



Cover by McRay Magleby, Graphic Communications, BYU Press.

Editorial Board

JAMES B. ALLEN	R. GRANT ATHAY
HAYLE BUCHANAN	JOE J. CHRISTENSEN
BRUCE B. CLARK	DAVID L. CLARK
PETER L. CRAWLEY	W. FARRELL EDWARDS
RICHARD G. ELLSWORTH	R. JOHN EYRE
F. MELVIN HAMMOND	FRED HOLMSTROM
WILLIAM CLAYTON KIMBALL	KAREN LYNN
TRUMAN G. MADSEN	ROBERT J. MATTHEWS
EARL E. OLSON	ERNEST L. OLSON
BRUCE M. RICHARDSON	CHAUNCEY C. RIDDLE
CHARLES D. TATE, JR.	

EDITOR	CHARLES D. TATE, JR.
ASSOCIATE EDITOR	RICHARD G. ELLSWORTH
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR	PETER L. CRAWLEY
HISTORIANS CORNER EDITOR	JAMES B. ALLEN
UNIVERSITY EDITOR	ERNEST L. OLSON
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT	LINDA HUNTER ADAMS
EDITORIAL INTERN	WILLIAM DREW CHRISTINE LAYTON KAREN MOLONEY

Volume 19 Spring 1979 Number 3
Brigham Young University Studies, 020170, is published quarterly, Fall, Winter,
 Spring, Summer, by Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah 84602. Second
 class postage paid, Provo, UT 84601.

Brigham Young University Studies

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars

Volume 19

Spring 1979

Number 3

CONTENTS

Guest Editor's Prologue LAMAR C. BERRETT	259
Isaac Galland—Mormon Benefactor LYNDON W. COOK	261
"All Things Move in Order in the City": The Nauvoo Diary of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs MAUREEN URSENBACH BEECHER	285
The Steamboat <i>Maid of Iowa</i> : Mormon Mistress of the Mississippi DONALD L. ENDERS	321
The Pioneer Dulcimer, A Poem SALLY T. TAYLOR	336
William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple J. EARL ARRINGTON	337
The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and the Council Chamber LISLE G BROWN	361
Lewis C. Bidamon, Stepchild of Mormondom VALEEN TIPPETTS AVERY and LINDA KING NEWELL	375
The Historians Corner JAMES B. ALLEN, EDITOR	389
Joseph Smith's 19 July 1840 Discourse DEAN C. JESSEE	390

Brigham Young and Priesthood Denial to the Blacks: An Alternate View RONALD K. ESPLIN	394
"A More Virtuous Man Never Existed on the Footstool of the Great Jehovah": George Miller on Joseph Smith LYNDON W. COOK	402

Notes and Comments

Platting the City Beautiful: A Historical and Archaeological Glimpse of Nauvoo Streets DONALD L. ENDERS	409
The Nauvoo Tabernacle ELDEN J. WATSON	416

Book Reviews

PETER L. CRAWLEY, EDITOR

Laurel B. Andrew, <i>The Early Temples of the Mormons</i> JON D. GREEN	422
---	-----

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

ISSN 0007-0106

1979 Brigham Young University Press. All rights reserved.
Printed in the United States of America.

8-79 7M 41939

SUBSCRIBER NOTICE

Subscription is \$8.00 for four numbers; \$14.00 for eight numbers and \$19.00 for twelve numbers. Single numbers are \$3.00. The rate to bona fide students and missionaries is \$6.40 for four numbers. All subscriptions begin with the current issue unless subscriber requests otherwise. Send subscriptions to Brigham Young University Press Business Office, 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.

Guest Editor's Prologue

"Our Cup Runneth Over"

LaMar C. Berrett

It is not often that *BYU Studies* has so many excellent articles submitted in the area of L.D.S. Church history that it necessitates two continuous issues, but such is our fortune. This exciting issue is a companion volume to the Winter issue, Vol. 19, No. 2. Both deal with the Nauvoo period of L.D.S. Church history.

Nauvoo had "a" beginning when the Saints met land speculator "Doctor" Isaac Galland. The Saints purchased 20,000 acres from Isaac Galland, and he accepted lands in Missouri for full payment. Lyndon W. Cook discusses this "Mormon benefactor's" life.

Looking into Nauvoo through the eyes of one who kept a daily diary "on the spot" provides a clear view that cannot be seen through the eyes of noncontemporary writers. The twenty-three-year-old Zina Diantha Huntington gives us this rare privilege. She helps us to understand the feelings of the Nauvoo Saints when Joseph and Hyrum were martyred. She writes of succession in the presidency, of the trial of Joseph and Hyrum's murderers, of the birth of David Hyrum Smith—Joseph and Emma's last child—and of many other historical events. Zina conveys appreciation for nature, for her surroundings, and especially for her relationship with the Savior. Her psalm-like prayers are classical examples of Mormon faith. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher is responsible for editing the diary for publication and has given her usual appropriate introduction and footnotes.

Donald L. Enders has given us an insight into the platting and layout of the city streets of Nauvoo, and a history of the *Maid of Iowa*, which for three years was a "Mormon boat" that plied the Mississippi. The *Maid of Iowa* served as an excursion boat, ferry boat, military boat, and a meeting place for Church services. Dan Jones, the boat's captain, was a faithful Saint whose life comes more into focus from Donald Ender's research.

Sally T. Taylor, in her poem, "The Pioneer Dulcimer," shows the use of music in giving the pioneers strength to face the wilderness. Though we often think of the pioneers' struggles when

crossing the Plains, we sometimes forget the trials in gathering to Nauvoo.

The life of William Weeks, architect of the Nauvoo Temple, is outlined by J. Earl Arrington. Why didn't Weeks become the architect of the Salt Lake Temple as Brigham Young anticipated? This and many other answers have been revealed through Dr. Arrington's research.

"The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and the Council Chamber" is the title of a very interesting article that deals with the buildings where the first endowments were given in this dispensation. These details have long been overlooked in our writings of Nauvoo history. Joseph Smith's store and the Nauvoo Temple are the "sacred departments," in addition to other temporary locations.

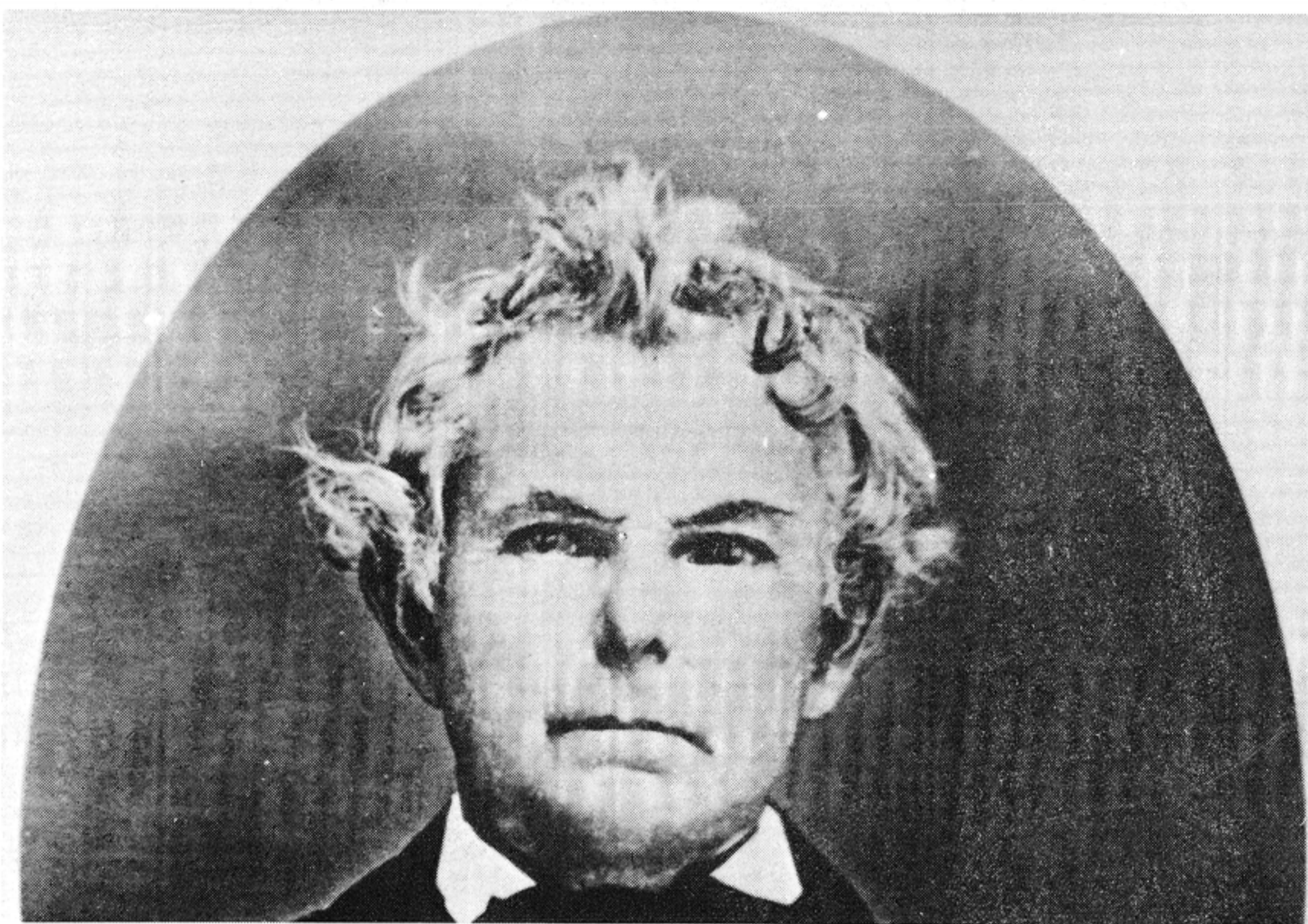
Who was Lewis C. Bidamon? Did he start a match-manufacturing business which later became Diamond Match Company? Did he marry Emma Smith on Joseph Smith's birthday? Valeen Tippetts Avery and Linda King Newell have teamed to research and write about this "Stepchild of Mormondom."

The Historians Corner, edited by James B. Allen, has choice historical morsels from original documents that illuminate our understanding. Dean Jesse writes of an original document concerning "the Constitution by a thread . . ." prophecy of Joseph Smith. Ronald K. Esplin gives us an "alternate view" about who was responsible for the policy of denying the priesthood to the Blacks. Lyndon W. Cook comes forth with a document written by Bishop George Miller that gives insight into the character of Joseph Smith.

Elden J. Watson has written about the proposed canvas tabernacle that was to have been erected just west of the Nauvoo Temple.

Jon D. Green has reviewed *The Early Temples of the Mormons* by Laurel B. Andrew.

Readers of the two continuous "Nauvoo" issues of *BYU Studies* will join in expressing gratitude to those who contributed long hours to researching and writing. Readers may now see Nauvoo more clearly and feel with the Nauvoo Saints a humble devotion and dedication to a living God.



Isaac Galland—Mormon Benefactor

Lyndon W. Cook

Of the scores of converts to Mormonism who failed to remain true to their newly found faith, few are so interesting and colorful as Isaac Galland. Because many of those who have had a hand in preserving his biography seem to have enhanced their sources by making him either more or less respectable, according to their personal bias, Isaac Galland still remains an enigma today. This article will present major points of interest in Isaac Galland's life, giving special consideration to his Mormon-related activities.

Isaac Galland, son of Matthew and Hannah Fenno Galland, was born 15 May 1791 in Somerset County, Pennsylvania.¹ At the

Lyndon W. Cook, a research historian, teaches part time for the College of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University. The writer is indebted to C. Michael Hansen, honors student at BYU, for assisting in the initial research of this article.

¹1850 Federal Census of Iowa and grave marker, City Cemetery, Ft. Madison, Iowa. Isaac Galland's birthdate and place are variously given as 1790 and 1792 at either Marietta or Chillicothe, Ohio. (See *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa* [Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1887], p. 588, and William J. Peterson, "Historical Introduction" to an 1850 reprint of I. Galland, *Galland's Iowa Emigrant—Containing a Map and General Description of Iowa Territory* [Chillicothe, Ohio: William C. Jones, 1840].)

time of his birth, his parents were en route from Norfolk, Virginia, to Marietta, Ohio, a frontier settlement on the Ohio River.² Because of the primitive nature of the frontier and the constant danger of Indian depredations, Isaac's early life, spent in the Old Northwest,³ was undoubtedly one of excitement and adventure. It may be that his interest in and concern for the Indian was cultivated in Ohio. At the age of thirteen, he entered William and Mary College, where he studied theology.⁴

About 1810 Isaac and some of his compatriots journeyed to the Spanish Southwest in search of gold and adventure. Galland's party was arrested and jailed for a year in Santa Fe on charges of plotting against the Mexican government.⁵

Isaac Galland returned to Ohio where he married Nancy Harris on 22 March 1811, in Madison County, Ohio.⁶ By 1816, he had married again, this time to Margaret Knight,⁷ and had settled in Washington County, Indiana.⁸ In 1820 he was listed on the Federal Census as a resident of Owen County, Indiana.⁹

It was in Indiana that Isaac Galland first began his study and practice of medicine.¹⁰ With apparently only some book learning he entered a profession to which he often gave only passing attention, but which earned him the title of "Doctor." While this title was probably more a status symbol than a recognition of his medical expertise, it nevertheless followed him the rest of his life and tended to distinguish him as a gentleman.

²*Portrait and Biographical Album*, p. 588. Marietta, Washington County, Ohio, settled in 1788 by members of the Ohio Land Company, was for a time the sole authorized American community in the Old Northwest. (See Eugene H. Rosenboom and Francis P. Weisenburger, *A History of Ohio* [Columbus: The Ohio Historical Society, 1973], p. 55.) Matthew Galland, Isaac's father, is listed on the 1801 and 1803 Ohio Census for Washington County.

³Peterson, "Historical Introduction," p. 1.

⁴Virginia Wilcox Ivins, *Yesterdays—Reminiscences of Long Ago* (Keokuk, Iowa: n.p., 1924), p. 5. Virginia Ivins was Galland's niece. Correspondence with William and Mary College failed to establish that Isaac Galland was a student of that institution, but since there were several severe fires on that campus during the mid-1800s, it does not eliminate the possibility (see letter of Kay J. Domine, William and Mary College archivist, to Lyndon W. Cook, 7 April 1978).

⁵Peterson, "Historical Introduction," p. 1.

⁶Madison County, Ohio, Marriage Records, Book A, p. 3. Copy in possession of writer. It is uncertain what happened to this marriage. See writ of ejectment, *Elizabeth Galland vs. Lewis Bidamon*, Hancock Circuit Court May 1860, Dedimus and Interrogatories located at the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archives, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri. Hereafter cited as RLDS Auditorium Archives.

⁷"Edgar County Order Book," November 1825, p. 22. My thanks to Ms. A. Joyce Brown of Brorton, Illinois, for finding this reference. Galland's Family Group Sheet indicates that this marriage ended in divorce.

⁸Knox County, Indiana, Land Records. An indenture between Isaac Galland and Samuel Alexander, dated 10 January 1816, indicates that Isaac Galland was a resident of Washington County. By 1816 Isaac Galland owned 101 lots in the town of Liverpool, Washington County, Indiana.

⁹Listed in the Galland home, in addition to Isaac Galland, were one female between 16-25 and five children under 16.

¹⁰See *Daily Democrat* (Keokuk, Iowa), 6 June 1885.

Shortly after 1820, Isaac Galland moved to Edgar County, Illinois, where he is said to have associated with the "Massac gang" of outlaws, with whom he engaged in horse-stealing and counterfeiting.¹¹

In 1824 Isaac left his wife Margaret, in Edgar County, and settled in Horselick Grove, Illinois,¹² which geographically fell within Hancock County at its creation the following year.¹³ On 5 October 1826, without finalizing his divorce from Margaret Knight, Isaac married his third wife, Hannah Kinney,¹⁴ and in 1827 took his family to Oquawka, Henderson County, Illinois, where he built the first cabin and established a trading post.¹⁵ A son, Washington, was born at Oquawka on 20 July 1827.¹⁶

In 1829 Isaac and his family crossed the Mississippi River into what would later become Lee County, Iowa, and established the town of Nashville, located three miles below Montrose.¹⁷ At Nashville, he established another trading post,¹⁸ began practicing medicine,¹⁹ and started the first school in the Territory of Iowa, in 1830.²⁰ His daughter Eleanor, born 3 January 1830, was the second

¹¹Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Company, 1854), p. 406. While almost every biographical sketch on Isaac Galland mentions his association with this group of outlaws, Edgar County historians have no knowledge of a so-called "Massac gang" (see letter of A. Joyce Brown to Lyndon W. Cook, 11 April 1978).

¹²The "Edgar County Order Book," a record of ecclesiastical court proceedings, for the years 1825, 1826, 1827, shows an attempt by Margaret Galland and her attorney to secure a divorce from Isaac Galland. In October 1827, the "council made a motion that this case be dismissed at her [Margaret Galland's] own proper cost." (See pp. 22, 39, 49, 65, and 93.)

¹³*History of Hancock County, Illinois—Illinois Sesquicentennial Edition* (Carthage: Journal Printing Company, 1968), p. 50. Horselick Grove later became known as Fountain Green.

¹⁴See fn. 12. See also Family Group Sheet. Washington Galland (Isaac's son) indicated that his maternal grandfather was Peter Kinney. (See "Address of Capt. Washington Galland at the Lee County Old Settlers Reunion," Ft. Madison, Iowa, no date. Copy located at Lee County Historical Society, Keokuk, Iowa.)

¹⁵See *History of Hancock County, Illinois*, p. 50. Oquawka was also known as Yellow Banks (see Elizabeth Smith, "Oquawka Celebrates Its One Hundredth Anniversary of First White Settlement," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 21 [1928]:160).

¹⁶*Biographical Review of Lee County, Iowa* (Chicago: Hobart Publishing Company, 1905), p. 235. Washington Galland became a prominent lawyer in Lee County.

¹⁷William J. Peterson, "Pioneer Doctors and Druggists," *The Palimpsest* 50 (1969):311-12. This settlement first known as "Ahwipetuck," was later called "Nashville," and finally named "Galland" in honor of Isaac Galland (see J. A. Swisher, "The Half-Breed Tract," *The Palimpsest* 14 [February 1933]:71-72). "Nashville" was current in 1841 and is used in the Doctrine and Covenants, section 126. (Doctrine and Covenants [Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921]; hereafter cited as D&C.)

¹⁸*Biographical Review*, p. 235.

¹⁹Peterson, "Pioneer Doctors and Druggists," pp. 311-12. While one writer claimed that no pioneer physician "paid so little attention to their profession as did Dr. Isaac Galland," another affirmed that Galland saved the life of his grandfather, who was suffering from a severe attack of cholera (see Charles W. Cruikshank, "The Making of a Pioneer," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 45 [July 1947]:295).

²⁰H. C. Cook, "The Administrative Functions of the Department of Public Instruction," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 27 (April 1929):245; Swisher, "The Half-Breed Tract," p. 72.

white child born in Iowa Territory and the first white child born in Lee County.²¹

The Black Hawk War of 1832 forced Isaac Galland to take his family to safety at Fort Edwards, now the site of Warsaw, Illinois. At Fort Edwards, he joined the military and was given the rank of colonel.²² On 17 March 1831, Isaac Galland's wife Hannah died.²³ Two years later, on 25 April 1833, he married Elizabeth Wilcox, sister of Major John R. Wilcox, the commanding officer of Fort Edwards.²⁴

After unsuccessfully running for the Iowa State Legislature in 1834,²⁵ Isaac Galland began his notorious career of land speculation in Iowa. Much of Galland's land dealings involved the Half-Breed Tract, a 119,000-acre parcel of land lying between the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers in the southeast corner of Iowa, which had been set aside as a reservation for half-breed Sac and Fox Indians.²⁶ Despite the questionable legality of land transactions in the Half-Breed Tract, the area was soon flooded with settlers and land speculators. In 1836, the New York Land Company,

²¹Ruth A. Gallaher, "The First Hundred Years," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 31 (October 1933):531.

²²*Biographical Review*, p. 236. Washington Galland claimed that Chief Black Hawk entertained a friendly regard for Doctor Galland and sent "a couple of squaws, in a canoe from the Rock River village, to warn my father of the expected outbreak; and advising him to cross over to the east side of the river and to some place of safety for himself and family (see "Address of Capt. Washington Galland at the Lee County Old Settlers Reunion").

²³*The Keokuk Constitution-Democrat*, 29 September 1906. Microfilm copy in Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. Also see *Portrait and Biographical Album*, p. 591.

²⁴Hancock County, Illinois, Marriage Records, Book 1829-1849, p. 3. Elizabeth Wilcox Galland died 13 August 1866 (see grave marker, City Cemetery, Ft. Madison, Iowa).

²⁵See Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois*, p. 406. Isaac Galland ran in a district composed of Hancock, Adams, and Pike counties. Thomas Ford indicates that Isaac Galland was "no pretender of integrity" and freely admitted his lawless past in public speeches.

²⁶Congress in August 1824 had reserved this tract of land by treaty for the use of the mixed-bloods of the Sac and Fox Indian tribes. The United States maintained a revisionary interest in the land, and under the terms of the treaty the half-breeds could not legally sell or convey the land. In the fall of 1833 a group of half-breeds met in Keokuk and prepared a petition to Congress, requesting the passage of an act giving them right to sell the land. Pursuant to this petition, Congress passed an act dated 30 June 1834, which relinquished the federal government's revisionary interest in the Half-Breed Tract and gave the half-breeds the lands in fee simple. (See *United States Statutes at Large* [Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1856], vol. 4, Statute I, 30 June 1834, chap. CLXVII, p. 740.) Congress failed to specify who the individual owners were, however. Originally 40 claims were made for ownership, later the number reached 100, and finally 160. (See I. Galland, *Claimants of the Sac and Fox Half Breed Reservation*. Copy in Iowa State Historical Society.) To rectify this mistake, the Wisconsin Legislature, in 1838, required all claimants to file claims with the District Court of Lee County within one year, showing how title was obtained. Three commissioners were to take testimony regarding said titles. In the meantime, the Territory of Iowa was created, and the first session of the territorial legislature repealed the Wisconsin act. This action complicated the problem, and suits were subsequently filed in the territorial courts, resulting in the sale of the entire tract of 119,000 acres to Hugh T. Reid for \$5,773.32. Reid, who received a deed executed by the sheriff of Lee County, subsequently sold several small tracts, but his title was obviously in question and became involved in litigation. This matter came before the second session of the territorial legislature,

later to merge with the St. Louis Land Company, made extensive land purchases in the reservation. Isaac Galland was one of five trustees for the New York Land Company.²⁷ He also purchased large tracts of land in his own name, both in the Half-Breed Reservation and in Commerce, Hancock County, Illinois.²⁸ Dr. Galland, who at one time was appointed special land commissioner for Hancock County, also platted the original town of Keokuk in 1837.²⁹

This same year, the ubiquitous Dr. Galland began a literary career which was of some note.³⁰

but nothing concrete occurred until 1841 in *Spaulding v. Antaya* (U.S. District Court of Iowa Territory) which requested partition of the entire tract. A decree for partition was issued and commissioners were appointed to divide the 119,000 acres into 101 tracts of equal value. This was done and confirmed by the courts in October 1841. This judgment of partition was sustained in a number of appeals to the Iowa Supreme Court, but the sheriff's sale to Hugh T. Reid still formed a cloud on that title. In *Webster v. Reid*, in District Court of Iowa in January 1846, it was decided that Hugh T. Reid was the owner in fee simple of the land in question. An appeal was taken to the United States Supreme Court, and in 1850 the high court reversed *Webster v. Reid*. This action set aside the sheriff's sale to Reid and sustained the judgment of partition (i.e., 101 shares). (See Nelson C. Roberts and Samuel W. Moorehead, *History of Lee County, Iowa* [Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914], pp. 55-59.) Lawyers for the various land companies quit-claimed their interests in these lands for a reasonable consideration; the matter was finally settled. (See B. L. Wick, "The Struggle for the Half-Breed Tract," *Annals of Iowa* 7 [April 1905]:16-29.)

²⁷David W. Kilbourne, *Strictures on Dr. I. Galland's Pamphlet, Entitled "Villainy Exposed," with Some Account of His Transactions in Lands in the Sac and Fox Reservations, etc., in Lee County, Iowa* (Ft. Madison, Iowa: The Statesman Office, 1850), p. 8. The other trustees were Joshua Aiken, Samuel Marsh, William E. Lee, and Edward C. Delavan.

²⁸Galland appears as a grantee in Hancock County as early as 1836 and in Lee County by 1837.

²⁹William J. Peterson, "The Times in Review," *The Palimpsest* 17 (March 1936):111.

³⁰Among Isaac Galland's numerous titles, that of writer and publisher deserves some attention. On 20 June 1837, an agreement between Dr. Galland and Thomas Gregg (1808-1892, and author of *Prophet of Palmyra*) for the consideration of \$1000, named Thomas Gregg editor of two newspapers (four issues of which were to be published within one year at Ft. Des Moines) at a printing office "about to be established by said Galland." The titles of these papers were *The Western Adventurer* and *The Western Emigrant's Magazine*. (A copy of the articles of agreement are located at The State Historical Society of Iowa.) The first issue of the *Western Adventurer* appeared on 28 June 1837 and, according to its prospectus, was to be devoted to "history, geography, mineralogy, geology, climate, soil, production, farming, commerce, mechanics, education, improvements, and Indian traditions and remains of the West." In the columns of the *Western Adventurer*, Isaac Galland proposed a monthly publication to be entitled *Chronicles of the North American Savages*. It is not known if any issues were printed of this proposed paper. The *Iowa News* announced to its readers on 9 September 1837 that *The Western Emigrant and Historian of Times in the West* was the title of a sixteen-page monthly periodical to be published at Montrose. This periodical was to be devoted to "the interests of the emigrant, and contains many selections of incidents in the West, as well as geographical descriptions" (see *The Palimpsest*, 20 [March 1939]:70). In 1840, *Galland's Iowa Emigrant: Containing a Map and General Description of Iowa Territory* was published by William C. Jones in Chillicothe, Ohio. This extremely rare guidebook described the topography of Iowa, the character of the population, the animal life, and it gave a list of civil and executive officers of Iowa Territory. One writer noted that this guide contained "much information that was new and useful, and it must have influenced many emigrants" toward Iowa. (See Peterson, "Historical Introduction," pp. 3-4.) In 1847, Dr. Galland published a few issues of *The Iowa Advocate and Half-Breed Journal*. This paper dedicated its lines to the history and litigation of the Half-Breed Tract. The prospectus noted that "a portion of its columns [would be devoted] to the dissemination of facts connected with the past history, present condition and future prospects of the entire county of Lee, in the new state of Iowa." In addition to the above, Dr. Galland also wrote a series of articles on Indian lore which were published posthumously in 1869 in *Annals of Iowa*.



Travels of Isaac Galland.

By the winter of 1838-1839, Isaac Galland had settled in Commerce and was living in a large stone house which he had purchased from James White.³¹ It is doubtful that Isaac Galland had any idea that this swampy, mosquito-infested peninsula on the Mississippi River would soon become one of the largest cities in the state.³²

Isaac Galland's association with the Mormons began in October or November of 1838 when he met Israel Barlow, who with other Mormons had fled northeastward towards Quincy, Illinois, from Far West, Missouri, but, by missing their way, had arrived at the Des Moines River in Iowa. They observed the abandoned barracks of old Fort Des Moines near what is now Montrose and were informed that Isaac Galland held extensive claims to this area known as the Half-Breed Tract. Israel Barlow and his associates talked with Dr. Galland, who, after hearing of the Mormons' difficulties in Missouri, began negotiations with these destitute Mormons to sell them his lands and buildings in Commerce as well as in the Half-Breed Tract.

Not authorized to make purchases for the Church, Elder Barlow directed his course downstream to Quincy. After an exploring party had been sent to examine Galland's lands, Church leaders convened in Quincy to discuss the propriety of settling in Commerce and in Lee County, Iowa. William Marks presided at this meeting where Isaac Galland's liberal offer was presented. Dr. Galland had agreed to sell "about twenty thousand acres, lying between the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers, at two dollars per acre, to be paid in twenty annual installments, without interest."³³

While some were in favor of gathering to Commerce, Illinois, and Lee County, Iowa, others were suggesting that the membership of the Church should scatter among the various counties in Illinois and elsewhere. Although the citizens of Quincy had received the homeless Mormons with open arms, it was still not known how the executives of the State of Illinois and the Territory of Iowa would receive the entire Mormon population. Before

³¹See David E. and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: City of Joseph* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974), pp. 236-41.

³²"Real estate speculation and promotional schemes had been rife in the region a full decade before the Mormon era. (If some of the speculators did not honestly expect to develop the area into a thriving community, they certainly hoped to be able to sell their holdings to some person or organization at a profit.)" Ibid., p. 239.

³³Joseph Smith, Jun., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-1951), 3:260. Hereafter referred to as *HC*.

large tracts of land could be purchased in Commerce or Lee County, Mormon leaders needed to know the sentiments of political authorities. The decision of the meeting was that no purchases would be made until further deliberation could be had.³⁴

Dr. Galland, apparently eager to insure a transaction with the Mormons on the one hand and to satisfy Mormon fears on the other, corresponded with two of his acquaintances, Attorney General Isaac Van Allen and Governor Robert Lucas of Iowa Territory. In the letter to Governor Lucas, dated 25 February 1839, Dr. Galland wrote:

I will come to the issue at once, and ask, on behalf of these much injured people, your permission that they may purchase lands, and settle thereon, in the Territory of Iowa, and there to worship *Almighty God*, according to the dictates of their own consciences, secure from the robber's grasp, the ruffian's gun, and the midnight assassin's knife.³⁵

Governor Lucas responded favorably, assuring Dr. Galland that the Territory of Iowa would "extend equal privileges and protection to all." He added that "their religious opinions I consider have nothing to do with our political transactions."³⁶

On 12 April 1839, Isaac Galland began promoting the Mormon cause by sending Governor Lucas' letter to the *Quincy Argus* for publication. He informed the *Argus*:

The testimony of Governor Lucas as to the good moral character of these people, I think will have its deserved influence upon the people of Illinois, in encouraging our citizens in their humane and benevolent exertions to relieve this distressed people, who are now wandering in our neighborhoods without comfortable food, raiment, or shelter from the pelting storm.³⁷

Sidney Rigdon, Elias Higbee, Edward Partridge, and Israel Barlow visited Commerce and the Half-Breed lands some time around 20 February 1839 to get a firsthand view but failed to contact Dr. Galland.³⁸

In a letter to David W. Rogers, dated 26 February 1839, Isaac Galland sought to arrange a meeting with Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge and requested Mormon leaders keep in commu-

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Galland's letter to Governor Robert Lucas is located at Iowa State Historical Society.

³⁶HC, 3:317-18.

³⁷*Quincy Argus*, 12 April 1839.

³⁸See Edward Partridge to Joseph Smith, et. al., 5 March 1839, in HC, 3:272; see also HC, 3:267.

nication with him regarding his land proposal. The tone of the letter seems to manifest an interest in the Mormon religion.

I wish to serve your cause in any matter which Providence may afford me the opportunity of doing, and I therefore request that you feel no hesitancy or reluctance in communicating to me your wishes, at all times and on any subject. . . . The little knowledge which I have as yet of the doctrine, order or practice of the Church, leaves me under the necessity of acting in all this matter as a stranger, though, as I sincerely hope, as a friend, for such, I assure you I feel myself to be, both toward you collectively, as a people, and individually as sufferers.³⁹

Late in February 1839, Church leaders in Quincy again met to decide a course of action. Still unable to come to a decision at this conference, the leaders determined to seek counsel from the Prophet Joseph Smith, who at this time was a prisoner in Liberty Jail in Missouri.⁴⁰

In the meantime, however, Joseph Smith had learned of Galland's offer and had written favorably of it to Bishop Partridge. David W. Rogers, a messenger sent from Quincy to Liberty on 10 March 1839, carried letters to Joseph Smith from Edward Partridge and from Isaac Galland, as well as the Barlow letter which contained Galland's offer. Bishop Partridge's letter stated in part:

Brothers Rigdon, Higbee and myself are of the opinion that it is not wisdom to make a trade with the doctor at present. . . . Your letter respecting the trade with Galland was not received here until after the return from his residence. . . . If Brother Ridgon were not here, we might, after receiving your letter, come to a different conclusion respecting that trade.⁴¹

After meeting with David W. Rogers, the Prophet was evidently convinced that Galland's offer should be taken, possibly because of Isaac Galland's alleged friendship with Attorney General Van Allen and his assurance that Governor Lucas would welcome the Mormons. In any event, Joseph Smith quickly communicated with Isaac Galland by letter the Prophet's intention to purchase Galland's lands. The Prophet wrote:

I feel highly gratified to learn of a man who had sympathy, and feelings of friendship toward a suffering, and an injured, and an innocent people; if you can do them any good, render them any assistance, or protection, in the name of suffering humanity, we beseech

³⁹Galland to Rogers cited in *HC*, 3:265-67.

⁴⁰See Miller and Miller, *Nauvoo: City of Joseph*, p. 23.

⁴¹*HC*, 3:272-73.

you, for God's sake, and [sic] humanity's sake, that you will do it. . . . N. B. If Bishop Partridge, or if the church have not made a purchase of your land, and if there is not any one who feels a particular interest in making the purchase you will hold it in reserve for us; we will purchase it of you at the proposals that you made to Mr. Barlow. We think the church would be wise in making the contract. Therefore, if it is not made before we are liberated, we will make it.⁴²

It was three days later, 25 March 1839, that Joseph Smith dictated his famous epistle to the Saints, portions of which are now contained in the *Doctrine and Covenants*.⁴³ The letter included the following counsel concerning Isaac Galland:

It still seems to bear heavily on our minds that the Church would do well to secure to themselves the contract of the land which is proposed to them by Mr. Isaac Galland, and to cultivate the friendly feelings of that gentleman, inasmuch as he shall prove himself to be a man of honor and a friend to humanity. . . . We really think that Mr. Galland's letter breathes that kind of a spirit.⁴⁴

Joseph Smith escaped from Missouri law enforcement officers on 16 April 1839 and arrived in Quincy on 22 April. At a council meeting held 24 April 1839, it was resolved that "President Joseph Smith, Jun., Bishop Knight, and Brother Alanson Ripley, visit Iowa Territory immediately, for the purpose of making a location for the Church."⁴⁵

Within a week the Prophet and others met with Dr. Galland to see his properties in Commerce and in Lee County. On 30 April 1839, Isaac Galland sold the Mormons three parcels of land in Commerce, Illinois: the fractional SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 2, 6N, 9W (47.17 acres, a house, ferry rights, and hotel privileges);⁴⁶ the fractional NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 2, 7N, 8W; and the fractional SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 19, 6N, 8W, containing 12.20 acres. The purchase price

⁴²*Times and Seasons* 1 (February 1839):51-56.

⁴³HC, 3:289-305. Selected portions are found in D&C, sections 121, 122, and 123.

⁴⁴HC, 3:298.

⁴⁵HC, 3:336.

⁴⁶Robert Flanders (in *Nauvoo—Kingdom on the Mississippi* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965], p. 35) has confused this land transaction. Flanders notes that George W. Robinson had taken an option on the 47.17 acres, the house, ferry rights, and hotel rights on 3 April 1839, for \$18,000. This is inaccurate with regard to the option as well as the date. The correct date of the document referred to by Flanders (Deed Book G, p. 247) is 30 April 1839, not 3 April 1839, and it is not an option to buy the property in question but is, in fact, the land transaction mentioned above and in HC, 3:342. The *History of the Church* states that the purchase price was \$9,000. This price (\$9,000) may have been the price of the 47.17 acres only (excluding the 12.20 acres), or it is an error. The land record (Deed Book G, p. 247) states the total price was \$18,000 and gives no indication what the breakdown was for each parcel of land.

for these properties was \$18,000.⁴⁷ This land was deeded to George W. Robinson rather than to Alanson Ripley (a Church land agent) because Sidney Rigdon insisted that "no committee should control any property which he had anything to do with."⁴⁸ It was understood that Elder Robinson, Sidney Rigdon's son-in-law, would deed over the land to the Church when it had been paid for.⁴⁹

Whereas one source suggests an earlier date,⁵⁰ Lee County, Iowa, land records indicate that on 29 May and 26 June 1839 Isaac and Elizabeth Galland sold large tracts of land in the Half-Breed Tract to Church agents Oliver Granger and Vinson Knight. The *History of the Church* records that on 24 June 1839 "the Church purchased the town of Nashville, in Lee County, Iowa Territory, together with twenty thousand acres of land adjoining it."⁵¹ Land records fail to confirm this date (24 June 1839). The reference to the above purchase is obviously the 26 June 1839 purchase, but the properties do not total 20,000 acres. The composite of the two purchases on 29 May and 26 June 1839, however, do approximate the 20,000 acres mentioned in *History of the Church*.

PROPERTIES PURCHASED FROM GALLAND AND HIS WIFE BY OLIVER GRANGER AND VINSON KNIGHT:

1. Grantor: Isaac and Elizabeth Galland
Grantee: Oliver Granger
Date: 29 May 1839
Section 24, Twnshp 66.6 640.00 acres⁵²
Purchase Price: \$1665.00⁵³
2. Grantor: Isaac and Elizabeth Galland
Grantee: Oliver Granger
Date: 29 May 1839

⁴⁷See Hancock County Deed Book G, p. 247 (30 April 1839). Isaac Galland had purchased the 47.17 acres from the administrators of Alexander White's estate on 2 May 1837, for \$2,000 (see Deed Book C, p. 388).

⁴⁸HC, 3:342. Sidney Rigdon with others signed a note for the property.

⁴⁹It was transferred to Joseph Smith as trustee-in-trust of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in October 1841. Some question was raised concerning George W. Robinson and the "Galland purchase" by the Nauvoo High Council in June 1840. (See "Nauvoo High Council Minutes," 20 June 1840, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereafter cited as Church Archives.)

⁵⁰HC, 3:345.

⁵¹HC, 3:378. Joseph Smith notes in May 1839 that "the land in Iowa far exceeds my expectations both as to richness of soil, and beauty of location, more so than any part of Missouri which I have seen" (see HC, 3:362).

⁵²Lee County Deed Book 1, pp. 507-08.

⁵³\$2.60 per acre.

NW¼ of Section 7, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
E½ of the SE¼ of Section 7, Twnshp 66.5	80.00 acres
NW¼ of Section 8, Twnship 66.5	160.00 acres
SE½ of Section 8, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
SW¼ of Section 8, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
NW¼ of Section 16, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
NE¼ of Section 16, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
SW¼ of Section 16, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
NE¼ of Section 17, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
W½ of the NW¼ of Section 17, Twnshp 66.5	80.00 acres
Section 21, Twnshp 66.5	640.00 acres
	<hr/>
	2080.00 acres ⁵⁴

Purchase Price: \$5000.00⁵⁵

3. Grantor: Isaac and Elizabeth Galland
 Grantee: Vinson Knight
 Date: 26 June 1839

Section 17, Twnshp 65.6	640.00 acres
Section 13, Twnshp 65.6	640.00 acres
N½ of Section 3, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
N½ of Section 4, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
N½ of Section 5, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
W½ of SE¼ of Section 5, Twnshp 66.5	80.00 acres
E½ of SW¼ of Section 5, Twnshp 66.5	80.00 acres
N½ of Section 6, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
W½ of SE¼ of Section 6, Twnshp 66.5	80.00 acres
SW¼ of Section 6, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
NE¼ of Section 7, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
SW¼ of Section 7, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
W½ of SE¼ of Section 7, Twnshp 66.5	80.00 acres
	<hr/>
	3360.00 acres ⁵⁶

Purchase Price: \$8836.00⁵⁷

4. Grantor: Isaac and Elizabeth Galland
 Grantee: Vinson Knight
 Date: 26 June 1839

E½ of NE¼ of Section 1, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
E½ of SW¼ of Section 1, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
E½ of NW¼ of Section 2, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
E½ of NE¼ of Section 11, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
E½ of SE¼ of Section 11, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
E½ of NE¼ of Section 12, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
E½ of SE¼ of Section 12, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
E½ of NW¼ of Section 13, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres

⁵⁴Lee County Deed Book 1, pp. 508-09.

⁵⁵\$2.40 per acre.

⁵⁶Lee County Deed Book 2, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁷\$2.63 per acre.

E½ of SW¼ of Section 13, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
E½ of NE¼ of Section 14, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
E½ of NE¼ of Section 35, Twnshp 66.6	80.00 acres
W½ of SW¼ of Section 30, Twnshp 67.5	80.00 acres
SE¼ of Section 31, Twnshp 67.5	160.00 acres
W½ of SW¼ of Section 32, Twnshp 67.5	80.00 acres
SE¼ of Section 33, Twnshp 67.5	160.00 acres
	<hr/>
	1360.00 acres ⁵⁸

Purchase Price: \$5409.76⁵⁹

5. Grantor: Isaac and Elizabeth Galland
 Grantee: Vinson Knight
 Date: 26 June 1839

W½ of Fractional Section 19, Twnshp 66.4	97.78 acres
N½ of Section 27, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
	<hr/>
	417.78 acres ⁶⁰

Purchase Price: \$1500.00⁶¹

6. Grantor: Isaac and Elizabeth Galland
 Grantee: Vinson Knight
 Date: 26 June 1839

N½ of Section 9, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
SE¼ of Section 9, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
SE¼ of Section 11, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
N½ of Section 15, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
SW¼ of Section 15, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
S½ of NW¼ of Section 17, Twnshp 66.5	80.00 acres
E½ of NW¼ of Section 17, Twnshp 66.5	80.00 acres
Section 18, Twnshp 66.5	640.00 acres
Section 19, Twnshp 66.5	640.00 acres
Section 20, Twnshp 66.5	640.00 acres
Section 23, Twnshp 66.5	640.00 acres
Section 26, Twnshp 66.5	640.00 acres
Section 29, Twnshp 66.5	640.00 acres
SW¼ of Section 28, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
N½ of Section 24, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
SE¼ of Section 24, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
N½ of Section 30, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
E½ of Section 32, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
NW¼ of Section 33, Twnshp 66.5	160.00 acres
	<hr/>
	6560.00 acres ⁶²

Purchase Price: \$18,451.50⁶³

⁵⁸Lee County Deed Book 2, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁹\$3.98 per acre.

⁶⁰Lee County Deed Book 2, pp. 5-6.

⁶¹\$3.59 per acre.

⁶²Lee County Deed Book 2, pp. 13-14.

⁶³\$2.81 per acre.

7. Grantor: Isaac and Elizabeth Galland
 Grantee: Vinson Knight
 Date: 26 June 1839

SE¼ of Section 34, Twnshp 67.5	160.00 acres
SW½ of Section 34, Twnshp 67.5	160.00 acres
N½ of Section 16, Twnshp 67.5	320.00 acres
N½ of Section 17, Twnshp 67.6	320.00 acres
SE¼ of Section 26, Twnshp 67.6	160.00 acres
Section 27, Twnshp 67.6	640.00 acres
NE¼ of Section 35, Twnshp 67.6	160.00 acres
Section 36, Twnshp 67.6	640.00 acres
Section 14, Twnshp 66.5	640.00 acres
Fractional SE¼ of Section 3, Twnshp 66.5	100.00 acres ⁶⁴
SW½ of Section 10, Twnshp 66.5	320.00 acres
	<hr/>
	3520.00 acres ⁶⁵

Purchase Price: \$8800.00⁶⁶

Recapitulation of land purchases

Acres	Price
640.00 acres	\$ 1,665.00
2,080.00 acres	5,000.00
3,360.00 acres	8,836.00
1,360.00 acres	5,409.76
417.78 acres	1,500.00
6,560.00 acres	18,451.50
3,520.00 acres	8,800.00
<hr/>	<hr/>
17,937.78 acres	\$49,662.26

As can be seen, the total acres do not exactly total 20,000, nor is the total purchase price \$50,000. Nevertheless, these figures, used by Joseph Smith and Isaac Galland, are fair estimates, although a little on the high side.⁶⁷ (See map of Land Purchased from Isaac Galland.)

The *History of the Church* records that on 2 July 1839, Joseph Smith and others “spent the forenoon of this day on the Iowa side of the river . . . to visit a purchase lately made by Bishop Knight as a location for a town, and advised that a town be built there, and called Zarahemla.”⁶⁸ In addition to Zarahemla, which

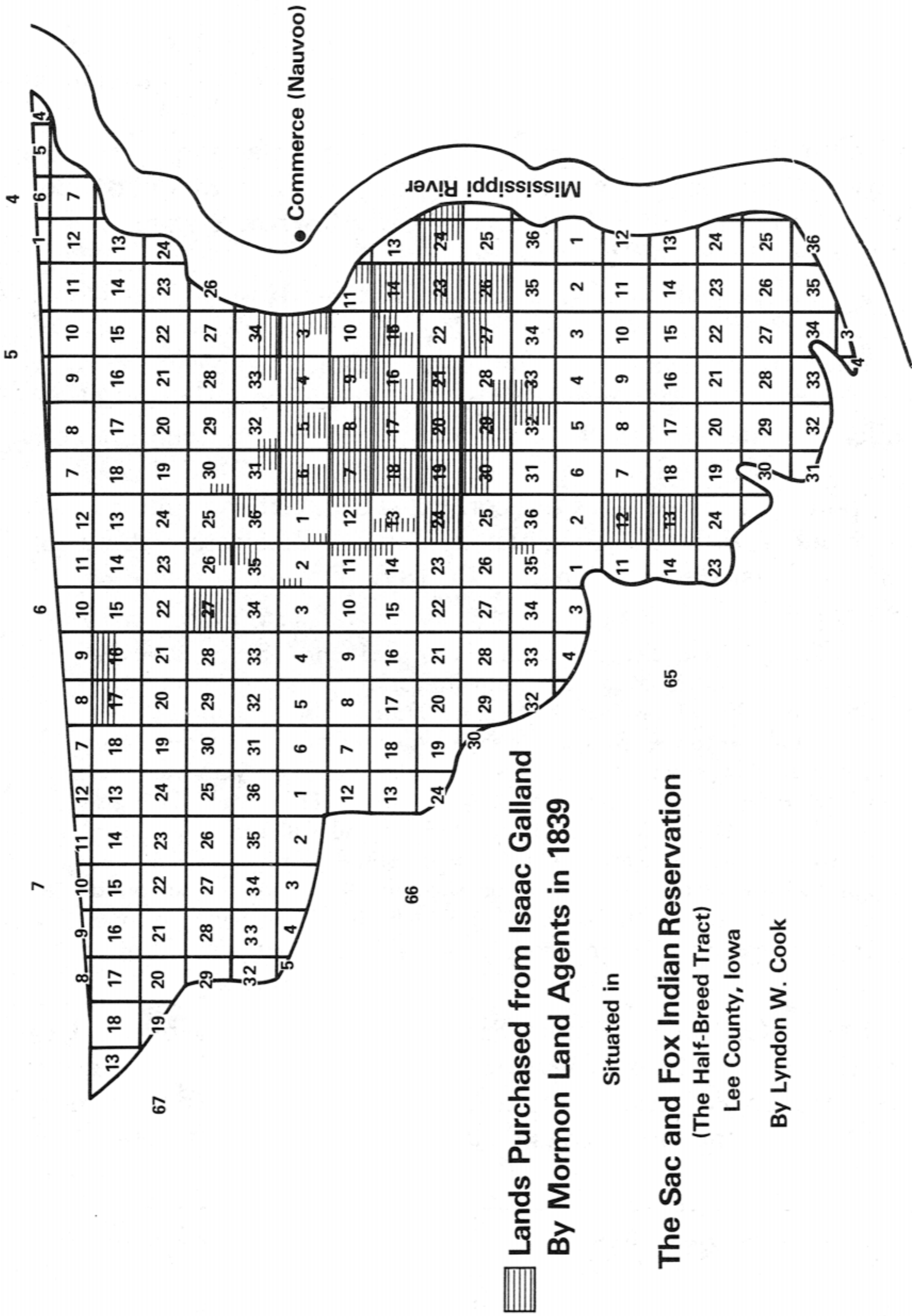
⁶⁴This is an approximate figure, within 25 acres.

⁶⁵Deed Book 2, pp. 15–16.

⁶⁶As no purchase price appears in the Deed Book, this is an approximate amount figuring \$2.50 per acre.

⁶⁷The preceding land transactions represent the purchases made in behalf of the Church and do not include many small parcels of land which Isaac Galland sold to individual Mormons.

⁶⁸HC, 3:382.



 Lands Purchased from Isaac Galland
By Mormon Land Agents in 1839

Situated in

The Sac and Fox Indian Reservation
(The Half-Breed Tract)
Lee County, Iowa
By Lyndon W. Cook

would become during that period the largest Mormon community in Iowa after the March 1841 revelation (D&C 125), the settlements of Ambrosia, Nashville, and part of Montrose were located within the Galland purchase.⁶⁹

The following day, 3 July 1839, in Commerce, Joseph Smith baptized Isaac Galland and ordained him an elder in the Church two hours later.⁷⁰ Dr. Galland's pending departure for Ohio may have been the reason for such haste in his baptism and priesthood ordination. He had apparently anticipated a move to Ohio upon the sale of his Half-Breed lands. Ohio was his native state, and he had business to attend to there.

On Independence Day, one day after his baptism, Isaac Galland and his family boarded *The Brazil*, bound for St. Louis. He continued from there to Chillicothe, Ohio, where he arrived around 15 July 1839 and took up residence at Bentley's Hotel. While en route to Ohio he did some proselyting by selling a copy of the Book of Mormon to a Delaware senator.⁷¹

Upon his arrival at Chillicothe,⁷² Isaac Galland immediately corresponded with an acquaintance, Samuel B. Swasey, about his recent land transactions. On 22 July 1839, Dr. Galland wrote:

I feel greatly relieved in having got out of hearing of the *Half Breed Lands*. . . . I have disposed of my half breed lands, for 50 thousand dollars, that is to say \$2500, annually for 20 years, my home place, the same which I purchased of Capt White, I also sold for 18 thousand dollars, to be paid likewise \$900 annually for 20 years, the above sales were made to the people called *Mormons* who were last winter expelled from the state of Missouri. . . . The people have also bought out Hugh White and some others, and will probably continue to buy out the settlers of that neighborhood, until they again acquire a sufficient quantity of "honey comb" to induce the surrounding theives to rob them again; at which time they will no doubt have to renounce their religion; or submit to a repetition of similar acts of violence, and outrage.⁷³

If Isaac Galland's letter to Samuel Swasey seems a bit cool toward the people of his newly found faith, it nevertheless contained a bit of prophecy concerning their future. Two days later, however, Dr. Galland assumed an affectionate tone toward his Mor-

⁶⁹See, for example, Stanley B. Kimball, "Nauvoo West: The Mormons of the Iowa Shore," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978), pp. 132-42.

⁷⁰HC, 3:393.

⁷¹See note 73.

⁷²Chillicothe, often erroneously cited as Isaac Galland's birthplace, was the site of the first state capital.

⁷³Isaac Galland to Samuel B. Swasey, 22 July 1839. Copy located at RLDS Auditorium Archives.

mon friends when he corresponded with Joseph Smith as a "brother in the faith":

After a journey of nine days we reached this city in health and safety. . . . I expect next week to set out for Akron and Kirtland and . . . I shall write immediately on my return . . . or perhaps from one of the above places. . . . Give my best wishes and assurance of my sincere affection to all the brethren and . . . let me hear every matter of importance which relates to the success or hindrance, prosperity or adversity of the Church.⁷⁴

It is doubtful that Isaac Galland received much cash for these land transactions. In January 1841, the First Presidency declared that Dr. Galland had sold the Church "large estates on very reasonable terms, and on long credit, so that we might have an opportunity of paying for them without being distressed, *and has since taken our lands in Missouri in payment for the whole amount.*"⁷⁵

From the preceding statement it appears that Isaac Galland did not receive cash payments for the properties he sold Mormons in Illinois or Iowa, but rather that he took title to Mormon lands in Missouri. Although the Mormons did possess title to sufficient lands in Caldwell County, Missouri, to effect a land exchange of this magnitude, land records of that county, except original land entries, were destroyed by fire in 1860, and, therefore, the preceding statement cannot be verified. Nevertheless, several documents located in the Newel K. Whitney Collection at Brigham Young University and at Church Archives in Salt Lake City substantiate Joseph Smith's contention that the exchange was made. The following receipt is in the Frederick G. Williams Papers at Church Archives. The fact that the receipt is in printed form suggests it was intended for extensive use.

Nauvoo, August 11th 1840

Received of F. G. Williams lands lying in the State of Missouri amounting to \$490 for which sum this receipt shall apply in the payment of lands in Lee County, Iowa Territory ~~or town lots in Nauvoo.~~

I. Galland

Isaac Galland moved a great deal in 1839–1840. Joseph Smith addressed a letter to Dr. Galland at Kirtland, Ohio, in September

⁷⁴Isaac Galland to Joseph Smith, 24 July 1839. Copy in Joseph Smith Collection, Church Archives.

⁷⁵HC, 4:270. Italics mine.

1839, relating the progress of the Church in Illinois and Iowa.⁷⁶ In 1840, while Isaac Galland was in Chillicothe, *Galland's Iowa Emigrant*, a guide to promote immigration to Iowa, was published by William Carey Jones. By August of 1840, Dr. Galland was again in Kirtland, where he purchased land owned by George W. Robinson's wife, who was residing in Illinois.⁷⁷

In a proclamation of the First Presidency, dated 15 January 1841, Isaac Galland was showered with praise and named a benefactor of the Mormon cause for his unselfishness in helping to locate the Saints. The statement noted that

Dr. Isaac Galland . . . is one of our benefactors, having under his control a large quantity of land. . . . [He] opened both his heart and his hands, and "when we were strangers, took us in," and bade us welcome to share with him in his abundance. . . . He is the honored instrument the Lord used to prepare a home for us, when we were driven from our inheritances. . . . Being a man of extensive information, great talents, and high literary fame, he devoted all his powers and influence to give us a standing. . . . After having thus exerted himself for our salvation and comfort . . . and after investigating the doctrines we proclaimed, he became convinced of the truth and of the necessity of obedience thereto, and, to the great joy and satisfaction of the Church, he yielded himself to the waters of baptism.⁷⁸

Four days later, 19 January 1841, Isaac Galland's name was included in a revelation given to Joseph Smith: "Let my servant Isaac Galland put stock into that [the Nauvoo] house, for I, the Lord, love him for the work he hath done, and will forgive all his sins."⁷⁹

To pay for properties which the Church had contracted to purchase in Commerce from Horace Hotchkiss, a system of land exchange had been devised by Church leaders. An epistle of the Twelve Apostles explained that land-owning brethren in the Eastern States who desired to remove to Nauvoo could transfer their properties to Horace Hotchkiss (through Church agents) and receive credit for property in Nauvoo and its vicinity.⁸⁰

A revelation to Joseph Smith, dated 19 January 1841, directed Isaac Galland to be appointed, ordained, and blessed "to go with

⁷⁶Letter cited in *HC*, 4:8–9.

⁷⁷Lake County, Ohio, Land Records. Copy at Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City.

⁷⁸*HC*, 4:270–71.

⁷⁹D&C 124:78. This revelation, published in the *Times and Seasons*, was later used to tease Isaac Galland, particularly during his second attempt as a candidate for the Iowa Legislature in 1851. On 3 February 1841, Dr. Galland was named a regent of the proposed University of Nauvoo. (See *HC*, 4:293.)

⁸⁰*HC*, 4:435–36.

my servant Hyrum [Smith], to accomplish the work that my servant Joseph shall point out to them.”⁸¹ These two men were specifically authorized by the Church

to visit the different branches of [the] Church in the eastern lands, to make exchanges of lands, to sell stock in the Nauvoo boarding House and obtain subscriptions and donations for building the “House of the Lord” in this place, and all such other business as they may deem necessary for the well being and prosperity of said Church.⁸²

Dr. Galland and Hyrum Smith arrived in Pennsylvania the last of March 1841,⁸³ but because of illness, Hyrum remained only a couple of weeks.⁸⁴ This unexpected change in plans left the entire responsibility of the land exchanges in Dr. Galland’s hands. While the Doctor’s exact movements in the East are not easily traceable, it appears that his activities as land agent for the Church centered primarily in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.⁸⁵ Evidence shows that he did acquire land titles from some Saints in these states in exchange for notes in Joseph Smith’s name.⁸⁶

Since Horace Hotchkiss had verbally agreed to accept land in the Atlantic States in lieu of cash payments, Joseph Smith was optimistic that his land agents could completely cancel the Hotchkiss debt (both principal and interest). Upon speaking with Mr. Hotchkiss, prior to Hyrum’s departure, the two agents found that he had changed his mind and that he would only accept land titles for the interest which was accruing. Upon receiving this information, Dr. Galland agreed to effect the transfer of sufficient eastern lands to Hotchkiss to meet the accruing interest (\$6000 by the summer of 1841).

It was not long, however, before the Prophet learned that Dr.

⁸¹D&C 124:79. Oliver Granger also acted as an agent in exchanging land in New York.

⁸²This instrument, granting power of attorney to Isaac Galland and Hyrum Smith, is signed by Joseph Smith and is dated 15 February 1841. Copy located in Joseph Smith Collection.

⁸³See Erastus Snow Sketchbook, typescript in the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, p. 64. Isaac Galland corresponded with Joseph Smith upon arriving in Philadelphia: “Through the mercies of our Heavenly Father, we have been prospered on our journey thus far—We have enjoyed reasonable health on the way, and have succeeded in accomplishing a part of our business—Brother Hyrum has labored unremittingly in the word and doctrine on our whole route; he has been joyfully received by the brethren everywhere.” (Letter dated Philadelphia, 5 April 1841, *Times and Seasons* 1:399–400.)

⁸⁴Hyrum Smith returned to Nauvoo before 1 May 1841 (see *Times and Seasons* 1 [1 May 1841]: 403).

⁸⁵On 15 April 1841, Erastus Snow accompanied Isaac Galland to New Jersey where they transacted “some temporal business of the Church” (see Erastus Snow Sketchbook, p. 65).

⁸⁶See, for example, HC, 4:391–92, and 519.

Galland was planning to return to Ohio without making the interest payment. In a letter to Smith Tuttle, Mr. Hotchkiss' partner, Joseph wrote:

I am well assured that Dr. Galland did not look for any means whatever, to pay the interest at any rate, if not the principal; and, why he has not done according to my instructions, God only knows. I do not feel to charge him with having done wrong, until I can investigate the matter, and ascertain to a certainty where the fault lies. . . . He has a considerable amount of money in his hands, which was to have been paid to you, as we intended.⁸⁷

Where Dr. Galland received large amounts of money is not clear. The monies were probably proceeds from the sale of properties which he did not transfer to the Hotchkiss Syndicate, or they were contributions for the Nauvoo House and the Nauvoo Temple.

Isaac Galland left for Ohio the latter part of July 1841,⁸⁸ and after spending a few months settling his business affairs, he gathered his family and set out for Iowa. The Doctor, possibly to avoid an immediate confrontation with Joseph Smith, took up residence in Keokuk.⁸⁹

Upon learning of Isaac Galland's return from the East, the Prophet immediately wrote to him. While the letter is not extant, Isaac Galland's reply is. He states:

I received with great pleasure your favour of yesterday, and am happy to say to you, that I enjoy a moderate degree of health, and shall certainly give myself the pleasure in a few days of visiting my brethren and friends at Nauvoo. I am now awaiting the arrival of a Gentleman from St. Louis whom I have promised to meet at this place on very important business. . . . As soon as I have met him and made arrangements, I shall proceed to an immediate interview with you.⁹⁰

After one month had passed and Dr. Galland had not arrived in Nauvoo, Joseph Smith was led to write:

I am verry much in want of assistance at this particular time, and if you can make it convenient to call on me within two or three days I shall be much pleased, if not I wish you would send by the bearer all the funds you possibly can as my wants are verry great.⁹¹

⁸⁷HC, 4:431-32.

⁸⁸See William Smith to Joseph Smith, 5 August 1841, cited in HC, 4:391-92. Although William Smith thought that Isaac Galland would proceed immediately to Nauvoo, the Doctor stopped for a time in Ohio and then changed his destination to Iowa.

⁸⁹Isaac Galland arrived in Keokuk before 10 December 1841.

⁹⁰Isaac Galland to Joseph Smith, 11 December 1841. Copy in Joseph Smith Collection.

⁹¹Joseph Smith to Isaac Galland, 17 January 1842. Copy in Joseph Smith Collection.

Dr. Galland penned the following reply to the bottom half of the Prophet's note:

On the receipt of the above note I am at a loss to determine whether you intended it as an absolute dun or as an appeal to my liberality to advance fund for your relief, but let it be either case, I assure you sir, it is not in my power to advance at this time 5 dollars untill I obtain it from my creditors or in some other way. As to coming to Nauvoo, I have long desired to come there, and shall certainly do so as soon as I can so arrange the matters which I am now engaged in.⁹²

While this response prompted Joseph Smith to revoke immediately Isaac Galland's powers of attorney as Church agent,⁹³ he nevertheless continued to maintain communication with the Doctor. On 19 January 1842, the Prophet wrote in a conciliatory vain:

By your reply of the 18th instant to my note of the 17th, I am led to conclude that you received my communication in a manner altogether unintended by me, and that there may be no misunderstanding between us, and that you may be satisfied that I did not intend, and that I do not now intend anything, only upon principles of the strictest integrity and uprightness before God, and to do as I would be done unto. . . . It is an old and trite maxim, that short reckonings make long friends. With this view of the matter, I would request you to call as soon as you possibly can make it convenient and compare accounts.⁹⁴

Isaac Galland did show up in Nauvoo to compare accounts two weeks later, but this was not soon enough for Church leaders. Brigham Young and James Ivins were sent to retrieve Dr. Galland's power of attorney and other papers as agent for the Church on 27 January 1842.⁹⁵

Dr. Galland's interview with the Prophet in February 1842 may not have been his last, but evidence (or the lack of it) suggests that it marked the beginning of Isaac Galland's estrangement from Church fellowship. The unusual thing concerning Dr. Galland's agency for the Church is that no formal action was taken against him for any wrongdoing. Writers have nearly always labeled Isaac Galland as a "rascal" or a "swindler," only seeking to take advantage of the Mormons. If this is true, why did Joseph Smith not openly rebuke the Doctor for failing to make the interest payment to the Hotchkiss Syndicate or for dissipating large

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³HC, 4:495. This action was sanctioned by a conference of the Church on 18 January 1842 (see HC, 4:500), and a statement issued to that effect in *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 January 1842):667.

⁹⁴Joseph Smith to Isaac Galland, 19 January 1842, cited in HC, 4:499.

⁹⁵HC, 4:503 and 513.

amounts of Church funds? Does this absence of such action imply Isaac Galland's innocence or that he won his case? Certainly other factors, not clearly evident, came to bear in this matter.

While Isaac Galland was in Pennsylvania, he authored a seven-page pamphlet entitled *Doctor Galland's Reply to Various Falsehoods, Misstatements and Misrepresentations Concerning the Latter Day Saints, Reproachfully Called Mormons*. It is possible that Church funds were used to print this pamphlet and that Mormon leaders approved of the undertaking, since the pamphlet attempted to vindicate the Mormon cause. The first pages of the pamphlet aimed at disproving derogatory reports concerning Mormon activities. Isaac Galland wrote:

During my stay in this, and other eastern cities, which has been since some time in March last, I have been not a little surprised at the numerous vague, silly, false and malicious representations concerning the people commonly called "Mormons," which I have observed in the public press. And as I am now about to return to the West, I have regarded it as a duty which I owe to the cause of truth, to correct at least some of these misrepresentations previous to my leaving this city; as it is quite doubtful that a refutation of these calumnies would ever find its way through the western prints to the eastern public.⁹⁶

The remainder of the pamphlet addressed itself to Mormon tenets.

Another possibility is that Dr. Galland used monies in his possession to assist Oliver Granger in settling Kirtland debts.⁹⁷ Whatever the reason, research to date does not reveal that any Church leader ever reprimanded Dr. Galland for any impropriety either as a land agent or as a private member of the Church.⁹⁸

An oft-cited accusation is that Isaac Galland did not hold legal title to lands which he sold the Church in the Half-Breed Tract.

⁹⁶The pamphlet is dated Philadelphia, 13 July 1841. Copy located in Church Archives.

⁹⁷Joseph Smith wrote Oliver Granger on 4 May 1841: "I therefore respectfully recommend to you to give a statement of the whole affair to Dr. Galland who is yet in the East, and will be in Kirtland soon, and get him to take the matter into his hands and get the business straightened up." Granger died in Kirtland 25 August 1841. (See Joseph Smith to Oliver Granger, 4 May 1841, located at Illinois State Historical Library and published in *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society* 40 [March 1947]:85.

⁹⁸An undated document in the Joseph Smith Collection at Church Archives does indicate that Isaac Galland may have failed to settle all his accounts with Joseph Smith. "Account against Isaac Galland, for money had and received by him for his scrip payable in lands in Lee County, Iowa Territory or town lots in Nauvoo on demand by me and refused leaving my demand on him for money \$8778.00." I am indebted to James L. Kimball, Jr., of the LDS Historian's Office, for pointing this out to me.

Historians have insisted on quoting each other in saying that two hundred and fifty Mormon families were forced to leave Lee County, Iowa, in 1841 since no legal title had been conveyed. This writer is unable to verify this indictment. While there were never two hundred and fifty Mormon families residing in Lee County, Iowa, at any time during the 1840s, it is possible that some Mormons did cross the river to the Illinois side due to the Half-Breed-Tract litigation. But if, indeed, several Mormons did leave Iowa in 1841 or 1842, a more plausible explanation is that they left because of the disorganization of the Zarahemla Stake.⁹⁹ The 1841 partition of the Half-Breed Reservation naturally caused great concern for all holding interest in the tract. As a matter of fact, the issue was not settled until at least 1850. But the titles of Dr. Galland, who was generally recognized as the owner of much of the tract, "were considered as good as any body elses."¹⁰⁰

Isaac Galland, who remained in Lee County the remainder of his life, had constant association with Mormons but discontinued his life as an active Saint. One county history alleges that "he came to the conclusion that the prophet's claim to supernatural powers was a fraud . . . [and] therefore gave up the Mormons."¹⁰¹ The last known interaction between Isaac Galland and Joseph Smith is a letter dated 11 March 1843, in which Dr. Galland notified the Prophet from St. Louis that he was outraged at John C. Bennett's lectures and that Porter Rockwell had been arrested. The letter carries a feeling of friendship for Joseph Smith and a concern for the Mormon people.¹⁰²

During the late 1840s, while the Half-Breed Tract was still entangled in litigation, Dr. Galland spent much of his time championing the cause of the so-called "rightful" claimants. Much literature was published during the period, and many heated debates were held. Dr. Galland, who donned a white cane and gold-rimmed glasses, was an active participant, in both publishing and debating. He used his cane to emphasize his particular point of view by either pounding on something or by poking someone. He often violently jerked his glasses from his face to indicate disgust over specific items in question.¹⁰³

⁹⁹T. Edgar Lyon to Lyndon W. Cook, 19 May 1978.

¹⁰⁰"The Oldest Land Titles in Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 15:249.

¹⁰¹Roberts and Moorehead, *History of Lee County, Iowa*, p. 308.

¹⁰²Isaac Galland to Joseph Smith, 11 March 1843, in *Journal History*.

¹⁰³Of special note were the vicious exchange of pamphlets between Dr. Galland and David W. Kilbourne. Both accused the other of fraud in the Half-Breed Reservation.

After again running unsuccessfully for the Iowa State Legislature on the Possum ticket in 1851, Isaac Galland left his comfortable residence in Keokuk to try his luck in California. He, his wife, and others left for the West in April 1853 and arrived in Sacramento in September. One source notes that the party stopped in Salt Lake City where they were kindly entertained by Brigham Young.¹⁰⁴ Isaac Galland's niece records that during their stay in California, the Doctor and his wife resided in Petaluma.¹⁰⁵

In 1856, after learning that a suit against the New York Land Company had netted him \$11,000, Isaac Galland returned home posthaste. The last two years of his life were spent among friends in Ft. Madison, Iowa.

The life of the active Dr. Isaac Galland came to an end Monday, 27 September 1858, at the age of 67. The following day a funeral discourse was preached over his remains at the Episcopal Church in Ft. Madison by the Reverend Adderly, and "his remains, followed by a large concourse of relatives and friends, were carried and deposited" in the city cemetery.¹⁰⁶

While some questions regarding Isaac Galland's Mormon-related activities remain unanswered, research confirms that Dr. Isaac Galland was clearly a Mormon benefactor. His correspondence with political leaders and his extensive landholdings combined in assisting the Saints to gather again. Joseph Smith declared that the distinguished Dr. Galland was the "instrument of the Lord" in providing a place of refuge for the homeless, persecuted Saints.¹⁰⁷ Although his primary motivation for aiding the Saints appears to have been financial gain, it is quite possible that without Isaac Galland there might never have been a Nauvoo.

¹⁰⁴T. Edgar Lyon to Lyndon W. Cook, 22 June 1978.

¹⁰⁵Virginia Wilcox Ivins, *Pen Pictures of Early Western Days* (n.p., 1908).

¹⁰⁶This from Isaac Galland's obituary in *The Plain Dealer* (Ft. Madison, Iowa), 1 October 1858.

¹⁰⁷HC, 4:270.

“All Things Move in Order in the City”: The Nauvoo Diary of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs

Edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher

At the time when Eliza Roxey Snow was at the peak of her effectiveness as a leader of the women of the Church in Utah, her closest associate, and eventual successor, was Zina Diantha Young. Both women were wives of Brigham Young, though of the two only Zina had borne a child by him. Both were native easterners, Zina having been born 31 January 1821 in Watertown, Ontario County, New York, seventeen years after Eliza was born in Becket, Massachusetts. Both had converted to Mormonism as young women and had come with their families, sometimes travelling together, in the hegira which concluded for them in the Great Basin. They shared the leadership of the Relief Society, almost from its rebirth as a Churchwide organization in 1867, but where the women thought of Eliza as the head, they considered Zina the heart of the association. From Eliza's death in 1887 until her own in 1901, Zina presided over the Relief Society worldwide.

Married to Henry Bailey Jacobs in Nauvoo on 7 March 1841, Zina gave birth the following year to her first son, Zebulon William (she spells it *Zebulun*), and on the Chariton River as they crossed Iowa en route to Winter Quarters in 1846, to a second son, whom she named Henry Chariton. Her third child, a daughter born after Zina's marriage to Brigham Young, was Zina Presendia Young Card, later matriarch of the Mormon settlements in Canada. Zina Presendia's daughter Zina married Hugh B. Brown, apostle and counselor in the First Presidency until his death in 1975. Their daughter Zina Lydia, born in Canada but now residing in California, has two daughters, to one of whom she gave the traditional name. It is with that daughter that this present account begins.

Zina Elizabeth Brown, Betty to her friends, had been using a locked trunk as a coffee table for several months before she found someone who could open it. She had been given the trunk on the death of her grandfather, Hugh B. Brown. It had belonged to his

Maureen Ursenbach Beecher is editor and research historian in the Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and author of several studies on aspects of the history of Mormon women.

wife, Zina Card Brown, but no one in the family knew of its contents. When in early 1979 Betty finally looked into the trunk, she found, among the clothes and keepsakes of her grandmother, some letters of her uncle, Hugh Brown, who was killed in World War II, indicating that the trunk had last been opened around 1942, and two diaries of her great-great grandmother, Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, one dating in the 1890s, the other, the Nauvoo one here printed, dating 5 June 1844 to 21 September 1845.

The Nauvoo diary was written crosswise on papers saddle-stitched as a school exercise book might have been, its pages measuring, folded, six by eight inches. The handwriting is small, the ink in some cases faded, and the edges of the pages frayed. Even so, most of the words can be made out quite clearly. The little booklet had been rolled, such that conservators at the LDS Church Archives, where Betty brought the diary to ensure its preservation, had difficulty flattening it to make it readable. It is now kept in an acid-free folder in the atmosphere-controlled environment of the Archives where it is available to scholars interested in Nauvoo, in social history, in the history of women, or, more specifically, in Zina herself.

Zina Diantha—one must often use both names to separate mothers and daughters in the six-generation chain of Zinas—saw and reported events at almost every stage in the history of the Mormon movement from Kirtland, Missouri, and Nauvoo to settlement in the Great Basin. Her diaries, some very sketchy, some quite detailed, were preserved initially by Zina Card Brown. The larger collection was in the keeping of Mary Brown Firmage, her daughter, who recently donated them to the Church Archives for preservation there. Mrs. Firmage has done, and continues to do, extensive research into that family, her project leading towards a long biographical study of the women, particularly the Zinas. Her help with this present project is gratefully acknowledged.

Among all these family papers, this Nauvoo journal of Zina Diantha seems to demand particular attention, containing as it does so much more than just personal events in the life of its writer. Nauvoo, itself, as seen through the eyes of the bright, observant, deeply committed woman, becomes alive through details she provides. She describes the tumultuous year following the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith with an accuracy which checks out almost to the last jot with the documentary *History of the Church* and other diaries of the time.

The diary opens with the events which lead to the slayings at Carthage, the "ever to be remembered awful day of the 27 of June 1844," told as they were reported in Nauvoo at that time. The return of the Quorum of the Twelve which followed, their acceptance as rightful successors to the Prophet at the momentous 8 August meeting, and the subsequent trial of the accused murderers of the brothers are recounted from Zina's point of view. She notes military exercises of the Nauvoo Legion, the dedication of the Seventies Hall, the laying of the capstone on the Temple, the arrest of five Mormons from the Lima settlement, and the persecution which, by the end of her account, has mobs burning the homes of the Saints in that southern outlying colony. In the midst of the turmoil, however, she comments that "peace and prosperity reigns in the city," and at the end of her account she observes that "all things move in order in the City."

As counterpoint to the public affairs in Nauvoo are the private events in Zina's life. She notes sicknesses—her own, her husband Henry's, their son Zebulon's, and those of the many people who came to her for nursing care. Already Zina is developing skills which would lead her later to become midwife and medical practitioner. Never very settled in a home, Zina moves three times during the fifteen months of the diary, a course, one would believe, not unusual in Nauvoo. Henry Bailey Jacobs, her husband, moves in and out of her view as he leaves for and returns from various short missions, some of them with her brother Oliver as his companion.

Zina is personally very much affected by the events she relates. She is chilled by the Martyrdom, all the more intensely for her having been sealed to Joseph Smith in late 1841. She is inspired by a sermon of Brigham Young's, one not now extant, "uppon Priesthood, the Godhead, the dut[i]es of Male and Female, there exaltations, &c." She is not unmoved by the succession meeting of 8 August, though she makes no mention here of Elder Young's speaking with Joseph's voice. She finds delight in a family Christmas at Lima, horror in her first actual view of violence, sorrow in the deaths around her, and joy in the birth of David Hyrum Smith, Emma and Joseph's last child. All these responses find reflection in the psalm-like prayers with which the accounts often end.

With all that openness, there is still enough restraint to keep a careful covering around the intimate Zina. Her relationship to

Henry Bailey Jacobs, the husband who stood approving as her earlier sealing to Joseph Smith was confirmed by proxy in the Nauvoo Temple and who witnessed her sealing "for time" to Brigham Young, seems not uncordial here. That first marriage, described in later biographical studies as an unhappy one, is not overtly so in these accounts. Zina shows pride in Henry's calling as seventies president; she accepts as dear friends the Saints who were kind to him on his missions; she cares for him in sickness and notes his progress on their house. There is little of the intimate view of their lives, but one cannot expect that, considering the times and the mores of Victorian America. On the whole, if she is not an enthusiastic bride, Zina does seem a contented wife.

Most important in her life are her family, extended by the marriage, after her mother's death, of father William Huntington to Edward Partridge's widow, Lydia. Eliza and Emily Partridge, near contemporaries of Zina's, are frequent visitors, and young Lydia and Caroline also come. Edward, Jr., their young brother, is mentioned.

The Huntington family itself is large, with strong bonds unbroken by distance and religion. Chauncey, the oldest son, married in 1825, did not accept the Mormon message and remained in New York when the rest converted and came west with the Saints. Dimick and his wife Fanny are in Nauvoo with their two sons, Clark and Lot, and the baby Martha. William, Jr., is married to Caroline Clark; their two children had both been born in Nauvoo, and a third would arrive shortly after Zina's diary stops. Oliver, just younger than Zina, would marry during the course of the diary, but in New York, so Zina recounts only his departure. John, the youngest Huntington, is a teenager at this time.

Zina's one surviving sister—two had died—is Presendia, eleven years her senior, who lives with her husband Norman Buell and their two children at Morley's Settlement, or Lima, a day's buggy ride south of Nauvoo. Four of Presendia's children had died, and Zina will recount the burial of the fifth in this diary.

Besides these immediate family members there are some others who come into the diary: "Father Jacobs" is Henry's father, for whom he was named; Henry's sister Lydia Jacobs and her husband Urban Stewart live in Nauvoo, a young couple nearer Zina's twenty-three years than Henry's twenty-seven. The uncle with whom the diary opens may be Dana Jacobs, later to become, with Henry, one of the presidents of seventy—he in the Sixteenth Quorum, Henry in the Fifteenth.

The relationships of families are not always certain, during these early days of plural marriage, when, as Amasa Lyman observed years later, "We obeyed the best we knew how, and, no doubt, made many crooked paths in our ignorance."¹ The secretiveness necessitated by the threat from without and dissention from within the Church makes unusual in a contemporary account even as much of a note as Zina makes when referring to her brother William's having as his second wife Harriet Clark, Caroline's sister. Ann Maginn will become his third wife, but whether she is or is not at this time is not certain. The same is true for the Partridge sisters, Eliza and Caroline, both of whom will become wives to Amasa Lyman, who lies sick at Zina's house when the girls come visiting.

There are many more friends and acquaintances who come and go in these pages. It is impossible to identify with certainty who some of them are; many are already known to readers. For that reason there has been no attempt to provide footnoted guesses at their identification. Rather, correct spelling has been provided to make the known ones clearer; the others, other than family, are left to the reader's conjecture.

Editorially, in an attempt to preserve the flavor of Zina's own style, little has been done to the diary. Despite the fact that she taught school, Zina is a poor speller, often inconsistent in her own misspellings, a characteristic which adds credit more than fault to her accomplishment; there is far more to be praised in precise wording than in mere orthography, and where Zina might not know the spelling, she certainly did know the word. And it is delightful to hear Amasa Lyman's name as Zina pronounced it: *Amacy Limon*, or Clarissa Decker's, *Claracy*. Where the reader might possibly trip over a misspelled word, the correction has been provided; for the most part, though, the phonetic spelling is quite adequate.

Some words appear to be Zina's own: a *lowry* day, for example, or the verb *lacken*, or *backen*, or *bachen*, meaning to diminish or decrease, used as a transitive verb, in the active voice, as in "wilt thou *lacken* the power of our foes." Occasionally Zina transposes words, and sometimes her final *g*'s and *d*'s are interchanged. These have been left as she wrote them. The only changes which have been made silently are in punctuation, in which case periods

¹Amasa Lyman, 5 April 1866, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: B. Young, Jun., 1867; photo reprint 1966), 11:207.

25. Joseph & Hyrum were exhibited to the mob by the Governor, the anger of the mob still increased, the Governor pledged his word and honor that they should be protected especially the Joseph and Hyrum, this was done, 26 Joseph & Hyrum determined to make them swear some all in their power to their safety especially Lawyer Read. The eve to be remembered awful day of the 27 of June 1844, the men of outrage drove off some of the brethren at the point of the bayonet the Governor knew of it yet he left them in the jail (with slight guard) a number of men came out here about the time they arrived here, on the awful scene took place about 11:00 AM with fearful faces burst open the jail doors shot in (explosive) the room, Joseph discharged three of the bullets of a six shot, shot Hyrum first in the back under the left eye shot Joseph through the back from the window of a 2 story building, he fell down to follow him but soon that he must fall upon the enemies he got up, his brother John is wounded by the miraculous hand of God he died, for the bullets flew like hail in violent storm, they were killed thus in one day about 8 AM which fell the Prophet and Richard of the Church of the Latter Day Saints the kind has heard the affectionate Father

the venerable state may the Friends of man beside, by the hand of a righteous God, O how long before thou wilt avenge the innocent blood that has been shed how long must widows mourn and orphans cry before thou wilt avenge the Earth and cause wrongs to cease, wilt thou hasten the day O Lord, in thine own way, wilt thou prepare me and to stand all things and come of conyenger through him who hath loved us, and give me a seat in thy celestial Kingdom with the Son of life As I these favors for thy son Jesus sake amen. This afternoon the Bodies of the martyrs arrived in town, I went and heard the speeches made by our brethren and Friends they stood where Joseph last stood and spoke the brethren as he called them sons went into his house for the first time and there saw the faithful speechless Bodies of the two martyrs for the testimony which they held little did my heart ever think that mine eyes should witness this awful scene as the People of the City went to see these precious bodies on Saturday and Sunday who had laid down their lives for the cause and these Brethren

and commas have been inserted, and capitals added, for ease of reading. All proper nouns have been capitalized, and ampersands have been replaced with *and*. The dating has been left as she wrote it, with just numbers counting off the days, sometimes several in a line with no entry until the last one. The months are identified on the first entry of each one.

June 1844

5,6,7,8,9. Went with Henres [Henry's] uncles family uppon the hill. From this day I understand the Kinsmans degree of freemasonry.² My husband, being a Master Mason, attended meeting. Hiram Smith spoke exceeding well also re[a]d a revelation. I went to see Sister Gleson, and Sister Abigal Thorn in the past we[e]k.

10,12,13,14,15,16. Henry returned.

17. The Bretheren are halving to prepare to defend them selves again.³

18. I went to the Masonic hall with the sisters.

19. Tra[i]ning. 3 companes arived, to [two] from over the river. O God save thy people.

20. Stayed at Wm [William Huntington's] all knight. The bretheren are still in town tra[i]ning.

21. Had a letter from the Governor, to Joseph. He is at Carthage, that is the Gov[ernor].⁴

22. Saturday knight about midnight the g[u]ard came in, also about 40 men of the other party or from Carthage. The Goviner deman[d]s Joseph.⁵

²There is no actual "Kinsman's degree" in Masonry. Zina's feelings about the Masonic Order would, however, be strong, since not only her husband, but also her father and two brothers, William and Dimick, were members of the Nauvoo Lodge, the three Huntington men having been initiated in 1842. Her third brother, Oliver, recounts his rising to Master Mason in June 1844 (Oliver B. Huntington Diary 1842-1900, typescript, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 48; hereinafter cited as Church Archives). Joseph Smith, to whom Zina had been sealed, was also a Master Mason. That her loyalty to Masonry remained firm is suggested in the quotation from a speech which Zina gave in 1878 in a mass meeting of women to protest anti-polygamy campaigns. Addressing the reporters from several U.S. newspapers, she proclaimed:

I am the daughter of a Master Mason! I am the widow of a Master Mason, who, when leaping from the windows of Carthage jail, pierced with bullets, made the Masonic sign of distress.... I wish my voice could be heard by the whole brotherhood of Masons throughout our proud land. That institution I honor. If its principles were practiced and strictly adhered to, would there be a trespass upon virtue? No indeed. Would the honorable wife or daughter be intruded on with impunity? Nay verily. (*Women's Exponent* 7 [1 December 1878]:98.)

³The *Expositor* episode reopened threats against the Saints, and by this date, the Nauvoo Legion was alerted, with companies arriving over the next few days from outlying areas, including branches across the Mississippi in Iowa. Zina succinctly outlines the events which, in Joseph Smith, Jun., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1932-1951), 6:492-547, are recounted with supporting documents. Most moving is the account in his diary of Zina's young brother Oliver meeting the company from Lima and coming with them to Nauvoo (Oliver Huntington Diary, pp. 44-45).

⁴It is evident that the townspeople were immediately aware of the negotiations, since Zina's entry for each day corresponds exactly with the dates on documents as compiled in Joseph Smith's *History* (hereinafter cited as *HC*). The letter here referred to asked Joseph Smith to send witnesses to Governor Thomas Ford in Carthage to explain their view of the difficulties.

⁵The governor's letter of this date read, in part: "I require any and all of you who are or shall be accused [in the matter of the *Expositor*] to submit yourselves to be arrested...." closing with the guarantee of safety to all persons who might thus be brought to Carthage for the trial (*HC*, 6:536-37).

23. Joseph and the bretheren are in council supplicating the throne of grace for His divine direction. Elder Adams spoke at the stand.⁶ Henry and I went. It was an interesting sermon. He also related the tale of his being at sea, the Maraclous [miraculous] hand of God being with him in visions, &c. He is soon to start on an important mission to the east. May God bless him.

24. A day long to be remembered. This Day Joseph, Hiram, John P. Green, Dimick [Huntington] and others started for Carthage to be met at the Mound.⁷ Returned about noon acconipned [accompanied] by a number by the Goviners orders. Took the cannons and all the U.S. arms also the before mentioned prisoners and left this place late in the after noon. O God save thy servants, save them for Jesus Sake.

This night after the brethren left here for Carthage the Hevens gathered blackness, the thunder and lightning was dreadful, the storm arose in the west.

25. Joseph and Hiram were exhibeted to the mob by the Govinor. The anger of the Mob still increased. The Govinor Pledged his sacred word and honor also the faith of the State of Ill[inois] that they should be protected, especially Joseph and Hiram. This was done before they left there [their] Homes.⁸

26. Joseph[’s] Lawyers endeverd to make them secure. Done all in there power for there safety, especially Lawyer Read.⁹

O the ever to be r[em]embered awful day of the 27 of June 1844. The men of Carthage drove off some of the Bretheren at the point of the bayonet and swore they would kill Joseph. The Goviner knew of it yet he left them in the gale [jail] (with a light g[u]ard), took a number of men, came out here. About the time they arrived here in Nauvoo the awful s[c]ene took place. About 100 or 100[?] men with painted Faces burst open the gale [jail] dore. Shot in. (No man entered the room.) Joseph discharged three of the barrels of a six shooter. Hiram was shot first in the head or under the left eye. Shod [shot] Joseph through. He leaped from the upper window of a 2 story bilding. Br[other Willard] Richards started to Follow him but seed [seeing] that he must fall uppon the enemes bayotel [bayonet?], desisted. Brother Talor [John Taylor] is wounded. By the meraculous hand of God br. Richards was not hurt, for the bullets flew like hail in A violent storm. They ware both shot twice. Thus in one day about 3 or 4. oclock fell the Prophet and Patr[i]arch of the Church of the Lat[t]erday Saints, the kind husbands, the affectionate Father, the venerable statesman, the Friends of man kinde, by the hand of a ruthless Mob mixed with desenters. O God how long before thou wilt avenge the innosent blood that has be[e]n shed? How long must widdows mourn and orp[h]ans cry before thou wilt avenge the Earth and cause wickness to seace [cease]. Wilt thou hasten the day, O Lord, in thine own way. Wilt thou Prepare me and to stand all things and come of[f] conqerrer through him who hath Loved us, and give me a seat in thy selestial Kingdom with the Sanctified. I ask these favors for thy son Jesus sake, amen.

⁶Elder George J. Adams, later to leave the Church, was at this point a close supporter of the Prophet Joseph Smith. No account of his sermon is extant.

⁷The Mound was a hill east of Nauvoo, on the road towards Carthage. A branch of the Church was centered there, and Joseph Smith’s farm was nearby.

⁸See fn. 4. These entries may well have been recorded after the fact of the murders of June 27.

⁹H. T. Reid and James W. Woods were counsel for the defense.

28. This after noon the Bod[i]es of the Marters arived in town. I went herd the speeches m[a]de by our bretheren and Friends. They stood where Joseph last stood and addresse[d] the bretheren, or he called them sons.¹⁰ Went into his house for the first time and there saw the lifeless speechless Bod[i]es of the towo [two] Marters for the testimony which they held. Little did my heart ever think that mine eyes should witness this awful seen [scene].

29. The People of the City went to see there beloved Prophet and Patriarch who had laid down there lives for the cause and there Bretheren. The night after the bretheren ware buried we had an awful thunder storm and lightning, so the mob did not come as they intended.

30. It is Sunday, a lonely h[e]art-sorrowful day. Also it rains.

July 1st, 1844. I washed, they Joseph and Hiram's cloth[e]s.

2. I went to Dimicks and Wms. Elder Adams, and [Jedediah] Grant started after the 12.¹¹

3. Wm called here this evening! Very plesent [pleasant].

4. Spent the day at Sister Jonese's, Carlos Smiths Widdow [Agnes Coolbrith Smith], the girls that resides with her, Louisa Bemon [Beaman], and Sister Marcum [Hannah Markham]. Very plesent to day, but ah what drearryness and sorrow pervades evry bosom. The once noble banner of liberty is fallen, the bo[a]sted land of fre[e]dom is now sta[i]ned with innocent blood. O God wilt thou save us.

5. Very warm.

7. A meeting at the s[t]and.¹²

8. I again commence my sc[h]ool but mournfully.¹³

9,10,11,12,13,14. At[t]ended at the Stand. Parl[e]y [P.] Prat preached in the power of the speret [spirit]. It was truly comforting, for truly did we need it.

15. The brethren are a going afishing like unto the days of old when Jesus was slain.

16,17,18. The Church had a day of fasting and Prayer. I attended the meeting, payed my 10 c[en]ts tithing to the Temple. A violent thunder Storm. I was alone in the night but God preserved me.

29. Presendia came up from Lima.

30. Returned sick. I am very sorry.

31. I closed my school to day.

¹⁰A synopsis of Joseph Smith's last address to the Nauvoo Legion, as compiled by George A. Smith from verbal reports, is found in *HC*, 6:497–500. The troops stood in the street near the Mansion House, the Prophet in full uniform on the top of the frame of a building. Those who addressed the Saints on this later date, apparently from the same "stand," were Willard Richards, W. W. Phelps, and the two attorneys—James W. Woods and H. T. Reid—who "exhorted the people to be peaceable and calm and use no threats." (*HC*, 7:134.)

¹¹George J. Adams failed in his mission of reaching Brigham Young and seven others of the Quorum of the Twelve then on missions in the East; however, Jedediah Grant completed the assignment (*HC*, 7:158–59).

¹²Not having a building large enough to accommodate large assemblies, the Saints in Nauvoo were addressed from a stand as they sat on rough benches set up in a vacant field, usually in the grove directly west of the temple site.

¹³Accounts of the various schools in Nauvoo show Zina teaching only occasionally; most likely she held classes in a private dwelling, and then for only short terms, as this one, which will close again in three weeks.

August 1, 1844, Samuel Smith died.¹⁴ O God have mercy on thy People, comfort those that mourn.

2. I went to sister [Elvira Cowles?] Holmes.

3. President [Sidney] Rigdon arived here.

4. I herd him preach. He spoke of Josephs halving a Kingdom built up unto him; also of the father Son and Holy G[h]ost.

5. Some of the [Quorum of the] 12 arived.

6. Suffrance Scot or Reaves son of [blank] years old died here at my house.¹⁵

8 of August, 1844. I went to meeting in the afternoon, Thanks be to Him who reigns on high, the majority of the Twelve are her[e]. Brigham Youngs spoke and the Church voted that the 12 should act in the office of there calling next to Joseph or the three first presidents.¹⁶

9,10. I went with old Sister [blank] to see Mother Smith [and] the records.¹⁷

11. We went to Meting. Liman Wite [Lyman Wight] spoke.

12. Henry and Father went to see Oliver at Lima. He is very sick.

13,14,15. I herd Erastus Snow Preach a funeral sermon.

16. A day of Prayer and Fasting. O God wilt thou forgive all my sins.

17. I went to Fathers and Dimicks. Sister Palmer stayed all knight.

18. Went to meeting. B[righam] Youngs Spoke concerning the unity of the church and the danger of dividing. In the after noon Heber Kimble [Kimball] and O. Hide [Orson Hyde] spoke. It was an excelent meeting About as the Sun was setting Father, Henry, and Oliver arived from Lima. O[liver] is very Sick. Stood his journey beyond expectations. I feel to thank the Lord that I have seen him alive.

19. P Edmons had a chill here.¹⁸ I washed. Took a voilent cold.

20. Henry had a chill.

21,22,23,24,25. H[enry] and Zebulun quite sick with the ague.

26,27. H[enry] has his ague.

28,29,30,31.

September the 1st, 1844. The Twelve or some of them occupied the day. My Family ware sick and I did non [not] go but understood they had an ecent [excellent] meting.¹⁹

2. H[enry] broke his ague.

3,4. All on the amend [mend].

¹⁴The last but one surviving of Joseph, Senior, and Lucy Mack Smith's sons, Samuel died five weeks after his two brothers, Joseph and Hyrum.

¹⁵Zina's later reputation as a practical nurse seems to have here its beginnings; from this and subsequent entries, it appears that sick children and adults were brought to her for nursing care.

¹⁶This was the oft-related meeting at which the leadership succession was decided in favor of the Quorum of the Twelve, Brigham Young its president. The account in *HC*, 7:231-42, provides commentary on the events and parts of some addresses; D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976):187-233, analyzes the circumstances which led to that conclusion. Zina makes no mention of the miraculous transformation of Brigham Young which appears in some other accounts of the meeting.

¹⁷Mother Lucy Mack Smith had been given the care of several artifacts and manuscripts, among them the mummies and papyri related to the Book of Abraham.

¹⁸Another instance of Zina's care of sick friends. The "chill" would likely be occasioned by an attack of the "ague," a form of malarial fever marked by chills and fever.

¹⁹Zina seems to have lost track of the days; her entry headed 1 September describes services recorded in *HC*, 7:262, under date 25 August.

5. Went to fast meeting. I feel to thank the Lord that I have the privilege of attending meetings and hearing the glorious instruction. O may I make a wise use of all these things and be save[d] in the celestial Kingdom of our God for his son sake, Amen.

Sept 1, 1844. Went to meeting with Father. S[idney] Rigdon preached first sermon. Spoke of Victoria, O how wonderful. Br[i]gham Young asked the High Priests what they had learned. I would say [incomplete] August the 31st that was Saturday that Charl[e]s Rich was put in Wilson Laws place in the Legion and Brigham Young in Josephs stanging [standing] as [lieutenant-general].

3. We went to Dimicks, stayed all knight at Fathers. The Twelve labored with S Rigdon most of the night and demanded his lisenice, but he refused.

4. S R is reported in the [Nauvoo] Neighbor with others, to appear at the stand next sabath.

5. The Twelve preached at the stand, very well.

6. Viseted at Sister [Patty] Sessions.

7. A lowry[?] day.

8. We went to meeting. Sidney Rigdon was cut off from the church with others.

9. The Rigdon followers had a meeting in the evening.

10. I was at Mother [Patty] Sessiones.

11. Sold our improvements to Br Wetherby.²⁰

12. I went to Prayer meting Parley Prat spoke of the welfare of the Church, the necesity of building the Temple, our endewment, &c.

13. Dimick and Wife and Julia ware here. Watched with Br Bells Child. It died about 12 oclock.

14. I went and saw Sister Hamer.

15. Herd Parly [P. Pratt] again. It was most excelent. Spoke on Priesthood, the order of the kingdom, who would judge us. Orson Prat spoke in the afternoon. I was not there. Also George Smith.

16. Very pleasent.

17. Bought a small piece of a lot of my br[other] William Huntington.

18. I went to Wms.

19. The ague in my face, or the teeth ake [ache].

20. Moving. I called at B[righam] Young. He was not in. It rained in the evening.

21,22. We went to Meeting. B Young spoke uppon the power of the Priesthood, when Joseph was ordained, &c.

23. I was at Sister Crosbes.

24. We moved to Wm Huntingtons house to stop until Henry can build a house uppon a piece of land he bought of Wm size 2[?] in front and 100 back.

25. Some of the Goviners troops arived within 2 miles of town.

26. To a Thursday prayer meeting at brother Tidwells.

27. The Goviner with [two aides] past through the City of Nauvoo and re protecting against the wolf hunt that has ben in agitation by the citizen[s] of this state and said to wish the detection of the assasins of our Prophet and Patriarch. O Lord wilt thou soften there hearts towards the Saints and permit us

²⁰The term "improvements" usually referred to the land and whatever buildings, fences, garden plots the owner might have built or cleared.

to do all things thou hast Commanded and make our calling and election sure and thy name Shall have all the glory.²¹

28. The Legion came out. The Goviner and his men saw them, said they done well. The Govner still holds there arms [the Nauvoo Legion's]. In a fals alarm there was a man kil[l]ed, shot through the body.²²

29. The Goviner and men left for Warsaw.

30. October the 1st. 1844, 2 Caroline and I sowed at Dimocks.

3,4. Very pleasant.

5. Norman Buell and wife [Presendia] arived here from Lima.

6. Wee all went to meeting. Brigham Young spoke, and Parly Prat had most excelent teachings, O God, wilt thou seal these things in my hart.

7. Done Church bisniss mostly. H. Kimble [Heber Kimball] spoke. N[orman] and P[resendia] started for home.

8,9,10,11. Ann and Lydia ware here.

12. Wm moved.

13. I went to Father Jacobs.

14. Sewing for Oliver.

15. Talking of taking up the 12 by the mob, or sending the brethren to Carthage.

16. B. Young, H Kimble are not to be seen. Thus our enemes or the enemes of God seek to everthrow [overthrow] and perplex the children of God. O God, My Heavenly [Father], wilt thou protect thy servents and thy People and I know thou wilt in as much as they listen to thy law. O Father wilt thou preserve me spotless through the merets [merits] of thy Son Jesus Christ, and thy name shall have the glory, worlds without end.

17,18. A snow storm.

19. A fast, at Wms to day. Had an agreeable viset.

20. Some Bretheren arived from th[e] East of Henres and Olivers acquaintance. Also Father and Mother Huntington ware here. What a blessed privilege to have the Sosiety of on[e]s friends. I feel truly grateful for the privilege I enjoy.

21. About 200 brethren went to Carthage some few ware bound over for trial last Summer. The day of trial has now arived; it arose from burning the press. O God protect thy saints.

Oct. 22nd, 1844. No fresh news from Carthage.²³ Mother Liman [Lyman?] was here, an old friend.

23. Wm returned from Carthage. The fendesh dsenters [fiendish dissenters] are mostly gathered at Carthage. No trouble yet.

24. The bretheren mostly returned home to Nauvoo. Some ware indited but there trials put off[f] until the next setting of co[u]rt.

25. Julia Parks and I viseted at Wms.

²¹The term "wolf hunt" was used in reference to depredations against the Mormons. In this case the attack never materialized, deterred by the presence in Nauvoo of the governor and "about five hundred" state troops, with the avowed purpose of preserving the peace.

²²HC, 7:276-78, gives an account of the shooting incident in which a man of the state militia lost his life.

²³Some 150 Mormons accompanied those who were to be indicted in the grand jury hearing of the *Expositor* case. Eleven men were indicted for riot, their trial being held over until the following spring session of court.

26. Sister Ripshier [Roxanna Repsher?] was here.
 27. Father and John took breakfast. Sister Ripshier was here to supper.
 28. Took a violent cold.
 29. Moved into the midle room to have our room plasterd.
 - 29,30. Afflicted with the inflammation in my eyes.
 31. Most blind. Charl[e]s Hide [Hyde] was here. Oliver went to Lima.
- Nov. the 1, 1844. Sister Lewes [Lewis] was here all day. Done the work. Br. Lewes he came in the evening, let us have some oils.
2. Yet under affliction. O Father be merciful to me in my weakness.
 3. Some better. The Twelve gave teaching, concerning the life of the Earth.
 4. We moved. The Lord in much mercy restore[d] my sight. Praised be his name. I implore thee O my God, to srengthen my memory.
 5. All well. I assisted Sister Car[r]ington in quilting. Went to prayer Meeting, had a very good season in wa[i]ting before the Lord. Some new ideas to me. I feel grateful to My Heavenly Father for all these priviliges and blessings.
 7. A very pleasant day, a fast to me alone. O Merciful God I ask Thee to forgive me all my Sins for I will serve no other God but thou being my helper. Yea wilt Thou bless Me with eternal Life, and thy Name shall have all the glory.
 - 8,9. Very plesaent. Norman Buell and Oliver came up from Lima and brought up the corps[e] of my sister Presendia Buells child, John Hiram by name, age about 1 year.²⁴
 10. Went to meeting. Pres Youngs spoke. It was truly comforting to the sole that is thirsting for knoledge. He spoke of Union and said that it must be by this principle we are saved, by this the Saviour would come and reign, by union the authority of the Priesthood Stands, and holds its Dominion, and when we become sufficiently united our enemes would have no more power, nether shall we see such maraculous displays of the Power of God as some antispate until after the Thousand years reign, union will cause the Menlanean [Millennium]. It is not a momentary work.
 11. O[l]iver went to Sister Emmas to board.²⁵
 12. Fanny was here.
 13. I took a walk. Called at Father John Smiths, Sister Rockwells. Also went to Sister Sessions. Perigren Session wife [Julia Ann Kilgore Sessions] is not expected to live. I took my leave of her. O may I meet her in peace whare pane [pain] nor death can come. Sister S[essions] is as calm as a summers morning. Gladly will she welcome the moment when she may be released from this tenement of clay. Her trust is in Jesus who is able to relieve all who put there trust in him. Sister Lions [Sylvia Sessions Lyons] rehersed some of Elder Kimbles conversation concerning our state, also that of our friends. Spoke of the appointments to this world or ordinations before we came here, the gift of eternal life, knoledge &c. It was most excelent; the Twelve, Patriarchs, Jeudah

²⁴This baby was the fifth of Norman and Presendia's seven children to die in infancy; only George, born 1830, and Oliver Norman, born 1840, would survive to adulthood.

²⁵In his own reminiscence, Oliver explains that "I went to live with Emma Smith, the martyred prophets widow. I boarded with her and done whatever was to be done about the place, as there was no other men folk about the house, but little Joseph, and I went to school what I could that winter." There were bonds of obligation as well as friendship in the relationship of the Smith and Huntington families; when William Huntington and his family first arrived in Commerce (Nauvoo), all sick of chills and fever, Emma and Joseph had taken them into their home, all but one, and nursed them back to health. At this time Emma is supporting her family by taking in boarders, among them John Bernhisel and a Mrs. Roice. (Oliver Huntington Diary, pp. 48-49.)

[Judah] standing at the he[a]d, the twelve thousands out of each tribe to be sealed; revelation, of there council being revelation.

14. Very plesaent.

15. I went up to Sister Empes [Empey?]. She was mutch pleased to see me. It is the neighbour hood whare I have lived. May blessings attend her for her kindness to me.

16. Good health prevaes in the City, for which Reason we hav to be truly thankful.

17. My Father Spent some time with me to day. In the evening Hasiel Clark and I went to hear Or[s]on Hide. He spoke concerning our guardian Angels that attended each Saint, and would until the Sperit became grieved. Then they take there departure and the Person is left to hardness of hart and blindness of mind. I Pray thee, O Heavenly Father to send by whom thou wilt. Let the angel of thy Peace attend me and never Forsake me, but may I ever have grace to listen to the Spirit of truth forever more, and for Jesus sake, may I have the gift of eternal life. He also spok concerning the judgements or those that had not kept the commandments but had grieved the Sperit. The Saints would not know the[i]r's, therefore they would be left or looked uppon as they had looked uppon others. Also concerning the roling forth the Kingdom, and the necessity of being prepared for the Judgement day, the Law being bound up and the Testimony being Sealed, and the dreadful dilemma of those that ware not prepared, and the necessity of the Temples being built that we might prepare ourselves and be ready and claimed the blessings that had ben promised to us as a people by Joseph, A Man of God, and I believe after Gods own hart.

This day long to be remembered, Sunday the 17 of November 1844. Em[m]a Smith, the Wife of Joseph Smith the Martyr, had a Son born, in the morning. O may the Choisest of Heavens blessings attend the Child. May it grow into manhood, and may it walk in the way of its Father, be A comfort to its Friends and be the means of performing a Mighty work to the Glory of God and Prince Forever.

18. Amacy [Amasa] Lyman moved into the Front room.

19. Taken sick.

20. Charls Hide was here. We had the speret [spirit] of Prophecy. We stayed at Father Jacobs all knight.

21. Plesent wether. Had an excelent meting o[n] the union.

22. Sister Lions was here Lucretia Fulton stayed here. Went and saw the Mummies and records.

23. A day of fasting. O father wilt thou forgive my sins, enlarge my understanding, streangthen my memory, increase my Faith, and mercifully grant that I might be acceptable unto Thee, and be prepared for all things.

24. Eliza Partridge and Caroline P[artridge] ware here and took Dinner with us. Also Cornelia Levet [Leavitt] was here.²⁶

25. Br Amacy Liman [Amasa Lyman] is beter.

26. Washing and took A walk to see the sick &c.

27. Meditation.

²⁶Eliza and Caroline Partridge and Carolyn Leavitt were or would become plural wives to Amasa Lyman; Cornelia Leavitt is a daughter of Leonora Snow Leavitt (sister to Eliza R. and Lorenzo Snow), by this date married to Isaac Morley, for whom Yelrome, or Morley's Settlement, was named.

28. Father took the lead of meeting, gave some excelent instruction.

29. The Ice is running in the river fine.

30. Dimick called and had a chat.

December the 1st 1844 A beautiful day. Father Jacobs and J Edmons took supper with us. Harriet Clark was here. Baily left home the 28.

2. Finished my carpet yarn.

3. Very pleasent.

4. Fanny was here on a viset.

5. Had a good meeting although the powers of darkness ware felt but dispersed by the power of the priesthood.

6. A snow storm.

7. Through the Mercy of God we are all in good health.

8. Cold, but pleasent. Pased the day in reading and committing to memory a few precious words of Joseph Smiths of keeping the commandments of God.

9,10,11. A day of fasting to me alone.

12. Had most an exelent meeting in the evening.

13. Viseted at br Lees in the evening.

14. H[enry] gone to the fencing School or sword exercise.

15. Br Lewis was here in the evening and had a lengthy chat uppon the Scriptures. I was in brother Caringtons. Br Liman [Lyman] was in and conversed.

16. Zebulun burnt his foot with the stove hearth. Father Jacobs [took?] the fire out.

17. Very cold. The river is blocked with ice.

18. Sewed for sister Grible until 12 oclock at knight.

19. Had most an exelent meeting in the evening at br Tidwells. The Speret of the Lord was verily with us, and that to bless. Pra[i]sed be his Name. Wilt Thou, O Lord, ever be with us and that to bless and keep us from temtation. O Lord, wilt t[h]ou teach us to pray aright before Thee that thou wilt hear us.

20. Henry sold his Cote [coat], vest and hat to Br Lewes to answer up on his tithing for \$19,50. O may he be enabled to pay his tithing that he or we may receive the promised blessings of the Lord. And Oliver had the ague here. He was very sick. He has a fellen on his finger.²⁷ O Lord wilt thou in much mercy r[em]ember Oliver and restore unto him perfect health from this time and help him to spend his days to thy honour and glory, and the salviton [salvation] of his own soule for he is an honest lad.

21. Little Daved Hiram Smith grows fin[e]. O Lord wilt thou bless the Child from on high.

22. I herd George P Dikes preach. He spoke of the fall of m[am]mon, there restoration, etc. In the evening Julia Parks, Gusta Cleveland, Wm Linzy [Lindsay], Br Lewes were here.

23. Zebulun and I started for Lima with Br. Goff. It was the same Horses and Waggon that brought Joseph and Hiram Smith from Carthage, or there bod[i]es after they were mass[a]creed. The Horses ware white. We stayed at brother Allens over night, 10 miles from Lima. Arived at Sister [Presendia] Buells 10 oclock in the morning.

²⁷The 1828 edition of Webster's dictionary defines a *felon* as "a whitlow; a painful swelling formed in the periosteum at the end of the finger."

24. Had a pleasent ride. Father and Mother, Dimick and wife, Wm and wife, and Henry arived about 4 P.M. Br Beebbe and wife, Umpfry and wife, came in the evening. Had A fine supper and past the evening very agreeable. Wm is some beter, was very sick through the night with the quinzzy.²⁸

25. Quite warm and Pleasent. Some talk of going home but conclude to stay. Father Morl[e]y, Br Snow, his counsellor, and there wives, also Sister Billings came in the after noon. Had an agreeable visit, all in good sperets [spirits]. Presendes [Presendia's] little son Oliver is very sick but think he is amending.

26. Started for home about 9 in the morning. Arived at home safe just as the sun was setting. O how beautiful the sight of Nauvoo.

27. Henry and I went to the dedication of the Seventes Hall. Heber C. Kimble [Kimball] spoke in the fore noon. Had excelent musick. At recess Brother Eldridge and Levi Hancock Danced being filled with the Holy G[h]ost. It is the first time mine eyes ever beheld this. O God bless the Saints until thy will shall be done on Earth as it is in Heaven.²⁹

28,29. Stayed at home and took care of Sister Limans [Lyman's] Caringtons Children for them to go to Meeting. In the evening we went to hear Lorenzo Snow preach. It was an interesting meeting to me. Help me to prophet [profit] thereby.

30. Sister Julia Parks was here. Had a good viset.

31. Washed and Ironed, and in the evenin[g] Sister Ripshier and Daughter, Dimick, Wm and Wife ware here. Conversed uppon President B Youngs sermon. It was the greatest that has ever ben Given to the Church, uppon Priesthood, the Godhed, the dutes of Male & Female, there exaltations &c. O Father wilt thou enlarge my minde. Help me to hear and do thy will in all things as shall be agreeable to thy will. O Fa[t]her who ar[t] in heven I ask it in the Name of Jesus.

January, the 1, 1845. I thank Thee Heavenly father for thy protecting care and ask Thee to continue it unto us and Thy Name Shall have all the honors and glory. Helpe me to spend this year to thy honour and glory more than I have ever Done. O may I improve in all goodness, uprightness, Purity, Holiness until I through the worthiness of my Master Jesus I may be a fit temple for the Holy G[h]ost to Dwell in. Sister Gleson spent the day with me.

2. Zebulun is 3 years old to day and in good health for which I feel truly Grateful. Also Isaac Jacobs and Wife ware here on a viset. H[enry] commenced his house.

3. Margret McDugle came here.

4. Very pleasent. Dimicks wife is sick.

5. Attended meeting at the stand in the fore noon. B Youngs Preached. Gave exelent council, showed the necesity of adhering to council, bringing up the children as we should, purging iniequity from our midst. O God help this

²⁸In nineteenth century usage, as reflected in *Webster's First*, *quinsy* was "an inflammation of the throat; a species of angina which renders respiration difficult, or intercepts it."

²⁹The five-day dedication, commencing with the second and third quorums on 26 December 1844, allowed each seventies member and his family to participate. Normally, Henry would have attended the first day, having belonged to the Second Quorum. Though the services are described in some detail in *Times and Seasons* 6 (1 February 1845):794-99, there is no mention of the dancing except the note "adjourned one hour" in the account of 27 December services.

people. In the after noon at a meeting at Br Leweses partook of the sacrament. A good time. They borrowed a buggy to bring us home.

6. Fanny is very sick.

7. Visited at Sister Hatfields an old playmate or an acquaintance.

8. Saw Sister Emory at her house with sister Carington. Br C[arington] brought us home.

9. A day of fasting to me alone.

10. Eliza Partridge was here. Had a good visit.

11. Mother was here. The thieves begin to stir up strife and disturbances making trouble for the Saints. O Lord wilt thou have mercy upon thy People.

12. Heard Lorenzo Snow preach. Sister Scovill carried me in her buggy to see Henry's sister Am[blotted] Edmons. Saw sister [Nancy] Nowel. She conversed most excellent.

13. Caroline, Wm's wife, was here. Had a good visit.

14. Sister Grant was here. The brethren met at the stand. Quite a number to be sent out to preach to this state.

15, 16. Hard rain.

17. A thunder storm.

18. Sister Fulton was here from the other side of the river. Sister Margaret McDugle stayed here all night. She let me take a cloak to wear.

19. I heard Elder Talor [Taylor] and Amacy Liman [Amasa Lyman] preach. This the 19 day of January Henry B Jacobs was ordained into or as one of the Presidents of the Quorum of the Seventies by Lyle [John Lytle] as the eldest, H B J the youngest of the Pres[idents].³⁰

20. Washed and prepared for Henry to stand. In the Evening the family [family] met at M[y] br, Wm., for a visit and to eat candy. Behold how good and how pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity. Had an agreeable time. Henry met with his Quorum at Pres [Simeon A.] Dunns.

21. This morning Henry again set out on another mission. The extent of [it] is to Adams Co and Scott Co., Ill. O Lord wilt thou bless them, and all of thine Elders. Wilt thou give them strength and favor in the eyes of the people, and may they do much good in thy name. Wilt thou Preserve me in his absence, O Lord, and my little son, and thy name shall have all the glory.

22. I went to see Old sister Liman [Lyman], a woman that my own Mother was familiar with.

23. I went to Prayer meeting with sister Ripshier. Br Hause took the Lead of the meeting. Had a good meeting.

24. Dimick and his wife was here.

25. I went to Henry's Fathers. Stayed all night. Went to meeting to the Concert Hall. Father John Smith and Heber Kimble [Kimball] preached upon bringing up the children as the Church should and adhering to counsel, the order of the kingdom, and told us if we would adhere to counsel [counsel] we should grow right into the Millennium [Millennium], raising our de[a]d friends, exalting our ancestors. It was most excellent. O God my heavenly Father I do humbly beseech thee [e] and ask that thou wouldst preserve me blameless before Thee.

³⁰John Lytle is shown in the record of the Fifteenth Quorum as being 49 years old, at a time when Henry was 27. Others of the presidency were 40, 31, or 32 years. (Fifteenth Quorum of Seventies, Biographical Record, Church Archives.)

Monday 26. Went to Perigreen Sessions wife's Funeral. Elders Kimble [Kimball] and Hide [Hyde] preached to the Living. O [t]hat I had a memory, O Lord, that thy law was engraven upon my heart that never could be obliterated. O help me to do thy will, and to bring my minde into perfect subjection to Thy will, O Lord, that all my words may be in wisdom, and my acts in ri[gh]teousness, that I might be accepted of Thee. Sister S[essions] died in the faith, and br K[imball] said he believed ther ware these that would shake hands with her after the resurrection then in the room. O may I be one.

27. Julia Parks Stayed all night with me. Had a good viset. Presendia sent me a wollen sheet, marked no. 1, and a towel (thank her).

28. Herd Sister Ripshier talk, doing up the things that I have colord black, my shall [shawl], &c also Zebulons cloth[e]s.

29,30. Went to prayer meting. Had a good meeting. Father came home with me and had a good viset.

31. Went over to my Br Wms. Stayed all night. Dreamed of seeing Joseph Smith. I Did not think this was my birthday. This pleasent day I am 24 years old.

Sat., Febuary the 1, 1845. Went to Br Patricks the Dentest. Saw him prepare to put in some teeth for Caroline. A Misess [blank] Wm Brought home sick. She has ben sick since last June. Her Father and Mother have both died since that time. She lost a 7 month child, has seen sickness and sorrow. O may she come into the Covenant and be saved. This Lady is alone as it ware, her husband Absent. William took her out of pity.

February the 2, a.m. 1845. I went to meeting. Herd Elder Felps [W. W. Phelps] in the forenoon spoke uppon the creation of Adam, tower of Babel, the seven days of creation, 7 thousan years, large things so called. At 2 oclock P M at the 70tes Hall, J Dunham, Henry Jacobs,³¹ also a brother that I did not know, they spoke uppon order and union, all very good. In the evening sister Ripshier called and we went to Br Kelse[y]s school room (Br Ripshier Carr[i]ed Zebulun (thank him). Elder Kimble [Heber C. Kimball] preached uppon the order of the Kingdom, reverancing the proper authorities or there respective Presidents. O the beauty of [unfinished]. Elder Dunham spoke of the great trials we should have before the endewment or obtaining any great blessings. Order is past expressing, union in Families is first requisite before any great exaltation can take place. He Spoke of our Enemes yet licking up the Dust of the Saints feet. It would yet take 150000 Bishops to at[tend] to the affairs of the Lesser Priesthood. O whare will be the greator if this is required of the lesser? Also spoke of the nations sending up there bullocks for sacrifices or have no rain, the necesity of governing our selves, or how shall we ever preside in our families as we had ought, or over Cities. O merciful Father wilt thou prepare me for to honour Thy name. O assist me for I do try to humble my self, and for Jesus Sake accept of me, for I feel willing to do thy Will.

3. Wm and wife ware here in the evening. He spoke and sung in tongs [tongues]. It was excelent.

4. It is very cold and windy. O Preserve thou thy servents, O Lord, that are a broad Promultgating thy gospel to the nations of the earth.

³¹This would of necessity be Father Jacobs, since Henry Bailey does not arrive home from his mission for three more days.

5. Henry B Jacobs came home, in good health. He has ben prospered on his mission, had good success.

6. B. Young Preached Br Whitnes [Alonzo W. N. Whitney] funeral Sermon at the Concert Hall. H[enry] Went. I did not go. I finished Olivers vest that Sister Emma gave him. We went to br Tidwells to an evening meeting, a good M[eeeting].

7. Washed. I do feel truly thankful for the health that I do enjoy. O may it continue.

8. Mild weather, streets dry. Father called in in the evening, spoke in tong[ue]s. Had a first rate viset, ta[l]king upon the things of the kingdom.

9. Sunday we went to meeting at the Stand (the wether remarkable fine). Sutch an instance seldom witessed as to hold a Public meting in the open air. George [A.] Smith and Elder Talor [John Taylor] spoke to the saints uppon the rghts, an econemy of the people, charter. Br Talor said if we would be united no power could move us and the Templ would be built. Took supper at Jefferson Emons.

10. Misess Tomas was here. It is the first walk she has taken since last June.

11. Henry left home again, his mission confined to this state. A fine day. Bro Comins took him in his waggon. C has gone after his sick sone this morning, it being Tuesday and the 11 there.

12. Mr Avory was taken up. He was one of the assassins that shot Joseph Smith. He has ben stopping at Mr Wm Marks'es. B. Brackenbery gave his testimony against him, Avory, he knowing that he was at Carthage, and a witness from Iowa testified that he, Avory, said he was there at Carthage.³²

13. Wensday, Avory had his trial was comitted to Jail. Jeneral Demings accompanied him to Carthage. I viseted at Mr Edards, called at br Pecks, saw Mother Thorn. O God, wilt thou avenge the innocent blood in thine own way. Also to day Br Wm came from Lima. 5 of the bretheren had ben taken to Quincy Jail that day. They arrested Wm but found that he was clear, he had merely ben down of a viset.³³ Found my sister and family well. Anny Mcgin was at Presendes. I went to Quincy with Henry and br Comins. Our enemis are raging. O Heavenly Father lacken the Power of our enimes and preserve Thy People, And to thy name of the Father Son and Holy G[h]ost we will ascribe the glory, worlds without end.

14. A lowry day yesterday. The bretheren laboured on Amacy Limans [Amasa Lyman] house. May the Lord bless him.

15. Mother Thorn was here. Wm brought her down. She is a Fine old lady, aged 61 years. F. was here.

16. I herd Erastus Snow preach. Spake uppon Charity, also patience, the diversity of sperets, administrations. Thy Words—how careful we should be not

³²The account given here as involving a Mr. Avory fits that related in Hosea Stout's *Diary* (Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 2 vols. [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964], 1:20–21) and the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 19 February 1845, p. 2., as dealing with John C. Elliot. Elliot was incarcerated briefly, then released.

³³Isaac Morley reported to Church leaders in Nauvoo that five men from the Yelrome (Lima) colony had been arrested, that stolen merchandise concealed on their premises had been recovered and shown as evidence in their arrests. Father Morley attested, on the basis of "those that hide can find," that the charges were all false. (*HC*, 7:373–74.)

to go to[o] fast lest we handle edge tools and prove our destruction, leaky vessels, &c. Lord do help me to treasure up all these truths and Proffit thereby, that through the worthiness of Thy Sons I may be able to enter through the Gate into the Selestial City and dwell with the Sa[n]ctified. Amen.

17. Attended Meeting at the Stand ad[d]rest by Elders Felps [Phelps] Talor [Taylor] and Amacy Limon [Amasa Lyman]. Elected 12 men to Superinten the bu[long space left blank] with there 3 counsellors namely John Talor, George A Smith, and Amacy Liman. Stayed at br Leweses.

18. Viseted sister Ami Edmons.

19. A beautiful day, but in the evening a thunder storm. Nancy Nowel stayed all night with me. Wm Linza [Lindsay] and Julia Parks were married at Dimicks. O may her heart be comforted in the Lord. Learning to brade [braid] palmleef hats at Mothers.

20. I went to Wms. helped Caroline do the work, Harriet being gone.

21. Making Me a bleue dress. I knit mittings [mittens] for at 2 bits a pare [pair].

22. All in good health.

23. Attended Meeting at the 70 Hall. Joseph Young [spoke]. I can truly say that this 23 the first Steemer came up over the rapeds of A D 1845.³⁴ The brethren went to labor in Ramas [Ramus].

24,25. Lid[i]a and Sister Edards was here. Had an excelent viset, very plesant.

26. I fasted alone. In the afternoon sister Empy visited Sister Carington. I took supper with them. Very Plesent in the morning but rain and snow in the evening. Sister Ripsher stayed all night with me. Had a good viset.

Also this [day] the 26 Brigham Young, Amacy Liman, Heber Kimble came in from Ramus in company with the bretheren that went from here the night before and some br from Ramus, there being some suspicious caractors in town the day before and fearing that some evil might befall them, it not being far from the plice [place] whare Joseph and Hyrum ware Martered, but they all returned Safely home to the joy of all the Saints.

27. Sister H [*incompleted entry*]

28. I went to see Sister [Elvira] Ho[l]mes in the morning, and went up mane [Main] Street. Made several calls. Saw mother [Patty] Sessions and Sister Lions [Sylvia Lyons]. Left Zebulun at Wm. Caroline, Wm Wife, had 18 fals teeth put in on plates and springs to them done by Hue Patrick. They look very nice. Harriet came home with me and stayed all night. A good viset. It is also Wm birth day. He is 27 years old. O may he be blest forever and ever, amen.

March the 1st 1845. A lowry day, I was at Dimicks, and Henry returned home. Has ben sick in his absence. He accompaned br Goff in a buggy. Br Goff was very kinde to him, Henry B. Jacobs, and gave HBJ 5 dollars for which kindness may he be blest, is my desire, an 100 fold.

2. Attended meeting at the 70tes Hall. The speret of the Lord was there Joseph Youngs spoke, also Almon Babbet, of the proceedings at Springfield in the Legislature. O God wilt thou [*unfinished*]

3. Amacy Liman started for the Iowa.

³⁴The breaking of the river ice each early spring, letting the steamboats over the rapids to Nauvoo, was a significant event for Nauvoo commerce and immigration.

4. Went to br Frees and to the Concert Hall in the evening accompanied by Emiline and Eliza Free. Wonderful to tell.

5. Assisted sister Ripsher to dress for the Concert.

6. Sister Abigall Thorn stayed all night with me. We ware at Dimicks in the afternoon. His leg is very bad.

7. 4 years ago to day since we ware Marr[i]ed. O God let thy hand be over us still to prosper us. We went to see Lidia, Henrey sister. Found them well. Saw Sister Edards at there house in the evening, had a good viset. Let union prevele [prevail] and the vertuous prosper. Stayed all night at Erben [Urban] Stewerts, Sister Edards and Lidia Stewert.

8. Went to see her that was Claracy [Clarissa] Duzet but now Misess Robinson. She was very kinde to us in our sickness after My Mothers death almost 6 years ago. It is the first time that I have ben to viset her. O that she may be saved.

9. We went to the 70tes Hall. Joseph Young and Wm O Clark both spoke most excelent uppon the trials the Saints had to endure, there deliverance, overcoming our enemes, the power of God, also to power of Satan, the Priesthood. Help me O God to hear and understand and to over come the enemy, even the powers of darkness, and let my minde penetrate the things that are of lite and inteligence, until my body shall be full of light and I may be a fit subject for the Celestial Kingdom and enter in to the City new Jerusalem, with thy saints and Prophets and attain unto a fulness of Joy through the worthiness of Thy sons, and thy name shall have the glory, amen, and may the angels of thy presence know these the desires of my hart, and O wilt tho give me strength O Lord even of thine abundant fulness, that I may have the desernment [discernment] of Sperets, yes worlds without end, never to be deceived, but let all my acts and words be consonant with wisdom, adorned with the speret of Divine Grace, firm as the Pillars of Heven, in virtue, constancy, faithfulness to God and the friends of Godliness. Spent the afternoon of the 9 at br Lees.

10. The Church is in prosperous circumstances for there appears to be the most union that has ever ben. The faithful are determined to keep the law of God. O Father binde us as a People to gether in the bonds of love that we neve[r] shall sepperate. The Temple prospers O Father backen the powers of our enemes, that we as a people may accomplish thy works, that our sole may be saved.

11. To Day, 3 or 4 strangers wanted to take Benjamin Brackenberry for fals testimony they say, but did not take him.³⁵ O God preserve thy people. Sister Julia Linza [Lindsay] was here and sister Ripsher also. Had a fine day to wash.

12. I viseted Sister [Nancy] Nowell. Had a good viset. Also saw sister Ann Edmons. She has a young Daughter born Monday the 10 at [blank] oclock A M. All quite smart.

13. Sister Steward and Edards called her[e]. They have ben over the river. All well. This morning General Demings left this town. I had an introduction to Zuta Miller. Liked her appearance much. Henry is drawing his frame and

³⁵Brackenbury was a witness against the men accused of the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. *HC*, 7:380, reports that the sheriff presented writs for his return to Augusta.

stone for His house. May we be prospered, if it be thy will O Lord. This the [13th]. John arived here from Lima. Our brother in law Norman Buell is very sick and we fear night [nigh] unto Death. O Lord if it be thy will, wilt thou spare him yet a little longer and that he may do that all important work but if he is to Depart this life O may he be prepared. O may his family be comforted and his wife, when will her sorrows cease? O Lord if it be thy will spare him, Spare him. Yet Thy will be done in all things.

14. Sister Hancock and Emiline Free ware here, Father Huntington and Caroline in the evening and gave me a table cloth. Mother Huntington took supper with us. Business moves rappidly, all things in union among the Saints. Some are leaving that do not feel to felloship the present authorites of the [Church], but God knows and the Saints know. We are in the sure way. If we continue to persevere to the end we shall rest with the Propheetes, yea the sanctified ones. O Lord help this people and all thy covenant People for thy sons sake. Wm Marks and family left one day this week, went up the river on the Madison Ferry boat, I expect to unite withe others that have gone out from us because they ware not of us and love Darkness more than light.

15. A day of Fasting. O God my Heavenly Father wilt thou help me to over come all my imperfections that is possible in the flesh that I may Glorify Thy Name through Jesus of Nasereth. Help me to do the will of my Master.

16, Sunday. Attended Meeting at the stand. Amacy Liman having just returned from James Emmet[t]s company in the teretory or Wilderness, related the distressed situation they are in, living on 3 gills of corn a day, eating there catle that actually starve to Death, all this for following a man that has no authority.³⁶

Brigham Youngs spoke. Said if the Church would be faithful, speed the Temple, we should not lack for food or clothing and the ground should yield abundantly for our support. Gave us much good instruction and divine Promises if faithful. O God do help this People to come up to there Priviliges.

17. Henry obtained Sister Emmas Concent [consent] to cultivate the lot south of Amacy Limans lot.

18. Oliver went to Lima.

19. High winds, quite cold. Br Brewer and wif[e] visetd here this evening. Fine people. The Bishops, Arch Bishops, and Deacons are organizing along these days for the safety of the Church. We have no Charter. O God give thy People wisdom and Preserve for thy son sake. Frequent counfels of the aut[h]orites of the Church. Oliver returned from Lima. All in good health, through the mercy of providence.

20. Attended a funeral at Bro Frees, a daughter. Went to the place of interment. Called at Lidea [Lydia] Stewarts, also to see Mother Thorn at Sister Pecks. Returning home I also called at Sister Browns.

21. Plesent.

22. Attended Meeting at the 70tes Hall. Almon Babbet [Babbitt] spoke upon the dispersion of the Jews, the fulfilment of the prommises of God, Samaria being the sister of Judah or meaning the ten Tribes that ware led away,

³⁶James Emmett had led a group of Saints into Iowa Territory, about 150 miles west of Nauvoo. Motivated more by what Brigham Young termed "fanaticism" than apostasy, the group retained ties with the Church for a time. Emmett himself was later disfellowshipped. (HC, 7:383-85, 618.)

of there return, and reasoning uppon the inconsistency of the Millerite doctrin, &c.³⁷

24. Emiline and Eliza Free ware here. Had a very good viset. Making soap. Good time. Br Lewes was here.

Some Men have ben down to try to settle the half Breed ender arms.³⁸ Postponed 3 days. Nancy Nowell stayed here all night. O may she be comforted and be a blessing unto [unfinished].

26. Wm Brought Mother Thorn here, Aged 6[1] last Sept, about 4 O clock in the afternoon. Br A Liman [Amasa Lyman] and wife ware here about 8 in the evening. Great and Glorious are all thy works, O Lord God almighty. Preserve us in all Thy ways. Wm Huntington senior was here this evening. He is my Father, aged 61 next the 28 of March.

27. A Sister Brown from Buffalo who was very kinde to Henry B Jacobs when on his mission Past in 1843. May it always be remembered of her, also sister Zilphy Starks who was als[o] very kinde, came with her. Sister Night and Sister Gibbs ware all her[e] in the after noon, the first time any of them ware here. Had an agreeable time.

28. Fathers birth day agd 61. Sister Linzy [Lindsay] was here. All things posible in the city. The arch Bishop, Bishops and Deacons, All perform there severall dutes in the City of Joseph, (as the State has taken away the City Charter from Nauvoo) as g[u]ard nights and preserving peace. They are faithful if it is to whistle or whittle.³⁹

29. A Mr [John P.] Smith buried under the Masonick order. Wether dry and plesent &c. Very good. Orson Hide spoke uppon the resurrection, spoke of our guardian Angels attending our Bodes and Sperets [bodies and spirits].

30. Attended Meeting at the stand. Almon Babbit spoke uppon the gethering the in tent, our limited Power, or that we lacked one thing of being like God that was having Power to put our will in execution. Runn, seek diligently for the prize, but with care t[h]at our will does not over throw us. O thou arm of omnippetence, save us. President Youngs then spake of the intent of the meting preparing for the Conference, gave us a hint of not to run to[o] fast, the necessity of speeding the Temple and Nauvoo House, all very good. High winds, the air filled with Dust, a slight shower of rain. Went to Father Jacobs in the afternoon. A good viset.

³⁷George Miller, bishop in Nauvoo, eventually led a group of disaffected Mormons from the main body of the Church at Winter Quarters, joining later with Lyman Wight in Texas, and finally with James J. Strang in Wisconsin. At this time, however, his "doctrine" would have more likely referred to his proposition that the succession in the leadership of the Church after Joseph Smith's death should have been handled by the Council of Fifty. (David E. and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* [Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974], p. 178.) See also Lyndon W. Cook, "'A More Virtuous Man Never Existed on the Footstool of the Great Jehovah': George Miller on Joseph Smith," in this issue of *BYU Studies*.

³⁸The Half-Breed lands, across the Mississippi west from Nauvoo, were originally granted to the Fox and Sauk tribes but had been bought up under sometimes questionable title by land speculators. The Mormon community of Montrose was located on Half-Breed land. (See Lyndon W. Cook, "Isaac Galland: Mormon Benefactor," in this issue of *BYU Studies*.)

³⁹Deprived of firearms, the guards, organized by priesthood quorums, the bishops directing them, would walk their beats whistling, and, more threatening to strangers, whittling with large Bowie knives. Oliver Huntington says of the "whittling society" that it "was the acting authority of the city upon poor devils, and would soon run them out of town without touching them, for no one liked the sight of a half dozen large knives whittling carelessly about their ears and not a word said." (Oliver Huntington Diary, p. 56.)

31. Quite cool. Amacy Limon and wife returned from Laharp.⁴⁰ He is not very well.

Apr. the 1st, 1845. Went to Br Brewers to see Mother Brewer, the first time I have ben there. Father Huntington came in in the evening. He spake in tong[ue]s. Henry also Sung in tungs. It was very good. I interpreted the talk by the help of the speret of God. Had an agreeable viset.

2. I am not very well. Mother Liman was in. I call her Mother because of her age and her being an acquaintance of my own Mothers when we were living in the state of Ohio. She is one of the worthy women of the Earth. Allen, H. is sick.

3. Through the mercy of My Redeemer I injoying Comforable Health to day. Henry, Father and Oliver admistered to me for my health and through the mercy of God I am healed. Sister Brewer and Sister Lennord [Leonard] and her daughter [*unfinished*].

5. O thou God of My Fathers, even of Joseph, hear thou my Prayer even this night For my Kindred in the flesh. Let them rise, and not fall from this time that they may Honer and Glorify thee, Father which is in Heven, and thy name shall have the Honer and Glory, amen. Norman Buell and Wife arived here from Lima. I was happy to see them. Sister Fulton called.

6. All of our Family attended Meeting at the Stand. Most excelent instruction. It was the largest Congregation that has ever ben assembled in Nauvoo, but is now called the City of Joseph. O Lord may the name ever stand and the City increase until all things shall be accomplished, this is the desire of thy Hand Made [maid], O Lord my redeemer. And as we have heard Thy Word the time that the Lamanites shall be converted, Israel Gathered, Jerusalem shall be rebuilt. Hasten thy work O Lord in its time, and may I be prepared to receive all Thy Words and Obey them, even thy Celestial Law and thy Name shall have the Honour and Glory. High winds and the air filled with dust.

7. I attended Meeting, went with Presendia. Left Zebulun with Harriet at Wms. Took cold to day in my teeth. Most of our family attended the Concert in the evening.

8. Attended Meeting. Had an excelent time but an excelent meeting. Uncle Dany Jacobs and Wife stayed here all night. Rain and hail in the night but clear in the morning. Norman and Family went Home.

9. Sister Eliza Partrage called and had a good viset. I am not very well. The 70tes met on the Meting ground.

10. Quite unwell with the Ague in my Face. My [*word omitted*] is very mutch affected with a cold. Mother Huntington brought me some milk.

11. Sister Liman came to see me. She was acquainted with Father and Mothers Families when children in N[ew] H[ampshire]. Sister A MaGin at Wms, Misses Morgan here.

12. I am no beter, see paneful [painful] nights. Sarah Ann Woode came to assist me.

13. They had an excelent Meeting at the Stand. Spoke to the saints. O t[h]at [we] be faithful.

14. Mother and the Neighbours came in to see me. They are very kind for which I feel truly thankful.

⁴⁰LaHarpe was a basically gentile town some thirty miles east of Nauvoo, but it served as a center for a considerable number of Mormon farmers in the surrounding area.

15, Tuesday. Wm moved back to his house. I was no beter. Sister Eliza Free came to assist me. I trust that she and her Sister Emiline may ever be blest and ever finde Friends to assist them and there Children in time of need for there kindness to me in my Sickness. Also Mother Liman, Mother Huntington, and Lee Girls, Fanny, Julia, Sister Brewer, Sanders, Meric, and others. Also Amacy Limans wife. I feel grateful to God and my friends.

16. My face still worse. Anny Magin, Caroline went to Quincy.

17,18. Sleepless nights almost.

19. The sun about three quarter of an hour high, My Face broke about half way between my chin and ear rather nearer the chin. Discharged wonderfully. O living mortality, how soon thou canst decay. O may I be prepared at the Great and last change. Eliza and Emilie Partrage came over and made my bed and prepared me some supper. All these kindnesses I never shall forget, and the oft times Mother has sent me milk and things for my comfort. (Fanny Merick came to help me.)

19. [*Date repeated*] I am much beter. The brethren and Sisters had an excellent meeting at the Stand.

20. I am still getting beter. Father comes evry day to see me.

21. I went into the other room. Wm moved back last week. Br Lee wife, Eliza and Emiline Free, and Claracy [Clarissa] Decker called.

22. Sister Ripsher was here. Quite pleasent wether.

23. Frequent and violent showers.

24. I received a leter from My Brother, Chauncey D. Huntington [from] N[ew] Y[ork]. All well.

25. I or we moved into a small log house that Abert Slone built, now owned by Johnathan Holmes. I am still amending. O how little we know what time will do, the changes thereof. O Lord give me patience and wisdom, for thy hand has ben uppon me. O wilt thou be merciful to all my weakness. Pardon all my sins and for thy Son Jesus sake halve mercy uppon me and let me or my minde expand until I become a perfect woman and fit for the sostiety of the Sanctified and can dwell with the Just and have the fellowship and have the sostiety that I may make those Happy around me, yea let there be no end to my doing good for this is the desire of my heart. O Lord, for thy Son's sake, give me power over my self, yea do give me wisdom. Wm's Wife returned from Quincy. A number if Rigdonites came up on the boat. How they desire a disturbance and to trouble thy Saints. O God wilt t[h]ou bachen there Power and Aveng[e] inocent blood or cause it to be done in thine own way. But how long shall we tarry?

Saturday 26. The Temple moves rappidly. O God wilt thou speed thy work, give us as a People union. Sister Brower returned home from Camp Creek, said Mother Thorn had ben thrown from a Carrage and brused her arm and shoulder quite bad.

27. Father [w]rote a leter to Chancey, my eldest Brother, in the state of New York. I comenced a leter also. Elders Talor and Babbet spoke to day. They had a good meeting. Br Bidwell and wife called. A chat with Sister Merick.

Monday 28. Fanny is very sick, that is Dimick[']s wife. All things moves in order in the Church. God is surely with his People and wilt thou sustain them. O God of Jospeh, be with us.

29. I was in to Fathers a short time. I have recoverd my he[a]lth considerably, for which I feel truly grateful. O my God let not the Destroyer have

any power over over me for thy son Sak[e] and thy name shall have the honour and Glory, worlds without end, amen.

30. O how little we know what a day may bring forth. Prepare me to stand all things.

May the 1st. Nothing in particular comes under my notice. The desenters are Leaving. It seems that fear has come uppon the hipocrite in Zion.

2. If my Mother had ben living she would have ben 59 years old. Should I live to so count this number of years, the revolutions, God onely knows. God save me.

3, Saturday. I am writing, God onely knows my heart this day. The thoughts of my heart or the emotions of my minde causes my very head to acke. O God be merciful unto me and let me find grace in Thine eyes and those that fear Thee. O save my sole from ruin, my body from destruction, for thy hand ma[i]d feels to put her trust in Thee. Enlighten my minde and give my sole understanding. Let not my hart think evil, nor my tongue speak vanity. O let the trew [true] seed remain in my heart and bring forth much fruit.

4. Finished a letter to my Br Chancy D Huntington in the State of N[ew] Y[ork]. May it be sanctified to his good and thy name shall have all the glory. It is Sunday. I am at home, not able to go to meting but God will be there, or his Speret, and O may the saints be edified. Amen.

5. Sister Steward and Edards ware here. This day Henry B Jacobs, my husband, is 28 years old. Lidia Partridge is 15 years old the 8 of the month.

6. Nancy Nowell was here.

7,8. Learning to brade Palmlef hats at Mother H[untington's].

9. Lidia Partridge assisted me about washing. I am very tired at night. Never to be forgotten at 11 oclock, O then what shall I say. At or after 4 I went to sleep. O Lord have mercy uppon my Sole. Teache me the ways of eternal life. Give me that gift above all others. Behold this is the desire of my hart. Comfort us, yes, Henry in his trouble, for he has not repined a word. Accept of our thanks for life, forgive the weakness of my heart, and let me do nothing but what shall be to thy honour and Glory and my soles [soul's] salvation.

10. Stayed all night at Lides [Lydia's]. Had a chat with Silva Ann Corkens.

11. Herd Wm Smith Preach. He returned last week on Sunday. It brought Peculiar feelings to hear the last one of the family that are living of the Males speak to the saints. O may he be preserved in honour to the name of Isreals God. His Wifes health is very poor.

12. Wm has ben very sick with his fase [face]. It broke to day.

13. Edward Duzet was here, and Mother Brewer. A man has ben Murdered (O my Feelings) over the river this week in attempting to rob the house, and his son wounded.⁴¹ Thus the inhabitants of the earth are ripening for destruction. There are many thre[a]ts by our enemes these days but we put our trust in the God of Hosts. Rufus Allen Polished the fir [incomplete]

14. God of heven and earth forgive me my sins. O let me be pure before thee. The work of God moves rappidly.

⁴¹Three men, Tom Brown and William and Stephen Hodge, Nauvoo residents, were charged with the murder of two men, John Miller and his son-in-law, a Mr. Lieza, in their home near Montrose, Iowa (Stout, *Diary*, 1:39, 43-44).

15. A day of Fasting and Prayer, each family carrying there day's Provision to the Bishop for the Poor Saints. May the blessings of Heaven attend his people. O hear thou the Prayers of this People this day, that the Season may crown us with Plenty and in espesial manner Protect us from our enemes. Let them eat the bread that they prepare for us, O Lord. Lord has ben merciful, the [incomplete]

16. Peace and Prosperity reignes in the City, good order and br[otherly] love.

17. My minde is solemn these days. O help me ever to do right, O Lord.

Sunday, 18. Elder Sherwood arrived from the South with 3 can[n]ons that he obtained from a merchant, and 10 kegs of powder, when all [incomplete]

19. Herd that George P Dikes was very sick at Ioway. He is sent to per-chase glass for the Temple. Monday the brethren have gone to Carthage to attend the court for trial.⁴²

20. I went upon the hill called at [obliterated] and obtained some fills for home.

21. I washed, And went with sister Brewer to see Wm Smiths Wife [Caroline]. She has the dropsy, eppears nigh her end, yes soon to close this mortal s[c]ene. She has ben taped [tapped?] 20ty times, had taken from her 53 gallons of water. The extent of her suffering no one knoweth. Has ben East during her sickness.

22. [No entry]

23. [No entry]

24, Saturday. This memorible day the Sun arose clear in the east. The morning was serene and silent. The Sun and Moon ware at about equel hith [height] in the horizen, as if to rejoice wit[h] the Saints in Praises to the most high. The Saints repared (all that knew it) to the Temple at 6 in the morning. The 12ve and the workmen, some brethren, the Band with the banner of liberty floting in the gentle brese, the last stone was lade [laid] on the Temple with shouts of Hosanah to God and the Lamb, amen, &c. Joy filled every bosom and thanks to our God that had preserved us. Pres B Youngs made some remarks very appropriate. This is the Seveth day even on which God rested from all his works and the Jews still keep it. O may Isreal in these last day keep all thy statutes. O Praise the Lord for all his goodness, y[e]a his mercies endureth forever. Exalt his holy name for he hath no end. He hath established his work uppon the Earth no more to be throne down. He will r[em]ember all his covenants to fulfil them in there times. O praise the Lord Forever more, Amen.⁴³

At 10 oclock A M the funerale services of Caroline Smith, wife of Wm Smith, ware attended. Elder Orson Prat[t] Preached, Text, first Cor 15 chap 43 verse. It commenced an excelent discourse. She was laid in the Tomb.

⁴²The trial of five men accused of the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith took place in Carthage in the courtroom of Circuit Judge Richard M. Young. About fifty Mormons attended, though not Brigham Young or any others of the Twelve. (For the complete account see Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975], pp. 75ff.)

⁴³An interesting discrepancy, revealing more about Zina's romantic nature than the memory of either writer, exists between Zina's account, which describes the day as bright and clear, and that of Brigham Young, which reports the weather as "wet and cold." In other respects the accounts corroborate each other. (HC, 7:417-18.)

25. Attended Meeting at the Stand. Elder Page spoke uppon the necessity of revilation, also knoledge as being assential to salvation. Quoted Mat[t.] 11 commenced at the 27 [verse], also some others he alluded to. Administered the Sacrament in the P M.

26. My br Dimick is 38 years old. The bretheren are at Carthage yet. Dismissed the old jurimen, appointed a new one. O Justice whare art thou fled? O freedom whi [why] fast thou faded away. Remember Thy People in mercy O Lord of hosts and avenge innocent Blood in thine own way.

27. All well but Henry. O He that comforts the afflicted, draw nigh.

29. I was at D[imick's]. The witnesses ware examined to day at Carthage and a sister Graham, sister Carington was here.

30. Bra[i]ding a Palmlief hat. O Lord draw nigh into my Sole and have mercy uppon me, O thou Jehovah.

31. Saturday. Finished Henres Pantiloons, and shirt to day. Dry wether. The Temple progreses rappedley [rapidly]. All things show that there is a God in Isreal. Prase him, Praise Him all ye People. O may All the Saints Honour His Great Name.

June the 1[s]t, 1845. We all went to Meeting. Elder Kimble [Kimball] spoke first, followed by Pres Youngs. Grateful are we to hear the instruction from these Brethren through the Mercy of God and the Prayers of faith. The men have not ben to Carthage. They spok well.

Zebulun had a chill and I had to retire in the morning, soon after we arived at the ground.

2. Assisted old Sister Liman on a quilt. A fine shower for which we are truly thankful. B Young said his praires [prayers] ware herd.

3. Caroline and Lidia Partridge ware here.

4. Soft breezes. O that they could cure the heart. But God be merciful to mortality and viset in mercy, to thy Glory. Amen.

5. I called to see Sister Silvia Ann C. She was one that was kinde to Henry and Oliver in the State of N Y. Also her Fathers Family entertained the traveling Saints in great kindness. O may they be blest and all that r[em]ember the commands of God. Silvia Ann gave a concert. I had the Priviledge of walking through some woods. Very pleasent.

6. Done a large wash for which I was thankful for streangth. Called on a sick sister. Henry administered to her. Saw Sister Limans bed burnt. The way that it took fire is not known. It was seen by the neighbors.

7. Two boys ware smuhered [smothered] in the sand. It caved of yesterday, found to day. They ware at scool, went there at noon, went there to play. I am reading natcheral Philolophy [natural philosophy]. O may my mind comprehend.

8. Sunday. I stayed at home and took care of Sister Browsers children. She has oft done the same for me. The Earth needs rain.

9. A beautiful Shower the Lord hath again blessed the Earth that she may bring forth in her streangth, for which the Saints feel to praise Him.

10,11. Henry went to see Pres. B. Young to be councel upon his and families situation. O God be merciful unto us, I ask in the Name of Jesus, thy Sone.

12. A day of fasting and prayer for the Church of Jesus Christ for his blessing uppon us in all things, our Health, Crops, flocks, and that our Enemes may be turned from us. This People and place now stands by faith.

13. Assisted P A in making [clothes] and preparing Andrew Litle[’s] Child for its burial, there onely Son. I truly hope they may be comforted. Wm and Caroline his wife returned from Lima, also George Buell. They are all well.

14. Bra[i]ding a hat for Henry, finished his vest to day. O thou who are from everlasting to everlasting hear Thou my prayer at this time. I Humbly beseech of thee, teach mee the way of Eternal Life and may I have Grace to walk there in. O Give me a Speret like unto thy self. Endew [endow] me from on high that I may know the diversity of Sperets and have power to over come all but the trew one even that of thee. Grace divine. A minde sublime a Pure Heart thats ever clean that all my dreams may be serene that the truth may stand at my right hand that come from above thats filled with Love to Give this to me that I may be free from sin and from strife that at the end of my life I may be Clear as the sun pure as Gold that my Saviours fase I then may behold.⁴⁴

15. Henry is quite sick. Pres Josep Youngs and Father Jacobs administered to him. It is Sunday. I could not attend meting. I heard that Orson Hide preached. The saints had a good meeting this evening. H[enry] is a little beter since the bretheren administered to him. They told him that he should live, be blest, &c. All good.

16. Joseph Youngs brought us a pan of flour and 7 eggs. May He be blest an hundred fold. A friend in need is a friend in deed.

17. I went to Sister [Patty] Sessions. She is quite sick with the Clery Mobus [cholera morbus].⁴⁵ I pray that she may be quick restored to health, for her labors are very much needed in the Church. In the afternoon we went to my brother Wms. He has been sick but is beter. It is the first time H[enry] has ben out since he was sick. We took supper with them. Sister Balis [*or* Boles *or* Bales] was there. We returned home some what tired. Mother Huntington came in with some milk. Mother has visited Sister Brower to day. Behold how lovely it is for Friends to dwell together in unity. O God ever let union Prevail. After we ware in bed Pres J[oseph] Youngs brought us another pan of flour. I Pray God to bless him, and his forever, for I believe his alms will come in remberence before God. O may we r[em]ember his example and if God ever blesses us with means, may we go and do like wise. There was frost on the night of the 16 [June] up the river that killed trees, and some of there vegetables. No frost here.

18. It rains fine, Henry is beter.

19. The rafters are on the Temple. All things move rappidly and in order about it.

20. Steady rain Sutch as we need. Praise ye the Lord for His merces endureth forever. Evry thing in the City looks promissing.

21,22. A lowery Sabath to day. Wm Smith is Marr[i]ed to Miss Robens. Br Mikesel and wife came here in the evening and brought us a pan of flour and some string beans. He brought us some beans and dride [dried] pumpkin last week. I hope they may be blest for all there kindnesses. When we ware sick Hiram Mikesel administered to us.

⁴⁴The rhyming words here suggest a simple attempt at versifying. Beginning with "Grace divine/A minde sublime," the phrases fall into seven couplets of exact rhyme but uneven rhythm.

⁴⁵*Cholera morbus* was the usual term describing acute gastroenteritis, marked by severe cramps, diarrhea, and vomiting. Patty Sessions was a midwife; hence "her labors are very much needed."

23. Last night about 10 oclock Irvine Hodge was stab[b]ed 4 times in his left side, also 4 blows on the head, done not far from Pres B Youngs in the field. He leaped 2 fences after it was done and expired in the road in about 10 minets [minutes]. Sister Youngs herd the blows. Sister Nights saw a man run from the same cource from whence it was done, also herd the groans. The man she saw is supposed to be the perpetrator of the deed. The said Hodge was direct from Burlington. He has a Brother there, sentensed to be hung on the [blank] of Sept next for Murder. He was a man of unbounded temper.⁴⁶ General Deming [shot] Mr Marshal at Carthage in self defense. The contension arose concerning some Land or the taxes. Mr Marshal was a hostile man to the truth.⁴⁷

24. One Year ago to day Joseph and Hiram Smith left for Carthage, a day never to be forgotten in the anels [annals] of History, ne[i]ther in the bosoms of the saints. A foundation of sorrow was then laid.

25. Took supper at Wm. 5 buried to day. Thus we all have once to dy [die].

26. Called at Br Pecks. Saw Sister Thorn. As Abigal and I stood by the road I saw 2 men come to blows for the first time in my life. They ware disputing in the house but came to the door in a rage and blows insult. I then considered the state the world was in, and what must soon come to pass.

27. One year ago to day did My Mortal Eyes behold the slain Marters for of our God for the cause of truth. Behold they rest in peace. The Work of which these men by the assisting Grace of God succeeded in laying the foundation moves with rappidity. We can see the hand dealings of God in mercy from day to day. The roof of the Temple is now about ready for the shingles. But Joseph and Hiram are not here. Yet we belive they are doing a great work in our favour behind the Vale [veil]. We feel that when the cause of truth advances we are blest whether in the body or out. It is a lowry day, our hearts are filled with meditation. Presendy Buell and Caroline Huntington ware here to day.

28, Saturday. All in good health. Repairing my silk dress that my Parents got for me in the state of N[ew] Y[ork] 10 years ago. Presendia and I took Supper with Father and Mother. Surely we are blesed.

29. Attended Meeting at the Grove on the Temple block at the same spot whare oft I have seen the Prophet Stand and Patrearch with there countenences beaming with innocence. May I say the index of there heart, the words of eternal life flowing from there Lips filling the hearts of the Saints with Wisdom and jolly Days and Hours have past uppon this concecrated spot will never be forgotten throughout all Eternity. O May I have wisdom to prffet [profit] with all and be accepted before the throne of Grace at the morn of the First resurrection to come forth with the Sanctified and be crowned with the Just for Jesus sake.

⁴⁶Hosea Stout, police constable, recounts the story in his *Diary* 1:49. Other details are added here, but the accounts generally coincide. Zina mentions only one Hodge brother under sentence; actually both Stephen and William were convicted of the earlier murder.

⁴⁷HC, 7:428, makes this mention of the second slaying of the day, but under date 24 June: "Evening, Hiram Kimball and D. H. Wells returned from Carthage and brought word that Sheriff Deming had shot Sam Marshall." A later note, p. 432, tells of Nauvoo men posting bond for Deming's release, and another still later announces "the death of General Miner R. Deming" of "congestive fever," 11 September 1845, p. 439. He never stood trial for the shooting.

30. Sister Mires and daughter Catherine Foy left here this morning. Henry Baptised her in the State of Penn. They were kinde in sickness to Henry.

July the 1st, 1845. Julia assisted me in sewing. Mother Brower was here. The Twelve and the old Poliece Had a Din[n]er or Feast at the Masonic Hall, a day of recreation, also Music. I am grateful that those who have stood by the Authorates B[e]aring the Burden both night and day can have A time of re-joicing.

2. Sister Robins and Caroline took supper with us. Henry brought home 13 yards of carpetting from the weavers which is the works of my own hands.

3. At the Thursday Prayer meeting Father John Smith made some exelent remarks concerning the Priesthood, Prayer, Endewment, &c.

4. A day long to be remembered. O liberty how ha[s]t thou falen O Lord wilt thou restore thy People to trew [true] liberty, even to keeping thy selestial Law. Forgive me all my sins that I may be free indeed. Show unto me my self that I may be wise. Give unto me Thy speret that I may ever desern [discern] the trew Speret and be a [blotted] thereby and Thy name shall have the Glory, Amen. I feel to thank thee for food, for raiment, for causing vedgitation to come forth as thou hast this year. O may thy blessings continue with thy People forever worlds without end. I Also thank thee for health and the innu-merable Blessings that this People enjoy. Help us O Lord ever to be grateful and Humble. These are a few of of my desires. Pen is inadiquate to numerate thy mercies. O ever let my minde dwell with wisdom and comprehend thy laws to thy glory.

5. Sister Eliza Partrage and I took dinner together. Sister Nowel made me A viset this afternoon. Nanc[y]s name was spoke of for good. Mother Thorn stayed here all night.

6, Sunday. I took care of Sister Brower children this after noon. I am alone. O that my time and thoughts might ever be guided in wisdom. Yesterday, it being Saturday, the 5th of July, 1845, Father Huntington locked up his chest of tools at the Temple. He has Labored 3 years mostly. He has done 818 days works. Now in good health, Aged 61 the 28 of Last March.

7,8,9,10,11. Abigail Thorn stayed here with me to day.

12. Finished my Sun bonet.

13, Sunday. 14,15,16. I called to see Sister Eliza Snow. She has ben confined to her be[d] 5 weeks, but O the patience. She is worthy of imitation. She is at E[l]der S Marcums [Stephen Markham], a fine family. I went with sister [Pat-ty] Sessions to br Geens Funeral. Pres B Youngs spoke. May I never forget the words that fell from his lips. He spake of the power the Saints would have over disease, The fall of the Earth, its redemption, also all those that ware destined to this planet or world. Br Neel and son ware there from the state of N[ew] Y[ork].⁴⁸

17. We started for Lima after black berries, arrived at Presendes nine the next morning, distance 30 [31] miles. A slight shower.

18. We took a fine ramble through the woods and bushes, thought we should be thankful when briars and thorns ceased.

⁴⁸A month later, 17 August 1845, Oliver would marry Mary Melissa Neal, daughter of George Augustus Neal, of Cambria, Niagara County, New York. Under date 26 July, Zina notes Oliver's departure for New York with the Neal father and son.

19. The company, 6 of them, started for Nauvoo in the morning, I tarr[i]ed with my Sister. A fine day.

Sunday, 20 of July 1845. Harriet had a Son born unto Wm Huntington in the new and everlasting covenant. It was born 10 minets before 5 in the afternoon. Caroline Clark is His first [wife], Harriet is her own sister. Hiram Clark and wife, there Father, are in England.

21, Monday. I and my little Son are still in Lima at my sisters. Her company is sweet but at lovely Nauvoo or City of Joseph how dear is the sosiety of the Saints.

22. Father and Henry arrived here in the evening, all in good health.

23. We went to pick berr[i]es. Had a good time. Sister Bo [*page torn*] was at Presendes to day. While wandering in the bushes beneath the shade of large trees, seeing the Plenty of fruit that filled the wo[o]ds, ah, thought I, the care that our Bountiful Creator has even for the fowls of Heven to prepare for them a feast.

24. Father, Presendia, George, and my self went again the first time that I ever had the privilege of picking berres with my Father. It is the last time that I viseted the Woods this year. I feel truly grateful for the helth I have had.

25. This morning Henry and I started with our son for home at 9, oclock a m. We arived home just as the sun was setting in silence in the far western Sky. About an hour after we left Mr Buels, Father started for home afoot. Arived 8 in the evening distance 31 miles.

26. We are all in good health at home, for which we have reason to re-joice. This morning Oliver Started for the State of N. Y. with Br Neel and his son Wm. Neel. O may the blessings of Heven espesially of wisdom and the grace of God atteng my brother Oliver.

27. We attended meeting. It was mostly uppon bisness of bilding the Nauvoo House and Temple in the forenoon and the Sacrament in the P M.

28. All in good health. Lucy Hatfield was bad.

29. A time of Peace in this City. But I herd or red that England ware about to make war with America uppon the subject of Oragon and Texas. O Lord roll on thy work, untin [until] All things are accomplished—the La-manties blossom as the rose, Jerusalem be rebuilt, restored, and Zion be Estab-lished through out her dominions no more to be thrown down F[or] ever without End, and thy Name shall have the Glory, even the Father, Son, Holy G[h]ost, Amen.

30. I commenced spinning for Presendia. Sister Liman was here and Sister Nowell took sup[p]er with us.

31, Thursday. No prayer meeting to day. Warm and plesent. Bisness moves rappidly. Great advancements made on the Temple daily. Let it hasten.

July [August] the 1, 1845. Mother Brower was here. O may I have trew wisdom and knowledge.

2. Zebulun was taken to day with the Scarlet fever.

3. It is Sunday, as it is called or the first day of the week. We stayed at home with Z[ebulun] who is very sick, but herd those speak of the Meeting that ware there. Pres B Young spoke to the People in the name of the Lord. Told us as a People to arise and shake our selves, be more diligent in our pray-ers and prayer meetings. If we did not it would not be well with us. He says can you not bare [bear] Prosperity without being slothful? Sayed if we would

be faithful we should be Blesed. O may diligence ever be pen[n]ed on my heart and this warning, he that holdeth out to the end shall be saved, if ye love Me keep my command. He spake many things worthy of all attention and must be pa[i]d heed to by this People if we continue and I firmly believe we shall for {incomplete}

4. An Election to day also a Bee drawing wood for the Nauvoo brick yard. Beter than a hundred teams ware out, agreeable to council yesterday. The Lord is just, therefore the Lord will reward the Saints according to there diligence in all things if they continue. Norman Buel and wife returned home to Lima to day. Came up yesterday. Zebulun is quite sick—the rash is out some, about the same. Nancy Nowell set up with Zebulun.

7. Disease continues to prey uppon the child. O Lord how long shall we labor under these things, even children suffering so sore? Wilt thou has[t]en the time in thine Own waw [way] when the Saints shall have power over the destroyer of our mortal body. Not that I would complain at thy hard dealings, O Lord. All things are right with Thee. But O the weakness of Human nature.

8. To day is a day of fasting and Prayer with me. Mother Brower and I set over the feeble body of my little son. He is very sick. Caroline and Lydia Partridge set up with us. Father Jacobs administered to Zebulun after sun set. Sayed he thought he would live. May it be so.

9. Z[ebulun] is some beter than he was last night. May the prospect continue to bri[gh]ten. Walter Davis set up with Henry. H[enry] Baptized him in the state of N Y. He, Davis, is or has ben a Salor. He now assists in pulling up timber on the Temple. He that Sings thus in the wisdom of God, the Gospel net has caught all and the building is fitly framed.

10. Mother Huntington spent part of the day with me and time of conversing uppon the resurrection of the ded, &c. Zebulun is a little beter. If it is the will of Heven may he soon recover to perfect soundness and God shall have the Glory.

11, Sunday. Wm W Felps [Phelps] addrest the Church to day from the stand. In the afternoon the differen quorums Met.

12. Another Election to day. Zebulun cannot walk a step. A colored woman washed for us to day. O God help me to humble my self before thee in that thou will own and bless me for I feel Poor and needy rember me in mercy, O Lord, even the God of my Sperit that I may praise Thee fo[r]ever worlds without end and O that I may be an honour to thy Church.

13. Eliza P and Sister Liman ware here.

14. Cleaning house. Nancy was here, also Br Repsher and his wife. The Last shingle was lade on the Temple. Prase the Lord.

15. A general fast for the whole Church. Although I am at home with my sick son I feel that the Speret of God is with the people at the meeting ground to bless the Meek. O let me be one of that number for I desire it with all my heart, for I feel to renew my covenant with Thee O God my Heavenly Father, desiring to lay hold on Faith and obedience unt[o] Salvation that I may be saved with a fulness of joy among those of the hi[gh]est Glory. Wilt thou prepare me for this and may I be an honour to those with whom I am concerned. O wilt Thou give me grace in the eyes of the trew saints and thy Name shall have the honour, worlds with out end, amen and Amen. Wm called and had a chat.

16,17. Zebulun is some beter, on the amend.

18,[17]. Sunday. Wm Smith Spoke to the People. Elder Talor [John Taylor] made an appropriate reply. It was needed. And God wilt thou be merciful to Thy People for thou art acquainted with all there needs. Give us wisdom.⁴⁹

19. I am bra[i]ding Palmleef.

20. Washing. A beautiful day, and may my heart be clean.

21. This morning as the day dawned a violent Thunder storm arose in the west. There was a man struck ded by [t]he lightning in town. I have not learned his name, but he was from England.⁵⁰

22. Elias Smith had his in fare at Br Talors Farm 8 miles out. I went to school to him in Kirtland Ohio. John went with the Printers. I viseted with Sister Holmes and her sisters and Sister in Law.

23. Henry worked on Joseph Youngs house. [I] spun 34 [k]nots of warp.

24. Attended Meeting at the Stand. Joseph Youngs spoke. It is the 3d time that he has spoken publicly to this People and has ben a resident of this place 6 years. He is first, of the 7 Pres of all the Seventes. He spoke uppon the resurrection some. Pres B Youngs spoke after him uppon what was wisdom for us to preserve our healths &c. Very good. A bisness meeting in the P M for all the Males of the Church.

25. Took sup[p]er at Wm. They had company and sent for me. A fine repast of ripe Peaches and melons. I feel truly grateful that my life has ben spared uppon the Earth to partake of the bountes therof. Praise Ye the Lord for his merces endureth forever. O may all these things lead us to faithfulness, to humility and diligence in keeping all the commands of God.

26. A very warm day. I am laboring at the [spinning] wheel to procure an honest living. O Lord wilt thou give me streangth for I fee[l] the flesh is weak. Let not my minde be to[o] much plased uppon the things of this world, but may I labor with my might for the things of a beter and finde acceptance with my Redeemer.

27. Viseted the sick, and washed. Quite warm. Dimicks Child is very sick, the babe.

28. All in good health for which I am truly grateful. Henry was on the prairie. I stayed at Fathers all night.

29 [30]. The small boys have there tra[i]ning every Saturday. It looks very nice. May they be blest I pray.

30 [31]. Parl[e]y P Prat[t] returned from N Y City, arived last week, has ben absent 9 months. He spoke uppon his mission. The World, being ripe [for] the fulfilment of Prophecy, the Spread of the Gospel. Said in 18 or 20 months there would not be an Island but what the saving gospel should be in evry place. So may it be, O Lord. Stated had he arived in Dec he would have ben astonished to see things advan[c]ed as far as they are especially the Temple and Nauvoo House.

Sept. the 1, 1845. A pleasent day of meditation uppon the work of God in thes last days.

⁴⁹Hosea Stout describes the meeting thus: "W. Smith [spoke on] what he called the first chapter of the Epistle to St. William and was followed by Elder John Taylor to which William showed considerable feelings" (Stout, *Diary*, pp. 57-58). William Smith would lose his position as apostle at the following October conference and on 12 October 1845 would be excommunicated.

⁵⁰Stout adds only that the man's name was Ralphs, dating the storm on 20 August (Stout, *Diary*, p. 58).

2. Spinning. Spun 22 [k]nots. When the body is weary the mind is also.

3. Very warm yesterday and to day. Between 5 and 6 in the evening a violent thunderstorm arose accompanied with hail and wind. Most of the Glass in the city on the north side of the buildings were broken. The longest hail storm that I ever saw. Vines were ruined. I would think upon the Last days.

4. Quite Cool. The Air is more pure and comfortable, for which I feel thankful. I feel to acknowledge the hand of God in all things.

5,6,7, Sunday. In the Morning we went to Urbin Stewerts [Urban Stewart]. Henres sister Rebeccas child is ded, a daughter buri[e]d at 3 P M. We then went to Father Jacobs. He is sick, but on the gain.

8. Cool and pleasent. Washed.

9,10. Herd that the enemy had burnt 2 buildings in Lima for the Bretheren.⁵¹ I assisted Sister Brower in washing as they are sick.

11. Lewes Damp, a Lamanite, gave me a money purse that his step Daughter Nancy sent to me from the Mo Territory. She has ben here and was baptized some years ago. When she left me or this plac[e] for the far west, I took a ring from my finger and gave it to her. She was a fine appeared girl. The purse is velvet, beautifully ornamented with beads or her own hands work.

12. Herd again from Lima. The mob has burnt 7 buildings.

13. Herd from Lima [that] the mob are raging, burning buildings, grain, driving all before.

14. Went to meeting Pres Young, Heber C K[imball] Amacy [Amasa Lyman] spoke, told us the necessity of hearing to council, mentioned the enemy, told us not to fear, put our trust in God. At Father Jacobs in the P M. He is very sick.

15. The enemy still continues to burn and drive in the Bretheren, not even giving time to save all there furniture. O God, all flesh is in thy hands. Thou canst turn there hearts even as the rivers of water are turned. In Thee do I put my trust in all things.

16. They, the Mob, burnt a brothers hous 4 miles this side of Carthage last night, and 400 bushels of grane [grain]. To day Porter Rockwell Shot [blank] as they were pursuing Mr. Backenstos on the parrarie near the rail road. Ther was about 30, this one was at the hed. He helped to concoct the plan to slay Joseph and Hiram; he was at the Jail at the murder.⁵²

17. The Bretheren are all at the stand armed and equiped. (To day I went to see about getting some weving. Done when I was gone—o my!) Henry went with Br. Marcum's Company in the region of Bare Creek [at] 2 P M. Just as the sun was setting a Company returned from the region towards Warsaw, all well.

18. When I cast mine eyes out, what do I behold, evry brother armed, his gun uppon his shoulder to protect his family and Bretheren from the violence of the furious Mob who are now burning all that falls into their way round

⁵¹The burnings at Morley Settlement at Lima continued in severity until "all the houses on the south side of the branch [brook]" had been burned. Brigham Young ordered the removal of all the Saints from the Hancock settlements, requesting Nauvoo Saints to provide teams and wagons to bring them to Nauvoo. (HC, 7:440-47; also Stout, *Diary*, pp. 63-64.) Zina's concern would obviously be for her sister Presendia and her family, although she makes no mention of them here.

⁵²Frank Worrell, of the state militia, is the man who was shot (HC, 7:446).

about the Country. Ah Liberty, thou art fled. When the wicked rule the People mourn.

19th, Friday. This morning at about 7 oclock 2 cannons ware fired near the Temple which signified for all to be on the ground. As I am alone I have not learned the particulars yet. Clear and pleasant.

20. The first thing I saw as I looked toward the Temple just as the sun was risen, a white flag, a signature to gather. A company is called for to assist a company that is out to execute the Laws of the Land to put down the mob.

21. All things move in order in the City.

The Steamboat *Maid of Iowa*: Mormon Mistress of the Mississippi

Donald L. Enders

Early in the autumn of 1842 a little steamboat christened the *Maid of Iowa* made her first appearance on the Mississippi. She had been built at Augusta, Iowa, an important landing on the Skunk River, and had been launched principally to compete in the trade conducted on the smaller rivers emptying into the Mississippi.

At the time the *Maid* entered the western river trade, steamboat merchandizing had reached an enormous volume. Indeed, the rivers of the Mississippi Valley proved to be the country's busiest commercial highway for the greater part of the nineteenth century. It is estimated that from 1825 to 1850 alone, more than half of the products grown or manufactured in the United States were carried by steamboat along the Mississippi and its tributaries.¹

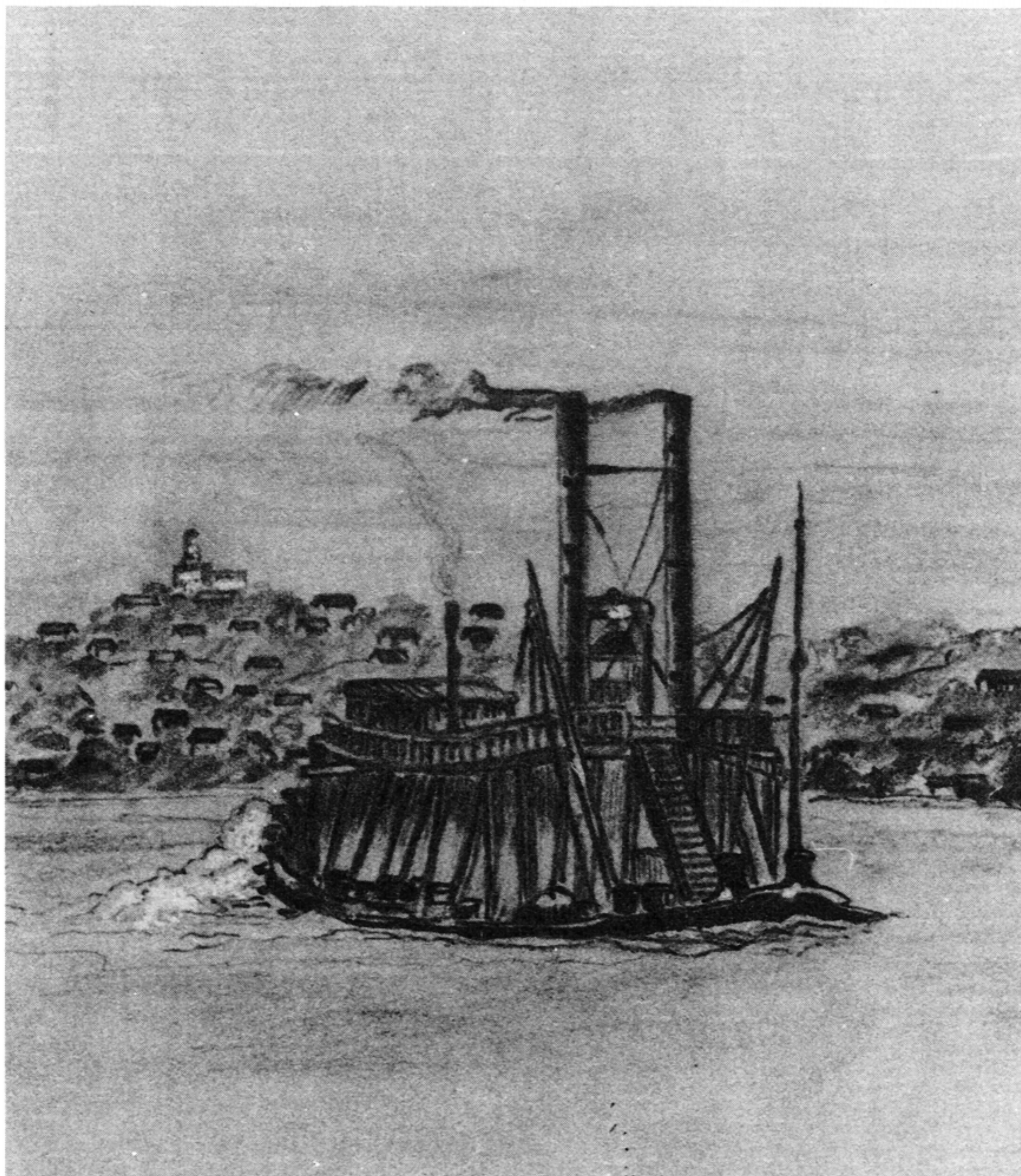
During that quarter century more than 350 different steamboats were operating above the Des Moines Rapids, the point on the Upper Mississippi generally considered the terminus of unobstructed navigation. Although a few were very large, having a gross weight capacity for boat and cargo of over 400 tons, the displacement of the average steam vessel plying that portion of the river was 168 tons.²

The *Maid* was built by Levi Moffit and Dan Jones. The former was a businessman of Augusta and the latter an experienced riverboat captain. Recognizing the lucrative potential of the river trade, the two commenced a partnership and put up the capital to have the steamer built. The cost to Levi Moffit and Dan Jones to get the boat built and moderately outfitted was just over \$4,000. Most steamboats on the Upper Mississippi were not as well equipped or furnished as the larger year-around ones of the lower river, and the *Maid of Iowa* was no exception. On her deck were located the engine room, the cargo and storage areas, the dining

Donald L. Enders is senior historic sites specialist of the Arts and Sites Division of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

¹William J. Peterson, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1968), pp. 227-38.

²*Ibid.*, p. 235.



Pencil Sketch, *Maid of Iowa*, Nauvoo in the Background.

Courtesy of LDS Church Historical Department

room, and cabin accommodations for approximately thirty people. Atop these was the hurricane deck through which protruded the boat's two smokestacks. The pilot's cabin was located on the hurricane deck. Though she was basically a freighting vessel, passengers nonetheless found her accommodations comfortable. Carpeted floors, unusual to most western river steamboats, were a luxury enjoyed by cabin passengers on the *Maid*.³

The *Maid of Iowa* was a stern wheeler, powered, like most western steamboats, with a high-pressure engine developed specifically to challenge the fast-moving rivers of the Mississippi Valley. Compared even to the smaller boats, the *Maid* was a dwarf, weighing but 60 tons and measuring only 115 feet in length.⁴

Her small size made her easily identifiable wherever on the rivers she went. Contemporary sources reveal that her journeyings were extensive, that many times she traversed the Mississippi from New Orleans to La Crosse, Wisconsin. She navigated lengthy distances of the Ohio, Missouri and Red rivers and traveled many lesser tributaries, such as the Illinois, Iowa, Skunk, Des Moines, Black, Fever, Fox, and Wisconsin. Not only did the *Maid* carry freight and passengers along most of the navigable rivers of the Mississippi Valley, she also served at intermittent periods as a ferryboat, an excursion boat, a military boat, a meeting place for church services, and a vehicle for transporting Mormon converts to and religious and political missionaries from Nauvoo.⁵

Jones, the experienced boatman, assumed command of the *Maid of Iowa* at her completion. Becoming master of this sleek little vessel was a step up for the Welshman, his former captaincy having been with a very small steamer, the *Ripple*, which at 38 tons was one of the tiniest steamboats registered on the Upper Mississippi. Jones, in his early thirties, was short of stature though wirey and powerfully built, and was an impulsive fellow of extreme energy, characteristics which suited him well for the rigorous task of commanding a steamboat. Born in Flintshire, Wales, of devout middle-class parents, he was reared in pious surroundings. His father was a church elder, and a brother attained a great reputation as a Baptist preacher. Dan Jones himself was college

³"Steamboat *Maid of Iowa*," Whitney Collection, Box 5, folders 10-15, Special Collections of Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁴"Enrolment, *Maid of Iowa*, Port of St. Louis, 1844," National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁵*Maid of Iowa* Card File, copy at Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, Salt Lake City.

educated, having been trained for the ministry. He was recognized as a "fluent, rapid, intelligent speaker in both Welsh and English" who had an "astounding power to touch the emotions and hearts of his audience." Though spiritually sensitive, he was also adventuresome, and in his youth had developed a great love for the sea. As a young man he apparently saw much of the world, sailing around the Horn as well as to India. In 1840 he emigrated to the United States with his wife Jane, stopping in New York for a few months before moving on to the Upper Mississippi River.⁶

In October 1842, when the *Maid of Iowa* entered the river trade on the Mississippi, there were approximately 7,000 Mormons living in a dozen or more settlements on both sides of the river near the Des Moines Rapids. Nauvoo, the chief gathering place, was located on a beautiful bend of the great river at the head of the rapids; it contained a population of approximately five thousand. Its citizens were keenly aware of the advantages Nauvoo's position offered for development of water power and river trade. Emigration continued to increase the population of Nauvoo at a phenomenal rate until, by December 1845, there were within the city limits 11,057, making Nauvoo one of the two largest communities in the state. Consequently, steamboats played an ever-increasing role in Nauvoo's development, transporting passengers and freight to and from its wharves and contributing to its social, religious and political environment.⁷

Many steamers made regular runs between St. Louis and the Northern Mississippi, making scheduled stops at various towns along the way. The 1839-1841 steamboat register for the port of Warsaw, a major landing at the foot of the Des Moines Rapids, reveals, however, that only 28 percent of the boats stopping there continued on above the rapids because navigating north of this generally hazardous obstacle increased considerably the likelihood of mishap.⁸ As communities above the rapids grew in number and size, more boats began ascending the rapids, and Nauvoo enjoyed the benefits of the increased traffic. In a single five-day period during the peak of the 1845 season, twelve steamers tied-up at Nauvoo docks.

⁶Rex LeRoy Christensen, "The Life and Contributions of Captain Dan Jones" (Master's thesis, Utah State University, 1977), pp. 4-6.

⁷James L. Kimball, Jr., "Nauvoo Population Study," in progress.

⁸*Warsaw Signal* (Illinois), 1839-1841.

In spite of this increasing activity, Nauvoo Mormons felt a "good deal abused" and imposed upon by the riverboats and contended that the boats levied higher than normal freight charges, delayed shipments, and harassed converts attempting to book passage to Nauvoo.⁹

Steamboats were a lifeline for Nauvoo as they were to all communities in that part of the country, carrying to and transporting from its wharves the large volume of merchandise needed to sustain it and to strengthen its economic growth. Every item imaginable for home and commercial use was carried by the hundreds of boats which plied the rivers, including flour, lumber, dry goods, furs, agricultural implements, farm produce, newspapers, the U.S. mail, military stores, foreign imports, iron and "Galena Cotton" (lead).

Additional numbers of boats entered the river trade each year. In 1832 the "tonnage of vessels" registered at New Orleans was 233,065. Ten years later, when the *Maid of Iowa* made her debut on the river, the figure had risen to 521,644, nearly 120 percent increase.

That the *Maid*, alone, was incapable of handling the city's needs is indicated by the number of steamers docking there each week. For example, from the *Potasi* came a "splendid stock of New and Genuine GOODS" just received "direct from the city of New York and Philadelphia"¹⁰ and other U.S. cities.

Accounts of the *Maid's* travels reveal that coal from Iowa, lumber from the northern Mississippi River region, military stores from northwestern Missouri, wheat, corn, and pork from Illinois, lead from Wisconsin, and sugar from Louisiana were just a few of the commodities the *Maid* carried during her service as a Mormon boat.¹¹

In March 1843, Elders Parley P. Pratt and Levi Richards, having just landed in New Orleans with about two hundred British converts, sought to charter a steamer to take their group up river to Nauvoo. Contact was made with Captain Dan Jones, of the *Maid of Iowa*, who had spent the winter on the lower river in the bayou trade but who was then advertising for passengers and

⁹*Nauvoo Neighbor*, 10 May 1843, p. 2; *Maid of Iowa* Card File.

¹⁰"Steamboat *Maid of Iowa*," Whitney Collection.

¹¹Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 12 April 1843, Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as Church Archives.

freight destined for the Upper Mississippi. Though steamer captains were often reluctant to aid the Mormons, Captain Jones accepted their request, having previously carried Mormons and Mormon freight to good satisfaction. On 12 April the little vessel, loaded to her limits, "hailed up at the Nauvoo House landing," where she was met by a crowd of joyful Saints. The journey from St. Louis had been particularly difficult, requiring eleven days because of delays brought on by ice still flowing in the river.

Joseph Smith, President of the Church and mayor of the city, was the first aboard the boat and "could not refrain from shedding tears" at the privilege of again greeting old friends and welcoming the new arrivals.¹² So appreciative was the Mormon Prophet of Captain Jones' service that when Joseph came face-to-face with him he laid his hand upon the captain's head and said, "Bless this little man."¹³ This touching encounter was the beginning of an affectionate friendship between the two, and it soon led to the Welshman's conversion to Mormonism and, in behalf of the Church, to Joseph Smith's arranging a partnership with the captain in the steamboat trade. Within a month Captain Jones was baptized, and the Prophet began the purchase of half interest in the *Maid of Iowa*, buying Levi Moffit's share of the boat for \$1,375.¹⁴

In 1842 central and western Iowa were opened to white settlement as a result of the government's acquiring the "Black Hawk Purchase" from the Sac and Fox Indians. Newspapers along the Mississippi published descriptive accounts of the mass of land-seekers headed to the new "El Dorado." Newspapers reported that "very large" numbers of immigrants, with "farming utensils, furniture and every necessary article," were expected to gather there. Since many were traveling by land and would need to be ferried over the river in order to get themselves, their baggage, and their livestock to Iowa, Nauvoo was in a wonderful position to benefit from the immigration if it could establish a ferrying service capable of luring large numbers of the travelers to its river landings.¹⁵

Joseph Smith and Dan Jones must have felt that the timing of their partnership was opportune, for even before the Mormon leader had finalized arrangements with Levi Moffit to assume his

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.


¹⁴"Steamboat *Maid of Iowa*," Whitney Collection.

¹⁵*Warsaw Message* (Illinois), 19 April 1843.

interest in the boat they put the *Maid* to work as a ferry between Nauvoo and the Iowa side of the river.

That "such a mode of conveyance has long been needed"¹⁶ in that vicinity of the Upper Mississippi was generally acknowledged. Consequently, the enterprise received much encouragement, even from out-of-town newspapers.¹⁷ For a number of weeks, commencing 17 May 1843, the *Nauvoo Neighbor* gave notice that a "splendid Steam Boat" would operate as a ferry at that city. Her "conveniences" were described as "great," and her "passage sure."¹⁸ Rates for using the ferry were set by the City Council, and, as noted by her bill of tolls, foot passengers, people on mule or horseback, those driving teams, and a wide variety of livestock and freight were expected to take advantage of the service.¹⁹

FOR DES MOINES RIVER.



THE Light Draught Steamer
MAID OF IOWA, D.
JONES Master, will run up the
Des Moines River, as soon as navigation opens
in the spring. She will take freights or pas-
sengers at Warsaw, at the lowest possible rates.
March 29, 1843. n12 if

Regular Packet.

Existing pages from the *Maid of Iowa*'s log and an account book from Joseph Smith's Red Brick Store, the establishment from which a good part of the boat's stock of supplies came, reveal an interesting pattern of activity for the vessel during 1843. Though serving as a ferry in the late spring and early summer, and again in the fall, she also frequently transported freight and passengers up and down the river.²⁰

A separate log for ferrying services for the *Maid* has not survived; therefore, it is uncertain how lucrative the ferry business was for Dan Jones, Joseph Smith, the Church or Nauvoo. Even

¹⁶*Nauvoo Neighbor*, 17 May 1843, p. 2.

¹⁷For example, see *Iowa City Standard*, 10 April 1842.

¹⁸*Nauvoo Neighbor*, 17 May 1843.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 14 June 1843.

²⁰"Steamboat *Maid of Iowa*: Entries from Joseph Smith's Day Book," study by Rowena J. Miller, Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, Salt Lake City, 8 pp.

the town's news sheets commented little about the amount of ferry traffic drawn to the city to seek passage across the river. The fact that the *Maid* did not return to ferry duty a second season,²¹ however, does suggest that there was more to be gained in the river trade, a duty certainly more satisfying to the seasoned and adventuresome riverboat captain, Dan Jones.

Fully loaded, the *Maid* was capable of hauling approximately forty tons of freight and two hundred passengers. Twenty-five to thirty passengers could be accommodated in the boat's cabin, which was divided into male and female quarters. Other passengers were obliged to content themselves with deck passage. Once underway, the little vessel was capable of good performance. Even when heavily laden with cargo and passengers, she could make five to eight miles per hour with the current and nearly two-thirds that speed when going upstream.²²

Preparing the *Maid of Iowa* for river duty included affirming her sea worthiness, as well as placing aboard various items of equipment for emergencies, such as shafts, boiler parts, a cache of butts and screws, oils, pumps, cylinders, and lubricants. Also essential were edibles and conveniences which would provide refreshment and comfort for the crew and for the many passengers who would be taken aboard at various ports along the river. Among the many items drawn from Joseph Smith's store were 47 mattresses, 40 quilts, 94 unbleached sheets, 40 pillows and 80 pillow slips, towels, tablecloths, wooden buckets, a washtub, muffins and teas, platters and deep dishes, pitchers, sugars and creamers, and twelve chairs. Food stuffs included flour, molasses, table salt, vinegar, mustard, soleratus, coffee, sugar, and tea, as well as bacon, potatoes, meats, bread and other bakery goods, butter, and fresh vegetables. Additional items taken aboard were some calico, a bonnet, two pair of worsted stockings and one pair cotton stockings (likely for Mrs. Jones), a stove, paper, a half ledger, clothing for crew, \$69.35 worth of gunny sacks, cayenne peppers, "salts and ole [sic] for sick hand," a small globe lamp, a hall lamp, and a signal lamp.²³

During her three years as a Mormon boat, at least forty-two individuals served on the *Maid*. Normally there were sixteen or seventeen hands on deck: the captain, mate, a clerk, the pilot, the assistant pilot, three engineers, four or five deck hands, the cook

²¹Ibid.

²²*Maid of Iowa* Card File.

²³Miller, "Joseph Smith's Day Book."

and two stewards, a watchman, and a cabin boy. Mississippi riverboat captains were generally strong-minded individuals, masters of their boats. Aboard the *Maid*, however, was an additional crew member whose authority was known to take precedence over the captain's. That was Commandent-in-chief Jane Jones, the captain's devoted and intimidating wife. She jealously guarded the family's "hard earned" interest in the craft, which was not only their means of livelihood but was frequently, and for lengthy periods, their residence as well.²⁴

The *Maid's* crew being mostly Mormon must have been a novelty on the river. Their religious views drew considerable taunting from crews and passengers of other boats; their avoidance of the pleasures generally sought by river workers characterized them as a very peculiar set of riverboat men. For example, except for infrequent dissipation on the part of some hands, the *Maid of Iowa* was a "dry" boat. Barrels of whiskey, rum, beer and champagne were rolled aboard to be carried as freight to merchants along the river, but the use of alcoholic beverages by the *Maid's* crew and officers was not condoned by the captain.

The absence of strong drink was not the only luxury not aboard the boat. Chambermaids, female entertainers, women companions, gamblers, so much a part of the environment of many other steamboats, were not to be found.²⁵

Working aboard the *Maid of Iowa* was also unusual in that the crew had "tithing" for the Temple then being constructed in Nauvoo automatically deducted from their earnings. Gilbert Lyman, for one-and-a-half months' duty as a deck hand earned \$18.99, \$12.00 of which was deducted as tithing. He received one half dollar in cash, the balance being reserved for him as credit. For twenty-four days as a deck hand, S. H. Alexander earned \$9.60, all of which was "to go as tithing." However, Stephen Goddard, mate aboard the *Maid*, earned \$27.00 for eighteen days on the river, none of the earnings designated for the Temple. E. J. Repsher, the boat's cabin boy, earned \$12.50 and received as pay "one pair shirts," four yards cloth, a hat, and fifty cents deducted as tithing.²⁶

Once, when error in judgment placed an incompetent individual aboard as clerk, the kind, but firm, discipline maintained by

²⁴D. S. Hollister to Joseph Smith, 8 January 1844, quoted in Journal History.

²⁵Miller, "Joseph Smith's Day Book."

²⁶Ibid. See also "Steamboat *Maid of Iowa*," Whitney Collection.

Jones on boat suffered a setback. The clerk, a man named Derby, through his "dissipating . . . and incessant propensity to gambling" with the *Maid's* funds placed the owners of the boat in financial jeopardy.²⁷

Generally, employee quarters and provisions on steamboats were adequate, while working conditions were a combination of both hard labor and leisure. Work demands aboard the *Maid of Iowa* appear to have been much like those described by H. W. Sanderson, a lad from Nauvoo who worked as a deck hand on a steamer plying the Upper Mississippi. He concluded that labor was usually "not excessive though except for loading and unloading freight," which was "very heavy work." There was "other rough work to do" as well, which kept him "very busy," but he was "treated kindly" and "had better access to vituals than [he] was accustomed to."²⁸

Piloting steamboats on the rivers of the Mississippi Valley was a nerve-testing experience because the possibility of mishap was constantly present. Low water, sandbars, rapids, other boats, boiler explosions, and fires were just some of the disasters lurking on the rivers. Newspapers throughout the country carried frequent accounts of river steamboat accidents, which often took several lives.

The most dreaded calamities were fires and exploding boilers. On 15 September 1841, "the Steamboat *Louisiana* bound from New Orleans to St. Louis exploded one of her boilers, by which 18 or 20 persons were killed, and several scalded."²⁹ Newspaper accounts reflect the times; one mentioning a boat badly damaged by a bursting boiler states that "no casualties resulted, only the loss of some livestock and three niggers."³⁰

Less serious, but certainly disruptive, often to the point of ruining a business, were the losses suffered when boats struck snags, boulders, or sandbars. The steamboat *John Shaw* sunk near Nauvoo in October 1840, after colliding with submerged rock on the Des Moines Rapids. The steamboat *Illinois* suffered the same fate just opposite the Mormon city in April 1842. The *Illinois* with cargo of military stores, bound for the government post at Prairie Du Chien was a "total loss."³¹ Some distance above Nauvoo, a

²⁷Dan Jones to Joseph Smith, 8 January 1844, quoted in *Journal History*.

²⁸H. W. Sanderson *Journal*, 1843, Church Archives.

²⁹*Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo) 11 (15 September 1841):42.

³⁰*Missouri Gazette* (St. Louis), 12 May 1843.

³¹*Warsaw Signal*, 27 April 1842, p. 2.

steamer carrying "3,000 pigs of Lead" sank in only twelve feet of water, but the boat and freight were not recovered.³²

Dan Jones and the Mormons were also troubled by similar misfortune. The *Ripple*, which Dan Jones had captained prior to taking over the *Maid of Iowa*, struck a rock and sank on 24 November 1841 near Galena, Illinois,³³ and a steamboat acquired by the Saints in 1840 went down with its cargo near St. Louis.³⁴ The *Maid* herself at one time "lost her lighter, which was loaded at the time with corn and lumber."³⁵ She was frequently beset with breakdowns and expensive overhauls. A boatload of Church members experienced the frustration sometimes encountered by travelers aboard steamers when the *Maid* was repeatedly damaged and delayed during an upstream trip in 1844.³⁶ Attempting to avoid a "very swollen and muddy current," Captain Jones took the boat up "sloughs and bayous," frequently running aground, which "took many hours and hard work to get her off." At least two shafts were broken while going up the river, which necessitated sending to New Orleans for new ones. One of the passengers reflected that the "accidents were very unpleasant as the company was anxious to get to Nauvoo before Conference on the 6th of April."³⁷

Travel by steamboat was the number one mode of transportation in America of the 1840s. Although it sometimes did involve difficulties, these difficulties were infrequent. Usually steamboat travel was economical, reasonably fast, and relatively free of the difficulties and discomforts that attended traveling by land. Although prices fluctuated slightly, deck passage aboard most steamers between New Orleans and St. Louis was about \$3.00.³⁸ The distance was approximately 1,200 miles. Nauvoo, about two hundred miles above St. Louis, would generally cost an additional \$2.50.³⁹ It required ten days to two weeks to travel the distance between the two major Mississippi ports, and another four to seven days from St. Louis to Nauvoo. For those who could afford it,

³²Ibid., 12 May 1841, p. 2.

³³Ibid., 24 November 1841, p. 2.

³⁴For details of the sinking of this steamboat, the *Nauvoo*, see Dallin H. Oaks and Joseph I. Bentley, "Joseph Smith And Legal Process: In the Wake of the Steamboat Nauvoo," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Winter 1979):39-71.

³⁵Journal History, 15 June 1844.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷William Adams Journal, March 1844, pp. 6-9, Church Archives.

³⁸Norbury L. Wayman, *Life on the River* (New York: Crown Publishing, 1971), p. 232.

³⁹Wilford Woodruff Journal, 6 July 1843, Church Archives.

cabin accommodations, which included meals and a reasonably comfortable place to sleep out of the weather, certainly made travel by steamboat more enjoyable. The fare, however, was nearly three times the amount for deck passage. Because of the cheaper fare, more than twice as many persons traveled deck passage.

Accommodations on the open deck were uncomfortable and generally dirty; passengers were exposed to the fluctuating weather and to the sparks and cinders from smokestacks. Deck passengers generally took their own food and utensils and cooked their meals on a stove provided for that purpose. They brought food that would carry with minimum spoilage, as supply sources were scant and prices exorbitant along the river. The decks were usually crowded with people and baggage, and deck passengers were prone to guard jealously the little spot of deck they reserved for sitting, sleeping, eating, and socializing for the time they were aboard.⁴⁰

Between 1841 and 1845 about 4,000 English Mormon converts were transported by steamboat up the Mississippi River. They traveled in various boats, but many traveled on the *Maid of Iowa*. During the Mormons' emigration season, which was planned to avoid the hot months of the year when cholera and the "fever" were widespread on the river, the Mormon boat made numerous trips to St. Louis and New Orleans to pick up Nauvoo-bound Saints. The *Maid*, along with other steamers, bypassed the busy port of New Orleans for fear of contracting sickness, sailing to the mouth of the Mississippi to load passengers and cargo directly from the ocean-sailing vessels.

The journey up the river to Nauvoo was filled with new sights and experiences for the immigrants, with travel on the river being both refreshing and harsh. Thomas Steed, who made the trip on the *Maid of Iowa* in April 1844, records seeing his brother-in-law slip from the boat and drown while helping to "wood up" the little vessel.⁴¹ Just a month earlier, William Adams, who had traveled the same route on the *Maid*, wrote of the persecution encountered in towns along the way. Natchez was particularly a troublesome place to tie in,⁴² he recorded. Men rushed aboard attempting to do damage to the boat, yelling out "fowl [sic] names"⁴³ at the passengers and calling them "Joe's Rats."

⁴⁰Wayman, *Life on the River*, p. 232, and *Maid of Iowa* Card File.

⁴¹Thomas Steed Journal, 13 April 1844, Church Archives.

⁴²William Adams Journal, March 1844, p. 6.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

The boat was even set afire, and before the fire could be extinguished the side of the *Maid* was noticeably burned and several featherbeds and bedding were destroyed.⁴⁴

The Lower Mississippi was the area of greatest harassment for the *Maid of Iowa*. Large steamers, passing by, would generally give a "grand salute by cheering and laughing" and abusing it with foul language.⁴⁵ One boat attempted to run the *Maid* down but was thwarted in the maneuver by Captain Jones, who hollered from the hurricane deck of the *Maid* that he would shoot the other boat's pilot if he did not steer clear.⁴⁶

The *Maid of Iowa* was valuable to the Mormons for more reasons than bringing converts to Nauvoo. Between 1842 and 1845, numerous elders departed from the city's wharves aboard the little boat for near and distant missionary fields. Some in 1844 went "electioneering" for their Prophet leader, who in February of that year had announced his candidacy for the United States presidency. During election years, steamboats everywhere became hotbeds for political barnstorming. Tallies from two boats where votes had been cast for favorites are interesting.⁴⁷ The candidates considered were Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren and General Joseph Smith. Van Buren in both polls came out a decided loser. Clay fared little better. The General was "going it with a rush," being the decided choice on one with 71 votes to Clay's 30 and Van Buren's 12.⁴⁸ The vote on the other boat was approximately the same ratio. The real winner, James K. Polk, was not even given dark horse consideration aboard the boats, whose passengers were chiefly new disciples of the Mormon faith headed for their mecca of Nauvoo.

The Latter-day Saints, though serious about establishing their "Zion," made time to enjoy life; they found their steamboat a suitable place to do so. Immediately upon acquiring ownership in the boat, Joseph Smith arranged with Captain Jones for an excursion on the river for Church and civic leaders and their families. This was the first of many pleasure excursions aboard the *Maid*. The young citizens of the community, "Temple Hands," and other select groups were invited to enjoy a respite upon the river,

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷*Nauvoo Neighbor*, 22 May 1844, p. 2; 5 June 1844, p. 2.

⁴⁸Ibid., 5 June 1844, p. 2.

with Quincy and Burlington being the favorite places of destination. Festive occasions were usually heightened by the presence of tasty foods, "a fine band of music," spirited orations, or even a "salute of cannon."⁴⁹ Some gatherings aboard the steamer were refreshing to the participants in a more sober way. When the weather did not permit the holding of religious services in the grove near the rising Temple, other locations substituted as places of worship. Willard Richards noted that on Sunday 14 April 1844, "a rainy day in Nauvoo, . . . Joseph preached on board the *Maid of Iowa*."⁵⁰

The "Little Maid," as Joseph Smith affectionately referred to the steamer, served faithfully in many capacities. A particularly tense situation for the citizens of Nauvoo occurred in June 1843. While Joseph and his wife Emma were visiting in Dixon, Illinois, an attempt was made to abduct him and take him by force to Missouri. The plan was to transport him on a steamer down the Illinois River and on to St. Louis. When rumor of the affair reached Nauvoo, the *Maid* was immediately dispatched to intercept the hostile craft. The crew's mission was to stop and search any suspected boats and to free the Prophet if he were found. In an eventful encounter with the *Chicago Belle*, the planned abductor, the crew of the *Maid* performed heroically. Word then reached the *Maid* that "Brother Joseph" was safe in the hands of friends, and the "Mormon Navy" returned to its home port.⁵¹

At her annual licensing in St. Louis, in mid-1844, Captain Jones was not aboard the *Maid* as her master. A few weeks earlier he had sold his portion of the boat to Joseph Smith, giving the Church sole ownership of the steamer.⁵² The Prophet had other things in mind for the spiritually-minded Welshman. By Christmas Dan Jones was aboard another boat, this time as a passenger, headed toward his native land to preach the gospel.⁵³

After this, the *Maid* was little used by the Mormons. The animosity and fear surrounding the death of Joseph Smith in June 1844, coupled with a shortened steamboat season brought on by an early winter, forced the *Maid* into frequent periods of inactivity. The season of 1845 had just commenced when the little

⁴⁹Journal History, 28 June 1843.

⁵⁰Willard Richards Journal, 14 April 1844, Church Archives.

⁵¹Journal History, 28 June 1843.

⁵²"Enrolment, *Maid of Iowa*."

⁵³Joseph Smith, Jun., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-1951), 6:601; 7:260-61, 324.

vessel left Nauvoo for the last time. The *Maid of Iowa* had been sold on 15 June by Church leaders "for what could be gotten for her"⁵⁴ to Captain Peter Hoelting of Wisconsin. For some years she would run between Greenbay and Galena, hauling freight and passengers on the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Her last reported place of activity was in Iowa, where in 1851 Captain William Phelps was running her on Soap Creek.⁵⁵

During her service as a Mormon boat the *Maid of Iowa* sailed most of the navigable rivers of the Mississippi Valley. While so employed she traveled approximately 54,000 miles, transported some 3,000 to 3,500 passengers, and hauled nearly 2,500 tons of freight.⁵⁶ The *Maid* enriched the cultural, social, political, and economic life of the city, bringing large numbers of people to Nauvoo, hauling goods to and from its wharves, transporting official representatives of the Church and the city, and providing a place for cultural, social, and religious experiences. In summary, the *Maid of Iowa* was a symbol of Nauvoo's dependence upon the Mississippi. Perhaps her being sold and her rather sudden departure from the river near Nauvoo was a subtle omen of the departure the Mormons would also make one year later from their beloved city on the great river.

⁵⁴Journal History, 9 April 1843.

⁵⁵G. B. Merrick, *Steamboats and Steamboat Men of the Upper Mississippi* (Annals of Labor and Industry, 1938), copy located in the Crerar Library, Chicago; see also *Maid of Iowa* Card File.

⁵⁶*Maid of Iowa* Card File.

The Pioneer Dulcimer

Sally T. Taylor

She brought the dulcimer
Wrapped softly, though their skin
Was roughened with crude wool
And homespun, leather boots
Shredded and worn to holes;
Their raw, chapped hands and legs
Were wrapped in flapping rags,
And blankets were their coats.

She brought the dulcimer
Packed carefully when the trunks
From emptied rooms across
The seas were left behind—
No room—and dishes, pots
And treasured chairs sat lonely
By dead camps as wagons
Staggered west along
A powdery, gravestrewn trail.

She brought the dulcimer
Played gently after dusk
When tears of blinding loss,
Dissolving hope, and sharp
Regret turned faces East.
But all these sifting pains
Were changed to restful peace,
And all who heard knew why
She brought the dulcimer.

William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple

J. Earl Arrington

The Nauvoo Temple¹ is well known to students of LDS Church history, but the structure's architect, William Weeks, has slipped into obscurity. Yet he deserves to be better known today, not that he was a great architect outside his group and time, but because he helped to translate the purposes and ideals of the early Latter-day Saints into architectural terms and because his work represented the zenith of temple-building activities during the lifetime of the Prophet Joseph Smith.²

THE EARLY YEARS

William Weeks' familial and architectural roots were in New England. His great grandparents and grandparents were born and

J. Earl Arrington, a graduate in history from the University of Chicago, lived many years in New York, where he engaged in historical research and book collection. He collected 40,000 books, emphasizing American History from 1800-1860—the early years of the LDS faith. He has recently given this collection to BYU Library, where it will be available to scholars. He has done extensive work and publishing on the Nauvoo Temple. The author is grateful to William G. Hartley of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for his assistance in writing this article.

¹The Temple, by the time the Saints fled from Nauvoo, was an impressive structure. A light gray limestone building, it measured 128 feet long by 88 feet wide and stood 65 feet high with an octagonal, four-tiered tower reaching to 165 feet. The four external walls were ornamented with thirty pilasters, each pilaster having a unique carved moon-stone as its base and a sun-stone as its capital. Two rows of large Gothic windows and two rows of small circular windows pierced the side walls. At the front and only entrance, three arched doorways led into the first-floor vestibule. Both the first and second floors had vestibules and large halls for mass meetings. Two upper half-stories provided offices and ordinance rooms, as did the attic. The basement housed an impressively carved baptismal font. Interior features included arched ceilings, pulpits, altars, curtains, circular stairways, painted scenes on walls, and intricate carvings and decorations throughout.

Architectural features are described in Don F. Colvin, "A Historical Study of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo, Illinois" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962) and Stanley Buchholz Kimball, "The Nauvoo Temple," *Improvement Era* 66 (November 1963):974-84. Excellent early depictions of the Temple accompany Stanley B. Kimball's essay, "Nauvoo" in *Improvement Era* 65 (July 1962):512-17, 548-51. Analysis of the Temple's architectural styles is found in Charles Mark Hamilton, "Authorship and Architectural Influences on the Salt Lake Temple" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1972). Recent archaeological work on the temple site is detailed in Virginia S. and J. C. Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple* (Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1971), and Jay M. Todd, "Nauvoo Temple Restoration," *Improvement Era* 71 (October 1968):10-16.

Commenced in 1841, the Temple was dedicated in 1846 while the Saints were deserting Nauvoo. Within a decade it was ruined and levelled by fire, vandalism, tornado, and scavengers of building materials.

²Some surviving architectural sketches of various parts of the Nauvoo Temple, drawn by William Weeks, cited hereafter as Nauvoo Temple Drawings, are preserved at the Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereinafter cited as Church Archives.

reared there, as were his parents, James, Jr., and Sophronia Weeks. William was born in Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, on 11 April 1813. When his father migrated to the Middle West, twenty-two-year-old William "came down the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, landed at Chicago in the year 1835 with his father's family."³

William was part of a family of builders. He early acquired skills in the New England traditions of architecture from his father, with whom he worked until he was twenty-one years old. His father, "an architect or at least a builder," also taught his skills to another son, Arwin L. The brothers Arwin and William were close both personally and professionally.⁴ As a young man, William may have participated with Arwin in some early building activities in the East and the South.

Family traditions say that William, who had the urge to travel as a young man, was converted to Mormonism while in the Southern States. Being "raised a Quaker, as were his father's family," William departed from his family background by joining with the Saints in their gathering centers. Apparently he was in Missouri when the Saints were driven out and then spent about a year in Quincy, Adams County, Illinois. There, at age twenty-six, he married Caroline M. Allen on 11 June 1839, in a ceremony performed by Elder Abraham O. Smoot (a Southern convert and later father of Utah Senator Reed Smoot). Caroline, ten years her husband's junior, was born in Tompkins County, New York, on 16 April 1823. Their union lasted more than half a century and produced eleven children, seven of whom died at very young ages. Their first child was born in Quincy in late 1840.⁵

The new family unit soon became part of the infant city of Nauvoo. The Weeks' Nauvoo home still stands today, located at

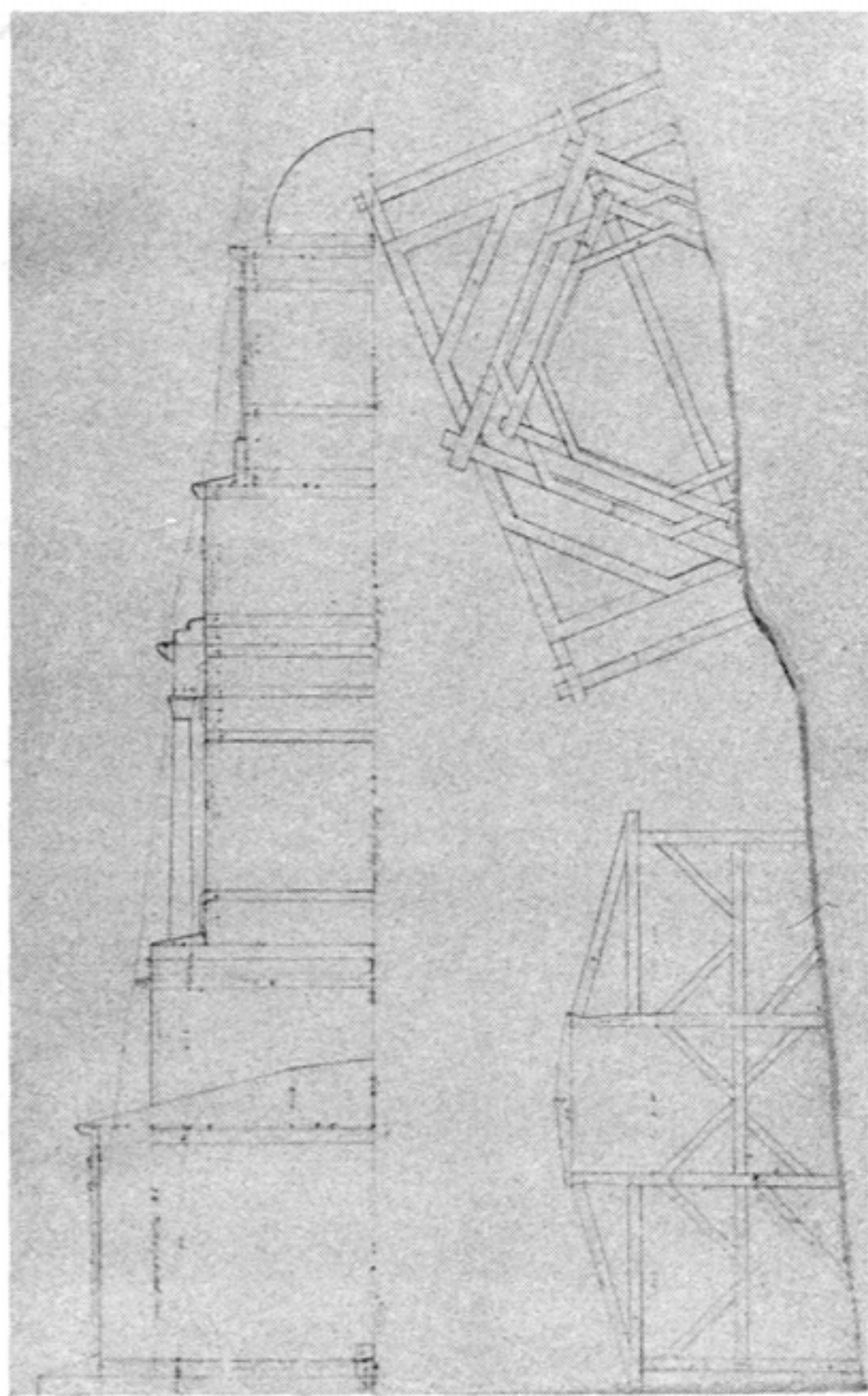
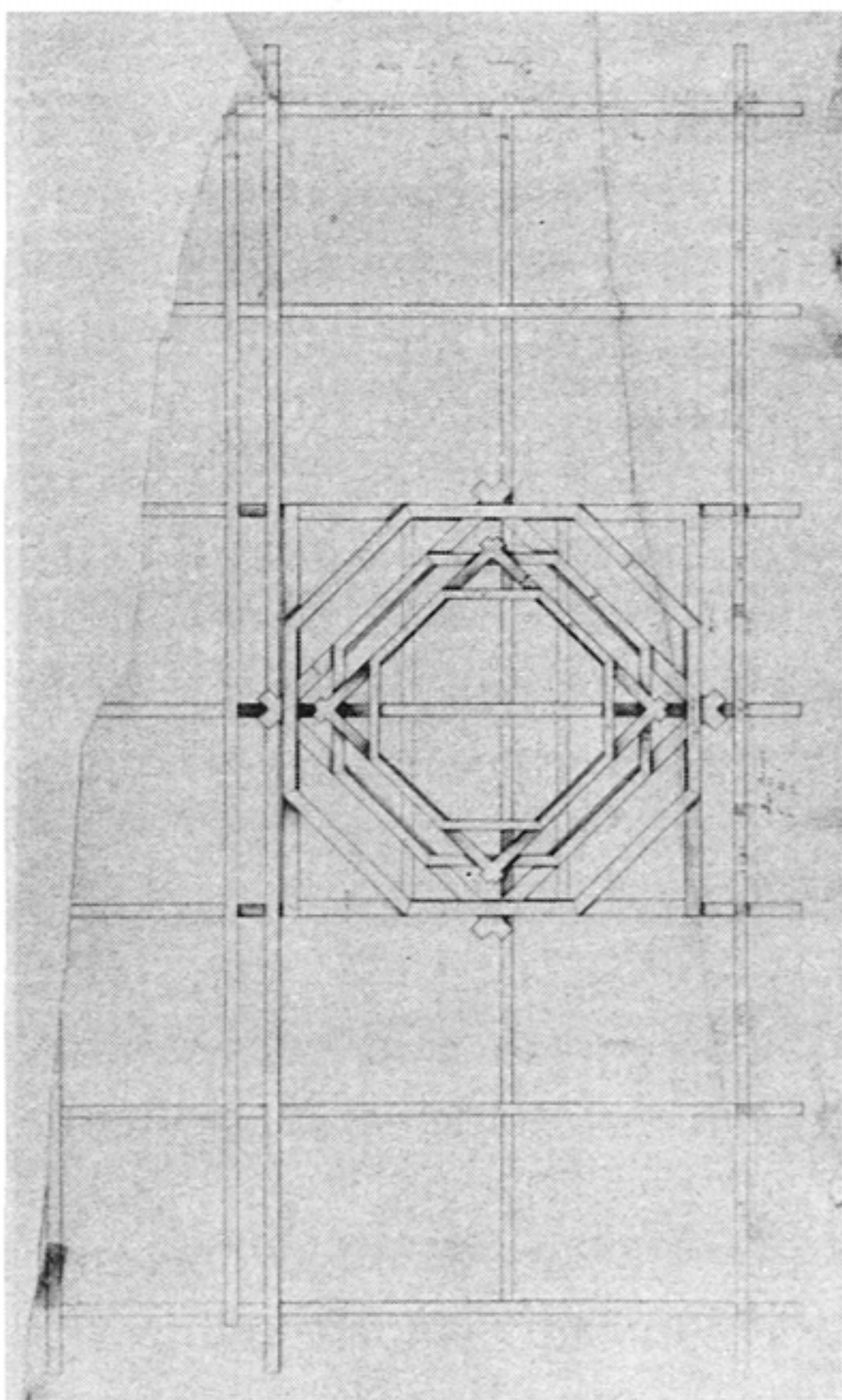
³Robert D. Weeks, "Genealogy of the Family of George Weeks," MS, p. 300; Patriarchal Blessing Records, MS, 9:564, Church Archives; Kimball, "Nauvoo Temple," p. 974; Caroline F. Griffin (a daughter of William Weeks), "The Life History of William Weeks," MS, p. 1; F. M. Weeks (a nephew of William Weeks) to author, March 1932. The Weeks' family manuscripts cited in this article are in the author's library.

Genealogical data about the Weeks families include the following: William's great grandfather, William Weeks, was baptized in 1762, married in Massachusetts, and had a son, James. This grandfather James married Deborah Luce in 1786, and they had seven children, including James, Jr., the father of the Nauvoo Temple architect. James, Jr., married Sophronia Fisher and their children were Arwin L., William, Samuel, and Jane.

⁴To show their mutual affection, each named a son after the other. Cherished among William's descendants is "a book of drawings" which was a present to William from Arwin. (Griffin, "Life History of William Weeks," pp. 1-3; C. W. Weeks to author, 29 February and 28 April 1932; C. F. Griffin to author, 25 April 1932.)

⁵C. F. Griffin to author, 17 April 1932; J. M. Weeks, "Obituary of William Weeks"; C. W. Weeks to author, 29 February 1932.

Young and Partridge streets in the upper or northern part of the city.⁶ In Nauvoo, William was ordained an elder in the priesthood. Some contemporary reports have confused his religious status and frequently have labelled him a gentile architect, an idea refuted by both LDS Church records and family tradition.⁷ During the Weeks' six years in Nauvoo four more children were added to the family, but four of their five children also died there.⁸



Two of William Weeks' Temple Drawings.

Courtesy of LDS Church Historical Department

⁶David E. Miller, *Westward Migration of the Mormons, with Special Emphasis on the History of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1963), p. 307; "Historic Nauvoo," Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1964.

⁷T. Edgar Lyon to author, 5 October 1964.

⁸Weeks' family records, in possession of author. The children of William and Caroline Matilda Allen and their places and dates of birth and death are

Ammon	Quincy, Ill.	18 Oct. 1840	Nauvoo	11 Nov. 1845
Delight	Nauvoo	8 Nov. 1841	Nauvoo	9 Nov. 1841
Laura L.	Nauvoo	1 Dec. 1842	Nauvoo	30 Aug. 1843
Sophronia	Nauvoo	15 Feb. 1844	Nauvoo	1 Mar. 1844
Arwin L.	Nauvoo	8 June 1845	Council Bluffs	18 Apr. 1847
*Rossena	Council Bluffs	28 Jan. 1847	Long Beach, Calif.	19 Oct. 1923
Julia	Fond du Lac, Wisc.	13 May 1849	Marion, Iowa	4 Apr. 1852
William	Provo, Utah	21 Feb. 1853	Salt Lake City	3 Dec. 1853
Caroline F. Griffin	Salt Lake City	15 Feb. 1855		1 Aug. 1937
Franklin W.	Los Angeles	9 Oct. 1859		

*Although LDS records show two other names for Rossena (Asanah and Kophenah), there is no evidence two children were born rather than one.

TEMPLE ARCHITECT UNDER JOSEPH SMITH

Among priority building projects planned for the new city of Nauvoo was a temple. Just a few years earlier the Church had constructed its first temple in Kirtland, and plans for a Missouri temple had yet to be implemented. On 31 August 1840 Joseph Smith announced at Nauvoo that “the time has now come, when it is necessary to erect a house of prayer, a house of order, a house for the worship of our God, where the ordinances can be attended to agreeably to His divine will.”⁹

That fall a temple building committee was appointed, and a site was soon selected atop a prominent knoll overlooking the majestic Mississippi River less than a mile away.¹⁰ It was “the spot which I have chosen for you to build it,” according to a revelation to Joseph Smith. That same revelation, dated 19 January 1841, required the Saints to gather to Nauvoo to “build a house to my name” where new ordinances could be revealed and practiced, including baptisms for the dead.¹¹

Construction plans for the Temple were called for, and William Weeks’ plans won immediate acceptance in competition with other drawings. William’s nephew, F. M. Weeks, recalled William’s telling him that Joseph Smith “advertised for plans for a temple. [William] said several architects presented their plans, but none seemed to suit Smith. So when he went in and showed his plans, Joseph Smith grabbed him, hugged him and said ‘you are the man I want.’”¹²

An architect of the Greek Revivalist school, William became general superintendent of the Temple’s construction. But his designs and labors were subject to approval, modification, or rejection by the temple building committee, Church leaders, and ultimately by the Prophet himself. According to the January revelation, the Lord said: “I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house.”¹³ Later Joseph told William he had “seen in vision” the appearance of the Temple, and this vision influenced his treatment of William’s plans.¹⁴

⁹Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1932–1951), 4:186; hereafter referred to as *HC*.

¹⁰Todd, “Nauvoo Temple Restoration,” pp. 12–13.

¹¹Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921), 124:26–44. Hereafter referred to as *D&C*.

¹²F. M. Weeks to author, 7 March 1932.

¹³*D&C* 124:42.

¹⁴*HC*, 6:197; Hamilton, “Authorship and Architectural Influences,” p. 9.

From the beginning, Joseph was generally considered the chief architect of the Temple. The Saints fully believed that Joseph received the structural pattern through a vision. Visitors and friends also gave him credit for the Temple plans; for example, Charlotte Haven wrote from Nauvoo in 1843 that the Temple has "its origin with Joseph Smith."¹⁵ That summer the *Burlington Gazette* reported that the rising Temple was "the conception of the prophet, General Smith."¹⁶ The editor of the *Pittsburg Gazette* reported that the Prophet told him: "I am not capacitated to build according to the world. I know nothing about architecture and all that, but it pleases me; that's the way I feel."¹⁷ In the spring of 1844 Josiah Quincy visited Nauvoo and left with the impression that the Temple was "presumably, like something Smith had seen in vision."¹⁸ About that same time Edward Stiff wrote that the Temple architecture was "the result of the fertile brain of Gen. Smith."¹⁹ A *St. Louis Gazette* reporter "learned from the lips of the Prophet himself, the style of architecture is exclusively his own."²⁰

Similar reports reached readers around the nation. In September 1844 the *Southern Literary Messenger* reported the Prophet "to have been the architect who planned the building."²¹ The *New York Sun* credited "the Mormon prophet" as being the man who was "in the blaze of this nineteenth century . . . to build a city, with new . . . orders of architecture."²² Major J. B. Newhall of Iowa was told that the Temple was "Jo Smith's order" of architecture.²³ Governor Thomas Ford of Illinois gained the impression from Mormons themselves that their temple "was commenced without any previous plan; and that the master builder, from day to day, during the progress of its erection, received directions immediately from heaven as to the plan of the building," a view expressed in early published histories of Illinois.²⁴ In 1852 Lieutenant

¹⁵*Overland Monthly* 16 (December 1890):620.

¹⁶*Burlington Gazette* quoted in *New York Tribune*, 15 July 1843, p. 3.

¹⁷*Pittsburg Gazette* quoted in *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* 40 (19 October 1843):1.

¹⁸Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past from the Leaves of Old Journals* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1896), p. 389.

¹⁹*The Prophet* (New York), 1 June 1844, p. 2.

²⁰*St. Louis Gazette* as quoted in *The Deseret News*, 30 September 1857, p. 234.

²¹*Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Vir.), September 1844, p. 536.

²²*New York Sun* quoted in *HC*, 6:3.

²³*Burlington Hawkeye* (Iowa), 12 February 1846, p. 2. (Credit is due the editor, J. Tracy Garrett, who generously gave the writer access to the old files of his paper in 1931.)

²⁴Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois from Its Commencement As a State in 1814 to 1847* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1854), p. 404; see also Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuvé, *A Complete History of Illinois from 1673 to 1873* (Springville: Illinois Journal Co., 1874), p. 516; and Grace Humphrey, *Illinois: The Story of the Prairie State* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, Co., 1917), p. 136.

J. W. Gunnison heard in Utah that the pattern for the Nauvoo Temple was given to Joseph by his angel, that all the details were explained orally, and that "a Gentile architect was employed to draft it by dictation."²⁵ Such a view found expression in public literature of later years,²⁶ and Mormon writers today still declare that "Joseph Smith witness[ed] the Nauvoo Temple before they started to lay the foundations of that beautiful building."²⁷

Evidently Joseph outlined the general type of building features desired, leaving it to William to draw up the practical plans and to have them implemented. "There is little doubt that Weeks added some decorative elements," says one student of LDS temple architecture, "but his major contribution seems to have been detailed structural renderings clarifying the [Joseph] Smith concept." Once a set of drawn plans had the Prophet's approval, William usually had full authority to proceed with the construction work without interference from officials or workmen. Temple plans remained general and fluid, no complete plans being presented at any one time.²⁸

William's skill as an architect is clearly seen in his few surviving Temple drawings, which are mostly preliminary sketches. Among these are three depictions of the Temple's exterior showing progressive changes, no doubt made at the Prophet's request. The first, illustrating Gustavus Hill's "Map of the City of Nauvoo," depicts a classical, free-standing peristyle temple dominated by a massive, square, stone Gothic tower, a triangular pediment, and engaged pilasters. The second drawing shows a change from a square to an octagonal tower of stone and wood, with the triangular pediment still there. The third drawing replaces the classical triangular pediment with a rectangular one, calls for an all-wood tower, puts half-circle windows in the pediment, and adds five-pointed star-stones and rows of small, round windows to the walls. The constructed Temple itself showed even further changes from these drawings, including square windows in the upper pediment instead of half-circle ones and altered shutters in the tower windows. Changes in Temple details, from first drawings to final building, were dramatic.

²⁵*Westminster Review* (London), January 1853, p. 214.

²⁶*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (New York), April 1853, p. 612; Ellen E. Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1855), p. 101; Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1931), p. 224.

²⁷E. Cecil McGavin, *The Nauvoo Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1953), p. 6.

²⁸Hamilton, "Authorship and Architectural Influence," p. 9.

William's surviving drawings also include pen-and-ink and pencil sketches for circular stairways, pediment star-stones, circular windows, archways, a pulpit, frameworks for the four-tiered tower and for ceilings, a facade featuring an all-seeing eye, a wall plan for stonecutters, pilaster decorations, a baptismal font, and some interior decorations and furnishings. Also surviving are designs of features for other buildings, including a projected armory and the Nauvoo House.²⁹

A ground plan must have been worked out and drafted in some detail during the latter part of 1840 so that initial preparation of the grounds could commence that fall. Joseph publicly stated in early 1841 that the Temple "is expected to be considerably larger than the one in Kirtland, and on a more magnificent scale."³⁰ The Kirtland Temple, built between 1833 and 1836, was in many ways the prototype of the Nauvoo Temple, its form and proportions being followed, though the temple at Nauvoo was on a considerably larger scale. The January 1841 revelation provided some details of design and function to be included in the new temple, such as a font for performing baptisms for the dead.³¹

Stone quarries were located and initial excavating commenced at the temple site. While quarry work proceeded slowly that winter, in February the foundation was laid out by the temple committee and digging of the cellar commenced. By March, cellar walls were started and foundation stones were being set. The walls were high enough by 6 April for a special cornerstone laying ceremony.³² William was present, he marched in the parade, and he then helped lower the first cornerstone into place.³³

Work escalated during the remainder of 1841. By July plans were drawn up for a baptismal font in the basement, and in August "President Smith approved and accepted a draft for the font, made by Brother Wm. Weeks." William worked on the font with his own hands and did initial carving on the wooden oxen supporting the wooden font, oxen "copied after the most beautiful five year old steer that could be found in the country." Their horns "were formed after the most perfect horns that could be

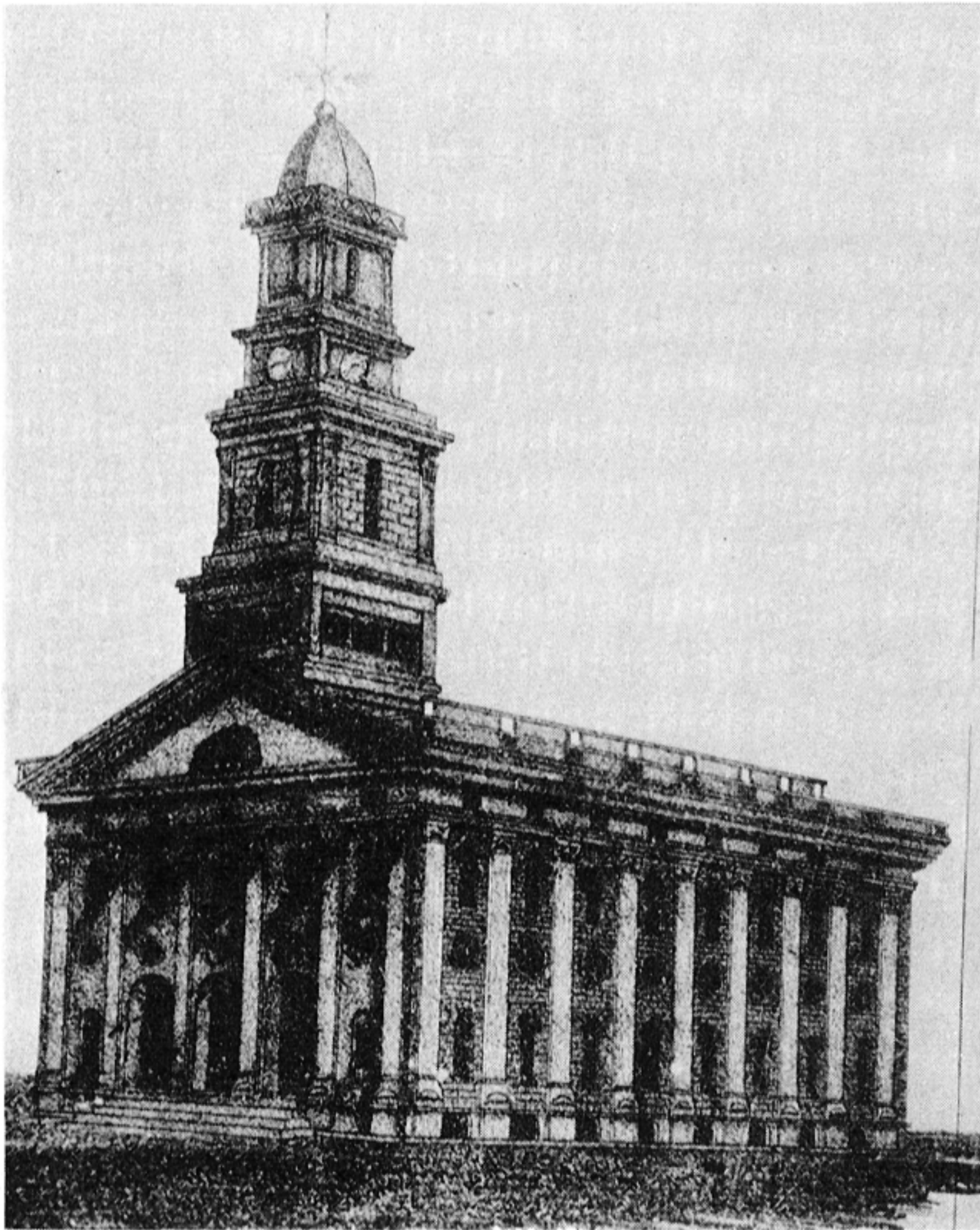
²⁹Nauvoo Temple Drawings.

³⁰*Times and Seasons* 2 (1 January 1841):259-60.

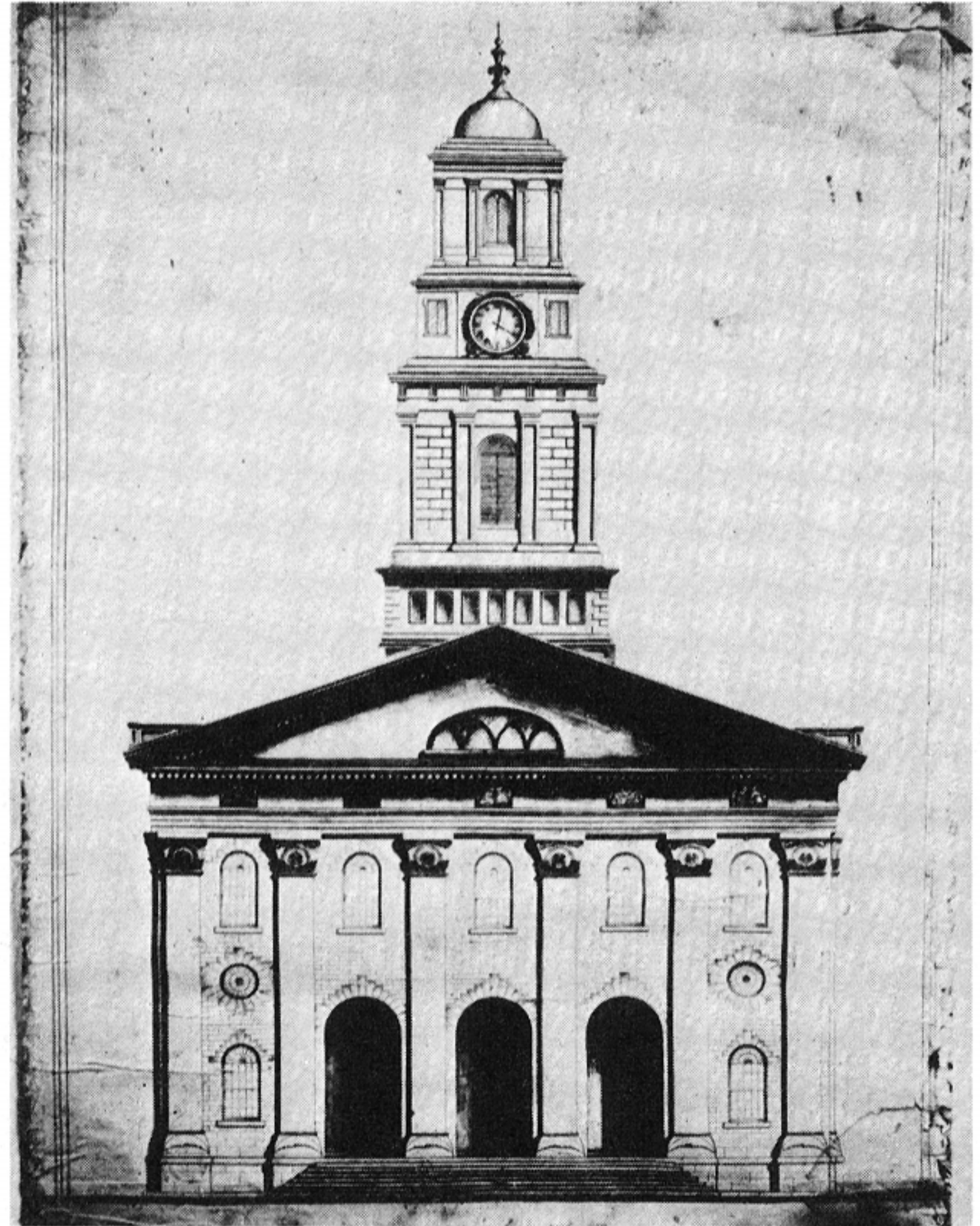
³¹D&C 124.

³²William Huntington Diaries, 1840-1841, MS, *Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries*, 17 vols., 16:12, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Andrew Jenson, *The Historical Record* 8 (June 1889):860; and Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1899), p. 22.

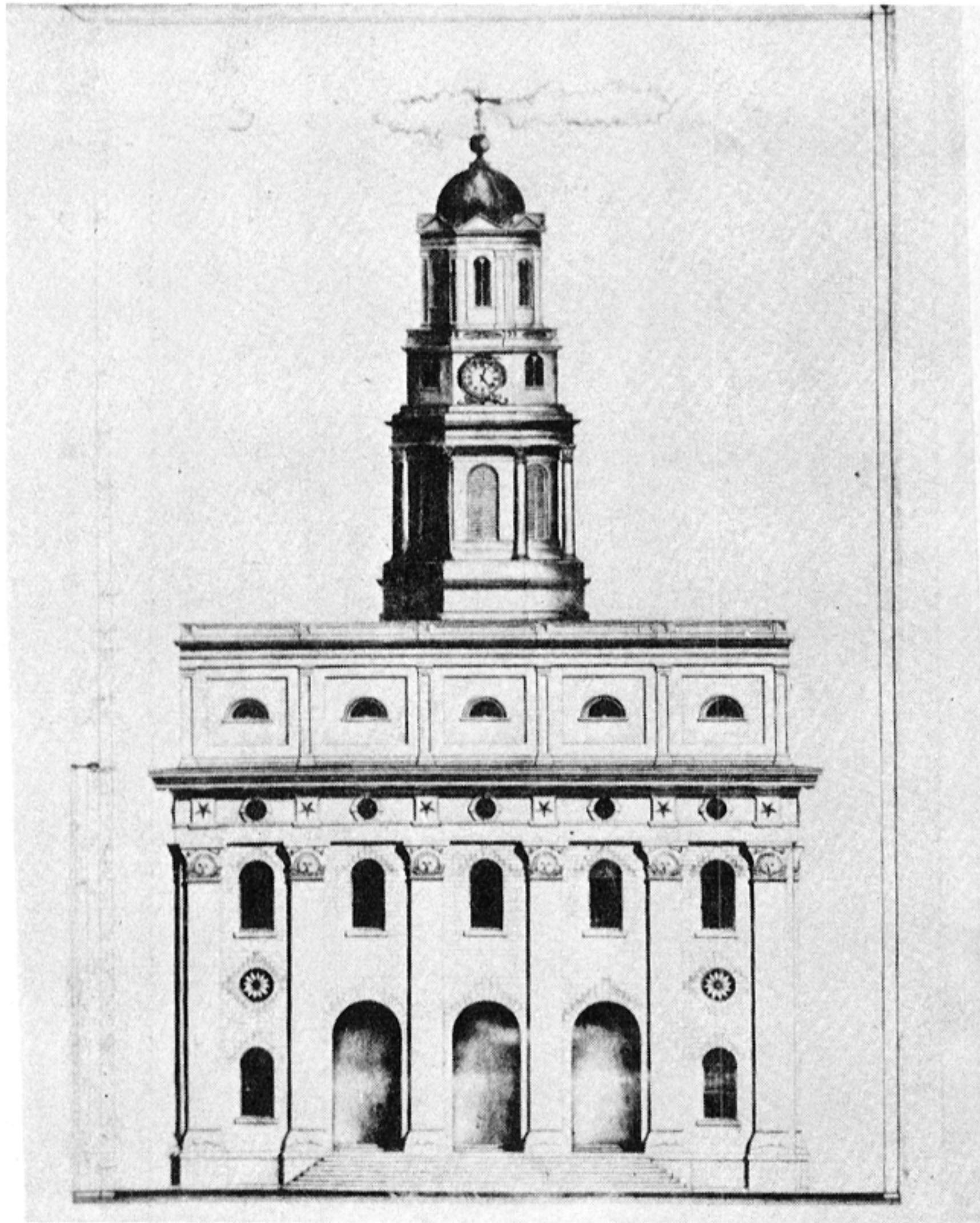
³³*Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo) 2 (15 April 1841):375-77; and HC, 4:326-31.



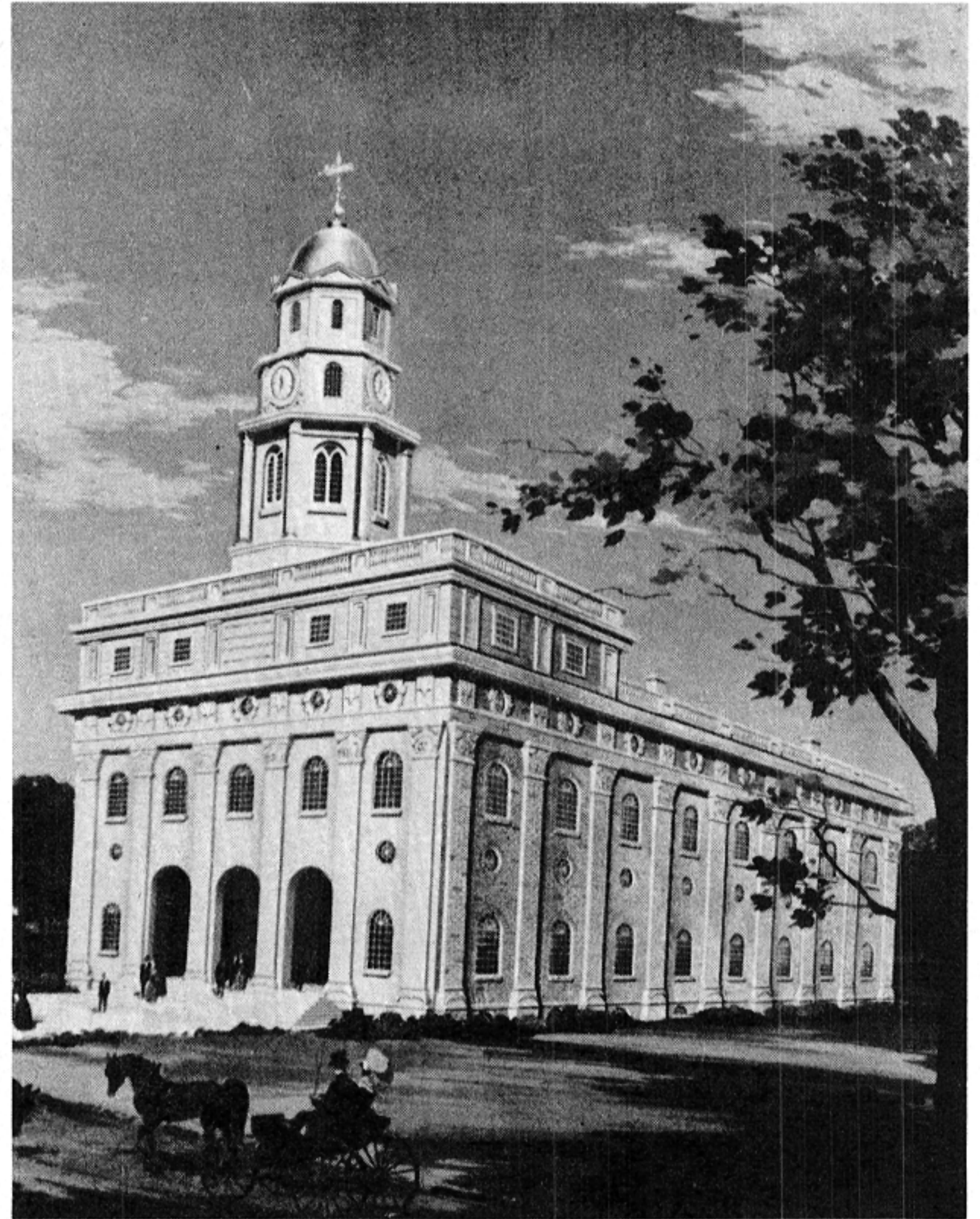
First known drawing of the Nauvoo Temple.



Second temple drawing shows change to octagonal tower.



Third temple drawing shows change to rectangular pediment.



Artist's rendering of completed Nauvoo Temple.

Courtesy of LDS Church Historical Department

procured.” Other craftsmen finished the oxen in a little over two months, and the font was dedicated on 8 November, by which time most of the basement work was finished. The Prophet judged the finished oxen to be “an excellent striking likeness of the original.” William’s first plan called for four front steps for entrance to the font, but this number was later doubled.³⁴

Temple building dominated Nauvoo’s activities for the next few years. Stakes and wards were reorganized in order to better provide laborers for the project. Building missionaries were called. Large work crews extracted stone from the quarries, cut and prepared timber in Wisconsin pineries, and hauled building materials to the temple site. The Temple walls slowly climbed heavenward during 1843 and 1844.

Joseph continued to directly supervise the temple project. One report in 1843 says that “plans for laying a temporary floor in the temple during the fall were made at the suggestions of the prophet,” and an 8 November report that year said Joseph was making plans for pulpits and examining materials for them.³⁵ At a conference concerning the Temple wall, Joseph “gave a certificate to William Weeks to carry out my designs and the architecture of the temple in Nauvoo, . . . [which stated] that no person or persons shall interfere with him or his plans in the building of the temple.”³⁶

One architectural detail, involving windows, perhaps best illustrates the working relationship between the Prophet and the architect. On 5 February 1844, instructions were given “in relation to the circular windows designed to light the offices in the dead work of the arch between stories.” William at first believed that “round windows in the broad side of a building were a violation of all the known rules of architecture, and contended that they should be semicircular—that the building was too low for round windows.” But he was overruled, for Joseph “would have the circles, if he had to make the Temple ten feet higher than it was originally calculated.” Joseph expected good effects from round windows in lighting the Temple, so his final instructions to William were that “I wish you to carry out *my* designs. I have seen in vision the splendid appearance of that building illuminated, and will have it built according to the pattern shown me.” Round

³⁴Jenson, *The Historical Record*, 8:861–62.

³⁵HC, 6:67.

³⁶Journal History of the Church, MS, 12 April 1848, Church Archives.

windows therefore were used in the structure, giving basis for the belief that the height of the building was increased over that specified in the initial plans. There was also compromise by making upper circular windows smaller than the lower ones so that they would fit satisfactorily into the metopes of the entablature.³⁷

Weeks made measured drawings for the pilasters, the chief outside wall ornament. In the natural construction of the pilaster system Joseph exercised his influence also. The stone bases, with their moon carvings, were mostly in place by January 1843. For the capital stones the plans called for a "round face and two hands, holding and blowing a trumpet, to represent the sun."³⁸ These faces were being carved by the spring of 1844. An observer noticed that "the countenance was of the negro type." When one of the stonecarvers asked President Smith, "Is this like the face you saw in vision?" he replied, "Very near it, except . . . that the nose is just a thought too broad."³⁹ But when reminded that it would be seen from a distance, he acknowledged, "Very true, it will do, it will do very well."⁴⁰

Joseph likewise had a voice in choosing the lightning rod over the steeple of the Temple and the angel supported on it. According to tradition, the Prophet rejected a lightning rod at first because "if God, who now holds the lightnings in his hands chooses to direct a thunderbolt against those solid walls and demolish the building, it is his affair."⁴¹ But he evidently changed his mind, for architect's drawings show first the lightning rod over the steeple, without the angel, and then the angel on the weather vane.

It is hard to determine when and if interior plans were drawn by the architect. Reports indicate some indecision about the matter during the troubled times for the Church in early 1844.⁴² A new idea was proposed, that there be a tabernacle for the congregation to serve more adequately one of the dual functions of the Temple. One visitor was skeptical as to whether or not the Temple would ever be finished "on the plan originally contemplated." During April another visitor learned that "the interior plan is yet

³⁷HC, 6:196-97.

³⁸*Overland Monthly* 16 (December 1840):620.

³⁹Quincy, *Figures of the Past*, p. 389.

⁴⁰Kimball, "Nauvoo Temple," p. 984.

⁴¹*Nauvoo Rustler*, 10 March 1891, p. 2. There has been some doubt that the angel ever topped the Temple spire as intended. Colvin, in "Mormon Temple at Nauvoo," however, cites witnesses who say they saw the angel in place atop the Temple.

⁴²*New York Tribune*, 3 February 1844, p. 3; *Missouri Republican*, 30 April 1844, p. 2; *New York Weekly Tribune*, 8 June 1844, pp. 7-8.

undecided upon, or rather, the Prophet has not received a revelation in regard to the interior arrangements." In June the Prophet informed others that the Temple's "interior structure and arrangement . . . had not been decided on—(he did not tell me, 'had not been revealed to him,' as he did to many others)—and indeed, he was by no means certain, he should erect the edifice externally in accordance with the plan proposed and published."⁴³

TEMPLE ARCHITECT UNDER THE TWELVE TO 1846

Within months after Joseph Smith's martyrdom in June 1844 the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles assumed leadership of the Church and into their hands passed the fate of the temple project. They, with Brigham Young as quorum president, directed that the Temple be completed as planned. While some factions protested, the great majority of the Saints continued to support the temple project under the leadership of the Twelve.

But some question arose as to whether or not the Twelve would carry out the temple plans as "envisioned" by the slain Prophet. Some later opponents to Elder Young's leadership circulated the belief that he radically changed Joseph's plans. Dr. J. F. Weld, an old citizen of Nauvoo, ventured the belief that "the plans were materially altered from the original draft, whether by revelation or not we are not informed."⁴⁴ In protest against Brigham's leadership, Joseph Smith's son and namesake later headed The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. He voiced his conviction "that after the death of Joseph Smith, the plans and specifications were altered; and that such parts as were nearly completed were not so completed in accordance with the original design," although he admitted that "of this we cannot testify, never having seen the original drawings, nor read the specifications." His statement, first made in 1872, was repeated in 1897 and 1904;⁴⁵ and the belief that Joseph's temple plans were unacceptably altered still persists among members of the RLDS Church.⁴⁶

The Twelve claimed decision-making authority and the right to receive revelations for the Church, but they did not use that

⁴³*St. Louis Gazette* as quoted in *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 12 June 1844, p. 1; and *St. Louis Gazette* as quoted in *The Deseret News*, 30 September 1857, p. 234.

⁴⁴Newton Bateman, et al., eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Hancock County*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Co., 1899), 2:861.

⁴⁵*True Latter Day Saints' Herald*, 1 January 1872, p. 18; *Journal of History* 3 (April 1910):161; *The Saints' Herald*, 17 February 1904, p. 146.

⁴⁶S. A. Burgess to author, 19 May 1932 (Mr. Burgess is a historian for the RLDS Church); Reta Latimer Halford, "Nauvoo—The City Beautiful" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1945), p. 192.

authority to radically change the temple plans. Elder Young said on 8 August 1844: "The foundation is laid by our prophet, and we will build thereon; no other foundation can be laid but that which is laid."⁴⁷ A week later the Twelve informed the general Church membership that "the city of Nauvoo and the Temple of our Lord are to continue to be built up according to the pattern which has been commenced, and which has progressed with such rapidity thus far."⁴⁸ The apostles not only stated publicly their intentions to adhere to the same plans and policies of the first prophet, but they also set in motion again the same machinery to carry them into effect. They retained the temple building committee and continued the employment of William Weeks "as architect and draughtsman."⁴⁹ Years later, in Utah, Brigham Young gave full credit for the Nauvoo Temple to "their martyred prophet, who designed the same."⁵⁰

Like Joseph Smith, Brigham Young overshadowed the architect in terms of making final architectural decisions. Some adjustment to personalities and to the unstable internal and external problems plaguing the Church led to some difficulties among the temple planners.⁵¹ In October 1844, Brigham met with "Brother Weeks, the architect, at the temple office," to explain William's relationship to the building committee "in order to avoid some difficulties." Another such meeting occurred 2 December. In December the Twelve agreed "to employ fifteen persons steadily as carpenters and that the architect be authorized to select such men as he has confidence in—Men who are well qualified to do the work that is wanted." That season William and his master workmen were "constantly at hand to direct the operations" and to exhibit and explain the building to special visitors.⁵² Also about this time Brigham publicly complimented William Weeks, stating that the pilaster ornament, then nearing completion, was "an evidence of great skill in the architect and ingenuity in the stonecutters."

Plans called for completing the exterior wall work during the spring of 1845, including the circular windows on both mezzanine floors, windows about whose design Joseph Smith had been so adamant. On 8 February a letter published in *The Prophet* stated:

⁴⁷HC, 7:240–41.

⁴⁸HC, 7:250.

⁴⁹An extract from William Clayton's Journal in Journal History, 31 December 1844, p. 12.

⁵⁰*The Deseret News*, 21 August 1852, p. 4.

⁵¹Journal History, 28 October, and 2, 5, 16 December 1844; *New York Express*, 7 November 1844, p. 2.

⁵²*The Prophet*, 30 November 1844, p. 3.

"The Architect considers that all the stone will be cut and finished within six weeks."⁵³ A month later William again met in council with Elder Young and others, when plans for a font drain and "a wall on the south side of the Temple block" were discussed.⁵⁴ In mid-May Brigham Young "wrote a letter to the architect, directing him to place a stone in the west end (front) of the Temple with the inscription 'Holiness to the Lord' thereon."⁵⁵ A week later William took part in the capstone ceremonies.⁵⁶

The previous December William had organized some carpenters and directed them in constructing the roof enclosure and interior work.⁵⁷ William's third temple plan, calling for a row of semicircular windows for the rectangular pediment, was overruled in favor of rectangular windows.⁵⁸ While William's name appears infrequently during the busy months of 1845, he is mentioned as a guide for prominent people touring the Temple in August,⁵⁹ and in October he attended a musical concert given in his honor in Nauvoo.⁶⁰

His duties remaining heavy during 1845, he organized and assisted stonecarvers in sculpting ornamental stonework for the interior, including the stone baptistry that Elder Young had requested to replace the wooden sculpture. On 6 June 1845 William met with the Twelve to discuss the work of replacing the wooden baptistry with a stone one. This idea generated rumors that the Twelve were departing from Joseph's ideas. In July, Brigham Young explained

that Brother Joseph did not tell them all things at once, consequently you may expect to hear and see many things you never thought of before. One thing is that we have taken down the wooden fount that was built up by the instructions of Brother Joseph. This has been a great wonder to some, and says one of the stonecutters the other day, "I wonder why Joseph did not tell us the fount should be built of stone." The man that made that speech is walking in darkness. He is a stranger to the spirit of this work, and knows nothing.⁶¹

Then the new leader revealed for the satisfaction of the Saints that "Brother Joseph said to me with regard to the fount, . . . 'we

⁵³Heber C. Kimball to William Smith in *The Prophet*, 8 February 1845, p. 2.

⁵⁴HC, 7:383.

⁵⁵HC, 7:411.

⁵⁶Jenson, *The Historical Record*, 8:869-70.

⁵⁷Journal History, 16 December 1844, p. 1.

⁵⁸Excerpt from Heber C. Kimball's Journal in Journal History, 6 June 1845, p. 1.

⁵⁹*New York Herald*, 6 September 1846, p. 1.

⁶⁰*The Contributor* 1 (June 1880):196.

⁶¹*Times and Seasons* 6 (1 July 1845):956.

will build a wooden fount to serve the present necessity.'” Brigham, himself a carpenter, wanted a stone font “that will not stink and keep us all the while cleansing it out,” one with an inviting pool for the sacred baptismal rites. Using hyperbole, he reminded the Saints that “This fount has caused the Gentile world to wonder, but a sight of the next one will make a Gentile faint away.”⁶²

Elder Young instructed William concerning the new font, to be patterned after the old wooden baptistry, though fashioned from stone. William had considerable part in making the new creation, according to a favorite family tradition. F. M. Weeks heard his uncle William relate how the baptistry plans called for

twelve life-sized oxen made out of solid stone; they were to stand in a circle, their heads outward, their hind parts together. On top of their backs was to be a large solid stone bowl for baptismal purposes. He said they advertised for stonecutters. Some of the best in America came. They said no one could cut those oxen out; he told them it could be done. So he took a chisel and a mallet and cut one out just to show them it could be done, and yet he was not a stonecutter.⁶³

William’s daughter Caroline recalled hearing that as the work proceeded, “The stone masons could not form the eyes of the oxen, so father borrowed their tools and formed the eyes himself.”⁶⁴ However, she and F. M. Weeks might be confusing the stone baptistry project with the wooden one.

Disturbed conditions plaguing the Church made it necessary that work schedules for finishing and furnishing the interior be flexible, especially schedules for the rooms needed for giving the endowment. Earlier, in 1842, there had been suggestions that “the upper story of the Temple will, when finished,”⁶⁵ be used for the ritual purposes. But at the beginning of 1845 Brigham Young decided that “upon each side of the font there will be a suite of rooms fitted up for the washings” and also “in the recesses, on each side of the arch, on the first story.”⁶⁶ Later that year Brigham set the objective of “getting on the roof and finishing some rooms”⁶⁷ for the rites, and by December the attic hall and side

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³F. M. Weeks to author, 7 March 1932.

⁶⁴C. F. Griffin to author, 25 April 1932; Griffin, “Life History of William Weeks,” p. 1.

⁶⁵John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints; or, An Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842), p. 191.

⁶⁶*Times and Seasons* 6 (15 January 1845):779.

⁶⁷History of Brigham Young, MS, 17 April 1854, p. 56, Church Archives.

rooms had been prepared and furnished to accommodate the priesthood officials as they engaged in giving the endowment.⁶⁸

Visitors in mid-1845 thought it would be a long time before the Temple "is finished in the style contemplated."⁶⁹ Pressures to rush completion of the edifice led to the appointment of a builder named Enoch Reese to help supervise work on the Temple,⁷⁰ either because leaders felt William was not moving the project along fast enough or because William needed assistance due to his own increased work load.

In April 1843 Architect Lucien Woodworth was asked to help provide the Twelve with a draft of the exterior and interior of the Nauvoo House.⁷¹ However, Lucien Woodworth had failed to comply, and the Twelve turned to William Weeks for help. On 9 August 1845, George A. Smith noted that "the trustees of the Nauvoo House, in company with Brother William Weeks, architect, went to the foundation of the Nauvoo House and took a measurement for the plan. Mr. Lucien Woodworth seemed offended, although he had been repeatedly requested to take the plan, but had failed to do it." Brigham Young then proposed a meeting to "inquire into the matter." Nauvoo House trustees finally agreed "to hire William Weeks to draw plans and we would pay him for it." George A. Smith went "to the foundation of the Nauvoo House and assisted William Weeks in taking further observations concerning the building."⁷²

But Brothers Woodworth and Weeks had been wedged apart, so Elder Young called another meeting to "adjust the difficulties" between the architects. The presiding apostle there decided that William "should assist Lucien Woodworth in drawing the plans, as the trustees of the Nauvoo House did not consider Mr. Woodworth competent." The solution was no solution, for on 12 August Brother Woodworth "stated to Bishop George Miller and Mr. Weeks, that he would have nothing to do with the Nauvoo House unless he could have control of all things pertaining to the building." His statement, put into writing, was taken up and considered in official councils where it was "agreed to tell Mr. Woodworth that we could dispense with his services." William then be-

⁶⁸*Times and Seasons* 6 (1 December 1845):1050.

⁶⁹*St. Louis Reveille* 2 (14 July 1845):419.

⁷⁰Miller, *Westward Migration of the Mormons*, p. 308.

⁷¹HC, 5:369-70.

⁷²History of George A. Smith, MS, 9-12 August, 1845, Church Archives.

came architect for the Nauvoo House in addition to his temple assignment.⁷³

Early in 1846 William's architectural services terminated when he was called to join in the mass exodus of Saints leaving Nauvoo. Responsibility "to bring out the design and finishing of the Lower Hall" of the Temple was shifted to the shoulders of Truman O. Angell,⁷⁴ an assignment which Elder Angell said "was fully in my charge from then on to its completion." He previously had worked closely with the architect and knew the temple plans: his journal shows he was "appointed superintendent of joiner work under William Weeks." As he later recalled, "God gave me wisdom to carry out the architect's designs, which gave me the good will of the brethren."⁷⁵ William's personal reactions to his release and replacement are not known. On 13 February 1846 he did sign a note by which he officially appointed "Truman Angel to be my successor as superintendant over the finishing of the Temple & Nauvoo House in the City of Joseph according to the plans and design given by me to him." Brigham Young also signed the certificate.⁷⁶

UNFULFILLED PROMISE AS ARCHITECT

Before departing the city he had worked so hard to help build, William obtained a blessing from the Patriarch for the Church, John Smith. The blessing was full of promise for the thirty-three-year-old architect concerning his potential role in the then-uprooted Church:

Thine eyes shall be enlightened to behold the things of God, to discern the order of building cities, temples, and buildings of all kinds, after the order which God hath appointed that Zion should be adorned and ornamented in the last days. Thy name shall be known to the nations of the earth for thy skill and wisdom . . . learning, knowledge of architecture, and all useful arts and sciences.⁷⁷

Departing wintry Nauvoo in February 1846, Williams Weeks and his family were part of the first Iowa encampment and traveled near the front of the westward migration. Brigham Young

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Kate B. Carter, ed., *Heart Throbs of the West* 3 (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1939):67. Wendell Ashton, *Theirs Is the Kingdom* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), p. 61.

⁷⁵Autobiography of Truman O. Angell, MS, pp. 8-9, Church Archives.

⁷⁶Certificate, 13 February 1845, Truman O. Angell Correspondence, Johnson Family Collection, Church Archives.

⁷⁷Patriarchal Blessing Records, 9:564; Earl E. Olson to author, 29 March 1950; permission to quote from private family blessing was given by the Church Historian, Joseph Fielding Smith.

evidently wanted William in the vanguard so that the architect could commence plans for another temple as soon as they reached a permanent home. President Young's concern for William extended to his acting as William's adopted parent.⁷⁸

During the trek William's services were needed frequently. In September 1846, for example, the Twelve met in council with both him and Frederick Kesler to work out plans for a flour mill. They learned "that a good mill with water power, which would grind at the rate of a barrel of flour per hour, could be built for \$800; a horse mill could be built for \$500."⁷⁹ They then appointed William and Brother Kesler to build a water-powered mill, promising them every possible means needed. Near the end of 1846 the camp was getting its grain ground at "Weeks' mill."⁸⁰ William also contracted a flour mill for the Pottawatomie Indians that year. William and his family stayed at Winter Quarters that winter where he became a father again on 28 January 1847.

Two weeks later, according to one report, the Weeks and Kesler mill was in partial operation.⁸¹ Ten days later these two men (among others) were selected by the camp to build a rawhide boat for service on rivers in the West.⁸² In April, William was among Brigham Young's close associates who met to help organize the pioneering of the Rocky Mountains. Plans called for leaving some families behind "to plant and raise a crop and fit themselves out to come next season." But, counselled Brigham Young:

I want Bro. Wm. Weeks and F. Kesler to come on this season. Their families are smawl and they can take 15 months provisions and come on. Just as soon as I find the spot I want Bro. Wm. Weeks to dig deep and lay the foundation of the Temple for I intend by the help of my brethren to build a Temple unto the Lord just as soon as the Saints by a united exertion can complete it.⁸³

Accordingly, William and family were among the 1847 pioneers, entering the Salt Lake Valley in September in the Jedediah M. Grant Company. But despite promises given in his patriarchal blessing, and despite Brigham Young's expressed intention to have

⁷⁸Hamilton, "Authorship and Architectural Influences," p. 70; Ashton, *Theirs Is the Kingdom*, p. 61; *William Clayton Journal*, p. 52; *Journal History*, 4 July 1846, p. 1.

⁷⁹History of Brigham Young, 22 September 1846.

⁸⁰*Journal History*, 31 December 1846, p. 2.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 12 February 1847, p. 1.

⁸²Charles Kelly, ed., *Journals of John D. Lee, 1846-47 and 1859* (Salt Lake City: Western Printing Co., 1938), p. 101.

⁸³*Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

William build a Utah temple, the architect became openly disaffected with the Church during his first weeks in the Valley, if not sooner. Causes of his alienation are not known, although a nephew believed William left the Church because "he did not believe in polygamy." Perhaps the death of still another child in April 1847 at Council Bluffs—he and Caroline had buried five of their six children by then—blunted his taste for pioneering.⁸⁴

The first account of trouble came on 6 October 1847, when John Young, of the Salt Lake City High Council, reported "that William Weeks, Hazen Kimball, (A. W.) Babcock and Archibald Gardner have gone north with their families and were not considered by himself and President John Smith to be in good faith." Steps were taken to bring them back. After visiting them, the city marshal "reported that Brother Weeks and company said they would return and that all of them had made use of harsh remarks, 'did not like so much bondage, etc.'"⁸⁵ But when the dissidents had not returned a week later, the council sent the following report to Brigham Young, then on his way to Winter Quarters: "We take this opportunity to inform you that Brother William Weeks" and three other men

... with their families and teams started for Goodyear's without our knowledge or consent. As soon as we learned this fact we wrote them a brief letter, requesting them to return to this place immediately and dispatched it by Brother John Van Cott, our marshal, who delivered the same and they pledged themselves to return as soon as possible; their time is not yet out and we expect them shortly. Their minds are somewhat embittered and we shall do all we can to save them.⁸⁶

A ten-day wait brought no results, so on 24 October "John Van Cott was instructed to take nine men and bring in Weeks and company." Finally on 3 November the marshal reported that "Weeks and Kimball were encamped nearby." Rejoining the main settlement, the Weeks family wintered among the Saints.⁸⁷

But early in 1848 they left for the East. On 21 June John Smith wrote to President Young that "William Weeks, William Fields, Brother Sears and families have left the valley without consent to return to the states."⁸⁸ President Young, then traveling

⁸⁴J. M. Weeks, "Obituary of William Weeks."

⁸⁵Journal History, 6, 11, 13 October 1847.

⁸⁶Ibid., 14, 24 October 1847.

⁸⁷Ibid., 3 November 1847, p. 1.

⁸⁸Ibid., 21 June 1848, p. 3.

west, just missed meeting William,⁸⁹ as Thomas Bullock reported, near Ash Hollow, Wyoming:

On the opposite side of the river James, Field, Sears, Strodham, and Waters from the valley, with Mr. Rashian, an Indian trader, were camped. The four brethren were going back with their families to get a fit-out for the Pacific. . . . William Weeks had run away from Ash Hollow two days ago; he was afraid to see Brigham. In the conversation that ensued President Young told Field to tell Weeks, when he saw him, that he should have no peace of mind until he came to the valley and made restitution for the wickedness he had committed.⁹⁰

It was reported to John D. Lee that "fear Seased hold of Wm. Weeks, from the fact that he had made way with Team & a waggon that had been left in his care by Pres. B.Y."⁹¹

On 8 July Brigham Young sent a message to William "that the Saints could build a temple without his assistance, although he [Weeks] said they could not." At the October general conference of the Church that year, William and his wife Caroline were excommunicated from the Church. With him William took the original plans and records of the Nauvoo Temple, which the Church did not regain until the middle of this century. No doubt William's sudden departure contributed to the postponement for five years of the beginning of the Salt Lake Temple.⁹²

William and his family spent five years in the Midwest. Another child was born in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, in May 1849. Probably William visited his brother Arwin in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. The Weeks lived for a time in Marion, Linn County, Iowa, where a child died in April 1852. The family then returned to Utah. Nauvoo expert T. Edgar Lyon indicates that William had attended Church meetings in Wisconsin and had returned to Utah repentant and rebaptized.⁹³

By November 1852, William was working on a sugar mill and a chapel in Provo. Caroline bore another child in February 1853 in Provo, but he died that December in Salt Lake City. A daughter, born in Salt Lake City in 1855, said that she had been christened

⁸⁹History of Brigham Young, 20 July 1848.

⁹⁰Thomas E. Bullock's "Camp Journal" as excerpted in *Journal History*, 8 July 1848, p. 1.

⁹¹Robert G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, 2 vols. (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1955), 1:53.

⁹²Hamilton, "Authorship and Architectural Influences," p. 113.

⁹³*Ibid.*

in the Mormon Church in Utah. The recollection of one of William's sons that William did not return to Utah "for the purpose of joining the Church" therefore is apparently erroneous.⁹⁴

Believing as he did that the Church would need his temple building experiences after all, perhaps it was no accident that William was back in Utah in time for the Salt Lake Temple groundbreaking in 1853. However, though he remained in Utah for a few more years, his skills were not utilized. Truman O. Angell, named Church Architect in 1850, supervised the project. If William were disappointed at having no role in building the Temple, his regrets were not passed on to his family; at least his daughter Caroline was not aware of such a frustrated ambition in her father.⁹⁵

Caroline did recall hearing her father say that he "built a water wheel for Brigham Young's grist mill" in Salt Lake City, but she didn't indicate whether it was during William's first or second stay in Utah. She understood that "the builder of the mill could not build the wheel so it would not wallow in the water race. Father built the wheel so it would not wallow but sweep the race clean."⁹⁶

The family was in San Bernardino in 1857, possibly as settlers sent there by the Church. But when President Young called the Saints to return to Utah because of the prospect of a war, William stayed behind, remaining a California resident until his death. There is no record that he continued any affiliation with the LDS Church from then on, and his children evidently were not Mormons. Initially he worked in California as a carpenter; among other projects, he helped a Mr. Temple manage a gristmill at El Monte. But when the San Gabriel River rampaged and ruined the mill, William's building career seems to have ended.⁹⁷

He "bought cows and went into the dairy business," living in El Monte a total of ten years. From two Los Angeles grocers, Caxwell and Willis, he then bought 160 acres upon which the family established their "new home, which was in the vicinity now called Hollywood." Later he traded that acreage for a ranch at Green Meadow, about six miles from Los Angeles. There the family "was living on a farm in the edge of the city" in 1883 when William

⁹⁴William Weeks to Frederick Kesler, 29 November 1852, Western Americana, Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah; C. W. Weeks to author, 3 July 1931.

⁹⁵C. F. Griffin to author, 13 June 1932.

⁹⁶Griffin, "Life of William Weeks," pp. 1-2.

⁹⁷Ibid.; Hamilton, "Authorship and Architectural Influences," p. 113; C. W. Weeks to author, 3 July 1931.

had a chance reunion with his brother Samuel and family in a Los Angeles post office. When William and Caroline became too old to run the dairy, they rented the ranch and built a house at the Palms in Los Angeles County. This house was later traded for another home in the city of Los Angeles, where William lived until his death on 8 March 1900.⁹⁸

A nephew described the elderly William as being "a small man about five feet tall, wore whiskers under his chin which were white with age; had a large nose, gray eyes, of course his hair was white." A man of intelligence and ability, according to the family, he was also "a good provider in every way."⁹⁹ A daughter noted that

he was rather stern and seldom joked. We children were taught to mind and to help with whatever was to be done. He was "Father" and mother was "Mother." They lived together many years and celebrated their golden wedding. Father and Mother were fifty-fifty in everything.¹⁰⁰

Despite his separation from Mormonism, William remained "a great admirer of Joseph Smith."¹⁰¹ Daughter Caroline stated definitely that William "never returned to the Quaker Church. . . . Father always believed in Joseph Smith's church. They are called the Latter-day-Saints."¹⁰² She may have meant the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, organized in 1860 with Joseph Smith III at its head. RLDS records show that a William Weeks "joined the reorganization in its early days" but "was not prominent in church history." However, it is uncertain if this person were the same one as the Nauvoo architect.¹⁰³

As an architect, William worked on many projects in addition to the Nauvoo Temple. We do not know what specific buildings he designed and constructed prior to 1840, but he was definitely an experienced, capable builder by then. Besides the temple project at Nauvoo, he assisted with the architectural drawings for the Nauvoo House in 1845 and for an arsenal for the Nauvoo Legion.¹⁰⁴ A cherished family possession is "a drawing of a Masonic Hall, father's work," which the family describes as "Beautiful."¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸Griffin, "Life of William Weeks," pp. 1-2; F. M. Weeks to author, 17 March 1932.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Griffin, "Life of William Weeks," pp. 1-3.

¹⁰¹C. W. Weeks to author, 3 July 1931.

¹⁰²C. F. Griffin to author, 13 June 1932.

¹⁰³S. A. Burgess to author, 19 May 1931.

¹⁰⁴Because the Nauvoo Legion disbanded in 1845, the building originally planned as its arsenal had to be used for another purpose upon completion.

¹⁰⁵C. F. Griffin to author, 17 April and 13 June 1932.

William was a Freemason for a time. Probably the drawing depicts the Nauvoo Masonic Temple, built at the same time the Nauvoo Temple was being erected. It still stands but has been modified so extensively that comparisons between it and William's plans are inconclusive. One report, unconfirmed, claims that the "first model of the [Nauvoo] map was drawn by William Weeks" in 1842.¹⁰⁶ Two years later *The Nauvoo Neighbor* carried an advertisement for "Weeks' patent Bee-Hive" for sale in the city, perhaps another creation of the Temple architect.¹⁰⁷

William's building career in the Far West during his later life never came close to equaling his earlier work in the Middle West. His role as architect in planning and erecting the Nauvoo Temple during his six years in Nauvoo proved to be his greatest achievement and the one for which he was credited and honored all the rest of his life by those who knew him. He regarded the Nauvoo edifice as his masterpiece; he took pride in displaying it while in Nauvoo, in discussing it with Mormons after the exodus, and in exhibiting his Temple drawings to friends and visitors in later years until his death in 1900.

His relatives have felt similar pride. In writing William's obituary, a nephew credited his uncle with being "the architect who planned the great Mormon temple at Nauvoo, Illinois, and superintended the construction of it."¹⁰⁸ William's brother Arwin, a builder all his life, "often mentioned his brother William of whose ability as an architect he was very proud."¹⁰⁹

But William's architectural potential was never fully realized. He might have built many Mormon temples after the Nauvoo one had he not left the Church. Truman O. Angell, who succeeded him as Church Temple Architect and who designed the first Utah temples, wrote that "I was chosen architect for the Church, the former architect, William Weeks, having deserted and left for the east; thereby taking himself from the duties of the said office."¹¹⁰ William's patriarchal blessing failed fulfillment by his own choice.

¹⁰⁶Hamilton in "Authorship and Architectural Influences" (p. 64) says William Weeks was architect of the Nauvoo Lodge.

¹⁰⁷*Nauvoo Neighbor* 1 (6 March 1844):3.

¹⁰⁸J. M. Weeks, "Obituary of William Weeks."

¹⁰⁹C. W. Weeks to author, 10 June 1931.

¹¹⁰Carter, ed., *Heart Throbs of the West*, 3:68; a discussion of Truman Angell's career can be found in Ashton, *Theirs Is the Kingdom*, pp. 64-125.



Daguerreotype of Nauvoo Temple ca. 1846.

Courtesy of LDS Church Historical Department

The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and the Council Chamber

Lisle G Brown

In the spring of 1831 "about two hundred men, women and children," all Latter-day Saints, left western New York and moved to northeastern Ohio.¹ These New York Mormons left their homes in response to Joseph Smith's revelations, in which the Lord promised them that if they moved to Ohio He would endow them with power from on high.² In 1834 another revelation called for the Ohio Saints to build a house of the Lord, "in which house," the Lord revealed, "I design to endow those whom I have chosen with power from on high."³ This irresistible promise of an endowment motivated the Saints to build the temple at Kirtland, Ohio. There Joseph Smith introduced the Church's first sacerdotal ordinances of washings and anointings. A pentecostal outpouring of the Lord's spirit accompanied the administration of these rites, which the Prophet called "an endowment indeed."⁴ In addition, temples were planned for the central gathering places of the Saints at Independence and Far West, Missouri. And so it was at Nauvoo.

In August 1840 the First Presidency called upon the Church to erect a temple at Nauvoo. The membership formally sustained this proposal during the October 1840 general conference.⁵ In its 15 January 1841 issue, the *Times and Seasons* reported that the Temple was under construction. During the same month Joseph Smith received a revelation containing the Lord's approval of the

Lisle G Brown is curator of Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, West Virginia. Acknowledgment is made to Andrew H. Ehat, research historian for the Religious Studies Center, for his valuable help and contribution.

¹*Painsville Telegraph*, 17 May 1831.

²The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921), 37:1, 3; 38:32; hereafter cited as D&C.

³D&C 94:1-8; cf. 95:8-9.

⁴Joseph Smith, Jr., *The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1932-1951), 2:433; hereafter cited as HC.

⁵HC, 4:186, 205.

Saints' labors. The revelation stated that the ordinances administered in the Nauvoo Temple would surpass those of the Kirtland Temple.⁶

During the building of the Temple Joseph Smith introduced the ordinances for which the building was designed. To the Prophet's contemporaries his motives were inspired. Orson Hyde represented him as saying, "I don't know what it is, but the Lord bids me to hasten, and give you your endowments before the temple is finished."⁷ John Taylor claimed the Prophet felt that if anything happened to him he would have completed his mission only if he had conferred on others the keys he held.⁸ Parley P. Pratt said that Joseph Smith did not know why he was constrained to hasten his preparations for giving "all the ordinances," and yet an oblique statement by the Prophet indicated that he may have had a premonition of his death.⁹ In April 1842 he "spoke of delivering the keys of the Priesthood to the Church . . . [so] that the Saints whose integrity has been tried and proved faithful, might know how to ask the Lord and receive an answer; for according to his prayers God had appointed him elsewhere."¹⁰ If Joseph felt in 1842 that God had actually "appointed him elsewhere," then Joseph Smith's administration of temple ordinances outside a temple during the next two years becomes understandable.

Although on one occasion Joseph Smith stated that in the days of poverty the Saints could obtain their endowments on a mountain, there were no mountains in the vicinity of Nauvoo. Moreover, the surrounding prairie offered insufficient privacy for the administration of temple ordinances. Privacy was required because the Prophet would be revealing things which had been kept hid from before the foundation of the world.¹¹ Apparently the one place where he felt he had enough control of access to insure the

⁶D&C 124:28. The Kirtland Temple ordinances of washing and anointing became initiatory rites to ceremonies introduced by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. These new ordinances included proxy baptisms for the dead, further washings and anointings, promises of blessings and power in the next life, the complete endowment, sealing ordinances for marriage and the family, and ceremonies confirming the fulness of the priesthood.

⁷*Times and Seasons*, 15 September 1844, p. 651.

⁸*Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: Latter Day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-1886), 25:183.

⁹*Times and Seasons*, 15 September 1844, p. 651.

¹⁰HC, 4:604.

¹¹HC, 4:608.

required privacy was in his own store, which stood at the intersections of Water and Granger streets.¹²

Joseph Smith built the store during 1841 and opened it for business on 5 January 1842.¹³ The building, measuring approximately forty-four feet by twenty-five feet, was a two-story, red-brick structure with a full basement. The first floor consisted of a large mercantile area with shelves and counters for the display of merchandise. Recent archaeological investigations indicate that this room was painted red throughout—floors, walls, and ceiling.¹⁴ At the rear of this red room was a door leading to a hallway which terminated at an outside rear door. On the right of the hallway was a small counting room. On the left was a stairway to the second floor. The stairway ended on a landing opposite a door which opened into Joseph Smith's small private office with its window overlooking the Mississippi River.¹⁵

The rest of the second floor consisted of one large room, probably corresponding in size to the room below. This upper room was painted white and had three large windows overlooking Water Street. At first designed for surplus stock, it soon became a special meeting hall. Various ecclesiastical functions, such as the organization of the Nauvoo Relief Society and numerous priesthood councils, were held in the room. It was also used for secular activities, including municipal meetings, school classes, theatrical presentations, debates, lectures, staff meetings of the Nauvoo Legion, and Masonic degree work.¹⁶ The room went by a variety of names, including the following: the Prophet's general business office, the Lodge Room of the Nauvoo Masons, the Council Chamber for priesthood and municipal bodies, and generally as the As-

¹²It was not uncommon during the early period of the Church for temple ordinances to be administered in places other than temples. Such places included private homes, as in Nauvoo; the Council House in Salt Lake City, Utah; tithing offices; meetinghouses; Ensign Peak north of Salt Lake City; and the Endowment House on Temple Square. On an official list of non-temple locations for temple ordinances is "O. Hyde's Office," which may refer to the so-called Endowment House in Spring City, Utah (Allen Roberts, "The 'Other' Endowment House," *Sunstone* 3 [July-August, 1978]:9-10).

¹³HC, 4:491. In later years the store fell into disrepair, and in 1890 it was razed. The bricks were used in building the Hudson Brothers Meat Market on Mulholland Street. According to T. Edgar Lyon of Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, some of the bricks were used in the Nauvoo Room in the Nauvoo Hotel. (Robert T. Bray, *Archaeological Investigations at the Joseph Smith Red Brick Store, Nauvoo, Illinois* [Columbia: University of Missouri, 1973], pp. 33-35.) The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has undertaken the store's reconstruction with completion planned during 1979.

¹⁴Bray, *Red Brick Store*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁵HC, 4:491; Bray, *Red Brick Store*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁶Bray, *Red Brick Store*, pp. 8-9; David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974), pp. 84-85.

sembly Room.¹⁷ Because of the variety of gatherings held in the room, it is perhaps most appropriate to refer to it as the Assembly Room.

On 3 May 1842 Joseph Smith began to prepare the Assembly Room for the introduction of temple ceremonies. Five or six men assisted him. Lucius N. Scovil, one of the men, later recalled that the Prophet "told us that the object he had was for us to go to work and fit up that room preparatory to giving endowments to a few Elders."¹⁸ Another man who helped the Prophet was James H. Rollins: "The Prophet told me to assist in carrying water and other commodities to the room above the store. Afterwards I found out it was to give endowments to some of the brethren."¹⁹ According to Brigham Young, the room was not well suited for the purpose, for Joseph Smith had to divide "up the room the best he could."²⁰ Although it "was arranged representing the interior of a temple as much as the circumstances would permit," the Prophet told Brigham Young that it was "not arranged right but we have done the best we could under the circumstances."²¹ The completed arrangements provided for washings and anointings to be given in the Prophet's private office and the endowment in the Assembly Room.²²

By the forenoon of 4 May the men finished the room. During the rest of the day Joseph Smith initiated a number of brethren into the ordinances. By the time of his death Joseph had given

¹⁷HC, 5:119.

¹⁸*Deseret News, Semi-Weekly*, 15 February 1884, p. 2.

¹⁹"John Henry Rollins," as quoted in Hyrum L. and Helen Mae Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974), p. 77.

²⁰L. John Nuttall 1876-1877 Diary, 7 February 1877, 2:18, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

²¹*Deseret News, Semi-Weekly*, 15 February 1884, p. 2; Nuttall 1876-1877 Diary, 7 February 1877. The Assembly Room in the Prophet's store was the best place to perform the ordinances. The Lord had revealed to Joseph Smith that such sacred ordinances must be performed in an upper room, and the Assembly Room in the red brick store was the only such place in Nauvoo at that time where a congregation could assemble in privacy. (HC, 7:364; Miscellaneous Minutes Collection, Minutes of 26 January Meeting, holograph copy, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Hereafter cited as Church Archives.)

²²The departments refer to the various ordinance rooms (Creation Room, Garden Room, World Room, etc.) in which temple ordinances are administered. For a detailed description of such rooms, see James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1968), pp. 152-68, 200-15.

There is an interesting, albeit speculative, relationship between the prepared Assembly Room and later Mormon temples. John C. Bennett published a description of the Assembly Room as he purported it was prepared for temple work: "The lodge room is carefully prepared and consecrated; and from twelve to twenty-four sprigs of cassia, or olive branches, cedar boughs, or other evergreens are tastefully arranged about it." (*The History of the Saints; or, an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism* [Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842], p. 275.) This account may not be completely reliable, but it is interesting that the pastoral nature of Bennett's description resembles the Garden Room of later temples, particularly the Nauvoo and Salt Lake temples, both of which had a "conservatory of living plants" (Talmage, *House of the Lord*, p. 157). Moreover, there is also archaeological evidence of a

endowments to over sixty individuals, both men and women.²³ During this period the Prophet also used other places than the Assembly Room for the administration of temple ordinances, including the Homestead (his first residence in Nauvoo) and the second floor room in the southeast corner of the Mansion House. A number of ordinances were also given in the home of Brigham Young.²⁴

Between the death of Joseph Smith in June 1844 and the opening of the Nauvoo Temple for ordinances in December 1845, about fifteen persons received their endowments at the hands of the Twelve.²⁵ During the months after the Martyrdom, those who had been endowed ceased using the Assembly Room, probably at the request of Emma Smith, whose estrangement from the Twelve most likely resulted in her disassociation from the group.²⁶ Instead, these post-Martyrdom temple ordinances were given in the homes or business establishments of endowed members such as Brigham Young, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, Willard Richards, John Smith, and Joseph B. Noble.²⁷

As pressure from their non-Mormon neighbors increased for the Saints to leave Nauvoo, Brigham Young rushed the completion of the Temple so that the members of the Church could receive their endowments before they abandoned the city and its temple. Apparently he considered several areas of the Temple for the administration of the endowment. On 14 January 1845, he announced in a general epistle to the Church that "as soon as a suitable number of . . . rooms in the temple are completed, we shall commence the endowment." These rooms, he indicated, were on the mezzanine located "in the recesses, on each side of the [ceiling] arch" between the first and second floors, "and were lighted

mural which was once located in the northwest corner of the Assembly Room (Bray, *Red Brick Store*, pp. 73-74). Fragmentary pieces of the mural suggest that it was pastoral in nature. Whether the mural was connected with the ceremonies administered in the room probably may never be determined. But, it might be more than coincidence that a mural, perhaps similar to the more elaborate murals in later Mormon temples and endowment houses, existed in the very room where the ordinances of the temple were introduced initially.

²³D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Fall 1978):85-86. This select group was often referred to as the Holy Order. Other names used by the group include the Quorum, the Anointed Quorum, and Holy Order of the Holy Priesthood.

²⁴HC, 6:35, 39, 61, 71, 185; Elden J. Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801-1844* (Salt Lake City: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968), p. 159; Joseph Smith 1843-1844 Diary, 29 October, 1, 12 November 1843, Church Archives.

²⁵Quinn, "Prayer Circles," p. 92.

²⁶For a discussion of this estrangement, see Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 319-20.

²⁷Heber C. Kimball 1840-1845 Diary, 26 January, 15 April, 1 October, 29 October 1845, Church Archives; Brigham H. Roberts, ed., *The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period Two: The Apostolic Interregnum* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1957), p. 387 (hereafter cited as HC, 7).

with the first row of circular windows.”²⁸ But on 26 January he counseled the Nauvoo high priests to postpone the construction of their High Priests Hall in order to devote their full efforts “to finish off the upper story of the Temple in which they could receive their washings and anointings and endowments.”²⁹ So it was that the Saints received their endowments in the “upper story” of the Temple, in the attic instead of the mezzanine rooms, and apparently some of those who received the ordinances there were surprised. One man wrote that he and his wife were “conducted to begin with, where [they] did not expect to go, that is, in the attic story of the Temple.”³⁰ Fortunately, of all the Nauvoo Temple’s interior, the attic is the best described, making it possible to reconstruct a fairly accurate picture of the area prepared for the administration of temple rituals.

Rising above the Temple’s massive limestone walls was the frame attic, consisting of two sections: a large box-like structure with a relatively flat roof on the western end of the building, and a long rectangular hall beneath a gabled roof on the remainder of the building to the east. A promenade, hidden from view at ground level by an ornamental railing, encircled the eastern portion of the attic.

The western section of the attic, usually called the “half-story,” was over eighty feet long and forty feet wide. This section corresponded to the narrower vestibules on the two floors below. The attic vestibule was enlarged to provide room for the massive structural timbers of the tower.³¹ The half-story was divided into a number of rooms. It was illuminated not only by the windows on its outside walls but also by six octagonal skylights of colored or painted glass.³² Access to the area was by either of two large, circular staircases in the northwest and southwest corners of the

²⁸*Times and Seasons*, 15 January 1845, p. 779.

²⁹HC, 7:364.

³⁰Increase M’Gee Van Dusen, *A Dialogue Between Adam and Eve, the Lord and the Devil, Called the Endowment* (Albany: Privately printed, 1847), p. 5. Van Dusen published a large number of pamphlets “exposing” the Nauvoo Temple endowment service. Each succeeding edition was more sensational than the last. His first pamphlet, however, lacks much of his later sensationalism and contains many facts helpful in reconstructing the attic, when compared with other sources. Some of his later pamphlets also included a few additional facts of value not mentioned in the first. For a detailed analysis of the Van Dusen pamphlets, see the Asael C. Lambert Papers, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

³¹Joseph Earl Arrington, “The Construction of the Nauvoo Temple,” MS, pp. 20–21, Church Archives. See also Arrington’s article, “William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple,” in this issue of *BYU Studies*.

³²Arrington, “Nauvoo Temple,” p. 30; *New York Messenger*, 30 August 1845, p. 68. This article also indicated that the attic rooms on the western end would “be for the use of the highest order of the priesthood,” but this changed and the eastern was used instead.

Temple. Each stairway ascended to a landing "opposite the door of the outer court."³³ This outer court, which ran along the western outside wall, consisted of a vestibule resting between the two landings.

The vestibule, or outer court, led directly to the "inner courts."³⁴ The area, as the name suggests, did not consist of a single room but of a number of rooms which occupied the rest of the half-story to the east. It probably corresponded to the "two or three large, square rooms" in visitors' descriptions of the front attic.³⁵ Unfortunately, the exact number and arrangement of these rooms cannot be determined with precision. There were at least four rooms: two "wardrobes" where the brethren and sisters changed into their temple clothing, a "sitting room" where couples waited for the endowment services to begin, and a "pantry" where temple workers and those receiving their endowments kept their lunches.³⁶

The inner courts "led to the sacred departments" through a double door which opened into a long hall running the remaining length of the attic to the east. This hall came to be called the Council Chamber.³⁷ It rested beneath the gabled roof, occupying a space of eighty-eight feet by twenty-eight feet. The hall had a low, arched ceiling which was divided into six spaces by the crossbeams supporting the roof.³⁸ A "double row of composite columns" supported the crossbeams.³⁹ The hall's illumination came from a large, twenty-and-a-half-feet in span, semi-circular window on the east wall. This window was truly magnificent, enclosing four Gothic arches and three irregular triangles.⁴⁰ It may have corresponded to the drawing of a similar window in the Temple's facade in a preliminary sketch prepared by William Weeks, architect of the Temple.⁴¹ There were also a double row of rectangular skylights, corresponding to the six divisions of the ceiling. The Council Chamber was fully carpeted, painted white, and heated by two

³³John D. Lee 1844-1846 Diary, 16 December 1845, Church Archives.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵*Nauvoo Independent*, 3 January 1890, p. 4.

³⁶Van Dusen, *A Dialogue*, p. 5; *Palmyra Courier*, 22 September 1847, as quoted in E. Cecil McGavin, *The Nauvoo Temple* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1962), pp. 90-93.

³⁷*Palmyra Courier*, 22 September 1847. The term "sacred departments" comes from the John D. Lee 1844-1846 Diary, 16 December 1845. It is an apt description of the Council Chamber arranged for temple ceremonies.

³⁸*Palmyra Courier*, 22 September 1847; Stanley B. Kimball, "The Nauvoo Temple," *Improvement Era* 66 (November 1963):978.

³⁹*Illinois Journal*, 9 December 1853, as quoted in Arrington, "Nauvoo Temple," p. 16.

⁴⁰*New York Messenger*, 30 August 1845.

⁴¹Heber C. Kimball 1845-1846 Diary, 11 December 1845; William Weeks, *Nauvoo Temple Drawings*, Church Archives.

iron stoves.⁴²

Running the length of the Council Chamber along the north and south sides were twelve small rooms, six on either side. These side-rooms were approximately fourteen feet square, except for the two rooms on the west end which were slightly smaller. Their ceilings were low, the incline of the gabled roof preventing a man of six feet from standing erect by the exterior wall.⁴³ Each room had a door with a massive lock and on the outside wall a "beautiful circular window."⁴⁴

The twelve side-rooms were numbered, those on the south side having odd numerals and those on the north side having even numerals.⁴⁵ Room one was not, as is usually customary, the first room on the right as a person entered the hall, but instead it was the last room in the southeast corner. This anomaly was apparently intentional. Brigham Young selected this room for his office because he felt that as the intense light of the sun in the northern hemisphere comes from the southeast, so also the southeast corner of a temple represented the strongest source of revealed light.⁴⁶ The other side-rooms were also assigned to individuals or priesthood quorums. The final assignments for the rooms on the south side were—numbers three through seven to the Twelve (three to Heber C. Kimball; five to Orson Pratt, Parley P. Pratt, and Orson Hyde; seven to John Taylor, Amasa M. Lyman, John E. Page, and George A. Smith); number nine to Joseph Young and the seventies; and number eleven for male initiatory ordinances. The rooms on the north were assigned with number two to Newel K. Whitney and the bishopric, room four to John Smith and the Nauvoo High Council, numbers six and eight to George Miller and the high priests, number ten to the elders, and room twelve for female initiatory ordinances.⁴⁷

⁴²*Palmyra Courier*, 22 September 1847; Heber C. Kimball 1845–1846 Diary, 11 December 1845; Arrington, "Nauvoo Temple," p. 75.

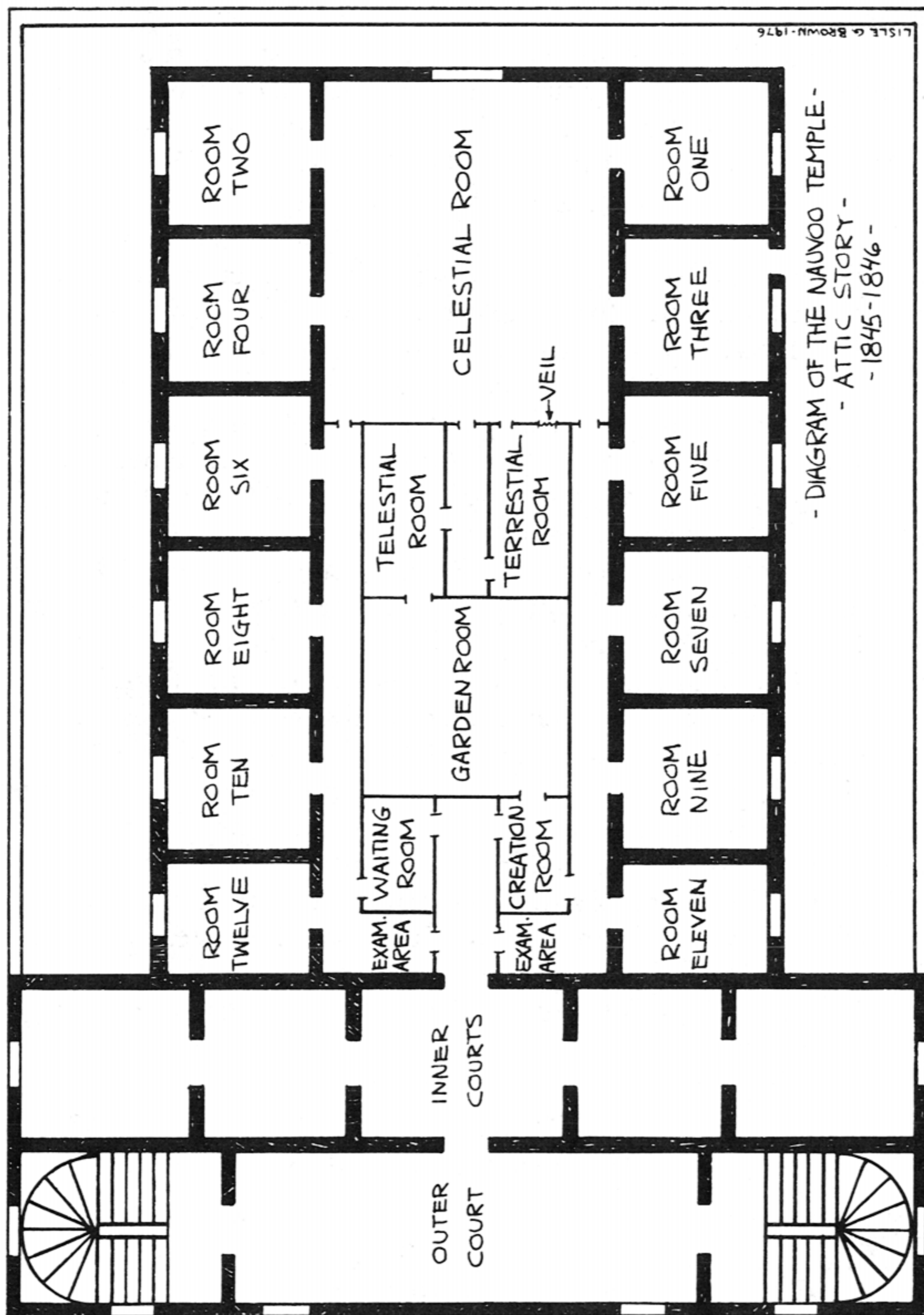
⁴³*New York Messenger*, 30 August 1845.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*; Van Dusen, *A Dialogue*, p. 5; Arrington, "Nauvoo Temple," p. 30.

⁴⁵It is not clear if actual numbers were painted or affixed to the doors, but many individuals referred to the rooms by number (Heber C. Kimball 1845–1846 Diary, 23 December 1845; John D. Lee 1844–1846 Diary, 12 January 1846; Brigham Young 1844–1846 Diary, 27 January 1846, all at Church Archives; C. Edward Jacob, *The Record of Norton Jacob* [Salt Lake City: Norton Jacob Family Association, 1949], p. 18).

⁴⁶*Journal of Discourses*, 1:133.

⁴⁷*HC*, 7:542. When originally made, the room assignments varied slightly from this list. Room one was an office for the use of Brigham Young. Room three was shared by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards. (*HC*, 7:534–35; Nauvoo Historical Documents, John Taylor's record of a meeting held by the Twelve in the Temple, 30 November 1845, Church Archives.) Heber C. Kimball ultimately had exclusive use of room three when President Young took room one as his own and Willard Richards' illness kept him from the Temple, except for a few visits. Elder Wilford Woodruff received no room assignment, because he was not in Nauvoo but was on a mission in England.



LISLE & BROWN-1976

Beginning with 21 December 1845, Brigham Young directed that as members of the high priests quorum, seventies quorum, and the high council received their endowments they should meet daily in their assigned rooms for prayer. The first quorum to meet was the high priests, who met on 22 December in room eight. The next day the high council commenced their daily prayer meetings in room four. By 27 December the seventies were also meeting. It may be assumed that after the elders received their endowments they met in their assigned room for prayer.⁴⁸

On 30 November Brigham Young and twenty men who had received their endowments from Joseph Smith met in room one and dedicated the attic for temple ordinances. Between 1 December and 9 December the Council Hall was prepared for the endowments. From 3 December to 5 December the brethren suspended canvas from the ceiling and crossbeams, dividing the Council Chamber into six rooms.⁴⁹ Most likely the canvas came from a supply of several thousand yards which Orson Hyde had brought to Nauvoo two months earlier.⁵⁰

On 2 December Heber C. Kimball and his son William picked up a wagonload of thirty potted plants from Hiram Kimball, who had earlier gathered the plants from houses throughout Nauvoo. The Kimballs delivered the plants to the Temple. Between 4 December and 8 December William W. Phelps carried the plants to the attic and arranged them in one of the canvas rooms. During this same time, other men and women hung paintings, portraits, maps, and mirrors in the attic rooms. They also arranged tables, chairs, sofas, and other furniture, all generously donated by the Saints to beautify the temple rooms. Other persons labored on the various temple vessels used in administering the ordinances. The sisters sewed temple clothing, and the brethren built altars. Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young donated two large

⁴⁸Heber C. Kimball 1845-1846 Diary, 21, 22, 27 December 1845. Those high priests who received their endowments from Joseph Smith were also using their room before the Temple opened for ordinance work (ibid., 4, 5, 8 December 1845), as well as occasionally meeting with the Twelve in prayer circle (ibid., 6 December 1845).

⁴⁹Ibid., 3, 4, 5 December 1845. The entry for 5 December is particularly informative about the general arrangement of the Council Chamber, "The big Hall is convertd into Six Sepret rooms for the convienience of the Holy Preasthood two Large ones and fore small and a Hall pasing through between the small ones pasing from the west done through the Center, and dores into Each Room."

⁵⁰On 8 June 1845, Orson Hyde left Nauvoo for the East to purchase canvas for a proposed tent, called the Tabernacle, which was to be located near the Temple. He returned 17 October 1845, with 5,000 yards of topsail Russian duck canvas. The tent was never erected. Most likely this canvas was used in the attic, while the rest was made into tents and wagon covers for the Saints' westward journey. (HC, 7:426, 482; Heber C. Kimball 1845-1846 Diary, 18 December 1845. See also Elden J. Watson, "The Nauvoo Tabernacle," in this issue of *BYU Studies*.)

wooden tubs for the initiatory ordinances. At sunset on 4 December Newel K. Whitney brought to the attic the veil used in the lifetime of Joseph Smith and materials for a new veil. Brigham Young, following the exact pattern set down by Joseph Smith, fashioned the new veil, and the next day the sisters sewed and hemmed it. On 7 December President Young hung the veil, and by 10 December all the preparations had been completed.⁵¹

One entered the "sacred departments" through a double door on the west wall of the Council Chamber. Immediately inside the room was a canvas hallway, approximately five feet wide and nineteen feet long. There were doorways, perhaps only draped openings in the canvas walls, on either side of the hallway. Each door led to an examination room. The sisters' room was on the north and the brethren's on the south. This area was furnished with a few chairs and small tables, where the clerks recorded the names of persons receiving the endowment. The examination rooms led directly to the two initiatory rooms, side-rooms eleven and twelve. These rooms were "considerably shaded nearly to twilight." Each room was furnished with a stove for heating water, a wooden bathtub for washings, and a stool for anointings.⁵²

Two small canvas rooms stood on either side of the entrance hallway. The room on the south was the Creation Room, which was darkened and devoid of furniture. The corresponding room on the north was also shaded and was apparently used as a waiting room for the sisters before rejoining their husbands in the Creation Room.⁵³

Between these two rooms and the "third partition [sic] in the arch" was a large room, which was "shaded, at least as dark as twilight."⁵⁴ This room was "nice[ly] decorated and set up with shrubs and trees in pots & boxes to represent the Garden of Eden."⁵⁵ The plants, consisting of evergreens, shrubs and flowers, were arranged into aisles and walkways. One of the plants represented the Tree of Life, and another, which was draped with raisins and grapevines, represented the Tree of Knowledge of Good

⁵¹This account is taken from Heber C. Kimball 1845-1846 Diary, 2-9 December 1845.

⁵²Van Dusen, *A Dialogue*, pp. 4, 5, 9; cf. Heber C. Kimball 1845-1846 Diary, 11 December 1845.

⁵³Increase M'Gee Van Dusen, *Startling Disclosures of the Mormon Spiritual-Wife System and Wonderful Ceremonies of the Celebrated Endowment* (New York: Privately printed, 1864), pp. 7-8. The location of the waiting room is speculative, but it seems that it corresponds best with the room opposite the Creation Room. Otherwise this room appears to have no function.

⁵⁴Heber C. Kimball 1845-1846 Diary, 11 December 1845; Van Dusen, *A Dialogue*, p. 5.

⁵⁵Kimball 1845-1846 Diary, 11 December 1845.

and Evil.⁵⁶ An altar stood in the center of the room. One individual wrote that the Garden Room “formed a sight both novel and sublime in the extreme.”⁵⁷

Beyond the Garden Room were two smaller rooms, separated by an intervening hallway. The room on the north, which represented the “telestial kingdom or the world,” was darkened; in fact, it was “darker than any of the others.”⁵⁸ The room was “ornament[ed] to represent the present world.”⁵⁹ Opposite the Telestial Room was “another apartment [sic] of the same size representing the terrestrial kingdom and between them two [was] an alley about 4 feet wide.”⁶⁰ In the center of this room was an altar with a Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants on it.⁶¹ On the east canvas wall was the veil of the Temple, “drawn on a wire across the vacancy in the partition,” and a cotton curtain hung in front of it, shielding it from view.⁶² Four feet to the left of the veil was a doorway into the Celestial Room.

It is likely that a canvas partition encircled these ordinance rooms, separating them from the side-rooms wherein marriages, family sealings, and prayer meetings might be held while the endowment ordinances were being performed. The commotion and disruption caused by those in the side-rooms would have interfered with the quiet atmosphere required for the endowment had the side-rooms opened directly into the ordinance rooms.⁶³

The Celestial Room occupied the rest of the Council Chamber on the east. It was a “very large and spacious room, perfectly light, all nicely furnished.”⁶⁴ In the center of the room stood “two splendid tables and four splendid sofa’s [sic].” Beneath the curtained, semi-circular window on the east wall stood another table upon which rested “the celestial and terrestrial Globes.” Upon the east and north walls hung a number of mirrors, paintings, and portraits of Church members and their wives. A marble clock stood against the north wall. Also on the north wall was a map of the world. On the west partition were three maps of the

⁵⁶Ibid., 8 December 1845; Van Dusen, *A Dialogue*, p. 9.

⁵⁷Van Dusen, *Startling Disclosures*, p. 8.

⁵⁸Van Dusen, *A Dialogue*, p. 8; Heber C. Kimball 1845–1846 Diary, 11 December 1845.

⁵⁹Van Dusen, *Startling Disclosures*, p. 14.

⁶⁰Heber C. Kimball 1845–1846 Diary, 11 December 1845.

⁶¹Van Dusen, *A Dialogue*, p. 12.

⁶²Heber C. Kimball 1845–1846 Diary, 6, 11 December 1845.

⁶³“The side rooms might have been closed off from the main hall by curtains or doors” (Stanley B. Kimball, “Nauvoo Temple,” p. 978).

⁶⁴Van Dusen, *A Dialogue*, p. 15.

United States and a street map of Nauvoo. On the south wall were more paintings, and mirrors, as well as another large map of the United States. The room had "a very splendid and comfortable appearance."⁶⁵

Side-rooms, numbers one through four, opened directly into the Celestial Room. Although these four rooms were assigned to various Church authorities, they also doubled as special offices and ordinance rooms. Room one served as the office in which were kept the records of temple work. While William Clayton served as temple recorder, Brigham Young, because of the large volume of work, also appointed two special clerks—John D. Lee and Franklin D. Richards.⁶⁶ Elder Lee indicated that the clerks' office was room one.⁶⁷ This room also served as sealing room, in which couples were sealed in the Holy Order of Matrimony. It was also called the Holy of Holies.⁶⁸ An altar was installed in the room on 7 January 1846 and was dedicated by Brigham Young the same day. Heber C. Kimball left a description of the altar, which was later included in the published *History of the Church*:

The altar is about two and one-half feet high and two and one-half feet long and about one foot wide, rising from a platform about 8 or 9 inches high and extending out on all sides about a foot, forming a convenient place to kneel upon. The top of the altar and the platform for kneeling upon are covered with cushions of scarlet damask cloth; the sides of the upright part or body of the altar are covered with white linen.⁶⁹

After the installation of the altar in room one, Brigham Young began sealing couples in the Holy Order of Matrimony. The highest ordinances of the temple were also performed in the same room.⁷⁰ Apparently because it proved difficult to continue administering both marriages and these ordinances in the same room, Brigham Young later assigned rooms two and four for giving the most sacred ordinance, as he noted in his diary on 27 January. Both John D. Lee and Norton Jacob wrote of receiving their blessings of the fulness of the priesthood in rooms two and four respectively.⁷¹

⁶⁵Heber C. Kimball 1845–1846 Diary, 11 December 1845.

⁶⁶Brigham Young 1844–1846 Diary, 12 January 1846.

⁶⁷John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled, or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee* (St. Louis: Bryan, Branc and Co., 1877), p. 169.

⁶⁸Jacob, *Norton Jacob*, p. 18.

⁶⁹HC, 7:556; Heber C. Kimball 1845–1846 Diary, 7 January 1846.

⁷⁰Heber C. Kimball 1845–1846 Diary, 7 January 1846; Brigham Young 1844–1846 Diary, 8, 11 January 1846.

⁷¹John D. Lee 1844–1846 Diary, 14 January 1846; Jacob, *Norton Jacob*, p. 18.

Room three served as a public office. On 23 December 1845 workmen completed a wooden stairway to the room, which was "converted into an office for the convenience of transacting business with persons from without."⁷² That the room actually served as a public office can be found in Heber C. Kimball's diary for 26 December, "Sheriff Backenstos came to the Temple, [he] was admitted to the office No. 3 by the back stairs."

When Brigham Young closed the Nauvoo Temple for ordinance work, the Saints who had lent their household furniture to beautify the attic "could be seen . . . busily engaged removing articles of furniure, stoves, carpets, pictures and other furnishings" from the Temple.⁷³ Apparently not all of the furnishings were removed immediately, because the workmen who remained to complete the lower portions of the Temple for dedication continued to use the attic for social gatherings, meetings, and prayer circles.⁷⁴ After the Temple's private dedication on 30 April 1846 and public dedication between 1-3 May 1846, the workmen stripped the attic of any remaining vestige of the sacred work conducted within its precincts. So thorough was their work that a non-Mormon visitor to the deserted Temple wrote of the Council Chamber, "The chamber itself is devoid of ornament, and I was unable to ascertain whether it was intended to have any, if it should have been completed."⁷⁵

Perhaps it was fortunate that all traces of the sacred use of the Council Chamber and its side-rooms were obliterated so that any unsympathetic non-Mormon visitors, who might belittle and desecrate the rooms, would have no inkling of their former sacred functions. But, to the Latter-day Saints who received their endowments and sealings in the rooms, they were holy sanctuaries. A statement of Erastus Snow undoubtedly reflected the Saints' sentiments about their experiences in the Council Chamber, "The Spirit, Power, and Wisdom of God reigned continually in the Temple and all felt satisfied that during the two months we occupied it in the endowments of the Saints, we were amply paid for all our labors in building it."⁷⁶

⁷²Heber C. Kimball 1845-1846 Diary, 23 December 1845.

⁷³Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 3 February 1846, Church Archives.

⁷⁴Samuel Richards Journal, typescript in Nels B. Lundwall Collection, microfilm reel 5, item 2, contains an account of the completion and dedication of the Temple, with almost daily references to the workmen's use of the Council Chamber for many functions, both secular and ecclesiastical.

⁷⁵*Palmyra Courier*, 22 September 1847.

⁷⁶Andrew K. Larsen, *Erastus Snow* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), p. 96.

Lewis C. Bidamon, Stepchild of Mormondom

Valeen Tippetts Avery and Linda King Newell

A fascinating event enlivened the otherwise dull social climate of Nauvoo during the 1847 Christmas season. Sarah M. Kimball in Nauvoo gossiped to Nancy Marinda Hyde at Council Bluffs:

The marriage of Mrs. Smith is the all absorbing topic of conversation. She was married last Thursday eve, the groom, Mr. Bidimen, is, I believe, looked upon with universal contempt. He was a widower, wears a wig, has two daughters, young ladies. A Mrs. Kinney . . . says he still loves her, but married Emy for her property. Mrs. Smith manifested the confidence she had in her intended husband by employing attorneys to execute a marriage contract and secure to her all the Property. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Methodist Mr. Hany. The bride was dressed in plum colored satin, a lace tuck handkerchief, gold watch and chain, no cap, hair plain. We were not honored guests but were told that things passed off very genteely.¹

Emma Smith's union with Lewis C. Bidamon served several purposes. It ended speculation that she might accept the Twelve's offer of assistance and go West with the main body of Saints. It ignored the threat made to her by Almon W. Babbitt that he could make her so poor that she would beg pardon of the Twelve and follow them.² It stated that she would determine her own course in the choice of a companion despite Babbitt's comment that she and Lewis "had no right to marry."³ It united her for the second time in her life to a man she loved.

Emma Smith wed Lewis Bidamon on Joseph Smith's birthday, 23 December 1847.⁴ In the eyes of many, Emma stepped out of her unique role when she married Lewis, who was not a member of any church, although he did help establish a Congregational

Valeen Tippetts Avery, of Flagstaff, Arizona, and Linda King Newell, of Salt Lake City, Utah, have co-authored a number of articles on Emma Smith. This article is an excerpt from a forthcoming biography of Emma Hale Smith, planned for publication by Doubleday.

¹Sarah M. Kimball to Mrs. Marinda Hyde, 2 January 1848, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereafter cited as Church Archives.

²Heman C. Smith, "Distinguished Women," *Journal of History* 12 (July 1919):291, as quoted from Joseph Smith III history.

³Emma Bidamon to L. C. Bidamon, 7 January 1850, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archive, Independence, Mo. Hereafter cited as RLDS.

⁴The marriage date had been in question. Many sources list the date as 27 December. We secured a copy of the marriage certificate to establish the 23 December 1847 date.

church in Canton, Illinois, in 1842.⁵ His opinion of Joseph Smith was that Joseph was honest but might have been deceived.⁶ What then was the relationship between Emma and Lewis? What kind of man was he? What attitudes, examples, events, and emotional bonds did this man bring into the Smith household? Who, indeed, was Lewis Bidamon?

Lewis was fourteen when the Bidamon family moved from his birthplace in Smithfield, Virginia, to Highland County, Ohio. Little is known of him until his marriage at age twenty-five to Nancy Sebree in 1827.⁷ Their first child was a boy, born in 1828. Lewis's second child was a girl, born the following year, not to Lewis's wife, but to one of Jeremiah Smith's daughters. This daughter—probably Nancy Smith—left her child, Almira, with her own parents to be raised. Almira knew who her father was. When she was twenty-four, she began a remarkable correspondence with Lewis Bidamon that spanned at least twenty-five years. In 1853, six years after Emma and Lewis's marriage, Almira's first letter reached Lewis in Nauvoo. It began with an apology, "I have oftentimes looked back with sorrow upon the time that I Slited you[r] kind offers toward me,"⁸ possibly referring to a time when Lewis returned to Ohio to offer her a home. Her last known letter in 1880 offered consolation and comfort to Lewis at the death of his wife, Emma.

In spite of Almira's birth, Lewis maintained his union with Nancy Sebree Bidamon and moved with her to Canton, Illinois. After Nancy died there, Lewis married in 1842 a widow named Mary Ann Douglas. Totally disillusioned after two months of marriage, Lewis carefully composed a letter to his wife's three brothers. The new groom called the duty "paneful in the extreme" to confess that his "ardent affections" were not returned by his "coald harless tyranical" wife. His first complaint was not about mistreatment of himself, but of his children:

I had my children under such command that if I had company at the table they would wait without a murmur but as a general

⁵Nancy Abercrombie Bidamon's great-grandson Edward Luce has collected Bidamon family information for some years. He compiled some of his information and called it "The Bidamon Story." It is not published. This information was copied by him from the *History of Fulton Co.*

⁶Vesta Crawford collected much material about Emma Smith but the projected biography was never finished. Her papers, Crawford notes, are at the Marriott Library, University of Utah. The Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, has a copy.

⁷Luce, "The Bidamon Story."

⁸Almira Swigart to Lewis Bidamon, 11 December 1853, Bidamon Collection, the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. There are eight letters from Almira in the Huntington Library and one in private hands.

thing children should eat with the family in order that they could be taught. . . . My Dear companion made the quick reply with considerable anemosatie that my Children should not eat at hir Table . . . she would as leaf set down with a passel of Cats. I told hir my children had always eat at the table when I eat and I further desired that hir children and mine should set at the same board.

Further stating his case, Lewis objected to Mary Ann's "long resittles" of his "imaginary falts" and continued with his letter:

Almost as regular as the earth made hir diurnal revolution she would reproch me on account of my not being welthy and remark what a fool she was a woman like hir . . . to marry me in poverty. . . . I will not bost of my welth but them that has more than me is not in a sufering situation. . . . The only night that I was ever out untill nine O'clock my place in bed was occupied by C⁹ without apology and if my children would attempt to come into the room of an evening where we set to fondle on me as they ware used to do they ware ordered back with promptness.¹⁰

The marriage to Mary Ann Douglas lasted only six months. Lewis's explanation for its failure illustrated his concern for his children and his expectations of family life.

The business that may have given Mrs. Douglas the impression that Lewis was wealthy was an iron foundry in Canton, Illinois. Lewis and his brother converted a steam mill into a high-grade carriage factory. About 1843 they filled an order from Joseph and Hyrum Smith for four carriages. When Joseph saw how John Bidamon was running the business, he hired him on the spot to go to Nauvoo and attempt to make a profit out of the red brick store. Soon after John accepted the offer, he found himself in the store with boxes and bales piled around the premises. Saints walked in empty-handed and left with their arms full of merchandise. The only nod in the direction of the cash drawer was the statement, "My credit has always been good with Joseph."¹¹ After a face-to-face confrontation with Joseph, John Bidamon was successful in reversing some of the credit policy.

It seems likely that Emma Smith and Lewis Bidamon were acquainted with each other before Joseph's death. Lewis delivered two of the carriages to the Smith home before the Martyrdom;

⁹"C" probably was one of Mary Ann Douglas's children.

¹⁰To Messers Armstrong, Joel C., and John Walker, 29 December 1842. Unsigned. Bidamon Collection, Huntington Library.

¹¹Personal interview with Lewis C. Bidamon's grandson (Charles Bidamon's son), Tom Bidamon, 28 November 1978.

John Bidamon ran Joseph's store; another brother, Christian, rented rooms in the Mansion House.¹²

Lewis took the Mormon's side during the months of the bitter "War" in Nauvoo. The wolf hunts against the Mormon farms and the Saints' retaliation raids in return forced Governor Ford to attempt control measures against the warring factions. Lewis, representing the governor, delivered a commission to Major Parker, commander of the state militia, with orders and instructions to control the mobs.¹³ John Ferris in Quincy wrote to his brother in Nauvoo on 3 September 1846 that

Maj. Bidamon succeeded in reaching this place on Tuesday, not without having been met by Brigadier Gen. Stivers who intercepted them at Churchville and threatened to take them to [the anti-Mormon] Camp, etc., etc. Maj. B. left that evening for Springfield with dispatches for the Gov.¹⁴

From this time until his death, Lewis Bidamon was referred to as "the Major."

His kinship with the Mormons was apparent when he wrote to Emma early in 1847:

I Wright to you from this place where I have bin ever since our defeat at Nauvoo. . . . Brother John and my self are desirous to Rent the Mansion House of you. . . . Pleas inform me what will be your Termes per annum. . . . Your Sincere Friend and well Wisher.¹⁵

Emma scribbled her answer on the back of Lewis's letter:

I suppose I shall have to get possession of the Mansion before I can rent it again. . . . I formed a very agreeable acquaintince with Your brother [and] His family while on the boat with them.¹⁶

After Emma rushed to Nauvoo to save her possessions from the renter Van Tuyl—who she felt was a secret informer as well as a thief—she remained in Nauvoo for the summer, and the Major found it convenient to be there also.

Emma was forty-three. A tall, dark-haired, brown-eyed woman, she had dealt with situations unusual to the life of the ordinary woman during her seventeen years of marriage to Joseph Smith. She had five children; Julia Murdock Smith was 16, Joseph III al-

¹²Deeds, Emma Smith to Lorin Walker, 21 December 1847, RLDS.

¹³Luce, "The Bidamon Story."

¹⁴John M. Ferris to Hiram G. Ferris, 3 September 1846, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

¹⁵L. C. Bidamon to Emma Smith, 11 January 1847, RLDS.

¹⁶Emma Smith to Mr. Bidamon. Undated. Answered on reverse of above letter.

most 15, Frederick 11, Alexander 9, and the baby David, born after Joseph's death, was two and one-half. Emma was vivacious and quick-witted with a good sense of humor.

The Major was forty-five. He had two young daughters, Zerkla 13 and Mary Elizabeth 11. His two sons died before 1847. He was a handsome man, smooth, well dressed, and debonair for Nauvoo. He could laugh at himself and had a quick, easy sense of humor. He possessed, in addition, whatever indefinable quality it is that makes a man unusually attractive to women.

Lewis's granddaughters report that he was first attracted to Emma Smith when he saw the beautiful darns in her stockings.¹⁷ However she darned them, and whatever he observed along with the darns, it was enough to keep him in Nauvoo as he settled down in the deserted town to increase his acquaintance with Emma.

Their middle-aged courtship was not without its problems, however.

Once he [Lewis] came stepping along to call on Emma, wearing a high hat. She sat at an upstairs window sewing and as he proceeded to raise his hat to her it caught on the clothesline and off went both hat and wig. . . . Young Joseph . . . grooming a horse in the stableyard was quite convulsed with laughter. Bidamon recovered hat and wig and said, "Damn that wig, anyway!"¹⁸

Lewis's marriage proposition to Emma was reported by his grandchildren. "You are alone," he said, "And I am alone. Let us live our lives out together."¹⁹

Lewis probably assisted Emma with the tangled legal matters she faced at the time. Two days before her marriage to Lewis, she deeded the Mansion House to Lorin Walker, who deeded it back on the same day. It was obviously an attempt to clear title.²⁰ When Sarah Kimball charged that Emma had executed a marriage contract which secured to her all the property, the charge may have been true. But Sarah misunderstood the purpose. Lewis had a marriage contract with Mary Ann Douglas which relieved her of any responsibility for his debts. It would be in character for Lewis to provide the same security for Emma.

¹⁷Personal interview with Lewis C. Bidamon's granddaughter (Charles Bidamon's daughter), Nancy B. Kalk, 28 November 1978.

¹⁸Crawford notes.

¹⁹Personal interview with Nancy B. Kalk, 28 November 1978.

²⁰Deeds, Emma Smith to Lorin Walker, Lorin Walker to Emma Smith, 21 December 1847, RLDS.

It would also be in character for some Mormons to misunderstand it. Letters written within weeks of Emma's marriage indicate the mood then prevalent among the Church leadership. John S. Fullmer advised Brigham Young:

I suppose you know by this time that there was a certain widow in this place, who was lately given . . . "in holy matrimony" to one of his Satanic Majesty's high priests, to wit, one Lewis Bidamon. Now these twain being one flesh concocted a grand scheme by which to enrich themselves. They hit upon the idea that the church . . . could only hold ten acres of land, and that . . . the deed from Emma . . . to Joseph was illegal.²¹

Almon W. Babbitt also wrote to Brigham Young:

We have had no little excitement about Emma Bidamon's doings. . . . The temple has been sold since I left and bid in by Emma's husband on an execution in favor of William Backenstos. . . . Emma has joined the Methodist Church; they took her on trial. It is to be hoped that she will suit them.²²

Emma was fully aware of the strong opinions held about her, and she feared that the antagonism would extend to her husband. A clear example of Lewis and Emma's love and concern for each other lies in their 1849–1850 correspondence.

In 1849 Lewis and his brother John succumbed to gold fever and loaded a wagon for California. The minutely itemized supply list included sugar, flour, bacon, boots, Dr. Braggs pills, and gold scales, but no liquor.²³ Even his recipe for "colery cure" which included tincture of "opiam, rhubarb, Pepermint and camphor" was expressly not to be mixed with alcohol or any other "Sperrits."²⁴

Four days out of Nauvoo on the way west, Lewis happily wrote his wife,

I have nothing to regret in determining the undertaking [of] this jant only being Seperated from hir—that I *love* and the Society of the Children I have nothing of note to record except my Waggon is not made by gentlemen. . . . One evening . . . [we had] some fine browened squirl upon our board and nothing but moon for our lite the board acedently being noct over its contents was scattered on the earth and John . . . grappled amoungst the grass and thinging he had found a piece and applying [it] to his tasters to his great astonishment found it to be not bufelow chip but Cow chip didnt he Spit.²⁵

²¹John S. Fullmer to Brigham Young, 26 January 1848, Crawford notes.

²²Almon W. Babbitt to Brigham Young, 31 January 1848, Crawford notes.

²³L. C. and J. C. Bidamon's outfit for California, Bidamon Collection, Huntington Library.

²⁴Colery Cure, Bidamon Collection, Huntington Library.

²⁵L. C. Bidamon to my dear companion, 4 May 1849, RLDS.

When he wrote again, he detailed for Emma the events that happened on the journey, inserting the following paragraph between an account of Indians along the Platt and a description of four crossings of the Sweetwater:

Dear Emma ofttimes me mind hovers around the[e] and in amagination [I] press the[e] tenderly to my bosom O my Love if I could only here from you and know that you was well and the family and you was injoying your Selfs it would ease this akeing hart. . . . Be cherefull *Dear*, if we live the day will arive where we will again meet and press each other to our congenial brests.²⁶

When Emma answered his letter, she described her joy when she recognized the handwriting. She hurried to her room to savor the contents alone. She vented her fears for his safety and expressed her love:

my dear Lewis I have scarsley enjoyed any good thing since you left home in constant terrifying apprehension that you might be suffering for the most common comforts of life, I have never been weary, without thinking that you might be more so. I never have felt the want of food without fearing that you might be almost . . . starving, and I have never been thirsty without feeling my heart sicken . . . that perhaps you were sinking faint and famished . . . but now the anxieties are over and some may think that I might be content, but I am not, neither can I be until you are within my grasp, *then*, and *not*, till *then* shall I be free from fears for your safety. . . . I think you should be . . . caoutious of the Mormons for I believe they intend that I shall not enjoy anything. . . . I can tell you they are capable of an infamous ingratitude. . . . They think that you occupy a situation here that you have no business to . . . it is explained by Babbit that you had no right to marry me, and . . . I had no right [to marry] you. . . . *When, O! When* can I begin to think about you coming home.²⁷

Lewis answered:

Oh my dear Emma that I could press you to my lonsoem hart. . . . I doo not like California it affords no charms for me and especly in the absense of hir and only hir that can make me happy. . . . Give my warmest affections to the children and all inquiring friends and curses to my enmeys.²⁸

Lewis manufactured axes and shovels for the miners, served Hangtown, California, as deputy sheriff, and labored in the gold-fields. When he returned to Nauvoo in 1850, he came by Panama,

²⁶L. C. Bidamon to my dear Wife, 5 July 1849, RLDS.

²⁷Emma Bidamon to my ever dear husband, 7 January 1850, RLDS.

²⁸L. C. Bidamon To My Dearly beloved and affectionate Companion, 20 April 1850, RLDS.

Cuba, and New Orleans—somehow losing whatever funds he had gathered.

He arrived in Nauvoo to find the economy even more depressed than when he left. Fear of cholera kept travelers from boarding at the Mansion House; business at the store was slow; Emma decided to take the sign down and concentrate on the farm if travel through Nauvoo didn't improve.²⁹

Vesta Crawford, a granddaughter of Lewis Bidamon, attempted a biography of Emma in the 1940s, and her notes express a common attitude and belief about Emma's marriage to Lewis and about his willingness to help support the family. "Emma's marriage to him was one of convenience. He was easy-going, would lie late abed, was fond of liquor and was very profane, would let her toil very hard."³⁰ But when Lewis Bidamon's attempts to support his family are examined, two things become apparent. He was industrious and imaginative in devising ways to make a living, and Emma herself recognized that he worked hard. No item of correspondence from Emma implies that Lewis was not carrying his share or that she felt he had taken advantage of her industry.

Lewis sold the iron foundry in Canton to the McCormick interests and then started a match-manufacturing business which became Diamond Match Company. By the early 1850s the Warsaw and Rockford Railroad planned a branch line to Nauvoo. In 1853 Lewis paid \$370 for seventy-four shares of stock,³¹ and during this period he was salaried for his contracted services to the railroad.

He ran the packet boat *Lorna Doone* on the Mississippi and kept a horse and buggy ready for hack services. By 1858 he was ready to start a business that was new to Nauvoo. A newspaper account reads:

L. C. Bidamon Esq. of Nauvoo, passed through this place . . . with a new sugar cane mill he expects to have ready for operation soon. Mr. B. has several acres of the cane from . . . which he expects to manufacture both sugar and molasses.³²

The Civil War in 1860 probably ended the sugar experiments as Lewis served as a major and colonel of the Illinois State Militia during the war.

²⁹Emma Bidamon to my ever dear husband, 7 January 1850, RLDS.

³⁰Crawford notes.

³¹Receipts, Bidamon Collection, Huntington Library. Also Marcia Vogel private collection. Marcia Vogel is a granddaughter of Lewis C. Bidamon. This collection contains receipts and other papers which establish the Major's efforts to provide a living.

³²The Hamilton, Ill., *Representative*, 2 October 1858, as recorded in Luce, "The Bidamon Story."

The grape-growing industry furnished Nauvoo with a cash crop during the postwar years. In 1869 the Wine Growers Association elected Lewis Bidamon to represent them to other areas of the state as they enlarged their business.³³ In the same year Emma wrote to Joseph III that "Pa Bidamon has worked very hard this summer . . . has kept our garden tolerable well and clean."³⁴

In his later years the Major served Nauvoo as its justice of the peace and as police magistrate—both were elective offices and he served repeated terms in each until his death.³⁵ These activities of public nature argue that he was a responsible man and that his neighbors trusted and respected him.

Lewis Bidamon's associates valued his friendship. A boarder with an unpaid debt wrote:

I would not cheat any man wrongfully and least of any the Major, who had been always kind to me and my family. . . . I am sorry to have lost the good opinion of you and Mrs. Bidamon and hope in some measure to redeem it.³⁶

A friend named Butler wrote in 1872:

As far as friends are concerned in Nauvoo I would not give the snap of my finger for all of them, after taking you and Geo. Ritter out. . . . Tell Mrs. Bidamon that I very often think of her & will never forget her kindness bestowed on me . . . ask old Whitfield if he has beat any of the boys out their wages . . . tell him he must keep a diary of what he says to day so as to be able to repeat it tomorrow without making a mistake. . . . When you get this letter sit down and answer it.³⁷

We have found approximately thirty-five contemporary accounts mentioning Lewis Bidamon after 1848. These are letters, journals, and newspapers, and of that number only three speak of him in disparaging terms.

Lewis Bidamon was reviled by the Mormons during two periods in his life—at the time of his marriage to Emma and for a period after Brigham Young's inflammatory address to the assembled Saints in October 1866. Incensed at the missionary activity in Utah conducted by Emma's sons in behalf of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), Brigham

³³Emma Bidamon to Joseph Smith, 17 — 1869, RLDS.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Vogel private collection.

³⁶L. R. Miller to L. C. Bidamon, 24 July 1868, Vogel private collection.

³⁷W. O. Butler to Major Bidamon, 7 January 1872, Huntington Library.

Young took the stand to pronounce her a liar and a devil.³⁸ Thereafter, some Mormon elders visiting Nauvoo reported:

I stepped into the office where, perchance, angels once visited and there . . . old Bidamon, the present husband of Emma, sat spitting tobacco on the stove. . . . The furniture and general appearance of the room was old, unclean, and decidedly shabby. Dinner was announced and I passed through the hall, once familiar to the saints, into the kitchen. Here I beheld . . . Emma, the youthful wife of one of God's most honored prophets. . . . Emma looks very old and broken.³⁹

In the same month another letter went to Utah:

On arriving at Nauvoo we went to the "Mansion House", and found Major Bidamon engaged in playing cards. The fire having gone down, the major, with sundry twists of the poker, assisted by some oaths too profane to be mentioned here, succeeded in arousing the fire . . . at dinner I saw Emma . . . I must admit I was somewhat disappointed in her appearance.⁴⁰

When these men described the Mansion House, it was twenty-seven years old and the Bidamon family's efforts had been spent in building the Riverside Mansion. Emma was sixty-five years old and Lewis was sixty-seven; age had left its mark, yet gawkers compared them to Joseph whose death in the prime of life gave him eternal youth.

But another comparison with Joseph is in order.

One of the vast ironies of Emma's life occurred after 1864. After bitterly opposing Joseph Smith's attempts to establish polygamy in his own home during her first marriage, Emma found her second marriage threatened by Lewis Bidamon's relationship with another woman.

About 1860 a widow named Nancy Abercrombie moved to Nauvoo. She was small, with dark hair and dark eyes. She had a soft voice and was a little shy. On 16 March 1864, in the seventeenth year of Emma's marriage to Lewis, Nancy Abercrombie gave birth to Lewis's son. The child was named Charles.

Whatever the circumstances surrounding Charles's birth, there was no question that the child was Lewis Bidamon's. Emma's reaction can only be surmised. Whatever the hurt may have been, she

³⁸Brigham Young Address, Semi-annual Conference, 7 October 1866, recorded by George D. Watt, Church Archives.

³⁹J. C. Rich to Bishop Edward Hunter, 25 December 1869, Crawford notes.

⁴⁰W. M. Riter letter, 9 December 1869, Crawford notes.

did not allow it to destroy her marriage nor her family unity, nor did she seem to interpret Lewis Bidamon's infidelity as a deliberate means to injure her. Accepting the facts of life as they existed, Emma took four-year-old Charles Bidamon into her own home to raise at Nancy Abercrombie's request. One of the most powerful tributes to Emma's character came from this child.

I was raised in her home, and knew what kind of a woman she was . . . and was as one of the family until her death. . . . She was a person of very even temper. I never heard her say an unkind word, or raise her voice in anger or contension. . . . She had a queenly bearing, without the arrogance of a queen. A noble woman, living and showing a charity for all, loving and being beloved.⁴¹

The children of Nauvoo flocked to Emma's kitchen for the cookies baked there. But following the Major around also had its special delights. Mrs. Heman C. Smith described her childhood with the Major when she wrote that Grandpa Bidamon was the only Grandpa she ever knew. She often followed at his heels with a group of children to gather grapes when they began to get ripe.⁴²

Four years after Charles came to live with Emma, the youthful David Smith wrote to Lewis. Teasing gently about the new city magistrate position, David called his stepfather "Illustrious Juror" and then accounted for affairs at the farm. Addressing her "Ever Dear Husband," Emma added a long postscript to the letter, signing it, "Affectionately yours allways in a hurry."⁴³

Correspondence between the family members was open and free. They were frank, humorous, and loving. They discussed personalities, marriages, problems, quirks of human nature, and financial affairs; but in the correspondence available there is little criticism of Lewis Bidamon.⁴⁴

Joseph III, in his memoirs, did suggest that his mother's marriage to Lewis Bidamon brought mixed feelings to children who idealized their dead father.

He was a man of strong likes and dislikes, passionate, easily moved to anger, but withal ordinarily affable in manner, decidedly

⁴¹Charles Bidamon to L. L. Hudson, 10 August 1940, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.

⁴²Mrs. Heman C. Smith to Mrs. L. C. Bidamon (Nancy), 29 May 1905, private collection.

⁴³"Titus" (David Smith) to "Illustrious Juror" (Lewis Bidamon), 24 June 1871, Huntington Library.

⁴⁴Joseph's daybook entry for 22 April 1879 reads: "Gave the Major \$12 to finish paying his taxes. He says he will return it. Don't expect it." (RLDS.) That statement could be interpreted to mean that the Major didn't repay his debts, or that there were not sufficient funds for him to pay it back, or that Joseph reminded himself not to expect the money when figuring his own finances. There is evidence for the latter (see footnote 48), but since we have no strong conclusions, we have left it out of the text.

hospitable, and generous in disposition. He made friends easily, but, unfortunately for him, lost them quite as easily. His love for intoxicating liquors and his lack of religious convictions were the two most serious drawbacks to the happiness of our home, and tended to color materially the afterevents of our lives.⁴⁵

Lewis insisted that Joseph study law,⁴⁶ which was a valuable asset to him for the remainder of his life. Joseph closed an 1872 letter to his mother, "with my kind love to all, Pa Bidamon, the first, I remain, Your son."⁴⁷ Joseph was forty-one. Four years later, Joseph wrote to his stepfather.

So far as the \$5, already received by you for rent is concerned, please do me the *favor* to lay the same out in the purchase of a hat to replace the one the wind and the waves stole from you last winter. It will give me pleasure to think that I have been instrumental in replacing your loss.⁴⁸

Writing from California while on a mission for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Alexander Smith remembered, "Give my kind regards to Pa Bidamon."⁴⁹

Emma and Lewis lived their years out in a general atmosphere of kindness and consideration. When Emma expressed her love for blue damson plums, Lewis ordered plum trees from Massachusetts.⁵⁰ Emma regularly served Lewis his favorite corn bread. Lewis built a new home for Emma. It took him years. One can either scoff at the length of time or admire his perseverance.

However, Emma's forthright personality was not diminished by her years with Lewis. Emma kept the milk cool in the low stone cellar. The Major put off repairs to the cellar steps until Emma delivered an ultimatum: Fix the stairs or she wouldn't carry any more milk down. One day, in exasperation, she threw the milk into the cellar then quietly proceeded with the kitchen duties. The Major mended the steps.⁵¹

In 1866 Emma wrote to her son Joseph:

⁴⁵Joseph Smith III, "The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith," *Saints' Herald* (Independence, Mo.), 5 February 1935, p. 176.

⁴⁶Audentia Smith Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith* (Independence, Mo., 1929), p. 656.

⁴⁷Joseph Smith to Emma Bidamon, 8 March 1873, RLDS.

⁴⁸Joseph Smith to Maj. L. C. Bidamon, 4 September 1875, Vogel private collection.

⁴⁹Alexander Smith to Dear Mother, undated, private collection.

⁵⁰Personal interview, Lewis C. Bidamon's granddaughter, Leah Bidamon McClain, 28 November 1978.

⁵¹Crawford notes.

Pa Bidamon was gone to Canton eleven days. . . . He quite insisted that I should fix up and go right off to Plano. . . . It was very kind in him and quite a temptation to me, for dearly indeed I would like to come . . . and see you all.⁵²

In 1879 when Emma was dying, her children gathered at her bedside. Emma's adopted daughter Julia cared for her mother and Nancy Abercrombie cared for the house. Alexander wrote home to his wife:

Mother is still alive, but oh, how she suffers. . . . [She] needs someone constantly by her, she must be lifted up about every fifteen or twenty minutes. Night before last I sat up all night and lifted her. . . . Mr. Bidamon is very kind and gentle to her, but is nearly worn out.⁵³

A remarkable woman, on her deathbed Emma Smith again faced life as it existed. She asked Lewis and Nancy Abercrombie to marry in order to make sixteen-year-old Charles legitimate.

Lewis and Nancy Abercrombie were married in 1880. Joseph's comment after Lewis married Charles's mother suggests far more indulgence with his stepfather than rancor. "How are the Major & Mrs. Major getting on?" he asked; "I wrote him but concluded that he is in the house of the Honeymoon and has not time to answer me."⁵⁴ One last delightful glimpse of the Major is apparent in his will naming Nancy his beneficiary. He intended to leave her

the East half of the . . . Riverside Mansion . . . One half of the garret . . . equal priveleges of the halls and stairs below and above . . . one half of the cellar . . . and full ingress and egress to and from the privy on the premises.⁵⁵

Perhaps the controversy which has surrounded Lewis Bidamon was inevitable. No man could have stepped into the place Joseph Smith occupied without being unfavorably compared to the Prophet. For the most part, RLDS historians and writers simply ignored Lewis Bidamon's existence, thereby damning him with faint, or no, praise. LDS writers have found most accessible those letters written about him after Brigham Young's public condemnation of Emma, letters which were often written (and interpreted) in support of Brigham's personal fury. Vilification of

⁵²Emma Bidamon to Joseph Smith, 19 August 1866, RLDS.

⁵³Alexander Smith to Lizzie, 27 April 1879, Crawford notes.

⁵⁴Joseph Smith to Thomas Revell, 2 July 1880, RLDS.

⁵⁵L. C. Bidamon, Last Will and Testament, undated, Vogel private collection.

Lewis Bidamon easily became a subtle means of establishing that something must have been wrong with Emma Smith.

There was the unavoidable fact of Lewis Bidamon's relationships with other women and his fathering of children outside the legal marriage covenant. For Emma, who had rebelled so vigorously against any sharing of Joseph's love and attention, there was deep irony in her final passive acceptance of Lewis Bidamon's extramarital affairs.

Lewis Bidamon, indeed, was a man of this world, not the next; for him there was simply the reality of the flesh and his own nature. He had his faults, but mostly he was a colorful, attractive man, humorous at times, kind and compassionate, and, whatever the circumstances may have been, he did assume as much as possible his responsibilities for the women in his life and the children they bore to him.

Lewis Bidamon's place and contribution to the Mormon scene will undoubtedly always be controversial. But as time goes on, it seems obvious that any conclusive perspective of him and his life would gain much by following Emma's final example of acceptance and understanding.

The Historians Corner

Edited by James B. Allen

AN INVITATION: We appreciate the kind responses we have received over the years to "The Historians Corner," and we also appreciate the many items that have been submitted for consideration. While we still have a small backlog, it is not inexhaustible, and we again invite the submission of items appropriate for this section of *BYU Studies*.

What is appropriate? First, we are especially interested in any significant unpublished document that gives us new insight or expands our knowledge of important aspects of Mormon history: a letter, a significant diary entry, an important address, or some other such item. We expect you to write a short introduction that will place the document in perspective. Second, you may have special insight into some phase of Church history that would make a significant essay, yet it is not quite enough for a full-length article. We have published many such short pieces and would invite the submission of others.

This issue of "The Historians Corner" contains examples of both kinds of material, all significant in some way to the Nauvoo period. First is a previously unpublished transcription of a most interesting 1840 sermon by Joseph Smith. Dean C. Jessee has carefully identified it as probably the most authentic account extant of that particular address. Its significance lies partly in the insight it provides into some of the Prophet's concerns and hopes as he led out in planning and building the city of Nauvoo. Next is an important essay by Ronald K. Esplin, a Ph.D. candidate at BYU who is writing a dissertation on Brigham Young during the transition period from the death of Joseph Smith to the founding of Utah. His research provides the basis for challenging the claim of some scholars that it was Brigham Young who began the policy of withholding the priesthood from Blacks. While *BYU Studies* has no plans to pursue this matter further, it was felt that at least this much should be said here in order to provide supporting evidence for the traditional Mormon view that Brigham Young was only continuing a policy he had received from his predecessor. Esplin recognizes the problem of specific documentation, but his judicious appeal to strong circumstantial evidence provides a responsible alternative to other interpretations. Finally, Lyndon W. Cook

has edited and extensively documented an interesting letter that demonstrates the involvement of Joseph Smith's friends in efforts to assist him in his difficulties with the law.

JOSEPH SMITH'S 19 JULY 1840 DISCOURSE

Dean C. Jessee

An occasional theme among Latter-day Saints during times of political crisis has been the prediction attributed to Joseph Smith that the U.S. Constitution would one day hang by a thread and that the elders of the Church would at some critical juncture be instrumental in saving it. The source of this statement is thought to be an unpublished address titled, "A Few Items from a Discourse Delivered by Joseph Smith, July 19, 1840," filed in the Joseph Smith Papers in the LDS Church Archives. Written neatly on 8"×12" paper, the document is obviously a copy since it shows none of the usual characteristics of an original report. The paper appears to be of post-Nauvoo vintage, and the handwriting does not correspond to that of any of Joseph Smith's known clerks. Nor is there reference in the Prophet's History to his having delivered a discourse on 19 July 1840. Furthermore, at two points in the text, there appears to be a serious problem of continuity, suggesting copyist's errors or some other flaw in the manuscript. Consequently, in the absence of an original text, and without information about its origin and authorship, the reliability of this document has remained somewhat tenuous.

Now, the recent surfacing of the original manuscript¹ from which the foregoing copy was taken not only gives some clarification to the question of reliability but also emphasizes, to students of history, the value of tracing one's information to original sources. The 1840 Joseph Smith discourse is one of four reported longhand in a small notebook (3¾"×5½") in the handwriting of Martha Jane Knowlton and Howard Coray.

Martha Jane Knowlton was living with her family in Hancock County, Illinois, when the Latter-day Saints began moving there in

Dean Jessee is a research historian for the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He is president-elect of the Mormon History Association.

¹The manuscript was found in the Joseph F. Smith Papers in the LDS Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as Church Archives. It is now filed in the Martha Jane Coray Collection.

1839. She was baptized in January 1840 and, according to one account, was so convinced of Joseph Smith's divine calling that she recorded every discourse she heard him deliver. The Church Historian, George A. Smith, noted that she was more diligent in preserving the Prophet's sayings than any other woman in the Church.² Martha Jane was nineteen and still single when she recorded the 1840 Joseph Smith address as the first item in her little notebook, but after her marriage to Howard Coray in 1841, she continued to use the book for the same purpose.

Since, by 1840, there was not yet a procedure in the Church for systematically reporting all of Joseph Smith's speeches, many of his addresses were never recorded, and others were preserved only unofficially in the personal writings of lay members.³ In addition, the longhand reports recorded at the time were subject to inherent limitations because of the absence among Church members of sufficiently developed shorthand skills to permit verbatim reporting during Joseph Smith's lifetime. This accounts for the existence of some reports of Joseph Smith speeches that are not referred to in the Prophet's History. The Martha Jane Knowlton report of July 1840 is of this genre.

A comparison of the Knowlton original with the copy in the Joseph Smith Papers shows that the loose pages in the original were copied out of sequence, placing one portion of the discourse out of context and transferring a segment of a later discourse into the text of the July 1840 address. Hence, copies made from the later source are inaccurate.

The July 1840 context suggests that Joseph Smith's comments about the U.S. Constitution were given not long after his return from Washington, D.C., where his appeal for redress for the wrongs heaped upon his people in Missouri had fallen upon deaf ears. The address also gives significant insight into the marvelous anticipations and hopes the Prophet had for Nauvoo in its beginning phase. But, as one looks at the city from a later perspective, it is evident that the prophecies about Nauvoo, like Jackson County before it, were contingent upon human conditions and failings.

²*Woman's Exponent* 10 (1 February 1882):133.

³Martha wrote of her habit, since the age of thirteen, of "noting down everything" she heard and read. In Nauvoo she was "occupied from time to time as occasion offered, in making notes of sermons, and other things . . . when I observed that no clerk was present." (Martha Coray to Brigham Young, 13 June 1865, Church Archives.) For another example, see Eugene England, "George Laub's Nauvoo Journal," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978):151-78.

The discourse as reported by Martha Jane Knowlton is as follows:

A few Item[s] from a discourse delivered by Joseph Smith July 19 - 1840.⁴

Read a chap[ter] in [Ezekiel] concluding with this saying: And when all these things come to pass and Lo they will come then shall you know that a Prophet hath been among you.

Afterwards read the parable of the 12 olive trees and said speaking of the Land of Zion, It consists of all N[orth] & S[outh] America but that any place where the Saints gather is Zion which every righteous man will build up for a place of safety for his children. The olive trees are 12 stakes which are yet to be built not the Temple in Jackson [County, Missouri] as some suppose. For while the 12 stakes are being built we will be at peace but the Nations of the Earth will be at war.

Our cry from the 1st has been for peace and we will continue pleading like the Widow at the feet of the unjust judge but we may plead at the feet of Majistrates and at the feet of Judges, at the feet of Governors and at the feet of senators & at the feet of Pre[s]idents for 8 years it will be of no avail. We shall find no favor in any of the courts of this government. The redemption of Zion is the redemption of all N[orth] & S[outh] America. And those 12 stake[s] must be built up before the redemption of Zion can take place. And those who refuse to gather and build when they are comanded to do so cease to be Saviours of men and are thenceforth good for nothing but shall be cast out and trodden underfeet of men for their transgression, as Reed Peck was when he ap lied in the name of an apostate for buisness in a store in Quincy. They told him that they wanted no apostates round them and showed him the door. At this same store the authorities of this Church could have obtained almost any amount of credit they could have asked.

We shall build the Zion of the Lord in peace untill the servants of that Lord shall begin to lay the foundation of a great and high watch Tower and then shall they begin to say within themselves, what need hath my Lord of this tower seeing this is a time of peace &c. Then the Enemy shall come as a thief in the night and scatter the servants abroad. When the seed of these 12 Olive trees are scattered abroad they will wake up the Nations of the whole Earth. Even this Nation will be on the very verge of crumbling to peices and tumbling to the ground and when the constitution is upon the brink of ruin this people will be the Staff up[on] which the Nation shall lean and they shall bear the constitution away from the very verge of destruction.

Then shall the Lord say, Go tell all my servants who are the strength of mine house, my young men and middle aged &c, come to the Land of my vineyard and fight the battle of the Lord. Then the Kings & Queens shall come; then the rulers of the Earth shall come; then shall all saints come, yea the Foreign saints shall come to fight for the Land of my vineyard for in this thing shall be their safety and they will have no power to choose but will

⁴Some editing has been done for clarity, but it has not altered the meaning. Periods have been put at the ends of sentences and some capitalization added. A small amount of punctuation has been inserted to facilitate reading. Spelling remains as in the original.

come as a man fleeth from a sudden destruction. But before this the time shall be, these who are now my friends shall become my enemies and shall seek to take my life and there are those now before me who will more furiously pursue me [and] the more dilligently seek my life and be more b[l]ood thirsty upon my track than ever were the Misouri Mobbers. You say among yourselves as did them of old time, is it I, & is it I? But I know these things by the visions of the Almighty.

But brethren come ye yea come all of you who can come and go to with your mights and build up the cities of the Lord and whosoever will let him come and partake of the poverty of Nauvoo freely for those who partake of her poverty shall also partake of her prosperity. And it is now wisdom in God that we should enter into as compact a city as posible, for Zion and Jerusalem must both be built up before the coming of Christ. How long will it take to do this, 10 years? Yes, more than 40 years will pass before this work will be accomplished and when these cities are built then shall the coming of the Son of Man be.

Now let all who can coolly and deliberately dispose of their property come up and give of their substance to the [poor?] that the hearts of the poor may be comforted and all may worship God together in holiness of heart. Come brethren come all of you. And I prophecy in the name of the Lord that the state of Illinois shall become a great and mighty mountain as [a] city set upon a hill that cannot be hid and a great that giveth light to the world. The city of Nauvoo als[o] shall become the greatest city in the whole world.

Curse that man who says to his neighbor you are a mean man because you do not believe as I do. I now invite all liberall minded men to come up to Nauvoo and help to build up the city of our God. We are not greatly distressed, no nor ever will be. This is the principle place of gathering therefore let the brethren begin to roll in like clouds and we will sell you lots if you are able to pay for them, and if not you shall have them without money and without price.

The greater blessing is unto those who come in times of adversity. For many will come to us in times of prosperity that will stand at the corners of the streets saying with long pharisaical faces to those that come after them: Don't go near Bro. Joseph, don't go near the authorities of the church for they will pick your pockets; they will rob you of all your money. Thus will they breed in our midst a spirit of dissatisfaction and distrust that will end in persecution and distress.

Now from this hour bring every thing you can bring and build a Temple unto the Lord, a house unto the mighty God of Jacob. We will build upon the top of this Temple a great observatory, a great and high watch tower and in the top thereof we will Suspend a tremendous bell that when it is rung shall rouse the inhabitants of Madison, wake up the people of Warsaw, and sound in the ears of men [in] Carthage. Then comes the ancient records yea all of them. Dig them; yes bring them forth speedily.

Then shall the poor be fed by the curious who shall come from all parts of the world to see this wonderful temple. Yea I prophecy that pleasure parties shall come from England to see the Mamoth and like the Queen of Sheba shall say the half never was told them. School houses shall be built here and High schools shall be established and the great men of the [earth] shall send their sons here to board while they are receiving their education among us. And

even Noblemen shall crave the priviledge of educating their children with us and these poor saints shall chink in their pockets the money of these proud men received from such as come and dwell with us.

Now brethren I obligate myself to build as great a temple as ever Solomon did, if the church will back me up. Moreover, it shall not impovrish any man but enrich thousands. And I prophecy that the time shall be when these saints shall ride proudly over the mountains of Missouri and no Gentile dog nor Missouri dog shall dare lift a tongue against them but will lick up the dust from beneath their feet. And I pray the Father that many here may realize this and see it with their eyes. And if it should be (stretching his hand towards the place and in a melancholly tone that made all hearts tremble) [the] will of God that I might live to behold that temple completed and finished from the foundation to the top stone I will say, Oh Lord it is enough Lord let thy servant depart in peace, which is my earnest prayer in the name of the L[ord] Jesus Amen.

BRIGHAM YOUNG AND PRIESTHOOD DENIAL TO THE BLACKS: AN ALTERNATE VIEW

Ronald K. Esplin

Historical commentary about the origin of priesthood denial to the Blacks continues to be flawed by misconceptions and a lack of evidence. Unable to link the teaching directly to Joseph Smith or even to Nauvoo, historians of the question have usually turned to Brigham Young as the author and have imputed purely personal or historical motivation rather than revelatory. Even if that be true—and I here suggest an alternative—it is clear that the practice developed at a different time and place than historians have assumed.

A statement Brigham Young made to the Quorum of the Twelve in February 1849 has assumed an unwarranted importance in the historical evidence on the question. Some have seen it as the earliest clear-cut documentation of a policy of priesthood denial to the Blacks; it is not. Nor is it correct to represent the statement as an official declaration of some kind while ignoring its real implications: it clearly points to an earlier settled policy or doctrine. It was not a pronouncement or decision. It was not a result of debate or lengthy discussion at that time. In 1849 President Young merely responded to a question with an offhand recital of understood fact. There is reason to believe that Apostle

Ronald K. Esplin, a Ph.D. candidate in history at Brigham Young University, is a research historian in the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Lorenzo Snow, who asked the question, knew of the policy but that he did not know the doctrinal *reasons* for it. So on 13 February 1849, the day after he was brought into the Quorum of the Twelve, he took advantage of the prebusiness chitchat to ask. According to the minutes, "conversation turned upon mesmerism until Elder Lorenzo Snow presented the case of the Affricans wishing to know the chance of their redemption."¹ It was then that President Young "replied with much clearness," stating the *reason* for the curse. It seems all present already believed that there was a reason. Lorenzo Snow's own reminiscence of this meeting, recorded 1 October 1890, emphasizes even more strongly than the brief minutes of 1849 that the point at issue was the reason for the practice and whether or not it would be a lasting condition.² This, then, was not the meeting where priesthood denial to the Blacks was either officially announced or finally decided. For that, one must look to another time and place.

On 25 April 1847, ten days after Brigham Young and other pioneers left the Missouri River for the Great Basin, Apostle Parley P. Pratt addressed the Saints at Winter Quarters. He had met with President Young and other Church leaders for only a handful of days between his own return from England and their departure. It is conceivable that they discussed priesthood and the Blacks, though extensive minutes and diaries covering the week give no hint of such an intrusion into their frenetic traveling preparations. Nonetheless, in counseling the Saints about the necessity of moving West as early as possible, Elder Pratt offhandedly referred to priesthood denial to the Blacks. The faithful will go west, he emphasized, and if others "want to follow Strang go it," or even "want to follow this Black man who has got the blood of Ham in him which lineage was cursed as regards the Priesthood," well, that was all right, too.³ It appears that Elder Pratt, a long-time intimate of meetings of the Twelve, understood the policy clearly. And had the remark the ring of "new doctrines" to his audience, we might have expected someone to have so noted in the extant diaries and minutes. Apparently we must

¹Quorum of Twelve Notebook, 1849-1869, 13 February 1849, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; hereafter cited as Church Archives. For this meeting historians have generally cited the less complete account in Journal History or Manuscript History of the Church. The original minutes show even more conclusively the informal nature of the discussion.

²See, for example, the diary of Abraham H. Cannon, Church Archives.

³Minutes for 15 April 1847, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

look to yet another place and an earlier time for the origin of the policy.

Unless Brigham Young taught the principle to Parley P. Pratt between 8 and 14 April 1847, the origin for the teaching is pushed back to at least mid-1846, before Elder Pratt left for England. Given the exigencies of 1846, that strongly suggests a Nauvoo origin, a possibility historians have failed to embrace. I feel that two related misconceptions help explain why that alternative has not been pursued more vigorously. The first has to do with the nature of Brigham Young's leadership, the second with Joseph Smith's teachings.

Brigham Young was first a great disciple and student of Joseph Smith and only secondly a great leader in his own right. He saw himself as the master-builder—not the architect—of the Kingdom and of Zion. And while he taught the necessity of revelation to carry out the program, and claimed revelation himself, he felt it was Joseph Smith's special calling to have given the patterns and to have taught all the necessary principles of priesthood and government. The responsibility of Brigham Young and the Twelve, then, was to erect, on the foundation of Joseph, the building Joseph had envisioned. This was stressed time and again by President Young and his associates. For example, in 1866 he explained that "on the things of God, on the building up of His Kingdom, or the doctrines Joseph taught, or on anything that pertains to the priesthood," his memory of what he had learned at Joseph's feet was of primary importance.

An angel never watched him closer than I did, and that is what has given me the knowledge I have to day. I treasure it up, and ask the Father, in the name of Jesus, to help my memory when information is wanted and I have never been at a loss to know what to do concerning the kingdom of God.

Again in 1868:

No matter how great my poverty—if I had to borrow meal to feed my wife and children, I never let an opportunity pass of hearing what the Prophet had to impart. This is the secret of the success of your humble servant.

In a postscript to President Young's 1866 address above, Church Historian George A. Smith added his

testimony that the work that has been carried out by president Young and his brethren has been in accordance with the plans, and

designs, and Spirit, and instructions of Joseph Smith, as the Lord lives.⁴

Throughout his lifetime, then, but especially during this early period, Brigham Young saw himself as charged by Joseph to carry out a specific program. Finishing the Nauvoo Temple, removing to the West, beginning a literal Zion—these he saw as essential parts of his stewardship. He reminded the Twelve in February 1849 that he was accountable not only to the Lord, but also to Joseph, adding:

I av to walk [as if] Joseph is ri[gh]t with me all the time—all I do to build up the K[ingdom] is just as if Jos[ep]h was looking me ri[gh]t in the eye—& our hearts & feelings r one—he wo[ul]d say thats ri[gh]t my boys—& I av not done a thing without knowing that—all I ask is for my Fa[the]r to give me grace that I may go right along.⁵

To summarize, both the substance and style of Brigham Young's leadership and the demands of the arduous Iowa trek of 1846—the most difficult months of President Young's life—argue against his having formulated fundamental policy about temple or priesthood during that period. Nor is there any evidence that he did.

Yet the problem in attributing the priesthood policy to Joseph Smith remains: so far as presently known documentation is concerned, one cannot point to a specific date or place where Joseph Smith taught the principle. It should be remembered, however, that argument from negative evidence is never conclusive. The absence of evidence may narrow possibility but does not rule it out. Unless something can be positively ruled out for other reasons, there always remains a possibility that it occurred even though it is not noted in the documentation at hand. It is clearly too early to conclude that Joseph Smith did not teach of priesthood denial to the Blacks. In fact, in this case the circumstantial evidence increases rather than narrows the probability that he did.

Before suggesting some of that evidence, we must look at an assumption that most students of the question seem to make: that all Joseph Smith's important doctrinal teachings were adequately recorded. That is not so. In fact, only a small portion of his *public* teachings and very little of his extensive *private* teachings were recorded. Dean Jessee, research historian with the LDS Historical

⁴The 1866 quotations of Brigham Young and Joseph Smith from 8 October 1866 discourse are in Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives. The 1868 quotation is from *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886), 12:270.

⁵Minutes for 12 February 1849, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

Department, has shown that of approximately 250 public sermons mentioned in diaries and minutes (and surely Joseph gave others), we have a fairly adequate account (notes, not verbatim reports) of only 54 of them, not to mention the numerous private sessions held with the Twelve and others, especially during 1843–1844. The latter were not recorded nor meant to be recorded. Rather, they were the proper forum for the teaching of the “mysteries of the kingdom,” those temple-related teachings that were not to be taught abroad and could not go to the broader membership of the Church until after completion of the Temple and the removal of the Church to the relative isolation of the West.

Brigham Young and the Twelve, then, had access to a much larger corpus of Joseph Smith’s teachings than we presently enjoy in written form. This becomes highly significant and relevant to the present question when Apostle Orson Hyde in 1845 characterized a discussion of the curse upon Blacks specifically as “among the mysteries of the kingdom” and said that he mentioned it at that time “not by constraint, or by commandment, but by permission.”⁶ In other words, he was party to teachings about the Blacks which had not been explained publicly—and which would not be until Brigham Young himself did so in January and February of 1852. This same private understanding, it would appear, prompted Parley P. Pratt’s cursory statement in 1847, Brigham Young’s explanation to Lorenzo Snow in 1849, and President Young’s detailed public explanation in 1852.

Finally, if priesthood denial to the Blacks were taught in Nauvoo councils during 1843–1844, and consequently came to the Church (and in 1852 to the public) through Brigham Young and the Twelve, it would hardly be a new or unknown phenomenon. Many of the teachings and practices formalized during Brigham Young’s administration can be traced to private councils where Joseph Smith taught the Twelve in detail about the affairs of the Kingdom. In fact, it seems far more compelling to accept that possibility, one in harmony with what we know of Brigham Young, and of Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, than to continue to be-

⁶Orson Hyde, “Speech of Elder Orson Hyde, Delivered before the High Priests Quorum, in Nauvoo, April 27th, 1845, upon the course and conduct of Mr. Sydney Rigdon, and upon the merits of his claims to the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints” (Liverpool, 1845), p. 30. Andrew F. Ehat, researcher with the Religious Studies Center, BYU, called this passage to my attention. Unfortunately Orson Hyde did not specify the priesthood liability associated with the curse but stressed instead the relationship of lineage to the right to govern. This was one of Governor Young’s concerns in 1852 when he discussed the matter before the Utah Legislature—the first such public discussion (see fns. 7 and 8).

lieve—in the absence of documentation—that Brigham Young made a fundamental innovation of his own during those tumultuous years of succession, temple building, and exodus, especially in view of the fact that the private meetings where Joseph Smith taught the full pattern of temple ordinances (and related doctrines) would have provided the ideal forum and the motivation for discussing it. We know the early brethren were concerned about priesthood lineage and about who would have access to temple ordinances. Even if Joseph did not raise the question himself, it is not difficult to envision someone asking about the Blacks and Joseph providing the answer. It is my feeling that the doctrine was introduced in Nauvoo and consistently applied in practice at least by 1843, although it would require additional documentation to raise the possibility from the realm of the probable to the certain.

No matter who taught of priesthood denial to the Blacks, or when, the question of inspired (or human) origin remains. Ultimately, of course, that is a question of faith, not history. But since historians have suggested, in the absence of any claimed revelation on the matter, that it might well be a historically determined policy, it is relevant to examine Brigham Young's own comments. The best evidence is a speech he gave before the Utah Territorial Legislature in February of 1852. Lester Bush, the most careful student so far of the question of priesthood and the Blacks, concluded from a partial report of the 1852 address that, while "one hesitates to attribute theological significance to a legislative address, were this account to be unequivocally authenticated it would present a substantial challenge to the faithful Mormon who does not accept an inspired origin for Church priesthood policy."⁷ Locating additional evidence of the address was complicated by a problem in dating. The speech was given 5 February 1852, rather than in January as Bush concluded. On the fourth of February, Governor Young laid the groundwork for a theological address to the legislature by reminding the members "not to forget that they are Elders in Israel" who should enjoy the Spirit of the Lord and should remember eternal principles even as they debated legal technicalities.

⁷Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: an Historical Overview," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Spring 1973):26. Bush is apparently quoting from the undated Wilford Woodruff diary account. Governor Young did give an address about Blacks to the legislature as early as 23 January 1852, and the diary context for Elder Woodruff's version suggests a January dating, but it was delivered 5 February 1852.

The reason that the 5 February 1852 sermon is of such importance in the matter is that President Young went to great lengths to deny in the most unequivocal language that he was the author of the practice of priesthood denial to the Blacks and to assert that the Lord was. Why could not Blacks hold the priesthood?

Because [these] are the true eternal principles the Lord Almighty has ordained, and who can help it. Men cannot, the angels cannot, and all the powers of earth and hell cannot take it off, but thus saith the Eternal I am, what I am, I take it off at my pleasure.⁸

The matter was, he said, beyond his personal control; that is, it was divinely determined, not historically or personally. It is interesting to speculate that if he had felt it was within his jurisdiction to change the policy, he would have conferred the priesthood upon selected Blacks in his own lifetime. For example, speaking of one of his longtime Black employees, Brigham Young said in 1861 that "he would confer any blessing to him he could, believing him to deserve it."⁹

Independent of one's conclusions about the origins of priesthood denial to the Blacks, the dramatic change of June 1978 is almost uniformly seen as a rebuttal of Brigham Young's teachings on the matter. Again I suggest that the evidence requires no such wholesale rejection. Brigham Young did say in the strongest possible terms that he had no power to change the doctrine, that if he tried he could only bring God's curse upon himself and his own priesthood. But that is part of his passage explaining that God, not man, was the author, and he neither states nor implies that therefore Blacks could never have the Priesthood.¹⁰ On the

⁸Discourse 5 February 1852, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives. This account is in the hand of Willmer Benson, whose hand also appears in some Historian's Office journals and in the Heber C. Kimball Journal.

⁹Office Journal, 25 September 1861, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

¹⁰This address has been used to show that Brigham Young taught that giving the priesthood to Negroes would be *prima facie* evidence of apostasy. The passage usually referred to has an entirely different meaning; it does not refer at all to giving the Blacks the priesthood, but to intermarriage with them *while they were under the curse of God*:

The day they consented to mingle their seed with Cannan, the priesthood was taken away from Judah. . . . Let this Church . . . the first presidency, the twelve, . . . and all the elders of Israel here declare that it is right to mingle our seed, with the black race of Cain, that they shall come in with us and be partakers with us of all the blessings God has given to us. On that very day, and hour we should do so, the priesthood is taken from this Church and kingdom and God leaves us to our fate. The moment we consent to mingle with the seed of Cain the Church must go to destruction, . . . and never more be numbered with the children of Adam who are heirs to the priesthood untill that curse be removed.

Once that curse was removed there would be no such liability, but of course President Young was again stressing that only God, not earthly priesthood authority, could remove the curse.

contrary, Brigham Young personally believed that the day *would* come when the Blacks would have the priesthood. For example, the significant 1852 statement quoted above continued with a promise of future blessings:

Men cannot [remove the curse], angels cannot . . . but thus saith the Eternal I am, what I am, I take it off at my pleasure, and not one partical of power can that posterity of Cain have, until the time comes. . . . That time will come when they will have the privilege of all we have the privilege of and more.

The question, then, was when, not if. Brigham Young believed that the then-current priesthood denial came from God, and from that "given" and the reasons for it as far as he understood them, he attempted to deduce a timetable for change. Never, however, did he claim divine confirmation of the timetable as he did for the practice itself, though he frequently expressed his opinion that such a change was a long way off.

Brigham Young saw one essential precondition to Blacks' receiving the priesthood, a precondition that logically flowed from his understanding of the reason for the curse. Since he understood the curse to have been related to Cain and his posterity's seeking ascendancy over Abel and his posterity, who held the birthright, it seemed clear to him that Cain's descendants could not have the priesthood until after the descendants of Abel received priesthood responsibility and had their birthright assured. His oft-used style of exaggeration to make a point led him on occasion to suggest that *none* of the sons of Cain could have the priesthood until *all* of the sons of Abel received it—something that he and his audience, as well as we, understood to be hyperbole, for at no time will *all* the sons of Abel accept priesthood blessings and responsibilities. But the main thrust of his comments was always the same: Abel and his posterity must be assured their birthright before Cain's posterity could receive the priesthood. Although Brigham Young did not know when that would be, he did suggest it might be associated with the millennium (one side or another of that Great Event) and that its happening would be a sign the end times were near. Who of us has the wisdom to say that in 130+ years the condition that President Young talked about has not been fulfilled sufficiently to bless the Blacks and the Church with this change? His own teachings suggest that President Young would not demur in embracing it.

But perhaps this misses the point. For what Brigham Young taught as strongly as any other President in our history is the im-

portance of living prophets and continuous revelation and of their superiority over "dead texts." What he claimed to know by revelation was that the Blacks could not have priesthood "except at his [the Lord's] pleasure," which pleasure the Lord would reveal to a prophet long after his own day. Reminiscing about the 1849 statement of President Young to the Twelve, Apostle Lorenzo Snow remembered feeling thankful "that there was no statement that the Negro should never hold the Priesthood and that there would never be a day of redemption for him," and he recognized that "there would always be a man at the head of the Church that would have the keys and who could and would give us the light as he would get the mind of the Lord."¹¹ For Brigham Young, as for Lorenzo Snow, it was a matter of considerable importance and the Lord would not ignore it. But until the Lord again intervened, President Young was certain that the position of the Church, his position, was the only proper one: Blacks were denied the priesthood not by personal whim or historical accident, but by heavenly decree, and until God's purposes had been fulfilled no earthly power could change it.

"A MORE VIRTUOUS MAN NEVER EXISTED ON
THE FOOTSTOOL OF THE GREAT JEHOVAH":
GEORGE MILLER ON JOSEPH SMITH

Lyndon W. Cook

Almost immediately after his conversion to Mormonism, George Miller was taken into Joseph Smith's confidence and was

¹¹Heber J. Grant Diary, 1 October 1890, Church Archives.

Lyndon W. Cook, a research historian, teaches part time for the College of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University.

placed in prominent leadership positions in the Church.¹ When he found the gospel, George Miller was a fairly well-to-do farmer residing near Macomb, McDonough County, Illinois. His compassion stirred by the sight of exiled Mormons from western Missouri, he opened both his heart and home to the destitute Saints. Soon convinced of the truth of their doctrine, George Miller joined the Church in June 1839, and by January 1841 he was called as a presiding Church Bishop. George Miller fully focused his energies on the growth of the Kingdom, preaching the gospel and serving in various Church callings. He was chosen as president of the high priests quorum, was named a member of the Nauvoo House Association, and was commissioned as captain, later colonel, and finally brigadier-general in the Nauvoo Legion. He spent untold hours in procuring timber from Wisconsin for the construction of the Nauvoo House and the Temple, and in campaigning for Joseph Smith as President of the United States. He was appointed trustee-in-trust for the Church after Joseph Smith's death. George Miller's Church prominence is further attested to by his selection as one of the first group in this dispensation to receive the endowment (4 May 1842) and to receive the fulness of the priesthood in 1844. Although Bishop Miller later separated himself from the leadership of the Twelve Apostles in 1847, his importance as a Church leader, both before and after the Prophet's death, cannot be minimized.

In 1842 George Miller wrote a letter regarding an order of extradition from the State of Missouri. Smarting over his recent exposure of immoralities, John C. Bennett began a crusade in 1842 to destroy Joseph Smith's character and the credibility of the Mormon people. Bennett's allegations and public accusations that Joseph Smith not only prophesied Boggs' death but even sent Porter

¹George Miller (1794-1856), son of John Miller and Margaret Pfeiffer, was born 25 November 1794, near Stanardville, Virginia. After the family's move to Kentucky in 1806, George Miller was employed as an apprentice joiner. He was initiated into Masonry about 1819. Soon thereafter, he was married to Mary Catherine Fry. By 1834, the Millers had moved to Illinois where George was baptized by John Taylor (about 29 June 1839). Appointed a presiding Church Bishop on 19 January 1841, George Miller occupied numerous positions of trust in the Church, being an intimate friend of Joseph Smith. Bishop Miller refused to be governed by Brigham Young in 1847 and joined Lyman Wight in Texas. But, by 1849, George Miller became convinced that James J. Strang was Joseph Smith's lawful successor and joined the Strangites at Beaver Island in late 1850. After the Strang shooting in June 1856, George Miller decided to locate in California but died en route at Meringo, Illinois. (See Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1932-1951], 4:274-86 [hereinafter cited as HC]; H. W. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, 10 [1917]:86-172); Record of Sealings, 13 January 1846, p. 9, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah [hereafter referred to as Church Archives].)

Rockwell to perpetrate the deed caused fears among Church leaders of another Missouri attempt to extradite the Prophet. George Miller's assignment in this matter was to inform Governor Reynolds of Bennett's true character and of Joseph Smith's innocence. Although George Miller did write to Governor Reynolds in late June 1842, and was later "delegated to go to Missouri and see Governor Reynolds in person,"² a second demand for the Prophet's arrest and delivery by the State of Missouri was issued in July 1842. The letter produced below was written in September 1842 (after the second requisition had been issued). It explains Joseph Smith's release on a writ of *habeas corpus*, witnesses to the Prophet's integrity, and requests Governor Reynolds to exert an influence to avert the growing prejudice against the Saints.

St Louis Mo. Sept 4th 1842³

To His Excellency Tho^s Reynolds⁴
D^r Sir

I hope you will
not think it a presumption, my writing you on the subject of the late
requisition by yourself, on the Executive of Illinois⁵ (upon the affi-

²See George Miller to the *Northern Islander*, 26 June 1855, in Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," 10:120.

³The letter, located at the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, is published by permission.

⁴Thomas Reynolds (1796-1844) was born 12 March 1796, in Bracken County, Kentucky. He was chief justice of the Supreme Court in Illinois, 1822-1825, and a Democratic representative in the General Assembly, 1826-1828. He removed to Fayette County, Missouri, in 1828. A member of the Missouri Legislature and a circuit court judge, he became sixth governor of Missouri, 1840-1844. Governor Reynolds committed suicide 9 February 1844, in his executive office at Jefferson City, Missouri. (See *Governors' Letter-Books, 1840-1853, Executive Series, Vol. II, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library Vol. VII*, ed. Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson [Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1911], p. 65.) With respect to Governor Reynolds' suicide, Joseph Smith stated: "The Lord once told me that what I asked for I should have, I have been afraid to ask God to kill my enemies lest some of them should peradventure repent I asked a short time since for the Lord to deliver me out of the hands of the Governor of Missouri & if it must needs be to accomplish it to take him away, & the next news that came pouri[n]g down from their [Missouri] was that Governor Reynolds had shot himself." (As reported in Wilford Woodruff Journal, 10 March 1844, Church Archives.)

⁵The first attempt to extradite Joseph Smith from Illinois to stand trial for alleged crimes against the people of the State of Missouri took place in the summer of 1841, when the Prophet was arrested on a charge of treason on a requisition from Missouri governor, Thomas Reynolds. The Prophet was immediately freed on a writ of *habeas corpus*, and a hearing was set for the first week in June in Monmouth, Illinois. After pleadings on both sides, Judge Stephen A. Douglas delivered his opinion on 10 June 1841. Without considering the validity of the charge against Joseph Smith, Judge Douglas dismissed the case on procedural grounds. He ruled that the indictment against the Prophet was invalid since it had been returned to the governor once without being served. (See HC, 4:364-71.)

davit of Ex Gov L W Boggs⁶ against O. P. Rockwell⁷ as principal, & Joseph Smith as accessory before the fact for an attempt to commit murder upon the body of said Boggs in the county of Jackson State of Missouri)

First I will briefly s[t]ate the circumstances of the arrest⁸ of said Smith & Rockwell by the officers M^r King⁹ & Pitman¹⁰ of Adams County Ills We had heard a rumor that a writ had been issued upon your demand for Rockwell & Smith, as fugitives having fled the justice of your State and taken shelter in Illinois, but did not believe it, it being a notorious fact that said Smith has not been in Mo. within the last three and a half years past. Therefore could not have been guilty of the charges alledged, and further, on the day the deed was committed he attended an officer drill, and the day after reviewed the Militia in the City of Nauvoo.¹¹ Now that he could have fled the justice of your State is a matter impossible, the distance being about 300 miles, and with these facts before him he sued out a writ

⁶Lilburn W. Boggs (1798–1861) was born 14 January 1798 at Lexington, Kentucky. He served in the War of 1812. He located in St. Louis about 1816. After the death of his first wife, Lilburn Boggs married Panthea Boone, granddaughter of the famed Daniel Boone. He was first elected to the state legislature in 1826, and he served as lieutenant governor of Missouri, 1832–1836. He was elected fifth governor of Missouri, serving from 1836–1840. Governor Boggs is particularly remembered by Mormons for his order of Mormon extermination from Missouri on 27 October 1838. After his term as governor, he was elected to the state senate. He left for California in 1846, where he settled in Napa Valley. He died there 19 March 1861. (See Lyman L. Palmer, *History of Napa and Lake Counties* [San Francisco: Slocum, Bowen, 1881], pp. 373–86.) The attempt on Governor Boggs' life was made on the evening of 6 May 1842, at the ex-governor's residence in Independence, Missouri.

⁷Orrin Porter Rockwell (1813–1878) was born in Belcher, Massachusetts, on 28 June 1813. An intimate friend of the Prophet, Porter Rockwell was baptized in 1830, shortly after the organization of the Church. Charged by Missourians with assault with intent to kill ex-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs in 1842, Porter Rockwell was arrested twice and finally taken into custody on 4 March 1843. Unable to convict him, the State of Missouri finally released him 13 December 1843. A colorful Mormon personality, Porter Rockwell played an important role in the Mormon exodus to the Great Salt Lake Valley. He died 9 June 1878, in Salt Lake City. (See Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell, Man of God, Son of Thunder* [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966], pp. 15, 18, 88, 106, and 362.)

⁸The arrest alluded to here occurred on 8 August 1842, in Nauvoo. The requisition, dated 22 July 1842, stated that the Prophet was a "fugitive from justice" and charged him with being an accessory before the fact to an assault with intent to kill ex-Governor Boggs. Included with the requisition was an affidavit of the ex-governor, dated 20 July 1842, which asserted Lilburn W. Boggs' belief that Joseph Smith was the instigator of the murder attempt. On 2 August 1842, Governor Thomas Carlin of Illinois signed an order for Joseph Smith's arrest and surrender to a Missouri agent. Arrested on 8 August 1842, the Prophet and Porter Rockwell were taken before the Nauvoo Municipal Court and released on a writ of *habeas corpus*. (See HC, 5:234–35.)

⁹Thomas C. King was sheriff of Adams County, Illinois.

¹⁰James M. Pitman was deputy sheriff of Adams County, Illinois.

¹¹The officers' drill, held on 6 May 1842, was that of the Nauvoo Legion. Festivities the following day included a dinner at the Mansion House, a parade and review of the Nauvoo Legion, and a sham battle. Stephen A. Douglas, as well as other dignitaries, attended the events of the day. (See HC, 5:3–4.)

of Habeas Corpus, under a provision of the City Charter, and an ordinance growing out of the same, passed by the City Counsel.¹² The officers that apprehended them (Smith & Rockwell) premitorally refused to acknowledge the validity of any city ordinance in the case¹³—but however left the prisoners in charge of the City Marshall¹⁴ until they could return to Quincy for Legal advise—The Marshall having no authority to hold the prisoners let them go. And having learned that Gov. Carlin¹⁵ was determined to have them delivered to your agents, regardless of habeas corpus. The counsel for the prisoners advised them not to be found on the return of the officers from Quincy (which they observed) believing the prisoners would fall victims to the fury of the populace of Illinois or Missouri, and that the arm of the Law would not be able to protect them, or could they get an impa[r]tial trial by due course of Law.¹⁶ prejudice running so high, on account of our peculiar religious tenets, which my dear Sir you are very well aware of.— The above is an unvarnished account of the facts in the case. It is now rumoured that the agents you sent to receive Smith & Rockwell have again returned to

¹²The provision of the Nauvoo Charter in question here gave the Nauvoo Municipal Court "power to grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases arising under the ordinances of the city council." A broad interpretation of this provision would have given the court power to investigate *any* confinement, state or federal, within the city of Nauvoo "that was in violation of the terms of a valid ordinance of the city of Nauvoo." The ordinance referred to by George Miller in the text was passed on 8 August 1842 (the same date as the arrest) and provided that whenever any person should be "arrested or under arrest" in Nauvoo, he could be brought before the Nauvoo Municipal Court by a writ of *habeas corpus*. (See HC, 5:87–88 and Dallin H. Oaks, "The Suppression of the Nauvoo *Expositor*," *Utah Law Review* [Winter 1965], pp. 878 and 880.)

¹³The arresting officers objected to the Nauvoo Municipal Court's use of the writ of *habeas corpus* to release prisoners in the custody of state or federal authorities. While this action by a municipal court today would be illegal, this was "not an unusual phenomenon in pre-Civil War" times. (See Oaks, "The Suppression of the Nauvoo *Expositor*," p. 878.)

¹⁴The marshal, Henry G. Sherwood, was also a member of the Nauvoo High Council.

¹⁵Thomas Carlin (1789–1852) was born 18 July 1789 in Fayette County, Kentucky. His family came to St. Louis County, Missouri, in 1803. He removed to Illinois in 1812 and enlisted in the United States Army as a private in the War of 1812. Thomas Carlin was a state senator, 1824–1832. He was a captain of spies in the Black Hawk War in 1832. A registrar of the land office at Quincy from 1834–1838, Thomas Carlin served as the governor of Illinois, 1838–1842. After being governor, he was a Democratic representative in the General Assembly, 1849–1851. He died at Carrollton, Illinois, 14 February 1852. (See *Governors' Letter-Books, 1840–1853*, p. 13.)

¹⁶After being freed on a writ of *habeas corpus* on 8 August 1842, both the Prophet and Porter Rockwell went into hiding. When Adams County sheriffs returned to Nauvoo on 10 August and found their prisoners gone, law enforcements officers, two governors and a large non-Mormon faction were infuriated. Rewards for the arrest or capture of Joseph Smith and Porter Rockwell were set at \$300. Governor Carlin did not concur in the broad interpretation of the Nauvoo City Charter (as mentioned in the footnote 12), and he characterized the City Council's actions as "most absurd and ridiculous" and "a gross usurpation of power that cannot be tolerated." (HC, 5:154.) When, in the fall of 1842, United States district attorney, Justin Butterfield informed Joseph Smith that it was his opinion that the Missouri requisition was invalid, the Prophet sent messengers to newly elected Illinois governor, Thomas Ford, requesting rescission of the demand. While Ford refused to rescind his predecessor's official acts, he did recommend that Joseph Smith stand trial in Springfield and let the judges of the Supreme Court decide the matter. With the concurrence of Justin Butterfield in this recommendation, the Prophet traveled to Springfield in January 1843. Judge Pope's opinion, delivered 5 January 1843, was that Joseph Smith could not be a "fugitive from justice" on the assault with intent to kill Boggs and that Boggs' affidavit was imprecise and of questionable validity. The Prophet was discharged on 5 January 1843. (See HC, 5:223–31.)

Ill. having a new demand upon the executive of Ill.¹⁷ The illegalities of the former being amended, whether it be true or not, I can not tell. I now beg the the [sic] patience of your Excellency whilst I indulge my feelings in stating things as they are, and I will do so more freely knowing who you are, and I feel assured you will believe me. I have known Joseph Smith intimately for near three & a half years, having been a great portion of that time in his society every day. There being an intimacy between us like that of Brothers, he having frequently unbosomed himself to me, and I unhesitatingly aver that in every sense of the terms, a more generous, liberal, honorable, high toned virtuous man, never existed on the footstool of the great *Jehovah*, than Joseph Smith— And why let me ask you, should innocence be hunted and sacrificed to the caprice of popular prejudice & whimzy, and we as a religious community denied the liberty of conscience and the common constitutional rights of citizens. I make this appeal to your Excellency, having learned from good sources, that you are a learned jurist, a good man, & honorable *patriot*, therefore I am the more free to speak my sentiments.— Now in regard to our peculiar religious tenets, we believe, and teach nothing other than the doctrine, the *Prophets*, *Jesus Christ*, and the *Apostles* taught, and should *that*, in the nineteenth century, be esteemed criminal. Surely your Excellency will say with me, *it can not*, But if those tenets be wrong, then we as religionists are guilty of error.— I do hope that your Excellency will not permit your mind to be prejudiced by the foul slander of those amongst us, as also those who are opposed to us, on account of our religious notions, but that you will rather exert an influence to avert the growing prejudice, and also the daily persecutions that are continually heaped upon our religious community,— I have seen forty nine winters, and have no recollection of any religious body in the United States having been so cruelly persecuted as we have been; and *not a pen wielded* in our *behalf*, nor an influence *exerted*. Should such a State of things be all [overlooked?],¹⁸ in a Government where the liberty of conscience is guaranteed to all its citizens and all religions said to be tolerated. It never the less *is so*, and will you, exert an influence against such a state of things.¹⁹

In *haste*
Most Respectfully &c
George Miller

¹⁷A third requisition for Joseph Smith was issued by Missouri governor, Thomas Reynolds, in the spring of 1843, but this extradition attempt was also foiled (HC, 5:461–65).

¹⁸An ink smudge renders this word illegible.

¹⁹Subsequent attempts by Thomas Reynolds to obtain custody of Joseph Smith clearly evidence that George Miller's plea was in vain.

Notes and Comments

PLATTING THE CITY BEAUTIFUL: A HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL GLIMPSE OF NAUVOO STREETS

Donald L. Enders

In the spring of 1839 the Latter-day Saints began arriving at their newly appointed gathering place on the Upper Mississippi. There they established Nauvoo, destined to become by December 1845 one of the two largest cities in Illinois.

Its design had been most influenced by the plat for the "City of Zion" at Independence, Missouri. Zion was to be one mile square, divided by wide streets into blocks of ten acres, which in turn would be subdivided into twenty equal lots. A home and outbuildings would be erected on each lot, with sufficient space for garden, fruit trees, and domestic animals. No specific provision was made for the location of industrial or commercial establishments. With farms clustered outside the city limits, Zion would be an agricultural community with the benefits of city life as well. As new converts gathered, the city would be enlarged until it reached predetermined proportions; other Zion communities would then be created as needed.

Nauvoo's site had been selected with an eye for immediate prosperity and eventual expansion. The river would bring in inhabitants and money, and the city would grow, covering the plain in the bend of the river, then the bluffs, and finally the prairie beyond.¹ By late summer of 1839 the Church had obtained most of the bottomland where the city of Nauvoo was already being built. Initial purchases from Hugh White, Isaac Galland, the Hotchkiss Syndicate, and William White had placed approximately 671 acres under Church ownership. The first official plat of Nauvoo, created 30 August 1839, included most of the acreage in those four acquisitions. A notable exception was the area encompassing most of Commerce City and that portion of old Commerce which had been acquired as part of the Hotchkiss purchase.

Donald L. Enders is the senior historic sites specialist for the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

¹Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 44.

Some of this area apparently never was subdivided to conform to the Nauvoo plat.

The city plat provided for blocks of four acres, each divided into four lots, a departure from the much larger Independence or Zion plan. Originally, the Nauvoo plat provided for only one home to a lot. Soon, however, as people began crowding into the city, one-house lots were subdivided until several homes and businesses could be found on many of the original sites. Although the city plat showed the whole area divided into streets and blocks, much of it was just a "paper" town which would have to wait for a multitude of settlers to make it a reality.²

Following the city's incorporation in February 1841, decisions of the Nauvoo City Council shed light on the rapid sprawl of the city north and east onto the bluffs and towards the prairie. To maintain an open and garden-like setting, homes were to be set back twenty-five feet from the streets, with shade and ornamental trees and shrubbery being encouraged for yard and sidewalk areas. Streets and walkways, like those of other planned communities of the day, were spacious; sidewalks eight feet wide were required for streets three rods wide (49.5 feet), and sidewalks ten feet wide were required for streets exceeding that width. The narrower walkways would have been adequate for all but three streets in Nauvoo—Main Street (82 feet), Water Street (64 feet), and Granger Street (widened to 65.5 feet in 1843).³

Being convinced the Church was in Illinois to stay, and seeing new converts gathering in great numbers to Nauvoo, some who held large tracts of land felt there were advantages in creating subdivisions to be taken into the city as "additions." Before becoming a part of the city, each new addition was required by the City Council to conform to the original Nauvoo plat. Such new acquisitions pushed Nauvoo's boundaries eastward, increasing the city, by 1846, to nearly four times its original area. Minutes of the City Council refer on occasion to resolutions calling for surveying and opening some of the streets already shown on the original plat, as well as opening new ones in those areas later annexed to the city.⁴

²David E. Miller, "Westward Migration of the Mormons," report submitted to the National Park Service, 1963, pp. 45-59.

³"Law and Ordinances of the City of Nauvoo: Streets and Alleys, January 30, 1843," *City Council Proceedings 1841-1845, Nauvoo, Illinois*, p. 152. Copy in possession of Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, Salt Lake City.

⁴"An Ordinance in Relation to the City Plot, March 1, 1841," *City Council Proceedings 1841-1845, Nauvoo, Illinois*, p. 11, Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

Obviously, not all of the people who moved to Nauvoo settled in the area originally incorporated as the city of Nauvoo or in one of the subdivisions which later became a part of it. An examination of an 1846 map⁵ delineating Nauvoo's additions and subdivisions reveals extensive areas not so included. Many of the streets and blocks intended for these new additions were never developed beyond the drawing board, although most of the area not subdivided was used as farm land.⁶

The process of actually laying out the network of streets was slow work and never seemed to keep pace with the city's expansion. Petitions requesting the City Council to open new streets or extend existing ones were generally slow to be fulfilled because each new street of the approximately 75 miles of roadway constructed by the Mormons in Nauvoo required surveying and considerable grading (by horse-drawn scrapers and levelers), not to mention occasional bridging at streams and ground depressions.

The official opening of a street, of course, did not guarantee troublefree access to its users. Illinois' diverse weather and a heavy traffic of wagons, animals, and men were forever spoiling the streets' surfaces. When Josiah Quincy and Charles Francis Adams visited Nauvoo in May 1844, during a heavy rain, they found its streets "knee-deep in mud."⁷ This was not an uncommon condition. Even Nauvoo's busiest thoroughfares suffered. Parley Street, a main avenue connecting the prairie to the east with the heart of the community, was usually impassable between Durphy and Partridge streets, even for foot travellers, because of water draining south from the bluffs to the river. A petition to the City Council in March 1844 from Hyrum Smith and twenty-two others lamented the streets' "bad conditions" and asked for that "honorable body to take the same into consideration, and devise some means for improving the same."⁸

In spite of the need, Nauvoo City, probably for financial reasons, never launched an adequate street-improvement program. When weather or other conditions caused road damage, the City

⁵A Map of Nauvoo with All the Additions and the Towns of Commerce and Commerce City, compiled from the Records of Hancock County, by A. Cherill [1846]. By permission of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

⁶A Map of Nauvoo Additions and Subdivisions, transposed on Gustavus Hills 1842 Map. Prepared by Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1965.

⁷Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past from the Leaves of Old Journals* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), p. 380.

⁸"Petition from Hyrum Smith and Twenty-two Others Requesting Street Improvements, March 8, 1844," *Streets*, Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, Index. Copy located at Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Hereafter referred to as Church Archives.

Council attempted to alleviate the problem through volunteer work projects or by the labor of lawbreakers sentenced to do road work.⁹ Most often, however, individual citizens were expected to keep their walks and streets in repair.

Sources indicate roads were paved with gravel, and sidewalks were paved with gravel, brick, or stone. "Streets were indicated and then later properly surveyed," and, where necessary, fill was brought in and "gravel was hauled for the streets."¹⁰ Thomas L. Kane, who visited the abandoned city in September 1846, mentions walking along a "solitary street, no grass growing up in the paved ways."¹¹ Whether this means the "paved ways" were streets or sidewalks is not certain, but it does suggest that some paving was done in Nauvoo during the Mormon residency.

City Council minutes, city land records, and the city surveyor's requests for payment for completed street surveys give some insight into the city's growth pattern and street expansion. From the spring of 1839 through 1841, streets were opened in about 80 percent of the original plat, mostly in the southern part of town, which was the more populated and improved area. Streets which were convenient routes to the farm lands east of the developing city were also opened.

By the end of 1842, Nauvoo's population, augmented by a large influx of British converts, had swelled to nearly 38 percent above what it had been at the first of the year, bringing the community's total to approximately 4,500.¹² Most of the newcomers moved onto lands recently annexed by the city to the northeast, east, and southeast of the temple block. Streets extended into those areas were principally commercial routes, giving access to the wharfs along the river in the northwest part of town and to the budding business area on the south of the promontory. Over the next three years many less significant streets were graded and opened, giving a more completed appearance to the city.¹³

Planned as an ideal community where all could ponder the lat-

⁹For example, on one occasion two boys caught stealing chickens were sentenced to ten days' hard labor on the city streets; and, on another occasion, a young man, for abusing the police and for contempt of court, was sentenced to twenty days of the same labor. ("Minutes of the Mayor's Court, Nauvoo, Illinois, January 2, 1844," Church Archives; Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-1951], 5:153.)

¹⁰T. Earl Pardoe, *Lorin Farr, Pioneer* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1953), p. 59.

¹¹*Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: Horace S. Eldredge, 1871), 13:114-15.

¹²James L. Kimball, Jr., "Nauvoo Population Study," in progress.

¹³"Minutes of the City Council of the City of Nauvoo, Illinois, 1841-1846," Church Archives.

ter-day gospel in surroundings of lovely buildings and broad avenues laid out in prescribed format and beautifully landscaped, Nauvoo had, by 1845, moved toward, as well as departed from, that ideal. Archaeological investigations conducted in Nauvoo between 1965 and 1976 by Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, have helped to clarify where the city adhered to and strayed from the physical arrangement envisioned by its founders.

First, a partial resurvey of Nauvoo by archaeologist J. C. Harrington confirmed that the original survey line of 1839, marking Nauvoo's east boundary, was plotted true north and that all streets, except one, ran parallel or at right angles to that line. The one exception was Water Street, which followed the riverbank from north to south along the city's west boundary.

Excavations at the homes of Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff, the *Times and Seasons* Complex, the Masonic Hall, and the Webb Blacksmith Shop revealed that the widths of the streets adjacent to those properties did not always conform to dimensions noted in the original plat. At four of these locations, remains of public walkways laid during the Mormon period were discovered. Without exception, the walks were included within the street boundaries. Thus, some streets were actually shy of their prescribed width by as many feet as the bordering walks were wide.¹⁴ Curbs were a definite demarcation line between street and walk. The curb at the Webb Blacksmith Shop was "formed of roughly shaped stones, about nine inches high and five inches thick . . . with the walk near the top and the gutter approximately level with the bottom."¹⁵ Walks excavated at the blacksmith shop and the Masonic Hall conformed to the city ordinance specifying sidewalk widths; some public walks excavated at other sites did not.¹⁶

Granger Street was a much-traveled street in the 1840s. It connected the southern part of the city with the major steamboat landing at the north. Residents living along the street in 1843 petitioned to have it widened. The City Council approved adding eight feet on both sides for the entire length of the street, thus moving original property lines back. Excavations at the Brigham

¹⁴Reports of excavations at the Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, Masonic Hall, *Times and Seasons* Complex, and Webb Blacksmith Shop sites, 1965-1976. By permission of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

¹⁵J. C. Harrington, *Archaeological Excavations at the Edwin D. Webb Site (127-4)* 1968, p. 18. By permission of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

¹⁶*Ibid.*; Dale L. Berge, *Archaeological Excavation of the Masonic Hall, Nauvoo, Illinois*, 1976, p. 6. By permission of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

Young home and the Webb Blacksmith Shop (which are diagonally across Granger Street from each other) unearthed walkways and other features which clearly defined Granger Street's pre-1843 width at 49.5 feet and its post-1843 width at 65.5 feet.¹⁷ Property boundaries were also altered on the east side of Brigham Young's property when permission was granted in 1843 to open a 16-foot-wide alley through the entire block. Remains of post holes for both the original east property lines and the alley line were located, the alley fence line quite clearly being of the Mormon era, for not long after the sale of the property by Brigham Young the former boundary was reestablished and the alley abandoned.¹⁸ Property boundaries were not always religiously adhered to. The digs at the *Times and Seasons* Complex¹⁹ and the Masonic Hall²⁰ revealed that buildings at both those sites extended over their property lines. The north building of the *Times and Seasons* Complex trespassed Main Street's right-of-way by three feet. Consequently, legal action forced a front entrance to the building's basement to be filled in to prevent any further encroachment on the street and walk.²¹

Archaeological excavations revealed the kinds of materials used in sidewalk and street construction and, to some degree, helped define the extent of their use. That Latter-day Saint Nauvoo had wooden walks has been a traditional concept;²² however, so far, no remains of this type of walkway have been unearthed. Instead, most walks were constructed of stone, brick and gravel. The use of such materials as paving for streets seems to have been limited.

During the fall of 1970, in conjunction with a sewer-digging project in Nauvoo, a large portion of Main Street was excavated,²³ allowing examination of a twelve-block long segment of the street in the busiest part of old Nauvoo, from Lumber Street north to Cutler Street. Excavation revealed that no uniform paving of the street was done in the 1839-1846 period; instead Main Street was used in a relatively unimproved condition during the Saints' stay in the city. Sand, brick fragments, chipped stone, nails and plaster

¹⁷J. C. Harrington, *Archaeological Excavations at the Brigham Young Site (126-2)*, 1965-1968, p. 79. By permission of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁹Virginia Harrington, *Report on the Excavations of the North Building Times and Seasons Complex*, 1968, p. 13. By permission of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

²⁰Berge, *Masonic Hall*, p. 3.

²¹Harrington, *Times and Seasons Complex*, p. 13.

²²*Nauvoo Independent*, 22 August 1884.

²³Donald L. Enders, "Archaeological Excavation of Old Main Street, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1970" (Salt Lake City, 1971), pp. 8-10.

embedded in the street surface indicated that, once graded, Main Street became a catchall for construction waste. Logically, the home and shop builder of the 1840s found the street a good place to deposit building rubble and soil from basements, for such proved very useful for filling the ever-recurring mudholes and ruts which plagued Nauvoo streets. Just a few feet south of the intersection of Main and Hotchkiss streets archaeologists unearthed a deposit of brick, plaster, chipped stone, and clay twenty-six feet long by fifteen feet wide and two to four inches thick. However, Main Street at this location was not as troubled by road damage as were other portions of the street and thus maintained a relatively well-defined road line. Profiles cut along the street in most other areas indicated that the surface of the road was constantly churned up by weather and traffic. Except for this one heavy concentration of building rubble, Main Street from Mulholland Street south had been surfaced with three to five inches of clay and sand. Chuckholes in the road's surface had been filled with stones, bricks, soil, gravel, or a mixture of whatever was handy. Main Street's road surface north of Mulholland Street was less affected by traffic and weather than it was south of that point, the street surface to the north being noticeably free of the churning and mixing characteristics of south Main.

In summary, the ideal Nauvoo was intended to be a well laid-out city of broad streets and walks, where finely crafted homes and shops would be built at prescribed distances from the streets. These avenues were to be laid out on a simple grid dividing the city into equal-sized blocks, on each of which a designated number of families would reside. However, the actual Nauvoo was too busy growing to adhere to this ideal: buildings encroached upon and even trespassed property lines. Some areas of the city were never aligned to conform to the original city plat, therefore leaving the network of roads disjointed. Blocks originally divided into four-acre lots were soon subdivided into even smaller parcels, and streets which had been planned to flow with people contemplating Nauvoo's beauty and the message of the latter-day gospel were frequently impassable, even for foot traffic.

Nauvoo, though planned as a city of Zion, had difficulties escaping the ways of the world; for a city which was not able to pave its streets with gravel, brick, or stone was obviously some time away from paving them with gold.

THE NAUVOO TABERNACLE

Elden J. Watson

On Sunday, 7 April 1844, Joseph Smith delivered the funeral discourse of King Follett before an assembly of 8,000 (?) Saints.¹ Such a large assembly was uncommon, but smaller assemblies were addressed regularly by the Church leaders in a grove below the Temple. All too frequently these discourses were either cut short or postponed because of inclement weather. Realizing that the Saints would need a large, sheltered area in which to assemble, the Prophet gave instructions (presumably to the Quorum of the Twelve) that a canvas tabernacle be constructed for that purpose.

It was nearly a year after the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith that action was initiated to construct the Nauvoo Tabernacle. The need for the tabernacle had not decreased with the death of Joseph Smith, and on 17 June 1845, the Quorum of the Twelve wrote to the Saints abroad a letter which announced the following:

The walls of our Temple are completed and the roof is nearly on. Through the liberality of the brethren that building is in a rapid state of advancement; but it will only accommodate a small portion of our congregation when completed.

Pursuant to the counsel of Joseph Smith given previous to his martyrdom, we now intend to erect a Tabernacle for the congregation made of canvas. It will take about four thousand yards, which, with other fixtures, will cost between one and two thousand dollars.

We have appointed Elder Orson Hyde one of our own quorum, a faithful, trusty and competent man of God, to go forth and raise all the necessary funds for the above purpose, to procure the materials and return with them to this place as soon as possible. Elder Hyde is authorized to raise the necessary funds by loan, by contribution, or tithing or donation; if by loan, the church here will refund the same in lands at a low rate, or in cash as soon as we can command it; and any contract that he may make in relation to the above, the church will be responsible for.

It is hoped that no brother or sister who has funds that he or she can spare for a season will withhold them from Brother Hyde, for it is the aid that he seeks for us. Also we hope that the saints

Elden J. Watson is a program manager for the Eyring Research Institute. He is the author of two books on Brigham Young and one on Orson Pratt.

¹Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-1951), 6:302; hereafter cited as *HC*. The figure quoted in the source cited is "twenty thousand Saints," but at the time there were not 12,000 inhabitants of Nauvoo, including women and children. Even with an influx of conference visitors, the 8,000 figure is more likely.

will be liberal in their donations, and every other person that wishes well to the Temple of God and to the Tabernacle of the congregation in Zion. May God bless all that feel interested in the matter.²

Elder Hyde left for the East about 17 June 1845, for in a letter to Wilford Woodruff dated 27 June Brigham Young said that Orson Hyde had left about ten days earlier to obtain cloth for the tabernacle and that Howard Egan had gone "to St. Louis to buy about 125 dollars worth of hemp to make cords for it."³ The most probable route taken by Orson Hyde to New York was by boat from Nauvoo to St. Louis; by boat to Pittsburg and Wheeling, Virginia; across the Allegheny Mountains by stage to Wilmington, Delaware; from there by rail first to Philadelphia and then to the city of New York. The journey took about twenty-three days.⁴ Elder Orson Pratt was presiding over the eastern Saints when Orson Hyde arrived.

Upon his arrival in New York, Elder Hyde published in the *New York Messenger* that portion of the letter of the Twelve (quoted previously) which detailed his responsibilities in procuring canvas, and he subjoined the following comments:

I hope the elders residing in the different branches where I have made appointments, will take the earliest opportunity of laying this before the people that they may be in readiness to make me a witness of their liberality for the cause sake. Should any brother or sister, or branch of the church feel disposed to show their liberality on this occasion, and not have the opportunity of seeing me personally, they can address me through the post at the Mssenger [sic] office, No. 7 Spruce-street, New-York, enclosing whatever they may be disposed to give on their tithing or otherwise, and it shall be faithfully entered to their credit on 'the book of the law of the Lord.'

Should a greater sum be raised than will be needful to purchase the canvass [sic] for the tabernacle, it will be applied toward completing the Temple.

I am very respectfully,
Your brother in Christ.
ORSON HYDE.⁵

²HC, 7:427. The Nauvoo Tabernacle was never built.

³HC, 7:431. Brigham Young also said: "The brethren are clearing the ground round the Temple, and we expect to have the Tabernacle reared, so as to be ready to meet in this fall" (also in *Millennial Star* 6 [1 September 1845]:91-92).

⁴Elden J. Watson, ed., *The Orson Pratt Journals* (Salt Lake City: Published by author, 1975), p. 496. This was the route taken by Parley P. Pratt on his way east in December 1844. There was another possible route: from Nauvoo to Chicago by land and then by the Great Lakes and Erie Canal to New York. However, in May 1847, Orson Hyde wrote a letter to Orson Spencer in which he stated that he had borrowed \$50 in St. Louis "a year or two ago to buy canvass with," which amount he then had to repay on his way home. (See *Millennial Star* 9 [15 August 1847]:243.)

⁵*New York Messenger*, 16 August 1845, p. 52.

In the same issue of the *New York Messenger* was published notice of addresses to be given by Elder Hyde in the ensuing two weeks in the filling of his mission. He kept an extremely rigorous schedule, made even more difficult by the hot weather: he preached in New York on 17 August; Hempstead, Long Island, on the twentieth;⁶ and three times in Boston on Sunday, the twenty-fourth.⁷ While in Boston he wrote the following letter to Bishop Newel K. Whitney:

Boston Augt 24. 1845

Bishop Whitney.

Enclosed is a certain note against Bros. Pratt & Brannan for borrowed money. I have received it as tithing upon condition that Bro. Pratt and the balance of you agree to it. If you agree to receive it as tithing, please credit it to the following persons—

Mary Petitt	\$ 50=
Mary Ann Petitt	\$ 50=
Ira Petitt _____	\$ 50=
	<u>\$ 150.</u>

If you shall not receive it as tithing, please enclose it in a note and address it to Ira Petitt, near Hempstead, L.I. New York.

To find tithing in these kinds of notes does not afford very flattering prospects to buy canvass. I will not receive them as tithing unless you agree to it.

By accounts, Bro. Joseph Ball is any thing but a pure hearted man. He is represented as very corrupt, like Adams.—He is gone to Nauvoo. You will no doubt have an eye to him. I shall not return so soon as I expected. Will you see that my family are helped a little if necessary.

I shall succeed in getting the canvass if God will. My constant exertion in this very hot weather has injured my health, and I think I shall ship the canvass in about 2 weeks or 3 to Whitney and Miller, and get it insured, and then stay long enough to catch the cool sea breezes and recruit a little.

Prospects very good. The church is nearly free from the effects of Rigdonism, and nearly free from a worse malady—Adamsism and Ballism.

This letter is sent by Bro. Kimball who leaves to morrow for Nauvoo.

⁶Ibid., p. 56.

⁷Willard Snow to Orson Pratt, 2 September 1845, *New York Messenger*, 13 September 1845, p. 84.

My kind love to my wife, family and friends. I shall try to be at home in Octo. if all be well. My kindest regards to yourself, family and all the Brethren.

As ever your Brother
Orson Hyde⁸

By 4 September Orson Hyde had raised about eleven hundred dollars and was paid the following tribute to his faithfulness by Orson Pratt in a letter to President Brigham Young:

President Orson Hyde has visited the main branches of the church in the East and has succeeded in raising about eleven hundred dollars all in tithing. He is in hopes to get still more. He will purchase the canvass in 4 or 5 days and forward it immediately to Nauvoo. What Tithing I have or shall receive previous to his return I shall commit to his hands. After all that Parley and Elder Hyde have received from the churches here you must not find fault with me if I should not succeed in obtaining much in tithing, nevertheless, I will do all that I can both by preaching and through the paper to keep up the tithing spirit. I shall visit Boston in about ten days, thence through the branches to Peterboro. Tell Brother Taylor that I have sold about 40 books of Covenants and have got the 350 bound for 8 cents per copy.

Elder Hyde has this moment left our office for Philadelphia and Chester Co. after visiting which he will return to this city, purchase the canvass, and go on to Boston. He will then probably return west.

Brother Hyde has been diligent and active upon his mission and has faithfully cried Tabernacle day and night—no person could have done more under the same circumstances. O that I might be able to discharge my duties as faithfully in all things as P.P.P. and O.H. have theirs.⁹

After leaving New York on 4 September, Elder Hyde went to Philadelphia and then Massachusetts, returned to New York, left again by 6 September for Chester County, Pennsylvania,¹⁰ from whence he returned on 13 September. He lectured in Boston on Sunday, 14 September, and was scheduled to lecture in Lowell, Massachusetts, on 16 September, if a suitable location could be found.¹¹

Finally, on Thursday, 17 September, Orson Hyde shipped to

⁸Orson Hyde to Bishop Newel K. Whitney, unpublished original in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; printed by permission.

⁹Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, *Orson Pratt Journals*, p. 548.

¹⁰*New York Messenger*, 6 September 1845, p. 77.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 13 September 1845, p. 85.

Nauvoo 4000 yards of canvas for the construction of the tabernacle.¹² On the following day he left for the West,¹³ arriving in Nauvoo sometime prior to 17 October 1845.¹⁴

In slightly more than one month Elder Hyde preached a minimum of sixteen times and raised \$1415.38½ in tithing from the eastern Saints, of which he paid \$1050.56 for over 4000 yards of canvas.¹⁵ However, Orson Pratt reported that in the Eastern States, after the concentrated effort to raise funds for the canvas, and despite the zeal put into the eastern Saints by reports of persecution in and around Nauvoo, tithing money came in very slowly.¹⁶

A letter from Orson Pratt to Reuben Hedlock, published in the *New York Messenger* of 30 August 1845 while Orson Hyde was still in the East gathering funds, contains the only description of the tabernacle that I have been able to locate:

Pres. Orson Hyde of the counsel by the Twelve, is now in the east. His mission is to collect tything for the purpose of purchasing 4000 yards of canvass in this city. It is intended to erect a tabernacle of canvass in front of, and joining the Temple on the west. The form of this tabernacle will be that of an ellipse, its longer axis running north and south, parallel to the front of the Temple. Its height will be 75 feet in the centre; its sides sloping at an angle of 45 degrees. The area of its base will be sufficient to contain eight or ten thousand persons; its seats will gradually rise one above another in the form of an amphitheatre. This will be intended for preaching to the vast congregation; while the temple will be used for the meeting of councils and quorums, and the administrations of ordinances and blessings, and preaching to smaller congregations, &c.¹⁷

Based on the figures given by Orson Pratt and assuming an ellipse with a 2:1 ratio of major to minor axes, the Nauvoo Tabernacle would have been approximately 250 feet long and 125 feet wide. It would have joined the Temple on the front and possibly would

¹²Ibid., 20 September 1845, p. 93.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴HC, 7:482.

¹⁵HC, 7:483. Elder Hyde's account records:

Money collected	1415.38½
Paid for canvas	1050.56
Other expenses	105.80

(Presumably) Applied towards completing Temple 259.02½

Funds were also received at the *Messenger* office from areas which Elder Hyde could not visit. Receipt of some of these funds was acknowledged in the *New York Messenger*. (See *New York Messenger*, 30 August 1845, p. 68, and *New York Messenger*, 27 September 1845, p. 99.)

¹⁶HC, 7:509-10.

¹⁷*New York Messenger*, 30 August 1845, p. 67.

have spanned Wells Street, which the Temple faced, perhaps providing an awning for that area when the tabernacle was not in use. Wells Street was not a through street in front of the Temple.

However, the tabernacle was never built. Less than four (winter) months after Orson Hyde's return to Nauvoo, the Camp of Israel left Nauvoo in the exodus westward, the initial wagon crossing the river on 14 February 1846. The following two entries from Brigham Young's journal suggest that although diverted from its original intent, the canvas was put to good use for such things as tents, tent ends and wagon covers for the fleeing Saints. This supposition is strengthened by the conspicuous absence of purchase records for canvas for the period of time during which the Saints were preparing for the exodus.

17 February, 1846:

I then called upon all who wanted to go with the Camp, to raise their right hands, and all hands were up. I said—we must wait here until we get the artillery, canvas, and public property; that the brethren must build a pen for corn and hay. George W. Harris was appointed commissary.

18 February, 1846:

I called the brethren together and instructed the Captains of hundreds to raise money in their respective companies, and send for Cloth for tent ends and wagon covers; and informed the Pioneer Company, that it would be their duty to prepare roads, look out for campgrounds, dig wells.¹⁸

The words "Tabernacle for the congregation" (see the first quote of this article) have led many to connect the Nauvoo Tabernacle with the tabernacle constructed by Moses in the wilderness. In a cursory comparison I have been unable to find any notable similarities between the two in shape, size, or purpose.¹⁹ The Nauvoo Tabernacle may, however, have provided the impetus in the unique design of the Tabernacle on Temple Square in Salt Lake City constructed under the direction of Brigham Young.

¹⁸Elden J. Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846–1847* (Salt Lake City: Published by author, 1968–1971), pp. 34, 40–41.

¹⁹See Exodus 26:1–37; 36:8–38.

ANDREW, LAUREL B. *The Early Temples of the Mormons*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978. 218 pp. \$15.00.

Reviewed by Jon D. Green, associate professor of humanities and comparative literature at Brigham Young University.

Laurel B. Andrew's recently published book, *The Early Temples of the Mormons*, is a slightly modified and refined version of her earlier doctoral thesis, "The Nineteenth-Century Temple Architecture of the Latter-day Saints" (University of Michigan, 1973), the latter being a scholarly expansion of an even earlier collaborative study with her husband of "The Four Mormon Temples in Utah" (*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 30:1 [1971]:51-65). Her major thesis, that nineteenth-century Mormon temple architecture uniquely expresses the spiritual and temporal aspirations of a millennial and utopian "Kingdom of God" on earth, has remained consistent throughout the three studies. What is obvious to a Mormon reader in comparing the dissertation to the book is the elimination in the book of some, though not all, anti-Mormon biases, what I would call "Brodyisms" for want of a better term. Her book promises to appeal to an educated and tolerant Mormon audience, although its scholarly tone and technical architectural terminology may make it somewhat inaccessible to the lay reader.

This book is clearly the most exhaustive treatment of Mormon temple architecture to date. Mormons admire their temples primarily as monuments to God. "Their viewpoint is historical, not critical," she claims. Indeed, Mormon writers have maintained an almost exclusively ritualistic rather than stylistic orientation toward their temples. Nibley in "What is a Temple?" and Talmage in *The House of the Lord*, while drawing illuminating analogies between the earlier Mosaic and Solomonic sanctuaries and temple symbolism, say little about the style of Mormon temple architecture, except to say it is unique, a major point of concurrence with most writers on the subject, including Andrew, who writes simply: "[Mormonism] produced an architectural form unique to itself, the temple, and created a style sufficiently different from other revival styles of the nineteenth-century to be recognizable as pure Mormon." [Note: Andrew, p. 11. William A. Raynor's *The Everlasting Spires* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965) also grew from a thesis and contains one fine chapter on the architecture of the Salt Lake Temple, but is of necessity more limited than Andrew's and treats only one of the Utah temples. Andrew also criticizes an "extravagant" statement in Nibley's article: "...in establishing their temples the Mormons did not adopt traditional forms: with them the temples

and its rites are absolutely pristine. In contrast, the church and temple architecture of the world is an exotic jumble, a bewildering complex of borrowed motifs." (*Millennial Star* 120:8 [1958]:247.) This was an unfortunate and easily refutable claim in the work of an otherwise impeccable scholar—his delightful rejoinder: "A lot has been learned since then" (Hugh W. Nibley, *Nibley on the Timely and the Timeless* [Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1978], p. xvi). Mormon readers may take issue with how she comes to this conclusion, for she maintains that there are both theological (symbolical) and architectural links to Freemasonry, and while this alone may be innocuous enough in light of several studies relating Mormonism to Masonry, it does call into question the divine origin of early temple styles, particularly the Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake temples. [Note: Her objective stance is understandably critical of divine revelation, but her treatment of Joseph Smith's role in the planning of the Nauvoo Temple is unnecessarily skeptical and derogatory (see p. 62ff).]

The real value of this book lies in its efforts to analyze and place in historical and religious context the nineteenth-century Mormon architectural achievement. Andrew's basic premise is very "Ruskinian," namely, that artistic monuments are the most reliable index of cultural values. It follows, therefore, that as the Church changed and evolved in doctrine and ritual in its early formative years, the major edifices which both house and symbolize those religious values changed, even in the face of prevailing taste (the Utah temples were constructed in a style Andrew terms "castellated Gothic," several years after the Gothic Revival had run its course in America). The above premise also explains the uniqueness of Mormon architecture as a reflection and outgrowth of its unusual religious tenets. What a Mormon reader may dispute is the militancy she assigned to nineteenth-century Mormon Millennialism as reflected in the fortified austerity of the temple exteriors. However, one tends to agree with her contention that the Utah temples were, in addition to their ecclesiastical functions, fortified outposts in an alien land, marking the periphery of the Kingdom of God in the wilderness, and perhaps even acting as bastions of defense against the all-too-keenly-remembered persecutions of the Gentiles. And whether intentional or not, the fortress appearance may be seen as a defense against the world, a protection from the world, a separation of the worldly from the divine sanctuary within, which she terms the receiving place of the Lord. These suggestions amplify the sacred and cosmic significance of temples in the Mormon faith. One wishes she had made more of

these dualities in strictly architectural and historical terms, for the blending of the sacred and the secular goes back through the Renaissance to the Roman marriage of the trabeated Greek temple and the arcuated secular arena in the Colosseum.

One of the most illuminating aspects of the book is the author's meticulous tracking of changed ritual, function, and need to the evolving architectural style of the early temples. The Nauvoo Temple, for example, marked the first appearance of architectural symbolism based in Mormon theology, but since the doctrines were still in a state of flux and the Church was young, its architectural awkwardness was due to the attempt "to create an architectural identity for a new people" (p. 96). Ignoring the religious reasons behind the artistic form would lead to the narrow criticism of Aldous Huxley, for example, who criticized the Salt Lake Temple as "completely unoriginal, utterly and uniformly prosaic" and called the Logan Temple a "cyclopean gazebo." [Aldous Huxley, *Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Other Essays* (New York: Harper 1952), pp. 237, 250.] Andrew is also aesthetically critical of a couple of temples—in particular, the Kirtland, whose "strange appearance is due in part to the lack of any plastic definition of either facades or sides" (p. 43), and the St. George, whose "tower is far too narrow for the base upon which it rests, and contradicts the fortified mass toppled by battlements" (p. 174). She finds the Logan Temple "a far more authentic English castellated structure" (p. 177) than either St. George or Salt Lake and reserves her highest admiration for the Manti Temple, designed by W. H. Folsom, "the most sophisticated architect" working for the Mormons. It demonstrates his "originality in working with a unique form and in an outmoded style, both of which he reconciled with contemporary ideas to produce an imposing and truly monumental building" (p. 177). It is interesting that she prefers the one Utah temple which is most contemporary and, as she claims, most secular. The latter term is more confusing and inappropriate in reference to the earlier temples, whose primary forms derive from Georgian and Gothic prototypes. Nevertheless, it is refreshing and illuminating to see our holy shrines through the eyes of a scholarly nonbeliever—we gain a truer view of their value because we are more aesthetically and historically informed. Her conclusion regarding the Mormon contribution to American culture is at least partly true: "The Mormon view of the relationship between man and his surroundings was essentially pragmatic, not poetic—it is only in architecture that the Mormons made a significant and original contribution to the visual arts of America" (p. 196).

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 twenty offprints 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, A283 JKBA, Provo, Utah 84602.

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

