Cover: A photograph of a recently discovered painting by David Hyrum Smith. It depicts Emma Smith and some of her children picnicking just down river from Nauvoo. Photograph courtesy of the Audio-visual Department, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The original painting hangs in the home of Lynn E Smith, grandson of David H. Smith, in Independence, Missouri.

Layout by Robert Milberg, Graphic Communications, BYU Press.

EDITORIAL BOARD

JAMES B. ALLEN
professor of history, Brigham Young University, and assistant Church historian, Church Historical Department

R. GRANT ATHAY
professor of astrophysics, High Altitude Observatory, Boulder, Colorado

JOE J. CHRISTENSEN
associate commissioner, Church Education

BRUCE B. CLARK
dean, college of humanities, Brigham Young University

DAVID L. CLARK
professor of geology, University of Wisconsin

SOREN F. COX
chairman, department of linguistics, Brigham Young Univ.

PETER L. CRAWLEY
professor of mathematics, Brigham Young University

W. FARRELL EDWARDS
coordinator of general education, Utah State University

R. JOHN EYRE
chairman, department of government, Idaho State University

BRUCE C. HAFEN
assistant to the president, Brigham Young University

F. MELVIN HAMMOND
professor of religion, Ricks College

FRED HOLMSTROM
chairman, department of physics, San José State University

HOLLIS R. JOHNSON
professor of astronomy, Indiana University

WM. CLAYTON KIMBALL
chairman, department of government, Bentley College

NEAL E. LAMBERT
associate professor of English, Brigham Young University

T. EDGAR LYON
research historian, Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

TRUMAN G. MADSEN
Richard L. Evans professor of Christian understanding, Brigham Young University

ROBERT J. MATTHEWS
associate professor of ancient scriptures, Brigham Young Univ.

EARL E. OLSON
assistant managing director, Church Historical Department

ERNEST L. OLSON
director, university press, Brigham Young University

BRUCE RICHARDSON
attorney in the chancellor's office, California State University and Colleges

CHAUNCEY C. RIDDLE
dean, graduate school, Brigham Young University

CHARLES D. TATE, JR.
associate professor of English, Brigham Young University

Volume 15                  Summer 1975                  Number 4
Brigham Young University Studies is published quarterly, Autumn, Winter, Spring, and Summer, by Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah, 84602. Second class postage paid, Provo, Utah 84602.
Guest Editor's Prologue
Eliza R. Snow's Nauvoo Journal
Some Thoughts Regarding an Unwritten History of Nauvoo
Sickness and Faith, Nauvoo Letters
Doctrinal Development of the Church During the Nauvoo Sojourn, 1839-1846
Heber C. Kimball and Family, The Nauvoo Years
Nauvoo's Whistling and Whittling Brigade
A Wall to Defend Zion: The Nauvoo Charter
NAUVOO—A Painting
The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840-41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes
Mormon Bibliography: 1974
Book Reviews
Notes and Comments
Index

Truman G. Madsen 387
Maureen Ursenbach 391
Kenneth W. Godfrey 417
Ronald K. Esplin 425
T. Edgar Lyon 435
Stanley B. Kimball 447
Thurmon Dean Moody 480
James L. Kimball, Jr. 491
David Hyrum Smith 498
James B. Allen and Malcom R. Thorp 499
Chad J. Flake 527
Peter L. Crawley, editor 537
Lyndon Cook 550
553

Truman G. Madsen
Charles D. Tate, Jr.
Peter L. Crawley
Laura Wadley
Darrell Spencer
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.

**PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY**

**Brigham Young University Press**

**Provo, Utah 84602**

© 1975 Brigham Young University Press. All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America

6-75 5M 13147
Guest Editor’s Prologue

Truman G. Madsen*

When Josiah Quincy visited Nauvoo in its munificent prime he was accompanied by Charles Francis Adams. Adams’ diary impressions, kept by his own instructions in a vault for a full century, are less complimentary to Joseph Smith and the City than were Quincy’s. Ascribing “cool arrogance” to Joseph’s comments on the Chandler mummies, he yet marveled that the Mormons had built well under grinding opposition, and marveled more that such opposition could occur in a country committed to freedom of religion.

This incident symbolizes a feeling that lingers around the record of the rise and fall of Nauvoo: the impression that around every corner is still an untold story and that once these pieces are fitted together we will see a pattern that no history so far has fully grasped, in spite of the imaginative fictionalizing by Samuel Taylor, the archaeological reconstruction by the two churches committed to restoration of the city, and the focus on the civil and political externals in such a work as Robert Flanders’.

With this issue of BYU Studies we launch an effort in that direction.

A newly discovered historical treasure from that towering literate figure of Mormondom, Eliza R. Snow, is presented here under the editing of Maureen Ursenbach. The journal is in some respects more tantalizing in what it doesn’t say than in what it does, and the entries (June 1842 to April 1844) omit, as it were, the first and third acts of the Nauvoo drama. But for the careful student there are fresh insights here into the sensitivities of this remarkable woman, her brother, Lorenzo,

*Dr. Madsen, professor of philosophy, holds the Richard L. Evans Chair of Christian Understanding at Brigham Young University. He is also the director of the Institute of Mormon Studies.
and into the struggle with writs and rights in the daily life of Joseph Smith.

In Dr. Kenneth W. Godfrey we have some illuminating samples of how major books on major events in Nauvoo have missed the concrete meaning of everyday life. He suggests that for all that has been published in some sixty volumes we have so far been least articulate where we should have been most: what made Mormon life different from life in other American communities? And what was its vitality and moving power? Dr. Godfrey projects some new bearings for research on these lines.

Letters are landmarks in biography and history. Letters of John Taylor and his wife Leonora are here presented by Ronald K. Esplin. These provide us an intimate closeup of the near-epidemic of sickness, chills and fever and death that stalked the Saints in 1839, not only among those at home but also those determined to serve on missions. They show also how they became reconciled to separation and what was common but also rare in their faith in God.

Nauvoo restorationist, Dr. T. Edgar Lyon, shows how the Mississippi was not only a land separation but also a doctrinal divider; how it distinguished those who knew the deeper doctrinal insights from those who were still living within the framework of the Kirtland era. And through Joseph Smith came clarification and refinement but also revolutionary disclosures especially on the nature of the Holy Ghost, the primacy of free will, new perspectives on the fall and destiny of man, the blending of spiritual and temporal, baptism for the dead, the higher ranges of the priesthood, the erection of the temple in its full-blown ceremonial patterns, the establishment of celestial and plural marriage, and finally the doctrine of eternal progression as rooted in the King Follett discourse. This and more came within the seven years the Saints were in Nauvoo and much of it in the last two years of the Prophet Joseph Smith's life.

James L. Kimball, Jr., approaches one of the paradoxes of Nauvoo city, its somewhat unprecedented but also thoroughly American charter. Nauvoo thus became "a government within a government." Ironically this "wall of protection" became a barrier that provoked heavy-handed opposition. And one wonders if the Nauvoo Legion (is there a scholar interested?)
arose from similar American motivations and, by the same irony, did not protect or even intimidate but in the end, only antagonized.

What can a Mormon community do when its legal defense mechanisms are wiped away? Thurmon Dean Moody pulls together the journal descriptions of one effective resort. And now we see clearly the meaning of a curious phrase in the literature of Nauvoo that people were “whistled out” of the city. This organized form of restraint, usually involving young men, was a kind of intelligence agency and a junior posse. Suspicious characters and would-be troublemakers often found themselves vexed and their plans vitiated.

Here also is a preview of Stanley Kimball’s forthcoming biography on the monumental counselor to Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. Heber C. Kimball was “one of the triumvirs” of the first generation of the Church and the builders of Nauvoo, and his special gifts in the missionary outreach, in counsel, and in loyalty were high-water marks for the Saints then as they are for us now. This portrait is especially helpful in deepening our grasp of the life-impact of three controversial facets of the Nauvoo kingdom—the establishment of Masonic lodges (on which further articles are in preparation), the beginnings of plural marriage, and the meaning of the temple.

Finally, James Allen and Malcolm Thorp unite resources to trace in a coherent way what heretofore we have had only in biographical snippets—the unique mission of the Twelve to Britain. Utilizing available journals of the leaders involved as well as manuscripts of the converts, they relate the entire effort to the situation in Britain and especially to conditions of the working classes in mid-nineteenth century England.

Because the Nauvoo period is characterized by a great number of gathered and seasoned Latter-day Saints and is the climactic period in Joseph Smith’s ministry, and because there was a conscientious and official effort to keep records, minutes, and up-to-date history, one would expect rich eyewitness source materials on crucial events. In fact, we often have only the anatomy of events in Nauvoo. They cry out for detail, for flesh and blood clarification—for the record of the immediate impact on the lives of the Saints. Thus, for example, the following events need closer and closeup recovery:
The establishment of the Nauvoo Legion.
The origins of celestial and plural families.
The involvements and eventual defection of John C. Bennett, William and Wilson Law, William Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and information concerning their later lives.
The establishment of the Relief Society.
The establishment of the Masonic Lodge.
The relationship of the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples.
The activities of the Twelve in 1844.
The "rolling off" of the keys of authority on the Twelve prior to April conference, 1844.
The reaction of the Saints to the King Follett discourse.
The Prophet's plan to go West, and the actual factors leading up to the martyrdom.
The mantle experience and succession of Brigham Young.

During the next four years we will be preoccupied with these questions. We plead for a careful search and research effort to find letters, diaries, artifacts and memorabilia, and even word-of-mouth folklore to pad out our understanding of these and other crucial issues in the Nauvoo era.
Eliza R. Snow's Nauvoo Journal

Edited by Maureen Ursenbach*

The detailed diaries kept by Eliza R. Snow as she crossed the great plains from Nauvoo to the Salt Lake Valley have long been useful to historians of that period of Mormon history, and the thought that there might be extant a similar account of her Nauvoo experiences has tantalized scholars for years. Recently just such a volume surfaced, and was presented to Nauvoo Restoration Incorporated for use in their projects there. A photocopy of the holograph original is now available to scholars in the Archives of the Historical Department of the Church in Salt Lake City. What is reprinted here represents the first 67 of the total 234 written pages of the book, which served Eliza Snow both as diary and as notebook from June 1842 until well into her life in Salt Lake City.

The sections chosen for reproduction here include all the dated diary entries, narratives which illumine both the Nauvoo events recounted and Eliza Snow's reactions to them. The first such entry is 29 June 1842, the last 14 April 1844. Occasionally the poems which she interspersed among the dated entries add further to her narrative, in which cases they have been included here. More often, however, the poetry has been published elsewhere, and so has been deleted here, noted with a brief summary of its content. The pages after the last 1844 entry contain just poems, with no biographical material of significance.

In editing the material, we have exercised care to preserve as much of its original flavor as possible in the transition from

---

*Maureen Ursenbach is editor and senior research associate in the Church Historical Department. In the preparation of this diary she acknowledges the assistance of Jill Mulvay and Dean C. Jessee, both of the Historical Department.

The compiled poetry of Eliza R. Snow is now in preparation, edited by Maureen Ursenbach and Jill Mulvay, with an introductory essay by Eugene England. All the poems from this notebook will be included in the collection soon to be published.
the handwritten to the printed form. Occasionally the normal-
ly meticulous Eliza erred in her spelling; often she used ab-
breviations. These have been retained. Editorial corrections
or clarifications or been supplied in brackets. The only un-
noted alterations have been the few punctuation marks which
may have been lost either through the photocopying process
or the writer's haste. These have been supplied as necessary
for readability.

The diary makes reference to several people whose paths
crossed Eliza's. Some of these were prominent figures in
Nauvoo history—Joseph Smith, of course, Porter Rockwell,
and Sidney Rigdon need not be identified to BYU Studies
readers. Some others are either so obscure as to be lost from
records extant, or insufficiently identified in the diary to allow
positive identification. These have been simply represented as
they appear in the narrative. Those whose identification is
both possible and useful in the reading of the daily accounts
have been either footnoted, or explained in brackets in the text.

The diary begins with an acknowledgement of its source:
the empty volume was a gift to Eliza R. Snow, "politely pre-
sented" by her friend Sarah Melissa Kimball, a young and
well-to-do matron of the city. The date of the gift is noted
as March 1842, which suggests that it may have been in-
tended as a record book for the newly formed Female Relief
Society in which both women were involved. Willard Rich-
ards, however, had given Eliza, Relief Society secretary, a vol-
ume for that purpose, so this one lay unused for three months.

The first entry in the new book is dated 29 June 1842.
Written in a manner far removed from the concise, direct
style of Eliza's usual prose, it seems to be struggling to ex-
press feelings without disclosing the events which precipitated
those feelings. "This is a day of much interest to my feel-
ings," Eliza begins, and wanders off into vague references
to her family and their plans for moving. She rises to near
poetic responses to a thunderstorm beginning, a correlative to
the turmoil facing the persecuted Saints, and then resolves
into a reflection of faith which must counter the fear she
feels: "The grace of God is sufficient," she concludes. The
confusing whole becomes highly significant in the light of
biographical data collected from external sources.

Eliza, converted to Mormonism in 1835, had left her
childhood home in Mantua, Ohio, and gathered with the Saints in Kirtland, where she lived and taught school in the home of Joseph and Emma Smith. Most of her family joined her there, and together they traveled to Missouri, settling in Adam-ondi-Ahman. Persecutions drove them to Illinois, and Eliza and her older sister Leonora lived for a time in Lima, supporting themselves with their sewing. Finally in Nauvoo, Eliza lived with her parents, until, just as this journal begins, they announced their plans for moving to Walnut Grove, some fifty miles east of Nauvoo. Obviously dismayed at the prospect of living so far from the main body of the Saints, Eliza had apparently had no alternative until the possibility suggested by this first diary entry. From her later testimony, we form the connection: this is the date of her sealing to Joseph Smith as his wife in plural marriage. The emotional climate of Nauvoo—this is the peak of the John C. Bennett troubles—and the real and anticipated persecutions surrounding the practice of celestial marriage explain the veiled references characteristic of this entry and much that follows; Eliza's own deep feelings account for the emotional pitch to which the response occasionally rises.

That the sealing to Joseph Smith, called by Eliza in later years "the choice of my heart and the crown of my life," was of highest importance to the thirty-eight year old Eliza is evident from the point of view from which she writes the remaining entries in the diary: most of them deal with the Prophet and his difficulties with his accusers, and other less explicit references suggest Eliza's preoccupation with marriage, with Joseph's family, with her own brother Lorenzo and his return from a mission to England. Later accounts describe her quandary at confessing to Lorenzo her secret relationship with Joseph; the hesitation can be seen in her references to her brother here. It is regrettable, but significant, that her account stops two months before the martyrdom of the Prophet in June 1844, that the one extant expression of her feelings at that time remains her long, controlled elegy, "The Assassination of Generals Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith."
But if she did not write the events immediately surrounding the martyrdom, Eliza did give some insight into the turbulent days of 1842. John C. Bennett had just recently defected from the faith as her diary began, and the accounts he was spreading abroad of licentious "spiritual wifery" were further arousing the neighboring Gentiles against the Saints. Soon thereafter came the attempts to implicate Joseph Smith, who had not been in Missouri in three years, and Porter Rockwell in the attempted murder there of former Governor Lilburn Boggs, who had issued the earlier "extermination order" which officially drove the Mormons out of the state. The legalities involved with attempts to extradite Joseph Smith to Missouri, the proprieties of various summonses, and applications for release under habeas corpus writs kept both Joseph's friends and his enemies in the picture described by Eliza, and often removed Joseph himself from her observation as he either went with his captors or evaded them. Times were trying for the Mormons in Nauvoo, and the overtones of fear and danger add to the texture of Eliza's accounts here.

This Album
was politely presented to
Eliza R. Snow
by
Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball

City of Nauvoo, March, 1842
City of Nauvoo, June 29th 1842.

This is a day of much interest to my feelings. Reflecting on past occurrences, a variety of thoughts have presented themselves to my mind with regard to events which have chas'd each other in rapid succession in the scenery of human life.

As an individual, I have not passed altogether unnoticed by Change, in reference to present circumstances and future prospects. Two weeks and two days have pass'd since an intimation was presented of my duty and privilege of remaining in the City of the saints in case of the removal of my father's family: one week and two days have transpired since the family left, and though I rejoice in the blessing of the society of the saints, and the approbation of God; a lonely feeling will steal over me before I am aware, while I am contemplating the present state of society—the powers of darkness, and the prejudices of the human mind which stand array'd like an impregnable barrier against the work of God. While these thoughts were revolving in my mind, the heavens became shadowed with clouds and a
heavy shower of rain and hail ensued, and I exclaim'd "O God, is it not enough that we have the prepossessions of mankind—their prejudices and their hatred to contend with; but must we also stand amid the rage of elements?" I concluded within myself that the period might not be far distant, that will require faith to do so; but the grace of God is sufficient, therefore I will not fear. I will put my trust in Him who is mighty to save; rejoicing in his goodness and determin'd to live by every word that proceedeth out of his mouth.

Thursday [Friday?] July 29th [1842].
Just returned from Quincy, where I visited the Governor [Thomas Carlin] in company with Mrs. Emma Smith who presented him a Petition from the Female Relief Society. The Gov. received us with cordiality, and as much affability and politeness as his Excellency is master of, assuring us of his protection, by saying that the laws and Constitution of our country shall be his polar star in case of any difficulty. He manifested much friendship, and it remains for time and circumstance to prove the sincerity of his professions.4

Wednesday, August 3 [1842].
Day before yesterday I rode to the burial of bishop Knights [Vinson Knight]—from there to Prest. Smith's house, from which place I have just returned to my excellent friend, Mrs. b.

Tuesday, 9th [August 1842].
Prest. S[mith] and P[orter] R[ockwell] taken for the attempt to assassinate [Missouri ex-Governor Lilburn] Boggs. Prest. S. left in the care of the CityMarshal while those who took him return to Quincy to ascertain whither they must submit him to a City trial.5

O God, thou God that rules on high
Bow down thy ear to me:
Listen, O listen to my cry
And hear my fervent plea.

4Joseph Smith, History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1932-51), hereafter cited as HC. The printed work will be used for events up to December 1842, after which reference will be made to original accounts which are not available for the earlier period. The petition, signed by "about one thousand ladies," affirmed Joseph Smith's integrity and pled for his safety, and their own and their families' protection. The women's petition was one of three delivered by Nauvoo citizens to counter the assertions adverse to the Prophet being circulated at the time by John C. Bennett. In her later "Sketch of My Life," microfilm of holograph, Church Historical Department, Eliza Snow wrote the following postscript to the event: "But alas! soon after our return, we learned that at the time of our visit, and while making protestations of friendship, the wily Governor was secretly conniving with the basest of men to destroy our leaders."

5HC 5:86-87. During this period Joseph Smith was arrested and released, and in hiding to avoid arrest on charges of complicity in the attempted murder,
Rebuke the heartless, wicked clan
    That wish thy servant harm:
Protect him from the pow'r of man
    By thy Almighty arm.

Let unseen watchmen wait around
    To shield thy servant's head—
Let all his enemies be found
Caught in the net they spread.

Thy grace, like prairie dews distil'd,
    To all his need, apply;
And let his upright heart be fill'd
With spirit from on high.

The work is thine—thy promise sure
    Though earth and hell oppose
Roll, roll it onward, but secure
Thy prophet from his foes.

O, hide him in thy secret fold [hold?]
    When on his path they tread
Safe, as Elijah, who of old
Was by the ravens fed.

Bring our accusers' deeds to light
    And give thy people rest—
Eternal God! gird on thy might
And succor the opprest.6


Yesterday Mrs. [Emma] Smith sent for me, having previously
given me the offer of a home in her house, by Miss [Elvira]
A[nnie] Coles [or Cowles], who call'd on me, on the 12th.
Mrs. [Sarah] Cleveland having come to the determination
of moving on to her lot; my former expectations were frustrated,
but the Lord has opened the path to my feet, and I feel dispo'd
to acknowledge his hand in all things. This sudden, unexpected
change in my location, I trust is for good; it seem'd to come in
answer to my petitions to God to direct me in the path of duty
according to his will.

[Thomas] King, the deputy sheriff, and Pitman from
Quincy, with the Sheriff and his associate from Mo.; are yet
watching about the City for Prest. [Smith] who had absented
himself while they were on their return to Quincy.

in Missouri, of Boggs. The question of the arrest hinged on the legality of
the various writs with which Smith and Porter Rockwell were served.

6Later published as "Invocation" in Times and Seasons 3 (1 September
1842):910; Frontier Guardian, 16 May 1842; and as "Supplication," Snow,
Poems, 1:135-36 and LDS Hymns (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1856), p. 394,
and subsequent hymnals to 1871.
Esqr. Powers, Prest. S's Attorney from Keokuck call'd this evening—thinks the prospect flattering with respect to the excitement abroad.\textsuperscript{7}

Thursday 18th [August 1842].

Monday evening I return'd to my former residence in order to adjust my things for a removal, and return'd with them last evening to Prest. Smith's. As near as I can ascertain, the Quincy Sheriff and Constable left the place monday afternoon, and yesterday [Harmon T.] Wilson, the Sheriff from Carthage came in disguise, and has taken lodgings at Daviss' tavern. This evening Esqr. Warren arriv'd—said he concluded from the fact that the Gov. said all was quiet, that they were proceeding to get a new Writ.

Monday, 22 [August 1842].

Last night, six men came in, suppos'd to have a new Writ. Yesterday Prest. [Sidney] Rigdon spoke on the stand in the grove; giving a narration of Eliza's [Elizabeth Rigdon] sickness and the very singular manner in which she address'd the family after having been as he express'd it dead three times. He declar'd his confidence in the work of God—said it had been reported of him that he had call'd Prest. S. a fallen prophet—but he denied having said it, &c. How it would rejoice my heart to see him once more standing firmly in the dignity of his station and strengthening the hands of those who are struggling against every kind of opposition for the cause of God?\textsuperscript{18}

Thur. 25th [August 1842].

It has been satisfactorily ascertained that those men who came sunday evening, were not authorized to take Prest. S. but that there is a new Writ issued and on its way. Esqr. Powers called today.

This evening Prest S. said he had some good news, viz. that George W. Robinson had declar'd his determination to forsake his evil deeds and return to the church. If he does return, I hope it may be for his soul's salvation: not to act the part of Hinkle and betray the innocent, in the time of danger.\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{1}HC 5:95. Powers "ascertained that there was no writ issued in Iowa" for Joseph Smith.

\textsuperscript{2}HC 5:121-23; also F. Mark McKiernan, The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer (Lawrence Kansas: Coronado Press, 1971), p. 121. The contemporary account is from Times and Seasons, 15 September 1842. The Eliza mentioned is Rigdon's daughter.

\textsuperscript{3}George M. Hinkle, Mormon commander of the Caldwell County militia at Far West, became the LDS counterpart of the Benedict Arnold archetype: Mormons had thought him sympathetic to their cause when he persuaded their leaders to parley with General Lucas after the issuance of the Boggs "extermination order," but instead of negotiating with them, Lucas imprisoned the Mormon men. Hinkle was later excommunicated. David E. Miller and Della Miller, Nauvoo: The City of Joseph (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974), pp. 16-17; also HC 3:188-89.
I had a rich treat yesterday in perusing the Book of the Lord—was much gratified with the spirit breathed in the letters of Maj. Gen. [Wilson] L[aw]— felt myself rather reprov’d for having distrusted his integrity and devotion to the cause. In such critical times, much is depending on the fidelity of those who fill the higher offices.

Sunday, 28th [August 1842].
Last evening Prest. S. was at home and met in the large drawing room with a respectable number of those considered trustworthy—counsel’d them to go out forthwith to proclaim the principles of truth. I was busied the forepart of this day in needlework to prepare br. [Erastus H.] Derby for his mission.

Sunday Sept 4th [1842].
Surely we know not what a day may bring forth. The little season of quietude with which we have been bless’d for a few days, has gone by, and our City is again infested with some eighteen or twenty men, who are lying in wait, for the blood of the innocent!

Yesterday Pitman from Quincy and Ford from Mo. with another stranger arrived about one o’clock at the house of Prest. Smith, who having a moment’s notice, left the dinner table, where he was seated and made his escape. Pitman enquired for him and ask’d permission to search the house. Mrs. S[mith] said she had no objection if he had the proper authority. Pitman said he had no authority but with her consent he proceeded to search, preceeded by John Boynton and D[imick] Huntington, whom Mrs. S. requested to show them into the rooms.

After sundown, [Thomas] King, the Deputy Sheriff and his associate came in. King seem’d in an unpleasant humor—after enquiring for Prest. Smith spoke about searching the house, Mrs. S. mention’d authority—He said he had authority at any rate he said his will was good enough. Mrs. S. said she thought he could have no objections to telling what he wanted Mr. S. for. He said in a surly tone that it would be time enough to tell that afterwards.11

Sunday Sep. 11th [1842].
Returned from Lima, where I had a very pleasant visit with Sister L[enora].12 After a short time at the Conference on sat. evening, where Elders G[eorge A.] Smith & A[masa] Lyman,

10HC 5:110-11 reprints one such letter, which reports on conditions, advises Joseph Smith to absent himself for a season, and promises Law’s continued aid and loyalty.
11Another account of the attempted arrest is recorded in HC 5:145-46.
12Eliza’s older sister Leonora, married but long since separated from her husband Enoch Virgil Leavitt, was living in Morley Settlement, sometimes called Yelrome, a Mormon community headed by Isaac Morley just north of Lima, Illinois, some thirty miles south of Nauvoo.
who rode down in our carriage—met Prest. [Brigham] Young, already started on his mission.

Sun. 18th [September 1842].
Went to meeting in the forenoon & heard elder G[orge] J. Adams, who arriv’d here last monday, deliver an eloquent discourse from the 15th of 1st Cor. commencing with the 12th verse, “Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the dead” &c, on the subject of the resurrection of the dead. Yesterday I wrote the following

Conjugal
To Jonathan & Elvira. 13

Like two streams, whose gentle forces
Mingling, in one current blend—
Like two waves, whose onward courses
To the ocean’s bosom tend—

Like two rays that kiss each other
In the presence of the sun—
Like two drops that run together
And forever are but one,

May your mutual vows be plighted—
May your hearts, no longer twain
And your spirits be united
In an everlasting chain.

Friday 23d [September 1842].
Last evening spent at sister Knights—On my way, call’d at the Post-Office, and found a letter from Eli & Amanda, announcing their expectation of moving to this country. 14 Their intention of settling near father & mother is a subject of much gratification to my feelings, hoping it may add much to the comfort of the aged; in this age of disappointment and sacrifice. But the mind must be fix’d on God, that the cheering influence of his spirit may elevate our hopes above the power of changing circumstance; then will the aged rejoice, and the young be encouraged, even amid scenes of difficulty and peril.

To stand still and see the salvation of God seems to be the only alternative for the present. While reflecting on the present, and its connexion with the future; my thoughts mov’d in the following strain:

---

13Jonathan H. Holmes, a Nauvoo widower, married Elvira Annie Cowles in Nauvoo on 1 December 1842, as reported in the Nauvoo Wasp, 10 December 1842. The poem, with minor changes, was reprinted there under the announcement.

14Amanda Percy Snow was Eliza’s sister, four years younger. She and her husband, Eli McConoughey, came from Ohio where they had married before the Snows left for Missouri.
O, how shall I compose a thought
When nothing is compos'd?
How form ideas as I ought
On subjects not disclos'd?

If we are wise enough to know
To whom we should give heed—
Thro' whom intelligence must flow
The church of God to lead,

We have one grand position gain'd—
One point, if well possess'd—
If well established—well maintain'd,
On which the mind may rest.

This principle will bear us up—
It should our faith sustain,
E'en when from "trouble"'s reckless cup
The dregs, we have to drain.

What boots it then, tho' tempests howl
In thunders, round our feet—
Tho' human rage, and nature's scowl
By turns, we have to meet.

What though tradition's haughty mood
Deals out corroding wrongs;
And superstition's jealous brood
Stirs up the strife of tongues.\(^1\)

Sunday October 9th [1842].

Last night Prest S. left home in consequence of intelligence that
King & Pitman were on the way in search for him. It was a
sorrowful time. Sister Emma had been sick eleven days,—still
confined to her bed—but he must go or be expos'd to the fury
of the merciless! Gov. [Thomas] Carlin has offered \(\$200\), and
[Thomas] Reynolds \(\$300\), for his apprehension.\(^1\)

Wed. 12th [October 1842].

Having heard of the safe arrival of Prest. S. at the place of his
destination, I wrote as follows and sent to him

Prest Smith,

Sir, for your consolation permit me to tell
That your Emma is better—she soon will be well;

---

\(^1\)This poem remained unpublished, either in Nauvoo or later in Utah. It may be that the subject of the poem, hinted at in the underlining of *This principle*, is actually plural marriage, in which case the necessity for secrecy would have prevented its publication.

\(^1\)HC 5:167. Similar rewards were also posted for Orrin Porter Rockwell's arrest.
Mrs. Durfee stands by her, night & day like a friend
And is prompt every call—every wish to attend;
Then pray for your Emma, but indulge not a fear
For the God of our forefathers, smiles on us here.

Thou hast found a seclusion—a lone solitude
Where thy foes cannot find thee—where friends can't intrude;
In its beauty and wildness, by nature design'd
As a retreat from the tumult of all humankind,
And estrang'd from society: How do you fare?
May the God of our forefathers, comfort you there.

It is hard to be exil'd! but be of good cheer
Thou art destin'd to triumph: then like a chas'd deer
Hide yourself in the ravine, secure from the blast
Awhile, till the storm of their fury is past;
For your foes are pursuing and hunting you still—
May the God or our forefathers screen you from ill.17

November 16th [1842].

[The first three of the four poems included under this date are available elsewhere, and so are included here only by title and brief summary. "Apostrophe to Death" traces the changing view of death, in the light of modern revelation, from that of a fearsome tyrant surrounded by "terror," "darkness," and "frightfulness" into "A haggard porter, charg'd to wait before / The Grave—Life's portal to the worlds on high."18 "True Happiness" acclaims the position of those who, though vilely reproached by former friends, still enjoy "the bliss of conscious innocence": which permits them to stand secure "on Zion's hill."19 "Saturday Evening Thoughts," one of Eliza Snow's own favorites of her poems, was written in response, she later said, to "the first of Spencer's Letters." The poem affirms the higher value of sainthood over ease and comfort, states that "It is no trifling thing to be a Saint," and applauds the persevering aim, the toil, and the sacrifice required of those who would be Saints, "Tried to the core and sounded to the depth."20 The fourth poem, unpublished elsewhere, is included here.]

---

17 The poem is published, its first stanza deleted, as "To He Knows Who," Snow, Poems, 1:133. Other references to Emma's illness suggest a siege of the ague, or chills and fever, which lasted much of the fall and into winter. Cf. HC 5:166 ff.; Joseph Smith Diary, 26 December 1842, in the hand of Willard Richards, holograph, Church Historical Department. The place of Joseph Smith's "seclusion" is identified in HC as "Father Taylors," but its location is not specified. HC 5:169-72.
20 Times and Seasons 4 (2 January 1843):64; Millennial Star 4 (July 1843): 43; The Mormon, 23 June 1855; Snow, Poems, 1:3-6.
Retirement

O how sweet is retirement! how precious these hours;
They are dearer to me than midsummer's gay flow'rs
Then soft stillness and silence awaken the Muse—
'Tis a time—'tis a place that the minstrel should choose
While so sweetly the moments in silence pass by
When there's nobody here but Eliza and I.

This is truly a moment peculiarly fraught
With unbound meditation and freedom of thought!
Such rich hollowed seasons are wont to inspire
With the breath of Parnassus, the languishing lyre.
For sweet silence is dancing in Solitude's eye
When there's nobody here but Eliza and I.

O thou fav'rite retirement! palladium of joys
Remov'd from the bustle of nonsense and noise
Where mind strengthens its empire—enlarges its sphere
While it soars like the eagle or roams like the deer
O these still, sober moments, how swiftly they fly
While there's nobody here but Eliza and I.

November, Wed. 30th [1842].

Dec. 12th [1842].

This day commenced school-teaching in the Masonic Hall—the weather very cold and I shall never forget the kindness of Bishop [Newell K.] Whitney, who opened the school by prayer after having assisted in preparing the room.

In undertaking the arduous business with my delicate constitution, at this inclement season of the year, I was entirely governed by the wishes of Prest. and Mrs. Smith; trusting in God for strength to fulfill, and acknowledging his hand in this as well as in every other circumstance of my life; I believe he has a purpose to accomplish which will be for my good ultimately, inasmuch as I desire and aim to be submissive to the requirements of those whom he has plac'd in authority over me.21

Feb. 11th 1843.

Took board and had my lodging removed to the residence of br. J[onathan H.] Holmes.22

21 A class roll from the school reveals an attendance of thirty-seven scholars, ranging in age from four years to seventeen. Included are four children of Joseph and Emma Smith, five of Newel K. and Elizabeth Ann Whitney, two Partridges, three Knights, and one William Marks, as well as several other with names less prominent in Nauvoo leading circles. Nauvoo School Records, Church Historical Department. The "Masonic Hall," where the school was held, would have been the large upper room of Joseph Smith's store.

22 Eliza gives no reason for the move out of the Smith household, although some conjecture may be valid. As near as can be estimated, the Smith's were still living in the "homestead," a four-room wooden house. There conditions would have been at best crowded—there were four Smith children, as well as Joseph and Emma, and possibly Joseph's mother as well.
March 17th 1843.

This day clo’ed my school much to my own satisfaction; having the pleasure of the presence of Pres. J. Smith, his lady—Mrs. Allred, Mrs. Durfee and others. After reading in the hearing of the school several beautiful parting pieces, addressed to myself by the scholars, I read a farewell address which I had prepared for the occasion—and after singing the following parting hymn; Prest. S. closed the school by prayer.

The Parting Hymn.

How sacred is the tie that binds
In lasting bonds congenial minds?
What sacred feelings swell the heart
When friends from friends are call’d to part—
When fond endearment twines a spell
Around the parting word, "Farewell"?

The hours have glided swift away
While we have met from day to day
To echo studies in the Hall—
Those hours we never can recall
For now their dying numbers tell
That we must bid the Hall "Farewell."

Long, mem’ry’s vision will hold dear
The season spent together here—
And long will recollection chime
Its music to far distant time,
And oft in thrilling numbers tell
The time—the hour we bade "Farewell."

O God! thy guardian care extend—
Be thou our father and our friend—
Let each within thy presence share
Thy favor, thy protecting care;
And may thy smile the shades dispel
That gather round the word "Farewell."

Thy spirit and thy pow’r impart
To guide aright each youthful heart;
And all our feet securely guide
Where thy salvation’s streamlets glide;
That we may in thy presence dwell
When we to time, shall bid "Farewell."

23Published in Snow, Poems, 1:74-76 under the title "As I Believe," and dedicated to President Heber C. Kimball.
[There follows here a copy of a very long speech, written in high-flown prose in the formal manner of a university commencement address. Eliza alludes to the relief she feels, to be "liberated" from the "arduous" business of instructing the class these past few months, but then expresses "my satisfaction and approbation of your conduct," and "thanks for the respectful attention which, with very few exceptions, you have paid to my instructions." The remaining six pages are a preaching to the departing class, full of Polonius-like admonitions to the young, simple homilies couched in elaborate prose. The speech closes with the hope "that you may be preserved from the evils that are in the world, and be of that number who, having the harps of God, shall sing the song of Moses and the Lamb and inherit the glory of the celestial kingdom."

Following her own speech, Eliza has copied into the journal four tributes, mostly in verse, presented to her by four of her students: Fanny Decker, Sophia Roundy, Eliza A. Allred, and Samantha Roundy.]

Sunday April 9th, [1843].
Conference closed yesterday—it has been a very interesting season to those present, but from ill health I have been deprived attending except one half day. With mingled emotions of pain and pleasure I perused a letter written by P[arley] P. Pratt, with which I was this evening favored by the politeness of elder Woodruff. The joyful intelligence of the arrival of my brother with a company of 230, in St. Louis was accompanied with the announcement of the death of br. L[orenzo D.] Barnes, the first elder in the church of Latter-day Saints, who has laid his bones upon a foreign soil.

[There follows in the diary a short poem on the death of the missionary, praising the cause for which he crossed the Atlantic.24]

Wednesday 12th [April 1843].
This day I have the inexpressible happiness of once again embracing a brother who had been absent nearly three years. I cannot describe the feelings which fill'd my bosom when I saw the steam-boat Amaranth moving majestically up the Mississippi, and thought perhaps Lorenzo was on board: my heart overflowed with gratitude when, after the landing of the boat, I heard Prest. Hiram Smith say to me "your brother has actually arrived." It is a time of mutual rejoicing which I never shall forget.

Sat. 15th [April 1843].
Spent a very interesting and agreeable afternoon at Mr. Lyon's present L[orenzo], Mrs. Scovill, Miss Geroot, &c.

---

Tues, May 9th [1843].
    Had a delightful excursion up the river to Burlington.

Thurs. May 11th [1843].
    Accompanied L[orenzo] to Lima—very pleasant ride.

Monday 15th [May 1843].
    Returned to Nauvoo after a very pleasant visit and an interesting
    Conference at which present Prest. J. Smith, W. Woodruff &
    George A S[mith].

Friday [19 May 1843].
    Visited at Prest. [William] Marks in company with Sophie
    Mr. Harris'.

Tues. 23d [May 1843].
    Last night L[orenzo] and myself staid at New Lancaster & this
    evening arrived at our father's residence in Walnut Grove; where
    we found sister A[manda], and all in tolerable health and plea-
    santly situated in a beautiful country; for which I feel very thank-
    ful; The care and anxiety which I have experienced for the diffi-
    culties to which my parents have been subject since our expul-
    sion from our home in Mo. have been a source of much bitter-
    ness of feeling; and that bitterness has been aggravated by the
    reflection that they did not in their trials draw out from the
    springs of consolation which the gospel presents that support
    which was their privilege, and which would have enabled them
    to rejoice in the midst of tribulation & disappointment.

Thurs. June 1st [1843].
    My brother & I returned again to our beloved City after visit-
    ing my aunt & cousins at Spring-Creek 12 miles south-east from
    LaHarpe. A severe storm occur'd this day week—much injury
    done in Monmouth.

Sun. 4th [June 1843].
    Yesterday & last night I spent alone except L[orenzo]'s com-
    pany for a few hours; the people having gone on a pleasure
    excursion to Quincy.

Friday 9th [June 1843].
    The melancholy news of the sudden death of Elias Higbee
    Esqr. who died yesterday morning has spread a feeling of deep
    sorrow over the City. How truly it may be said that "in the
    midst of life we are in death." It is to us a mysterious providence
    at this time, when every talent and exertion are peculiarly needed

\footnote{The elders had traveled to Lima, or Yelrome, to speak to the Saints
there about the Nauvoo House. Emma Smith also accompanied them. Joseph
Smith Diary, 13-15 May 1843.}
for the erection of the Temple; that one of the Committee should be so suddenly call’d from time to eternity.  

Today Lorenzo leaves for Ohio—may the Lord prosper his way and return him soon to my society.

Tues. 13th [June 1843].

Last Sunday I had the privilege of attending meeting and in the forenoon listening to a very interesting discourse by Prest. J. Smith. He took for his subject the words of the Savior to wit. “O Jerusalem thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto you! How oft would I have gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings and you would not!” He beautifully and in a most powerful manner, illustrated the necessity of the gathering and the building of the Temple that those ordinances may be administered which are necessary preparations for the world to come: he exhorted the people in impressive terms to be diligent—to be up and doing lest the tabernacle pass over to another people and we lose the blessings.

Sunday 18th [June 1843].

Last tues. Prest. S. & family started for a visit to her [Emma’s] relatives. Friday spent the night very pleasantly at bishop Whitney’s after attending a very interesting meeting of the Relief Society in the afternoon. This morning sister Mills left us for the eternal world. I spent the day at home—wrote a letter for Mother [Lucy Mack] Smith. Several brothers and sisters call’d on me in the evening—inform’d me that brother L[orenzo] did not leave at the time we expected—probably did not go till mon-

day morning.

Tues. 20th [June 1843].

Last evening heard the unpleasant intelligence that the Gov. of Missouri has issued another Writ for the arrest of Prest. Smith. How long will the hand of persecution retain its iron nerve! How long must the innocent be harrass’d and perplexed! Heard that a messenger arrived from Springfield, sent by Judge [James] Adams, saturday night to apprise Prest. S. of the expected ar-


Friday 23d [June 1843].

Judge Adams arrived this morning from Springfield. I call’d

Judge Higbee’s death of “choleramorbus” is noted in Joseph Smith’s Diary under date 8 June 1843; a funeral address delivered by Joseph Smith is summarized under date 13 August 1843.

The speech is summarized in HC 5:423-27, drawing on original accounts in Joseph Smith Diary, 11 June 1843, and Wilford Woodruff Diary, 11 June 1843, holograph, Church Historical Department.

The visit here mentioned resulted in Joseph’s capture at Dixon, Lee County, Illinois. The more complete account is in HC 5:431-75, 481-88 and Joseph Smith Diary, 13-30 June 1843. The HC narrative has Joseph and Emma Smith leaving Nauvoo on the Thursday rather than the Tuesday of this men-
tion, but the Joseph Smith diary concurs with Eliza’s dating.
to see him—he confirm’d previous intelligence respecting the Writ being issued, but nothing as yet is heard of the officers. Yesterday I was presented with the following lines, which had been sent to press without my knowledge, & of which I had retain’d no copy.

From the Wasp.

To who needs Consolation.

O can a gen’rous spirit brook
   With feelings of content
To see an age, distrustful look
   On thee with dark intent!

I feel thy woes—my bosom shares
   Thy spirit’s agony:—
How can I love a heart that dares
   Suspect thy purity?

I’ll smile on all that smile on thee
   As angels do above—
All who in pure sincerity
   Will love thee, I will love.

Believe me, thou hast noble friends
   Who feel and share thy grief;
And many a fervent pray’r ascends
   To heav’n, for thy relief. 29

Sunday June 25th [1843].

This afternoon, while the people were assembled for service in the grove, Br. [William] Clayton who had been sent with br. [Stephen] Markham to Lee Co. to notify Prest. Smith of the issue of the Writ for his arrest, returned which occasioned considerable excitement. He announced the capture of Prest. S. with his request that a number of the Militia should be sent to his assistance if needed. It was truly gratifying to see the spirit manifested on the occasion, not only by brethren but also by many persons not members of the church. All seem’d desirous of proving their patriotism in the cause of the persecuted prophet. The City literally swarmed with men who ran together from every quarter to volunteer their services. A selection of about eighty horsemen started about dusk, while fifty others were chosen to go by water, who went on board the “Maid of Iowa” to go down the Mississippi and up the Illinois to Ottawa, expecting that Prest. S. would be taken there for trial.

29The poem, obviously more personal than most of Eliza Snow’s verses, had been published in the Wasp, 10 September 1842, some nine months earlier. Although it might have been Joseph Smith himself who originally submitted it for publication—his brother William was then editor—it is likely that it was John Taylor, William’s successor, who returned the poem to Eliza. In the Wasp the verse is signed merely “E.”
Tues. 27th [June 1843].

Mrs. S. [Emma Smith] arrived—I went to see her, and learned more particulars concerning the the manner in which her husband was taken by J[oseph] H. Reynolds, Sheriff of Jackson Co. Mo. and Willson [Harmon T. Wilson] a constable of Hancock Co. Ill. who came to Dixon on Rock river professing to be Mormon elders & enquired for Joseph Smith who they were informed was 12 miles distant at a place called Palestine Grove. They proceeded there & took him in a savage manner & brought him to Dixon, intending the same evening which was friday the 23d, to take him into Mo. but thro' the providential interference of the patriotic citizens of the place he was rescued & reserved for a more lawful proceeding.

Thurs. 29th [June 1843].

Took a ride to br. Lot's in company with Mrs. Whitney, Mrs. Durfee & Mrs. Holmes. Before we returned, it was announced that a messenger had arrived bringing the joyful intelligence that the prophet would arrive in a few hours.

Sat. 30th [June 1843].

A very interesting day. A military Escort accompanied by the Band and a number of ladies on horseback & a vast multitude of citizens, in carriages left the City at 11 o'clock A.M. and returned at 2, to the house of Prest. S. with the Prest. where I witness'd a scene of mingled joy & sorrow, which language cannot describe; for who can paint the emotions of the heart—the burst of parental and filial affection amid scenes of deepest anguish and the highest joy? The affectionate manner in which he introduced his family to those worse than savage officers, and the very hospitable treatment they received, was a lesson that should have made an impression on every heart, not to be eradicated.

[Eliza follows this account with her poem "The Kidnapping of Lieutenant-general Joseph Smith," sixteen stanzas in ballad form which tell the story of the prophet's arrest at Dixon.31]

July 20th [1843].

Sister [blank in original] call'd to see me. Her appearance very

---

30 Most likely their destination was actually Joseph Smith's farm, where Cornelius Lott was foreman.

31 Published in *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 26 July 1843; *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 August 1843): 288; Snow, *Poems*, 1:127-29; *Deseret News* 6 (21 January 1857): 363; and Charles O'Brien Kennedy, *A Treasury of American Ballads: Gay, Naughty, and Classic* (New York: The McBride Company, 1954), pp. 59-61. In preparing *HC* for publication, B. H. Roberts weeded the poem out of the original collection of documents, explaining his reasons to President Joseph F. Smith in a memo: the story had already been "twice told" in the narrative, he explained, and the Snow "poem" (quotation marks are his) added nothing "either of beauty or fact" to the account. "The verses are the merest dogerel," he complained, and concluded, "All that jingles is not poetry." Undated memo, B. H. Roberts Papers, Church Historical Department.
plainly manifested the perturbation of her mind. How strangely is the human countenance changed when the powers of darkness reign over the empire of the heart! Scarcely, if ever, in my life had I come in contact with such forbidding and angry looks; yet I felt as calm as the summer eve, and received her as smilingly as the playful infant; and my heart as sweetly reposed upon the bosom of conscious innocence, as infancy reposes in the arms of paternal tenderness & love. It is better to suffer than do wrong, and it is sometimes better to submit to injustice rather than contend; it is certainly better to wait the retribution of Jehovah than to contend where effort will be unavailable.  

July 21st [1843].

In company with br. Allen left Nauvoo for the residence of sister [Leonora] Leavitt in the Morley Settlement. We rode most of the way in the night in consequence of the annoyance of the Prairie flies. It was the season for contemplation, and while gazing on the glittering expanse above, which splendidly contrasted with the shades that surrounded me; my mind, as if touched by the spirit of inspiration, retraced the past and glanced at the future, serving me a mental treat spiced with the variety of changes subsequent to the present state of mutable existence.

The likeness and unlikeness of disposition & character with which we come in contact, is a fruitful theme of thought; and the very few, who have strength of mind, reason & stability; to act from principle; is truly astonishing, and yet only such, are persons worthy of trust.

July 30th [1843?].

[Under this date Eliza copies her poem "Some Good Things," an optimistic verse of nine quatrains affirming that assurance of one's own righteousness and of God's blessings, present and future, is the ultimate good.]  

August 28 [1843].

Last evening was entertained by br. [Sylvester?] Huelett reading to us from his own manuscript. This morning wrote the following,

Lines addressed to Mr. Huelett.

I always love the pages fraught
With noble truth & native thought

---

32 A nineteenth century definition of "unavailable" suggests meanings akin to "unavailing," useless, futile.
33 Snow, Poems, 1:56-57.
34 Only one poem by a "Mr. Huelett" appears in any Nauvoo papers. "Lines" by S. Huelett was published almost simultaneously in both the Nauvoo Neighbor, 11 December 1844, and Times and Seasons, 15 December 1844. The borrowing from Eliza's earlier published poem on the same subject, the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, suggests that the poet felt himself disciple to the more experienced poetess.
Where mind, unshackled seems at home
Where e’er abroad it wills to roam.
I wonder’d when I heard your lay
Why you Should seek to hide away
Your harp, nor let its cheering sound
Move on the gales that flutter round.

Why should you yield to self-distrust
And hide your talent in the dust?
Why should you selfishly suppress
A source of mutual happiness
And lavish on your solitude
That which might do your neighbor good—
That which might cheer the toilsome way
Amid the ills of latter-day?

Why so tenacious that your name
Should be unknown? All earthly fame
Will pass away; but Zion’s spire
Is destin’d to be rising higher
Until celestial glories blaze
And earth is lighted with the rays—
Till upper Zion shall come down
And be an everlasting crown.

Though fame’s a paltry aim, ’tis well
For Zion’s chronicles to tell
How, carefully, within the sphere
However small, allotted here;
Her children each with child-like heart
With promptitude perform’d a part;
And each improv’d the talent giv’n
In honor of the law of heav’n.

When young in years,—in all a child—
With thought untrain’d, and fancy wild
’Twas my delight to spend an hour
Beneath a Muse’s fav’rite bow’r:
While there I fan’d Parnassus’ fire
The letter’d pinions ask’d my lyre;
I deeply scorn’d the Poet’s fame
And from the world withheld my name.35

But when from the eternal throne,
The truth of God around me shone;
Its glories my affections drew
And soon I tun’d my harp anew:
By counsel which I’d fain abide
I laid fictitious names aside:

35The poems which Eliza wrote and published in Ohio during her pre-Mormon years, 1826-1835, carried such pseudonyms as Narcissa, Pocahontas, Cornelia, Minerva and Tullia.
My duty, not a love of fame
Induc'd me to divulge my name.

It surely is a glorious thing
To mount imagination's wing;
With Inspiration's chart unfurl'd
That bids defiance to the world;
And ride triumphantly abroad
Where the unthinking never trod,
And gain an empire for the mind
That leaves tradition's throne behind.

Aug. 28th [1843].
This afternoon had the inexpressible happiness of greeting Lorenzo, just return'd from Ohio.

Sept. 1st [1843].
Br. L[orenzo] left this morning which leaves a great void in our association—it seems like forcing a wide breach in our family circle. The more endearing the reciprocation of friendship—the more implicit the confidence; the more painful is the separation. This we realize in the present instance.

Oct. 3d [1843].
[Here follows a short poem "to Mr. & Mrs. Scott on the death of their Son." It contains a mild reprimand to the parents for their sorrowing, assuring them that "while it lays its victim low,/ Death opens to the worlds on high."]

Thurs. Oct. 5th [1843].
A disposition to conform to circumstances is a blessing for which I feel very grateful. As saints of the Most High—subject to all the vicissitudes attendant on an adherence to the principles of the celestial kingdom: in order to render life desirable; we must cultivate feelings of submission and cherish in our own bosoms, that peace and tranquility which will enable us to rejoice in what ever situation we may be placed.

To rejoice, or even feel calm and contented, when suffering injustice from our fellow creatures; would certainly require an exertion of mind and a firm command of feeling; yet it is an attainment within our reach, or at least proportionately so; inasmuch as we verily believe that God whom we worship to be a God of justice, and that sooner or later a just retribution will follow.

[There follows here a psalm-like piece identified as "Psalm. Third." In the Old Testament style, it is an affirmation that the

36 Lorenzo had apparently visited Eliza and Leonora at Morley Settlement, from which place he likely continued to Nauvoo to report his mission-visit to Ohio.
37 Published as "To Mr. and Mrs. S., on the Death of a Child," Snow, Poems, 1:81-82.
word of God will "dissipate every obstruction," and the testimony of Jesus "will guide my vision through the portals of immortality." 

Oct 10th [1843].

Yesterday returned from Nauvoo. The trial of Prest. Rigdon occupied that portion of the Conference which I attended. Some circumstances of very peculiar interest occurred during my visit to the City. Every thing connected with our affections is engraven on the heart, and needs not the perpetuating touch of the sculptor.

12th [October 1843].

Dream'd that my father spoke to me of prospects nineteen months to come.

Oct. 19th [1843].

Wrote the following for Miss Eliza Partridge.

You know, dear Girl, that God is just—
   He wields almighty pow'r;
Fear not his faithfulness to trust
   In the most trying hour.

Though darkness like the shades of night
   Should gather round your way;
The Lord our God will give you light
   If you his will obey.

In sweet submission humbly wait
   And see his purpose crown'd
He then will make the crooked straight
   And spread salvation round.

Our heav'nly Father knows the best
   What way we must be tried:
Stand still and his salvation test—
   Thou shalt be satisfied.

The poem which follows, beginning "The trials of the present day," consists of eleven quatrains encouraging the reader through present troubles with the promise of a time "When Zion will arise on high./In the Celestial glory." The poem is here superscribed, in a hand suggesting a later addition, with the quotation "Straight is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."

[38]Published as "The Lord is My Trust," Snow, Poems, 1:147-49.
[39]HC 6:47-49. Joseph Smith had proposed the release of Sidney Rigdon as his counselor, but the vote of the conference reinstated him.
[40]Eliza Partridge had been sealed as a plural wife to Joseph Smith some five months earlier.
[41]Published as "Celestial Glory," Times and Seasons 4 (1 November 1843):383; Nauvoo Neighbor, 20 December 1843; LDS Hymns (Liverpool, 1851), pp. 138-39, and in subsequent hymnals to 1948; Snow, Poems, 1:139-41.
A second poem, "Queen Victoria," follows, with the introduction that it was written in commemoration of Lorenzo's having presented to Her Majesty and Prince Albert two copies of the Book of Mormon in 1842, prior to his return from his mission.43

Dec. 6th [1843].
Spent the day at Mr. Lindsay's in cutting clothes.

[Dec.] 9th [1843].
Lorenzo left for Nauvoo.

Dec. 19th [1843].
Tuesday evening L. having return'd, we had the pleasure of the company of Father [Isaac] & Mother [Lucy] Morley: it was an interesting season, in the order of a blessing meeting, father Morley officiating. The following is a copy of the blessing confer'd on me, as a Patriarchal Blessing.

"Sister Eliza, In the name of Jesus Christ I lay my hands upon thy head, and I confirm all thy former blessings together with the blessings of a Patriarch upon thee. Let thy thoughts, thy mind and thy affections be stay'd upon the mighty God of Jacob.

Thou hast the blessing and gift to know in whom thou has put thy trust—he is thy friend and thy great Benefactor. He has been mindful of thee and has given thee an intellect capable of receiving & understanding all things necessary, pertaining to thy present and everlasting welfare; and thou hast & shall have the blessing to improve upon every talent and gift that the God of nature has bestow'd upon thee. The powers of thy mind are fix'd as firmly as the pillars of heaven, to comply with the requisitions of thy Creator, and thou shalt never be disappointed in the cause thou hast espous'd. The Lord thy Savior loves thee and has been bountiful in pouring his blessings upon thee, and thou shalt have the blessing to be admired & honor'd by all good men. Thou hast the blessing to speak in wisdom & to counsel in prudence, and thou shalt have the blessing to be honor'd by those who have spoken reproachfully of thee; and thou shalt yet stand in high & holy places, to be honr'd and admired for the integrity of thy heart. Thy fidelity has reach'd the heavens, and thy name is honor'd & admir'd by the heav'nly hosts. Thy steps shall be trac'd in prudence—thy examples are worthy of imitation, and thou mayest ever confide in the friend of thy bosom. Thou mayest open thy mind to thy Creator and thy requests shall be granted because thou hast an advocate even Jesus, & in his name thou art invited to pay thy

43Times and Seasons 5 (1 January 1844):398; Nauvoo Neighbor, 17 January 1844; Millennial Star 4 (April 1844):184; Snow, Poems, 1:89-91; Deseret News, 13 May 1857; and Eliza R. Snow Smith, Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884), pp. 63-64.
devotions to the Most High, and in and thro' his name thou mayest ever rejoice in the New & everlasting covenants; Ask, and thou shalt be given an additional blessing to thee; and thou shalt have influence & power over all those who have sought to injure thee, to do good unto them; and to cause them to become a blessing to thee. Thy influence shall be great—thy examples shall not be excel'd. Thou hast a heart to be enlarg'd and a mind capable of expansion; and for thy comfort remember in thy retired walks, that yonder sun is typical of a crown of glory that shall be sealed upon thy head: The stars that twinkle in yonder sky shall show to thy mind the workmanship of thy Creator, and by those glories thou shalt read the destinies of man, and be capable with thy pen to communicate, to thy fellow man the blessings & glories of futurity: and thy blessing shall roll and continue to thee until time is lost in eternity: and thy name shall be handed down to posterity from generation to generation: and many songs shall be heard that were dictated by thy pen and from the principles of thy mind, even until the choirs from on high and the earth below, shall join in one universal song of praise to God and the Lamb.—These blessings, together with Eternal life I seal upon thy head in the name of thy Redeemer, Amen.”

Recorded in book E. Page 67. A L Morley

["Missouri," which follows here in the original notebook, is a long prose-poem condemning that state for its treatment of the Saints. "Thou art fallen—thou art fallen beneath the weight of thine own unhallowed deeds, and thine iniquities are pressing as a heavy load upon thee." Eliza writes, and, in even more dramatic tone: "Thou hast become an ignominious stain on the escutcheon of a noble, free, and independent Republic—thou art a stink in the nostrils of the goddess of Liberty."]

Sunday evening Dec. 31st [1843].

The closing of the year 1843 led Eliza, probably in the context of a family gathering with Lorenzo and Leonora and others at Morley Settlement, to suggest that the brother address the group. Her summary of his remarks reveals something of Lorenzo's testimony and personal philosophy, but little by way of review of the year's events. It is deleted here, as is Eliza's own poem, "The Past Year," a piece in blank verse dealing with the transience of time and ending with a millennial vision of that

---

43The blessing as it appears in Isaac Morley's book is signed "A. Leonora Leavitt, scribe." That Eliza changed the signature in copying the blessing into her own book suggests her knowledge that her sister's sealing to Isaac Morley, later confirmed in the Nauvoo Temple, had in fact already taken place. Nauvoo Temple Records, 16 January 1846, Church Historical Department.

point "Where Time, extending to its utmost bound, / Will tread the threshold of Eternity."\textsuperscript{135}

Eliza's "Psalm Second," also deleted here, expresses again the tribulations of the Saints and the blessings of the Lord who "hath already placed us on high, even above the fear of those that counsel in darkness." And, more in hope than in prophecy, the writer suggests "He hath rolled back the waves of persecution—He hath staid the hour of oppression—He hath brought their names into derision, who dealt out to us the cup of affliction."

Jan. 23d [1844].

["In accordance with a communicated request," Eliza had written a long poem "To Mrs. M[ary Ann] Pratt, on the death of her little Son." She repeats the assurance that "all will be again restor'd," and concludes with the quatrain:

Altho' a tender branch is torn
Asunder from the parent tree;
Back to the trunk it shall be borne
And grafted for eternity.]

Feb. 17th [1844].

[Another "on the death of" poem follows, this one addressed to "Mrs. Lyons," Sylvia P. Lyon of Morley Settlement whose daughter had died. The sentiments are similar to those of the previous poem.\textsuperscript{46}]

Thurs. [Tues.?] 20th [February 1844].

Spent last evening much to my satisfaction, entertainment and instruction, at a Blessing meeting at br. Beeby's in Lima. It was quite a treat to my mind—one of the bright spots on the page of my life, never to be forgotten.

April 14th [1844].

On the fifth I came to the City to attend the Conference. Spent the time very pleasantly in the affectionate family of Bishop Whitney in company with my sister. Having received counsel to remain in the City, after spending a few days at elder Sherwood's & br. Joshua Smith's; I took up my residence at the house of Col. S[tephen] Markham being invited to do so; and I feel truly thankful that I am again permitted to enjoy society which

\textsuperscript{45}Published as "The Past Year" in Deseret News, 28 December 1850; in Millennial Star 13 (1 May 1851):143; and Poems, 2:10-12. Eliza's summary of Lorenzo's remarks is published in Eliza R. Snow Smith, Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow, pp. 70-73.

\textsuperscript{46}Published as "Obituary" in Times and Seasons 5 (15 March 1844):479; Nauvoo Neighbor, 3 April 1844; LDS Hymns (Liverpool, 1851), p. 354, and in subsequent editions to 1871; and Snow, Poems. 1:138-39.
is dear to me as life. I find Sister M. an agreeable, noble, independent minded woman; willing to sacrifice for the truth.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{47}Eliza’s accommodation with the Markhams must have proved satisfactory, for she apparently stayed there for the remainder of her time in Nauvoo. When she left in the February 1846 exodus, it was with the Markhams that she traveled, and she stayed with them to Winter Quarters. Her next extant diary accounts begin with the February move from Nauvoo, heading west.
Some Thoughts Regarding an Unwritten History of Nauvoo*

Kenneth W. Godfrey**

A recent reading of my Nauvoo bibliography disclosed that at least sixty books have been written dealing wholly or in part with some aspect of the Mormon experience in that city. But these scores of articles on the subject increase our knowledge of only the major events in this "Kingdom on the Mississippi." Few, if any, major works have treated "early Mormon lifestyles, or the Saints as human beings," to use Davis Bitton's phrase. Christopher Lasch, in his book, *Reflections on American History*, has severely chastized Mormon historians for "detaching the subject from its surroundings," and for failing to clearly illuminate what gave Mormonism its vitality.¹ I suspect that the illumination will not be forthcoming until historians devote more time to studying the letters, diaries, and journals of the common Latter-day Saints who lived—and very often died—in Nauvoo.²

Perhaps it is appropriate to challenge someone to write a really distinguished social history of Nauvoo. A very hurried calculation discloses that by the end of 1846 Latter-day Saints had lived in Nauvoo 2,575 days or 61,800 hours. Not all of this time was spent in fleeing from Missouri officials, reading

---

*An address delivered at the 1974 Mormon History Association meetings in Nauvoo, Illinois.

**Dr. Godfrey, past director of the LDS Institute of Religion at Weber State College, and past secretary-treasurer of the Mormon History Association, is currently serving as president of the Pennsylvania Pittsburgh Mission.


²*The Wasp* (a biweekly newspaper edited by the Prophet's brother, William Smith) always published a list of the people who had died since the previous issue had been printed. These lists usually contained from eight to twelve names and if we assume that ten might represent an average number then approximately 250 people died each year in the Mormon capital. This would mean that from 1,500 to 2,000 people died during the six years that Nauvoo was a flourishing city.
scripture, receiving revelation, working on the temple, or even sleeping. Even though the historian concedes that a tremendous amount of the men's time, at least, was spent in missionary work, work on the temple, politics, and meetings, the question still may be asked, "What were the women and children doing? and thinking? and feeling?" The briefest perusal of Nauvoo literature reveals a glaring lack of information regarding this aspect of Nauvoo's history. Outside of a few brief glimpses into the life of Emma Smith and her part in the organization of the Relief Society, the books and articles seem to review the remainder of this city's rise and fall through the eyes of Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett, Brigham Young, Sidney Rigdon, or Governor Thomas Ford.

The women and children spent more time in Nauvoo than the men did, but histories are written as if more than two-thirds of the Church and the non-Mormons who lived there scarcely existed. The purpose of this paper, then, is to focus for a moment on daily life in Nauvoo as it was experienced by the women and children who sacrificed so much for the cause they, too, believed was true, hoping that by doing so I may encourage historians to rise to the challenge to write the full history of this city.

Learning to say goodbye and coping with loneliness were significant parts of the Nauvoo female experience. It could probably be demonstrated that Mormon men were away from home in those early days more often than other American males, and while the partings themselves may not all have lasted very long, they were extremely traumatic and had far-reaching implications for those left behind. Louisa Barnes Pratt, whose husband was called on a mission to Tahiti leaving her to care for four children, recorded:

The parting scene came, the two eldest daughters were very lonely. We walked with him to the steamboat landing; he carried the youngest child in his arms. It was told us he would be absent three years... It was unfortunate at the last as he stepped on to the steamboat the children saw him take his handkerchief from his eyes they knew he was wiping away his tear. It was too much for them they commenced weeping; the second daughter was uncontrollable. The more we tried to soothe her the more furious were her complaints; she was sure her father would never return.²

²Louisa Barnes Pratt, Journal, p. 118, Church Historical Department.
Louisa wept for three days before a calmness came over her and she could smile again. Perhaps the most tragic aspect of these frequent and often long periods of separation was that many husbands and wives were no longer compatible when reunited, and divorces all too frequently occurred. This knowledge must have gnawed at even the most faithful heart.

While the husband served God, the wife was expected to provide for the family, take care of business matters, procure the food, construct the home, plant the crops, raise the children in the ways of the Lord, and cope with frequent sickness and death.

Caroline Crosby, whose husband served two missions during the Nauvoo period, returning from one with smallpox, wrote in her journal, "Death became so frequent a visitor in Nauvoo that we were perfectly familiar with it." Sickness was also a major part of the lives of Nauvoo families. When Peter Maughan returned to the Mormon capital from operating the Church's coal mine on Rock Island, he found his entire family sick with fever and ague. They had to take turns crawling to the water bucket, pulling themselves up with almost superhuman effort, and then on hands and knees making the return journey, pushing the water jar ahead of them a few feet at a time.

Young Mosiah Hancock had to crawl to a spring fifty yards from his cabin to get water for his little sister, Amy, and his father and mother, who were too weak to lift themselves from their beds. He would later recall that his hands and knees became raw sores and he found himself dreading the sound of the human voice, for regardless of who spoke it was always for water.

Fortunately the chills and fever didn't occur every day, and most of the diary entries of this period speak of good and bad days. On the good days, the Saints would work and prepare for the bad ones, relieved that they escaped the chills and fever for even one day. Frequently this disease would possess a body for a full year.

---

1See the diaries of Angela Farley, Patty Sessions, and Louisa Barnes Pratt, Church Historical Department.
2See the Leonora Taylor - John Taylor letters in this issue of BYU Studies.
3Caroline Crosby, Journal, unpaged, Church Historical Department.
4Mary Ann Maughan, Journal, p. 25. Copy in Joel E. Ricks Collection, Church Historical Department.
Of course there were remedies for every kind of disease and an entire chapter of a Nauvoo history book could be written on medical practices alone. Every issue of The Wasp advertised medicated lozenges guaranteed to cure coughs, worms, fever, and ague. That they did not is abundantly clear from the records of the period. Dr. Willard Richards often prescribed a weed that grew in many front yards as a cure for diarrhea, and in at least one recorded instance it worked.  

The fact that there was much sickness and death in Nauvoo is not in itself terribly significant. Other American pioneers had to cope with these ordeals as well, so it becomes the task of the Mormon historian to probe and analyze the available data and then compare his findings with those found among other pioneer groups to determine whether there was something unique and significant about the way Mormons dealt with the tragedies inherent in life.

Diaries and letters also show life among the early Saints meant a daily battle with hunger. Nauvoo was not a city of abundance, and while it is true that when gardens matured the Saints ate beans, apples, corn, melons, peas, beets, tomatoes, cucumbers, lemons, figs, and raisins, still many of even the best providers were often short of flour, milk, butter, eggs, and other staples. Almost every letter from this period deals with the great struggle for food, and this fact has to be part of the drama of this city. It is significant to note that a large part of a woman's day was devoted to procuring and preparing food.

Other frontier peoples also grappled with fatigue, hunger, and the threat of starvation. So what, if anything, is there in the Mormon experience that sets it apart? Was it, perhaps, the Saints' ability to somehow see the hand of God in every event whether good or bad? Or was it their uncanny way of turning every occurrence so as to support their belief that they were preparing the world for the second coming of the Savior? But did not other religions have similar beliefs? And if so, what was there about the Latter-day Saints that caused their movement to persist, grow, and flourish while many others of the same era are now only footnotes in religious history books? Sidney Ahlstrom, in his critically acclaimed book, A Religious

---

9See letters of Bathsheba Smith to George A. Smith; Hannah Ellis to Phoebe Woodruff; and the diaries of Mary Ann Maughan and Louisa Barnes Pratt.
History of the American People, admits that he is unable to fathom what it was about Joseph Smith that made him so different from the other self-proclaimed prophets of his time. Could it be simply that he told the truth or is the matter more complex than that? There is the distinct possibility that the solution to these and other questions is to be found, at least in part, in the records the Saints left behind, as well as what they read and believed.

One of the things they read was The Wasp, which appeared once every two weeks. In it the Saints could read poetry by Mrs. Hemans, Eliza R. Snow, or others with a literary bent. The front page frequently contained moralistic short stories. One such story, "Home, Sweet Home," was about a beautiful girl named Julia, who was courted, seduced and deserted by a handsome gambler and rogue. She pined for death. Strangely, the rogue knew no peace either, because, as the last sentence says, "the worm that never dies gnaws at the heart-strings until they are severed, and he who victimized soon lays as low as the victim." There were also articles regarding Thomas Sharp's nose, lists of people who had unclaimed letters at the Nauvoo Post Office, and even some jokes: "An Irishman cautions the public against harboring or trusting his wife, Peggy, on his account, as he is not married to her." And, "Snuff-takers differ from all the rest of the world, for they turn up their noses at what they most admire." Each issue also ran W. D. Huntington's fully illustrated advertisement indicating that he had a complete supply of coffins and if he did not have your size, one could be made to order.

Through the minutes of the Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute we know that the Mormons read very few novels, but rather studied many books of considerable academic reputation. Locke's "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding," biographies of Napoleon, histories of England, France, and the United States were read frequently by the citizens of Nauvoo. Joseph Smith himself owned such works as Thomas Dick's Philosophy of a Future State, Mosheim's Church History, and the Histoire de Charles, to name only a few of the volumes.

---

14Ibid.
in his Nauvoo library. Little has been written about the books the Mormons were reading. It may be that the works found in the Nauvoo library are not significantly different from the books read by other Americans of the time, but only a comparative study will tell. Even if their reading lists are similar, the most important aspects regarding Mormons’ reading habits must be the way they used the things they read, and the fact that they were not ignoramuses, or the gullible, simple-minded people they are often portrayed as being, mostly by a hostile press. If the books of the Nauvoo library can become the focus of a comparative study, historians will soon have available additional insights into the intellectual habits of the Latter-day Saints.

Late afternoons and early evenings were sometimes spent either in reading or writing letters, and often a week or more would be spent writing, off and on, a letter to an absent family member. Departing and returning missionaries often served as postmen. When the news circulated that a certain elder had arrived home from laboring in the same area as a loved one, the entire family was filled with anxiety until they knew whether he had brought a long-awaited letter. If he had, the letter was read and re-read.

When the weather was bad, meetings were held in the homes of the Church members. In these gatherings the Saints sang and spoke in tongues, prophesied, bore testimony to the truth of the gospel, and closed with hymns like “Shall I for Fear of Feeble Man the Spirits Course in Me Restrain.” Many studied Parley P. Pratt’s A Voice of Warning, which is probably indicative of their concern and expectations regarding the return of the Savior. Almost every diary reveals the joy of the Saints when they could hear the Prophet Joseph Smith preach. One person wrote that she first heard the Mormon leader speak while he stood on a barrel with his hands on the shoulders of a disciple to keep his balance.

Often “Family Blessing Meetings” were held. At these gatherings adopted families as well as blood relatives were in-

---

14Minutes of the Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute, Church Historical Department. See also Kenneth W. Godfrey, “A Note on the Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute,” BYU Studies 14 (Spring 1974):386-89.

15See journals of Mary Ann Maughan, Louisa Barnes Pratt, Caroline B. Crosby, and Drusella Hendricks, Church Historical Department.

16See Gordon Irving, “The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Develop-
vited. Guests at these meetings also often consumed large quantities of hot wheat bread and sweet wine. At one such gathering, Father Young was so moved that he could not speak and Brigham Young was forced to deliver the expected sermon. These meetings would close with the father blessing his entire family. Following such gatherings, joy would reign for days.\textsuperscript{17}

And what about the youth? There were many activities for them: swimming in the river, corn husking parties, quilting bees, rag bees, and rides in the Prophet's large buggy. Joseph Smith III remembered that it was customary on Saturday afternoons for the men and boys to gather and indulge in such athletic events as running, jumping, wrestling, and throwing weights. Arthur Milliken organized some of the young men into a small troop of horsemen that was subsequently attached to the Nauvoo Legion. Other boys were formed into companies in order to learn how to drill properly. Still others were used as drummers in the great parades of this colorful city's militia.\textsuperscript{18} Some of the very small tagged along behind the marching Legion, banging on pots and pans, pretending they, too, were soldiers.\textsuperscript{19}

At least one group of boys used to row out to an island in the middle of the Mississippi River and tease an old billy goat, much to the displeasure of its owner. There was a hill of some size on the island which ended rather abruptly. A small pond lay twenty-five feet below the crest and the boys would torment the goat until it got so angry it would chase them. They would lure it to the cliff above the pond and then quickly dodge its charge, making it fall into the water below. One day the owner, a rather large man, provoked the goat himself. It seems he enjoyed watching the foolish animal fall into the pond as much as the boys did, but being neither so nimble nor quick, he was butted in the stomach, fell into the pond, and almost drowned. Fortunately, the boys were hiding in the brush, saw the whole thing, and rescued him.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{17}See the Susa Amelia Young Gates file in the Church Historical Department. Talk given by Heber C. Kimball to his family.
\textsuperscript{19}For a consideration of more serious activities of boys in Nauvoo, see Thurmon Dean Moody, "Nauvoo's Whistling and Whittling Brigade," in this issue of \textit{BYU Studies}.
The young son of Wilford Woodruff, left in the care of an aunt while his father and mother served in the British Mission, rode horses, herded cows, played with the knife his father had sent him, enjoyed the "new cap" his mother knitted and mailed to him, and attended Church meetings with Hannah Ells. But his fingers were often too tired to write to his parents.21 Much more could be said about the children.

Joseph Smith, whom David Miller has called "by all odds the most significant motivating, guiding and controlling influence in Nauvoo,"22 became what he became, in part at least, because of the influence of Lucy Mack and Joseph Smith, Sr., and his life at home. Realizing that the instructions he received from heavenly messengers made him much more than just a typical American boy of the nineteenth century, still I for one would someday like to read a history of Nauvoo that was weighed against American and world history, and that did not merely trace the same old events that have been written about by Cecil McGavin, B. H. Roberts, and others. I am calling for a book which will portray the Mormons, first as people fighting loneliness, sickness, tragedy, and death in some significantly different ways from other Americans; second as husbands and wives striving to keep intact marriages which toward the end of the Nauvoo period were considered to be "eternal" or "celestial" through long periods of separation; third as parents worrying and caring for their children, whom, again toward the close of the period, they believed they would have with them forever if they were successful in their religious efforts; fourth as Latter-day Saints, often devout, sincere, even evangelical, also believing that this fact made them "a peculiar people," and attempting to demonstrate why this was so; and only lastly as Masons, politicians, and members of the Nauvoo Legion. This history will be found in the letters, diaries, journals, and in the archaeology of the people who dwelt there. We need someone to write this part of their story with the same feeling, love, warmth, and skill that has characterized the best books historians can offer.

21Letters of Hannah Ells to Phoebe Woodruff, 5 May and 3 June 1845.
22David E. and Della S. Miller, Nauvoo: The City of Joseph (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974), p. 64.
Sickness and Faith, Nauvoo Letters

Ronald K. Esplin*

The following exchange of letters between John and Leonora Taylor reveals in striking detail the weight of sickness upon the Church and specifically upon the Taylor family in the late summer and fall of 1839. These letters are also important as illustrations of the dedication and faith required for the apostles to answer the call to England at that difficult time, with their families suffering from poverty and disease.

At the passing of Joseph Fielding Smith, these letters came to the Historical Department of the Church with a body of papers that belonged to his father, Joseph F. Smith. They are now with the John Taylor collection of the Department. For publication here the letters have been edited according to the following policy: Spelling has been transcribed exactly, although abbreviations have been expanded. Some capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing have been provided to improve readability.

During the previous winter the Taylors, like the rest of the Saints in northern Missouri, had been driven from their home by violence and persecution, forcing abandonment of many of their possessions. Then in July and August malarial chills and fevers and other illnesses visited them and other families along the banks of the Mississippi, bringing death and debilitation to a people already struggling with too little means to build new homes and new towns. When the Church had faced severe trials in Kirtland, Joseph Smith responded by sending Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde to England to launch foreign missionary work. Now, again looking ahead from the difficulties in Nauvoo to the blessings of the future, he similarly responded

*Ronald K. Esplin, a Ph.D. candidate in history at Brigham Young University is an historical associate in the Church Historical Department.
with a positive program. This time not only Elders Kimball and Hyde but all of the Twelve would go to England to expand and invigorate that important work.

The story of the departure of the Twelve in the midst of poverty and sickness is well known. Some of them were sick when they left; others, like Elder Taylor, succumbed to illness along the way. They left penniless, for the most part, and their families were no better off. These revealing letters depict in some detail the specific hardships and suffering of one family, deepen and particularize our appreciation of the faith and determination that sustained them, and portray the weight of sickness that devastated the Church that first season on the Mississippi.

John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff were the first to answer the call. In preparation, Elder Taylor blessed his family and dedicated them to the Lord.

The thought of the hardships they had just endured [he remarked] the uncertainty of their continuing in the house they then occupied—and that only a solitary room—the prevalence of disease, the poverty of the brethren, their insecurity from mobs, together with the uncertainty of what might take place during my absence, produced feelings of no ordinary character. These solicitations, paternal and conjugal, were enhanced also by the time and distance that was to separate us.

Leonora Taylor and her three children lived in a log room in the broken-down barracks of abandoned Fort Des Moines—Montrose, as they called the area. Baby Joseph would be two years old, Mary Anne would be four, and George would be six, all in January next.

On 8 August 1839, Elders Taylor and Woodruff left the Mississippi for New York. John Taylor wrote his family once during the first month, a letter that apparently arrived in Montrose sometime before Leonora commenced to write. She began her letter on 9 September, finishing the last installment nearly one month later. In the meantime, after a serious illness which he describes in the letter, Elder Taylor wrote another letter on 19 September, this one from Germantown, Indiana. It

---

1B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1963 George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892), pp. 67-68. Roberts had access to the Taylor diaries, the present whereabouts of which is unknown, and perhaps other sources. On page 68-71 Roberts relates from an independent source some of the information that Taylor included in his letter to his wife which is reproduced below.
was still en route when Leonora finally sent her letter in October, so the two letters crossed in the mail. Without concrete news of each other, each with a private burden of sickness and loneliness, they share their experiences and feelings.

Montrose Sunday Sep 9th 1839

My very Dear John

I write in hopes this may find you in New York. This has been a distressed place since you left, with Sickness. Almost evry individual in evry Family sick; George got well but has a little sore on the edge of the sight of his Eye that has given me great anxiety. I have tried evry thing all most for it. It seems better to day but poor dear he is seised with chills and fever to-day again. My poor little Joseph has had chills and fever twice; this is his well day. Sister Orson Prat['s] Baby is dead. She died on Sunday. The day following we were expecting Joseph would die but the Lord spard my dear Child in answer to Prayer. Mary Anne is well and I keep upon my Feet grunting about. Brother Williams Family are all sick, Mary has not been with me 2 days since you left.

Brother [Brigham] Young Family are all sick, him and all. The[y] could not get a drop of water. I feched them several Pails. Brother [Alanson] Ripley and I were there the other day [and] Brother Young said it was a Greivous imposition that the[y] could not have the Room I was in. I made answer I did not know where to go. I did not like to intrude upon a Family and I was tired of it. He said he would lie in the Street if he was me before a Family should be situated as theirs was, that Mrs. Young was Sick. The first I heard of it, I imediately got a strange Man that was here to move my things into Sister [Sarah] Prats Room where I now am—Sister [Phoebe] Woodruff is at Sister [Martha?] Smoots. Sarah got better and came back, Sister Woodruff got chills and Feaver and moved into Sister Smoots, Sarah is sick again. I heard today Sister Woodruff is better.

We have hear[d] [unclear] how you were to get on to Cleaveland. Pray write soon and often to me My Dear John. I never needed more grace, patience or your prayers than I do at present. The[y] have promised to put my [me] up a House near Sister Woodruf. Father Morley is a good Man. I am waiting for Brother Smith Brother to William Smoot to make his House more comfortable and then I shall move there until my place is prepared, if I get anny. If I dont Sister Woodruff says I shall live with her, I believe her House is not up. If I do we can croak togather. I do feel thankfull to the Lord my health is as good as it is.

Brother [Parley] Prat left here on the 29 of August with his Family for New York where he means to leave them.
Brother Orson [Pratt] went with him. Brother [Heber] Kimball was here yesterday and says he and Brother Brigham will start next week if able. Brother George Smith is still very feeble. I need not tell you who is sick for all are sick with very few exceptions. Brother Smith from [uncipherable] came to see me soon after you left. Your Friends were all well. He proposed my going there until the sickly season was over. B. Young thought I ought to go; he was present when he spoke about it. Bishop Knight is still sick. So is Brother Ripley. I have had no wood since you left but what I borrow. Foulks all so sick Brother Ripley can get no one to haul it. Mr. Young has got a little Girl. Seventy five Papers came to the Post office for me for which I paid 7 §[hillings] 2d [pence]. I sold five of them there a bit a piece. Father Haily [Morley?] got to Springfield the Evening after you left in the Morning. He brought up the Papers you sent. I wondered you did not send me a line from there. I got the Letter you sent after you left here.

This is Monday Night. Dear little Joseph has had no fever for two days. Georges Eye seems nearly well for which I do feel more thankfull than I ever did before. I pray continually for you and my dear children, I know that the Lord hears and answers me and want that you should do the same for us. I shall direct this to the care Brother Orson Pratt in case you do not get it. Write me long letters, all about your Journey, enny thing particular in a line at the Bottom; people will snatch a Letter cut of your hand in this part and read it without asking leave—if you send anny thing I should like to have some flanel for particular use, red and yellow, a bit; net fore lase for my self, and Quilting, checkd Muslin or plain, a little; a yard 3/4 of black Silk for Apron. I intended to send Money for them, if you could get it and send them I might pay Brother Fordham or some one here. If Brother Woodruf sent anny thing the[y] might come to gather, a few yards of cheap Calico for Childrens Frocks and some low priced diaper. Sister Prat bought some that was not a bit a yard. You can get nothing here and what the[y] have is double priced. If you cannot afford Dear John do not mind my mentioning those things to you. If it is not quite conveneint do not try to send anny thing what ever but Letters and dont let me have cause to complain for want of them.

I walked below Mr. Bissels to Night, looking for the Cow where you used to go with me and felt that I was alone. But if we suffer to promote the cause of our Blessed Lord it will end in J[oy] which no Man taketh from us. We are seperated for a short time but I hope we shall yet meet to part no more for ever.

Dear little Joseph saw Brother [Abraham?] Smoot on Sunday and thought it was you. He Jumpt of my knee, ran
to him, and clung to his Legs with so much delight you
would have pity'd the dear Lamb. When I say to him
Fathers gone he says gone quite plain and looks as if he
should see you. I found rest, comfort and delight in Praying
with my dear little ones before we left our house, but now
that is over for the present. Brother Ripley is very kind and
says I shall have a house but he cannot make one and it is
hard to get one. I spoke to him about what B. Young said.
He told me he dreaded it worse than death his speaking to
me but I must not mind it, he was sick and fretful. I tell
evry one I left the Room on account of Sister Youngs con-
finement that speaks of it. I leave him to settle that business
with my Father who has promised to take care of me and
mine.

Poor Mary Anne often crys for you. If she sees me look
sorrowfull she begins to cry that moment for you and I can
scarce stop her. She has gone to the Store several times alone
and got what I wanted since Georges' Eye has been bad. I
offended her lately and she said Daddy has gone and left
you and I am glad on it. My Dear John, Georges Eye is
quite well praise the Lord for it. Brother Ripley has been
here and says there is to be a general Conferance first Sat-
urday in October. My case will aleng with others be laid be-
fore it and no doubt we shall be provided for. Better than
to go to Brother Morleys nebourhood, I am very comfortable
and happy as I can be without your company. I know the
Lord does all things well. Brother Young cald to say he was
going tomorrow 12th of Sept Along with Brother Kimbal
and Brother George Smith to start for England. I wish you
to put the trifles I want on a bit of Paper and burn this when
you have read it. I should have wrote another Letter but
have not time.

[After writing the main letter (September 9 to 11) Leonora
squeezed the following two notes in the remaining space:]

Do not take any notice to B. Young that you care about
my leaving his House. I hope it is for the best. The other
side the river [Commerce, soon to be Nauvoo] is a Stake.
The[y] have bought the city Lots. If it is not quite conven-
dient do not think of sending any thing from New York.
Write, my dear John, soon possible.

My dear I have heard from Sister Woodruf to day she is
still very sick. A Doctor who is who is here to day says it
will go hard with her. Dont tell Brother Woodruff so. I do
hope she will recover, she has been a great comfort to me
since you have gone. The children send there love to Father
and a kiss. Joseph] gives me many for you evry day. Chil-
dren are now all well and my self, bless the Lord. I look
for a letter from you evry day. Write a nice long one when
you get this, excuse a wretched pen.
About three weeks later, still without having received the 19 September letter from her husband, Leonora Taylor turned the letter and wrote the following addition at right angles to and on top of the original letter.

My dear John when I wrote last I in this, all was well. Now I am Sitting watching by the Bed side of our dear George and Joseph late at Night. On Monday last I washed, on Tuesday I went out on the Prairy some Miles after the Cow as she stays away two days togethre if not fetched up. The Grass wet and cold morning. At Night it pourd of rain when I Milked and got wet through. On Wednesday Morn- ing I had a sever Chile and Feaver in consequence of Cold I had taken. The next day Mary A[mne] had Chils and Feaver, thought she was going into Fits. I had to wean my sweet Child lest he should get the Chils from me. The first Night he cryd all night, afterwards he lay about the flore as if his heart was broken. On Friday he had a Chill and has evry day since and no comfort at all for it. All this time George was my only help. He went to the Well and did all he could. On Sunday he fell back to the floor in a Fit and had Chile and Feaver. I watchd him all Night. To day he came to him self so as to talk to me. About noon he fell into the most dreadful fit, and out of that into another and got his Toung between his teeth his Fingers all turnd back. I thought I must die. My dear John I hope the Lord will not lay more upon me than I am able to bear. I have broke my chils and Mary Anns with [undecipherable] Pils. I sufer in My head a great deal; what I have past through since you left has hurt my Head a great deal.

Sunday Night, My dear John I begin my tale once more. My darling Joseph has been at the point of Death, he has had Fever and Bowel complaint and brought so low that I did not hear the sound of his voice for four days. Yesterday his Fever left him. He is better to day but very sick. Still no one expected he could live. Bless the Lord I begin to hope he may be spard. I have not had my Clothes of for five nights. I have watcht by him alone all the time. I cannot tell the sorrow of my Heart at the thoughts of loseing my sweet Child. George is better, thank the Lord for his Mercy. I hope the next Letter I send will be different to this, this is like Jeremiah role [woe?] within and without, lamenta- tions and Woe.

John Mills and his Wife came to see me to day—I was glad to see them. The Conference begins next Saturday and after that I shall know my Fate. Mr. Kilburn has opened a very full Stove [store?] in that corner House we wanted so much. Brother Rogers has turnd Docter and goes round giveing Pills by wholesale to the People. Brother Joseph is
very angry with him and told him to go Home and mind his work. Brother George Smith, [Reuben] Hadlock and [Theodore] Turley started last week for England. Robert Walton has come down from Far West to fetch Mary Anne. He left Brother [Isaac?] Russel Sick of Chile Feaver. All Sick up there, he says. [John?] Goodson is gone back to his Musick in St. Louis. Father Scot wrote a saucy Letter to Brother Joseph. His son in law came over from Canada and took his Wife home back with him. Good Night my dear, my Eyes ach from want of rest.

Oct 9th. I have heard my dear, dear John of your sickness and that you stopt behind. I can not tell you what I feel but trust in the Lord that you have got on your Journey. I have not had a Letter from you yet, do not my dear be so long in writing to me again. I sold 8 dollars worth of Papers at the Conference. William Prat took them for me. I have no more prospect of a house than I had. The[y] say I shall have one but when I dont know. I live in Sister Woodrufs with Mrs. Prat. Pray for me my dear.

Joseph is getting better but is not able to walk. I have a deal of trouble with him. Little dear Mary Ann says tell Father my Cheeks are fat with eating Puding. I am very unwell at present with pain in my head and Neck but hope I shall be better soon. Brother Ripley is apointed Bishop on this side and 2 Brothers Higby councilors. Father John Smith is presiding Elder on this side the River. The Counselors did not get to the Conference but believe all is right. A young Man cald here from Indiana where you stopt and took an emetick. We kept him all Night. He seems a nice Man. Brother Ripley paid me the 4 dolars and half I [owe?] B. Young. Write to me immediatly if you possably can write. The Children [send] Love to there dear Father.

I am [torn]ing dear John faithfull and affectionate Wife.

Leonora Taylor

John Taylor began his letter with the following:

My Dear Nora

[Handwritten letter with various salutations and Greetings]

I thank my heavenly Father through our Lord Jesus Christ that I have this opportunity of addressing you, when I last wrote to you I dont know what was lying before me, you will probably recollect me remarking that
I thank my heavenly Father through our Lord Jesus Christ that I have this opportunity of addressing you. When I last wrote to you I did not know what was laying before me. You will probably recollect me remarking that I had a slight indisposition. That was a cold which seared in my bones and brought on a violent fever which nearly terminated my existence.

The next day after I wrote the letter I felt very unwell and went to bed as soon as we got to the Tavern that night and took a sweat. We started off early next morning and travelled 14 or 15 miles before breakfast when we stayed. I felt unwell and before we started again I fainted away. I however soon recovered and travelled 40 miles that day. In the Evening we got into the neighborhood where we lived in Indiana. (I called upon Esq. Jenkins saw Dr. Wilson who was very friendly and Mrs. Zimmerman. She is strong in the faith and wanted your address. I gave it to her. She said that she would write. I also saw Eaton's people who were glad to see me. I am told they are now doing well and bear a good character. I also saw Mr. Hoffman who was glad to see me. He is living in the house that we did. I did not see Brother Anderson, but am told that he is doing well and preaching around the country.) That night I stayed at Mr. Combs—they were glad to see me and treated us well. I felt middling well and stayed talking with them till ten O Clock at night. I went to bed but took no rest. I was not in pain but my nervous system was in some way affected [so] that it deprived me of rest.

Next morning I partook very hearty of milk which I think curdled on my stomach. I had not not gone above two or three miles before I was very ill. The waggon had to stay near Indianapolis. I got out about a mile on this side and told them to drive on and I would come up when I got out of the waggon. I was very sick, vomited but with extreme difficulty. I then after some time made out to stagger on to the waggon and when I got there I fainted away in the road. I took something to refresh me and drove on through Indianapolis about two miles and could go no further. I got onto a bed in a house and had a raging fever and a bilious affection at the same time. Father Coltron [Zebedee Coltrin] learned that we were not far from Brother [Horace S.] Eldredge, he who wanted me to go into that neighborhood when we lived at Mr. Millers. He gave me a lobelia emetic and I took medicine by wholesale for near two hours. It produced however a beneficial effect; I purged, vomited and prespired violently.

Felt myself better but weak in the morning and as Father Coltron was in a hurry to proceed I started with him next morning. We travelled 40 miles that day—I found it was
too much for me. I got no sleep at night and next morning soon after we started I thought I should have died. I again fainted away. We travelled about 12 miles and I could go no further. We stayed at a tavern. They waited a day and a half for me. When I saw that there was no prospect of me continuing my journey I told them that they had better proceed. They did so—-I have a very good Tavern to stay at. The Landlord and Landlady treated me as their own.

I placed myself under the care of a Docter who did all that he could for me and now near three weeks after my arrival I have got clear of my fever and am fast recovering—i[t] brought me however to the gates of death several times. It laid hold of me like a strong man armed and I was led to quail beneath the power of the adversary for I believe his hand was in it—You may ask me how I am going to prosecute my journey, with my trunk a distance of 300 miles or upwards by land, without means. I do not know, but one thing I do know, that there is a being who clothes the lillies of the valley and feeds the ravens and he has given me to understand that all these things shall be added and that is all I want to know. He laid me on a bed of sickness and I was satisfied. He has raised me from it again and I am thankful. He stopped me on my road and I am content. When my way is open to proceed I shall go on my way rejoicing. If he took me I felt that it would be well. He has spared me and it is better. The Lord does all things well. Bless his holy name Oh my soul and forget not all his mercies.

I left $4 worth of papers for Brother Eldridge to sell. He will let you have the amount of it in boots or shoes. You can tell him that I did not get anything from Father Coltron [undecipherable] shall I as he is gone on. Perhaps Brother Eldridge may be there when this reaches [you]. You can tell him what I say if you see him. When you write if anything particular has taken place in the church let me know. Tell who of the twelve have started and etc. If this reaches you in a week from this date send me a few lines directed to Dayton, Ohio. If I get them well, if not they will do no hurt.

I am as ever your Affectionate husband

John Taylor
A little letter to my Son George

George your Father has been sick but God has made him well. Your Father prays for you that you may not be sick—George be a good boy; do what your Mother tells you and God will love you and I will love you and your Mother. Amen.

John Taylor

A little letter to my Daughter Mary Ann—

Mary Ann the Lord has healed your Father from being sick—your Father prays that you and your mother and Baby may not be sick—Mary Ann do not leave your Mother when she tells you to stay at home. Be a good girl, God bless you. Amen.
Doctrinal Development of the Church
During the Nauvoo Sojourn, 1839-1846

T. Edgar Lyon*

Those familiar with the history of the rise and expansion of the latter-day restoration movement are aware that Joseph Smith's life from the early 1820s until the settlement at Nauvoo was characterized by frequent movings, economic disasters, mob violence, and in 1838-1839, the expulsion of most of the members of the Church from Missouri. The five year period during which Joseph Smith resided at Nauvoo was different. It is true that on three different occasions attempts were made either to kidnap and transport him to Missouri, or to have him legally extradited to stand trial on one or more charges of violating Missouri laws. However, these attempts were disposed of through legal channels, proving more troublesome than dangerous. In addition, at Nauvoo threats of vexatious lawsuits or conspiracies had forced him to remain aloof from the Saints and curtail his public appearances for short periods of time until the threats had passed, but for the most part of a year or two at Nauvoo Joseph Smith experienced a greater freedom than he had known for the previous ten years. He was nearly always able to walk the streets of the city, night or day, to drive into the country, or to visit distant cities or branches of the Church, confident that his safety was assured. One reason for this was his awareness that Nauvoo, the largest city in Illinois, was filled with thousands of loyal Latter-day Saints who would have risked their lives if need be to protect him. Among these were hundreds of courageous men who would leave their work at a moment's notice to defend him or to travel with him as body guards.

*Dr. Lyon is associate director of the LDS Institute of Religion at the University of Utah, research historian of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., and a member of the BYU Studies editorial board.
Another reason for his assurance of safety was the fact that the Nauvoo Charter had set up an independent body of militia, with compulsory enrollment provided for all able-bodied men within the commonly accepted ages of military service. This body, with detachments located in outlying communities and across the river in Iowa, numbered approximately 2,000, and Joseph Smith was the commanding lieutenant general. There was no other body of militia of this size in the state, and it outnumbered all the other militia groups in Hancock County combined. Knowing the Legion and the loyalty of the individual members to him were deterrents against anyone or any group of men entering Nauvoo to harass him or the Saints gave Joseph the confidence of being among friends who could provide more than enough support to guarantee his protection in any situation.

It must be remembered that although Nauvoo had been divided into wards, and the number increased as the city grew, there were no plans to construct what we presently know as ward meetinghouses or chapels. The "regular" meetings were outdoor, city-wide affairs. The Nauvoo wards were essentially ecclesiastical units of the city for organizing Church economics, settling local disputes, and caring for the needy. During inclement weather some of the bishops arranged to hold sacrament and testimony meetings in school rooms, public buildings, or large houses where the ward members could meet, but these were substitutes for the large city-wide public services which convened out of doors much of the year. Though these large meetings were usually designated as having been held in "The Grove," a number of open-air gathering places were used in Nauvoo, and the site shifted as the city grew, or the vicissitudes of the weather demanded.

By 1840 these meetings had become quite regular occurrences and were continued until the fall of 1845 when the lower floor of the temple had been sufficiently finished to allow meetings indoors, although on temporary seating. The Saints in the city, those on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, and those residing a few miles outside of Nauvoo, knew that unless the weather was very threatening, or it was extremely cold, a preaching meeting would convene about 10:00 A.M. each Sunday morning somewhere in Nauvoo, usually in the vicinity of the Nauvoo Temple. And from what soon became
an established custom, the probability was high that Joseph Smith would be one of the speakers, if not the only one. What more capable or better preacher could they find in the Church than the Prophet who had been responsible for the restoration of the gospel? This situation of a large body of people, eager to be fed spiritual teachings, must have stimulated Joseph Smith to satisfy their longings.

A survey of the sermons preached by Joseph Smith at Nauvoo and some neighboring communities, as well as articles and epistles he sent to the Saints, indicates he made great use of the body of new scriptures he had made available to the Church. If we review his sermons and writings, we might figuratively say that he took a huge canvas and on it, as would a master artist, painted a panorama of the pre-mortal life of man and his progress to a mortal existence, in which his pre-existing spirit was clothed in a mortal body. Then he presented glimpses of the disembodied state following death, the re-embodiment of the spirit and body through the resurrection, and the various estates attained in the degrees of exaltation or damnation. Up to the Nauvoo period, these gradations or phases of life in the totality of eternal existence had never been clearly defined. As the Prophet undertook to delineate relationships between these on-going phases of life into a coherent pattern, he refined LDS theology in several key areas: (1) Concepts of God and Man, (2) Man in the World, (3) Salvation for the Dead, (4) Eternal Nature of Priesthood Covenants, (5) Temple Ordinances for the Living, (6) Celestial and Plural Marriage, and (7) Eternal Progression. He also prepared the Wentworth Letter from which we have the Articles of Faith. All these doctrines were not presented at once, but came as the Saints proved they could accept and try to live them.

THE CONCEPTS OF GOD AND MAN

The Lectures on Faith, published in the forepart of the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, stated that there were two members of the Godhead, the Father and the Son.1 The Father was defined as a personage of Spirit, and the Son as a personage of Tabernacle. The Lectures also stated the

Father and Son possessed the same mind, and this mind was the Holy Ghost.

During the years between its publication in 1835 and the settlement of the Saints at Nauvoo, there had been some speculation concerning this statement among the Saints, especially after the publication of Joseph Smith's dictated account of the First Vision. At a conference held at Ramus, Illinois, on 2 April 1842, Joseph Smith vitiated the erroneous doctrine in the Lectures by declaring:

The Father has a body of flesh and bones as tangible as man's; the Son also; but the Holy Ghost has not a body of flesh and bones, but is a personage of Spirit. Were it not so, the Holy Ghost could not dwell in us. (D&C 130:22)

After Joseph Smith's death, this later teaching was incorporated in the Doctrine and Covenants and became a foundation of Mormon theology. It marks a permanent theological landmark in the development of the doctrine of the Godhead among Latter-day Saints and in time contributed to the deletion of the Lectures on Faith from the Doctrine and Covenants. This doctrine has done much to clarify the understanding of the Saints and their relationships to their Eternal Father.

This relationship needed to be clearly understood because the great majority of the converts to the Church during the lifetime of Joseph Smith had been reared as Episcopalians, Methodists, Roman Catholics, Congregationalists, Baptists, members of the Reformed churches, "Campbellites" (reformed Baptists or Disciples of Christ), members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), as Unitarians, or Universalists. With the exception of the latter three, and the Methodists, all of them predicated their doctrines of salvation on one or more variations of predestination by God. The Episcopalians and Roman Catholics taught a less stringent version of predestination which upheld God's power to save or damn, but conceded that it was not an unchanging absolute. They believed God could change his earlier decision if something in the way a person lived had shown the first decree would have been unjust. The Calvinitic bodies of the day (Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and the Reformed churches) accepted a doctrine of absolute predestination. Regardless of which of these absolute predestinarian doctrines one believed
there was little a mortal could do to change the decree which God had already made for the elect. The Methodists alone maintained that man enjoyed a freedom of the will which would base salvation on personal righteousness.

In revelations to Joseph Smith, the Lord had stressed the importance of man’s free will in accepting the salvation offered by the Savior. However, it was inevitable that converts would bring with them into the Church some of their former doctrines and that these would survive in their minds and color their thinking about salvation. At Nauvoo Joseph Smith preached sermons in which he gave a new dimension to the concept of man which apostate Christianity had lost. These sermons had their roots in the doctrine of preexistence. Very little had been written or printed on this subject in the first decade of the existence of the Church. While the Bible and Book of Mormon have accounts which are now used to support the doctrine of a pre-earthly existence, little use was made of these verses by the Saints prior to the Nauvoo period.

The Book of Moses, which was further augmented by the teachings of the Book of Abraham, provided Joseph Smith with material by which he interpreted the relationship of mortals to God as one of true kinship. He taught that God the Father had created an eternal spirit which inhabited the body of every mortal on earth. Thus, we are actually children of God in a literal sense, being offspring of Deity. Hence, we have inherited from our creator-parent some of his capacities, just as we inherited certain characteristics from our earthly parents. Joseph Smith would not believe that a loving, just, and fair God would place his children on earth in a mortal body that was depraved and often damned before birth. Nor would he believe that God would have created spirit children and then damned them for eternity. No mortal parent would be so unjust. He rejected completely the time-worn errors of Christianity concerning mortal beings and their destiny.

Instead of teaching that man’s nature was inclined toward anti-godly behavior, Joseph Smith taught that mortals

---

2 See Jonathan Edwards’ “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God,” as an example of apostate Christianity’s view of man in the eyes of God.
3 Parley P. Pratt’s Voice of Warning, the earliest and most widely circulated booklet of the early years of the Church’s existence, which explains the teachings of the Restored Church, is practically silent on the subject. The index to the six volumes of the Times and Seasons has only one citation to the doctrine and that is in 1845.
could identify themselves as spirit children of a God who loved them and that they had the potential to become like their eternal parent. If they failed in this, it would be because of their own evil choices, whether by their willful disobedience of God's law, ignorance, or rebelliousness toward law and order.

MAN IN THE WORLD

Joseph Smith also clarified man's relationship to "worldly" activities during this period. Orthodox Protestantism in the 1830s and 40s condemned and forbade what were described as "worldly entertainments": dancing, operas, the theatre, girls playing with dolls, playing certain musical instruments, celebrating Christmas, and participating in similar recreational activities. The Prophet succeeded in changing the views of many of his followers who had been reared on such teachings. At Nauvoo we read of the Saints attending dinner-dances, participating in stage plays, singing Christmas carols, and playing in bands and orchestras. The Prophet taught that such things were not inherently evil. They were evil when an evil use was made of them. This released the Saints from old mores and gave them a new sense of freedom. It opened new avenues for finding refreshing diversion in activities many had been taught were the works of Satan. This made them identify themselves as children of God in reality, and feel a close kinship with their Eternal Father.

SALVATION FOR THE DEAD

In the fall of 1840, Joseph Smith taught the doctrine of salvation for the dead. Section 124 of the Doctrine and Covenants, dated 19 January 1841, introduced the first scripture concerning this outreach of mortals to assist in making exaltation a possibility for their departed ancestors (see verses 27-33). The first step in this process consisted of a proxy baptism for their departed forebears. Such baptisms for the dead were at first performed in the Mississippi River at Nauvoo. As soon as the basement walls of the temple were laid, that portion was roofed over with a temporary covering and a wooden font, resting on twelve wooden oxen, was installed. River baptisms for the dead were then discontinued, according to instructions in D&C 124. At this early period there were
few guidelines to follow. As a result people were baptized for both sexes of their ancestors. Toward the close of the Nauvoo period this was changed, and ordinance work for the dead could only be done for those of the same sex as the proxy worker.

Later a second step in the salvation for the dead consisted of the endowment ceremony being done through a living proxy. Due to the short period of time the Saints remained at Nauvoo after the endowment ceremonies were available in the temple, few if any complete ordinances for the dead were performed at that time, there being too many living people who desired these blessings. Some marriages of the dead for eternity were performed and other sealings accomplished, but this phase of temple work was little more than introduced to the Saints at Nauvoo.

THE ETERNITY OF PRIESTHOOD COVENANTS

The enduring power of the Melchizedek Priesthood ordinances was not realized by many in the early days of the Church. Joseph Smith interpreted this power to be much stronger and more enduring than a setting apart to office or an assignment in the Church. In D&C 84:38-40 it is stated that there is an oath and a covenant of the priesthood which God the Father cannot break. This was interpreted to mean that apostasy and even excommunication could not destroy the validity of such covenants. The blessings thereof can be lost and the priesthood authority made inoperative through Church discipline, but the priesthood itself is never obliterated. As a result, one who has received the Melchizedek Priesthood and is excommunicated, upon returning to the Church is not re-ordained to that priesthood, nor are endowments redone, neither is the marriage sealing repeated. These, then, by authority of the President of the Church, or through a member of the Council of the Twelve, are restored to the repentant member.4

TEMPLE ORDINANCES FOR THE LIVING

During the early period of use of the Kirtland Temple for sacred ordinances, many of the Saints received what were often referred to as their "endowments." These consisted of

preparatory ordinances commonly referred to as "washings and anointings." 

Doctrine and Covenants 124, received in Nauvoo in 1841, contained a commandment to the Church to erect a temple and provide facilities for ordinances for both living and dead, designed to save and exalt the recipients. It contained a promise of great blessings, but also a threat that if the Saints failed to complete the structure, "... ye shall be rejected as a church, with your dead" (D&C 124:32). Verses 40-42 contained the promise of great blessings if the Saints completed the temple:

And verily I say unto you, Let this house be built unto my name, that I may reveal mine ordinances therein unto my people;
For I deign to reveal unto my church, things which have been kept hid from before the foundations of the world, things that pertain to the dispensation of the fullness of times;
And I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house, and the Priesthood thereof, and the place where it shall be built.

According to these verses the Lord would give the Saints priesthood ordinances and blessings which had not been given in any prior dispensations because they"... pertain to the dispensation of the fullness of times." This promise must have served as the motivating force which encouraged the Saints to sacrifice their scanty means to further the construction of the Nauvoo Temple in the midst of adversity. The zeal with which the men worked, months after many of the Church leaders had commenced their westward journey, to complete and dedicate the Nauvoo Temple is evidence of their determination to be worthy of the blessings they had received therein, and to assure all the Saints that they and their Church had not been rejected by the Lord.

Before the temple was completed, Joseph Smith introduced the endowment ceremony to a select group on the second floor of his brick store in Nauvoo in May 1842. From then until near the close of his life, small groups of men and women were given their endowments at various places in Nauvoo. By late November 1845, the upper floor of the temple was nearing completion. Church records indicate as soon as the plasterers and painters had completed the attic story, the leading brethren and their wives provided drapes for the windows and

installed canvas curtains which divided the main hall of the top floor into four rooms. The front part of the floor provided space for the dressing and washing and anointing rooms. The floors were covered with borrowed carpets which townspeople gladly supplied. The walls were decorated with borrowed painted portraits, landscapes, and mirrors. Potted plants and shrubs were hauled in the freezing weather from homes of the Saints to beautify the House of the Lord, thus creating a setting of tranquility and beauty for the rites of the temple. The Saints had been raising them in their houses after the cold weather set in.

On 11 December 1845, the first group of Saints participated in the endowment ceremonies in the temple. As soon as a sufficient number had been trained to conduct this work, sessions were held around the clock. The smallness of the quarters and the arrangement of the exits and entrances made it impossible for a second group to use the facilities until those of the first group had completed their rites. The endowment ceremonies taught the participants the meaning of the telestial, terrestrial, and celestial glories, as well as the blessings and obligations required of those who aspire to the highest degree of glory.

Following the endowment ceremonies many husbands and wives were sealed for eternity. Some whose spouses had died were sealed to their deceased companions. Many plural wives were sealed to their husbands. The plural wives of Joseph Smith were given a temple sealing which had been impossible at the time he had married them. But a great number of sealings were not done at that time because of space limitations and the demand for the officiators to give endowments to the living. Likewise most of the sealing of children to parents was postponed to a later date, much of it being done in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, commencing in 1855. The Nauvoo endowment and sealing books indicate that upwards of 5,000 Saints received the blessings the revelation had promised if they were obedient to the commandment of the Lord to complete his temple.

CELESTIAL AND PLURAL MARRIAGE

As far back as 1832, according to Orson Pratt, Joseph

6See record in "Nauvoo Temple Sealings, Book A," Church Historical Department.
Smith had told some of the brethren at Kirtland that in time plural marriage would become part of the doctrine and practice of the Church, because it was part of the restoration of the fullness of the gospel which had been promised, embracing the covenants God had made with Abraham.\footnote{Orson Pratt, "Discourse on Celestial Marriage," in The Bible and Polygamy (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment, 1877), p. 81.} Official Church records indicate the first plural marriage by the Latter-day Saints was performed at Nauvoo in 1841 when Joseph Bates Noble sealed Louisa Beaman to the Prophet Joseph.\footnote{Affidavits of Joseph Bates Noble, Church Historical Department. See also B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 2:101-02.} As the members of the Council of the Twelve returned from their missions to Great Britain in 1841, Joseph Smith took them one by one and taught them the doctrine. Some had more difficulty than others in accepting it. Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball mentioned the struggles they had.\footnote{See an account of Heber C. Kimball's first contacts with polygamy in Stanley B. Kimball, "Heber C. Kimball and Family, The Nauvoo Years," in this issue of BYU Studies.} At this time Orson Pratt became disillusioned with Joseph Smith and his rejection of the doctrine apparently was one of the reasons he and his wife were excommunicated from the Church at Nauvoo.\footnote{T. Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt - Early Mormon Leader," (Master's diss., University of Chicago, 1932), pp. 34-42. See also Brigham Young's Journal, 8 and 20 August 1842.} Through further study Elder Pratt became converted to the doctrine, and he and his wife were rebaptized and at the April Conference of 1843 Elder Pratt was reinstated in the Council of Twelve. In time he came to be the foremost expounder of the doctrine, delivering the first public address on the subject and publishing most of the early literature to explain why it was instituted as a practice of the Church. Although the doctrine was publically disavowed at Nauvoo and for six years after the Saints went West,\footnote{See Roberts, Comprehensive History, 2:103-05 and 6:55-58.} many of the prominent men and women in the Church had entered into plural marriage in Nauvoo and started the long trek to the west with their families.

ETERNAL PROGRESSION

A corollary of the doctrines of free will and preexistence is found in the teachings of Joseph Smith which extended
these doctrines into the realm of mortals having a potential to become gods. The Book of Abraham—the small new volume of scripture published by Joseph Smith at Nauvoo—showed how Abraham in the pre-mortal state had used his free will and intelligence to make him a great figure in the eyes of God. He had been chosen to become a great figure in mortality. This choosing was not a predestination, but a foreordination based on the right choices he made before coming to earth, and his wisely making the same choice of good during mortality.

The sealings and blessings of the endowment ceremony, coupled with the doctrine of marriage for time and eternity, including plural marriage, augmented by examples of great prophets such as Abraham, who had used their free agency wisely in the preexistence, formed the basis upon which Joseph Smith taught the doctrine of eternal progression. Through their God-given potential which the people on earth inherit from the Divine Father, it can become possible for some resurrected and exalted mortals to achieve the full potential of their divine inheritance and progress toward godhood. This would, of course, be a long and slow process whereby the married partners acquire the intelligence necessary to undertake and fulfill the responsibilities to become creators as the Eternal Father and the Son. It was in the "King Follett Discourse" given at the April Conference of the Church in 1844, at Nauvoo that the Prophet first described this ultimate potential of human beings.12

THE ARTICLES OF FAITH

In the spring of 1842, Joseph Smith presented the first printed Articles of Faith. At the request of John Wentworth, a Chicago editor, the Prophet summarized some of the more salient points of the religion the Saints had embraced. The summary, intended for a non-Mormon audience, was never meant as a creed or a complete delineation of the gospel as believed by the Latter-day Saints. No doubt Joseph Smith sensed that if he listed all the ramifications of the gospel as it was being revealed, the array would become confusing and those

12Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 6:302-17. This sermon was deleted from the original printing of 1912, after the book had been printed. It was reinserted when these volumes were reproduced in the 1950s by photo-offset printing.
who read it would not understand so many unfamiliar doctrines. For example, he did not mention such items as prayer, resurrection, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is possible that he thought all Christians would understand that such beliefs were common practices of all professing Christians. Neither did he mention salvation for the dead, endowments for the living and dead, the eternity of the marriage covenant, the three degrees of glory, sealings, eternal progression, or many others. Such new and strange doctrines could not possibly be understood by sectarian Christians in a few words. What he really did was list points of doctrine which were directed to the burning issues of the day, such as Unitarianism, Trinitarianism, Universalism, predestination, election by grace, necessity for Christian baptism, and other doctrines which were dividing Christianity into many small antagonistic factions.

SUMMARY

When the Saints settled at Nauvoo in the spring of 1839, the organization and doctrines of the Church had made little progress beyond what had been taught at Kirtland, Ohio. Seven years later as Brigham Young and the Saints commenced their journey toward the West, the Church had developed the concept of wards and bishoprics, both of which were unknown earlier. The Prophet's new interpretation of the Godhead made at Nauvoo, the concept of the eternity of the Melchizedek Priesthood and its covenants, the new volume of old scripture (Book of Abraham) were theirs; baptism for the dead and endowments and sealings for the living and the dead were all new foundation stones for their common faith. A new concept of personal identity with their God and Savior through the doctrine of preexistence and the sealing of children to parents in eternal family relationships were all part of the new teachings and practices of this last dispensation of the gospel. Eternal progression opened new vistas of mortals' greatest challenges.

It was the same Church organization which had been effected on 6 April 1830, but its outlook and visions of eternal worlds had given new and exciting meaning to the understanding of those who believed in their inspired Church leadership. This was the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which President Brigham Young was to lead to the West, where the teachings of Joseph Smith could be perpetuated.
Heber C. Kimball and Family, 
The Nauvoo Years*

Stanley B. Kimball**

As one of the triumvirs of early Mormon history, Heber C. Kimball led an adventuresome, if not heroic life. By the time he settled in Nauvoo during May of 1839, he had been a blacksmith and a potter, had married, and had five children—two of whom had died. He had lived in Vermont, New York, Ohio, and Missouri and had left or been driven out of homes in each state. He had served fourteen years in a horse company of the New York Militia, had joined and left the Close Communion Baptist Church, accepted Mormonism, had gone on four missions (including one to England), had become an apostle, had helped build the temple at Kirtland, had dedicated the temple site at Far West, Missouri, had been a member of Zion’s Camp, and had participated in the defense of the Church in Missouri.

Before he would leave Nauvoo, nearly seven years later in February 1846, he would go on four more missions, for a total of eight (including a second one to England), build three homes, become a chaplain in the Nauvoo Legion, serve on the Nauvoo City Council, receive a phrenological reading, help organize five Masonic lodges, enter into polygamy (having at least thirty-seven wives), help build and officiate in the Nauvoo Temple, contribute to the official history of the Church, and aid in the preparation of the Saints for the exodus west.

The four new missions took Kimball away from Nauvoo more than half (55%) of this period and would make a purely

---

*This article is based on a forthcoming biography, Heber C. Kimball, Mormon Apostle and Puritanical Polygamist: An Affectionate and Candid View.

**Dr. Kimball is professor of history at Southern Illinois University at Edwards-ville.
chronological narrative of his life from 1839 to 1846 more a comment about his missionary life elsewhere than his living in Illinois. This study concentrates rather on several important developments during his Nauvoo sojourn—family affairs, Masonry, polygamy, and temple work. Since Kimball was away from Nauvoo so much of the time, this article also capitalizes on the fact that his wife and daughter who stayed in Nauvoo left many letters and other writings which add significantly to our knowledge of this period in Church history.

ARRIVAL AT NAUVOO

Before Kimball ever saw Nauvoo (it was called Commerce when he arrived there on 12 May 1839), he knew his first stay there would not be long. He had been expecting to return to England for nearly a year. Unsettled conditions in Ohio and Missouri, however, had prevented this. Now, in peaceful Illinois, he would have about four months to resettle his family before leaving again.

Not only did he realize his first stay would be of short duration, but he seemed to have some special insight that the whole Nauvoo period would not last long. He was in Nauvoo that May with Joseph Smith and others of the Twelve trying to find a place to relocate the Church which had just been expelled from Missouri. On 25 May, during deliberations with Isaac Galland, a land speculator who had quasi-title to much land in the area on both sides of the Mississippi River, the party crossed the river to Montrose, Lee County, Iowa—just opposite Nauvoo. At this time Kimball uttered one of the first of many prophecies for which he would eventually become famous in Mormondom. He noted in his journal, "While crossing the Mississippi, I was standing by the railing of the boat, looking at the beautiful site of Nauvoo and remarked, 'It is a very pretty place, but not a long abiding place for the Saints.' "

Soon thereafter Kimball moved his wife, Vilate, and their three children, William, Helen Mar, and Heber Parley, from Quincy, Illinois, where they had been living since the Missouri expulsion, and the family took up residence in a log shack which Kimball had thrown together out of an old stable be-

1President Heber C. Kimball's Journal, Faith-promoting series #7 (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), p. 77.
longing to a "Brother Bozier," who lived about a mile from Commerce.

It is difficult to imagine Kimball’s state of mind during his first few months in Nauvoo. The Iowa and Missouri trials had cost him his property and wealth and he was starting all over again, his wife was advanced in pregnancy, his family was living in a miserable hut, the swampy river bottoms were causing much sickness, and he was supposed to be getting ready to leave on a second mission to England, over 6,000 miles away.

As quickly as possible he tried to provide better housing. He acquired five acres of land about a mile from the river (just east of present-day Nauvoo State Park), and erected a 14 by 16 foot log cabin. He did not finish it in time for Vilate, however, so she gave birth to a new son on 23 August in the Bozier shack. They named the infant David Patten after their great friend who had fallen during the Battle of Crooked River in Missouri.

Less than two weeks after the birth of David, Kimball moved his family into their new home and prepared to leave for England. On 14 September, Brigham Young, who was then living in the abandoned (since 1837) Fort Des Moines across the river in Montrose, left his sick wife with a ten day old infant to join Kimball for England. Young was so sick himself that he collapsed at the Kimball’s. Kimball, who was also ill, now had Young, in addition to his own sick wife and children, to care for. On the 17th Mary Ann Young came over to try to be of some help. Four adults and several children, all sick in a small log cabin—that was the immediate background of Kimball’s second mission to England. On the next day, 18 September 1839, Heber and Brigham left.

DEPARTURE FOR ENGLAND

Of these appalling circumstances Kimball later recorded that of the Young family "not one soul of them was able to go to the well for a pail of water, and they were without a single change of clothes, for the mob in Missouri had taken nearly all he had. . . ." Of his own farewell he wrote:

I went to my bed and shook hands with my wife, who was then shaking with the ague, and had two of our children [probably William and Helen Mar] lying sick by her side.
I embraced her and my children, and bade them farewell. The only child well was little [four year old] Heber Parley, and it was with difficulty that he could carry a couple of quarts of water at a time, to assist in quenching their thirst.

With some difficulty we got into the wagon and started down the hill about ten rods. It seemed to me as though my very inmost parts would melt within me at the thought of leaving my family in such a condition, as it were almost in the arms of death. I felt as though I could scarcely endure it. I said to the teamster "hold up!" then turning to Brother Brigham I added, "This is pretty tough, but let's rise, and give them a cheer." We arose, and swinging our hats three times over our heads, we cried, "Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for Israel!"

My wife, hearing the noise, arose from her bed and came to the door to see what was up. She had a smile on her face. She and Sister Young then cried out to us, "Good bye; God bless you!" We returned the compliment and were pleased to see that they were so cheerful. We then told the driver to go ahead.

After this I felt a spirit of joy and gratitude at having the satisfaction of seeing my wife standing upon her feet, instead of leaving her in bed, knowing well that I should not see her again for two or three years.2

Only totally dedicated men can do such things and only even more dedicated women can endure such things.

This second mission to England was a remarkable success. According to Young they "baptized between seven and eight thousand and established branches in almost every noted town and city, printed 5,000 copies of the Book of Mormon, 3,000 hymnals, 50,000 tracts, 2,500 copies of the Millennial Star, established a permanent shipping agency, and had emigrated about 1,000 saints to Zion."3

The story of these successes, recounted extensively in Mormon history, should be supplemented with the story of the hardships of the wives and children left behind. Fortunately the letters of Vilate and Helen Mar to Kimball help us to know something of the life back home.

2Ibid., pp. 84-85.
3Elden Jay Watson, ed., Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801-1844 (Salt Lake City: Elden Jay Watson, 1968), p. 97. Later, in Utah, Kimball said: "The Elders now have to labor a great deal harder to bring people into the Church than they did in the first rise of it. There is not now one man brought to the knowledge of the truth by receiving the Gospel to where there was a hundred thirty years ago." Heber C. Kimball in Journal of Discourses (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1856), 10:240. Hereafter cited as JD.
FAMILY LETTERS FROM NAUVOO

In Vilate's first letter after Heber left, dated 21 September, she writes that she is reconciled to his going, that all the family are still sick, and that, "All I can ask of you is to pray that I may have patience to endure to the end whether it is long or short." From another source we learn that Helen had no shoes when her father left and that all the money he could leave with Vilate was nine dollars which was demanded of her the next day as payment on an account.

In Vilate's letter of 6 June 1840 we learn a bit more about the wives who were left back home to fend for themselves. She is rather outspoken. She hopes Joseph Young will get her the cow he promised; she has a pig, and plenty of potatoes, turnips, and other garden produce.

I hope I shall not have to call on the Bishop again while you are gone. They find some fault with Brother [John] Talor, say if he could send means to N. Y. to bare the expenses of his family over the sea; he could as well send it there to support them. I am glad Brother Brigham has sent some assistance to his family for they were needy. Their house could hardly be called a shelter. They will soon have it fixed nice. Elisabeth and Vilate [Young] are both sick with the chills, however, the rest of the families of brethren are well as far as I know.

In an undated entry (about 13 August 1840), there is a cryptic reference in Kimball's journal to receiving a letter from Vilate which contained "much other business that was necessary for me to be there to see to." This is undoubtedly a reference to economic matters awaiting his attention back home.

In Vilate's letter of 11 October 1840, we learn that baptism for the dead has been introduced in Nauvoo and that she intends to be baptized for her mother, that David has been weaned, and that clothes are very expensive.

---

4Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 21 September 1839, Heber C. Kimball papers, Church Historical Department.
5Vilate Kimball's obituary, Deseret News, 25 December 1867.
6Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 6 June 1840, original letter in possession of J. Leroy Kimball. Used by permission. The only concession I have made to "modernizing" the spelling and punctuation in the documents is to begin all sentences with capitals, capitalize all proper names, and to end all sentences with periods.
7Heber C. Kimball, Journal, no. 90, p. 23, Church Historical Department.
Vilate started her 8 December letter out cheerfully and sympathetically enough, reporting that she has enjoyed visiting with the "dear sisters from England"—some recent converts who had just arrived in Nauvoo. She was disturbed over his letter of 19 September, "which pains my heart to hear that you have been thus afflicted; in a land of strangers, and no one to administer comfort to you. O that I could fly to your relief. . . ." At this point, however, her courage fails and she has to reveal her own burdens, adding,

I have just received the heartrendering intelligence that my dear Father is no more . . . the last news that I had from father before, he was well, and calculated to set out his jour-ney for this place the first of October, and had for some time daily been anticipating his arrival here, but alass! how are my fond anticipations blasted? and my joy is turned to mourning.

She then added a little poem she had written—a sort of lament through which to express, share, and purge her grief. While it may not be very good poetry, it does express her state of mind.⁹

She then reported on the financial situation:

It cost a great deal to support your family, we are continually on expence, and not earning a cent. There was rising of thirty dollars due this fall on our land, but I pled off for the present by paying fifteen dollars; I told [Hiram] Kimball I would pay him the rest in the spring, or before if I could.

Near the close of the letter she added,

The children are all impatient to have you come; you are losing all the most interesting part of David's life, a child is never so pretty as when they first begin to walk and talk.

⁹My husband's gone, my Father's dead
But my ever living head;
Always hears my souls complaint
And ever comforts me when faint.
If I could fly to you I would,
But the Lord is very good;
He will care for him that's dead
And you who from your family's fled.
I, here with four children dear,
But I know I need not fear;
For the Lord is always nigh,
And will all my wants supply.
O Lord it is my souls desire
That thou would my heart inspire
With a fore knowledge of thy will,
That I may all thy laws fulfill.
He goes prattleing about the house, and you may be assured that we think he is cunning. Elizabeth [Young?] calls him Heber altogether, and every one that sees him says that ought to be his name, he looks so much like you.\(^\text{10}\)

From Helen we learn additional facts. She recorded that several families held Sabbath meetings in the Kimball home "it being one of the most convenient in the neighborhood," that sisters Laura and Abigail Pitkin came from Quincy to live with Vilate, and that Helen and William attended school during the winter.\(^\text{11}\) Helen also tells us of some gifts she received from England. Brigham Young had sent her and William, and Kimball sent Young’s daughters copies of the new British edition of the Book of Mormon with their names printed thereon in gold letters. Helen also received other gifts from her father—handkerchiefs, little china dishes, and dolls. Helen also tells us that once when Joseph Smith called by their home (to read a letter which Vilate had received from Heber) he accidentally broke one of these dolls. According to Helen all the Prophet said by way of excusing himself was, "As that has fallen, so shall the heathen gods fall." Helen thought this a "rather weak apology for breaking my doll’s head off."\(^\text{12}\)

From Helen we learn more of the less pleasant things back home. There had been, for example, much sickness, especially cholera, which was fought with tea and coffee to keep the Saints from drinking unboiled water. She noted also that this was one reason why the Saints thereafter began to backslide and no longer kept the Word of Wisdom as strictly as before.

Kimball, of course, wrote letters home which are extant, but not a part of this study. He and six others of the Twelve left England on 29 April with a company of immigrants and were back in Nauvoo 1 July 1841, having been gone a little more than twenty-one months.

HEBER'S RETURN TO NAUVOO

Heber’s homecoming after that absence was vividly related many years later by Helen. She wrote,

\(^{10}\)Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 8 December 1840. Original letter in possession of J. Leroy Kimball. Used by permission. Hiram Kimball, a pre-Mormon settler in Nauvoo, was a distant cousin to Heber.


\(^{12}\)Ibid., 10 (1 August 1881):34.
My brother, who was still living at the landing [as the Kimball place was too crowded] was the first to meet and embrace my father. The Prophet and many more were there ready to greet and welcome them home again, Joseph would have them go home with him to dinner and William hastened home to tell us the same; we thought this almost an unkindness for it seemed so long a time to us who were waiting and watching with impatience to see him, but soon we discovered a company of horsemen coming with all speed and when my mother saw them she made a hasty retreat behind the door to hide her confusion, where in a moment after father found her overwhelmed in tears. . . . My mother felt the presence of others at such a time almost an intrusion, but Brother Joseph seemed unwilling to part with my father; and from that time kept the Twelve in council early and late, and she sometimes felt nearly jealous of him. . . .

Nauvoo had grown considerably in the interim and Kimball was much impressed. He later wrote back to England, "You know there were not more than thirty buildings in the city when we left about two years ago; but at this time, there are about 1,200; and hundreds of others in progress. . . ." He rejoiced in the many converts coming to Nauvoo:

They are coming in from all parts of this continent daily and hourly, and the work is spreading in all of this land. . . . You will all recollect when we built our houses in the woods, there was not a house within half a mile of us, now the place, wild as it was at that time, is covered into a thickly populated village.  

One of the first things Heber did was build his family a better home. According to Helen,

The Prophet Joseph, being anxious to have my father nearer to himself and his brethren, our place was exchanged for one on the flat, where father built us a more commodious house of hewn logs containing three lower rooms and an [upstairs?] chamber, which we moved into the fall after his return from Europe.  

This was the third dwelling Kimball had built in Nauvoo. After his return from England he purchased Lot Five in Block 106 (where his brick home stands today). To the log portion mentioned by Helen he later added one brick room and still

---

13 Ibid., 10 (15 August 1881):42.
14 Ibid., 10 (1 September 1881):50.
15 Ibid., 10 (15 September 1881):58.
later removed the log part and replaced it with the two story brick structure which is still standing.

The main reason Joseph kept the Twelve in council early and late was to turn over to them many of the temporal affairs of the building up of Nauvoo and the whole kingdom, to stand in their place next to the First Presidency; and to attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the Church and the stakes. Among other assignments, one of Heber's biggest was helping to settle emigrants, especially those from England, and selling Church lands. He also became a chaplain with the rank of Colonel of Infantry in the Nauvoo Legion, and a member of the City Council. In this latter position, in order to lower taxes, he refused any remuneration.

Very conscious of history and record keeping, Heber spent some time writing letters and reports about his mission. The rest of the winter passed away quietly with Heber tending to many of the temporal affairs of kingdom building.

The spring of 1842, however, was full of strange and wonderful things. Heber received a phrenological reading, helped organize several Masonic lodges, and was introduced to two profound doctrines: temple work and polygamy.

HEBER AND PHRENOLOGY

Kimbball appears to have submitted to phrenological readings three times. The word "submitted" is specifically used for it is hard to believe a person as pragmatic as Kimball could have believed in such readings. Though Kimball never recorded anything one way or another on phrenology, Brigham Young did. In reference to one phrenologist he said, "He is just as nigh being an idiot as a man can be, and have any sense left to pass through the world decently." It was customary then for phrenologists to seek out special individuals and give them readings. Certainly by 1842 Mormon leaders in Nauvoo had become so prominent that phrenologists sought them out. It would seem that Kimball submitted out of curiosity and

38 See Times and Seasons, 4 and 26 August 1841, for example. His now famous Journal of Heber C. Kimball (Nauvoo: Robinson and Smith, 1840), was printed and offered for sale while Kimball was still on his second mission to England. The publication, which Kimball dictated from memory to his publisher, R. B. Thompson, is basically an account of his first mission to England and has nothing to do with the Nauvoo period.

39 Watson, Manuscript History, p. 150.
politeness much as one might today allow some petitioner to read his palm.

Kimball’s first reading was apparently by A. Crane, M. S., “professor of Phrenology” and happened sometime in April 1842; a second reading was done in Boston in 1843 by one Orson Fowler; a “Professor” Lyon talked Kimball into a third reading on 13 March 1853 in Salt Lake City.

Crane’s “Phrenological Chart of Elder Heber C. Kimball” has been reproduced in most printings of Whitney’s Life of Heber C. Kimball, because “this chart is not only worth preserving as a curiosity, but it is, in many respects, an excellent index of Heber’s character and idiosyncrasies.”

HEBER AND MASONRY

While we can dismiss the charlatanism of phrenology rather quickly, the real and imagined connections between Mormonism and Masonry which have fascinated many for years require more careful consideration.

Kimball, a serious and devoted Mason, became a member of the Victor Lodge, No. 303 at Victor, Ontario County, New York in 1823. In due time he advanced through the first three degrees—Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason—and, along with others, petitioned for several more degrees up to the Royal Arch, the equivalent of a seventh degree. In his own words,

In 1824, myself and 5 others sent a petition to the Chapter at Canandaigua, the county seat of Ontario, to receive the degrees up to the Royal Arch Masons: our petition was accepted; but just previous to the time we were to receive those degrees, the Anti-masons burnt the Chapter building in Canandaigua.19

Kimball was not the only “pre-Mormon” Mason in the Church. Joseph Smith’s brother, Hyrum, had become a member of the Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112 at Palmyra, Ontario County, New York sometime in the 1820s.20 Others were Newel K. Whitney, George Miller, and John C. Bennett.

19Kimball Journal, no. 94b, part 2, p. 8.
Even though some of the bitterest anti-Mormons were Masons, Kimball remained loyal to Masonry all his life and on occasion publicly praised the organization and its members. Of his original activities as a Mason he later wrote,

No man was admitted into a lodge in those days accept he bore a good moral character and was a man of steady habits; and a member would be suspended for getting drunk or any other immoral conduct. I wish that all men were masons and would live up to their profession, then the world would be in a much better state than it is now.21

On another occasion when he was trying to free Joseph Smith from prison in Liberty, Missouri, he wrote,

There were several men in Liberty who were friendly to the brethren; I called on them when I went there, and they treated me with great civility, Generals Doniphan and Atchison and the tavern keeper where I put up, and several of the foremost men, who belonged to the Masonic fraternity.22

As late as 1861 in Utah he publicly announced that he was still true to his Masonic brethren.23 He did not, however, join the Masonic lodges established in Utah by the United States troop at Camp Floyd (The Rocky Mountain Lodge, No. 205) or in Salt Lake City in the 1860s (the Mount Moriah and Wasatch lodges, for example). In fact the bylaws of these later lodges exclude Mormons from joining.24

We assume that his favorable view likely had some influence on Joseph Smith’s embracing of Masonry and setting up a lodge in Nauvoo in 1842. Actually Mormon Masons had been holding lodge meetings in Nauvoo as early as October 1841. It was not until 15 March 1842, however, that they were permitted to add new members.25

Among apparent reasons for Smith’s acceptance of Masonry in addition to any influence of men like his brother, Hyrum, and Kimball, were the desire for some acceptance and protection in the larger community, and the recognition of certain similarities between the two systems. Edward Tullidge wrote that Joseph Smith understood the relationship be-

---

21Kimball Journal, no. 94c, part 2, p. 5.
22Ibid., p. 67.
23JD 9:182.
tween Masonry and the priesthood, Reed Durham has recently argued such, and Kimball offers contemporary insight into these two factions in a letter to Parley P. Pratt dated 17 June 1842:

We have received some pressious things through the Prophet on the priesthood that would caus your Soul to rejoice. I can not give them to you on paper fore they are not to be riten. So you must come and get them for your Self.

We have organized a Lodge here of Masons since we obtained a Charter. That was in March. Since that there has been near two hundred made masons. Bro. Joseph and Sidny was the first that was Received into the Lodge. All of the twelve have become members Except Orson P [ratt]. He hangs back. He will wake up soon, thare is a similarity of preast Hood in Masonry. Br. Joseph Ses Masonry was taken from priesthood but has become degenerated. But menny things are perfect.

We have a procession on the 24 of June which is cold [called] by Masons St. Johns day in this country. I think it will result in good.

Later at a special conference in Salt Lake City on 9 November 1858, Kimball said the following: "We have the true Masonry. The Masonry of today is received from the apostasy which took place in the days of Solomon, and David. They have now and then a thing that is correct, but we have the real thing."

MASONRY IN NAUVOO

On 15 and 16 March 1842, Abraham Jonas, a Jewish Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, F & A. M. (Free and Accepted Masons) of the State of Illinois, organized the Nauvoo Lodge. Of this event (which Kimball attended) he later recorded, the "Lodge was organized on the 15 day of March


³Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, 17 June 1842, Parley P. Pratt Papers, Church Historical Department.

⁴Manuscript History of Brigham Young, unpublished, 15 November 1858, p. 1085.
1842 with forty members. Joseph was made a Mason on the same Eve. Abraham Jonas was present and acted as Master. First night took the 1 and 2 degree. The next night took the 3 degree." Kimball served in the Nauvoo Lodge as a Junior Deacon, an officer who, by checking certain passwords and grips, was responsible that no "cowans and eavesdroppers" or non-Masons were admitted to lodge meetings. He also carried messages from the Worshipful Master in the East to the Senior Warden in the West and elsewhere about the lodge as required.

Eventually the Nauvoo lodges had 1,492 members—which included the First Presidency, most of the Twelve Apostles, and the four men who succeeded Joseph Smith as President of the Church: Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow.

Five Mormon Masonic lodges were established in the area: The Nauvoo, the Nye (named after Jonathan Nye, past Grand Master of Vermont), the Helm (named after a Grand Master) lodges in Nauvoo proper; the Rising Sun Lodge, no. 12, in Montrose, Iowa, and the Eagle Lodge in Keokuk, Iowa.

Kimball's daughter, Helen, adds a bit to our understanding of Masonry in Nauvoo. She once wrote:

The Prophet Joseph after becoming a Mason said that Masonry had been taken from the priesthood. In Nauvoo I was acquainted with the widow and daughter of [William] Morgan who exposed Masonry. I remember once when but a young girl, of getting a glimpse of the outside of the Morgan's book, exposing Masonry, but which my father always kept locked up.

ENDOWMENTS AND PLURAL MARRIAGE

Kimball had participated fully in the limited, preparatory ordinances of washings and anointings which had been ad-

---

30Kimball Journal, no. 92, 10 April 1845.
31Reynolds, History of the M. W. Grand Lodge, p. 155.
32Hogan, "Utah's Memorial," p. 203. In 1843 there were only 414 Masons in all the rest of the Illinois lodges put together. Reynolds, History of the M. W. Grand Lodge, pp. 202-203. Once again the numbers game made the Mormons appear to be a threat to their neighbors.
34Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo," Woman's Exponent 11 (15 July 1882):26. Morgan's widow became one of Joseph Smith's plural wives. William Morgan, a Royal Arch Mason, disappeared in 1826 after it became known that he was writing a book to expose Masonry. Charges that he was murdered to prevent publication of the book were strongly denied by Masons. His book, Illustrations of Masonry (1826), is frequently republished as Morgan's Freemasonry Exposed and Explained.
ministered in the Kirtland Temple in 1836. On 4 May 1842, however, Joseph introduced the full endowment ceremony and eight Church leaders, including Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young, Willard Richards, George Miller, and Newell K. Whitney participated. This presentation was not done in the uncompleted temple, but in the upper rooms of Joseph’s brick store on Water Street. While some few others received their endowments before the top story of the temple was completed during December 1845, most of the Saints in Nauvoo received their endowments from then until the general exodus west in 1846.

In about 1842, Kimball was introduced to the doctrine of plural marriage. This troublesome doctrine was revealed to Joseph Smith as early as 1831 in Kirtland, but was not practiced (save for one or two probable instances in Ohio) until 1841 when Joseph and a few other married brethren secretly married additional wives. The revelation concerning plural marriage was set down in writing and read before the Nauvoo High Council in July 1843, but was not openly taught until 1852 in Utah, and not officially published until 1876.35

Although Kimball was sealed to forty-five wives before he died in 1868, he did not act hastily nor out of romantic inclination. Vilate, his first wife, was as much a prime mover in his practicing the doctrine as he. He did not take any other wives for two years after marryng his first plural wife, Sarah Perry Peak Noon, in 1842. Then in September 1844, he married Ann Alice Gheen, grandmother of President Spencer W. Kimball, Frances Jessie Swan, Sylvia Porter Sessions, Charlotte Chase, Nancy Maria Winchester, Mary Ellen Harris Able, and Ellen Sanders. In 1845 he married at least five more wives—the sisters Clarissa and Emilie Cutler, Amanda Gheen, Sarah Ann Whitney, and Lucy Walker. Then, just prior to the February 1846 exodus from Nauvoo, Kimball was sealed to at least twenty-eight women during January and February. He married nine widows of Joseph Smith, and it is clear that some of these and others to whom he was sealed were not connubial wives.

but the sealings expressed his willingness to protect and care for these women while heading into the western wilderness. He had a total of sixty-five children by sixteen women, the extent of his connubial plurality.34

Kimball has told us little of his initial reaction to the doctrine of polygamy. From two other sources, however, we learn something of it. The better account comes from his daughter, Helen Mar, as she wrote in the *Woman’s Exponent* in 1882:

> When first hearing the principle taught, believing that he would be called upon to enter into it, he thought of the two Sisters Pitkin, who, as they were both elderly ladies and great friends of mothers’, he believed would cause her little if any unhappiness. The woman he was commanded to take, however, was an English lady [Sarah Noon], nearer my mother’s age, who came over with her husband and two little girls in the same ship in which President Brigham Young and my father were returning from their second mission to Europe.35

Her husband was a drunkard and soon returned to England, abandoning his wife and daughters. According to Helen, "This, no doubt, was the cause of father’s being told by the Prophet to take her and the children, to provide them with a home.” She further records how her father agonized over the command and says that "the Prophet told him the third time before he obeyed the command."36

Helen is also the source of the following now famous incident in the life of Vilate which reveals how she came to understand and accept the doctrine of polygamy:

> My mother had noticed a change in his looks and appearance, and when she enquired the cause, he tried to evade her question, saying it was only her imagination, or that he was...

---

34One of the aims of my biography of Kimball is to try to solve some of the problems relating to the exact number of his wives and children, the dates of marriages, births, and deaths in his immediate family, and how many divorces and separations there were. Findings to date indicate that he married forty-five wives between 1822 and 1857, sired sixty-five children between 1823 and 1868, that he married five sets of sisters, that eighteen of his wives were widows or divorcees (nine of whom were widows of Joseph Smith), that at least nine of his wives left him, that another nine preceeded him in death, and that he buried twenty-two children. (It is of passing interest to note that of the nine widows of Joseph Smith which Kimball married, five of them were sealed to the Prophet after he died and had not previously been married to him. On the same day they were sealed to Joseph for eternity, they were married to Heber for time.)


36Ibid.
not feeling well, etc. But it so worked upon his mind that his anxious and haggard looks betrayed him daily and hourly, and finally his misery became so unbearable that it was impossible to control his feelings. He became sick in body; but his mental wretchedness was too great to allow of his retiring at night, and instead of going to bed he would walk the floor; and the agony of his mind was so terrible that he would wring his hands and weep, beseeching the Lord with his whole soul to be merciful and reveal to his wife the cause of his great sorrow, for he himself could not break his vow of secrecy. His anguish and my mother's, were indescribable and when unable to endure it longer, she retired to her room, where with a broken and contrite heart, she poured out her grief to [God]... 

My father's heart was raised at the same time in supplication, and while pleading as one would plead for life, the vision of her mind was opened, and she saw the principle of Celestial Marriage illustrated in all its beauty and glory, together with the great exaltation and honor it would confer upon her in that immortal and celestial sphere if she would but accept it and stand in her place by her husband's side. She was also shown the woman he had taken to wife, and contemplated with joy the vast and boundless love and union which this order would bring about, as well as the increase of kingdoms, power, and glory extending throughout the eternities, worlds without end.

Her soul was satisfied and filled with the Spirit of God. With a countenance beaming with joy she returned to my father, saying, "Heber, what you have kept from me the Lord has shown me."

She related the scene to me and to many others, and told me she never saw so happy a man as father was, when she described the vision and told him she was satisfied and knew that it was from God. She covenanted to stand by him and honor the principle, which covenant she faithfully kept, and though her trials were often heavy and grievous to bear, her integrity was unflinching to the end.20

Few other Mormon wives were rewarded with such a vision of the celestial order. Vilate, however, stated that at least one other woman claimed to have received a divine sanction of polygamy. On 27 June 1843, Vilate wrote to Heber, who was on a mission in Philadelphia:

I have had a visit from brother Parley [Pratt] and his wife, they are truly converted it appears that J....h has taught him some principles and told him his privilege, and even ap-

20Ibid.
pointed one for him. I dare not tell you who it is, you would be astonished and I guess some tried. She has been to me for council. I told her I did not wish to advise in such matters. Sister Pratt has been rageing against these things. She told me herself that the devil had been in her until within a few days past. She said the Lord had shown her it was all right. She wants Parley to go ahead, says she will do all in her power to help him; they are so ingagued I feer they will run to fast.

They asked me many questions on principle. I told them I did not know much and I rather they would go to those that had authority to teach.  

The wife who came to Vilate for council and who had been "rageing against these things" was Mary Ann Pratt who, after her husband had been sealed to several wives, became alienated and divorced him in 1852 in Utah. The woman to whom Vilate referred when she wrote, "I dare not tell you who it is, you would be astonished and I guess some tried," was Elizabeth Brotherton. Elizabeth was the sister of Martha Brotherton, who left Nauvoo in 1842 and went to St. Louis where she published her unfavorable view of plural marriage in the *St. Louis Bulletin* of 15 July. Among other things she claimed that Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young had tried to pressure her into polygamy. This may be why Vilate felt Heber would be "astonished." In any event, Pratt married Elizabeth.

The second account of Kimball's introduction to polygamy comes from his son-in-law, James Lawson, who married a daughter of Kimball's first plural wife, Sarah Noon. This story was printed in Whitney's *Life of Heber C. Kimball* in 1888. As Lawson and others who could have commented on its truthfulness were still alive in 1888, there seems to be no good reason to discount it. The story is rather unusual and is best told by Lawson himself:

In 1855, Heber C. Kimball sent for me (I had just been married thirteen days) and said "Brother James, I want you to give your wife Betsy a divorce." I said, "Brother Kimball, what is the matter? There is nothing wrong with us, and we think everything of each other." He said, "Nothing is the matter, but here is the divorce and I want you to sign it." I signed it and he told me to send her home to her mother which I did. At the same time I asked her if she had been

---

*Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 27 June 1843. Original letter formerly in the possession of President Spencer W. Kimball, now in the Church Historical Department. Used by permission.*
making any complaints to Brother Kimball about me. She said, "Never, to anybody." I did not sleep a wink that night, and no one knows what I suffered in my feelings. I prayed frequently to the Lord and inquired of Him what all this meant. Towards morning I received an answer to my prayers. The Spirit came unto me, "Be comforted, my servant James, all will come out right." Soon after this Brother Kimball went to the Legislature, which was held at Fillmore, and was absent from home about two months. When he returned he gave me a mission to Carson Valley and told me to get Betsy and bring her to the Endowment House with me. I did so and he sealed us for time and all eternity. After this took place I said, "Brother Kimball what did you do that for?" He said, "Brother James, I did it to try you as I was tried. I will tell you. After I had returned from my second mission to England in 1841, the Prophet Joseph came to me one evening and said, Brother Heber, I want you to give Vilate to me to be my wife, saying that the Lord desired this at my hands." Heber said that in all his life before he had never had anything take hold of him like that. He was dumb-founded. He went home, and did not eat a mouthful of anything, nor even touch a drop of water to his lips, nor sleep, for three days and nights. He was almost continually offering up his prayers to God and asking Him for comfort. On the evening of the third day he said, "Vilate, let's go down to the Prophet's" and they went down and met him in a private room. Heber said, "Brother Joseph, here is Vilate." The Prophet wept like a child, said Heber, and after he had cleared the tears away, he took us and sealed us for time and all eternity, and said, "Brother Heber, take her, and the Lord will give you a hundredfold."41

Apparently Lawson accepted this all very meekly, even the fact that he was left both wifeless and explanationless for more than two months while Kimball was in Fillmore.

Kimball's reference to his having been tried or tested by the Prophet is not the only account of Joseph Smith's requesting other men's wives in marriage. Orson Pratt was excommunicated for his stand against polygamy (see the T. Edgar Lyon article in this issue), and William Law apostatized and became a bitter enemy of the Prophet.

That all these happenings came about shortly after the Twelve returned from their mission to England lends credence to the idea that the Prophet was testing them all. Those with solid faith remained. Those who lost what faith they had

spoke out against the Prophet on this very matter like William Law.

Helen informs us of her own initial shock upon learning of the doctrine of plurality and her difficulty in accepting it. She was only thirteen in 1842 when her father took his second wife, Sarah Noon, and was not fully aware even when Sarah had a child that winter. She later wrote,

I had no knowledge then of the plural order, and therefore remained ignorant of our relationship to each other until after his [the infant's] death, as he only lived a few months. It's true I had noticed the great interest taken by my parents in behalf of Sister Noon, but . . . I thought nothing strange of this.42

During the summer of 1843, Heber tried to explain plural marriage to Helen, who was then nearly fifteen. Of this experience she later wrote, "I remember how I felt, but which would be a difficult matter to describe—the various thoughts, fears and temptations that flashed through my mind when the principle was first introduced to me by my father . . . in the summer of 1843. . . ."43 Helen was very disturbed and skeptical. "The next day, the Prophet called at our house, and I sat with my father and mother and heard him teach the principle and explain it more fully, and I believed it. . . ." Shortly after this, Heber went on a mission and, apparently, in a further effort to ease Helen's mind, he wrote to her on 10 July from Pittsburgh:

My Dear Helen . . . You have been on my mind much since I left home, and also your dear mother, who has the first place in my heart, then my dear children and brethren and sisters who have passed through much sorrow and pain for the cause of Christ.

My dear daughter, what shall I say to you? I will tell you, learn to be meek and gentle, and let your heart seek after wisdom. . . .44

Apparently Helen did just that for she herself later became a plural wife of Joseph Smith and after his death of Horace

42H. M. Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents" 11(15 July 1882):26. Sarah Noon's child, Adelbert, may have been the first issue of the Mormon practice of plural marriage.
44Ibid.
Whitney. That Helen did become a wife of the Prophet is hardly a contestable fact. Her own son recorded, "A golden link was forged whereby the houses of Heber and Joseph were indissolubly and forever joined. Helen Mar, the eldest daughter of Heber Chase and Vilate Murray Kimball was given to the Prophet in the holy bonds of celestial marriage." There is no evidence, however, that Helen ever lived with Joseph. Helen, herself, seems to have been reticent on the subject. Although she later published a 108-part series of "Life Incidents," in the Woman's Exponent (1880-86), and wrote two booklets, Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph Smith (1882), and Why We Practice Plural Marriage (1884), she never alluded to her marriage to Joseph.46

There is little indication that Heber ever considered polygamy as more than a religious responsibility for raising up a large family and providing for widows. In his letters, journals, and discourses, there are frequent references to Vilate and her children, but seldom a mention of others in his actual and adopted family which eventually totalled about 110 persons. It is as if he never loved anyone but Vilate and his letters to her throughout the rest of his life show that he frequently felt the necessity of trying to comfort her, to assure her time and again that she was the first in his life, the love of his youth, and that no one could or would ever take her place. On 12 February 1849, in Utah, for example, he wrote,

No one can supercede you. . . . It is true you are cold [called] to make a great sacrifice, but your glory will be equal to it. . . . Every son and daughter that is brought forth by the wives that are given to me will add to your glory as much as it will to them. They are given to me for this purpus and for no other. . . . What I have done has been done by stolen moments for the purpus to save your feelins and that alone on the account of the love I have for You. I

---


46Helen did, however, refer on at least two occasions to the fact that she was a plural wife. Once she said, "I have encouraged and sustained my husband in the celestial order of marriage because I knew it was right." See Augusta Joyce Crocheron, Representative Women of Deseret . . . , (Salt Lake City: J. C. Graham, 1884), p. 114. She also wrote, "I have been a spectator and a participant in this order of matrimony for over thirty years . . . being a first wife. . . ." See her Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), p. 27. Few of Kimball's sons ever entered into plural marriage. William Henry and Abraham Alonzo each took three wives.
beg of you to consider my case as you cannot do the work that God has required of me. . . .

We learn further of Heber and Vilate’s early adjustment to polygamy from a letter she wrote to him on 16 October 1842 while he was on a mission in southern Illinois:

Our good friend S. [arah Noon] . . . is as ever, as we are one. You said I must tell you all my feelings; but if I were to tell you that I sometimes felt tempted and tried and feel as though my burden was greater than I could bear, it would only be a source of sorrow to you, and the Lord knows that I do not wish to add one sorrow to your heart, for be assured, my dear Heber, that I do not love you any the less for what has transpired neither do I believe that you do me. . . .

Sarah added a postscript to this letter and, since it is one of the few extant notes or letters from any of Kimball’s other wives, I give it here in full.

My very dear friend: Inasmuch as I have listened to your counsel hitherto I have been prospered, therefore, I hope that I shall ever adhere to it strictly in the future.

Your kind letter was joyfully received. I never read it, but I received some comfort and feel strengthened and I thank you for it. You may depend upon my moving as soon as the house is ready. I feel anxious as I perceive my infirmities increasing daily. Your request with regard to Sister Kimball I will attend to. Nothing gives me more pleasure than to add to the happiness of my friends; I only wish that I had more ability to do so. I am very glad we are likely to see you soon, and pray that nothing may occur to disappoint us. When you request Vilate to meet you, perhaps you forget that I shall then stand in jeopardy every hour, and would not have her absent for worlds. My mind is fixed and I am rather particular, but still, for your comfort, I will submit. I am as ever.

Some of her comments are more meaningful when we realize that both Sarah and Vilate were about seven months pregnant. Sarah shows both spunk and resignation, and for whatever reasons, Vilate did not leave her to join Heber.

---

47 Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 12 February 1849. Original letter formerly in the possession of President Spencer W. Kimball, and now in the Church Historical Department. Used by permission.


49 Ibid, p. 2.
Among those who sought to make trouble and money out of the question of polygamy was John C. Bennett, onetime counselor to Joseph Smith and mayor of Nauvoo, who had been excommunicated in May 1842 for immorality. That same year he published a book in Boston, *The History of the Saints: Or an Exposé of Joe Smith and the Mormons*—a 344-page melange of all kinds of charges against the Church, including several sections on polygamy. As a result of this book and Bennett’s lectures, Kimball, Young, and others were called on the above-mentioned mission to southern Illinois to try to offset the damage done by Bennett. Just how Kimball answered Bennett’s charges of polygamy is not known.

Kimball and Young were gone only three months and their mission was more of an extended preaching tour to Lima, Quincy, Payson, Pittsfield, Glasgow, Apple Creek, Jacksonville, Springfield, and Morgan City. Just how Kimball answered Bennett’s charges is not known, but with two pregnant wives in Nauvoo, it would have been awkward for him to argue that plural marriage existed only in a spiritual sense. The mission started off well enough on 10 September 1842. They held a conference in Lima where they ordained nineteen elders.50 In Quincy, however, they had little success.

Heber and Vilate exchanged at least four letters during this short separation. Heber records little of his mission and activities, but writes at great length about his deepest, innermost feelings for Vilate. “I dream about you most every night, but always feel disappointed for when I awake, behold it is a dream and I could cry if it would do any good. . . . You was speaking about if I had sent a kiss to you. I’ll send you several on the top of this page where those round marks are, no less than one dozen. I had the pleasure of receiving those that you sent. . . .”51 He arrived back home on 4 November 1842.

NAUVOO, 1842-44.

After this southern Illinois mission Kimball was at home in Nauvoo for seven months, Vilate had a new son, Charles Spaulding, born 2 January 1843, and, as noted above, near that time Sarah Noon also had a son who lived only about nine months.

50See *Times and Seasons*, 15 September 1842.
51Heber C. Kimball papers, 627/a, Church Historical Department.
We know little of Heber's life during this time. One thing of importance, however, took place in January 1843—the organization of the Young Gentlemen and Ladies Relief Society in Nauvoo. According to the *Times and Seasons*,

One evening in the latter part of January last, a few young people having assembled at the house of Elder H. C. Kimball; the follies of youth and the temptations to which they are exposed generally, but more especially in our city, became the topic of conversation. The company were lamenting the loose style of the morals, the frivolous manner in which they spent their time, and their too frequent attendance at balls, parties, etc.

Kimball offered to give them some instruction. At the next meeting, "Elder Kimball addressed them for some time upon the duties of children to their parents, to society and to their God." A week later another meeting was held and Kimball explained the duty which the youth owed to themselves, and the manner in which they might obtain honor and respect, viz: by applying their minds with determined perseverance to all the studies commonly deemed necessary to fit them for active life and polish them for society . . . and acquit yourselves like . . . men of God.52

The next meeting was held at the home of Joseph Smith, and Kimball again addressed the group. A week later the meeting was held above Smith's store, and the Prophet expressed satisfaction with the group and with what Kimball had done, and said he hoped Kimball would continue his meetings and that the young people would follow his teaching. Accordingly a committee was appointed to draft a constitution which was unanimously adopted and officers elected on 21 March.53

At the conference of 6 April 1843, Kimball was appointed to go on a mission to the Eastern states to preach the gospel, collect tithing, and dispose of stock in the Nauvoo House Association. He left Nauvoo on 10 June 1843 on this seventh mission and noted in his journal, "This day I left my home at Nauvoo in company with my wife and fore of my children, Sister Noon and Sister Billing. On the 11th Preached at Lima. On the 12th reached Quincy. I had a preshus time with my

---

52 *Times and Seasons*, 1 April 1843.
53 This constitution is printed in *Times and Seasons*, 7 April 1843.
dear wife." Apparently the first part of this trip was turned into a small family vacation. He arrived back in Nauvoo four months later on 23 October and turned what monies he had over to Joseph.

Kimball now had another seven months at home before being called on his eighth and last mission. Concerning that period he said, "I remained in Nauvoo all winter enjoying the teachings of the Prophet, attending councils, prayer meetings . . . preaching in Nauvoo and Branches round about, and doing all I could to strengthen the hands of the First Presidency."

Since January 1844, Joseph and others had been considering whether to support Martin Van Buren or Henry Clay for president of the United States. Both had refused to do anything to help the Mormons. Out of this dilemma came a proposal to establish an independent electoral ticket and nominate Joseph Smith as a candidate for the election of 1844. This was done at the April conference and on 17 May a convention was held in Nauvoo at which Kimball and 343 other elders were appointed to go through the states and present the name of Joseph Smith and his views on the powers and policies of government in the United States.

In May Kimball left with Brigham Young and others to campaign for Joseph Smith for President of the United States and to petition in Washington, D. C. for redress of Missouri's wrongs. Helen, William, and Vilate accompanied Heber to the steamer, Osprey, and it was understood that Vilate would later meet Heber in Philadelphia and that Helen would come too, if possible.

While Kimball was away on this mission Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were assassinated at Carthage on 27 June. Heber first learned of the tragic news on 9 July while in Salem, Massachusetts. His journal records:

9 Tuesday we took cares fore Boston at half past eight. Reached [there] at 10 att night. Left quarter before five fore New York, got there at 7 in the morning of the 10. Elder White left fore Phellidelphia at 9 in the morning and I left at 2 in the after. in company with Br. Wm. Smith. The papers ware full of News of the death of our Prophet. I was

Kimball Journal, no. 91, 10 June 1843.
not willing to believe it. For it was too much to bear. The first news of his death was on Tuesday Morning in Salum, of the 9. It struck me at the heart. We got to Phel . . . at half past 11 at Night.  

NAUVOO AFTER THE MARTYRDOM

From that city he, along with Elders Young, Pratt, Woodruff, and Wright, started for Nauvoo, arriving 6 August. There they found Sidney Rigdon, who, with Joseph and Hyrum dead, was the only surviving member of the First Presidency. Rigdon, who had had a falling out with Joseph in 1838, had been living in Pittsburgh for several years. As soon as he learned of Joseph and Hyrum’s death, he hurried to Nauvoo to claim leadership and to present himself as a “guardian” of the Church. He wanted to act immediately, before the Quorum of the Twelve could be convened and prevailed upon William Marks, President of the Nauvoo Stake, to call a meeting. This was opposed by the four apostles who were in Nauvoo—John Taylor, George A. Smith, Parley P. Pratt, and Willard Richards. No formal meeting was held until 7 August. On that day, in a special meeting in the Seventies Hall, Rigdon presented his claims before the Quorum of the Twelve, the Nauvoo Stake High Council, the President of the Stake, and the High Priests. No action was taken, and on the following morning a general conference was convened in the grove to give Rigdon the opportunity of laying his claims before the whole Church. Rigdon based his argument on the facts that he was the only living member of the First Presidency and that in 1833 he had been appointed and ordained as spokesman to Joseph Smith.  

That afternoon Brigham Young addressed the gathering, answering Rigdon by saying that his spokespersonship ended with the death of Joseph and that all of Joseph’s keys and powers at his death devolved upon the Quorum of the Twelve. While he was speaking the famous “transfiguration” took place. Helen’s later version is as follows:

57Kimball Journal, no. 92, 9 July 1844. Kimball and Young arrived in Nauvoo too late for the funeral of the Prophet, but later they, and others, received walking canes made from the rough oak boxes in which the bodies of the dead brothers were transported from Carthage. Descendants of two of Kimball’s sons, Abraham Alonzo and David Patten, claim to have this cane. Abraham Alonzo’s descendents have much the stronger claim.
58See Doctrine and Covenants 100:9.
I can bear witness, with hundreds of others who stood that day under the sound of Brigham’s voice, of the wonder-
ful and startling effect that it had upon us. If Joseph had risen from the dead and stood before them, it could hardly have made a deeper or more lasting impression. It was the very voice of Joseph himself. This was repeatedly spoken of by the Latter-day Saints. And surely it was a most power-
ful and convincing testimony to them that he was the man, instead of Sidney Rigdon, that was destined to become the “great leader” and upon whose shoulders the mantle of Jo-
seph Smith had fallen.\(^{59}\)

Most accounts of this “transfiguration” were written long after the event, but there is at least one contemporary account which alludes somewhat to this occurrence. In one letter dated 15 November 1844 we read, “Brigham Young is president of the twelve and stands as prophet, Seer, and revelator to the Church, he is an excellent man, and favors Br. Joseph both in person, and manner of speaking, more than any person ever you saw. . . .”\(^{60}\)

After both presentations the congregation sustained the Twelve as the presiding authority with Brigham Young as President of the Twelve.

Although Heber did not know it, he had been on his last mission. Thereafter, he became an administrator and colonizer; a new phase in his life commenced. Up to Joseph Smith’s death all of the apostles had been equal, and seniority had not been of much import. Thereafter it became increasingly significant. Young, for example, assumed leadership and exercised it from August 1844 until December 1847 solely on the basis of his position as the senior member of the Council of the Twelve. (In December 1847, he became de jure president of the Church.) And Kimball, partly because he was next in seniority became and remained until his death twenty-four years later, the second ranking leader in the Church and counselor to Brig-
ham Young.

For nineteen months the new leadership strove mightily to move ahead with Joseph’s ideas. Perhaps to symbolize this, at the April conference, 1845, the name of Nauvoo was


\(^{60}\)Henry and Catherine Brooke, Lima, Ill., to Leonard and Mary Pickel, Nauvoo, Ill., 15 November 1844, Leonard Pickel Letters, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (From the microfilm copy at Southern Illinois University.)
changed to the City of Joseph. During this period Kimball was especially busy preaching, administering, building a home, reading and writing history, tending to family affairs, looking after the sick, building the temple, negotiating with the anti-Mormon forces, preparing for an uncertain future, and trying to avoid writs and charges against him and other prominent Mormons—in short, building up Nauvoo and preparing to leave it at the same time. The United States and Canada were divided into ecclesiastical and mission districts presided over by High Priests, the Saints were called to gather to Nauvoo, baptism for the dead was recommenced (in the basement of the temple), and the Seventies Hall was completed.

The sources are obscure regarding how Kimball supported himself in Nauvoo. He had been working full time for the Church almost since his arrival in Kirtland in 1833. We know that his brick home in Nauvoo was built for him by the Church, or at least by its members. We also know, for example, that on 25 January 1845 Brigham Young gave him five pounds sterling ($25.00)⁶¹ and that he occasionally received money and provisions from the Church. There is evidence that he did some work as a potter in Nauvoo. He records, for example, on 6 February 1845, "I was to work on my wheel with others in the pottery."⁶² From comments in his correspondence with Vilate, and a few other sources, it is clear that Kimball also bought and sold some building sites in Nauvoo from which he may have derived some income. Apparently he supported himself as best he could and the Church made up the rest of his needs out of its general funds.

Special attention was devoted to the temple, the "Million Dollar Sacrifice." The site and the cornerstone had been dedicated 6 April 1841, and when it was finished and dedicated five years later, Joseph was dead, the city of Nauvoo partially deserted, and Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were leading the advance company of exiles across Iowa.

The "History of the Church" which had been appearing seriatim in most of the ninety-five issues of the Times and

⁶¹The circulation of the pound sterling in Nauvoo requires some comment. Between the Jackson and Lincoln administrations, there was no national banking system and no national currency. All kinds of private banks (such as the Kirtland Safety Society) issued paper money. At this time foreign currency also circulated freely. The famous "greenbacks" were introduced by Lincoln.

⁶²Kimball Journal, no. 91, 6 February 1845.
Seasons published prior to the death of Joseph Smith, was changed to the "History of Joseph Smith" and written and published more rapidly. At the death of Joseph the history had reached December 1831, but by the time the Times and Seasons ceased publication some thirty-five issues later on 15 February 1846, the published history was complete to 11 August 1834.

Mormons have always taken the writing of their own history seriously. For years Joseph Smith kept one or more clerks busy collecting and compiling records, but due to the unsettled conditions of his life little written history had been produced. After Willard Richards was appointed Church Historian in July 1843, however, he tried to bring order out of ten years of chaos and found many records lost or stolen. It was his work that was published in the Times and Seasons. After the Prophet's death, Richards, to fill in the gaps in the record, would compile an account of a certain period as well as he could from the records he inherited and then read it aloud to Kimball, Young, and others who would correct errors and add information. This is what Kimball was referring to when he frequently wrote in his journals that he had been "reading history." It was probably at this time that Kimball also compiled and dictated his personal history from his birth through November 1839. Kimball's zeal to write his own history may have prompted him in 1845 to study "phonography" (or phonetic shorthand writing) with George D. Watt—the first convert baptized in England. (Other than a few exercises written in his journal, there is no evidence that Kimball ever mastered or used the shorthand technique.)

Contrary to the expectation of the anti-Mormons, the Church did not break up and weaken after the death of Joseph Smith. Indeed, the people rallied around the new leaders and were advised to stay and build up Nauvoo. Economic self-sufficiency was urged and industrial growth fostered by creating a trades' union and organizing light industries to improve the material welfare of the people. At the April 1845 conference, for example, Kimball advised the Saints to cultivate

our own corn, peas, and beans . . . and every other thing that is for our comfort . . . make our own cloth . . . and every other thing we need for our own comfort . . . we want to

63Now known as Heber C. Kimball Journal, no. 94b and c.
see every lot in the city of Joseph fenced up and cultivated, and let every street that is not used, be fenced up, and planted . . . we want to finish the Temple . . . and Nauvoo House . . . every man and woman [is counseled] to stay in this county. . . .

Never impractical or unrealistic, Kimball portentously advised all “to bring their firelocks, and learn to use them, and keep them well cleaned and loaded, and primed, so that they will go off with the first shot. . . .” In June 1845 Kimball wrote the following about building the temple:

God is favoring us day by day; and leading our enemies as a horse is led by the reins. For what purpose? In order that he may carry on his work, and erect that building. I presume that the servants of God, for the sake of having that accomplished, would go into the wilderness in this case and wear sheep skins and goat skins for their apparel and live upon bread and water, for the sake of having that building built. . . . Let us go to work and build this house. Roll out your rusty dollars, and your rusty coppers, and let us rush on this house as fast as possible. When you gent [get] it done you will have joy and gladness, and greater shouting, than we had when the cap stone [of the Kirtland Temple] was laid. We will make this city ring with hosannas to the Most High God. This is only a little way ahead, and shall we not put the best foot foremost? Yes; and when we sleep let us sleep with one leg out of bed, and one eye open. Let us beware of those fellows, that do not like us very well. At this time a few of them do not like to dwell in our midst; they are afraid of the boys. Well, we will have no more whittling at present; let the boys go to school and attend to their own business. You can see how fast that house is going up. You will see an addition to it all the time until the last shingle goes on. We will have our next conference in it. I feel to rejoice; my heart is glad, and I feel to praise the Lord all the time. I do not go out of doors, and look at that house, but the prayer of my heart is “O, Lord save this people, and help them to build thy house.”

So successful were the Mormons in carrying out the ideas of their dead Prophet that by September 1845 it was obvious the Church was not going to wither away as some had expected. Anti-Mormon activities therefore recommenced in earnest. Kimball’s journal records many attempts at negotiating with the mobs. An agreement was eventually reached with the

64 *Times and Seasons*, 15 July 1845.
65 Ibid. 1 August 1845.
Anti-Mormon Convention headquartered in Carthage that the Mormons would quit the State of Illinois during the spring and until then peace would be maintained on both sides. Compelled to accept these terms the Mormons made every effort to meet this deadline. Every home including Kimball’s became a workshop in preparation for the exodus. Anti-Mormon fanatics, however, did not keep the peace and harassment continued, forcing the leaders—including Kimball—into hiding occasionally.

The theme of the October conference was optimistic, preparatory, explanatory, and, of course, hortatory. Kimball said,

I am glad the time of our Exodus is come . . . and although we leave all our fine houses and farms here, how long do you think it will be before we shall be better off than we are now? . . . I will prophecy in the name of Heber C. Kimball, that in five years, we will be as well again off as we are now.66

Following the conference, top priority was given to finishing the temple. On 2 December 1845 Heber records, for example, how he and his son William drove around Nauvoo picking up twenty-five or thirty potted evergreens for the Garden (of Eden) Room.67 On 5 December the temple veil was hung and endowments commenced. Thereafter through at least 7 February 1846 thousands received their endowments with as many as 295 going through in a single day. So great were the desires of the people to secure their endowments before the exodus that during this sixty-day period Kimball, Young, and others sometimes worked in the temple all night, consuming what little strength they had left. Kimball seems to have slowly assumed general charge of temple work. One of his journals (no. 93) became an official temple record, his room in the temple became an office, and he, himself, often officiated at the veil and took various parts in the ceremony. (In Utah, he was officially in charge of all temple work until his death in 1868.)

On top of all this public activity, Heber still had the private concerns of his family which continued to grow. Vilate gave birth to Brigham Willard on 29 January 1845. By the time Kimball left Nauvoo he had eight living children (three others

66Ibid., 1 November 1845.
67Kimball Journal, no. 93, 2 December 1845.
had died) by three wives, and three other wives were pregnant. In 1843 Heber had added a brick addition to his log home on the flats. During the summer and fall of 1845, as noted above, the old log portion was razed and replaced by a two-story brick structure. This renovation was finished 12 November 1845, and was the first adequate home the Kimballs had had in the twelve years since they left Mendon, New York. They were to enjoy the comforts of this home only four months and five days and then spend another six years in tents, wagon boxes, and log cabins before Vilate would have another comfortable home.

Helen later recorded a good description of this Nauvoo home. It contained

a parlor, two bedrooms and a clothes-press to each, with hall. The largest room, with exception of the parlor, was mine, with two large windows, one opened to the south and the other east, towards the Temple. The rooms in the basement were very similar. The hall passed east and west, front door opening towards the river, and over was a large stone on which my father had his name [initials] engraved. This was the first nice house that he had been able to build us, his time having been previously engaged in the Father's vineyard. . .

She adds a couple of little human interest stories regarding their life at that time. In spite of the pressures and responsibilities placed on Kimball and Young, they took time to worry over piano lessons for their daughters. Helen had no piano at home to practice on, but,

President Brigham Young had a small piano and invited me to come to his house and practice with his daughter Vilate, who though younger than myself, had had previous advantages, but was rather indifferent, and he thought if I practiced with her, she would take a greater interest. Their piano stood in Sister Young's room, and her health being very poor, he proposed to have it brought to our house when the upper part was done. This pleased us both immensely. I never became weary of practicing until after I heard it was decided that we were to be broken up and move to the Rocky Mountains. Though the piano remained there throughout the winter I felt no encouragement to continue taking lessons, though father tried to stimulate me to go, and said, to encourage me, that they should have the necessary materials

---

taken to manufacture pianos and I should have one, but I knew that I would forget it all; and we little thought of its being so long before we got to our destination. 69

During the short time Vilate was in her new home she tried to do a little socializing, and one evening in October 1845 the Kimballs invited some friends to their home during which time "several pieces were played on the piano by Sister Pitchforth after which we assembled at John Taylor's for prayers." 70 The Kimballs also sat for portraits by a Brother Major, from England, who commenced in the summer of 1845 to paint our family group. It was upon a large canvas, tastefully arranged,—my father and mother sitting with baby in the center,—myself at her side and my brother William with his wife and little daughter on the left, and four younger brothers made up the family group . . . one of the same size, with President B. Young and family was begun at the same time. . . 71

The year 1845 ended with Kimball and Young examining maps and reading various travel accounts of the West in preparation for the western exodus. Among the works they read were John C. Fremont's Report on the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44 (1845), and Lansford W. Hastings' The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California (1845).

The year 1846 commenced badly—leading to a hectic effort to vacate Nauvoo before Kimball, Young, and others were arrested on various charges or before mobs forced them out by fire and sword. Church trustees were appointed to sell Church and private property. Brigham's brother, Joseph Young, was appointed to preside over those who could not leave at that time, and the first crossing of the Mississippi commenced on 1 February. A temporary camp and staging ground was established west of Montrose on Sugar Creek about seven miles from the river.

Kimball crossed the Mississippi on a flatboat on 4 February and joined the temporary camp at Sugar Creek. By the time the camp was moved out on 1 March, Kimball had about

69 Ibid.
70Kimball Journal, no. 91, October 1845.
twenty-eight members of his large family with him—twelve wives (including Vilate, Sarah Ann Whitney [who was pregnant], Ellen and Harriet Sanders, Sarah Lawrence, and Christeen Golden), four young sons (Heber, David, Charles, and Brigham), six adopted sons, as well as Helen Mar and her husband, and William with his wife and child. Among his wives temporarily left behind were Sarah Noon with a seven-month old infant, Lucy Walker with a one-month old baby, the sisters Clarissa and Emilie Cutler, and Francis G. Swan, who were all pregnant, and Amanda Gheen and Presendia Huntington. Kimball and his family were starting a new adventure.

Kimball’s devotion to the Restoration during the Nauvoo period is typical of his dedication from his acceptance of the gospel in 1833 through his death in 1868. It is hard to argue with what one of his fathers-in-law once said of him: "I believe that there is no man in the whole circle of my acquaint-ance, that intends to do better and work righteousness more than Bro. Kimball, nor one that comes nearer to the point in so doing."72

Nauvoo's Whistling and Whittling Brigade

Thurmon Dean Moody*

After the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith on 27 June 1844, anti-Mormon violence subsided briefly as the mob element awaited the expected demise of the Church. When the Church did not fall, persecution resumed, officially taking the form of the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter. The Charter, approved by the Illinois Legislature in December 1840, provided the citizens of Nauvoo with, among other things, the right to regulate their own police protection and to punish lawbreakers:

Sec. 13 - The City Council shall have exclusive power within the city, by ordinance to license, regulate and restrain the keeping of ferries; to regulate the police of the city, to impose fines, forfeitures and penalties for the breach of any ordinance. . . .

Sec. 27 - The City Council shall have power to provide for the punishment of offenders, by imprisonment in the county or city jail, in all cases when such offenders shall fail to pay the fines and forfeitures which may be recovered against them.2

These provisions allowed the Mormons to protect themselves until the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter in January 1845, which left the city without a legal civil government, and police protection. Two representatives to the Illinois Legislature, Jacob B. Backenstos and A. W. Babbitt, alluded to this situation in speeches made before the Illinois House of Representatives in January 1845. Backenstos said:

*Thurmon Dean Moody received his B.A. degree from Brigham Young University in 1974, and currently teaches high school in Delta, Utah.


2Ibid., pp. 354-56.

Mr. Speaker, one very important reason in my mind why we should not repeal the city charter of Nauvoo is, that you strip the largest and most populous city in this State of all her police regulations. Why not amend the charter in all its objectionable features? Why not leave them power sufficient to maintain an efficient city organization?4

Babbitt is reported to have added:

Repeal the Charter of Nauvoo, prescribe her citizens by your public acts, and [you will] tolerate and encourage the demon of mob violence that surrounds this people, and is waiting to feast upon their destruction. . . .5

Despite these pleas, the Charter was repealed and the citizens of Nauvoo were faced with the consequences.

In the ensuing months, the Mormons claimed that certain disreputable characters were indeed taking advantage of the situation. In his diary, William B. Pace wrote:

In the meantime the mob element exercised such an influence on the Governor and Legislature that they repealed the city Charter of Nauvoo, and left us without any city Government, or any means of controlling the rougher element, hence the town was soon over-run with all manner of ruffians from the mob camp around about.6

Wandle Mace gives us the following:

. . . They tried every means they could devise to bring trouble upon Nauvoo, frequently a party would land from a steamboat and come into the city, commit their deviltry, and return to the boat and leave again, well knowing we had no law to protect us since the city charter was taken away.7

Facing this uneasy state of affairs, the ecclesiastical leaders felt compelled to find some means of maintaining discipline in the city streets. Not wanting to resort to extra-legal activities and being aware that their priesthood authority did not apply to any but their own people, they sought an alternative solution. If some plan were not found, they would either have to

5Wandle Mace, Journal, 1809-1890, p. 170, typescript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
6William B. Pace, Diary of William B. Pace and Biography of His Father, James Pace, p. 7, typescript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library.
7Mace Journal, p. 186.
live with the consequences or resort to their own mob rule—where power prevailed but trouble ensued.

THE LIFE OF THE WHISTLING AND WHITTLING BRIGADE

On 30 January 1845 a "General Council of the Authorities of the City and Church" met to decide how best to react to the repeal of the Charter. They first considered regaining the Charter by appealing the case to the Supreme Court. And if that failed, they proposed to obtain a tract of land and set up a "Territorial Government." Neither of these proposals was ever carried out.

On Sunday, 16 March 1845, Brigham Young called a meeting for the next evening to initiate a plan which he hoped would resolve the undesirable predicament in which the Mormons found themselves. He hinted at an ecclesiastical plan of action as he said:

Tomorrow evening we want the bishops at the Masonic Hall, and we will organize them according to our notion of things. We have no police; the legislature has repealed our charter, and we mean to have the "City of Joseph" organized. The streets shall be kept clear; and the poor cared for.

The plan which was settled upon at this meeting was one which was apparently conceived three days earlier by Hosea Stout—formerly Chief of Police under the Charter—and the "New Police." Stout's journal records:

March 14, Friday—Wrote at home till ten o'clock; went down in town, met with Major Bills—had some conversation [conversation] about military matters. At One o'clock went to a meeting of the New Police under Col. Markham at the Masonic Hall—they were organizing into companies of ten with a Captain at the head of each company; but after

9See Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 7:394. Hereafter cited as HC.
10HC 7:386-87.
11The Church did have the police continue to meet, mostly as a guard for the temple, which was being constructed at the time. They did not function as the "old police" had under the Charter; hence the term "new police." They were more an ecclesiastically controlled guard, receiving little if any pay for their services.
12Markham was a colonel in the Nauvoo Legion, not in the United States military.
some discussion it was concluded to organize the whole community of Saints in this County into Quorums of 12 Deacons and have a Bishop at their head, and they could thus administer in the Lesser offices of the Church and preserve order without a Charter, as the Legislature had taken away our Charter and deprived us of our Republican rights. . . .

Although it appears that the New Police conceived this plan, Brigham Young proclaimed it as official Mormon practice at the 17 March meeting.

Various accounts of this new organization differ in some respects, such as how many were organized into each company; yet there was total agreement that the purpose of the organization was two-fold: (1) "to take care of the poor," and (2) "to guard the city at night, to keep everything straight." Some of the accounts of this system read as follows:

. . . Mon. 24 [March] The Nauvoo City Charter having been repealed by the State Legislature, the citizens of Nauvoo were organized into a body known as Bishops and Deacons, in which organization I was appointed Bishop [he was 26 years old at the time]. Mon. 31. My quorum of Deacons were on duty tonight for the first time.

About this time a meeting was called in the Masonic Hall for the purpose Brother Brigham said to organize for they have taken away our charter and we must resort to something. We must organize 12 men into a company with a bishop at their head and see if we cannot take care of the poor as they may come here from Warsaw and Carthage.

This was my first real public service, at the age of fourteen and a half years; being large of stature and well equipped, I did my full share of duty for five days and nights. After this I did perform guard duty at nights all winter about the streets of Nauvoo.

The bishops assisted by the deacons policed the city following the repeal of the Charter in December 1844. On each corner was a man from twelve to twenty years of age who

---

13Stout Diary, p. 34.
14M. R. Hovey, compiler, Biography of Joseph Grafton Hovey, p. 29, typescript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library.
15David Moore, Compiled Writings of David Moore, p. 29, typescript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library.
16This date is one week later than that given in other accounts of the meeting, but it is undoubtedly the same meeting.
18Hovey, Biography, p. 29.
watched all movements from sunset to dawn and reported any suspicious activity to the bishop, who promptly consulted the leaders and the Nauvoo Legion officials.20

... The authorities organized the entire city into districts and appointed an officer over every ten men. They were called Bishops and Deacons and had to guard the city at night, to keep every thing straight. This organization was kept up during the summer. I was appointed one of the bishops [also at age 26] and as I had a very large district assigned to me, I was allowed 13 men and we had to keep watch over the north part of the city one night each week, including the steamboat landing. Our weapons was a large hickory cane and a toothpick [a huge knife] the object of the knife to whittle Rascals out of town.21

As indicated in the last account, the deacons did have weapons. In her master’s thesis, Reta Halford supports David Moore’s account that the organization of bishops and deacons was indeed the source of the Whistling and Whittling Brigade:

To the deacons was delegated the obligation to “attend to all things needful and especially the watch.” Organized as Whistling and Whittling Brigades they patrolled the city.22

Paul D. Bailey gives a more detailed account:

The City of Joseph’s elders ingeniously met the increasing flood of Gentile undesirables by organizing the boy population into a “Whistling and Whittling Brigade.” Suspicious strangers immediately would be surrounded by groups of boys, armed with long-bladed jack-knives and sticks. Whichever way the suspect moved, the boys followed; whistling and whittling as they went. Not a question would they ask, not a question would they answer. They were too small to strike individually; too many to battle collectively. When they descended on a hapless stranger, they hugged his presence like vermin, until in exasperation he was glad to take hasty leave from the abode of the Saints.23

From these sketches it appears that with the birth of the bishop and deacon organization the Whistling and Whittling Brigade also came into existence. There is some question, how-

21Moore, Compiled Writings, p. 29.
22Halford, “Nauvoo,” p. 316.
ever, as to whether the idea for the brigade first originated with the Nauvoo bishop-deacon organization. One reference suggests that the brigade had been employed earlier in the Saints’ history to protect Joseph Smith, as Mosiah Hancock reports:

I joined the whistling and whittling band. In those days there was, now and then, a fop or dude who would go to a man’s shingle pile, and with his hat or cap cocked on one side, would sit and whittle and whistle. There was no law against that, but from what we could learn some of them were interested in taking the life of the Prophet. We kept a good watch, and were directed to keep an eye on the “Black Ducks.” We really tried to do our duty and we succeeded in bagging some game. I was about to give some instances, but forbear by saying, “In no case did I ever help to engage in whittling any one down to make them cross the great river unless they were known to be lurking around the Prophet’s premises quite late or to be seeking that which was none of their business.”

Hancock’s journal was written from memory many years after the events which he describes, and it is possible that he confused informal attempts to protect the Prophet before 1845 with the more highly organized Whistling and Whittling Brigade of a later time. A reading of an estimated eighty journals and diaries failed to offer any evidence of an organized band before 1845. A passage from John L. Smith’s journal may shed some further light on this problem:

Joseph [Smith] often visited us here, as officers were seeking to kidnap and take him to Missouri. He used to calle and say, “[Johnnie, now watch and if any strangers come, you whistle to me so I can slip into the cornfield. . .]."

While Johnnie Smith’s job was apparently not part of an organized effort, such random activities may have given others the idea of “clearing the streets” with the same methods.

Descriptions of the activities and organization of the brigade vary. Some accounts characterize the “whittlers” as being older. John D. Lee, for instance, described the brigade implying that he could have fit easily into its ranks when he was thirty-three years old, although he insists he “never took part

---

in such low, dirty doings." Wandle Mace records that the brigade was formed from the membership of the old police force rather than the deacons:

... our families were exposed to the rascals who on finding them unprotected by husbands and fathers would insult and abuse them, in consequence of such things the old police formed themselves into "Whittling" companies, and guarded the city from the rascals in this wise. When a stranger came into the city they would learn if they were upon legitimate business, if so they did not interfere with them, but if they had no legitimate business, they were then under the servellane of the Whittlers who would floom [follow] wherever they went, whittling and whistling, they did not molest them in any way, not even talking to them but simply follow them, whittling and whistling as the went...  

Ephraim S. Green, one of those ousted from Nauvoo by the Whittlers, reported via a Thomas Sharp article in the Warsaw Signal that the brigade was composed of older men:

Mr. Sharp: - The last case of Whittling and Whistling a man out of the Holy City, came off yesterday evening. ... Mr. Green having some business that called him to Nauvoo, was engaged transacting the same in the house of Edson Whipple, when a loud knock was heard at the door. ... 

Mrs. Whipple shut the door and returned into the room where Mr. Green was engaged writing. The mob crowded around the door and windows, making the most discordant and hideous noises. At this stage in the proceedings Mr. Whipple was seen approaching the house. The ring-leader held a conversation with him, he appeared considerably agitated and upon going into the house told Mr. Green that he had better leave, as the mob was determined he should not stay. Mr. G. replied that if they wished it he would certainly go to save them from trouble; but previous to going would like to speak to Col. Markham, who appeared to be one of the principal leaders of the mob. ... Having hastily made the necessary preparation he started to leave the City, followed by the mob, yelling, haloing, whittling, whistling to the great amusement of all the boys and dogs in town.

Other accounts point to the involvement of younger boys. William B. Pace wrote in his diary: "As we had not authority

---

27 Mace Diary, pp. 186-87.
28 Warsaw Signal, 23 April 1845, p. 2.
to arrest or protect the town, the boys resorted to whistling!" 

Hosea Stout also reports a younger age as he wrote of using his police authority in trying to stop the boys:

April 27th. Sunday - I went with my wife to meeting at the Stand, Elders Babbitt and Taylor preached. Old Father Cowles, one of Law's apostates was there; a company of boys assembled to whistle him out of town, but I prevented them. I came home, and in the evening went to Police, on my way was informed that the "old man" had been whistled out immediately after meeting.

Historical works which refer to the Whistling and Whittling Brigade describe the participants as "boys," "whittling boys," "small boys," and "whittling-whistling boys."

The plan of the Whistling and Whittling Brigade, as viewed thus far, seems to indicate a strategy of escorting undesirables, apostates, and "unfriendlies" out of town. The brigade employed both harassment and "scare tactics," as William B. Pace indicated in this vivid picture of their activities:

. . . Every boy generally could whistle and most of them had knives from ten to fourteen inches long, in scabbards, "a-la-bouy", and when any of these fellows became boisterous, or showed any signs of meddling the boy discovered would draw his knife and commence whittling and whistling soon a crowd of his pals gathered, then they would surround the obnoxious element, be he large or small, many or few, and whistle and whittle in his direction and stick by him until he was out of town . . .

This was rather an amusing process not a word was said but an unearthly whistle (and generally everyone had his own favorite tune) and an incessant whittling with those large knives was enough to strike terror to the hearts of the victims and he got out of town as quick as his legs could carry him.

In the 9 April 1845 issue of the Warsaw Signal we have recorded a rather graphic picture of the activities of the Whist-

---

29Pace Diary, p. 7.
30Stout Diary, p. 49.
32Pace Diary, pp. 7-8.
ling and Whittling Brigade which sums up the effects and the effectiveness of the group on undesirable outsiders.

On Sunday, 6 April 1845, Dr. John F. Charles of Warsaw came to the Mormon general conference in Nauvoo and was suspected of being an enemy to the Church. O. B. Huntington called him "a real Mormon eater," and Hosea Stout claimed that he was "taking notes for the 'WARSAW SIGNAL'" and "pretended to be our friend but in reality he was a secret enemy lurking in our midst." He was suspected of being there "that the Conference should be broke up" and he was charged with that offense by a "ruffian" who "told him that he was suspected for a spy—that they expected a mob was about to break up the conference and that he must leave the city." When he didn't respond to this invitation by the next forenoon, he was set upon by "a gang of ruffians, with bowie knives and dirks in their hands whittling sticks, whistling in chorus, and crying out 'Carthage' and 'Warsaw' and using taunting and insulting language, evidently for his annoyance." Dr. Charles felt himself abused and "having found his way to the stand, where the leaders were sitting," Dr. Charles "abruptly demanded to know if this people tolerated such things. Of which President Young satisfied him that they did not." This appeased Dr. Charles and he "hoped he would be no further annoyed." Soon afterwards, he was again accosted by "the same escort of ruffians, . . . with their taunts and insults as before." He quickly returned to make bitter complaints to President Young who is reported to have "quietly replied in the words of Martin Van-Buren when President of the United States,—to Joseph Smith. 'Gentlemen your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you, the legislature has taken away our city charter, we have no laws, nor power to protect you.' " Brigham Young then called Hosea Stout, and, in Stout's words, "requested me to protect him from further insults, and ferret out the names of the

32 Oliver B. Huntington, Diary, p. 566, typescript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library.
34 Stout Diary, pp. 44, 43.
35 Warsaw Signal, 9 April 1845, p. 2.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Stout Diary, p. 44.
39 Warsaw Signal, 9 April 1845, p. 2.
40 Mace Diary, p. 187.
boys who insulted him. I conducted him to the Mansion House. . . .”

Of this incident Dr. Charles said: “An officer appeared and told the scamps to desist. They said they were only whis-

ting and they had a right to whistle.” Dr. Charles maintained

that Brigham Young was later “compelled, either to acknow-

ledge his agency in the matter, or to stop further annoyance;

he, therefore, sent four officers to escort Dr. C. and protect him

from being insulted.” The Warsaw Signal, which had carried

Dr. Charles’ report, finished its article by saying:

Brigham Young and the Mormon leaders were at the

bottom of the whole proceeding against Dr. C.; but the cool

and determined conduct of the latter, forced them to dis-

claim it. Had the ruffians believed Brigham Young sin-

cere in his rebuke, they would not afterwards have dared to

annoy him.  

One week after Dr. Charles’ report appeared in the Warsaw

Signal, John Taylor, editor of the Nauvoo Neighbor, answered

the Signal’s charge that Brigham Young and other Mormon

leaders had sanctioned these proceedings:

Only one complaint came before the conference, and

that was, from the honorable Dr. Charles of Warsaw. It how-

ever, was not chargable upon the conference. Some full

grown boys, the leader probably from the State of Iowa,

knowing there was no charter in Nauvoo, and knowing also,

that there was no statute in Illinois, to suppress whittling and

whistling, annoyed the doctor’s patience by this new ex-

hibition of mental and physical recreation.

Such a novel school would have been attended to, in-

stanter, but as Van Buren said, “though your cause is ever

so just, we can do nothing for you; we have no power;”

the legislature has “repealed our charter!”

A gentleman however, went and [politely] saw the doc-

tor beyond the harm of whistling whittling.

Because of the differing accounts, it is difficult to clarify

exactly where the brigade stood in relation to the official

Church organization. On 14 April 1845, during the height of

the brigade encounter, Brigham Young mentioned that,

41Stout Diary, p. 44.
42Warsaw Signal, 9 April 1845, p. 2.
43Ibid.
44The Nauvoo Neighbor, 16 April 1845, p. 2.
45Huntington Diary, p. 566; see also Pace Diary, pp. 7-8.
The deacons have become very efficient looking after the welfare of the saints; every part of the city is watched with the strictest care, and whatever time of night the streets are traveled at the corner of every block a deacon is found attending his duty.46

However, no mention of his direct and open endorsement of the "whistling" organization has been discovered. Brigham Young's actions often seemed to condone the brigade, but, as the Dr. Charles incident made clear, he publicly implied that he was opposed to the brigade's treatment of the doctor. Obviously Brigham Young did support the bishop-deacon method of "watching and guarding" Nauvoo, but it was not as apparent that he was supportive of what appears to be its offshoot, the Whistling and Whittling Brigade.

CONCLUSION

History has recorded that there was indeed a Whistling and Whittling Brigade. The effects of the brigade's actions were more complex than met the eyes of the participants, the supporters, the enemies, and the victims. A struggle was taking place over what the Mormons saw as an encroachment upon their peace and what their opponents saw as a peculiar religion infringing on their rights of citizenship. The Whistling Brigade played a very active role in the contentions on both sides and became a bit of propaganda for the anti-Mormons.47

The brigade was a new experience in an attempt to achieve a coexistence that proved to be unattainable. In writing of the success of the Whistling and Whittling Brigade during its short lifespan, William B. Pace reflected the opinions expressed by many involved with the organization:

This lasted but a few weeks when it became apparent that to "go into Nauvoo men must mind their own business and not meddle with the people" or they would get whistled out.48

However successful the brigade was in keeping the peace in the short run, it could not handle the violent mobs that were to come, and the Mormons were forced to evacuate Nauvoo the following spring.

46HC 7:399.
47Warsaw Signal, 9 April 1845, p. 2.
48Pace Diary, pp. 7-8.
A Wall to Defend Zion: The Nauvoo Charter

James L. Kimball, Jr.*

It is apparent that from the inception of the Nauvoo Stake in October 1839, the Saints considered its officers tantamount to the recognized government of the area. Not only did the High Council pass resolutions regarding ferry usages, but set standards and procedures for the cost and sale of town lots in Nauvoo (subject to the First Presidency’s approval), and contracted to erect a stone school house in the city. The High Council supervised the work of poor relief in the area and approved the establishment of economic enterprises, such as the erection of a water mill by N. K. Whitney.¹

The Kingdom of God, however, was instructed to function within the existing society and governmental structures and not apart from them, therefore making the creation of a legal government at Nauvoo a vital link in the fulfillment of the Church’s goals.

Pursuant to this purpose, the High Council decided as early as December 1839 to send a petition to the Illinois State Legislature, to define new boundaries of Nauvoo and of Commerce and to “do all other needful acts relative to those cities.”² This presumably meant a town charter. The journals of the Senate and House for the legislative year beginning 9

---

*James L. Kimball, Jr., is area director of the Department of Seminaries and Institutes, Pacific Northwest Division.

¹Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1948), 4:16-18, 46, 76. Hereafter cited as *HC*. Further indication that the High Council governed the area can be found under date of 22 September 1844 when that body passed a resolution “to transfer all debts and temporal business, and that all business of a temporal nature be . . . in readiness to be transferred to the proper [city] authorities . . . [because] the proper authorities to which temporalities belong are now organized and acting in their proper places.” *HC* 4:417.

²*HC* 4:39.
December 1839, and ending 1 February 1840, however, do not reveal any such petition coming to the floor of either branch of the General Assembly. Whatever happened to circumvent it—whether the Illinois lawmakers did not glimpse the potential of the immigrants to their state, or were yet reluctant to commit themselves on a party basis to a question not yet fully explored—this initial attempt to secure a charter did not prove successful.\textsuperscript{3}

As the Tenth Semi-Annual Conference of the Church convened in Nauvoo on Saturday, 3 October 1840, every prospect for peace and stability seemed assured. The issue of a corporate city government came to the fore during the morning session of the second day of the conference, when that body appointed a committee to draft a bill for the incorporation of the City of Nauvoo, and named as members of the committee Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett, and Robert B. Thompson. Another resolution authorized Bennett to superintend the bill through the legislature. After one hour’s recess the conference resumed and, following a theological discourse by the Prophet, Bennett reported to the conference the “outlines” of a charter.

The speed with which the committee worked strongly suggests a prior agreement as to the contents of the document. How much detail Bennett presented to the congregation is unknown, but it is reasonable to assume that he told at least of the main features of the charter. It is also reasonable to assume that Joseph Smith and John C. Bennett were the individuals most responsible for its composition. Sometime between September, when Bennett arrived, and the commencement of the conference, these two men fashioned the charter into final form to be submitted to the state legislature.\textsuperscript{4}

The Illinois Twelfth General Assembly met at the governor’s proclamation on 23 November 1840. The forty senators met in the new capitol building, while the ninety representatives opened session in the Methodist Church. As the first item of business, John Moore, one of the chief spokesmen for the

\textsuperscript{3}Journal of the Senate of the Eleventh General Assembly of the State of Illinois (Springfield: George R. Weber, 1840); Journal of the House of Representatives of the Eleventh General Assembly of the State of Illinois (Springfield: George R. Weber, 1840); HC 4:56. It is not valid to assume, therefore, that a partisan attempt by both the Whigs and Democrats to court the Mormons was as strong in the beginning as it was subsequently.

\textsuperscript{4}HC 4:172, 178, 205-06. The substance of such offers is apparently lost, but speculation about their nature is full of enticement.
Democratic Party, introduced a bill to vacate the town plat of Livingston, which was read and ordered to a second reading. Moore then obtained leave to introduce as the second bill of the session "an act to incorporate the City of Nauvoo," which was also read and ordered to a second reading. On motion of Mr. William Richardson, Democrat from Schuyler County, the rules of the Senate were dispensed and the bill was read a second time by its title, whereupon the Senate, on motion of Sidney H. Little, Whig senator from McDonough and Hancock Counties, sent the bill to the judiciary committee.

Eight days later, on Saturday, 5 December, Adam W. Snyder, chairman of that committee, reported back the bill with an amendment to alter the boundaries of the city. The Senate concurred and the bill was engrossed for a third reading.

On 9 December, thirteen days after the introduction of the bill, the Nauvoo Charter appeared, together with two other bills in engrossed form, was read the third time (as were the other bills), and passed. Notwithstanding its passage, William J. Gatewood, of Gallatin County, moved an amendment (perhaps humorously) to the title of the bill so as to have it read, "A Bill for the Encouragement of the Importation of Mormons." Upon request, however, the proposal was withdrawn and the title of the bill remained unchanged.5

The progress of the Nauvoo Charter Bill through the House of Representatives was much more swift than in the Upper House. On 10 December Daniel Turney's motion to have the bill read twice by its title only before sending the document to the judiciary committee evoked no comment. By 12 December the committee reported the bill to the floor of the House without amendment. On a motion, the rules were suspended and the bill read the third time by its title and passed. Bennett states there were only fifteen nays, but as the vote was

---

5 This was the second time the Assembly met in Springfield, but the first time it was able to use the partially completed State House. The House of Representatives convened in the Methodist Church on 27 November, the day the Charter was introduced. The House asked the Senate to exchange rooms as the Church was too small. Manfred Thompson, *Illinois Whigs Before 1846* (Urbana: University of Illinois Graduate School, 1913), pp. 76-79; *Journal of the Senate of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Illinois* (Springfield: George R. Weber, 1840), pp. 9, 23, 45, 61. A newspaper, *The Springfield Courier*, published only during the duration of the legislature, is consistently more detailed regarding legislative affairs during this session than the official minutes. See especially the 28 November, 7 December, and 10 December 1840 issues.
probably *vive voce*, there is no official record of it in any legislative source.⁶

Three days later the Senate delivered the bill to the Council of Revision and it passed that body on 17 December to become effective 1 February 1841. Altogether the bill lay before the Senate thirteen days, the House six days, and the Council of Revision two days, making the total elapsed time twenty-one days. The bill was never read *en toto* before the House and only once before the Senate. However, many bills during the session were read by their titles only two times in either body, but in every case the complete bill in question received at least one reading in each legislative chamber. Therefore, the difference between the passage of the Nauvoo Charter Bill and others in the session was one of time and procedure but was not really abnormal in either case.⁷

To guide such a document through the legislature required a purposeful hand. Some historians have ascribed to Stephen A. Douglas and Sidney H. Little the responsibility for this management. That most of the men mentioned in the Senate and House journals were Democrats is understandable since it was a Democratically controlled legislature. The Democrats, as the most organized party in the state, were in a better position to help the Saints. Douglas, as one of the leading spirits in the party, would naturally be one of the key men in this effort. However, because detailed records regarding Douglas’ Illinois years do not appear to exist, the actual part he played in securing the Charter remains exasperatingly elusive.⁸

---


⁸Little represented Hancock and McDonough Counties (where large bodies of Mormons resided) in the Senate. Douglas had migrated from New York to Illinois in 1833. Besides practicing law, he became very active in organizing the newly forming Democratic Party, was State Representative from Morgan County, State Attorney, and Public Land Register. Although not serving in the Assembly at the introduction of the Nauvoo Charter, he was a key member of the Democratic State Central Committee. Three days after the introduction of the Charter Bill into the Senate, Douglas became Secretary of State, but this would not necessarily have precluded an active concern for the Charter’s passage in the General Assembly. Frank E. Stevens, “Life of Stephen A. Douglas,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 16 (1923-24):331-37.
Unfortunately, information about John C. Bennett's lobbying in the Assembly is also vague. To what extent he pleaded for sympathy, demanded satisfaction, or bargained for position is open to conjecture. One writer tantalizingly suggesting Bennett was "a man of some sagacity and cunning but without principle," says that the Mormon delegate bargained "the whole Mormon vote in the future elections of the state." Governor Ford asserted that Bennett "flattered both sides with the hope of Mormon favor; and both sides expected to receive their votes." All seem to concede that Bennett played a major role in the passage of the Charter.11

Whatever the reasons behind the General Assembly passage of the Nauvoo Charter, the Saints were overjoyed. They viewed it with but a single eye—politics, society, and economics notwithstanding. The passage of the Charter of Nauvoo gave the budding city "a government within a government." With this charter the Saints possessed a government based not upon the laws of Illinois but only upon the Constitution of Illinois and the Constitution of the United States.12

By taking refuge in constitutions or charters, the Mormons illustrated they were but citizens of their age. In a nation whose various inhabitants in nationalist fervor drew up declarations of independence and constitutions for organizations as diverse as temperance societies and emigrating expeditions, the Saints were but participants in an American tradition. The United States premised its existence on a government of laws, based on a written constitution, and thereby differed in essence from alleged tryannies abroad where the law was the will of the men in power.13

During the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, despite opinions of the United States Supreme Court

---

10Ford, History, p. 263.
11Reynolds, My Own Times, pp. 573-76; Ford History, p. 263. Both Mormon and non-Mormon sources give Bennett much credit for the passage of the Charter.
12This and other provisions of the Nauvoo Charter, long considered by students of the period as very unusual or even unique, have recently been shown to have been variously present in each one of the other five chartered cities in Illinois. See James L. Kimball, Jr., "The Nauvoo Charter: A Reinterpretation," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society 64 (Spring 1971):66-78.
13A good discussion of this American "doctrine" may be found in Ralph Henry Gabriel, Course of American Democratic Thought (New York: Donald Press, 1956), chapters 1-3.
to the contrary, several states—including Illinois—felt it was still an open question as to whether a corporate charter granted by government could ever be annulled or abrogated.\textsuperscript{14} Fully aware of this situation and armed with ample, though not unanimous, legal precedent and opinion, Mormon Church leaders opted to interpret the Nauvoo Charter as a veritable Magna Charta—a sacred, indestructible, inviolate instrument to be used for protection and power. In constitutionalism there was security; laws and resolutions were but water and sand. By invoking primary bases of law, Joseph Smith attempted to avoid what he termed rapacious and evil misuses of the law. In 1843 he proclaimed,

If there is not power in our charters and courts, then there is not power in the state of Illinois, nor in the Congress or Constitution of the United States; for the United States gave unto Illinois her constitution or charter and Illinois gave unto Nauvoo her charter ceding unto us our vested rights, which she has not power to take from us. All the power there was in Illinois she gave to Nauvoo. . . .\textsuperscript{15}

The broad provisions of the Nauvoo Charter would provide a peaceable kingdom free from the violence and harassments of Missouri officials and others with evil intent who would inveigh against the Kingdom. As an agent of his Prophet, John C. Bennett became the catalyst who fused Mormon and politically partisan needs in such a manner that each element saw in the Nauvoo Charter a way to freedom and influence. Nonetheless, it is a twist of historical irony, that while the Saints relied on their Charter to be an unbreachable wall defending the rights of Zion, many of their non-Mormon neighbors came to view it as an offensive barrier. The implementation of the constitutional provisions of the Charter exacerbated the Mor-

\textsuperscript{14} The situation was in effect an historical spin-off of antebellum tensions over states' rights and special privilege. The issue was whether the state legislatures had the legal right to grant irrevocable basic charters (as the United States Constitution) as well as "special charters" to corporations which could favor one segment of society over another. While the United States Supreme Court in 1837 rendered a decision against special charters and thereby for free enterprise in the \textit{Charles River Bridge Case}, the delicate political resolution of the issues was left to the discretion of the individual state legislatures. A helpful summary may be found in Stanley I. Kutler, \textit{Privilege and Creative Destruction: The Charles River Bridge Case} (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1971).

\textsuperscript{15} HC 5:466. With regard to the conception of the City of Nauvoo being federated with the states of the Union, it is pertinent to note that the inscription on the seal of the Nauvoo Municipal Court read, "Constitution and Charter." "Nauvoo Council Proceedings," 26 November 1841, p. 131.
mon’s problems by isolating and thereby alienating the affairs of the city from the rest of the county and state.¹⁸

Perhaps only in pre-Civil War America could Mormonism have been born. Perhaps only in the 1840s could the Nauvoo Charter have been framed. The coming of the Nauvoo Charter reflects for us, today, the time of America’s becoming. The Charter illustrates the growing pains of a nation optimistically trying to mesh democratic and religious idealism in a world of economic depression and political reality. The Nauvoo Charter demonstrates a meeting of the American notions of political and social experimentation and belief in the perfectability of man with the equally American quality of eager opportunism and clannishness. To understand the coming of the Nauvoo Charter is not only to understand the people who lived at “the head of the rapids” but it also is to glimpse a nation at the head of its history.

A blowup of the Nauvoo section of the David Hyrum Smith painting on the cover. By courtesy of the Audio-Visual Department, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840-41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes

James B. Allen and Malcom R. Thorp*

James Palmer, stone mason and bricklayer, was born in 1820 in the small parish of Dymock in Gloucestershire, England.³ After only four years formal schooling, which included considerable Bible study, young James was apprenticed out by his parents. Such apprenticeships often lasted for seven years, but in this case the boy chafed at the strict regimen and bad treatment he received until one day his resentment overflowed in a doubled up fist which knocked his unsuspecting master to the ground. Life as an apprentice immediately improved, but before long James successfully sued for release from his bond and went back to his parents.

In the meantime, the Palmer family had made a far-reaching religious decision which would soon have a profound effect upon their son. They had left the Church of England and, along with hundreds of others in the region, joined a movement known as the United Brethren, which had broken from the Primitive Methodists. This sect was characterized by a highly democratic administration and it placed special emphasis on faith, repentance, good works, and the literal atonement of Christ as the elements of salvation. Young James quickly accepted the new faith of his parents and at age twenty, while

---

*Dr. Allen is professor of history at Brigham Young University and assistant Church Historian. Dr. Thorp is assistant professor of history at Brigham Young University.

³Palmer's life is told in "James Palmer's Travels and Ministry in the Gospel," manuscript, Church Historical Department.
still working at his trade, became a local preacher among the United Brethren.

Typical of the common folk of England, the Palmer family were well prepared to receive the message of Wilford Woodruff who, in the spring of 1840, began preaching Mormonism in that region. They first heard this American apostle in the town of Ledbury, after Thomas Kington, leader of the United Brethren in the area, had already been converted to Mormonism. Almost immediately the Palmers and some of their friends were also baptized. James was soon ordained a priest and on 14 June he was appointed to preside over the branch of the Mormon Church at Killcott, not far from his home town of Dymock. In later months he traveled "without purse or scrip" as a missionary to many other communities of England, and eventually he emigrated to America.

The story of James Palmer was characteristic of those of thousands of British citizens who joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Victorian Era. Recruited largely from among the working classes, many of these Mormon converts were already actively seeking a religious faith that would speak more to their fundamentalist and democratic inclinations than the established church, and had joined various sects in their quest for religious truth. They were temperamentally well prepared for the message of Mormonism when it came.

Mormon missionary activity began in England in 1837, but the most historically significant boost to that activity came in 1840-41 when the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was sent from America to take charge of the work. By the time they left England in April 1841, the apostles had not only personally baptized hundreds of people, but had established an effective missionary system that would soon become the most productive in the Church. In addition, they laid the foundation for an important publication program by producing the first European edition of the Book of Mormon, compiling and distributing a hymn book for the Saints in England, publishing some 60,000 tracts and pamphlets, and establishing the *Latter-day Saints*

---

5The slight discrepancy of dates between Palmer's record and that of Wilford Woodruff's probably results from Palmer's account being recorded some years after the fact as a reminiscence.

6These included a most important work by Orson Pratt, *Interesting Account Of Several Remarkable Visions, and of the Late Discovery of Ancient American*
Millennial Star. They also organized a trans-Atlantic emigration program which would result, within fifty years, in the move to America of more than 88,000 European Saints, including some 55,000 from Britain.4

In some ways Joseph Smith displayed a singular optimism in sending the Quorum of the Twelve to Europe at that particular time in Mormon history. On 8 July 1838 they were specifically commanded to "go over the great waters, and there promulgate my gospel" (D&C 118:4). The date of 26 April 1839 was set for their departure from Far West, Missouri. By that time, however, the Mormons had been expelled from Missouri and on the appointed day the Twelve were forced to re-enter the area under cover of darkness, take their symbolic departure, then hastily retreat. When the apostles finally left for England, the Saints were only beginning to establish themselves around the swampy settlement of Commerce, Illinois. Poverty and sickness were rampant, there was little assurance that the families of the apostles could be cared for while they were gone, and the tangible means for missionary support were almost nonexistent. Under such conditions, it would seem that Joseph Smith should keep close to him the very men whose leadership could be most helpful. The commandment, nevertheless, was there, and possibly also a realization that perhaps the destiny of the Church itself depended upon gathering new numbers from abroad. And the brethren went.

Great Britain was an obvious spot for the labors of the Twelve abroad. It had been officially opened for missionary work in 1837-38 by Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde,6 and had proven to be a fruitful ground for converts. Since this initial success, however, the Church in Britain had fallen on hard times. Even though there were several hundred baptisms,

---

Records (Edinburgh: Ballantyne and Hughes, 1840), which contains the first version of Joseph Smith's First Vision to be published in Church sources. While sources disagree on the number of tracts published, this 60,000 figure is from Brigham Young in The Journal of Discourses (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1871), 13:212.


5See also Doctrine and Covenants 107:33 and 112:28.

there was also substantial apostasy so that by 1840 there was little, if any, actual increase in membership. It took the Quorum of the Twelve to regenerate this somewhat lethargic missionary movement into the most vibrant one in the Church.

The circumstances of poverty and ill health under which most of the apostles finally left Nauvoo, Illinois, are well known, and need not be repeated here. More important to the mission was the preparation they went through before leaving. Throughout the summer of 1839 they met frequently with Joseph Smith, who instructed them in spiritual affairs, doctrine, and practical leadership. Significantly, many of the things he said foreshadowed some of their experiences in England. "Devil experiences," for example, wherein the missionaries believed they were actually wrestling with the powers of darkness, were not uncommon after they arrived. Perhaps in anticipation of such, Joseph Smith told the apostles in private of a certain "key" by which they could detect the devil if he appeared as a man.

More to the point of their mission were the instructions given on 2 July when Joseph lectured them on prudence, humility, priesthood authority, charity, and the evils of self-sufficiency, self-righteousness, and self-importance. The significance of the following excerpt lies in the fact that the tone it set seemed to characterize the general attitude of the missionaries once they arrived in England:

... and let the Twelve be humble, and not be exalted, and beware of pride, and not seek to excel one above another, but act for each other's good, and pray for one another, and honor our brother or make honorable mention of his name, and not backbite and devour our brother. ... Must the new ones that are chosen to fill the places of

---

1Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons*, p. 10. Writing on the period between 1838 and 1840, Willard Richards stated that "The Church at this time was in its infancy, and needed much instruction, which necessarily occupied the attention of the presiding Elders to a great extent; and as there were few laborers in the field, the spread of the work was not very rapid for some time." Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1948), 4:320. Hereafter cited as HC.


3Significantly, this was the same test that appeared later as a revelation, but dated 9 February 1839. See Wilford Woodruff Journal, 27 June 1839, Church Historical Department, and compare with Doctrine and Covenants 129: 4-8.
those that are fallen, of the quorum of the Twelve, begin to exalt themselves, until they exalt themselves so high that they will soon tumble over and have a great fall, and go wallowing through the mud and mire and darkness, Judas like, to the buffetings of Satan, as several of the quorum have done, or will they learn wisdom and be wise? O God, give them wisdom, and keep them humble, I pray....

Then O ye Twelve! notice this Key, and be wise for Christ's sake, and your own soul's sake. Ye are not sent out to be taught, but to teach. Let every word be seasoned with grace. Be vigilant; be sober. It is a day of warning, and not of many words. Act honestly before God and man. Beware of Gentile sophistry; such as bowing and scraping unto men in whom you have no confidence. Be honest, open, frank in all your intercourse with mankind.10

THE APOSTLES IN ENGLAND:
BRIEF SUMMARY OF A SUCCESS STORY

There was nothing unique about the arrival of American missionaries in England during this time. It was not uncommon to see revivalist preachers from America in the streets of Preston, and the various waves of revival ministers who frequently came in search of new converts brought with them the techniques of camp meetings and urban crusades, both of which were used to advantage by the Mormons.11 Thus, although the coming of the apostles had been long anticipated by the British Saints, their actual arrival probably passed unnoticed in the busy seaport of Liverpool.

They arrived in two groups. The first consisted of John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff, along with Elder Theodore Turley, who docked in Liverpool on 11 January 1840. John Taylor, age thirty-one, was a native of England and a converted Methodist preacher. Woodruff was thirty-three and had been trained as a miller. He had been an apostle only since the April meeting at Far West.

Six days later they held a conference with the mission presidency in Preston, then immediately went about their business. John Taylor and Joseph Fielding returned to Liverpool, where a number of their relatives lived. Preaching first to a congregation headed by Fielding's brother-in-law, the Reverend Tim-

10HC 3:384.
othy Matthews, then hiring their own hall, the two converted twenty-eight people by April, some of them from Reverend Matthews' own flock.

Wilford Woodruff, meanwhile, proceeded south to the inland county of Staffordshire. He stopped in an area known as the Potteries, which consisted of many scattered villages and contained about 20,000 people. Here was the most important center in England for the manufacture of china and earthenware, largely because of the excellence achieved in this trade by the late Josiah Wedgwood. In Burslem, one of the chief towns of the district, Woodruff found a branch of some sixty-six Latter-day Saints, including Elder Alfred Cordon, an outstanding local leader who would perform important missionary service in the coming months.

The American apostle worked in the Potteries district with modest success for about six weeks, until, as he wrote in his diary on 2 March, "The Lord warned me to go to the South." In the Potteries Woodruff frequently preached and stayed in the home of William Benbow, a member of the Church in Hanley, and on 3 March Benbow was with Wilford Woodruff as he went south by omnibus. The following day the two arrived at the home of William's brother, John Benbow, a prosperous farmer who cultivated three hundred acres of land near the small settlement of Castle Froome in Herefordshire. This home at "Hill Farm" became an important center for Mormon preaching and within two days John Benbow and his wife were among the first six converts to be baptized in that region. All of them had belonged to the United Brethren.

At the Benbow home as well as in some of their own chapels Woodruff began preaching among the United Brethren. Within one month and five days his labors had netted 158 converts, including 48 lay preachers. Especially important was Thomas Kington, superintendent of the local United Brethren organization, who was baptized on 21 March, ordained an elder the next day, and within three months was presiding over

---

12See Woodruff Journal, 2-4 March 1840. Mormon writers traditionally have failed even to mention the presence of John Benbow's brother William. It would not be contrary to any concept of revelation, however, to suggest that the inspiration to go South may have come after a previous suggestion by William that his brother might be an eager recipient of the Mormon message. For the traditional story, see Evans, Century of Mormonism, pp. 110-11, and S. Dilworth Young, Here is Brigham . . . (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), pp. 250-51.
the Gadfield Elm Conference, which consisted of twelve branches. Woodruff’s flock also included a former clerk of the Church of England, a constable who had been sent to stop one of his preaching meetings, and a number of wealthy farmers. By April, when he left Herefordshire to attend a conference of the Twelve, there were nearly 200 more ready to be baptized.

This scenery flung into my hands or under my superintendency & care of 42 established places of preaching which were licensed according to law including one chapel. This has opened the largest field for labour & increase of numbers of any door that has been opened in the same length of time since The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has been established.

The amazing potential in Herefordshire so overwhelmed Wilford Woodruff that he began to implore Willard Richards to come and help. “I cannot do the work alone,” he wrote on 31 March. “I am called to Baptize 4 or 5 times a day. I want no better man than yourself to connect and labor with me here & help me reap this mighty harvest.” For one thing, he was fearful that too much activity on the part of the converted preachers would close the doors of the congregations to Mormon preaching. He had instructed them to continue in their appointments and try to prepare the people for the gospel, but not to administer any gospel ordinances until he could have some help in organizing the Church and ordaining “such persons as God shall call. It has put me at times to my wits end to know what to do with so many places of preaching & preachers,” he confided to Richards on 3 April. “I wonder,” he added longingly, “why the [rest of the] Twelve do not come from America.”

Three days later the second group of apostles arrived. Brigham Young, a thirty-eight year old carpenter, joiner, and glazier, had been a dedicated and successful Mormon missionary

13Woodruff Journal, 21 and 22 March and 14 June 1840.
14Ibid., 16 April 1840.
15Ibid. In this article, whenever manuscript sources are quoted all original spelling and grammar has been left intact. For the sake of readability, however, periods have been placed at the end of sentences and capitals at the beginning, even if they were not in the original.
16Wilford Woodruff to Willard Richards, 31 March 1840, in Wilford Woodruff papers, Church Historical Department.
17Wilford Woodruff to Willard Richards, 3 April 1840.
since 1832 and was now president of the Quorum. Heber C. Kimball, also thirty-eight, was both a blacksmith and a potter, and must have felt at ease when he visited the Staffordshire Potteries. Orson Pratt, age twenty-eight, was possibly the best-educated of the group and, together with his older brother, Parley, authored most of the tracts and pamphlets used by the missionaries. Parley was thirty-two, a farmer by profession and also a former preacher of the Disciples of Christ. George A. Smith was, at twenty-two, the youngest of the group. He had grown up on a farm, but for the past several years had spent most of his time doing missionary work.

Immediately the Quorum held a conference in Preston, 14-16 April. There they ordained Willard Richards, age thirty-six, who had been doing missionary work in England since he accompanied Heber C. Kimball there in 1837. This brought the number of apostles in England to eight. Three others, Orson Hyde, John E. Page, and William B. Smith, did not fulfill the mission, and one vacancy remained in the Quorum.

The Saints in England had eagerly anticipated the arrival of the Twelve, and on 17 April Alice Moon made it an occasion for celebration. Forty years earlier she had been married, but in the excitement had forgotten to open the bottle of wine that had been especially saved for the occasion. She then planned to open it when her first child was born, but again forgot, and it was likewise passed over on other special occasions. When the Twelve visited her home in Penwortham, just two miles from Preston, she declared that she now knew there had been something providential in its preservation. They accepted the wine, blessed it, and each drank a glass.18 The next day they scattered to their various fields of labor.

Willard Richards' first assignment as a new apostle was to go to Herefordshire, for which Woodruff expressed much gratitude.19 Perhaps typical of their success was a meeting on 14 June in the Gadfield Elm Chapel of the United Brethren. Here were assembled preachers and members of the Bran Green and Gadfield Elm Branches of the Froomes Hill Circuit of that church. Thomas Kington moved that the meeting henceforth be known by the name of the Bran Green and Gadfield Elm

19Woodruff Journal, 22 June 1840.
Possibly the Gadfield Elm Chapel of the United Brethren where the Twelve held the 14 June "Bran Green and Gadfield Elm Conference, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Photograph courtesy of Brian Morton, Oakley Cottage, Bosbury, Ledbury, Herefordshire, England.
Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The motion carried unanimously. 20 The apostles had so organized this church that they could now declare their final independence from the United Brethren. Richards continued to work with them for two months and Woodruff remained until August, when his flock had grown to 800 members.

The missionary success of the other members of the Twelve was not so dramatic as that of Wilford Woodruff and his brethren in Herefordshire, but for the most part it was steady and encouraging. Heber C. Kimball was assigned to visit the various churches he had built up on his previous mission. Orson Pratt was sent to Scotland, where by the end of the year Church membership increased from twenty-one to some two hundred. John Taylor was appointed to return to Liverpool. There he spent his time not only doing missionary work but also helping to select hymns for the hymn book and reading proof for the printing of the Book of Mormon. He also spent ten days in Ireland and two and a half months on the Isle of Man. George A. Smith went to the Potteries for his first assignment, and except for nearly two months in London did most of his missionary work there.

Brigham Young and Parley P. Pratt were especially concerned with publication ventures and, with Heber C. Kimball, had been appointed as a publications committee. Elder Young accompanied Wilford Woodruff to Herefordshire and for about a month worked closely with him, but as soon as he was able to obtain substantial loans from John Benbow and Thomas Kington he went to Manchester, rented a house as a headquarters, and began working toward publishing the Book of Mormon. Parley P. Pratt went directly to Manchester after the Preston conference, for he had been appointed to edit and publish the Millennial Star. He remained there throughout the mission, except for a period from July to October when he sailed to New York and returned with his family. He was to remain in charge of the Church in England for a year and a half after the rest of the Twelve left.

With the dispersion of the Quorum, the tempo of missionary activity increased significantly. Heber C. Kimball wrote to his wife on 25 May that "the work of the Lord has taken a deep hold in this Land, and causes the people to tremble for we

20Ibid., 14 June 1840. See also a similar incident in 21 June entry.
have broken up menny churches." 21 Such expressions of success were myriad. Alfred Cordon reported from the Potteries in September that "There is a better prospect in the Potteries than there ever was since the work commenced here." 22 Joseph Fielding wrote in his diary on 15 November regarding Manchester: "The Work here is prospering. The Gift of Tongues is very common. The Lord is shewing the Saints great things by the Gift of Prophecy etc. Even Children speak great and marvelous things; it is truly astonishing to see it." 23 And Kimball lent colorful expression to such success stories when he wrote to George A. Smith on 12 December, he was "glad to learn of the prosperity of the work in that part of the Land. You say the Devel is mad. This mak's me glad, and I shall not try to pleas him." 24 It seemed as if his letter to America eight months earlier had been verified: "The Gospel is spreading, the devils are roaring. As nigh as I can learn, the priests are howling, the tares are binding up, the wheat is gathering, nations are trembling, and kingdoms tottering." 25

But despite their enthusiasm, the apostles and elders did not enjoy universal success. In August Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, and George A. Smith opened London for missionary work, and Brigham Young spent nearly two weeks with them in December. Here their enthusiasm was dampened as Londoners treated them with profound indifference. Unlike the folk in the farmlands of Herefordshire, Londoners seemed much less interested in evangelism of any sort. With a population of over two million, London was a huge metropolis where, if attendance at church and chapel is any indication, the people simply were not attracted to organized religion. 26

When London ministers refused to let them use their churches, Kimball, Woodruff, and Smith tried to preach at Smithfield, a London cattle market, but were promptly stopped by officials who claimed that London city ordinances prohibited such practices. They, therefore, moved outside the London

21 Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 25 May 1840, Heber C. Kimball papers, Church Historical Department.
22 Millennial Star, 1:135.
24 Heber C. Kimball to George A. Smith, 12 December 1840, George A. Smith papers, Church Historical Department.
25 HC 4:115.
borough limits to a place called "Tabernacle Square" where they preached to a crowd of five hundred.

Nearly two weeks went by before the missionaries could baptize their first convert in London, a Mr. Conners. Such slow response was a rather new experience for the usually successful Wilford Woodruff, and by November they still had gathered only eleven members. Little wonder that their general impression was negative. "London is the hardest place I ever visited for establishing the gospel," wrote Woodruff in his diary. "It is full of everything but righteousness." Its very hugeness overwhelmed Heber Kimball, who complained of "such a throng of people as I never saw before, and so much noise that we can neither sleep nor think." In addition, the three missionaries lamented the extreme competition for souls. They wrote to America that this huge metropolis contained six hundred, three score and six different gods, gospels, redeemers, plans of salvation, religions, churches, commandments (essential and non-essential), orders of preaching, roads to heaven and hell; and that this order of things had so affected the minds of the people, that it almost required a horn to be blown from the highest heavens, in order to awaken the attention of the people. To them it was "the great babylon" but because of their persistent efforts George A. Smith, at least, felt that their garments were "clean from the blood of the inhabitants of the British metropolis." When young Lorenzo Snow, just recently arrived as a missionary from America, learned that the apostles were planning to put him in charge when they left London he wrote to George A. Smith:

I think you exhibited much wisdom in leaving that seat of Satan. . . . I suppose you intend keeping me preaching here to the spirits in prison until I have been properly prepared then send me to the great seat of his black majesty from whence you have so fortunately escaped. Elder Young writes in a letter which I just received from Elder Woodruff "we do not know but we shall be glad for Elder Snow to come to

27HC 4:182-84, 221.
28Woodruff Journal, 2 September 1840.
29Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 19 August 1840.
30HC 4:223.
31Woodruff Journal, 19 August 1840.
32George A. Smith, "History of George Albert Smith," 9 November 1840, typescript, Church Historical Department.
London if he can be spared there and we can provide a place for him here." I wonder where you will send me next.53

A branch was eventually established in London. It even prospered somewhat under Lorenzo Snow, and the apostles were continually optimistic about future possibilities there. Nevertheless, considering the time and effort that went into opening that city, coupled with its symbolic importance as the capital of the empire, the London effort was undoubtedly the greatest disappointment of the mission.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS

What were the social and economic conditions observed by the American apostles in England? Who were the people they so readily attracted to Mormonism? And why did they have so much success among them?

The Quorum of the Twelve came into a country disturbed by economic difficulty. England was the "workshop of the world" but beginning in 1837 industry came almost to a standstill, and with high unemployment among the working classes in the manufacturing districts, destitution and starvation were not uncommon.34 The apostles were deeply stirred by the poverty they saw. George A. Smith observed in the Potteries: "So many of the poor are begging that it would astonish the Americans. England is in distress and I pray to the Lord for deliverance of the Saints from the coming ruin."35 That ruin never came, for the depression witnessed by the apostles was only a momentary phenomenon in a period that in the long run led to greater prosperity for the working class, but conditions were to get worse before they turned for the better.35

Everywhere the apostles went they found squalor. "The poor," wrote Wilford Woodruff, "are in as great bondage as the children of Israel in Egypt."37 Conditions among the Saints in the Staffordshire Potteries district were bleakly described by George A. Smith:

52 Lorenzo Snow to George A. Smith, 10 December 1840.
54 George A. Smith, "History," 15 February 1840. See also Brigham Young and Willard Richards to the First Presidency of the Church, 5 September 1840, in Brigham Young papers, Church Historical Department.
56 Woodruff Journal, 14 January 1841.
Of the more than 450 Saints in this District not more than one third of them have full Employment. Many of the Rest Not more than two or three Days per Week and Many have no work at all. Times are growing harder Every Week. Some are turned out of Employ because they have been baptised by the Latter Day Saints.38

Heber C. Kimball wrote concerning poverty in Manchester:

I was asking some of the brethren what made the people look so bad. They said because they were famished for the want of food. Say they to me there are hundreds that are starving for the want of food and other things. I thought there was misery a nough in Preston. It is nothing to compare with Manchester. I asked them if they thought the brethren were hungry. Yes many of them have not to eat. Times are so hard they can't quit work. Therefore they have to go hungry. There has been such a change here in two years as never was known by the oldest men in this land.39

He later made an interesting observation when he saw Queen Victoria in a London procession: "You would be astonished to see the stur thare is made over a little queen at the same time thousands starving to deth fore a little bread."40

The depression naturally hit hardest among the working classes of the urban communities, and it was from among these people that most Mormon converts came.41 There were also substantial numbers from rural communities but relatively few, like John Benbow, were wealthy property owners. On 10 September 1840, Wilford Woodruff wrote in his diary concerning Herefordshire: "I rejoice to find the work universally progressing with great rapidity upon every hand even some cases among the Nobility," but in this he was overly optimistic for there were few converts outside the working classes, and there is no evidence of any from the aristocracy.42

38George A. Smith, "History," 5 December 1840. See also Woodruff Journal, 3 October 1840.
39Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 27 May 1840. For a brief discussion of Manchester conditions, see Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, pp. 14-20.
40Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 19 September 1840.
42Taylor, Expectations Westward, pp. 149-50. Woodruff indicated that there was a "Lady Roberts of Nobility" who was interested in Mormonism, but she was probably from the gentry rather than the aristocracy and there is no evidence that she ever joined. See Woodruff Journal, 15 September 1840.
Perhaps one reason for Mormonism's success among the common people was the identification with the working classes felt by the American apostles, who were also workers by profession. In a letter to America dated 5 September 1840, Brigham Young and Willard Richards demonstrated great empathy with the poor in their criticism of the factory owners and the system of government taxes. They were horrified at the number of beggars and reported that all the spare change they had was given to the destitute.43 The Twelve were intrigued by the factories, but they considered the industrial system to be exploitative. Following his tour through Copeland's pottery works, Wilford Woodruff reflected that the final step in the process of making fine china was the manufacturers' "aggrandizing themselves with the profits thereof."44 Joseph Fielding and Theodore Turley visited a factory, and Fielding recorded in his diary: "I was much affected to see the Slavery that is there endured, the Dust, the bad Smell of oil, etc., the deafening Noise, and the confinement."45 Brigham Young believed that "masters [i.e., factory owners] care little for their manufacturers, & have reduced the workers wage to almost the lowest extremity."46

In some ways the apostles' view of the industrial society resembled socialist criticism of the same society, although it is clear that the Mormon leaders completely rejected socialism as a system. Significantly, however, socialism was becoming a force to be reckoned with in Europe and within the decade Friedrich Engels would publish his important work of propaganda on *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.47 Engels wrongly predicted that the industrial abuses he saw would soon lead to a political upheaval even greater than the French Revolution and would result in the establishment of a socialist state. The apostles, on the other hand, saw the social turmoil as a sign of the times which foreshadowed the toppling of existing governments and the establishment of the

43Young and Richards to First Presidency, 5 September 1840.
44Woodruff Journal, 7 February 1840.
45Fielding, "Diary," 14 July 1840.
46Young and Richards to First Presidency, 5 September 1840.
47For a translation with an excellent and well-balanced introduction see W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, translators and editors, *Engels' The Condition of the Working Class in England*. One example of Mormon rejection of socialism came in April 1840, when John Taylor and Joseph Fielding attended some socialist meetings, but rejected the philosophy partly because they considered it atheistic. See Fielding, "Diary," 1-3 April 1840.
reign of Christ. As the workers who were drawn into socialism struggled for the establishment of a secular millenium, so those who came into Mormonism looked forward to a religious one.

One reason for Mormon success in Britain was the failure of the major religious bodies to attract working class converts. Even the Methodists, who had such success in the eighteenth century, had by the early years of Victoria’s reign gained middle class “respectability” and no longer were active in missionary work among the working classes. Jabez Bunting, perhaps the greatest figure in the Methodist movement, admitted the “declining attendance of poor people at our services,” and found “the main cause of their estrangement from us . . . [in] radicalism, infidelity and socialism.” The only major body of Christians that could claim a steady increase in adherents was the Catholics, but this was largely because of immigrants from Ireland. Thus the Mormons were one of the few successful religious bodies among the working classes, a fact that is only now gaining recognition among historians.

The Mormon missionaries had little good to say about organized religion in England. Brigham Young wrote to George A. Smith from Herefordshire that both a Baptist and a Methodist priest he had interviewed were “jest like the rest of the Priest they have jest relegon enuph to dam them no inclination to even inquire after the gospel of Jesus Christ.” By the very nature of their religion the Mormons were anti-clerical, and they constantly railed against the evils of priestcraft. Brigham Young believed that English ministers were both ignorant and oppressive:

Neither have the priests much more information than the people, indeed there are many of the common people whom they dare not meet in argument, although they have their living [clerical benefices], thousands after thousands, & some of them own whole townships, or parishes & will tell their parishioners & tenants if they allow any one to preach in their houses they will be turned out of doors, or if they are baptized they will fare no better, & thus many

---

46Brigham Young to George A. Smith, 4 May 1840. 
simple souls who believe our message dare not be baptized, because they have not faith sufficient to screen them from the threats of an insolent priest or factory master knowing they will worry them to the utmost if they displease him, our hearts mourn for such. It is apparently starvation on one hand & domination on the other. The Lord have mercy upon them.51

But if the English clergy was lowly regarded by the apostles, the people of England were generally considered to be more receptive to the message of Mormonism than those in America:

We find the people of this land much more ready to receive the gospel than those of America . . . for they have not that speculative intelligence, or prejudice, or prepossession, or false learning, call it what you please. . . . Consequently we have not to labor with a people month after month to break down their old notions.52

If this were true, the explanation does not lie in sudden conversions based on miracles, visions, or other dramatic spiritual experiences. Nor does it lie, as it did with many American converts, in the reading and accepting of the Book of Mormon, at least in 1840, for until the British edition was printed most new converts had never even seen it.53 The best explanation must be sought in a special amalgamation of the social background of the converts themselves and the Mormon message, capped by whatever quiet spiritual confirmation was necessary finally to persuade them. It is important that many new converts, like their counterparts in America, could be classed as "seekers" in that they were already Christian fundamentalists before they heard the missionaries, had belonged to one or more churches, and were still seeking for more religious truth. Conversion did not come out of a religious vacuum.

51Young and Richards to First Presidency, 5 September 1840. See also letters of Lorenzo Snow to George A. Smith, 10 December 1840 and 19 January 1841. The latter is particularly caustic: "The Priests of Baal, however, bark and howl most ferociously; causing the true sheep to huddle together into the fold, . . . What fools these Priests are. Would they but keep silent their flocks would not discern their true character but the very moment they begin stiring themselves their long frightful ears and shaggy hair is disclosed at once and also their savage barks and fierce howls. The true sheep plainly see their wolfish nature." 52Young and Richards to First Presidency, 5 September 1840.
53Heber C. Kimball lamented this fact to his wife in May when he wrote: "We are calculating to print the Book of Mormon. This will be done soon if the Lord will for we have great need of it, for the work of good is roling on in this Land in power. Thare is menny churches that have none, and never have seen any." Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 27 May 1840.
A random sampling of Mormon converts in this period includes such people as John Needham, a draper who had been searching for religious conviction but was unable to find it in Methodism and finally joined the Mormons in 1838; Paul Harris, shoemaker of Manchester, who opened his basement shop to the Mormons in 1838; John Bourne, a potter and a Methodist, who was baptized by Alfred Cordon in 1839; Richard Steele, a potter who had become interested in the Methodists as well as the Socialists, and who was already on a religious quest when he heard of the Latter-day Saints in 1839 and was baptized in January 1840; William Barton, son of a printer but working in a Manchester factory when he and his parents were converted to Mormonism in November 1841; John Freeman, whose efforts at employment took him into shoemaking, brickmaking, reaping, and itinerant singing in markets and fairs, and whose religious quest led him from the Baptists to the "Independents" and to the Christian Chartists before his conversion to Mormonism in 1844; Sarah B. Layton, whose parents belonged to the laboring classes and who moved from the Methodist church to the Church of England and then, after her sister had joined the Mormons, was baptized on 1 January 1842; and John Martin, a chimney sweep who was baptized in 1842. If this random sampling is in any way typical, the foregoing generalizations are confirmed.

Part of the attraction of Mormonism as it was taught in England may have been the simplicity of its forms and doctrines. It was not democratic, but it was simple and personal. Mormon ministry was strictly a lay ministry, and this was fully compatible with the practice of appointing lay preachers and missionaries by the Primitive Methodists, United Brethren, and

54 See John Needham, "Journal of John Needham," typescript, Church Historical Department.
56 John Bourne, "Journal of John Bourne," manuscript, Church Historical Department.
57 Steele Journal.
58 William Kilshaw Barton, "History of William Kilshaw Barton," typescript, Church Historical Department.
59 John Freeman, Journal, manuscript, Church Historical Department.
61 John Martin, "Life of John Martin, Sr.," manuscript, Church Historical Department.
other reforming sects. In terms of attitude toward local leadership, then, many Mormon converts had little change to make; they needed only to accept the doctrine that priesthood authority had been divinely restored to Joseph Smith, and authoritatively passed to them through the missionaries. Former preachers such as Thomas Kington and James Palmer would, as had Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor in America, be converted one day and very quickly, perhaps even next day, find themselves ordained Mormon elders and assigned as leaders in the new faith. Their understanding of basic doctrine had not changed much—only their concept of priesthood authority.62

The Mormon apostles also taught that in their church could be found a restoration of the ancient gospel of Christ, with essentially the same doctrine and organization. This could hardly help but strike a receptive chord in the minds of those familiar with the primitivism being taught by various reforming sects. Even such Mormon doctrines as apostolic authority, revelation, prophecy, and literal adherence to biblical ordinances were not new in England, and often Mormon teachings were thought to be akin to those of the Primitive Methodists or the Baptists.63

Perhaps no Mormon doctrine spoke more familiarly to some British folk than millennialism. Fundamental to the theology of many groups, especially the dissenting sects, was not only a belief in the literal second coming of Christ, but also in the imminence of that event. It took little religious adjustment to accept the Mormon teaching that Christ would come again soon: only the concept that he would establish the Kingdom of God in America was different. The Mormons taught further, and with monumental self-assurance, that they would soon witness a millennial revolution. This is illustrated by what Parley P. Pratt wrote to Queen Victoria:

The world in which we live is on the eve of a revolution, more wonderful in its beginning, more rapid in its progress, more powerful in its operations, more extensive in its effects, more lasting in its influence, and more important in

62In this connection it would be well to read Mario S. De Pillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 1(Spring 1966):68-88. De Pillis' explanation of religious authority as one reason for Mormon success in America may well be equally applicable to England.

63See Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Pt. I, p. 436; Taylor, Expectations Westward.
its consequences than any which man has yet witnessed upon the earth.\textsuperscript{64}

As part of this revolution, he testified, secular thrones as well as political and religious establishments would topple.

So expectant were the Mormon apostles that these were indeed the last days that they constantly looked for signs that would give further evidence that the winding up scenes had begun. In the \textit{Millennial Star} Parley P. Pratt regularly published a column in which he reported news of disasters such as an earthquake in Scotland, a plague in the Middle East, volcanic eruptions in the West Indies, and other “supernatural” occurrences which signified the last days before the Second Coming. One such sign was a “perfect blood-red flag” seen flying in the sky above Hull. At intervals it changed its form and appeared as a “cross, a sword, and many other forms.”\textsuperscript{65}

Predicting the coming of the great apocalyptic calamity, in which corrupt secular governments would be replaced by the Kingdom of God, Wilford Woodruff wrote:

\begin{quote}
    it seems as though the Nations at the present time, were insane & their Kings, Presidents & Senators entirely destitute of all wisdom. But they will all Soon learn their is a God in Israel who is about to take peace from the Earth & cut of nations not a few for Grat Babylon is about to come in remembrance before God.\textsuperscript{66}
\end{quote}

He concluded that “It will be as much as we shall do to get out of Liverpool for New York before war overtakes us.” There were at the time persistent rumors of possible war between England and the United States, related to Canadian-American border skirmishes around New York as well as a long-standing controversy over the boundary between Canada and Maine.

This immediate war scare only served to feed the belief that soon the entire world would be engulfed in a series of conflicts. But the final event preceding the Second Coming was the restoration of Israel. Parley P. Pratt believed that the corrupt Ottoman Empire was about to capitulate to demands from the various Protestant governments and agree to allow the Jews to return to their ancestral home.

\textsuperscript{64}Parley P. Pratt, \textit{A Letter to the Queen of England} (Manchester: Parley P. Pratt, 1841), p. 2.

\textsuperscript{65}\textit{Millennial Star}, 1:215.

\textsuperscript{66}Woodruff Journal, 17 February 1841.
Thus, all things seem preparing, in a political point of view, for the great restitution of Israel; and it is a matter of certainty that when the Jews gather home and rebuild Jerusalem, the second coming of Christ and the Millennium are just at the door. . . . We feel that the Second Advent is near, with the same assurance which we feel in regard to the near approach of summer when we see the trees put forth their leaves and blossom.\textsuperscript{67}

Wilford Woodruff wrote to Willard Richards two months before the main body of the apostles arrived in England, "I feel as though it will be a day of warning and not of many words to England. I think that what we do we shall do quickly."\textsuperscript{68} As he prepared to leave his mission, he observed that "the Saints universally felt that the Judgments of God are near in this land & are anxious to gather with the Saints in Nauvoo as soon as possible."\textsuperscript{69} Primitivism, millennialism, and cataclysm went hand-in-hand in Mormon doctrine, and this combination undoubtedly helped attract many who were already of similar persuasion.

But warning of impending doom could not alone have attracted the thousands of converts. Many undoubtedly were attracted because Mormonism spoke familiarly to them of fundamental first principles. "Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ—Repentence—Baptism for the Remission of Sins—and the Gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands": these were the elements of the plan of salvation as "laid down in the New Testament" and taught by the Mormon elders.\textsuperscript{70} In addition, the elders promised the gifts of the spirit. The faith of believers was often confirmed by witnessing speaking in tongues, healings, visions and dreams.\textsuperscript{71} Such doctrine provided sure hope for spiritual light and uplift in a world of chaos now, as well as eternal salvation hereafter, and thus spoke peace to the souls of prospective converts among the troubled working classes of Britain.

But the Mormon message went beyond such familiar con-

\textsuperscript{67}Millennial Star, 1:75.
\textsuperscript{68}Wilford Woodruff to Willard Richards, 3 February 1840.
\textsuperscript{69}Woodruff Journal, 15 March 1841.
\textsuperscript{71}The journals and letters of the Twelve as well as of local members are replete with examples of such miraculous signs among the converts.
considerations. Its most unique element was belief in the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, and to the apostles it was essential that this work be distributed in England. High import duties, however, made it impractical for many copies to be sent from America and as a partial remedy several key chapters were printed in the *Millennial Star* in 1840. But local publication was imperative and Brigham Young took personal charge of the project. In May 1840 he over-optimistically reported that the book would be in type in a few days, but actually it dragged out for another ten months. The committee solicited several bids in Liverpool and the final contract was awarded to J. Tomkins, who agreed to print five thousand copies for £210. John Benbow and Thomas Kington had already loaned Elder Young £250 and £100, respectively, for that purpose, but with all their other expenses the apostles found themselves appealing for still more funds. Finally, on 21 February 1841, the Book of Mormon was made available to the British Saints. According to Brigham Young, all the money borrowed for the publication eventually was repaid through sale of the books.

Another special aspect of the Mormon message concerned emigration to America, the land of Zion. Emigration itself was not uncommon, for this era saw literally thousands of British citizens leave each year in search of better economic opportunities elsewhere. Mormon emigration was thus only part of a well-defined pattern, although in this case it took on religious overtones. The pressure to emigrate, in fact, was heavy even before the apostles began officially to encourage it, but by the summer of 1840 an initial restriction was lifted and plans for emigration were under way. The Saints were not required to go to America but little encouragement was needed, and under the direction of the apostles a vast emigration program

---

72 Brigham Young to Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff, 24 May 1840.
73 On 7 September the generous John Benbow signed an agreement granting £250 for the printing of the hymn book and the Book of Mormon, except that as much of this money as necessary was to go first to assist certain emigrants. He also donated to the Church the proceeds from the Gadfield Elm Chapel, which he had sold. Bids for printing the Book of Mormon, receipts from the printer, and the Benbow agreement are in the Brigham Young papers.
76 Ibid., pp. 40-41.
was organized which lasted over half a century. One can only speculate on the degree to which the economic ills of England, the already popular practice of emigration, and the encouragement often given to it by the government contributed to the attractiveness of Mormonism among the working classes. At least it can be said that this environment provided additional fertile soil for the Mormon message, which seemed to encourage emigration. It offered converts a definite place to gather where, working with the Saints, they could engage in building a literal Kingdom of God on earth.

MISSIONARY ORGANIZATION

How did the American apostles organize their work, and what proselyting techniques did they use? In July 1840, the Quorum organized itself into a traveling high council to visit the various areas in order to properly supervise the missionary work. In addition, volunteer full-time missionaries were chosen from among those Church members whose circumstances would permit them to devote themselves entirely to the work of the ministry. Hence, the number of missionaries was greatly expanded and most new baptisms were performed by these local missionaries rather than by the apostles themselves. Another important development occurred in the October 1840 conference at Manchester, when it was decided that wherever a branch of the Church existed, two members were to be appointed to receive voluntary contributions for the support and clothing of missionaries. There was a difference, said Brigham Young, between preaching for money and providing the elders with their necessities while they were called to labor “without taking thought for the morrow.”

As far as their own missionary methods were concerned, the apostles attempted to preach to large congregations. When new towns were opened for missionary labors they would seek out the local Methodist chapel, for example, and attempt to secure a speaking engagement before the congregation. In other instances they would attempt to preach before temper-

---

"For the story of Mormon emigration in general, see Taylor, Expectations Westward; Gustive O. Larson, Prelude to the Kingdom (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones, 1947); William Mulder, Homeward to Zion (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).

"Millennial Star, 1:70.

Ibid., 1:168."
ance groups, and the temperance platform was often extended to them. They would address their audiences on the subject of temperance and then invite interested people to hear the gos-

Wherever they went the apostles advertised their meetings by making announcements in other churches, posting handbills, and sending the message by word of mouth through Church members and friends. In Leek George A. Smith even hired the town criers to advertise a forthcoming meeting. They sometimes held public debates, although such spectacles were apparently not highly productive, and they frequently held American-style "camp meetings" as well as the traditional street meet-

ings. In short, they held meetings whenever and wherever they could, preached to whoever would listen, and baptized in rivers, reservoirs or, in the case of London, in the public baths.

Opposition often arose from ministers who were attempting to save their flocks from the Mormons. The apostles singled out the Methodists as primarily responsible for inciting their congregations against the Saints, but also mentioned ministers from the Church of England, the Independents, and the Roman Catholics. Heber C. Kimball once wrote that the ministers were so agitated by Mormon success that they planned to pet-

tion the government to put an end to Mormon preaching.

Occasionally ministerial opposition was responsible for acts of hostility toward the missionaries. Theodore Turley reported that he was accosted by a mob who threatened to horsewhip him and then throw him into a coal pit. At Bridgen, Wilford Woodruff was attacked with rotten eggs, one of which hit him but failed to break until it hit the ground. Another hostile crowd pelted him with stones as he baptized five people. On still another occasion he reported that Mr. John Symons, the rector at Dymock, was responsible for:

stirring up mobs against the Saints which had disturbed the meetings of the Saints in several instances, & on this oc-

---

80 See, for example, Woodruff Journal, 27 July 1840.
81 George A. Smith, "History," 2 May 1840.
82 Fielding, "Diary," 26 July 1840 and 28 February 1841; George A. Smith, "History," 9 December 1840.
83 Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 2 May 1840, Kimball papers.
84 Theodore Turley, Journal, 17 June 1840, manuscript, Church Historical Department.
85 Woodruff Journal, 20 March 1840.
86 Ibid., 9 April 1840.
occasion as we began to gather together, the beat of drums, pails, pans & sticks was herd through the Street & the mob soon collected a Parraded in the Streets in front of the hous we closed the window shetters & doors in the room whare we are, & I opened meeting by singing & Prayer & no sooner had we commenced than the mob armed themselves with eggs, Bricks, rocks, & evry thing els they could lay their hands upon & began to throw they upon the house like a shower of hail stones for nearly an hour they dashed in the windows scattered Stones, Brick, & glass, through the rooms broke the tile on the roof & continued such depredations untill the close of the meeting.\textsuperscript{87}

But the social setting, the Mormon message, proselyting techniques, and opposition provide only part of the story of the Twelve in England. Not to be ignored as an essential element in their success was their personal commitment and the impact this had on the lives of people. The personal side of each of their lives is both touching and inspiring: Parley P. Pratt, for example, learning of the poverty and illness of his family and becoming so homesick that he crosses the Atlantic again to bring them to England; Willard Richards worrying about his frail wife whom he married while on his mission; Wilford Woodruff, the most intimate diarist of all, frequently pouring out his soul in the pages of his diary, probably believing that one day it would be an important source of inspiration; Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young, struggling more than any of the others with problems of writing and spelling, but leading out in the publication ventures of the group and spending long hours writing personal letters that in spite of their halting style carry an intensity of spirit that is indeed inspiring; all of the apostles struggling at first to keep enough money barely to exist, until through the contributions of members and the sale of books they were able to provide themselves with something approaching a comfortable living; and each of them having such impact on the lives of people that throngs gathered round them as they left, giving them tearful farewells reserved for only the most admired and beloved of friends.\textsuperscript{88} A touch-

\textsuperscript{87}Ibid., 16 September 1840.

\textsuperscript{88}Another interesting sidelight is the fact that the American missionaries did not fail to go sightseeing, and the mission therefore probably contributed much to their personal cultural development. Woodruff's diary, for example, is replete with long descriptions, some of them possibly copied from tourist information, of some of the places he visited. Defending the practice—if, indeed, it needed defense—Woodruff, Kimball, and Smith wrote from London
ing excerpt from the papers of George A. Smith, the youngest 
apostle, beautifully typifies the attitude as well as the impact 
of the apostles. On 8 January 1841, he wrote his brother from 
the Staffordshire Potteries:

This cold Weather Makes me think of you as I have to sleep 
alone and find it vary cold but I have A good Bed and 
plenty of cloths to keep one man and the Night passes vary 
comfortably as I seldom go to Bed before 12 o clock and vary 
often Lay till 2 o clock in the Morning. This comes from 
my having So many Who come to hear me talk and receive 
instruction from me . . . you may well think I have to be 
A teacher of good Principles to them that Receive my testi-
mony and you cannot think how foolish it makes me feel 
to Be Looked up to with So much Earnestness by Persons 
Who have been Professors of Religion and Preachers of the 
Different Sects. I thank the Lord for the Wisdom he has 
given me and the Success I have had in the teaching thes 
Men for there is Now in this District No less than 28 of-
ficial Members in the Church and they all Look to me for 
instruction as children to A Father and this Makes me feel 
vary Small indeed and Causes me to cry unto my father 
Who is in heaven for Wisdom and Prudence to do my 
fathers Work and Sound his gospel to the World.89

CULMINATION AND GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Joseph Smith could not have been more pleased with the ac-
complishments of the Twelve in England, but in October 1840, 
he counseled them to return home in the spring. "Having car-
rried the testimony to that land," he wrote, "and numbers 
having received it, the leaven can now spread without your 
being obliged to stay."90 His optimism was not misplaced.

on 28 October 1840: "As we consider it perfectly consistent with our calling, 
with reason and revelation, that we should form a knowledge of kingdoms and 
countries, whether it be at home or abroad, whether it be ancient or modern, 
or whether it be of things past present or to come, whether it be in heaven, 
earth or hell, air or seas; or whether we obtain this knowledge by being local or 
travelling, by study or faith, by dreams or by visions, by revelation or by 
prophecy, it mattereth not to us; if we can but obtain a correct principle and 
knowledge of things as they are, in their true light, past, present, and to come. 
It is under such a view of things that we are endeavoring to avail ourselves of 
every opportunity in our travels among the nations of the earth to record an 
account of things as they pass under our observation; extracts of which we may 
forward to you from time to time, which may not be uninteresting to your 
readers" (Times and Seasons, 2:261).

89George A. Smith to Lyman Smith, 8 January 1841. See also Richard 
Rushton to George A. Smith, 25 September 1840. The George A. Smith file 
contains many letters from Rushton, his son, and others which demonstrate ten-
der feelings for the young apostle.

90HC 4:227. In the same letter Joseph expressed concern over possible
There were 5,814 Saints in Britain by the time the apostles left in April 1841 and another 800 had emigrated.\(^{91}\) For the next two decades missionary activity produced a steady flow of emigrants to America. While many people also fell away from the Church, its attraction was such that the number of new converts continued greatly to exceed the dropout rate. It was only after the issue of plural marriage received widespread attention in Britain that missionary success there began to wane.

When the apostles met in Liverpool to begin the journey homeward, they had an air of prosperity and success about them. The last few days before their departure were especially busy, with Saints arriving from all over England to sail with them for New York, the elders buying clothes and presents, and hundreds of Saints gathering to wish them fond farewell. As a result the Mormons were not ready to leave on time, but such was their newfound prestige that Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor were able to persuade the shipowners to delay the sailing for eight days. As Brigham Young later explained it, "they were urgent and anxious to oblige us, for we had charted and fitted out several vessels and as our emigration promised to be a large business they wanted to carry us home."\(^{92}\) Wilford Woodruff confided a little more humbly in his diary: "Truly the Lord hath blessed us in a manner not looked for. It hath truly been a miracle what God hath wrought by our hands in this land since we have been here and I am astonished when I look at it."\(^{92}\) The difference between all this and the arrival of the same men as eager but penniless and unnoticed missionaries a year earlier was indeed profound.

On 21 April 1841, seven apostles and 120 Mormon emigrants boarded the ship Rochester in Liverpool and set sail for America. As Wilford Woodruff habitually expressed it, they "took the parting hand" with Parley P. Pratt, who was to remain in England, and Orson Hyde, who had stopped in England on his way to Palestine.

But the apostles had one more surprise awaiting them, for as significant as their mission was to the gathering it had armed conflict in Britain, and this may have been another reason he wanted the apostles home.


\(^{92}\)From an address given in Salt Lake City, 17 July 1870, *Journal of Discourses*, 13:12.

\(^{93}\)Woodruff Journal, 16 April 1841.
another important consequence for them: a consequence perhaps related to the great sense of solidarity and unity of purpose which they had achieved during that momentous year. Shortly after their return to Nauvoo Joseph Smith declared that henceforth the Twelve would be responsible not only for the affairs of the Church in the world, but for setting in order the affairs of the stakes also, an assignment which heretofore they had not received. In a sense, the apostles’ mission to England was a trial by fire which helped prepare them for the increased administrative responsibilities to come. When informed of the new assignment, Brigham Young was disappointed, for this meant that he could no longer devote as much time to missionary work, but the leader of the successful British Mission accepted gracefully his augmented though unwanted responsibility.94

Thus the mission of the Twelve to England ended, though the harvest would continue for years to come. In a period when Britain was experiencing chronic economic and social difficulties, the Mormon apostles and their co-workers presented an attractive alternative for many working-class Englishmen. More appealing to them than either the system they knew or a socialist utopia governed by the dictatorship of the proletariat was the gospel message of a millennial world government headed by Jesus Christ. The hardships and frustrations of the “hungry forties” could be set aside for the hope of building God’s true Zion in the New World. The gospel principles preached by the representatives of Zion were readily believable for they were mostly familiar, and they satisfied an inner longing among some members of the working classes that they seemed unable to find in previous wandering from sect to sect. This, as much if not more than the uniqueness of Mormon doctrine, would seem to account for the impressive missionary success in 1840-41.

94HC 4:403.
Mormon Bibliography: 1974

Chad J. Flake*

Several years ago ("Mormon Bibliography: 1971," BYU Studies 12[Spring 1972]: 292-294), I prefaced the Mormon bibliography with a note concerning the many reproductions of Mormon books available due to the offset printing method which made such a reproduction financially profitable. At that time I noted the lack of expertise in selecting books for reprinting, citing several titles that were ill-chosen.

During the last several years new companies, that is, new to the field of Mormon bibliography, have begun reprinting Mormon titles. The more prolific are the Martin Mormon Reprints, of Provo and Nauvoo, Xerox University Microfilms of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the S. K. Taylor Publishing Company of Dallas, Texas. The least comprehensible of the three is the S. K. Taylor Publishing Company, which seems to print items without any apparent reason. For instance, it printed "Report of the Glasgow Quarterly Conference, held in the Mechanics’ Institution Hall . . . June 15th and 16th, 1850" which has little interest. Also it seems that in Texas it is so removed from Utah publishing that it was unaware that Everett Cooley was editing Elizabeth Kane’s Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah and Arizona (Philadelphia, 1894). The result was that the University of Utah reprint was a superior piece of printing to the Taylor edition and also had Professor Cooley’s substantive notes.

The selection of items to be reprinted by the Martin Mormon Reprints is better, and with few exceptions, Mr. Martin has chosen items of great importance and scholars will enjoy hard copies of these works. His copy, offset printing from

*Professor Flake is director of Special Collections of the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
Xerox copies, leaves much to be desired, and he occasionally prints on yellow, blue and other colored papers. His catalog lists 105 pamphlets, broadsides, etc., and eight books. Of the latter the reprinting of Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* seems a bit esoteric.

Xerox University Microfilms is including a section on Mormonism in its projected microfilm collection on the American West. The selection for this is very poor, including such non-essential items as Robert Richard's *California Crusoe*, Joseph H. Jackson's *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson...* and the Schmucker reworking of Henry Mayhew's *The Mormons* in which he turned an otherwise factual book into an anti-Mormon polemic. Missing from the list are such necessities as John Corrill's *A Brief History of the Leading Causes of the Hancock Mob...*; William M. Daniels' *A Correct Account of the Murder of Generals Jose H. and Hyrum Smith*; Gededrah H. Grant's *The Truth for the Mormons*; Heber C. Kimball's *Journal of Heber C. Kimball*; Edward Tullidge's *Life of Joseph the Prophet*, or Joseph Smith's *Voice of Truth*; to mention only a few.

However, none of these endeavors matches Research Publications, Inc.'s reprints of 29 periodicals and 192 books, pamphlets, etc. which was described at length in *BYU Studies* 8 (Spring 1968):335. This collection was brought together under the able direction of Archibald Hanna, Jr., Curator, Yale Collection of Western Americana, and remains the most substantive reprint collection on Mormon Americana.

In the current Mormon Bibliography, most references to general Church periodicals, except for selected items from the *Ensign*, have been omitted inasmuch as they are indexed elsewhere. As always great reliance has been placed on *Mormon Americana*, Volume 15.

**HISTORICAL**


——. "The Keep-a-Pitchinin or the Mormon Pioneer was Human." *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 331-44.


Williams, Pamela S. "We Are the Church in Iran." *Ensign* 4 (April 1974): 10-12.


**DOCTRINAL**


Braun, Henry  *Thoughts of a Mormon Convert (Pro and Con)*, Vol. 1. Salt Lake City: The Watchmen upon the Towers of Latter-day Israel, 1974.


**INSPIRATIONAL**


**BIOGRAPHY AND FAMILY HISTORY**

Clayton, Roberta Flake. *Pioneer Men of Arizona.* Mesa, Arizona: Roberta Flake Clayton, 1974. Roberta Flake Clayton began working on this book shortly after her 97th birthday. Most of the biographies are of Arizona Mormons and are often poorly written. It is a monument to a person of that age who is legally blind.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Reviewed by Rodman W. Paul, Harkness Professor of History at the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena.

Few trends in recent western historical writing have been as important or as encouraging as the boom in Mormon studies, and in this boom the Mormons themselves have played the principal role. As if tired of waiting for non-Mormons to provide objective new insights into the often controversial history of the Mormon people, young Mormon scholars have plunged enthusiastically into research and debate over their group's past.

In their efforts they have been helped greatly by several institutional changes. One was the founding of *Dialogue* in 1966 as a journal for serious and open discussion of the big intellectual uncertainties, including historical interpretations, that intelligent younger Mormons face as they carry into the late twentieth century a pattern of beliefs and attitudes that reflect the early nineteenth century and that came into being among a simpler, less educated population than today's oncoming generation. Almost simultaneously the Mormon History Association was established to provide a forum for consideration of historical issues, and to draw together the growing number of scholars with a special interest in that particular subject. A third change was the wise decision of the Church authorities to open the Church's rich archival collections to scholars, so that henceforth books and articles could be based on solid research rather than on inference and legend. Equally important was the decision to appoint as Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington, the ablest and best-known Mormon historian and the first professionally trained scholar to be
called to that post. Along with Arrington’s new Church position has gone a “name” chair in western history at Brigham Young University and the directorship of the Center for Western History at that same university, so that Arrington now has an opportunity to exert a wide influence.

As part of his program to develop modern Mormon scholarship, Arrington has established a new Church-sponsored “Mormon Heritage” series, under his own general editorship, while at the same time he has contributed the present biography of Charles C. Rich as the first volume in Brigham Young University’s new series, “Studies in Mormon History,” which is under the general editorship of another well-known scholar, James B. Allen. Parenthetically it should be remarked that these two series take their place alongside a veritable galaxy of already existing publishing outlets at Salt Lake City, Provo, and Logan, with the result that there are more opportunities for publishing in Mormon history today than in any other field of western history. What’s more, since the Church authorities have permitted Arrington to recruit a good-sized staff of professionally trained historians, in addition to those who were already on the faculties of Utah’s several universities, there are probably more Utahns studying the Mormons today than there are Texans studying cowboys!

Arrington’s biography of Charles C. Rich thus can be viewed not only as having significance in its own right, but also as constituting an illustration of the nature of the new Mormon historical scholarship. In choosing Rich as his subject, Arrington gave himself an assignment that was at once inviting and competitive—inviting because Rich has traditionally been regarded as being less controversial than most early Mormon leaders; competitive because Rich is one of the very few prominent Mormons for whom we have long had a passable biography, John Henry Evans’ Charles Coulson Rich: Pioneer Builder of the West (1936). While Evans’ book was laudatory and uncritical, it nevertheless had a sincerity and courage that made it attractive. Evans consciously asked himself the big questions: Why did Rich decide to become a Mormon? Why did he become a polygamist? Why did he obey every one of his Church’s severe demands for service?

In reworking the story of Rich’s life of dedicated service, Arrington has been able to study a much larger body of
primary material than was available to Evans. Significantly, Arrington tells us that "the most extensive collection of manuscript sources" for this book was in the Church Archives. In other words, the very publication of this volume is a justification for the decision to open the Church Archives to research. But so, too, does Arrington's use of the manuscripts show how much of an improvement the new scholarship is over the old. Where Evans was simple and almost casual in his use of evidence, and never documented his assertions, Arrington is careful, precise, and thorough, and backs up his text with forty pages of footnotes in fine print, plus a detailed bibliography that makes evident the comprehensive nature of his search for evidence. Where Evans handled his subject so uncritically and with so little detail that the reader was given no opportunity to sense any flaws in Rich's character or performance, Arrington marches determinedly forward with a careful and full description of each episode. He does not editorialize or speculate and rarely points to possible shortcomings in Rich or the Mormons; rather, his method seems to be to present the facts so fully that they will truly speak for themselves. In part this approach has been forced upon the author by Rich himself, for the latter seems to have been a taciturn man whose journals "usually told what he did and what he saw, but not how he did things, why he did them, or what his concerns were as an administrator. . . .

"In journal writing he was inclined to pay more attention to unique and remarkable sights than to his own problems and decisions."

If this sometimes leads to a kind of blandness, a striking example is the handling of Rich's extra marriages. After Rich and his devoted wife had gone through hardships together, suddenly we are told, in a chapter that deals primarily with the bloody collision between the Mormons of Nauvoo and their "gentile" neighbors of Carthage, Illinois, that in a period of eight days Rich acquired three additional wives, and a year later a fourth. With impressive understatement, Arrington comments merely that "Rich's new responsibilities must have seemed almost overwhelming in the face of the challenges confronting the Mormons." Way down at the end of the book, just before the short concluding chapter, there is a separate chapter entitled "The Wives and Families of Charles C. Rich."
Here one page is devoted to a cautious review of the very limited evidence as to how the first Mrs. Rich felt about polygamy and the other wives.

As this suggests, one of the consistent characteristics of the book is its subordination of the role of women, a subordination that probably reflects very accurately their actual role in nineteenth century Mormon life. Repeatedly Arrington points out that Rich was always being dispatched on some new mission for the Church, while leaving his wives to fend for themselves under conditions of real hardship. A thoughtful reader is left to wonder whether Brigham Young ever paused, in compassion, before exacting still another sacrifice of an already overburdened family that had given far more than its fair share. And equally the reader is left to ask himself, why did Rich always agree to go?

Another interesting problem is the question of miracles. Mormon history is replete with miracles, for the Mormons, like the Old Testament folk for whom they felt such a kinship, knew that the Lord was on their side and saw His hand in each fortunate occurrence. Again Arrington simply recounts the events as precisely as the evidence permits, and editorializes no more than to remark that the Mormons saw the working of the Lord’s will in this or that particular happening. The famous seagulls, whom Mormon legend credits with saving the 1848 crop from an onslaught of crickets, suffer some reduction in importance when thus tested by contemporary evidence.

In summary, this is a book that is always honest, thorough, and sensible, but not much given to speculative probing. It is written in a style that is clear and pleasantly readable. In his bibliographical essay Arrington speaks of his book as a “history” of Rich, instead of using a more personal term such as “biography” or “life.” The distinction is important, for the reader is brought tantalizingly close to Rich’s personality without ever feeling that he truly knows the man. The details of Rich’s life are here, but the very fulness of those details makes one long for the additional insights that could have been provided by interpretive analysis and by a more deliberate attempt to reconcile conflicting evidence. We are given abundant reason to appreciate that Rich was a fine leader, but it isn’t clear how he won people’s confidence save that he was careful and considerate. Again, we know that
he served often as a preacher and chairman of meetings, yet he does not seem articulate. He loved his wives and children and yet made them get along without him. He could be farsighted but also stubborn and literal. If only we could look into the mind and soul of this fascinatingly contradictory personality, how much we would understand about the Mormons of the heroic era!


Reviewed by Dennis L. Lythgoe, associate professor of history at Massachusetts State College at Bridgewater.

Davis Bitton does not pretend to present a complete volume of Mormon humor. Rather, he has compiled a small collection of passages that he especially liked, "curious situations," not necessarily "humorous in a strict sense," drawn either from early Utah newspapers or from material in the Church Historical Department. The concept is refreshing, and some of the selections are choice, even hilarious. Most memorable is the extract from Perrigrine Sessions' Diary of 1853 about Sarah Kirkman rattling a chain at night to frighten her husband into believing he was being punished for failing to say his prayers. Almost as amusing is an account taken from an 1880 *Juvenile Instructor* describing playful boys teasing a sleeping member in church. Priddy Meeks' colorful 1850 advice on dress standards could bring needed perspective to modern-day zealots. And the *Deseret News' detailed, practical explanation of the Word of Wisdom* is a gem.

However, the rest of the collection is inconsistent: many selections are just not funny, and several could have been deleted because they do not represent "Mormon" wit (e.g., an Irish letter reproduced in the *Deseret News* because it was "appreciated" by the Mormons). While John Pulsipher's terse proposal of marriage by letter is typical of pioneer days, others are more amusing. For instance, in his recent biography of Charles C. Rich, Leonard Arrington includes an 1837 letter written by Rich proposing marriage to Sarah Pea that is a treasure in Mormon literature.
Bitton's ten categories are potpourri, courtship, pioneering, preaching, church meetings, dress, Word of Wisdom, persecution, stories from exchanges, and subscription blurbs. Obviously, the list is incomplete, and the most notable omission is polygamy. The collection would be more valuable had he included at least selected stories about plural marriage.

Finally, the book gives the impression of having been hurriedly put together. The introduction, for example, is filled with careless sentences not characteristic of the author. Nevertheless, this little book is a welcome beginning in Mormon humor that Mormons everywhere will enjoy. Hopefully it is not the end.


Reviewed by Ron Tyler, Curator of History and Director of Publications, Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas.

Maynard Dixon is a well-known Western American artist of the second generation. Born in 1875 too late to witness the events of the "classic" West, he taught himself to draw and paint in the tradition of Frederic Remington and Charles M. Russell, with whom he corresponded and talked. After successfully illustrating for various New York magazines, Dixon returned to his native West to create an image that still endures, a Western characteristic long remembered by those who have shared with Dixon its starkness, its reality, its grandeur.

A prolific artist, Dixon excelled with such masterpieces as The Golden Range and the Earth Knower. He produced murals for schools and public places throughout the West, although some of his best work was executed for Anita Baldwin, his patron. Dixon took seriously Remington's advice to "draw—draw—draw." He died in 1946, having finished hundreds of oil paintings, a personal and stylized record of the West according to "a realistic insight rare among artists."

Burnside has sketched the facts of Dixon's life quickly and neatly in a lengthy essay, treating Dixon's influences and his circle of friends. Without delving into Dixon's personal life
too deeply, he has shown the effects of two disastrous marriages—one to Dorothea Lange—on Dixon's work. Throughout the book Burnside's economy of words and detail seems to speak of the man Dixon. One gathers that Dixon also would have appreciated Burnside's economy, just as Dixon wasted no lines or details in his forceful, dramatic Indian portraits and landscapes. Because Burnside rarely peers beneath the surface—in fact, seems to have had few facts about Dixon's personal life—one gathers that the artist was a loner, a man with few close friends. Dixon seemed to value communication with the public through his pictures more than communication with his fellow artists. Naturally the reader is left wishing for a more intimate portrait.

Dixon's record speaks well for itself. His earth-colored pictures, his stoic Indians, his homage to the cowboy and buffalo of the nineteenth century are familiar to most Westerners and are considered a part of Western history.

Brigham Young University Press has given both Burnside, a professor of art history there, and Dixon a splendid format—a handsome, oversized book lavish with wide margins, thirty-two color plates, and eighty-three black and white plates. Just as helpful to the scholar are the appendices: a catalog of Dixon's oil paintings, his illustrations in books and periodicals, his exhibitions, and the locations of his murals.


Reviewed by Eugene E. Campbell, professor of history at Brigham Young University.

This interesting book, first published in 1874 in a limited edition, is now made available to a wider audience through the efforts of the Tanner Trust Fund, and the University of Utah Library, under the general editorship of Everett L. Cooley—reprinted as a part of the series on "Utah, the Mormons and the West." *Twelve Mormon Homes* meets the
series' stipulations that their publications should "have intellectual appeal as accurate history and . . . emotional interest as good literature" in an admirable way. It presents a valuable historical picture of home and community life in several Utah towns visited by Elizabeth and Thomas Kane in the course of a trip with Brigham Young from Salt Lake City to St. George in December 1872. In addition, it gives important insights into the character and personality of Brigham Young in his declining years, and a view of polygamy through the eyes of a cultured Easterner, who was much opposed to the practice, but sympathetic to those who practiced it—especially the women.

The literary style is an intimate conversational narrative written by an intelligent, educated lady who realized that she was having a rare experience and wanted to make the most of it. Her descriptions of the scenery, homes, customs, food, religious attitudes and practices, and personalities help to make her book very interesting reading. Her allusions to well-known books and historical personalities give an added dimension to the somewhat folksy travelogue.

One of the most interesting contributions of the book is her impressions of Brigham Young, who had been indicted for adultery and murder a year before, and had been under house arrest for 120 days earlier in 1872. The Mormon leader's appearance, attitudes, and sources of power were carefully observed by his Eastern guest. She was amused by his odd traveling costume, "a great surtout, reaching almost to his feet, of dark-green cloth (Mahomet color?) lined with fur; a fur collar, cap, and a pair of sealskin boots with undyed fur outward [and] . . . a hideous pair of green goggles." But when he removed the goggles, and she met his "keen, blue-gray eyes . . . with their characteristic look of shrewd and cunning insight," she felt "no further inclination to laugh." She was amused at his insistence that every food cover on the table be removed when he pronounced grace and worried about the food getting cold as the prayers were prolonged. But she recognized him to be an effective leader:

I noticed that he never seemed uninterested, but gave an unforced attention to the person addressing him, which suggested a mind free from care. I used to fancy that he wasted a great deal of power in this way; but I soon saw
that he was accumulating it. Power, I mean, at least as the
driving wheel of his people's industry.

Although she shows a constant interest in polygamy as prac-
ticed by her various hosts, she never speculates about Brigham
Young's numerous families.

Everett Cooley's introduction gives valuable information
about Thomas L. Kane's relationship with the Mormons, in-
cluding a revisionist view concerning his early motives for
befriending the Saints. The editor's footnotes are almost all
of an explanatory nature, made necessary by Elizabeth Kane's
attempt to conceal her hosts' identities by changing their names.
Cooley's identification of these people along with other bio-
graphical notes makes Mrs. Kane's narrative much more in-
teresting and informative.

There is very little to criticize about this publication. Per-
haps some mention could have been made about Thomas
Kane's role in publicizing myths concerning the seagull and
cricket episode of 1848, but this is a relatively minor matter.
One disappointing aspect of the book is that it ends too soon—
just when they arrive in St. George. There is no description of
the two-month stay in Utah's Dixie. The editor has attempted
to supply this information but is not even certain of their place
of residence. Perhaps more extensive research will fill this gap
in the Kanes' interesting and informative experience.

Rhodehamel, Josephine DeWitt, and Raymund Francis Wood.
Ina Coolbrith: Librarian and Laureate of California. Provo,

Reviewed by Helen Hinckley Jones, writer and recently re-
tired teacher of creative writing at Pasadena City College.

Can one, after reading a book twice, write an objective
critical review of a biography which is the result of years of
careful, even loving research? One need only scan the fifty
pages in small print of footnotes and the thirty pages of bibli-
ography to get an idea of the time and care that have gone
into the effort to make Ina Coolbrith live for a new genera-
tion.
I met California’s first poet laureate through a brief chapter in *California Mormons* by Annaleone D. Patton. This, in brief, is Ina’s story.

Ina was born in Nauvoo in 1841, the third daughter of Don Carlos Smith, youngest brother of the Prophet Joseph, and Agnes Coolbrith Smith. She was named Josephine for the Prophet, but she was called Ina. She was never to remember her father, who died at twenty-five when she was a year old. She might have remembered her next older sister, Sophronia, and the assassination of her uncles, Joseph and Hyrum. When the Mormon exodus began Agnes, with Lucy and Emma, three Smith widows, went to St. Louis. Lucy and Emma returned to Nauvoo, but Agnes stayed in St. Louis and married William Pickett, a lexicographer who had fought with the Saints in defense of Nauvoo. Agnes bore Pickett two sons, Don Carlos and William, twins. Later Pickett was attracted to California, and the family went West, living at Spanish Ranch, Marysville, San Francisco, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, then back to the Bay area.

In Los Angeles at the age of seventeen Ina made an unfortunate marriage which ended in divorce. In those days divorce was a disgrace, and the violence which attended this one made it particularly painful. Leaving her happily married sister Agnes in Los Angeles, Ina and the rest of her family moved to San Francisco where Ina adopted her mother’s maiden name; she kept secret to her death her relationship to Joseph Smith and her unhappy marriage.

Literature was very much alive in San Francisco. Ina was accepted by Bret Harte, Charles Warren Stoddard, Mark Twain, Joaquin Miller, Ambrose Bierce, and a host of other young writers as an equal. She became part of the Golden Gate Trinity—Ina, Harte, and Stoddard. During this time much of her poetry was written, poems about nature, about love and loss. Her lyrics appeared in each copy of the *Overland Monthly*. Soon Bret Harte left for the East and he was followed by others. There were five of the San Francisco group in England at the same time. Ina dreamed of England and she could have supported herself there with journalism and poetry, but she had heavy home responsibilities. In order to earn enough to support her enlarged family—her mother, her widowed sister and two children, and the half-Indian daugh-
ter of Joaquin Miller—she took the position of Oakland's first librarian.

During this period of worry, domestic drudgery, and difficult work in the library she wrote little poetry. Later, when she returned to San Francisco she turned most of her writing powers to prose. Quite remarkable was the resurgence of her poetic powers in her old age. She was seventy-four when she became poet laureate of California.

This meager biography in Mrs. Patton's book sent me to the rare book room of the Pasadena City Library to read all the Coolbrith poems in print. Here, I thought, was a woman who deserved a full biography. Though all of her poetry has a delicate charm, a natural "singing without being song," it was her tremendous ability as a catalyst that impressed me most. Everyone who was associated with her became more creative, more productive because of that relationship.

It wasn't until I had exhausted research possibilities in California and Utah and visited every place where Ina had been from Nauvoo to tiny Coolbrith Park in San Francisco that I was told in the California Room of the State Library, "Mrs. Rhodehamel has her book on Miss Coolbrith ready for the publisher." I should have realized that such a book was in progress. Some of the letters in the Coolbrith collection in the Bancroft Library were dated by J. R. One of the librarians of the Oakland City Library had said, "One of our former librarians has been interested in this scrapbook." Although I had already sent chapters to an Eastern publisher, I withdrew them and waited for Mrs. Rhodehamel's book. After reading this biography I know that I shall not write the one that I had projected. Perhaps I shall write about Ina's pioneer childhood, her gay, tragic years in Los Angeles, and the fantastic period in San Francisco—maybe for younger readers.

Having gone over the research material myself I have even greater admiration for the work of Rhodehamel and Wood. Yet there are some details, some interpretations on which we differ. It is important to Latter-day Saints, for example, to know just when Ina ceased to be a Mormon. Rhodehamel and Wood believe that this occurred when the family left Missouri. Further, they conjecture that Pickett, Agnes, and the children avoided Utah on their journey to California. There is solid evidence, however, that Pickett was involved with
the Mormons in Kanesville, Iowa, during the late 1840s; that he and his family lived in Utah before leaving for California sometime in 1852; and that Agnes and her children were cordially received by Church members in San Bernardino subsequent to their move to the Pacific coast. Years later when her cousin, J. Winter Smith, asked Ina why the secrecy regarding her heritage, she answered:

Long ago my stepfather was establishing himself in business in a new state, my mother deemed it expedient to keep her name secret. Prejudice against the Church was intense. Innuendo and inference could have ruined his aspirations. Sister and I made the promise. Mother died without releasing us from the vow. To me a promise is a sacred thing. When I am gone you may tell the world.

To the end of the fantastic San Francisco period, the Rhodehamel-Wood biography is well told and easy to read. In fact, the authors frequently go into the mind and heart of the heroine and we feel that we are reading a biographical novel. That this was not the authors' intentions is made clear by such phrases as "This, of course is speculation."

With the Oakland period the story moves more slowly. There are many more meticulous details, more sidetrips into loosely related matters. (This may seem slow to me because I am not a librarian.) The detail grows heavier as the book progresses. There is not enough forward moving story to carry the minutia. At times the book almost grinds to a halt when we read what affairs Ina did or did not attend. Who was or wasn't there. What poem Ina wrote for the occasion and who read it.

The story flares to life again as she seeks to hold on to her youth through encouraging and assisting such young friends as Carl Syfforth and Charles Phillips. Here again Ina is acting as catalyst, although she is failing in health and bitter about her hardships and loneliness.

The authors sometimes repeat material—about William Peterson and Joseph Charles Duncan, for example. We feel ourselves reading what we have already been told. (The editor should have drawn the attention of the authors to such paragraphs.) Probably the authors' problem lies in the organization of the whole work. Part of it is chronological, part topical. Having told about the Bohemian Club from first to last,
the information must be given again when some of Ina's dealings with the group are described in chronological order.

It is difficult to find Coolbrith poems on the ordinary library shelf and she is no longer anthologized. The authors quote some of her poems in full, more in part, placing them in the narrative with taste and discrimination.

Any reader interested in Mormons in California, in Victorian poetry in America, in California history, will read the first two parts of the book with appreciation and avid interest. Part three, devoted to the problems of the Oakland library, may interest librarians. Unless one has special background in the social and intellectual history of the Bay area, he will find parts four and five rather hard going.

The Brigham Young University Press has brought out some beautiful books. Unfortunately this is not one of them. Incredibly it is printed in lavender ink; even the jacket and photographs are lavender. Lavendar is the color of old age. Why recall the waning years of the poet when she was suffering from rheumatoid arthritis, was bitter, lugubrious, crochety, and aloof? I prefer to think of her scintillating, filled with physical and intellectual energy, dreams, poetry and love of the earth.

As a piece of meticulous research, *Ina Coolbrith*, by Josephine DeWitt Rhodehamel and Raymund Francis Wood is superb. As a readable book it is somewhat disappointing. And the bookmaking! Pour the lavendar ink down the drain, Sir!
Notes
and Comments

THE APOSTLE PETER
AND THE KIRTLAND TEMPLE

Lyndon Cook*

In a recent article regarding the Kirtland Temple the writer indicated that Section 110 of the Doctrine and Covenants, a revelation given on 3 April 1836, was incomplete and that it should include an appearance of the apostle Peter.¹ There seems little question that Peter did visit the Kirtland Temple and was seen and identified by the Prophet Joseph Smith, but the date of that appearance has been confused, and the matter needs additional consideration.

It will be remembered that on Sunday, 3 April 1836, approximately 1,000 Saints assembled to worship in the Kirtland Temple. During the morning session, Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten addressed the congregation. In the afternoon, after the sacrament had been administered and distributed, the Prophet and Oliver Cowdery retired to the pulpit, the veils being dropped to separate them from the congregation, and engaged in solemn and silent prayer. When they rose to their feet, a series of visions were opened to them.

Although the Prophet recorded that the Savior, Moses, Elias, and Elijah were seen, the last three prophets committing to Joseph and Oliver certain divine keys and powers by which the full program of the Patriarchal Order could be built up and

---

*Lyndon Cook, formerly a student instructor for the College of Religious Instruction at BYU, will begin teaching seminary in Mesa, Arizona this fall.

perfected,2 there is no evidence to suggest that Peter appeared
in the Kirtland Temple on this date. It is highly unlikely that
Joseph Smith would have failed to record an appearance by the
apostle had he come with the others. Further consideration
would suggest that it was at the dedicatory services of the Kirt-
land Temple, on 27 March 1836, that Peter made an appear-
ance, seven days prior to the appearances recorded in D&C
110. There are three corroborating accounts of the visitation
of an angel at the dedication of 27 March, and one of those
identifies the angelic visitor as Peter. The Prophet Joseph
tells us that "Frederick G. Williams arose and testified that
while Sidney Rigdon was making his first prayer an angel
entered the window and took his seat between Father Smith
and himself, and remained there during the prayer."3

Heber C. Kimball also recorded that "During the cere-
monies of the dedication, an angel appeared and sat near
President Joseph Smith, sen., and Frederick G. Williams, so
that they had a fair view of his person. He was a very tall
personage, black eyes, white hair, and stoop shouldered; his
garment was whole, extending to near his ankles; on his feet
he had sandals. He was sent as a messenger to accept of the
dedication."4

Truman O. Angell informs us that the angelic being seen
by Frederick G. Williams and Joseph Smith, Sr., during Sid-
ney Rigdon's prayer was Simon Peter, the ancient apostle.
"F. G. Williams being in the upper east stand . . . rose and
testified that midway during the prayer an Holy Angel came
and seated Himself in the stand. When the afternoon meeting
assembled Joseph feeling very much elated, arose the first thing
and said the Personage who had appeared in the morning was
the Angel Peter come to accept the dedication."5

Thus the corroborative accounts of Joseph Smith, Heber
C. Kimball, and Truman O. Angell record the visit of an angel

2See Doctrine and Covenants 110. See also Joseph Smith, Jr., History
of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake
3HC 2:427; Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate 2 (March 1836):
281.
4Orson F. Whitney, Life of Heber C. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Kimball
Family, 1888), p. 103. See also Woman's Exponent 9 (1 February 1881):
130.
5Truman O. Angell, Journal, p. 5, typescript, Special Collections, Harold
B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
to the Kirtland Temple on 27 March 1836. Angell's report provides the additional but important note that the angel who came to accept the dedication of the temple was Peter. This being the case, Section 110 undoubtedly is not incomplete.
Index

Volume 15, Nos. 1-4
Autumn 1974, Winter, Spring, and Summer 1975
Compiled by
Gary P. Gillum*

AUTHORS

Alexander, Thomas G., review: Reid, LETTERS OF LONG AGO, 375.
Bell, Elouise, review: Marshall, THE RUMMAGE SALE, 121.
Best, Rita Ann, "To My Father," 104.
Bitton, Davis and Gary L. Bunker, "Mesmerism and Mormonism," 146.

Bunker, Gary L. and Davis Bitton, "Mesmerism and Mormonism," 146.
Campbell, Eugene E., review: Kane, TWELVE MORMON HOMES VISITED IN SUCCESSION ON A JOURNEY THROUGH UTAH TO ARIZONA, 543.
Clark, Marden J., "Liberating Form," 29.
Corry, Iris Parker, "Poems," 308.
Crawley, Iris Parker, "Poems," 308.
Crawley, Iris Parker, "Poems," 308.

*Mr. Gillum is assistant reference librarian and bibliographer at Brigham Young University.


Hartley, William, "In Order to be in Fashion I am Called on a Mission: Wilford Woodruff's Parting Letter to Emma as He Joins the Underground," 110.


Jones, Helen Hinckley, review: Rhodehamel and Wood, INA COOLBRITH: LIBRARIAN AND LAUREATE OF CALIFORNIA, 545.


Layton, Stanford J., review: Jesse, LETTERS OF BRIGHAM YOUNG TO HIS SONS, 378.

Leonard, Glen M., review: Miller, NAUVOO: THE CITY OF SEPHE, 125.


Lyon T. Edgar, "Doctrinal Development of the Church During the Nauvoo Sojourn, 1839-1846," 435.

Lythgoe, Dennis L., review: Bitton, WIT & WHIMSY IN MORMON HISTORY, 541.

Madsen, Truman G., "Are Christians Mormon?" 73.

Madsen, Truman G., "Guest Editor's Prologue," 387.


Marshall, Jean S., "Romanesque," 42.


Nibley, Hugh, "Beyond Politics," 3.

Owens, Robert F., review: Godfrey, CHARLES SHUMWAY, A PIONEER'S LIFE, 127.

Paul, Rodman W., review: Arrington, CHARLES C. RICH: MORMON GENERAL AND WESTERN FRONTIERSMAN, 537.

Pratt, Steven, "Eleanor McLean and the Murder of Parley P. Pratt," 225.


Revius, Jacobus, "He Bore Our Anguish," 103.


Tate, Charles D., Jr., translation of the poem, "Hy Droeh Onse Smerten," 103.


Woodford, Robert J., "Jesse Gause, Counselor to the Prophet," 362.

"Another Home," poem by Iris Corry, 308.

TITLES

"Doctrinal Development of the Church During the Nauvoo Sojourn, 1839-1846," by T. Edgar Lyon, 435.
"Eleanor McLean and the Murder of Parley P. Pratt," by Steven Pratt, 225.
"He Bore Our Anguish," a poem by Jacobus Revisus, translated by Charles D. Tate, Jr., 103.
"In Order to be in Fashion I am Called on a Mission: Wilford Woodruff's Parting Letter to Emma as he Joins the Underground," by William Hartley, 110.
"Jesse Gause, Counselor to the Prophet," by Robert J. Woodford, 362.
"Liberating Form," by Marden J. Clark, 29.
"Members Without a Church: Japanese Mormons in Japan From 1924 to 1948," by J. Christopher Conkling, 191.
"Mesmerism and Mormonism," by Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, 146.
"Mormon Shade," a poem by Iris Corry, 308.
"Nauvoo's Whistling and Whittling Brigade," by Thurmon Dean Moody, 491.
"A Note on Reviewing Books," by Chad J. Flake, 118.
"Romanesque," a poem by Jean S. Marshall, 42.
"To My Father," a poem by Rita Ann Best, 104.

BOOK REVIEWS


CHARLES SHUMWAY, A PIONEER'S LIFE, by Kenneth Godfrey, reviewed by Robert F. Owens, 127.
THE GOLDEN LEGACY: A FOLK
HISTORY OF J. GOLDEN KIMBALL, by Thomas E. Cheney, reviewed by Peter Crawley, 382.

INA COOLBRITH: LIBRARIAN AND LAUREATE OF CALIFORNIA, by Josephine DeWitt Rhodehame and Raymund Francis Wood, reviewed by Helen Hinckley Jones, 545.

LETTERS OF BRIGHAM YOUNG TO HIS SONS, edited by Dean C. Jessee, reviewed by Stanford J. Layton, 378.

LETTERS OF LONG AGO, by Agnes Just Reid, edited by Brigham D. Madsen, reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander, 375.

MAYNARD DIXON: ARTIST OF THE WEST, by Wesley M. Burnside, reviewed by Ron Tyler, 542.

NAUVOO: THE CITY OF JOSEPH, by David E. and Della S. Miller, reviewed by Glen M. Leonard, 125.


THE RUMMAGGI SALE, by Donald R. Marshall, reviewed by Elouise Bell, 121.

TWELVE MORMON HOMES VISITED IN SUCCESSION ON A JOURNEY THROUGH UTAH TO ARIZONA, by Elizabeth Ward Kane, reviewed by Eugene E. Campbell, 543.

WIT & WHIMSY IN MORMON HISTORY, by Davis Bitton, reviewed by Dennis L. Lythgoe, 541.

SUBJECTS

Adam/ Roberts, B.H., 259.
Ancient Documents/ Christianity, 90.
Animal magnetism/ Mormonism, 146.
Anti-Mormon literature/ Mesmerism, 159.
Apocalypse of Peter, 131.
Apocrypha/ ARCHKO VOLUME, 43.
Archko Volume/ fraudulence, 43.
Articles of Faith/ doctrine in Nauvoo, 445.
Astronomy/ Roberts, B.H., 265.
Atheism/ religion in Soviet Union, 325.
Atonement/ Roberts, B. H., 277
/free agency, 317.
Babcock, Brother/ power of Joseph Smith, 150.
BEN HUR/ ARCHKO VOLUME, 45.
Benbow, John/ conversion to Mormonism, 503.
Bennett, John C./ Nauvoo Charter, 492.
Bibliography/ Mormonism, 527.
Book of Mormon/ Gadianton robbers, 215.

/mission to England, 1840-41, 520.
Book reviewing/ Flake, Chad J., 118.
Braid, James/ hypnosis, 153.
Brodie, Fawn/ power of Joseph Smith, 161.
Celestial marriage/ doctrine in Nauvoo, 443.
Charles, John F./ Whistling and Whistling Brigade, 488.
Children/ social history of Nauvoo, 418.
Christianity/ Mormonism, 73.
Christmas/ fiction, 65.
The Church/ form, 57.
Church and state/ separation, 8.
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints/ Eastern Europe, 344.
Clergy/ mission to England, 1840-41, 514.
Clissold, Edward L./ Church in Japan, 204.
Communism/ religion, 323.
Compassion/ fiction, 65.
Conversions/ mission to England, 1840-41, 509.
Coolbrith, Ina/ book review, 546.
Coptic Gnostic Library of Nag Hammadi, 131.
Cosmology/ Jesus Christ, 263.
Counterinsurgency /
  Book of Mormon vs. modern, 215.
Creation/ God-man relationship, 3.
  /Roberts, B. H., 271.
Creativity/ freedom, 29.
Crime/ repentance, 22.
Dana, Charles Root/ fundraising mission, 105.
Daniel/ politics, 5.
Disease/animal magnetism, 147.
Docetism/ Apocalypse of Peter, 136.
Doctrine/ Nauvoo, 1839-1846, 435.
DuFay, Hortense/ mesmerism, 151.
Duplessis, Paul/ mesmerism, 151.
Earthquake/ Japan Mission, 186.
Ecumenism/ Mormonism, 82.
Emigration/ mission to England, 1840-41, 520.
England/ mission of the Twelve, 1840-41, 499.
  /society and economy, 1840-41, 511.
Eternal progression/ doctrine in Nauvoo, 444.
Europe, Eastern/ religion and Communism, 323.
Evil/ Roberts, B. H., 279.
Faith/ sickness in Nauvoo, 425.
Fall of Adam/
  plan of salvation, 3.
  Roberts, B. H., 280.
Father/ poem, 104.
First Presidency/ Japan mission, 171.
First Presidency (1903), separation of church and state, 8.
Form/ the Church, 37.
  /freedom, 34.
Free Agency/ hypnotism, 169
  /morality, 309.
Freedom/ form in literature, 34.
Fujiwara, Takeo/ Church in Japan, 197.
Gadianton Robbers/ protracted war, 215.
Gause, Jesse/ counselor to Joseph Smith, 362.
Gidgiddoni/ Gadianton robbers, 220.
Gnosticism/ Apocalypse of Peter, 138.
God/ relationship to man, 6.
Godhead/ Christian vs. Mormon, 74
  /doctrine in Nauvoo, 437.
Governments/ laws of man and heaven, 8.
Graham, Winifred/ mesmerism, 159.
Grant, Heber J./ Japan mission, 173.
  /Roberts, B. H., 259.
Great Apostasy/ politics, 12.
Greece/ politics, 23.
Green, Duff/ assistance to Charles Dana, 106.
Hancock, Mosiah/ Whistling and Whittling Brigade, 485.
Harris, Franklin S./ Church in Japan, 196.
Hawkins, Harvey/ mesmerism, 162.
Hayden, Amos S./ power of Joseph Smith, 148.
Healings/ mesmerism, 153.
Hebrew language/ computer analysis of Isaiah, 96.
Higginson, George/ Pratt, Parley P., 237.
Humility/ God and man, 7.
Hypnotism/ mesmerism, 168.
Illinois General Assembly/ Nauvoo Charter, 491.
Immortality/ Apocalypse of Peter, 134.
Insurgency/ Book of Mormon and modern, 215.
Intelligences/ free agency, 309.
  /Roberts, B. H., 268.
Isaiah/ computer analysis of authorship, 95
  /stylistic elements, 95.
Islam/ Communism, 343.
Ivie, Lloyd O./ Japan mission, 183.
Japan, Church in, 1924-1948, 191.
Japan Mission/ 1924 closing, 171
Japanese exclusion law/ Japan mission, 187.
Jared, brother of/ obedience to God, 6.
Jesus Christ/ Apocalypse of Peter, 135
  /atonement/ poem, 103
  /Deity, 272
  /truth, 262.
Kimball, Heber C./ family in Nauvoo, 447
  /mission to England, 1840-41, 508.
McLean, Hector/ murder of Parley P. Pratt, 225.
Meetings/ Nauvoo, 436.
Melchizedek Priesthood/ doctrine in Nauvoo, 441.
Mesmer, Franz Anton/ animal magnetism, 147.
Mesmerism/ Mormonism, 146.
Mexican Mission/ Pratt, Rey L., 293.
Mexico/ Revolution of 1910-1913, 296.
Millennialism/ mission to England, 1840-41, 517.
Missionary work/ Eastern Europe, 345
/ England, 1840-41, 499
/ Japan, 171, 191
/ Mexico, 1910-1931, 293.
Morgan, Dale/ book reviewing, 118.
Mortality/ free agency, 309.
Music/ aesthetics vs. spiritual unity, 365.
Nag Hammadi Library, 131.
Nara, Fujiya/ Church in Japan, 192.
Nationalism/ Eastern Europe, 338.
Nauvoo/ book review, 125
/ doctrinal developments, 435
/ exodus in 1846, 475
/ faith and sickness, 425
/ illustration, 498
/ journal of Eliza R. Snow, 391
/ social history, 417
/ Whistling and Whittling Brigade, 480.
Nauvoo Charter/ defense of Zion, 480, 491.
Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute/ reading habits, 421.
Nauvoo Temple/ ordinances, 442.
Nephi, Son of Helaman/ Gadianton robbers, 217.
Nephites/ Gadianton robbers, 215.
Noon, Sarah/ Kimball, Heber C., 461.
Obedience/ free agency, 309.
/ repentance, 3.
Oedipus Rex/ repentance, 20.
Ordinances/ Roberts, B.H., 286.
Pace, William B./ Whistling and Whittling Brigade, 481.
Paracelsus/ animal magnetism, 147.
Peter/ crucifixion of Christ, 133.
Phrenology/ Kimball, Heber C., 455.
Plan of Salvation/ beginning, 3.
Poems/ "Another Home," 308
/ "He Bore Our Anguish," 103
/ "Mormon Shade," 308
/ "Museum Piece," 41
/ "Romanesque," 42
/ "To My Father," 104.
Poetry/ form, 30.
Poland/ religion and Communism, 334.
Politics/ eternal vs. temporal, 10
/ Mormonism, 4
Polygamy/ doctrine in Nauvoo, 443
/ Kimball, Heber C., 459
/ Kimball, Wilate, 461
/ mesmerism, 155.
Pratt, Orson/ mesmerism, 164
/ mission to England, 1840-41, 508.
Pratt, Parley P./ McLean, Eleanor Jane, 228
/ mission to England, 1840-41, 508
/ murder, 225
/ power of Joseph Smith, 157
Pratt, Rey L./ Mexican Mission, 293.
Pre-Adamite man/ Roberts, B.H., 259.
Preexistence/ doctrine in Nauvoo, 439.
Pre-mortality/ free agency, 309.
Priesthood/ authority to rule, 8.
Psychological warfare/ Gadianton robbers, 215.
Puysegur, Marquis de/ hypnosis, 147.
Quarles, James Addison/
Mahan, William D., 51.
Quorum of the Twelve Apostles/ mission to England, 1840-41, 499.
Reading/ social history of Nauvoo, 422.
Reese, David M./ animal magnetism, 152.
Religion/ Communism in Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 323.
Repentance/ disobedience, 3.
/ Last Days, 19.
Restoration/ politics, 11.
Resurrection/ Roberts, B.H., 290.
Revelation, Continual/ Christianity, 78.
Rigdon, Sidney/ succession to Joseph Smith, 471.
Riley, I. Woodbridge/ psychology and mesmerism, 153.
Roberts, B.H./ portrait, 275.
Roman Catholic church/ Communism, 331.
Russian Orthodox church/ Communism, 331.
St. John, Percy Bolinbroke/ mesmerism, 151.
Salvation for the Dead/ doctrine in Nauvoo, 440.
Santa Domingo/ colonization of the Mormons, 108.
Scofield, N.Y./ mesmerism, 167.
Sermon on the Mount/ Roberts, B.H., 290.
Short story/ form, 31.
Shuro/ Church magazine in Japan, 192.
Sickness/ Nauvoo, 419, 425.
Smith, George A./ Mission to England, 1840-41, 509.
Smith, Joseph, Jr./ animal magnetism, 146
/ building up of Zion, 13
/ crime and sin, 22
/ doctrinal development in Nauvoo, 435
/ established governments, 8
/ Kimball, Heber C., 460
/ laws of men, 11
/ mission to England, 1840-41, 499
/ Nauvoo Charter, 492
/ sealing of Eliza R. Snow to, 391
Smith, Pascal B./ mesmerism, 151.
Snow, Eliza R./ Nauvoo journal, 391
/ patriarchal blessing, 413
/ poems, 395, 399, 400, 402, 403, 407, 409, 412
/ sealing to Joseph Smith, 393.
Snow, Erastus/ Hector McLean, 236.
Snow, Lorenzo/ and Eliza R. Snow, 405-06, 411, 414
Japan Mission, 189.
Soviet Union/ religion and Communism, 325.
Spiritual gifts/ Christian vs. Mormon, 87.
Spiritual power/ Roberts, B.H., 228.
Spiritualism/ mesmerism, 164.
Stimpson, Joseph H./ Japan Mission, 179.
Taylor, Alma O./ Japan Mission, 176.
Taylor, John/ letter to Leonora Taylor, 425
/ mesmerism, 163
/ mission to England, 1840-41, 508
/ priesthood the rule of God, 8.
Temple ordinances/ doctrine in Nauvoo, 441.
Theology, LDS/ Nauvoo, 435.
Tithing/ freedom, 37.
Trees/ poems, 308.
Truth/ Jesus Christ, 262.
Tucker, Pomeroy/ power of Brigham Young, 152.
Turner, J.B./ animal magnetism, 152.
Understanding/ obedience, 7.
Vatican II/ Christian ecumenism, 84.
Virtue/ freedom, 38.
Wallace, Lew/ BEN HUR and ARCHKO VOLUME, 45.
War/ Book of Mormon, 215.
Ward, Maria/ mesmerism, 149.
WARSWAW SIGNAL/ Whistling and Whittling Brigade, 486.
THE WASP/ social history of Nauvoo, 420.
Watanabe, Yoshijiro/ Church in Japan, 200.
Whistling and Whittling Brigade/ Nauvoo, 480.
Whitaker, Lowring A./ Japan Mission, 177.
Women/ social history of Nauvoo, 418.
Woodruff, Asahel H./ letter from Wilford Woodruff, 349.
Woodruff, Emma Smith/ letter from Wilford Woodruff, 111.
Woodruff, Wilford/ letter to Emma Smith Woodruff in 1885, 110.
/ 1838 letter, 349
/ photographs, 351, 361
/ letter to FOREST AND STREAM, 113.
Word of Wisdom/ free agency, 318
/ freedom, 38.
Working class/ England, 1840-41, 499.
Yamaide, Brother/ Japanese poet in the Church, 194.
Yoneyama, Renji/ Church in Japan, 201.
Brigham Young/ and Heber C. Kimball in Nauvoo, 499
/ description of Elizabeth Wood Kane, 544
/ government, 14
/ letters to his sons, 379
/ McLean, Eleanor, 253
/ mesmerism, 164
/ mission to England, 1840-41, 508
/ Whistling and Whittling Brigade, 482.
Young, John R./ McLean, Hector, 229.
Zion/ politics, 21.
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES is a voice for the community of Latter-day Saint Scholars. Contributions dealing with LDS thought, history, theology, and related subjects will receive first priority.

BYU STUDIES is a serious venture into the study of the correlation of revealed and discovered truth. Dedicated to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual are complementary avenues of knowledge, BYU STUDIES welcomes articles from all fields of learning. They should be written for the informed nonspecialist rather than the specialized reader in the technical language of the field. Creative work—poetry, short fiction, drama—is also welcomed.

Except for unusual cases, contributions should not exceed 4,000 words (approximately 15 double-spaced, typewritten pages). Manuscripts should conform to the University of Chicago Press Manual of Style, and footnotes should be placed on a separate page at the end of the article.

Each author will receive 20 off-prints and three copies of the number in which his contribution appears.

Send manuscripts to Brigham Young University, Dr. Charles D. Tate, Jr., Editor, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES, 283 JKBA, Provo, Utah 84602.

SUBSCRIBER NOTICE

Subscription is $7.00 for four numbers; $12.00 for eight numbers; and $16.00 for twelve numbers. Single numbers are $2.50. The rate to bona fide students and missionaries is $5.60 for four numbers. All subscriptions begin with the current issue unless subscriber requests otherwise. Send subscriptions to Brigham Young University Press, Marketing Division, 205 UPB, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

If you're moving, PLEASE let us know four weeks before changing your address. A Change-of-Address Postcard available at all Post Offices, sent in advance, will aid us in getting your magazine to you promptly. Your courteous compliance with this request will help us to solve a serious and costly problem.

Brigham Young University Studies is being listed in Current Contents: Behavioral, Social and Management Sciences