooked River, the pamphlet describes the Haun's Mill

\(^{115}\)"Diary of Wilford Woodruff," 8-20 August 1839; MS, USIC. B. H. Roberts, Life of John Taylor (Salt Lake City, 1892), pp. 67-69.
massacre, the coming of the militia to Far West, the Mormon surrender, and the subsequent depredations of the mob. And it concludes with General Clark's speech to the Far West Saints November 6, 1838.

A note at the end explains that the account was written at the request of the editor of the St. Louis Gazette, but that after he refused to print it, John Taylor elected to publish it himself in pamphlet form.

CSmH, MH, USIC

51. Parley Parker Pratt.

History of the late persecution inflicted by the state of Missouri upon the Mormons, in which ten thousand American citizens were robbed, plundered, and driven from the state, and many others imprisoned, martyred, &c. for their religion, and all this by military force, by order of the executive. By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. Written during eight months imprisonment in that state . . . .


v[7]-84 pp. 18.6 cm.

For eight months following the surrender of the Mormons at Far West, Parley Pratt languished in Richmond and Columbia jails before finally escaping on July 4, 1839. During this time he devoted himself to composing an account of the Mormon sufferings in Missouri. Writing to his wife, Mary Ann Pratt, from Columbia, June 8, 1839, Parley explains,

I am now finishing the journal of my life and sufferings, beginning where I left off when you took the writings away with you last winter. If I stay here long I want These writings in order to prepare them and those I am now writing for publication. I intend when I am set at liberty, to make the publication of my journal, with the history of all our sufferings the first business of my life, for I intend the world shall know the unparalleled proceedings of this State. for thank God I begin already to enjoy the Liberty to speak and write, a priviledge which relieves my full heart like the steem blowing from an over charged boiler.116

116Parley Pratt to Mary Ann Pratt, Columbia, 8 June 1838; MS, USIC.
The writings Mary Ann Pratt took away the preceding winter were a part of the manuscript that Parley and Mary Ann smuggled out of Richmond Jail while she was staying with him there. As Parley describes it in the pamphlet (pp. 66-68), the guards were aware of his writing, and he feared that they were about to search the cell and confiscate the manuscript. At this point Mary Ann and her six-year-old daughter, Mary Ann Stearns, were ascending the ladder from the dungeon below the cell when the trapdoor in the cell floorfell, hurting the child slightly and causing her to scream and cry. Seizing the opportunity, Parley cried out to the guards that his little girl was dreadfully injured. And with the manuscript secured under her dress and her daughter in her arms, Mary Ann Pratt rushed past the baffled guards amidst the wails of the injured child and the shouts of the anxious parents.

Eight weeks after his escape Parley left Nauvoo for his mission with the Twelve Apostles in England. About the first of October he reached Detroit, where he remained with his parents for two weeks. During this stay in Detroit he published his History of the Late Persecution, bringing it out of the press October 10, 1839.117

Parley Pratt was among the Missouri Saints expelled from Jackson County, fought at Crooked River, and was one of six Church leaders taken captive at the surrender of the Saints at Far West. Thus his History of the Late Persecution is indispensable to a study of the Missouri phase of Mormonism.

After a bit of editorializing in the preface (pp. [iii]-v), the pamphlet takes up the Mormon conflict in Jackson County at the destruction of the Star office, rehearses the events leading up to the expulsion of the Saints, and touchingly describes their exodus into Clay County. It then moves to the celebration of the fourth of July, 1838, at Far West, which Parley describes approvingly, and recounts the events in Caldwell and Daviess counties which ended in the expulsion of Saints from the state. The pamphlet includes detailed accounts of the treatment of the Mormon prisoners, their trial before Austin A. King, and Parley’s subsequent prison experiences, concluding with his harrowing escape from Columbia Jail.

History of the Late Persecution was twice reprinted in 1840: in Mexico, New York, as a forty-page pamphlet under the same title; and in New York City as a hardback entitled Late Persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints.

CtY, USIC

In November, 1839, the first regular issue of the Times and Seasons came off the press in Nauvoo, Illinois, marking the beginning of what might be considered from a bibliographical point of view the Nauvoo period of Mormon history: November 1839—December 1847. This era witnessed a veritable explosion of Mormon writing that produced some of Mormondom’s most fascinating books. These books are the subject of a subsequent article.
Frederick G. Williams, a photograph of a painting by courtesy of the Historical Department of the Church.
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