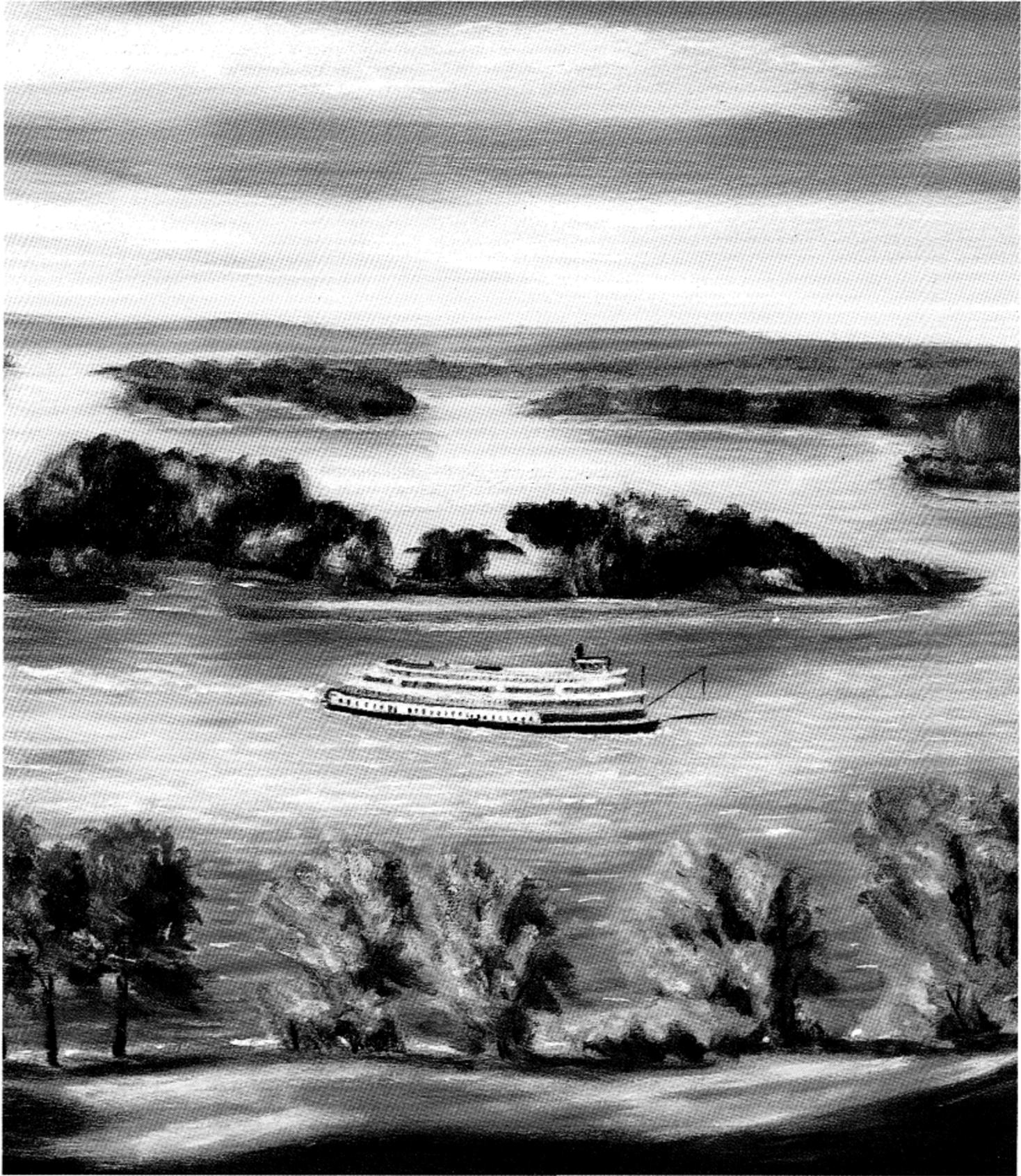


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Introduction to the 1845–1846 Journal of Thomas Bullock

Gregory R. Knight

On Saturday, 22 February 1845, Heber C. Kimball laid his hands on Thomas Bullock's head and pronounced a blessing. Three days later as he was pondering on this blessing, Bullock poured out his soul in a journal entry which illustrates the dreams and feelings of a man devoted to a new religious movement and its leaders:

Oh my God prepare me, for that time, that I may (according to my blessing) have a glorious hope of immortal life—and according to Elder H. C. Kimball's promise of last Saturday, that I may rise with the 12—and be with them thro' all Eternity. [And] that I should always be a scribe for the 12—[and] that I should rise in the morn of the resurrection with them, and be with them thro' all Eternity. . . . May God grant—that the whole of his blessing be fulfilled.¹

Since his arrival in Nauvoo in 1843, Thomas had served as a clerk: first to Joseph Smith and then to the Twelve. After the exodus, he served as Brigham Young's clerk for more than a decade. Altogether, Bullock was involved with clerking in the Church (although not directly for the Twelve) for the remainder of his life.

Thomas Bullock's clerking career began in England, where he was born at Leek, Staffordshire, on 23 December 1816.² At thirteen, he clerked in the law office of John Cruso. After eight years as a clerk, Bullock secured employment as an excise officer, inspecting and rating taxable items. In this position, he sometimes referred to himself as "One of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria's Officers of Excise."³ In 1838, Bullock married Henrietta Rushton, who was also born and raised in Leek. One year later, Bullock was promoted and transferred to Ireland. In November 1841, while visiting family members in Leek, the Bullocks heard the Mormon elders preaching and subsequently joined the Church. Reflecting on his conversion, Bullock later explained how grateful he was that God had revealed "the Gospel unto a simple ploughboy, named Joseph Smith," and

Gregory R. Knight, a valedictorian in history, edited Bullock's journal for his honors thesis.

that “His servants . . . were sent into my native town . . . where I was privileged with hearing their voices, and was led by one into the waters of baptism on a cold November night.”⁴

By 1842, Bullock had already begun to consider immigrating to Nauvoo, but he first served a mission in England, where, in his native Staffordshire, he organized forty-six members into a branch of the Church.⁵ He also continued his work as an excise officer until February 1843, when he finalized his plans to emigrate. In March 1843, Thomas, along with his wife, three children, mother-in-law, and two brothers-in-law and their families, sailed from England aboard the *Yorkshire*.⁶ After reaching New Orleans, the party boarded the steamboat *Dove*, which took them to St. Louis, and from there the steamer *Amaranth* carried them to Nauvoo. They arrived on 31 May 1843.⁷

In Nauvoo, Bullock wasted no time getting settled. The day after his arrival, he purchased a lot in southeastern Nauvoo, where construction began immediately on a new house. Until the house was completed, Bullock rented another house. Within a year he was living in a two-story brick home measuring 25 by 14 feet and having a good well, a cellar, and fences. The surrounding lot had ample room for gardening. The home was valued at about \$600.⁸

Because of his skill with a pen, Bullock also quickly secured employment; by October 1843 he was working as one of Joseph Smith’s personal scribes along with Willard Richards and William Clayton. As such, Bullock recorded several sermons of the Prophet, the most famous of which was the King Follett Discourse.⁹ Additionally, Bullock copied letters, served as secretary of the Nauvoo municipal council and court, clerked at the April 1844 general conference, and clerked for the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge. Bullock also accepted another assignment from the Prophet: to serve as the clerk aboard the Church-owned steamboat *Maid of Iowa*, operated by Welshman Dan Jones.¹⁰

From late 1844 through January 1846, Bullock was primarily involved with the writing of Church history. Due to his frequent contact with Joseph Smith and the Church leadership, Bullock had become personally acquainted with Apostle and official Church Historian Willard Richards. On 9 December 1844, Richards appointed Bullock as his personal scribe. Working closely together, these two men would develop a deep friendship, and in a sense Apostle Richards would become Bullock’s mentor and role model. (Bullock would name a son after the Apostle and also seal his family to Richards.) In the meantime, Bullock worked hard under Richards’s tutelage; the two of them, along with several other clerks, completed almost seven hundred pages of the official

“manuscript history of the Church,” more than twice the amount of material written by previous clerks in less than a third of the time.¹¹

In addition to his historical work, many other projects engaged the faithful scribe’s pen. In 1845 Bullock began serving as the Nauvoo City Recorder.¹² He copied numerous temple records such as those for baptisms for the dead. He also copied affidavits of Saints whose property was destroyed by mobs, letters of Church leaders, patriarchal blessings, membership records, and hymns. Because of his beautiful handwriting and unusually refined grammar and spelling, Bullock was also asked by several Church leaders and members to write personal letters and to fill in their diaries.¹³ All told, Bullock helped copy and record literally thousands of important documents and historical facts.

Although Bullock worked hard as a clerk, he seldom received money for his labors.¹⁴ Because of the acute lack of cash in Nauvoo, his pay was principally in goods. To receive these goods, Bullock made frequent trips to the temple store, which functioned much like the bishop’s storehouse does in the Church today. Tithing, often in the form of meat, grains, tools, etc., was donated to the store. These items could then be distributed to laborers employed in building the temple. Bullock, as a Church scribe and recorder, was apparently eligible to draw on the supplies provided by the store.¹⁵ His dependency on the temple store presented some interesting problems. For example, on Thursday, 29 May 1845, Bullock made the following entry in the Historian’s Office Journal:

R[eynolds]. Cahoon with his usual sneer said he noticed my going to the Temple [Store] every day—but on my asking him if he saw me carry something away every day—he confessed he did not—I can not bring myself to like that man—his ways and words do not suit me—why he should act so—God only knows—I do not recollect having done any thing to cause it—¹⁶

Bullock was often troubled and frustrated by people’s attitudes toward his situation and later by the way the trustees in charge of the store treated him. As demands on the store’s resources began to tax its ability to supply the fleeing Saints, the store became less and less able (and willing) to provide for Bullock’s needs. On one occasion, after several unsuccessful attempts to procure meat for his family had failed, Bullock lamented, “I found that the ox was killed this week but I had no beef as usual. I have to live on meal and milk while others can live on the best the land affords. I wish I was in the midst of equal justice.”¹⁷

Despite the inconveniences of his job, Bullock welcomed the interaction he had with Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Patriarch John Smith, and other Church leaders. During the last few

months in Illinois, Bullock was able to take minutes for many important meetings concerning immigration to the West, mob actions and appropriate responses to them, the completion of the temple, and other pressing issues. Thankfully, Bullock's comprehensive minutes preserve the content of these important conferences. These minutes are indisputably the most detailed and, in some cases, the only records of these events extant.

After the commencement of ordinance work in the Nauvoo Temple, Bullock married his second wife on 26 January 1846. Two weeks later, the majority of the Saints evacuated Nauvoo. However, Bullock remained behind due both to his lack of supplies and to the sickness which often seemed to plague his family. Because Bullock had to temporarily remain in Nauvoo, Willard Richards asked him to collect any historical documents pertaining to the last months of Mormonism in Nauvoo and to record any important events that occurred. Only after the impatient Illinois vigilantes threatened the remaining Saints with extermination did the ill-prepared Bullock family flee to the Iowa wilderness.

In a sense, we are fortunate that Bullock remained behind. His record of the demise of Nauvoo, called "unparalleled" by one of Bullock's biographers is—at the very least—helpful in reconstructing the events that occurred and in revealing the pervading atmosphere of the time.¹⁸ On 27 June 1846, Bullock eloquently captured what for many must have seemed true: "What a tremendous alteration has taken place in Nauvoo. Surely it has fallen, is fallen."

Bullock's contributions to the Church while in Nauvoo were substantial, but even after the "fall" of Nauvoo his accomplishments and service to the Church were significant. He served as the official clerk of the First Pioneer Company under Brigham Young from April 1847 until its arrival in the Salt Lake Valley and of a subsequent company in 1848.¹⁹ In Utah, Bullock was involved in plotting and distributing land to the Saints; taking minutes for the Council of Fifty;²⁰ proofreading the first copies of the *Deseret News*; writing, stamping, and issuing the first "valley currency"; laying off the boundaries of a "city in Utah Valley to be called Provo";²¹ clerking for the House of Representatives; helping in the attempts to secure a territorial government for "Deseret";²² and serving as a regent to the new Deseret University (later to become the University of Utah).²³

In 1852, Bullock married Betsy Prudence Howard, his third wife.²⁴ Four years later in August 1856, he received a mission call to return to his homeland of England, where he was reported to be having "good success, he is well and feeling good."²⁵ He returned home in 1858 and by September 1859 was again employed in the

Church Historian's Office. After moving to Summit County in 1862, he left the position but continued various clerking activities until his death on 10 February 1885 at age sixty-eight.²⁶

Understandably, Bullock's accomplishments and historical reputation mainly reflect his work as a scribe, clerk, and historian; indeed he devoted much of his life to clerking and writing for the Church. But, even though Bullock was a prolific writer, much of his writing lacks introspection and reflection. He recorded the daily events in which he was immersed; however, he rarely provided glimpses into his own thoughts, beliefs, or feelings. Thus part of the significance of this Nauvoo journal is its many insightful passages. From this journal one can assemble a picture not only of Thomas Bullock the clerk, but also of Thomas Bullock the man, steeped in complexity and paradox.

Thomas Bullock was a profoundly spiritual man. His journal entries describe events that, at least in his own eyes, were evidences of divine approval of his own life and also of the inchoate religious cause to which he had cast his allegiance. These events included miraculous healings, supernatural appearances, and occurrences reminiscent of biblical times, like the quail miracle in October 1846. He was a dreamer who pictured himself fulfilling his church responsibilities but also fantasized about traveling the world. He was hard-working and diligent, but his frail body was frequently handicapped by sickness and poor health.²⁷

Endowed with unique humility and patience, he could also occasionally exhibit intolerance and disgust toward those with less faith and intelligence than he had. Because of his naturally trusting nature and amicable disposition, he was often exploited and taken advantage of by his relatives and friends. However, he could take only so much; when perturbed, he was capable of lashing back with a fearsome temper that was usually hidden inside him. He was not afraid to speak his mind when he felt the need—a feeling that seemed to surface more frequently as selfishness and injustice began to flourish in Nauvoo after the main exodus of the Saints. Throughout his Nauvoo journal, there is an underlying sense of frustration at the treatment he received. He not only came into conflict with the Wilson family over what he believed was his stolen cow, but he also lost patience with his in-laws because of their “abominable conduct.” As a man raised in Victorian England, he was perhaps not well prepared for the crudity and injustice rampant on the American frontier. On the other hand, Bullock could also be somewhat oversensitive, even hypersensitive; he sometimes got his feelings hurt and saw malicious personal attacks where perhaps none were intended.

Despite his few weaknesses, Thomas Bullock was a very loving and warm man, and when visitors would drop in for a minute, they were often detained for over an hour while Bullock visited with them. He was also a tender man unusually devoted to his wives and children, who were constantly in need of comfort due to sickness. His tenderness seemed to heighten his awareness of the beauty of the natural world around him. He recorded sightings of various animals, weather patterns, seasonal variations, and other elements of his environment, recordings that are absent from many journals of his contemporaries. He was also careful to record a short comment about the day, such as “fine day” or “dull day,” which usually described the weather but could also be a succinct report of the kind of day he had had. These idiosyncratic details, trivial as they may seem, illustrate Bullock’s uniqueness and complexity.

Thomas Bullock was a faithful disciple and a strong believer in the truth of the cause he had espoused. Bullock’s Nauvoo years were some of his most formative, and this journal represents an important chapter in his life, without which no understanding of him can be complete. The journal not only paints a masterful picture of the final months of Bullock’s and the Church’s Nauvoo experience, but it also evokes the pathos of both.

The journal introduced here begins at the time mob actions against the Saints were escalating. It covers much of the period from 31 August 1845 to 5 July 1846, detailing the suffering and struggles associated with the uprooting of an entire city. The one unfortunate gap in the journal includes part of March and all of April and May 1846, a time of preparation and trepidation for the remaining Saints. This gap also includes the official dedication of the temple on 30 April and 1 May. For such a meticulous scribe, such a gap seems strange. Perhaps he was extremely busy preparing for the westward trek, thinking that he would later record these days based on the materials he was collecting for Willard Richards. Or maybe he recorded the events of these weeks in a source that has been lost, destroyed, or kept by family members somewhere. Whatever the case, in lieu of this missing chronology, Bullock provides a description of his cattle—for us humorously illustrating the extent to which his concern had escalated since losing his cow Bos.

While some of the entries might seem routine and plodding, looking past the personal details reveals the broader story of Nauvoo. In the journal we see the momentary glory associated with the Nauvoo Temple and the ordinances performed there. We also get one man’s perspective of and feelings towards baptisms for the

dead, washings and anointings, sealings, adoptions, celestial marriage, and the endowment. To be sure, Bullock witnessed some of the Church's most monumental doctrinal and ceremonial developments—including polygamy. During the Nauvoo years, polygamy was not considered an “official” Church doctrine. Thus, polygamy was secretive and often created complex problems for those who practiced it. Although Bullock never directly mentions polygamy, his entries do not completely eclipse the subject of polygamy in Nauvoo; he, too, struggled with the frustrations of secretly courting his second wife. Less veiled are his references about the intake of alcoholic beverages and tea, for medicinal purposes and otherwise. In this regard, Bullock was perfectly consistent with the contemporary Latter-day Saint attitude toward the Word of Wisdom.²⁸ Bullock's entries also illuminate our understanding of the Strangite group and the confusion they created for a church still trying to grasp the idea of apostolic succession.

At the same time, the *Bullock Journal* provides insight into life on the American frontier with all of its hardships and lawlessness. Throughout the journal the Bullock family battles against “ague and fever,” commonly referred to as the “shakes.” The humid, wet climate of riverside Nauvoo was the perfect breeding ground for the mosquitos that carried this disease, now known as malaria, which was the most common affliction not only in Nauvoo, but also throughout the Mississippi Valley.²⁹ The “sickly season,” as it was called, stretched from midsummer until the first frosts of fall, but the “shakes” could recur anytime. Unfortunately, malaria was only one of the many maladies which afflicted the Bullocks and thousands of others living in nineteenth-century America. Other ailments mentioned by Bullock include “the flux” (typhoid fever), rheumatism, and hives. And if the illnesses were not bad enough themselves, the treatments seem almost lethal: Bullock's journal is replete with references to herbal teas, alcoholic prescriptions, and concoctions of poisonous roots and herbs.³⁰

Bullock was also careful to record the activities of the state militia and the various vigilante groups—even though he based much of his information on rumors. His record reveals that with each passing week as the lawlessness of the anti-Mormons increased, so did the paranoia and disorganization of the Saints. The conflicts began 9 September 1845 when an anti-Mormon meeting was fired upon (probably by anti-Mormons themselves).³¹ The Latter-day Saints were blamed, and as a result, virtual war raged for almost a week, with lootings and shootings performed on both sides. Many Latter-day Saint homes were burned and Church leaders began to seriously consider moving to the West. When

Sheriff Jacob Backenstos, who was sympathetic towards Nauvoo, attempted to end the violence by invading Carthage, Governor Thomas Ford declared a state of insurrection and dispatched a unit of the state militia to restore order. After disbanding Backenstos's posse, the militia, along with Steven A. Douglas, John J. Hardin, and J. A. McDougal, secured a promise from Brigham Young that the Saints would leave Illinois in the spring. An uneasy peace then settled over the county, but new animosity and violence erupted in June 1846, most of which is recorded in Bullock's journal. Although the journal ends before the "Battle of Nauvoo," which occurred in September 1846, Bullock's entries still relay the emotion and tumult present during the demise of Nauvoo from a peaceful sanctuary to a lawless frontier town.

Bullock's 1845–1846 journal was obtained by BYU Archives and Manuscripts in December 1987 from a branch of the Bullock family in Colorado. The original is not in book form, but is rather eleven long sheets of white paper stitched together across the middle and folded in half. In its full length, the paper measures 41 cm. One page of the journal is half of this length and just 16 cm wide. The journal was folded in half again, making it convenient to carry about. As many of the entries appear to be lists of things done with specific times assigned to each task performed, it is reasonable to suggest that Bullock carried the journal with him.

The format and content of the journal almost exactly match that of the journals kept by Bullock in the Church Historian's Office—oftentimes just a series of tasks completed, places visited, or people talked to. That Bullock carried his journal around with him would also help explain the acute lack of standard punctuation.

For this and other reasons, I have used the following set of editorial principles and devices in reproducing the document:

1. Dashes (Bullock's method of separating ideas) have been changed to more conventional punctuation.
2. Capitalization has been standardized.
3. Original spelling is generally excellent and has been retained.
4. Bullock often used abbreviations such as *sd.* for *said* and *cod.* for *could*. These along with other abbreviations have been retained except in cases where they might be confusing.
5. I have not indicated Bullock's deletions (with one or two exceptions).

6. I have indicated Bullock's insertions this way: /insertion/.
7. I have converted ampersands into *and* but have left the original &c when he used it for *etc.*
8. In addition to using the ampersand, Bullock used another symbol to mean *and*. This symbol, which looks like a *c* descending partly below the line of writing, I have also converted into *and*.
9. Because the original contains no page numbers, I have enclosed a page number in brackets whenever a new page begins: [page number].

NOTES

¹Historian's Office Journal, vol. 1, 25 February 1845, Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

²For a complete biographical work, see C. Ward Despain, "Thomas Bullock: Early Mormon Pioneer" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1956), hereafter cited as "Early Mormon Pioneer"; or Kate B. Carter, ed., "Thomas Bullock—Pioneer," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1965), 8:229–96. Although more narrow in scope, Jerald F. Simon's thesis, "Thomas Bullock: A Man Doing His Duty" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988), published as "Thomas Bullock as an Early Mormon Historian," *BYU Studies* 30 (Winter 1990): 71–88, contains an excellent biographical sketch and an in-depth look at Bullock's historical activities. Note that neither of the first two authors was able to use or even had knowledge of Bullock's Nauvoo journal, while Simon could do little more than mention its existence because it became available just at the time he was completing his thesis.

³Elder Thomas Bullock to Elder John O. Angus, in *Millennial Star* 14 (3 July 1852): 299.

⁴*Millennial Star* 14 (3 July 1852): 299.

⁵Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, Seventies Quorum Records, LDS Church Archives, 14.

⁶Conway B. Sonne, *Ships, Saints, and Mariners: A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 202–3.

⁷Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols., ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 5:380, 415; see also *Millennial Star* 14 (3 July 1852): 299.

⁸William E. Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton Sr. and Family* (Alhambra, Calif.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 27.

⁹Four men—Thomas Bullock, William Clayton, Willard Richards, and Wilford Woodruff—all took official notes of this sermon. Of the four, Bullock took the most complete minutes (see Donald Q. Cannon, "The King Follett Discourse: Joseph Smith's Greatest Sermon in Historical Perspective," 179–92; and Stan Larson, "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text," 193–208, both in *BYU Studies* 18 [Winter 1978]).

¹⁰Simon has discussed these and other activities in some detail (see "Early Mormon Historian," 79–81).

¹¹For detailed studies of the writing of official Church history, see Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 439–73; and two works by Howard C. Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830–1858" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1979) and "Authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: A Review Essay," *BYU Studies* 21 (Winter 1981): 101–22.

¹²Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, 14.

¹³For example, Bullock wrote entries in Willard Richards's and Heber C. Kimball's journals. Bullock actually copied accounts of the October 1845 general conference into Kimball's diary (Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987], 138–39).

¹⁴For example, just before leaving Nauvoo, he complained that he had worked “for more than seven months, without receiving one cent pay” (Thomas Bullock Journal, 25 September 1846, 17 September 1846–17 December 1846, LDS Church Archives).

¹⁵Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 203; and James L. Kimball, Jr., Church Historical Department.

¹⁶Historian’s Office Journal 1:43 (29 May 1845).

¹⁷See the 5 June 1846 journal entry in this issue of *BYU Studies*, 65.

¹⁸Simon, “Early Mormon Historian,” 82.

¹⁹Elden J. Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846–1847* (Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1971), 548; and Bullock Journals, 1843–49, LDS Church Archives.

²⁰D. Michael Quinn, “The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945,” *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 185.

²¹Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 23 March 1850 (hereafter cited as Journal History). Microfilm copy in the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

²²Peter Crawley, “The Constitution of the State of Deseret,” *BYU Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 7–22, especially 9–13.

²³Despain, “Early Mormon Pioneer,” 54–72, 96.

²⁴Betsy Prudence Howard (1835–1893), born at Bedford, England, joined the Church soon after the first missionaries arrived there. In 1844, she immigrated with her family to Nauvoo. She would not arrive in Salt Lake until September 1852. It is not clear if she had known Bullock earlier, but the two were married soon after her arrival. She would eventually bear eight children: 1. Samuel Howard (1854–1861), 2. Sarah Lovinia (1859–1932), 3. Betsy Evelyn (1861–1862), 4. Henrietta Howard (1863–1866), 5. Mary Hall Genetta (1865–1867), 6. Grant Young (1868–1951), 7. Arthur Kimball (1871–1883), and 8. George Albert Howard (1878–1959). She lived with Bullock in Summit County until his death and later became Relief Society president in the South Coalville Ward (Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 8:289–90; and Betsy Prudence Howard, Family Group Records in possession of the author).

²⁵Ezra T. Benson to his family, in Journal History, 23 June 1857.

²⁶Despain, “Early Mormon Pioneer,” 93–102.

²⁷On 1 July 1846, Bullock described himself as weighing only 116 pounds (see the journal entry in this issue of *BYU Studies*, 74). He entered the same weight again on 26 October 1844 (Historian’s Office Journal 1:18). After the trying summer months of 1846, Bullock was described by a mobber as a skeleton (Thomas Bullock to Franklin D. Richards, in *Millennial Star* 10 [15 January 1848]: 28).

²⁸Historically speaking, from 1845–1851 the Saints’ adherence to the restrictions dictated by the Word of Wisdom was at its nadir. Although some Saints were trying to live the principles of the doctrine, most felt that alcohol and “hot drinks”—interpreted to mean tea and coffee—were an enjoyable part of the otherwise monotonous and sometimes dreary frontier world. Nauvoo was still considered to be remarkably “dry” by visitors, but some Saints saw nothing wrong with temperate use of wine and spirits. Alcohol and tea were also thought to be helpful in aiding and healing the sick (Paul H. Peterson, “An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom” [Master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972]; and Lester E. Bush, Jr., “The Word of Wisdom in Early Nineteenth-Century Perspective,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 [Autumn 1981]: 46–65).

²⁹George W. Givens, *In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Joseph* (Salt Lake: Deseret Book Co., 1990), 114; and M. Guy Bishop, Vincent Lacey, and Richard Wixon, “Death at Mormon Nauvoo, 1843–1845,” *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 9 (Fall 1986): 70–83.

³⁰The use of herbs was fast becoming popular in America. By far the most popular medical almanac of the time, *A Poor Man’s Almanac* by Dr. John C. Gunn, devotes over two hundred pages to a description of certain herbs and plants and their medical uses. Originally published in 1830, it claimed one hundred thousand books sold by 1839. The nation’s most fervent advocate of herbal medicine, Samuel Thomson (1769–1843), was the founder of the movement in which Willard and Levi Richards had been trained. Doctors of the Thomsonian genre scorned the traditional bleeding methods and lauded the use of herbs and plants. In working side by side with Willard Richards, Bullock came to believe in the efficacy of herbs in treating illnesses. However, certain herbs in common use at the time were often not only unsafe, but could also aggravate the symptoms they were thought to cure (for a brief discussion of herbal medicine in Mormon history and thought, see N. Lee Smith, “Herbal Remedies: God’s Medicine?” *Dialogue* 12 [Fall 1979]: 37–60, especially 38–43).

³¹Thomas Gregg, *History of Hancock County, Illinois* (Chicago: Chase C. Chapman & Co., 1880), 340–54.

Journal of Thomas Bullock

(1816–1885)

31 August 1845 to 5 July 1846

Sunday 31 August 1845. Anointed Charley¹ who was blind from an inflammation in the eyes. Went to brother P. Maughn² who was sick in bed with his wife. Took them a piece of beef. Got him some milk pursley. Then went on to my quorum. Spoke considerably to the brethren and closed the meeting with benediction then went to the stand³ took minutes of P. P. Pratt⁴ and G. A. Smith's discourses. Then went home. Fine day.

Monday 1st Sept. At office writing Camp Journey to Zion, Joseph's return from Missouri etc.⁵ Night very heavy thunder and vivid lightning. Not much rain. Hot day.

Tuesday 2nd Office finished Zion's Camp Journey, also filling in addendas. I was very ill with cold in my head, tooth ache and flux. Asked Dr. R[ichards].⁶ to lay on hands and rebuke it, which he did. He made me a doze of gin and raw flour to stop the flux. Went home. Lightning at night. Very hot day.

Wednesday 3 At office regulating papers all a.m. then recording certificates of the saints &c. Dr. told us to give over at 1/2 past 5.⁷ A storm coming on, I ran great part of the way home. As I closed the gate the first stones dropt. I lay down tired out, when the most terrific hail storm I ever

¹Charles Richard Bullock (1840–1923), Thomas's second son, was born at Ardee, Ireland.

²Peter Maughan (1811–1871), baptized in 1838, was born at Alston, England. He immigrated to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1841 and moved to Nauvoo shortly after. He assisted in building the temple and in 1846 removed from Nauvoo, crossing the plains with the main body of the Saints.

³The "Stand" was the platform used at outdoor meetings. The leaders would sit on this platform while the audience sat on the grass or on split-log benches. The stand was located in the West Grove, just west of the temple (Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861*, 2 vols. [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964], 1:63, n. 27).

⁴On Tuesday, 26 August 1845, Parley Pratt had returned from New York City, where he had been presiding over all of the Eastern and Middle State Branches (P. P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1980], 337–40).

⁵The revising of the Zion's Camp history, in which Bullock was engaged, commenced on Friday, 22 August. The history of Zion's Camp was actually included in an addendum because Book A, in which the account should have occurred was already complete (Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11 [Summer 1971]: 439–73).

⁶Willard Richards rarely used his medical training but was respectfully referred to as "Doctor." He was appointed Church Historian in December 1842 and also served as city recorder and clerk of the municipal court. Throughout the journal, Bullock refers to Richards as the "Dr."

⁷*Give over* is a British idiom for finish or stop (James L. Kimball, Church Historical Department).



Thomas Bullock
1816-1885

saw came on. Thunder awful, lightning tremendous. The hail fell, and lumps of ice two inches in circumference smashed 26 panes in my house, cut the corn into ribbons, leveled every thing else in the garden. It came from the N. West and lasted about 3 quarters of an hour. The rain continued about half an hour longer. On looking out at the door I saw a large tree, a flash of lightning passed, and in a second or two after it fell gracefully to the ground.⁸ Very hot day.

Thursday 4 This morning I saw nearly every house fronting the north has its windows smashed. The Dr. has only one whole pane in his six windows fronting north. Many houses not one whole pane left. Spoke [to] the Bishop for glass. Looking up records of baptisms for the dead. Arranging some according to date. At about 2 p.m. B. Young, H. C. Kimball, W. Richards, G. A. Smith, P. P. Pratt, A. Lyman, J. Taylor, Bish. Whitney⁹ and Miller,¹⁰ Fa[ther]. Morley,¹¹ Joseph Young,¹² O. Spencer¹³ and 2 brethren who owned considerable land in Texas. The two last left about 4 when the rest went into council. I and F. D. R[ichards].¹⁴ going to gather the fragments of glass and bury it. Went to Temple Store, and on Mullholland St. saw my old “Bos” cow as I supposed, followed it down to L. N. Scovil’s¹⁵ where a sister sd. she had reared it. It had all the same marks I had except my initials not being on the root of the whole horn. God knows whether it is mine or not. I hope I may yet find them both. El[der]. Morris¹⁶ then went

⁸Of this same storm, Willard Richards wrote: “A storm of wind . . . commenced from the north. hail commenced & beat in every pane of glass in the north end of my house except 1.—the hail stones were 3/4 of an inch diameter some of them— & were driven in to the conners of the lots, about stumps [of] trees &c so as to look like snow that had been driven by the wind. —the hail abated about dusk. the rain continued in the eve. the hail continued about 3/4 of an hour. (hail stones are reported to have fell in the city 1 1/4 & 1 1/2 inches long—of spheroid, flatened form.)” (Willard Richards Diary, 3 September 1845, cited in Dean C. Jessee, “The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal,” *BYU Studies* 23 [Summer 1983]: 87, n. 270).

⁹Newel Kimball Whitney (1795–1850), born at Marlborough, Vermont, joined the Church in 1830 and was ordained bishop of Kirtland in 1831. He served as bishop of the Nauvoo middle ward and was called to be the Presiding Bishop of the Church in 1844.

¹⁰George Miller (1794–1856), born in Orange County, Virginia, in 1844 became the second bishop in the Church behind Newel K. Whitney. He was a colonel in the Nauvoo Legion, a member of the Nauvoo House Association and of the Nauvoo City Council, and president of the Nauvoo high priests.

¹¹Isaac Morley (1786–1865), born in Montague, Massachusetts, was baptized in 1830. After being expelled from Missouri, Morley settled near Lima, Illinois, where he served as stake president and branch president. He moved to Nauvoo in 1845 (Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* [Provo, Utah: Seventy’s Mission Bookstore, 1981], 79–80).

¹²Joseph Young (1797–1881), older brother of Brigham Young, was born in Hopkinton, Massachusetts. He joined the Church in 1832. He lived through the Haun’s Mill Massacre in 1838 and became a member of the Council of Fifty and one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy.

¹³Orson Spencer (1802–1855), one of the most educated members of the early Church, was born at West Stockbridge, Massachusetts. He converted to the Church in 1841 and held positions in the city and the university, including mayor and chancellor of the university.

¹⁴Franklin Dewey Richards (1821–1899), born at Richmond, Massachusetts, was baptized in June 1838. He was a good friend of Bullock and worked with Bullock in the Church Historian’s Office, where he kept a journal that helps to fill in gaps in Bullock’s journal relating to the writing of Church history. The journal has entries from 1 August 1845 to 13 January 1846 (Historian’s Office Journal, vol. 3, Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City [hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives]; see Franklin L. West, *Life of Franklin D. Richards* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1924], especially 49–59).

¹⁵Lucius N. Scovil (1806–1889) of Middlebury, Connecticut, was baptized in 1836. He owned a bakery and confectionery store in Nauvoo.

¹⁶Thomas Morris (1799–1884), a fellow member of Bullock’s Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, was born in Glamorganshire, South Wales. In 1834, he immigrated to America, where he lived in Connecticut until his baptism in 1844 when he moved to Nauvoo (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, Seventies Quorum Records, LDS Church Archives, 18).

with me to bro. Benson¹⁷ who was sick and we laid on our hands in the name of the Lord to rebuke the disease of Bro. and Sis. Benson. We then went home at dark. G. Colemere¹⁸ &c. cut corn in my lot this p.m. Children have bad eyes. Rather cooler to day.

Friday 5 So weak that I could scarce walk to the office. Mp 8 to mp 9¹⁹ assisting to get a piece of meat out of the well. F. D. R[ichards]. went down. Then regulating baptisms for the dead and calculating amount of paper required. At 12 I was taken very ill with the chills and fever, lay down. About 6 p.m. Dr. returned and at sundown drove me to Lyons'²⁰ to get 12 grains of quinine,²¹ then drove me home, laid hands on me. He told me to enter in my journal that he had spent a very pleasant day at the Big Field;²² that 616 dined there, besides children. pleasant day. From this day to Friday 19 I was so very sick, and unable to use my pen to keep up my journal. I had the chills and fever continually. On Sat. 13 I thought I was so much better that I could walk to the Temple to see after provisions &c. I returned in about 3 hours very tired, with a piece of meat, and the consequence was I was worse ill than before. Took to my bed, and continued till Friday 19, when I had a shakes. F. D. Richards called on Thursday 11. Ann Fox²³ called on Thursday 19[18th]. I have had frequent

¹⁷Wilmer Benjamin Benson, one of Bullock's dearest friends, was born in 1814 in London, England. Although information on Benson is scarce, he did keep two office journals in the Church Historian's Office dated 14 July 1845 to 30 August 1845 and 13 October 1845 to 2 February 1846. Much of what Benson wrote corroborates Bullock's records (Historian's Office Journal, vols. 5 and 7, LDS Church Archives).

¹⁸George Colemere appears to be a Latter-day Saint neighbor and friend of Bullock who at one point visited the Bullock residence frequently with his wife. On one occasion he even gave Bullock a priesthood blessing. The two families seem to have had some conflict later which ruptured their relationship. (See Historian's Office Journal, vols. 1, 2, and 3, 1 December 1844, 9 February 1845, 8 April 1845, LDS Church Archives; and Journal entries on 8 October 1845 and 29 June 1846.)

¹⁹Bullock wrote "mp" before a time to indicate A.M.; he wrote "ep" before a time to signify P.M.

²⁰Windsor Lyon's drug and variety store was located on Hotchkiss Street between Main and Hyde streets. Windsor P. Lyon, born in 1809 at Orwell, Vermont, was baptized in 1832. Within a year of his arrival in Nauvoo, Lyon had opened his store, which sold "Dry Goods, Groceries, Crockery, Glass, and Hardwares. Books and Stationery [sic], Drugs and Medicines, Paints and Dye stuffs, Boots, Shoes, Military Goods; and a thousand other articles too numerous to mention" (Richard N. Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo, 1839-1846: Historic Photographs and Guide* [Provo, Utah: Grandin Book Co., 1990], 111-12).

²¹Quinine, a fever suppressant derived from the bark of the South American quinchona tree, was just beginning to become popular in the 1840s. Besides its being widely distrusted, it was also scarce and expensive, a single ounce costing as much as \$7.50—the price of a good cow (George W. Givens, *In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Joseph* [Salt Lake: Deseret Book Co., 1990], 116). In the contemporary measuring system, sixty grains were equivalent to a teaspoonful (John C. Gunn, *Gunn's Newest Family Physician; or, Home-Book of Health: An Approved Household Guide* [1830; Springfield, Ill.: Wm. H. Moore & Co., 1878], 784).

²²The Big Field was an agricultural association which farmed a 3,840 acre plot of land six miles southeast of the city. On this occasion, the association had just celebrated a bountiful harvest of 60,000 bushels of wheat and corn. John Taylor wrote, "This public demonstration of the bounty of providence, goes to show that the people of that section are willing to make others happy as well as themselves. . . . It is also worthy of remark that this band of brethren . . . spent the day most happily, without 'strong drink,' or swearing, or gambling; feasting, as all honest people ought to, to be healthy, upon the simple luxuries that sustain life, with pure water, peace and union, praying and praising God" (Jessee, "Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 87; Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1960], 7:437-38 [hereafter cited as *History of the Church*]; see also *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3 [10 September 1845]: 3).

²³Little is known about Ann Fox except that she was born in 1815 at Stanley, England, and on 24 January 1846 became a plural wife of Willard Richards.

visits from Bro and Sis Pixton²⁴ who have shown great kindness. While I was sick in bed Emma found my [page 2] “Bos” at Wellington Wilsons.²⁵ My wife next saw it, and knew it. The man said “if the cow is yours, you must have it.” It was next identified by Frederick and Jane Rushton²⁶ then George Wardle²⁷ and then by Edwin Rushton.²⁸ I also saw her and knew her again which was one cause of my going to the Temple on Saturday 13th and brought on my relapse. The weather has generally been very pleasant in the day, and cool at night, sometimes frosty. The mob have been burning out the brethren near Lima, Carthage, Appanoose. Three or four of the mob have been shot. One Capt. Smith who welcomed the mob at Carthage jail on 27th June, and also the man /Franklin A. Worrell/ who first went ~~up~~ /to the/ stairs, and had the knife /in his hand/ to cut off Joseph’s head.²⁹

²⁴Robert Pixton (1819–1881), a native of Manchester, England, married Elizabeth Cooper (born in 1820 at Chesterfield, England) in 1839. They immigrated to America in 1841, where they met some members of the Latter-day Saint Church. The Pixtons moved to Nauvoo in 1842 and were baptized shortly thereafter. Robert was a seventy. (See Robert Pixton, *Autobiography*, LDS Church Archives; Susan Easton Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 35:80–84; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. [Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1904], 4:216; and Frank Eschom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* [Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1966], 1107.)

²⁵Wellington P. Wilson (1814–1896), born in Burlington, Vermont, was baptized in 1836. He was a schoolteacher, joiner, cabinet maker and a wagon maker (Effel Riggs, *History of Hatch, Utah, and Associated Towns Asay and Hillsdale* [Beaver, Utah: Beaver Printing Co., 1978], 357–58).

²⁶Brother and sister-in-law to Thomas Bullock (see n. 37).

²⁷George Wardle (1820–1901), born in Leek, England, was baptized in 1839. In 1842, he married Fanny Rushton (see n. 37) thereby becoming Bullock’s brother-in-law. That same year he immigrated to Nauvoo. He was a wheelwright by trade and a talented musician (William E. Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton Sr. and Family* [Alhambra, Calif.: Greenwood Press, 1977], 27).

²⁸Edwin Rushton (1824–1904) was born in Leek, England, and was the youngest brother of Bullock’s wife, Henrietta. He was a good friend to Joseph Smith and a lieutenant in the Nauvoo Legion. He was instructed to remain in Nauvoo after the main exodus to help the sick and elderly make the trip to the West. He, along with his mother and brother Frederick, went first to St. Louis, going to Salt Lake in 1851 (Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton*, 31, 68–73).

²⁹In actuality, Robert F. Smith, captain of the Carthage Greys left to guard the Smiths at Carthage Jail on 27 June 1844, did not die in these September scuffles. But Franklin A. Worrell, also on guard duty 27 June 1844, was killed. The shooting took place as Sheriff J. B. Backenstos was traveling from Warsaw to Carthage and was subsequently pursued by an armed body of men. He wrote, “The chase lasted for a distance of about two miles, when I fortunately overtook three men with teams. I immediately informed them that armed men were pursuing me, evidently to take my life. I summoned them as a posse to aid me in resisting them. I dismounted and took my position in the road, with pistol in hand. I commanded them (the mobbers) to stop, when one of them held his musket in a shooting attitude, whereupon one of my posse fired, and, it is believed, took effect on one of the lawless banditti” (see J. B. Backenstos, *Proclamation II*, in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. [Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965], 1:491–93). Orrin Porter Rockwell, one of three deputized by Backenstos to assist him in Hancock County, was the one who killed Worrell. For a more detailed account of this incident, see Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), 136–47.

The *Warsaw Signal*, known for its anti-Mormon bias, reported the following on 17 September 1845: “It has become our painful duty to announce the death of one of our most estimable citizens, by the hands of assassins. Franklin W Worrel, of Carthage is no more. While riding across the prairie, in company with some friends, yesterday, about 11 o’clock, some Mormons concealed in the hazel rough, . . . fired upon him. . . . Poor Frank, he was one of the noblest spirits in our county, and his death has kindled and will kindle a flame that can never be quenched until every Mormon has left the vicinity.”

As for the attempts of Worrell to cut off Joseph’s head, little is known except that by this time the story of the Carthage murders had been embellished with fallacious details and accounts of miraculous intervention that are recognized as unreliable. The William Daniel’s account of the Martyrdom, published earlier in 1845, attributes the attempts to decapitate Joseph Smith to a “bare-foot and bare-headed ruffian” rather than to Worrell. Because emotions were still high over the Martyrdom, the vehemently anti-Mormon Worrell, known to have aided the mob at the jail, would be an obvious target for this ignominious role. Whether it was Worrell or not is unknown (Dean C. Jessee, “Return to Carthage: Writing the History of Joseph Smith’s Martyrdom,” *Journal of Mormon History* 8 [1981]: 3–19).

Friday 19 Frederick came in about 11 and reports that the brethren have taken four prisoners, and brought them into the city. Emma called with some dinner for us, and told us that a man was shot thro' carelessness near the Temple this morning.³⁰ I went into the garden two or three times and as often laid down on bed. I am some little better, Wife, Thos.[Thomas] Henry, Pamela and Willard all sick.³¹ Fine day.

Saturday 20 At sunrise I sent for Brs. Pixton and Burgess³² to come and administer to my Wife, Willard, and Pamela. They attended to the ordinances and Sis Pixton attended to the duties of the house until mp 11 and came again ep 5 to sundown. My wife and children in parlor bed and I was on the bed upstairs. I had a terrible pain in my belly and very weak. Soldiers disbanded this evening. Mob promising not to molest us. Hot morning, windy p.m. and night.

Sunday 21 I am some better but very weak, Wife very ill, Willard passed a bad night, children rather better. Sis. Pixton came about mp 9 and staid till mp 11. F. D. Richards called. Brought a piece of beef from the Dr. We conversed about California,³³ mob etc. About 1 my wife took Boneset Tea and Lobelia.³⁴ Sick seven or eight times, very bad. Sis Pixton came to get our dinner and Emma to nurse. Fine day.

³⁰On this day, nearly 600 men had gathered at the temple ground in full arms to protect the Saints from threatened violence. During the drilling and practicing, Isaac C. Phippen was accidentally shot, the ball passing "through his right hand and entering his abdomen a little to the right above the navel." He died the same day (Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 19 September 1845 [hereafter cited as Journal History]; microfilm copy in the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah [hereafter cited as HBL]). Phippen was born in 1827 in Chautauqua, New York (Black, Membership, 34:843).

³¹Henrietta Rushton Bullock (1817–1897), born at Leek, England, married Bullock in 1838. She joined the Church with her family in 1840—a full year before Thomas joined. She would eventually bear Bullock nine children. The oldest, mentioned here, was Thomas Henry Bullock (1839–1906), who was born at Leek. Charles Richard (see n. 1) was the second. Pamela (1842–1921) was the third child and was also born at Leek. The fourth child was Willard Richards, named after Thomas's most revered Apostle. Willard, born in 1845 in Nauvoo, would die at Winter Quarters in 1847. The remaining children were born in Salt Lake. They are 5. Mary Elizabeth (1848–1930), 6. Brigham Moroni (1850–1851), 7. Henrietta Rushton (1852–1922), 8. Francis Alonzo (1855–1900), and 9. David Parley (1859–1860). Henrietta was described as having an aristocratic bearing and was called by some the "Grand Dame." She could be elegant, dignified, and even a little proud. She was also thrifty, energetic, and ambitious. She continued to live in the large Salt Lake home that Thomas had built even after he had moved to Summit County with his third wife Betsy (Kate B. Carter, ed., "Thomas Bullock—Pioneer," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. [Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1965], 8:284–87 [hereafter cited as *Our Pioneer Heritage*]). Bullock frequently refers to Henrietta as H.

³²Either William Burgess, Sr. (1794–1880) or his son William, Jr. (1822–1904).

³³On 28 August, Brigham Young and other Church leaders had decided that 3,000 men and their families should be selected to journey to Upper California in the spring (Journal History, 28 August 1845).

³⁴Boneset was considered a panacea at this time. Dr. Gunn called it a "valuable plant" which "can not be too highly praised as a medicine." It was thought to be an "excellent remedy in all cases of Intermittent and Bilious Fevers, in Fever and Ague, as well as in Affections of the Liver, Lungs, and in Dyspepsia." The tea, derived from boiling its leaves, was claimed to induce perspiration and vomiting (Gunn's *Newest Family Physician*, 815). Actually, the plant has no medical value (Claire Kowalchik and William H. Hylton, eds., *Rodale's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Herbs* [Emmaus, Pa.: Rodale Press, 1987], 51). Much the same, lobelia inflata was thought to be useful in treating asthma, cough, and epilepsy. However, modern researchers have found that the plant is actually quite poisonous; not only does it induce vomiting, but it also has powerful effects on the central nervous system (*Rodale's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Herbs*, 364).

Monday 22 Stephen Nixon³⁵ came and laid hands on my wife, who was very bad, and when he sent, Sarah Ann came down to nurse. She staid till about noon when she felt her chills coming on. Went home and I went to the brook with her. I returned home tired out, laid down in bed, when Harriett Nixon came and attended to my wife &c. Went about ep 3. At sunset Sis Pixton called again. Willard and Pamela very ill. Cold day.

Tuesday 23 Wife some better, also Willard, Pamela and myself, having had some sleep this last night. Sis Pixton came about 9 to regulate things. Windy morning. At dusk Sis. Harriet Nixon and Fanny Nixon³⁶ came and made some gruel for Henrietta. Dull day.

Wednesday 24 Mother in law Rushton³⁷ came to nurse Willard, I was some better also wife and children. I destroyed a many of Dr. Chadwick's bills, and "returned letters", I was obliged to lie down several times to day. Fine day.

Thursday 25 Wife had a severe chill, I was obliged to nurse Willard, which gave me a most violent head ache. Willard very cross, Pamela some better. Sis Pixton came in evening and regulated the house. Rain nearly all night. Fine day.

Friday 26 Wife escaped a chill today, but my head was so very bad I was obliged to lie in bed all day. Willard was cross. He was with his mother all day which made her worse again. At night it lightened. Sis. Pixton came at dark to attend to Henrietta. Fine day.

Saturday 27 Wife had a very bad shake at noon. Gave her quinine, put her feet in hot pepper lace, also gave her some sage tea.³⁸ My head very bad. Obligated to lie down nearly all day. Mother in law came to nurse Henrietta and Willard. Mp 8 sent some flour to Mrs. Allen to bake. When Miss Toole

³⁵Stephen Nixon (1807–1893), born on the Island of Malta, grew up in Leek, England, alongside Bullock. In addition, Nixon married Harriet Rushton, mentioned below, who was a first cousin of Bullock's wife, Henrietta. Sarah Ann, also mentioned below, was their third child and was born at Leek in 1834. The Nixons were baptized in 1840 and later immigrated to Nauvoo, where Stephen became a seventy (Stephen Nixon, Harriet Rushton, Family Group Sheets, Family Ancestral File, Family History Library, Salt Lake City; and Black, Membership 32:721–23).

³⁶Frances Hart Nixon (1818–1886) married George Nixon, Stephen Nixon's younger brother, in Leek in 1839 (Black, Membership 32:707; and George Nixon, Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File).

³⁷Lettice Johnson Rushton (1784–1846), blind since 1837, was widowed when her husband Richard (b. 1780) died in October 1843. Richard and Lettice had ten children: Frederick James (1806–1871), Horatio (1808–1809), Leonora (1809–1814), Pamela (1811–1839), Richard, Jr. (1814–1884), Emma (March 1816–April 1816), Henrietta (1817–1897), Mary Olivia (1820–1871), Fanny (1821–1881), and Edwin (1824–1904). Richard, Sr., Lettice, and all the children were born in Leek, England. The entire family was baptized in 1840. Richard, Jr., and his wife Eliza Bromley Rushton (b. 1816) immigrated to Nauvoo in 1841 after their wedding. Mary Olivia immigrated in early 1842. Fanny, who married George Wardle on 24 January 1842, and Edwin, who married Mary Ann Fowell (b. 1823) one week later, immigrated to Nauvoo with Richard, Sr., arriving 12 April 1842. One year later, Lettice; Frederick and his wife, Jane Wood Rushton (md. 1832); and Thomas and Henrietta Rushton Bullock and family arrived in Nauvoo 31 May 1843 (Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton*, 6–26).

³⁸Sage was (and still is) highly regarded for its medical and culinary value. It was claimed to stop perspiration and soothe sore throats. As Gunn put it, "Every family should keep a good supply of sage in the house" (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 903–4; *Rodale's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Herbs*, 439).

refused to do it, old Mrs. Allen said she would do it herself. Nothing done at ep 3. No bread in the house. Miss Toole never did us a kind act yet. At ep 4 I went to Stephen Nixon's and to Jane Rushton to get some bread baked. Returned at sunset with great pain. Miss Toole followed me in with a herb for [the] Mrs.

Sunday 28 Last night heavy rain, thunder and lightning nearly all night. Mrs. B[ullock] had a good rest and [is] some easier this morning. Willard some better, also I some better. Mother in law [page 3] slept all night. Continued raining, thunder etc throughout all day. G. Wardle called at dark and heavy lightning &c when he was here.

Monday 29 I am some better and at mp 11 I went to Dr. Richards. Was in Council Chamber with the 12, bishops &c respecting California. After Council I spoke to Bishop Whitney about my lost cow, when he counselled me to take my witnesses and some men and take her home. At ep 4 I went to the temple, and returned home ep 5. My wife missed her chills this day. Children better. I was tired out and weary. Fine day.

Tuesday 30 Henrietta got up about mp 9. Better. Jane [Rushton] came to wash. Richard [Rushton] to bring wife 2 apples. Children better. I managed to chop some wood which made my head very bad again. Henrietta sat up till dark. Miss Toole came to see my wife. A report of Gov. Ford³⁹ coming to Nauvoo with 200 troops. Very windy.

Wednesday 1 October [1845] Henrietta got up and continued till ep 1 when she went to bed again, tired out. My head continues very bad and was obliged to lie down several times. Sis Pixton baked us some bread and came with it at night. Mrs. ironed a few things in the evening. At night thunder, lightning, rain and wind. Drum beating in Doyle's Wood, supposed Govrs. troops at night (400).⁴⁰

Thursday 2 Mrs. ironing this a.m. I was seized with a sensation of fainting and had to lie down. Jacob Wilsey⁴¹ called to talk about California. Staid an hour. P.M. saw G. Colemere about dividing corn and produce. Lightning &c at night. Fine day.

Friday 3 Mrs. better. Willard and Pamela ill. Mp 11 I went to the temple. Talked with bishops. Went to Dr. who told me he was going to leave this

³⁹Governor Thomas Ford had been elected as the Democratic nominee in 1842. Apparently capturing the Mormon vote, Ford received 1,748 votes in Hancock County compared to 711 for his Whig opponent, ex-Governor Joseph Duncan. But following the tragedy at Carthage in June 1844, most Latter-day Saints began to believe that Ford was just another appendage of the anti-Mormon factions in Illinois. A more acceptable analysis of Ford reveals a man who was trying to avoid civil war in a state that was not only bankrupt but also characterized by lawlessness (Keith Huntress, "Governor Thomas Ford and the Murderers of Joseph Smith," *Dialogue* 4 [Summer 1969]: 41-52; and John Clayton, *The Illinois Fact Book and Historical Almanac, 1673-1968* [Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1970], 102).

⁴⁰Throughout his journals, Bullock is meticulous about numbers. To record how many people were present at a particular meeting or gathering, Bullock placed the number inside parentheses.

⁴¹Jacob Wilsey, born in 1821 at Oneida, New York, was a seventy.

place and asked me to go with him. I said I would. He told me the Twelve would have a company, "Co. No. 1", and I was told to sell my house, lot,⁴² &c for what I could get &c &c. Ep 3 I went homewards, called on Mary Ann [Rushton]. Gave her a piece of beef. Then to Stephen Nixon's. Told him I was bound for California. He is for going too. Fine day, rainy night.

Saturday 4 Mrs. better. Sarah Ann better, came home again this morning. Children some better. Raining all morning. About ep 3 went to Temple for some flour. Called at Dr.'s. At sunset returned home. A flock of 33 geese flying south. Fine p.m.

Sunday 5 Severe frost in night. Leaves of trees turning yellow &c. Called at bro. Mead's⁴³ on way to quorum but there was no meeting. Went into Temple. Pres. B. Young opened by prayer, followed by Pat. John Smith,⁴⁴ P. P. Pratt and Dr. Richards respecting taking care of the sick. John Taylor preached (see my minutes) principally on removing to anor.[another] place, and Dr. Richards and Fat[her]. Bent⁴⁵ called out names of Cos. 1, 2 and 3 who were called to remove and adjd.[adjourned] at 1. I went with Dr. to dinner and returned to Temple about 2 when No. 1 Co. was called out by Dr. Richards and were addressed by Pres. Young. No. 2, 3, and 4 Cos. were also called out and sat on front seats when Pres. Young again addressed them. Dismissed at past 5 by Amasa Lyman. I went home, cut wood at night, very tired. My name is "No. 1 Co." "No. 11 on list". Mild day.

Monday 6 All had a good night's sleep, so some better. At 10 went to Temple and wrote down the business of the conference.⁴⁶ All the authorities of the Church were accepted, except Wm. Smith as one of the 12 and Patriarch,⁴⁷ and Roger Orton as one of the 7 Presidents of the 70s

⁴²Bullock had purchased this lot in the early spring of 1845. It was located off Durphy Street on the north half of Lot 3, Block 121. On 1 May, Joseph Knight had begun to dig in this lot. Bullock presumably had plans to build a new home closer in to town when he bought it (Bullock Journal, 27 March, 1 May 1845, LDS Church Archives).

⁴³Cyrus A. Mead (b. 1804), originally from South Salem, New York, married Jemima Forbes (1815–1873) in 1832, a native of Mt. Pleasant, New York. They moved to Connecticut in 1833, where he was active in politics and in his work until his first contact with Latter-day Saint elders in 1841. His wife was baptized in April 1842 and he in January 1843. They moved to Nauvoo during the fall of 1843, and Mead was ordained a seventy the following spring. In June 1845, he had been ordained as one of the presidents to the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies. He was later "cut off from the Church, for his wickedness" (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 10; and Black, Membership 30:481).

⁴⁴John Smith (1781–1854), the father of George A. Smith, was born in Derryfield, New Hampshire, and baptized in 1832. He was appointed patriarch in the Ramus Branch early in 1844, later moving to Nauvoo, where he became the stake president. He was also a member of the Council of Fifty (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 208).

⁴⁵Samuel Bent (1778–1846), a native of Barre, Massachusetts, was a member of the Nauvoo High Council, the Nauvoo Legion, and the Council of Fifty. In 1846 he presided over the Church in Garden Grove, Iowa.

⁴⁶Because Bullock acted as the clerk at this conference, which went through Tuesday (see *Times and Seasons* 6 [1 November 1845]: 1016), the official history of the Church relies almost wholly on his detailed minutes (see the entry for Wednesday 15 October in this issue of *BYU Studies*, 26).

⁴⁷William Smith (1811–1893), born in Royalton, Vermont, was baptized in 1830 and ordained an Apostle in 1835. He was charged with having a rebellious spirit in October 1835, and in 1839, he was disfellowshipped but later restored. After serving several missions, he was ordained the Presiding Patriarch of the Church in May 1845. In this capacity, he gave some 290 blessings, many of them copied by Thomas Bullock (see entries for 15, 16, 17 December). At this conference, William Smith was dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve, and one week later he was excommunicated for apostasy. He became a

who were unanimously rejected. A. W. Babbit⁴⁸ objected to Lyman Wight,⁴⁹ but H. C. Kimball had his case laid over. Adj. from 12 to 2. Dined with Dr. In p.m. P. P. Pratt preached on the subject of leaving this place and going beyond the Rocky Mountains, followed by G. A. Smith. A motion was made to use all the wood this winter belonging to the brethren and No. 5 Co. was called out. Adj. to 10 tomorrow morning. Went to Drs. Staid an hour. Rode with Wm. Ray to bro. Beech's⁵⁰ and then walked home. After supper revised conference minutes. Dull day. [page 4]

Tuesday 7 Went to conference to report. H. C. Kimball and Amasa Lyman preached. Capt. Roundy's⁵¹ Co. No. 5 was called. Went to Dr. Richards and at 2 [while] going to the Temple, an alarm was given of the Governor's Troops being at hand, which put an end to our conference for this a.m. Returned to Drs. when I met two companies of them. They had apprehended a man by the name of Smith for stealing goods, below Warsaw, also Thomas King, Gardner, and Watson Barlow for stealing cows.⁵² At ep 4 I got a lift on my way home. Wife some better, Pamela and Willard not well. Fine day.

Wednesday 8 Wife pain in her head, Pamela had a chill, Willard looks very ill, I am some better. Went to Temple to report. Brigham spoke on the subject of thieves and warned the brethren not to receive any stolen goods into their house after which mother Smith⁵³ spoke a long time on the rise

bitter enemy of the Church (Irene M. Bates, "William Smith, 1811-93: Problematic Patriarch," *Dialogue* 16 [Summer 1983]: 11-35; Paul M. Edwards, "William B. Smith: The Persistent 'Pretender,'" *Dialogue* 18 [Summer 1985]: 128-39; and Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 276-77).

⁴⁸Almon W. Babbitt (1813-1856), originally from Cheshire, Massachusetts, was baptized in 1833. He served as the president of the Kirtland Stake in 1841. In 1845 he was appointed to the committee in charge of selling the Church's property in Nauvoo. At this time, he served as legal counsel for the Church. In addition, he was a member of the Council of Fifty and postmaster of Nauvoo (Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989], 1:472).

⁴⁹Due to his disapproval of Brigham Young's leadership after Joseph Smith's death, Lyman Wight was losing his support in the Quorum of the Twelve. Wight, along with George Miller, would eventually leave the Church in support of J. J. Strang (see D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 [Winter 1976]: 187-233).

⁵⁰Rufus Beach (1795-1850), a native of Roxburgh, Connecticut, lived for more than twenty years in Michigan, where he was baptized in 1839. In 1841 he moved to La Harpe and two years later to Nauvoo. He was ordained president of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of the Seventies in June 1845 (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, 8; and Black, Membership 4:383-85).

⁵¹Shadrack Roundy (1814-1872), born in Rockingham, Vermont, was baptized in 1831. He was appointed to the bishopric under Vinson Knight in 1841. In addition, he was the Captain of the Nauvoo policemen, an officer in Nauvoo Legion, a member of the Council of Fifty, and bodyguard to Joseph Smith. On this occasion, Brigham Young had asked Roundy to organize a company of one hundred which was to locate in California territory (D&C124:141).

⁵²On Friday, 3 October 1845, the house of Harrison Crawford, longtime resident of Hancock County, was robbed. On 7 October, General Hardin and some of his men apprehended Thomas King as he attempted to drive some stolen cattle towards Nauvoo. King then pointed the posse to the house of Daniel Smith, where it discovered Crawford's stolen items. The posse was then led to the residence of Thomas Gardner, where it found the rest of the stolen items. Two other men were arrested as they attempted to flee from Gardner's house (*Quincy Whig*, 15 October 1845, 2).

⁵³Lucy Mack Smith (1776-1855) was the mother of Joseph Smith. By late in 1844, Lucy was not only a widow but had lost six of her seven sons. At this general conference, she reviewed some of the experiences through which her son and the Church had passed, exhorted parents to properly care for their children, and requested that her body be buried in Nauvoo with her husband. "She wished to know of the congregation whether they considered her a mother in Israel (upon which President Brigham Young said:

of the church. Went to Drs. Dined and returned to the Temple, when John Taylor spoke on discontinuing the Papers.⁵⁴ Committees were appointed for a number of places to sell the lands of the brethren and a great variety of business was transacted.⁵⁵ Returned to Drs. and from there to Edwin Rushton's and then home. Colemere's took their share of potatoes, corn and pumpkins from my field. They made hay while the sun shines. I was away. May they be rewarded according to their [blank]. Fine day.

Thursday 9 Wife some better. I went to Temple office, to Dr. Richards comparing my minutes and staid till meeting was over. Went home in evening. Dr. was much better in health. Cold day.

Friday 10 Pamela had a chill, rest some better. I was carrying the potatoes into my cellar all morning. Afternoon putting away my seeds in bottles. Cold day.

Saturday 11 Morning at home. At 11 went to Temple office for provisions. Returned ep 1. Then at home. Wife had head ache, got her some blister ointment⁵⁶ for her temples. Children not well. I recovering in strength. An alarm of "Govr's. Troops" proved false this p.m. Beautiful day.

Sunday 12 At mp 10 went to Dr. Richards. Revised Sunday's "minutes". At 2 p.m. I was sent to Temple to take minutes of meeting of the brethren in regard to organizing. H. C. Kimball and P. P. Pratt were the speakers. 25 captains of companies were appointed and 8 companies (to No. 9) were called out.⁵⁷ Dismissed by P. P. Pratt. Pamela had a chill. Wife put blisters on her temples. Beautiful day.

Monday 13 I was at office putting same in decent order all morning. In afternoon examining book B. to page 693 with brother Benson.⁵⁸ Dr. in bed

all who consider Mother Smith as a mother in Israel, signify it by saying yes! —One universal 'yes' rang throughout)" (*History of the Church* 7:470–72).

⁵⁴John Taylor was the editor of both the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, which ran its first issue 3 May 1843, and the *Times and Seasons*, which had been published since 1839. Pursuant to Taylor's request, the last issue of the *Neighbor* was published 31 October, but the *Times and Seasons* continued to run until 15 February 1846 (*History of the Church* 7:453–54; and Givens, *In Old Nauvoo*, 263–73).

⁵⁵The members of the committees appointed to sell lands in the various Latter-day Saint communities are listed in *History of the Church* 7:474. For other business transacted at this conference, see the account of the conference in *History of the Church* 7:456–77.

⁵⁶The use of blisters, wrappings which contained irritant chemicals, or blister ointments that caused local irritation was widespread in the nineteenth century. They were supposed to draw the fluid of diseased organs to the skin. They were also employed as a counterirritant (Carl J. Pfeiffer, *The Art and Practice of Western Medicine in the Nineteenth Century* [London: McFarland & Co., 1985], 180–84).

⁵⁷For a list of these captains, see *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 1 October 1845, or *History of the Church* 7:481–82.

⁵⁸The manuscript history of the Church up to August 1844 consists of six "books." These were labeled "A-1" through "F-1."

<i>Book</i>	<i>Dates Covered</i>	<i>Pages Contained</i>
A-1	1805 to 30 August 1834	1–553
B-1	1 September 1834 to 2 November 1838	553–849
C-1	2 November 1838 to 31 July 1842	850–1362
D-1	1 August 1842 to 1 July 1843	1362–1636
E-1	1 July 1843 to 30 April 1844	1637–2028
F-1	1 May 1844 to 8 August 1844	1–304

sick. Wife's blisters rose about noon. She was no better. Children easier. Leaves falling off the trees having been a frosty night. Fine day.

Tuesday 14 I was ordered to John Taylor's with my minutes of conference. Met bro. Clayton.⁵⁹ Revising same all morning. In p.m. he sent Curtis E. Bolton⁶⁰ who wrote what I read to him until we could see no longer. The Twelve met in morning and went to prayer. Major Warren⁶¹ and some troops came into the city. He saw the Twelve at brother Taylor's. Went home by moonlight with bro. Bolton. Wife's head no better. Pamela had chills. Charles was seized with the croup very bad indeed. I gave him a little nitre, sugar and warm water every ten minutes, which cured him. Beautiful day.

Wednesday 15 A very severe frost last night. Leaves fell off trees fast. Trees get variegated.⁶² Examined book B. to 695 3/4 then copying affidavits till about 11 when Curtis E. Bolton came and I read the conference minutes while he wrote them. A letter has been received from William Smith abusing President B. Young. When I got home had very severe pains in my right breast, stomach. Took cayenne pepper.⁶³ Henrietta says she is worse today. Children linger on. Fine day.

Thursday 16 Copying letters to Wm. Richards and Wm. Pierson,⁶⁴ affidavits of burning of property &c. The Dr. better. Went out of doors. At

Source: Howard C. Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830–1858" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1979), 227; and Jessee, "Joseph Smith's History," 441.

⁵⁹William Clayton (1814–1879), one of the earliest British converts, was born in Penwortham, England. After immigrating to Nauvoo, he succeeded Willard Richards as the clerk to Joseph Smith in 1842. In addition, he was the clerk and recorder of the Nauvoo Temple, clerk of the city council, and the official clerk of the Council of Fifty. Working side by side with Bullock, Clayton became a trusted and endeared friend to Thomas and remained so until Clayton's death (James B. Allen, *The Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987], 81 and *passim*; and Quinn, "Council of Fifty," 193).

⁶⁰Curtis E. Bolton (1812–1890), born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was baptized in 1842 and moved to Nauvoo in 1845, where he served as carpenter on the temple and as a clerk for the temple committee. In the fall, he began working in the Historian's Office (Curtis Edwin Bolton Journal, LDS Church Archives, 3–6).

⁶¹William Barton Warren (1802–1865) was born in Georgetown, Kentucky. After graduating from Transylvania University, he began practicing law in Georgetown. In 1833, he moved his family to Jacksonville, Illinois, where he was active in politics. In 1845 he became a clerk of the Supreme Court of Illinois. He was also a major in the state militia. It was in this capacity that he was involved in the disturbances that took place in Nauvoo from 1844–46. At this time, Warren was leading a body of between 50–100 volunteer militia. During the winter, this number would drop to 50, and by May, Warren would have only 10 men at his command to keep the peace (Erwin J. Urch, "The Public Career of William Barton Warren," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 21 [1928–29]: 93–111).

⁶²Diversified in colors or external appearance (*Noah Webster's First Edition of An American Dictionary of the English Language*, reprint of 1828 ed., 2d ed. [San Francisco: Foundation for American Christian Education, 1980]).

⁶³Cayenne pepper was believed to be an effective cure for heartburn and indigestion (Madge E. Pickard and R. Carlyle Buley, *The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures, and Doctors* [Crawfordsville, Ind.: R. E. Banta, 1945], 40; and *Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 824–26). Cayenne pepper pods could also be applied in poultices to stimulate chilled skin (for example, see entry on 29 October 1845).

⁶⁴As a clerk, Bullock's tasks were varied and in this case included writing personal letters for Church leaders. Both William Pierson and William Richards were relatives of Willard Richards. Pierson (1793–1862), a native of Richmond, Massachusetts, married Willard's older sister Nancy (1792–1852). William Richards (1801–1884) was Willard's older brother. Apparently, neither ever joined the Church and were at this time living in the East.

night I took a regular raking because I had brought home neither beef, flour, &c. Fine day. [page 5]

Friday 17 Writing affidavits of burning of property, letter to James Arlington Bennet⁶⁵ and part copying same. Severe pain in my neck and head. Willard teething pains. Pamela parted with two large worms. Esq. Wells⁶⁶ called to see my bookcase &c. Cold.

Saturday 18 Went to Squire Wells house. He was gone to Augusta. Saw his wife and an elderly lady. Staid half an hour, then went to Dr. Bernhisel⁶⁷ for some medicine for Henrietta. Not in. Thence to Dr. Richards. Finished the letter to Arlington Bennet. Staid till about 2. Then to Temple. Back to Bernhisel, who let me have 25 of medicine on tithing, after much talk. Then walked thro' the wood home and attended to Henrietta [who was] in bed. Beautiful day.

Sunday 19 At home attending on Henrietta, in bed, till 4. G. Wardle drove me and Edwin to the Temple (No. 1 Co. meeting). Took minutes, and returned at dusk. We are to parch 5 bushel of corn and dry a quantity of pumpkins, and make bags for clothing for our journey. Dull heavy day.

Monday 20 At home all day (upstairs cleaning and straightning). Henrietta some easier. Fine day.

Tuesday 21 At home till about 10 then went to Temple and immediately returned empty[-handed]. Taking corn out of shocks. Henrietta up a little today. Cold day.

Wednesday 22 At home all day shocking corn out in ear. Henrietta better. Cold day.

Thursday 23 At office finished copying 64 affidavits, endorsed some

⁶⁵James Arlington Bennet, born in 1788, is best remembered as Joseph Smith's first choice as running mate in the 1844 presidential election. Baptized in 1843, Bennet's short affair with the Church seems to have been based on his desires to be general of the Nauvoo Legion and the successor to Smith. Bennet arrived in Nauvoo from his home in Long Island, New York, on 20 October hoping to help settle the difficulties between the Mormons and anti-Mormons. After arriving, he urged the Saints to stay behind and fight for their lands. His involvement with the Saints, particularly with Emma Smith, caused more trouble than anything else. He soon returned to New York, where he continued infrequent contact with the Saints (*History of the Church* 7:483–84, 528; Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* [New York: Doubleday & Co., 1984], 221–26; and *Warsaw Signal*, 29 October 1845, 2; and 5 November 1845, 2).

⁶⁶Daniel H. Wells (1814–1891), a nonmember originally from Trenton, New York, had moved to Commerce in 1826. He sympathized with the Latter-day Saint people, even giving them large tracts of land—including the temple lot—at low prices. Although he did not join the Church until 1846, he was a close associate of Joseph Smith and a prominent man in civic affairs, serving both in the city council and as brigadier-general in the Nauvoo Legion (Bryant S. Hinckley, *Daniel Hanmer Wells and Events of His Time* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1942], 19–49).

⁶⁷John M. Bernhisel (1799–1881), born in Tyrone, Pennsylvania, was a medical doctor who served as the bishop of New York Branch from 1841 until his move to Nauvoo in 1843, where he was a member of the Council of Fifty (Quinn, "Council of Fifty," 193; and Gwynn William Barrett, "John M. Bernhisel: Mormon Elder in Congress" [Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1968], 1–44).

letters, then copying baptisms for the dead. A posse of the Governor in town (13).⁶⁸ Henrietta better. Fine day.

Friday 24 At office copying baptisms for the dead all day. The Legion was out at 7 this morning on account of the mob burning about 7 houses in Morley Settlement. They went out by fours on the prairie. At 5 in the evening a man came to say that a brother had shot one of the Governor's troops.⁶⁹ I was sent to G. A. Smith and H. C. Kimball's. C. C. Rich⁷⁰ called on same account. It is also reported that Gen. Arlington Bennet was hissed out of Carthage yesterday. He put for Quincy. [I] went to Davis Store⁷¹ for some tea and then to brother Martin's.⁷² Cold day.

Saturday 25 Copying Baptisms for the dead nearly all day. Doing errands the remainder. The little mean fellow, [Windsor] Lyons, refused to trust Dr. Willard Richards five cents on my buying some quinine saying "I will not trust Dr. Willard Richards or any one else &c." when the poor simpleton will have to sacrifice his all at the Drs. feet in a few months. Such is the effect of a grasping avaricious disposition, which proves "it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven". Geo. Wardle came to live at my house. Fine day.

Sunday 26 At home all day preparing for California. Wife not well. Fine day.

Monday 27 At home all day assisting G. Wardle to fix them. do.⁷³ Demanded my cow from Wellington Wilson who threatened me. Fine day.

⁶⁸Of this posse, the 29 October issue of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* humorously reported: "On Thursday morning last, (for the ninety-ninth time) notice was given that the Governor's troops, or Spanishly speaking, Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, and a few Viajantes . . . were out in search of adventures. About 1 P.M. they arrived in the city, and attacked not a windmill, but a dwelling house."

⁶⁹Naham Bigelow, afraid of mob intentions to burn down his home, called on Major Warren for protection. Warren declined to help, claiming that he was short on men, but after Capt. James Morgan consulted with the state attorney, Lt. Chs. W. Everett of the Quincy Riflemen and three others were dispatched to protect Bigelow and his neighbors. Not knowing his way, Everett did not arrive at Bigelow's home, which was about four miles from La Harpe, until after dark. Upon Everett's knock, a gun protruded from the door, and Everett was blasted once in the chest and once in the hip. After the initial shots, Everett called out, "Do not shoot me to pieces, we are not a mob—but have come to protect you." At this, Bigelow exclaimed, "In God's name, why did you not tell me so before." Everett recovered from his wounds (*Quincy Whig*, 29 October 1845, 3).

⁷⁰Charles Coulson Rich (1809–1883), born in Kentucky, was baptized in 1832. He was a member of the Council of Fifty, a brigadier-general and later major general of the Nauvoo Legion, a regent for the University of Nauvoo, a counselor in Nauvoo stake presidency, a member of the Nauvoo City Council, and an active Mason (Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich, Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* [Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1974]).

⁷¹The Amos Davis store was located near the southeast corner of Mulholland and Wells streets. In addition to selling hardware and grocery items, the store also functioned as a small inn. Davis (1813–1872), born at Hopkington, New Hampshire, was residing in Nauvoo by 1837, where he became the postmaster in 1839. He was baptized in 1840. He did not migrate west with the Saints in 1846 (Holtzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo*, 40–41; and Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 256).

⁷²Edward Martin (1818–1882), born in Preston, England, was baptized in 1830. He was a member of the Third Ward and a seventy in the Twenty-Fourth Quorum of Seventies. He was also a painter on the Nauvoo Temple. He is perhaps best known as the captain of the ill-fated Martin Handcart Company (Black, Membership 29:503–6; and Kate B. Carter, ed., *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 6 vols. [Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1956], 5:261–62).

⁷³Bullock used this "do.," meaning ditto, directly beneath a previous piece of information if he wished to repeat what had been written before. In this case it refers to "Wife not well."

Tuesday 28 Copying baptisms for the dead. Filling up El. Kimballs journal and writing down minutes of a meeting. Present B. Young, H. C. Kimball, John Taylor, G. A. Smith, A. Lyman, Mr. Backenstos,⁷⁴ Phineas Young,⁷⁵ Major Warren, Captains Turner and Morgan⁷⁶ from 3 to 5 p.m. then went to Temple office and home by brother Martin's. When I got home, found Henrietta again sick in bed with the chills and fever. Gave in memorial to Bishop Whitney to obtain my cow from W. Wilson. Fine day.

Wednesday 29 Morning at home attending to wife and cutting up a pumpkin to dry. Sarah Ann [Nixon] got 33 peppers to put H's feet in. At 12 started for office. Writing baptisms for the dead [page 6] and examining book B. with brother Benson. At [blank] this morning my niece Pamela Rushton⁷⁷ died. George Wardle made the coffin and [she] was buried about 3 p.m. At dusk I rode out with brother [William] and sister [Ruth] Clayton, sister Moon,⁷⁸ and brother Benson to his lodgings and they drove me to the foot of Parley Street. When I got home found Henrietta in bed sick with chills and fever and very bad indeed. Dull day.

Thursday 30 Morning dull. Commenced raining about 10. High wind about noon, then cleared up. Examining Book B. with brother Benson. Went home with head ache and pain in my back. Henrietta sick in bed. Spoke of Edwin's debt and got a "flare up" for it. Cold day.

Friday 31 Took about three pints of strong Boneset tea, did not vomit me much. Then took half a tea spoonful of powdered mandrake root⁷⁹ which operated the other way strongly. I was in bed nearly all day. Henrietta in bed all day sick. Lightning, slight thunder and rain at night. Fine day.

Saturday November 1. 1845 I was up in the night several times. Morning at home. P.M. went to Temple with George Wardle. Got nothing but half

⁷⁴Possibly William Backenstos, brother of Sheriff Jacob B. Backenstos (n. 105); William married a niece of Joseph Smith (Roger D. Launius, "Anti-Mormonism in Illinois: Thomas Sharp's Unfinished History of the Mormon War, 1845," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 [1989]: 41, n. 24).

⁷⁵Phineas Young (1799–1879), the older brother of Brigham Young, was born at Hopkinton, Massachusetts. He was baptized in 1832 and was active in Church and civic affairs in Nauvoo.

⁷⁶Captain James D. Morgan (1810–1896), originally from Boston, Massachusetts, moved to Quincy, Illinois, in 1834 where he engaged in the mercantile business. At this time he was leading a company of Quincy Grays riflemen (Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* [Chicago: Munsell Publishing Co., 1900], 384; and Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier* 1:100, n. 2). Capt. Turner was probably Vantrump Turner.

⁷⁷Pamela Rushton, daughter of Edwin and Mary Ann Rushton, was born 9 February 1843 (Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton*, 25, 32).

⁷⁸William Clayton married Ruth Moon (1817–1894) in 1836 when she was nineteen years old. After the introduction of plural marriage, William married Ruth's younger sister Margaret (1820–1870) in 1843. Both of these women had grown up with Clayton in Penwortham, England, and had been baptized in 1837. Because Margaret had been living at the Clayton residence with her mother and other family members, it probably did not seem strange for William to be seen in public with her; however, because polygamy was still not publicly practiced or openly admitted to, Margaret no doubt was still called Sister Moon by those outside the Clayton family (Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 188–95; and Family Group Sheets, Family Ancestral File).

⁷⁹Dried and then ground into a powder, the root of the mandrake or mayapple plant was in common use as a laxative, sedative, and painkiller (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 879–81; and *Rodale's Encyclopedia of Herbs*, 380–81).

bushel of meal. Returned home singing hymns this evening. Lightning at night. Fine day.

Sunday 2 Mp 9 went down to Dr. Richards who was up. At 10 went to Temple. Reported the discourses of Elders Hyde, Taylor and Kimball who spoke respecting thieving and wicked characters, going over the mountains &c. After meeting was dismissed, the 1st Co. was called for organizing. The Captains came to the front and the list was given them to choose their men. Went again to Dr. R's and then went home. I am much easier to day. Henrietta also up. Evening Sis Pixton came and I soon went to bed. Fine day.

Monday 3 A sharp frost in the night. Cut wood &c as usual. Went to office. Writing baptisms for the dead. Pres. Young and Kimball in office about 3 p.m. Fine day.

Tuesday 4 At office writing baptisms for the dead till 2 then went with Curtis E. Bolton up the Tower of the Temple to the top windows. Went in the rooms for endowment and on the roof of the Temple. Met with the 1st Company in the Temple, and adjourned to the Grove when it was reorganized. Br. Clayton told me I was in the 1st Co. of 16 commanded by Capt. Brigham Young. Went to the Temple office and then home. Fine day.

Wednesday 5 Mp 9 went to Squire Wells to try and sell my bookcase &c. Returned home about mp 10. Afternoon at home destroying letters &c of no use. Willard bad, teething. Fine day.

Thursday 6 At office copying baptisms for the dead. At ep 2 took in my silver cup to the Temple office for a sacramental cup. I also settled up my labor tithing to the 12 Oct. 1845 and obtained a certificate entitling me to the use of the Baptismal Font. Thanks be to God that I am at last settled with my tithing and can go boldly forward for my blessings. At ep 4 a council was held in the office. I went again to the Temple office and with br Bolton. Called at br. Martin's. Lucy⁸⁰ had sprained her ankle on Sunday, but is now better. I called at Edwin's to notify him to attend on Saturday morn: 9 oclock. Dull day.

⁸⁰Lucy Caroline Clayton (1820–1879), the sister of William Clayton, was born at Farrington, England. She was baptized in 1837 and immigrated with her family to Nauvoo in 1842. She would become Thomas Bullock's second wife on 23 January 1846. Although there is some disagreement about the time of their marriage—some accounts placing it as early as 1838—in light of Bullock's record along with other more reliable sources, January 1846 appears to be more feasible. In September 1846, she, with Thomas, was driven out of Nauvoo and headed west, arriving in the Great Salt Lake Valley 22 September 1848, where she eventually bore six children: 1. Mary Ann (died the same day as born, 3 March 1851); 2. Joseph Hyrum (1852–1924); 3. Sarah Jane (1853–1937); 4. Flora Eve (1856–1938); 5. Lucy Caroline (1859–1930); and 6. Heber John (1861–1914). She made her home in South Cottonwood, where she served as a midwife and a counselor in the ward Relief Society. She died at age fifty-nine (C. Ward Despain, "Thomas Bullock: Early Mormon Pioneer" [Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1950], 128; Family Group Sheets in possession of the author; and Black, Membership 10:284–85). Bullock often refers to Lucy as L. or L. C.

Friday 7 At office writing history of the dead. At 5 the council met in office. Went home at dusk.

Saturday 8 Went to Edwin Rushton, who promised to follow me in a few minutes to Bishop Miller's (with Jane). I went on and met the bishop, who went with me to his office where I waited until 25 min. to 11. W[ellington]. Wilson came and plead for an adjournment of trial till this day [next] week. Bishop Miller said there was no need of any trial as br. Bullock and his witnesses could swear to the cow, that Wilson must give up the cow, and I and my [page 7] witnesses go before Judge Higbee⁸¹ and make oath that the cow is mine, and that Wilson had had to give it up. Then that Wilson must proceed against Irvine (the man he said he bought her from) for his amount. I was asked "br. Bullock where are your witnesses?" I had to reply "not come Sir." Wilson said Irvine had the cow from Barnes the noted Mormon House Burner, Cow Stealer &c. I was galled at being served so dirtily by my own debtors and professed relatives. And on my return I called at Edwin Rushton's to "return my humble and sincere thanks for the kindness and strict attendance at the court whereby I had lost my cow and I wish you good bye". When I got home and told them of my scurvy treatment, his mother got in a rage at his conduct and went away to scold him and Jane for their abominable conduct. At night Edwin came to my house to balance accounts. Found 11.40 due to me, which thro' an insult I dashed out of the book. He has now belonging to me 3 pistols, 2 dishes, 2 sheets, 2 spurs, 60 rails which he must hand over to me, also 2 spades. Fine day.

Sunday 9 At mp 9 called at Bro. Martin's on my way to the Temple. As the lower floor was taken up, there was no public meeting, but the brethren assembled on the upper floor where Pres. Young addressed them on the subject of Emigration.⁸² At 12 the captains of Cos were called together. I went home to dinner and returned at ep 2 to the Grove where the 1st Co. was assembled. Nothing done as 77 were absent. Not organized. At 4 went home. Had a visit from Sis. Lucy Clayton who staid [for] tea. In evening I accompanied her home. Pleasant evening.

Monday 10 Wife sick. Staid at home all day. She has very violent pains and she requested me to go to Dr. Richards for him to pray for her. 3 p.m. saw Dr. Then went to Temple office and got a white faced cow. Brown body. 11 dollars. Took her home. Pleased my family. Fine day.

⁸¹Isaac Higbee (1797–1874), originally from Gallaway, New Jersey, was baptized in 1832 and ordained a high priest in 1835. In Nauvoo, he served as the justice of the peace and bishop of the Nauvoo Second Ward (Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. [Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901–36], 1:480–81; and Black, Membership 22:706–12).

⁸²Brigham Young also censured those who liked to talk of the mysteries of the gospel. He said: "u hearken to this counsel [and] cease teaching things u dont know—El. Hyde told of the Ch[urch] going into the wilderness &c I heard of it at night—I told him I did not care whe[the]r it was true doctrine or false. . . . There is not the man before me who knows anything about it—when I understand the first principles, I understand more than all in this room—they must be endowed with revelations from on high [and] no man has a right to teach, unless he is wrapt in the visions of eternity" (Bullock Minutes, Typescript, 9 November 1845, 15-16).

Tuesday 11 At home. Wife had very bad night. Evening got her a little honey, burnt some cork, also gave her a little alum and camphor⁸³ which eased her a little. do. [Fine day].

Wednesday 12 At home. Wife had a worse night, parted with much corruption. Suffers a great deal. Got some brandy and burnt a cork by it, and gave her to drink. In p.m. her mother and Eliza [Rushton] came down and said nothing could save her but an injection, which was given. She was easier afterwards. Br. Bolton called and requested me to be at the office tomorrow if possible. Staid an hour. Had considerable conversation. Cold and rain.

Thursday 13 Wife had a easy night. I went to office and sent off the baptisms for the dead to be bound. Wrote a letter for H. C. Kimball. Copied part of an article on the Priesthood &c. On returning home the moon was eclipsed. Saw it a many times until its total obscuration. My head ached. Wife has had a easy day. Cold and rain.

Friday 14 Copying an article on the Priesthood. Regulating books and papers &c. Went to Clark's and Judah's Stores. Called at Bro. Martin's. Staid a short time then went [on] a short walk with L. C. and went home. Milked cow as usual &c. This evening I found out that Edwin Rushton has been trying to give me a bad character saying I was "a Lazy Idle Scoundrel," "did not get food for my family," "would not work," and "did not care a shit about them" &c &c. May the Lord reward him according to his mean lies, and expose this youth's ingratitude to his benefactor. There is not now one of the Rushton family but what has wronged and injured me.

Saturday 15 At office wrote an Epistle to the Saints to be read at tomorrow's meeting. Regulating letters, paper &c. Copying names of Saints who were recommended in Record Book. Went home. I sent Sarah Ann to Edwin's for my rails. He did not give an answer, but Jane said "Mr. Bullock must have them when he can get them." This from a proved thief is too bad, especially when her husband owes me between 50 and 100 dollars.

Sunday 16 Called at bro. Martin's on my way to the Temple. Went with him. Reported the discourses of El. O. Hyde, H. C. Kimball, and B. Young. Returned home for dinner. Went again to the Grove to meet with the 1st Co. Pres. Young addressed them (raining all the time). The third 100 was handed over to Jededia M. Grant⁸⁴ for organization and dismissed till next

⁸³Alum, a fine, white, salt-like powder, was used as an astringent to stop diarrhea, as symptomatic relief for the croup, and as an ingredient in certain poultices (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 548, 635, 778). Camphor, a yellow oil derived from the sap of the camphor tree, was known for its "strong, invigorating smell, and hot, acrid taste." It was claimed to have sedative, diaphoretic, anodyne, and antispasmodic effects (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 819–20).

⁸⁴Jedediah M. Grant (1816–1856), born in Windsor, New York, was baptized in 1833. He was ordained to the First Seven Presidents of the Seventy in 1845 and was a member of the Council of Fifty. He was the captain of the fourteenth emigrating company (Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982], 3–69).

Sunday at 2 oclock. Afterwards met with second 100 according to request. Went home and for 3rd time this [page 8] day a cow with part white face was in my garden having leapt over a 8 high rail fence. Tried to give her three duck shot and a little small shot to make her smart. Nixon's cow pushed fence down. Took her up and milked her. Wm. Nixon standing by. He said he wod. not fasten her up. So my property, Fat. Allen's and Geo. Wardle's is to be destroyed by two /bad/ cattle and no remedy for us.

Monday 17 At office recording certificates of members, filing books and papers as they were brought in by the brethren. Afternoon examining Book B with brother Benson. At dusk went home by Mullholland Street. Received a letter from Wm. Gillespie.⁸⁵ Read it to Wardle and Fanny and Henrietta. Dull day, dark night.

Tuesday 18 At office examining Book B to the end, then Book A as far as page 333. Afterwards copying baptisms for the dead. Went to Temple Store and br. Martin's. Sis. Lucy Clayton had stewed down some sugar pumpkins. Went home with me. Left the pumpkin and I returned part way home. May God bless her for her gift and be remembered kindly on the Rocky Mountains. I spread all on plates for drying. Wife had a severe chill. Fine day.

Wednesday 19 At home carrying water for washing. Also gathering my fodder for the winter and attending to drying my pumpkins. Fine day.

Thursday 20 At office making minute papers and filing dates of correspondence on same. L. came to say she was going home for 3 weeks as desired by Wm.[William Clayton] and Pres. Young. May God protect her during her absence. Ice on water this morning. Fine day.

Friday 21 Went to Sister Jane Hall⁸⁶ to tell her she was wanted at the Drs. Returned to office about 10. She came at 12. In the morning I was filling in the correspondence on the minute papers. In the afternoon I copied the baptisms for the dead. Cold.

Saturday 22 I cut wood, fetched water, and milked the cow as usual. Went to office [and] filled up the Drs. Journal. Then copying Baptisms for the dead &c. At night Edwin Rushton came, and I was obliged to order him out of my house. Had a row.⁸⁷ I bid good bye to all of them now. Very windy and cold.

⁸⁵William Gillespie, born in 1818, was a nonmember who married Mary Olivia, Henrietta Rushton Bullock's younger sister, after her emigration from England to New Orleans (see n. 37). Mary apparently never moved to Nauvoo but lived in Kentucky. Gillespie was drafted into the Confederate Army and died in an Illinois prisoner-of-war camp in 1863. Mary Olivia later married a Mr. Cooke and died in 1871 in Chicago (Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton*, 64–65).

⁸⁶Jane Hall would soon become a plural wife of Willard Richards (see n. 123).

⁸⁷A slang or colloquial word, of obscure origin, meaning a violent disturbance or commotion; a noisy dispute or quarrel (*The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., 20 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989], 14:177).

Sunday 23 At home till 2. Then went for company meeting No. 1, but did not find it and returned home. G. Wardle took 2 pigs home from Jo. Knight.⁸⁸ Edwin came and made some better friends. Very cold, thick ice.

Monday 24 At office writing letters, which were dictated by the Dr. and afterwards recopying same. Also copying baptisms for the dead. Evening called at Temple office and afterwards at bro. Martin's. I found that Edwin's statements were lies. Sis. Martin⁸⁹ confirming what I had been previously told by L. Cold and dull.

Tuesday 25 At office writing in book D all morning and baptisms for the dead in the evening. On my return home saw Wellington Wilson, who has my cow. Asked him when Ellison was coming as it was two weeks and three days since he was to come to give testimony. He said he had promised to come "some time." This proceeding is very unsatisfactory to me. Cold day.

Wednesday 26 Chopped wood, milked cow, fetched water from creek having to break the ice for it &c. Then went to office copying baptisms for the dead. In evening I called at the Temple office and at brother Martin's. Talked much on the Priesthood &c. I took home some sugar pumpkins. It was snowing and blowing very hard. Very cold.

Thursday 27 Morning at home. At mp 12 took the pail back to Sis. Martin's. Called at the Temple Store on my way to the office and wrote history in book D. This day and night was very severe frost and ice was running in the River. Severe frost.

Friday 28 In office reading history to G. A. Smith and W. Richards in the a.m. and in p.m. I examined history in book C with F. D. Richards. The frost continued very severe. So much so that the River was frozen over at the Upper Landing, altho' this is only the second days frost. [page 9]

Saturday 29 In office reading history in book C with F. D. Richards. Severe frost all day. My wife and Willard Richards very sick, in much pain. Severe frost.

⁸⁸Bullock's reference here is probably to Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772–1847), rather than to his son Joseph Knight, Jr. (1808–1866). On 19 January 1840, the Nauvoo High Council donated a house and a lot to Joseph, Sr., and he was living in Nauvoo at this time (*History of the Church* 4:76). The movements of Joseph, Jr., are harder to trace. He lived at La Harpe, where he milled until 1844. In the spring of 1845 he was in Nauvoo working in Bullock's lot. After a month away from Nauvoo, he apparently was offered a milling job by his brother Newel. In January 1846, he was ordained a high priest. It is possible that at the time of this reference, both Joseph Sr. and Jr. were living in the same house. That Bullock and Joseph, Jr., were friends is also well established; not only did Joseph, Jr., help Bullock in his lot on several occasions, but later Bullock would help Joseph, Jr., compile his autobiography—which incidentally is in Bullock's handwriting with Joseph Knight's signature at the end of the manuscript (Joseph Knight, Jr., "Autobiographical Sketch," LDS Church Archives; and William G. Hartley, "They Are My Friends": A History of the Joseph Knight Family, 1825–1850 [Provo: Grandin Book Co., 1986], 156–65).

⁸⁹Alice Clayton Martin (1816–1859), younger sister of William and older sister of Lucy, was born at Lancashire, England. She married Edward Martin while still in England and was baptized in 1840. Alice and her husband were good friends of the Bullocks. Also, Lucy was living at the Martin home, which gave further impetus to Thomas to visit them (Black, Membership 10:273).

Sunday 30 I was at home all day shelling corn, drying Pennyroyal⁹⁰ and stewing Squash for California, having no other days to prepare for my journey. It was also very cold all day. Wife and Willard about the same.

December 1845

Monday 1 I was in office comparing book C with F. D. Richards till 3 when I was taken very ill, being chilly, and also feeling my rheumatic pains. Had two doses of composition,⁹¹ one of pepper tea, &c, yet they did not warm me. Br. Benson went up the hill with me. Wife better. Willard worse. More mild.

Tuesday 2 I was at home ill with rheumatism, being short of flannel to make me a singlet. Sat by the stove and in bed. Willard very ill indeed, not knowing whether he would live or die during the night. Mild day.

Wednesday 3 I was some better and went to the office about mp 11. I had a bowl of composition etc which did me much good. Comparing book C till 12 with bro. Campbell⁹² to the end. Windy and cold.

Thursday 4 Broke the ice in the creek for water, cut wood, fed and milked the cow, made fire &c. Then went to the office and examined book C with F. D. Richards all day. Frosty.

Friday 5 At the office all day comparing book C with F. D. R. He gave me some honey to my bread which was very sweet. Received much instruction. Went to Temple Office got some flour. Went home. Wife and children rejoiced. A good day to me. Willard had a easy day today, slept some. Cold and dull.

Saturday 6 In the morning examining Book C with F. D. Richards till noon. In afternoon comparing Wm. Smith's blessings and afterwards indorsing the Drs. private letters and papers. Willard no better. Thawing.

Sunday 7 At home all day. Prepared a little for my journey. In afternoon we thought Willard was dying. Administered a little brandy and water, when he revived. He was very bad all day and night. Thawing.

⁹⁰A relative of the mint family, pennyroyal was thought to counter diseases of the urinary organs and suppress menses and colds (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 890). It is now considered unsafe to use (*Rodale's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Herbs*, 412–13).

⁹¹The original Thomsonian composition powder was made by combining and pulverizing 1 pound of bayberry, 1/2 pound ginger, and one ounce each of cayenne and cloves. This mixture was made into tea by putting a large tablespoon of the powder into a pint of boiling water. The composition powder was "valuable in Colds, and where you wish to produce Perspiration" (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 1138).

⁹²Robert L. Campbell (1825–1874), born in western Scotland, was baptized in 1842. After a long and difficult mission in Scotland, he left for Nauvoo, arriving there in March 1845. In May, Campbell began writing for Patriarch John Smith; between June and September he clerked for William Smith. In November, he began working in the Historian's Office under Willard Richards. He and Bullock worked together on reading and revising the history of Joseph Smith (Frederick S. Buchanan, "Robert Lang Campbell: 'A Wise Scribe in Israel' and Schoolman to the Saints," *BYU Studies* 29 [Summer 1989]: 5–27; and Jessee, "Joseph Smith's History," 460).

Monday 8 At home carrying water for washing all day. Also preparing seeds for journey. Willard a little easier. Cold day.

Tuesday 9 Office all day comparing blessings. At 4 Rev. Mr. Hamilton from Springfield and Rev. Mr. Tucker [of] the Catholic Delegation met with the Council.⁹³ I staid and wrote down the minutes of the meeting. Went home at 6. Willard was very ill. Cold day.

Wednesday 10 Copying baptisms for the dead. This day commenced the giving of endowments in the House of the Lord. Dr. went at 10 returned at 7. I was sent for down stairs at ep 4 when to my surprise and joy L was come back well. Went home, had tea. Found Henrietta had had a dreadful day. She was very ill indeed, so was Willard. In evening took a walk to Sis. Martin's. /She was ill./ Beautiful evening, fine day.

Thursday 11 Copying baptisms for the dead. Had some conversation in evening with Dr. Called at Temple office for some meal, then home. W[illard]. very ill. Cold day.

Friday 12 Finished copying baptisms for the dead at 11. Then commenced copying Wm. Smith's blessings. Also wrote a letter to bro. Wiley which Dr. dictated. When I arrived at home found Henrietta had been nearly as bad as on Wednesday. Not quite so much vomiting. Willard remains very ill, in great pain. Sis. Martin much better than on Wednesday. Mild day.

Saturday 13 Henrietta is better again this morning. Willard has had a better night but the little creature is very ill. May the Lord grant a favorable turn to both of them that they may again be restored to health. Copying Wm. Smith's blessings all day. A snow storm in the afternoon. [page 10]

December 1845

Sunday 14 At home writing letters to Wm. Gillespie and Mrs. Wassell. Sister Williams called on a visit. She had been ill all the time since she left my house.⁹⁴ At sunset I went to the 27 Quorum at Bro. Beachs.⁹⁵ Present:

⁹³Tucker and Hamilton were sent to Nauvoo by the bishop of Chicago to inquire about the possibilities of the Catholic church buying land in and around Nauvoo. Due to the pressures of land speculators hoping to obtain the Church's land in Nauvoo for very little money, Brigham Young on this occasion had propositions drawn up for the advertisement and sale of certain Nauvoo properties to the Catholic delegation. The temple would be leased out under a separate condition that the leaser finish the structure. Although Father Tucker appeared positive about the prospects of the Catholic church's being able to raise the money for the purchases, Tucker later wrote and informed the council that the Catholic bishop had been unable to raise the money but would be willing to rent a building (*History of the Church* 7:539-41; 565).

⁹⁴Nothing is known about Esther Williams except that she had come to live in the Bullock home on 16 March 1845 for \$24 per year. She was baptized by Thomas on 25 June 1845 in the Mississippi River. Whether this was Esther's second baptism is unclear. However, on this same day, Bullock also baptized his wife Henrietta; this was her second baptism. There is no indication of when Esther Williams left the Bullock home (*Historian's Office Journal*, vol. 1, 25 June 1845).

⁹⁵The Twenty-Seventh Quorum had been organized 1 June 1845. The eventual presidency would include Rufus Beach, Stephen Goddard, Thomas Bullock, Eli Chase, George W. Oman, Allen Weeks, and William Glover (*Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies*, 60-61, 64).

Pres. Beach, Chase,⁹⁶ Mead, Weeks⁹⁷ and Bullock and 26 members. I took down their genealogies. I and Pres. Beech and Chase spoke to the brethren on different subjects. Elected bro to fill the place of Hamilton deceased.⁹⁸ Made a collection for paying for 26 Gal. of wine &c. Returned ep 7. Henrietta missed her chill, Willard no better. Fine day, thaw.

Monday 15 Snow fell in the night. At 8 a.m. went to have seen Pres. B. Young but he was in the Temple. Returned home, did the errands about the house and went to the office at 12. Copying Wm. Smith's blessings. Eve. milked Drs. cow &c. Went home in the dark. Very bad travelling. Thawing.

Tuesday 16 Got up two hours before day break. Fetched water, cut wood, fed and milked cow, got my breakfast &c as usual then went to office. Correcting book D for copying. Writing Wm. Smith's blessings &c &c. Dull and heavy.

Wednesday 17 At office copying Wm. Smith's blessings. Called at bro. Martin's. Cold night.

Thursday 18 A very severe frost, and wind froze everything. Chopped bread, cut milk with a knife. In fetching water and milking I was near frozen to death. Sawed wood in the house. When sitting by the fire (backs were chilly) in warming my back I set fire to my best pantaloons. This is the most tremendous day and night I ever knew.

Friday 19 Still continued severe, but a little more moderate. At 12 went to the office. Comparing history &c. About 4 p.m. bro. Benson notified me to appear at the Temple with my Wife on tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock to attend to the ordinances of Washing and Anointing. Afterwards went to the Temple. Saw Pres. Young and received further instructions. Then went to bro. Martin's. L not come yet. Henrietta better as well as Willard. Cold evening.

Saturday 20 At sunrise I and Henrietta started to the Temple. We received the ordinances of Washing and Anointing &c &c. Pres. Joseph Young anointed me to be K[ing] and P[riest] and he was in very good spirits and much pleased to see me as was also El. H. C. Kimball. /Prompter [was]

⁹⁶Eli Chase (1808–1851), a native of Ellsburgh, New York, had moved to Fulton County, Illinois, in 1820 with his family. He was baptized in 1831; he moved to Missouri, where he was shot in the leg during the Battle of Crooked River. From Missouri he moved to Quincy, Illinois, and was ordained to the First Quorum of the Seventy in 1839. In 1840 he married Olive Hill. After a two-year mission to Canada and New York, Chase was placed in the Third Quorum and eventually became a president in the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, 11; and Black, Membership 9:376–78).

⁹⁷Allen Weeks (1813–1884), originally from Beatherford County, North Carolina, moved with his family to Alabama in 1815 or 1816 and then to Illinois in 1839. Weeks was baptized in 1839 and moved to Nauvoo in 1840. Weeks accepted a call to serve a mission as a full-time laborer at the temple. He was made a seventy in the Ninth Quorum in 1844 and became a president of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies in June 1845 (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, 13; and Early Church Information File, Family History Library [hereafter cited as E.C.I.F.]).

⁹⁸Robert Hamilton, born in 1813, died of "Bilious Fever" (typhoid) in September 1845 (*Nauvoo Neighbor* 3 [1 October 1845]: 3, Sexton's Report; and Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 31).

Hosea Stout.⁹⁹ Received by Charles C. Rich./ After we had passed thro, we saw Pres. Young who took us into his private room and there we laid before him our Statement and received his approval &c. I never was really happier than when I was in his room and hearkened to his council. My wife was really happy too. May the Eternal Father give us of his Spirit that we may ever bear in mind the truths that we this day learned, and ever keep them in sacred remembrance. We also feel glad and happy in the prospects that lie before us. We then went down to Dr. Richards. Partook of bread and wine. Staid till 4 then went to bro. Martin's. L. C. not yet come. A great disappointment to us. Beautiful day.

Sunday 21 At mp 11 went to bro. Martins. L not having come at 12 I wrote her a short note. Went to Dr. Richards where I sealed the letter. Had some further conversation with him. Then took the note to W. C. [William Clayton] for he to send it to his sister. We conversed about the robes etc.¹⁰⁰ And there being a meeting in the Temple at 2 without garments. I returned there, heard some excellent instructions which causes my heart to rejoice much. At 5 went home. Beautiful day.

Monday 22 At office all day comparing history &c. Went to Temple on an errand 9 a.m. Evening called at bro. Martin's, again disappointed. May God grant that alls well. W[illiam Clayton] told me those folks would come on Wednesday without sending the letter. Cold day.

Tuesday 23 Birthday. Age 29. At 12 went to bro. Stows for two gallons of soap. Called at Martins. No news for me. Went to the Temple office and returned home. Willard began to be very wrangling during the day. He is much worse. Albern Allen¹⁰¹ called in evening. Fine day.

Wednesday 24 At office all day. A report in Town that the Governors troops came in yesterday about 2 p.m. Sent to the Temple for Pres. Young when bro. Miller¹⁰² went in the Pres's Carriage to the mansion when he was immediately arrested on a writ for treason sworn out by Wm. Smith. At sunset they took him off for Carthage and did not discover their mistake until they arrived near Carthage when they cursed and swore they [page 11] would have Brigham before morning.¹⁰³ A man came to give warning of their approach. Saw a little lamb. The first I have seen this season. Fine day.

⁹⁹Hosea Stout (1810–1889), born in Danville, Kentucky, was baptized in 1838. Stout eventually was a colonel in the Nauvoo Legion, captain of the Nauvoo Police, and senior president of the Eleventh Quorum of the Seventies (Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 1:1–117, and *passim*). The prompter is a helper in the endowment ceremony.

¹⁰⁰Ceremonial robes for the endowment.

¹⁰¹Albern Allen (1802–1867), born in Cornwall, Connecticut, was baptized in 1835. He was a military man, serving first in the Nauvoo Legion and later in the Mormon Battalion. Albern married a Marcia (1804–1866) in 1826 (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 3:580–81; and Marcia Allen, Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File).

¹⁰²William Miller (1814–1875), originally from Avon, New York, was baptized in 1833. He married in 1834 (Whitney, *History of Utah* 4:153–56).

¹⁰³This episode, sometimes called the “bogus Brigham” incident, would be a humorous memory to the Saints for years to come. The *Warsaw Signal* laughed at the incident. It reported, “The best joke of

Thursday 25 Christmas day. At 2 p.m. went to Temple office. On my return called at bro. Martin's. Sister Alice worse. I staid till 4 then went home. Sister Lucy not come yet. On going to bed I was seized with severe pain in my back. Willard very bad. Fine day.

Friday 26 At home all day. Sickly /dear/ Wife and Willard unwell. Cold day.

Saturday 27 Morning had a very severe pain in my bowels. Drank pepper tea and cayenne. Went to bed. Had a hot brick put to my feet, but continued chilly. At 3 p.m. being much better went to the Temple office, and afterwards called at Sis Martin's. L. C. not yet returned. Went home disappointed. cold day. Report. That two men went to search the Temple for Pres. Young. They were met by David Candland¹⁰⁴ who told them that they must take off their shoes and hats before they could enter the room. They did so, searched, and went out again.

Sunday 28 At home all day. I was some better. Willard very bad. I took five pills. They worked me. I never swallowed [more than] three pills in my life before today. Dear wife much better. Thawing.

Monday 29 Went to office compared book C. with F. D. Richards and afterwards comparing Wm. Smith's blessings. Called at Martin's, disappointed. Thawing.

Tuesday 30 At office examing Patriarchal blessings. Night called at Martins. Thawing.

Wednesday 31 Carrying water for washing, &c all day. At night went to Sis Martin's. L. C. not come thus did the old year end in disappointment, and what can be the cause I know not. I have done all that I was told to on the 11th and why this delay? May Almighty God grant that all may be well with her and that she may return in good health. Thawing.

the season was played off, last week, by the Saints, on the United States deputy Marshall for Illinois. It appears that Brigham Young and other Saints, were indicted at the late Term of the United States Circuit Court at Springfield, for Bogus making [counterfeiting]. On Tuesday of last week, the Deputy Marshall accompanied by eight of the Hancock Guard, and Mr. Benson of Augusta, (who went along to point out Brigham) started from Carthage for the Holy City. On arriving they went to the Temple, where the Saints were assembled, and soon Mr. Benson pointed out Brigham, accompanied by some ladies, in the act of getting into a carriage. The Marshall immediately walked up and arrested him. The Saints learning what had been done assembled around the prisoner and swore that he should not be taken out of town. The Marshall and his *posse* were however, determined and notwithstanding the threats of the crowd held on to their prisoner, and declared if any effort was made to rescue him they would shoot Brigham the first man. . . . The Saints now began to show long faces and seemed very much affected. . . . As the officer and his *posse* left with their charge they [the Saints] broke out in such strains as these; "Farewell Brother Brigham." "We hope you will soon return". . . . On arriving at Carthage, G. W. Thatcher, Esq. went in to see him. Soon he returnee [sic] with a very knowing look, and affirmed that there was no Brigham Young there, and the Prisoner [William Miller] was an entirely different personage. . . . The Marshall on learning he had been hoaxed released the prisoner" (29 December 1845, 2).

¹⁰⁴David Candland (1819–1902), a native of Highgate, England, was baptized in 1841. In 1844 he married Mary Ann Barton and began working as a clerk in the Temple Office in 1845. After being sealed to Heber C. Kimball on 25 January, Candland left for England as a missionary on 30 January. He would return to Winter Quarters by August 1847 (David Candland, *Reminiscences and Diary*, 1–13, Archives and Manuscripts, HBLL; and Black, *Membership* 8:535–40).

1846

Thursday January 1. 1846 Opened with a thaw, and the roads so very muddy that I could not walk to the office and keep my shoes on my feet. So I staid at home parching corn for my journey to the Rocky Mountains this Spring. And may our heavenly Father cause all things so to work that I may be prepared when the time is to go. L. C. not yet come causes the year to open with disappointment. Thawing.

Friday 2 At office copying patriarchal blessings and writing history which Dr. Richards dictated. Night went to the Temple and F. D. Richards lent me robes in order to cut the patterns for my holy robes. Called at Martins. Again disappointed. Went home cut my robes. Thawing.

Saturday 3 At office writing history which the Dr. dictated. At 4 p.m. Sheriff Backenstos¹⁰⁵ called. I wrote a letter and sent it by him to Cathargé. He promised to send it on Monday and I do now hope that my desires will be realized. Called at Martin's and home. Thawing.

Sunday 4 Morning at home. Cutting out green silk leaves. At 3 Henrietta and I walked to see Sister Martin who still continued very bad. Staid till dark. Mrs. Clayton¹⁰⁶ and John [Clayton] came to see Alice. Lucy did not come. I heard she has been frolicking and now she will have to stay another week. This is too bad, as it drives me late in parching my corn, making bags, robes etc and preparing for California. Day thawing, night frosty.

Monday 5 Morning at home cutting out green leaves. Went to Martins and Temple office. Borrowed Joseph [L. Heywood]'s garment. Went home, cut out mine, returned his at 5 and went to the Presidents meeting. Pres. Beech and I paid 8.57 1/2 for oil for anointing. Took Dr. Sangars receipt. Returned home and wrote in the Quorum book.¹⁰⁷ Dirty, frost in night.

Tuesday 6 At office writing history which Dr. dictated. Also in book D. Evening went into the Temple sat about two hours. I esteemed my great

¹⁰⁵Jacob B. Backenstos, the non-Mormon sheriff of Hancock County, owed his position to the Latter-day Saint vote. He had long been friendly to the Saints and was presently trying to defend them from mob attacks (Launius, "Anti-Mormonism in Illinois," 41, n. 24). The 24 September 1845 *Nauvoo Neighbor* lauded Backenstos, saying, "We feel it our duty to say that Sheriff Backenstos is entitled to the highest encomium of every American patriot, for the prompt and energetic measures, and his unceasing vigilance, which so successfully put to flight the blood thirsty, pestilential, and property wasting mob of Hancock County, and vicinity" (3:3).

¹⁰⁶Mother Clayton, or Ann Critchley Clayton (1793–1848), was born at Lancashire, England. She had fourteen children, of which at least six had frequent contact with the Bullock family. Of course there was William, the oldest; Alice, who had married Edward Martin (see n. 89); and Lucy, the fourth child, soon to become Bullock's first plural wife (see n. 80). But in addition, Ellen (1822–1888), the fifth child; James (1824–1847), the sixth child; and John (1826–1847), the seventh child, were all well acquainted with Bullock. They were all natives of Lancashire, England, and had emigrated to America soon after receiving the gospel. These latter three are all mentioned periodically throughout this journal and appear to have been living in Carthage with their parents. The Claytons later moved into Nauvoo (Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File).

Sunday 28. At home all day. I was some better. Willard very bad. Took five pills. - they worked
me - I never swallowed three pills in my life before today - dear wife much better - Thawing

Monday 29. went to office compared book C. with J. D. Richards and afterwards comparing
with Smith's blessings - called at Martin's, disappointed. Thawing

Tuesday 30. at office examining Patriarchal bindings - night asleep at Martin's - Thawing

Wednesday 31. carrying water for washing, the all day - at night went to J's Martin's - J.C. not come
thus did the old year end in disappointment, and what can be the cause - I know not -
I have some all that I was told to, on the 11th and why his delay? may Almighty God grant
that all may be well with her - and that she may return in good health. Thawing

1846

Thursday January 1. 1846 opened with a howl, and the roads so very muddy, that I could not
walk to the office and keep my shoes on my feet - so I staid at home - parching corn for my
family to be ready tomorrow in Spring. and may our heavenly Father cause all things so to
work that I may be prepared when the time is so. J.C. not yet come since the year is then
with disappointment. Thawing

Friday 2. at office copying Patriarchal blessings, and writing history which D. Richards dictated
night went to the Temple and J. D. Richards lent me robes in order to cut the pattern for
my holy robes - called at Martin's - again disappointed. went home cut my robes - Thawing.

Saturday 3. at office writing history which he dictated - at 4 P.M. Sheriff Backdustor called -
I wrote a letter and sent it by him to Larkidge - he promised to send it on Monday
and I no longer hope that my robes will be realized - called at Martin's - in home Thawing

Sunday 4 morning at home - cutting out green silk leaves - at 3 P.M. and I walked to see
Sister Martin who still continued very bad - maid ill dark. Mr. Clayton to John come to see
Alice - Lucy did not come. I heard she has been prolicking - and now she will have to stay
another week. his is so bad, as it drives me late in parching my corn, making bags, robes &c
and preparing for California. any Thawing
night poor

Monday 5 morning at home cutting out green leaves went to Martin's and Temple office, ordered Joseph's
garment - went home, cut out mine, returned his, at 5 and went to the President's meeting - (see
Recd to J, and \$ 5 1/2 for oil for anointing, with D. Langaw receipt. returned home to write in the
book on book 7

privilege. Shook hands with B. Young, H. C. Kimball, O. Hyde, P. P. Pratt, O. Pratt, and many others. Felt very happy and I returned home and wrote. Frosty night.

Wednesday 7 Having done my chores, went to office. Writing history in book D. Mp 10 assisted the Dr. to the Temple office. I went on with Sister Amelia¹⁰⁸ to Uncle Phineas',¹⁰⁹ returned, assisted the Dr. up stairs in Temple. Then again to the office. Compared Wm. Smith's blessings with bro. Benson to No. 182. Wooded,¹¹⁰ then went home. Found Willard some better. Thomas Henry also better. Tried on my robes &c. Dull and dry. [page 12]

Thursday 8 January 1846 At office writing history while Dr. dictated till 3. He then went out and I continued in book D till sunset. On my way home called at Martin's. Cold day, frosty night.

Friday 9 At home all day receiving corn for parching, cutting wood. P.M. cutting out green silk leaves &c &c. Cold day, frosty night.

Saturday 10 When I arrived at office bro G. D. Watt¹¹¹ said I want you to record in your journal that yesterday I agreed to be the Drs. son and he agreed to be my father. I gave him my hand as my younger brother. In the course of the day the Dr. asked I, Watt and Benson "if we would pray every day that he may be able to live and complete the History." We all replied "we will." He then said "if you do this you shall become grey headed old men, and you shall become heads of great and mighty kingdoms" to which we all responded "Amen." He gave us a great deal of useful instruction. He felt very well indeed so we all did. He told us to record this in our journals in order that in a many years to come, we may refer back and see what we were doing on this day. Sisters Rhoda¹¹² and Amelia went to the Temple with the Dr. and attended to the first ordinances. P.M. Dr. dictated history,

¹⁰⁷Secretary McIntosh's official record of this Twenty-Seventh Quorum presidency meeting is as follows: "Meeting of the Presidents of the Seventies in the Concert Hall, in order to make report of collections for Oil to be used for anointing the saints in the house of the Lord. President Beach and Bullock attended and paid Eight-Dollars 57 1/2 cents, collected from the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, and took receipt from Dr. Sangar, who was going to Chicago for some oil tomorrow morning" (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 69).

¹⁰⁸Amelia Elizabeth Pierson was soon to become a plural wife of Willard Richards (see n. 123).

¹⁰⁹Phineas Richards (1788–1874), father of Franklin D. Richards and older brother of Willard Richards, was born at Hopkinton, Massachusetts. He was on the Nauvoo City Council and the Nauvoo High Council (Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 1130).

¹¹⁰To supply or get supplies of wood (*Noah Webster's American Dictionary*).

¹¹¹George D. Watt (1815–1881), born in Manchester, England, was one of the first to accept Mormonism in England. Late in 1842, Watt immigrated with his family to Nauvoo, where he began lecturing on the newly devised art of phonography or shorthand. By early 1845, he was teaching classes on shorthand. Bullock attended Watt's classes along with Brigham Young, Willard Richards, and several other Church leaders. As indicated here by Bullock, Watt also worked in the Historian's Office (Ronald G. Watt, "Sailing 'The Old Ship Zion': The Life of George D. Watt," *BYU Studies* 18 [Fall 1977]: 48–65; and Bullock Journal, 3 and 5 June 1845 and throughout June, LDS Church Archives).

¹¹²Rhoda Richards (1784–1879), older sister of Willard Richards, was born at Farmingham, Massachusetts. She joined the Church in 1838 and later became a wife of Joseph Smith, Jr. (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 120; and Black, *Membership* 36:677–78).

21 Feb/43 relating to Dr. Foster's mammoth bones.¹¹³ My dear Wife completed making my sacred robes this day. Fine day.

Sunday 11 I am happy to record that dear little Willard is much better. He has evinced better symptoms for two or three days past. Wife is better. I thank my heavenly Father for these mercies. I went to the Temple where they were completely crowded out. As I could not gain admittance (crowds being round the door) I went to the Seventies meeting in Concert Hall. I reported discourses.¹¹⁴ Called at brother Charles Lambert's¹¹⁵ on my road home. Staid at home all p.m. with wife reading Bible &c. Fine day.

Monday 12 Office all day. On my return home called on Sis. Alice, but Sis. Lucy was not come, neither is there any tidings of her. Bro. Martin went part way home with me. He was much disappointed and could not account for her nonarrival. At 9 went to bro. Wandall's¹¹⁶ staid till midnight. Cloudy.

Tuesday 13 Staid in office till near 7. Dr. dictating history to me. Returned home. Very fine.

Wednesday 14 In office. About 10 Dr. came in and said "Thomas, here is Sis. Bullock wants you." I went out and amongst others saw Sis. Lucy who was returned from Carthage last night. We had much conversation. Wrote church History &c till 7. Walked home with L. C. Henrietta very glad. Willard very cross all night. Beautiful day.

Thursday 15 At office all day writing history which Dr. dictated &c. At night Sis Lucy came to settle her acct. with the Dr. I searched his journals for dates. Dr. said there was one objection yet, and that was that Lucy had not been adopted as his daughter. She agreed to be his daughter. After some conversation when we left, Dr. blessed me, and also she was blessed. She came to live at my house and assist Henrietta. Henrietta, Lucy, I and

¹¹³Robert D. Foster, born in 1811 at Braunston, England, was a licensed physician. Although he had frequent problems with Church authorities, he did serve as a regent of the University of Nauvoo and as surgeon-in-chief and brevet brigadier-general of the Nauvoo Legion. In April 1844, Foster was excommunicated for adultery and apostasy, after which he joined the schismatic group headed by William Law and was apparently involved in the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 257; and *History of the Church* 7:146). The remark about the mammoth bones can be found in a speech made in February 1843 by Joseph Smith in which he chastised those not wholeheartedly involved in building the temple and the Nauvoo House. He denounced those like Foster who, "instead of building the Nauvoo House, build a great many skeletons . . . all for personal interest and aggrandizement. . . . See the bones of the elephant yonder . . . the crocodiles and man-eaters all about the city, such as grog shops, and card shops, and counterfeit shops, &c., got up for their own aggrandizement, and all for speculation, while the Nauvoo House is neglected" (*History of the Church* 5:284–85, 287).

¹¹⁴Minutes from this meeting can be found in the Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, 69–70.

¹¹⁵Charles Lambert (1816–1892), originally from Kirk Deighton, Yorkshire, England, was baptized in 1843. After immigrating to Nauvoo in early 1844, he worked as a stonecutter on the Nauvoo Temple. He was a member of the Nauvoo Legion, a seventy in the Eleventh Quorum of Seventies, and in 1845, he became the president of the Twenty-Third Quorum of Seventies (Charles Lambert, *Reminiscences and Diaries, 1844–1881*, LDS Church Archives).

¹¹⁶This is probably Charles W. Wandell (see n. 163).

several others supped with the Dr. and returned home calling at Sis. Martin's, who was much better. Beautiful day.

Friday 16 At home all day. Packed up bag "T.B." with clothing etc for California. Fine day.

Saturday 17 At home all day packing up china etc. do. [Fine day.]

Sunday 18 - - do. - - - do. - - - do. - - - do. - - Willard was very ill at night. We expected he would die every [any] minute. In great agony. do.

Monday 19 ~~A snow storm commenced this morning and continued all day.~~¹¹⁷ At 11 W[ilmer] Benson came for me to go to the office. I went with him and examined the Patriarchal blessings by Wm. Smith, also History book C. Evening called at Sis Martin's but she was gone to the concert. Griffiths¹¹⁸ chopping wood for me. Snowing.

Tuesday 20 A snow storm commenced at day light and continued all day. Office all day compiling papers and packing same and books away in boxes. Carried a bushel of meal home since I have been at the office. A council in the Temple.

Wednesday 21 Morning at home. Afternoon at office. Finished copying and examining Patriarchal blessings, and commenced copying in book D. Willard some better to day. Snow drifts 3 or 4 feet high. Thawing, freezing at night.

Thursday 22 At nine oclock a.m. I went to the Temple with L. C. C. who went thro' the ordinances of washing and anointing. Received into the Cel[estial]. Room by Levi Hancock.¹¹⁹ I saw Pres. B. Young who shook me by the hand very cordially. He told me to take my wife and L. C. tomorrow evening at dusk to receive their second anointings and sealing.¹²⁰ His words were as the Lord whispering peace to my Soul. I feel very happy for the blessings and privileges that I am receiving at the hands of the Lord. May I ever have the same Spirit within me, and then I shall always feel well. Staid in the Celestial Room until about 3 when I called at the Temple

¹¹⁷That this phrase was deleted by Bullock is significant because he wrote a similar phrase in the next day's entry. This observation suggests that Bullock might not have been writing in his journal every day, although the majority of the entries appear to be entered on a daily basis.

¹¹⁸Possibly Ethan Griffiths (b. 1803) from Warrington Township, Pennsylvania (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 19).

¹¹⁹Levi Ward Hancock (1803–1882), born in Old Springfield, Massachusetts, was baptized in 1830 by Parley P. Pratt. He served as president of the First Quorum of the Seventy from about 1835 until his death. He was a member of the Nauvoo Legion and probably a member of the Council of Fifty (Dennis A. Clegg, "Levi Ward Hancock: Pioneer, Soldier, Political and Religious Leader of Early Utah" [Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966]).

¹²⁰This practice was established by the Prophet Joseph Smith late in 1843. However, only a handful of Saints received the fulness of the priesthood blessings under his hand. With the dedication of the temple in December 1845 and the subsequent dedication of a special altar for sealing ordinances on 7 January 1846, these ordinances were again performed (Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" [Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1981]).

office. Then to bro. Wm. Clayton's. Staid about an hour. Alls well. Then went home. L. rejoicing at the intelligence she has received this day. Willard was very ill all night. We all thought he was dying but revived a little at 10 when I went to office.

Friday 23 Morning at office. At 2 went to bro W. Clayton's for robe &c. Went home. Prepared for the Temple. At dusk I, Henrietta and Lucy went to the Temple, dressed, sat in the Cel. Room, and shook hands [page 13] with B. Young, H. C. Kimball, O. Hyde, P. P. Pratt, A. Lyman. Went into the President's room when I and [the] two others were sealed up to eternal life, thro' time to come forth in the morn of the resurrection, and thro' all eternity. Were sealed up . . . by A. Lyman. I praise the Lord for this great manifestation of his love and mercy towards me and grant that the happiness which I now enjoy may last for all eternity. And may my whole soul continually praise his holy name. Amen. Afterwards we staid till midnight rejoicing to the sound of music with songs of praise. Pres. Young addressed the assembly and H. C. Kimball offered up prayer to our Heavenly Father—especially for those who had made covenants that night. Returned home happy. Willard revived a little. Took the breast which caused us all to rejoice. Thawing, muddy.

Saturday 24 At home till noon doing chores then went to office. Writing history in book D till night when I called at Temple office, Davis Store, Slater's Store, and Brother Martin's on my way home. Willard continues to get better. Praise the Lord. Thawing, very muddy.

Sunday 25 Prepared for the Temple at 10. I, Henrietta and Lucy went. Called at bro Wm. Clayton's and on to the Temple. Dressed and at a little after 3 we were adopted into the family of Dr. Willard Richards who was anointed K[ing] of K[ing] and a K[ing] and P[riest] to the most high God.¹²¹ Whomsoever he blesses shall be blessed and whom he curses shall be cursed. It was a solemn time. A many were sealed up. Brigham kissed all his children. At 4 we went to Father's to drink a bowl of Wine. Supped on a roast goose. When he [Willard Richards] came in I was the first that he kissed and received his blessing. Henrietta and I sung "Here's the lover she

¹²¹As early as 1840, Joseph Smith had taught that families were to be eternal units, linked inseparably in one long chain back to Adam. After announcing in 1842 that the tie was baptism, Joseph Smith may also have initiated certain trusted leaders into a new order based on adoption. By 1845 the practice was more widespread. Typically, younger Latter-day Saint families were sealed to a prominent older man, most often an Apostle, as in the case of Bullock. Some adopted Saints, Bullock included, even took their new father's surname. Thus G. D. Watt became G. D. Watt Richards and Peter Muir Fife became Peter Muir Fife Richards (see above, same entry). Notice also Bullock's next entry (26 January 1846). (See Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830–1900," *BYU Studies* 14 [Spring 1974]: 291–314.) There is ample evidence that suggests that Bullock had been adopted prior to this occasion. A patriarchal blessing given to Bullock on 22 January 1845 calls Thomas an adopted son of Willard and Jennetta Richards (Thomas Bullock Patriarchal Blessing, Thomas Bullock Papers, LDS Church Archives). Furthermore, in a journal entry dated 6 March 1845, Bullock indicates that he had previously been adopted by Richards. Those involved might have felt the need to perform the adoption officially in the temple, or since Bullock was taking Lucy as a plural wife, perhaps Apostle Richards decided to seal the entire family to him. Whatever the case, this sealing in the temple seems to mark the adoption officially in the minds of the Bullock family.

loved so much” when he said “I never was keener touched with any song than that.” Had a happy time of it. At dusk we returned home (with G. D. Watt Richard[s] and Wife, and Peter Muir Fife Richards).¹²² Thawing made the roads dreadful muddy.

Monday 26 I Thomas Bullock Richards staid at home all day with my family carrying water for washing. Thawing, muddy.

Tuesday 27 Went to the office. The Patriarch was blessing Jane Hall, Sarah Longstroth, Nanny Longstroth and Amelia Elizabeth Pierson¹²³ which I copied from G. D. Watt’s transcribing. Father and Mother Clayton brought a pig. Thawing, muddy.

Wednesday 28 At office copying three Patriarchal blessings and writing history in book D. At dusk went to Concert Hall, but no one there. Then went to Pres. Beech. Saw him and then went home. Raining all the journey. Afterwards sorrowful.

Thursday 29 Staid at home all day on account of heavy rain and dreadful muddy walking. Packed up my box of seeds for the West. We were all singing like nightingales.

Friday 30 At office writing history in book D. Went to Father [John] Smith’s with the blessings. To Temple office &c then again writing history. Night we were singing “Come go with me.” The Ice broke up in the River this night. Closed since November 28.

Saturday 31 At office writing history in book D. By myself did chores. Went home at dark. As I left the office the Dr. blessed me and mine. Went to bed and sung an hour as merry as a cricket. Fine day.

Sunday Feb 1 [1846] I was at home all day with my happy family. I nursed my little Willard who is getting much better. Henrietta read the Bible; Lucy read Book of Mormon; Sarah Ann and the rest playing. Had a very agreeable domestic day. Very muddy.

Monday 2 At office all day writing history and doing chores. Fine but muddy.

Tuesday 3 At 10, as I had not finished my chores, I was sent for to the

¹²²Peter Muir Fife (1806–1873), born in Costerston, Scotland, joined the Church in 1840. He was a seventy (Black, Membership 16:261–63).

¹²³Three of these women had just been sealed to Willard Richards: Amelia and Sarah on 22 January 1846 and Nanny (Nancy) on 24 January 1846. The fourth, Jane Hall, would be sealed to Richards 6 February 1846. Nanny Longstroth (1828–1911), born at Yorkshire, England, was baptized in 1838. She bore Richards three children and later (1857) became the eighth wife of Franklin D. Richards. Her sister Sarah Longstroth (1826–1858), also born at Yorkshire, bore Richards four children. Amelia Elizabeth Pierson (1825–1851), born at Richmond, Massachusetts, bore no children. Jane Hall was born in 1826 at Chatburn, England, and also bore no children (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 233–34; Black, Membership 28:394–98; 34:954–58; 36:613; and E.C.I.F.).

office. Writing history, racking papers in their proper place preparatory to Drs. journey to the West. Jennetta's coffin was opened when she appeared but very little decayed. It was filled up, an inscription placed over, and then the land leveled over it.¹²⁴ S. W. of House about 20 feet. Fine day.

Wednesday 4 Called for bro Martin who was not at home. Then to the Temple. [Went] round the rooms. To the store then to the Drs. packing up big box with papers &c.¹²⁵ Fine day. [page 14]

Thursday 5 Febry At office all day packed up small box with papers and books which was sealed down and at noon had to unpack the large box, and repack same, which was completed about 3, and again repacked, screwed down, reputted and finished off. Also assisting in packing clothing. Staid till near 10. Cold day.

Friday 6 Called upon Judge Higbee and took him to the Drs. who took the acknowledgment of the Drs. to a letter of attorney to Babbit, Heywood¹²⁶ and Fulmer to lease his property. Assisting all day packing away clothing &c. Fine day.

Saturday 7 Assisting Dr. all day packing boxes and in evening weighing same. The Brethren were very busy crossing with their Teams to the other side of the River. Fine day.

Sunday 8 A severe frost again. Ice running in great quantities. Loaded two waggons with corn, seeds, boxes &c and at 8 p.m. sent them off to Pres. B. Young's for safe keeping. Frosty.

Monday 9 The Governors troops came into the City to search for some thieves. At about half past 3 p.m. the roof of the Temple was discovered to be on fire. An alarm was immediately given when the brethren marched steadily to its rescue. Dr. Richards called on the brethren to search every house for buckets and bring them filled with water. A line was immediately formed and the buckets passed up in quick succession. The fire raged about half an hour. Axes were set to work and tore up the roof. The water [was] thrown on the burning parts which soon got extinguished. It appears that

¹²⁴Jennetta Richards (1817–1845), born at Walkerfold, England, was baptized in 1837. She became Willard Richards's first wife on 24 September 1838. She passed away on 9 July 1845. Willard had ordered two grey stones for the grave: one to lie under the casket and one to lie on it. Each had an inscription which gave her birth date and place, marriage date, and death date (Holzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo*, 75–76; and Claire Noall, *Intimate Disciple: A Portrait of Willard Richards* [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1957], 482).

¹²⁵Bullock's reference to "papers &c" is actually to various Church records, including the manuscript history of the Church which he had been working on for more than a year (Jerald F. Simon, "Thomas Bullock: A Man Doing His Duty" [Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988], published as "Thomas Bullock as an Early Mormon Historian," *BYU Studies* 30 [Winter 1990]: 77).

¹²⁶Joseph Leland Heywood (1815–1910), a native of Grafton, Massachusetts, moved to Illinois in 1838. In 1842, he was baptized by Orson Hyde and in October 1844 he was ordained a high priest and a bishop in the Quincy Branch. Later in 1846, he, along with Babbitt and Fulmer, was appointed as a trustee for the Church in Nauvoo to oversee the sale of property in Nauvoo (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:646).

Thursday 5 Febry at office all day packed up small box with papers & books which was sealed down and at noon had to unpack the large box, and repack same, which was completed about 3: and again repacked, secured down, resealed & finished off - also assisting in packing clothing -

Friday 6 called upon Judge Feible, and with him to the D^r who took the acknowledgment of the D^r to a letter of attorney to Bullock, Heywood & Turner to lease his property - assisting all day packing away clothing &c. -

Saturday 7. Assisting D^r all day packing boxes and in evening weighing same - the Brethren were very busy crossing with their Teams to the other side of the River

Sunday 8 a severe frost again - Ice running in great quantities - loaded two waggons with corn, seeds, boxes &c and at 8 P. M. sent them off to Pres^r B. Young's for safe keeping -

Monday 9 the Governor's troops came into the city to search for some thieves. at about half past 3 P.M. the roof of the Temple was discovered to be on fire - an alarm was immediately given when the brethren ~~sent~~ marched steadily to ~~the~~ rescue - D^r Richards called on the brethren to search every house for buckets & bring them filled with water, a line was immediately formed and the buckets passed up in quick succession - the fire raged about half an hour - axes were set to work & bore up the roof - the water thrown on the burning parts which soon got extinguished - it appears that the clothing in the Temple was being washed - & dried in the upper room - the stove got over heated - the wood work caught fire - & burned from the railing to the ridge about 16 feet north and south and about 10 feet east and west - the shingles on the north side were broken through in many places - the damage to that part is about 100 dollars but other damage was also done in the anxiety to put out the fire - when it was completely extinguished the saints gave glory to God and shouted Hallelujah which made the air rejoice - during the fire some of the troops tried to force their passage into the Temple but were prevented by the brethren who stood in the door way - when the fire was out Pres^r B. Young sent word for the brethren to disperse to their homes - and take care that their houses were not set fire as the city was full of devils - at the same time that the Temple was on fire - a man and two boys were crossing the river in a small ship, thro' the unskillfulness of the man, his boat was in a sinking condition, they hailed to a flat boat on which 20 or 30 of the brethren were crossing - who veered round to help them the wind being high the boat began to fill - they succeeded in rescuing the man and two boys - as quick as they were on board, a wicked man squatted some tobacco juice into the eyes of an ox which kicked and plunged in the river, dragging with him another ox, who, as he went over the side, knocked a plank off the side of the boat - when the water began to flow in - they steered for the side & as they reached it - Hovea now leaved off - the boat went to the bottom with its cargo - several of the brethren were picked up in an exhausted condition - all were rescued - a rope of osen attached to bro. Thomas Grover's waggon went to the bottom and were drowned - after some time they & the waggon were got out - a few things were lost -

This evening I received an order from D^r Willard Richards for 270 days pay at 150 per day - he said he had consulted with Pres^r Young about it, that I was deserving it, & it was my right & I should have it - he has also given me a strong recommendation to the new Trustees as follows

Wm. W. Hunt February 7. 1846

To Almon W. Bullock the Trustees

You will please receive into your office and employ, my long tried, and confidential Clerk, Thomas Bullock, help him to make sale of his property, and forward him and family to me as speedily as possible unless public business should crowd upon you, so that you should specially need his services.

By Council of President Brigham Young
and oblige your servant

Willard Richards

Sharp Post

An entire page (p. 15) from Thomas Bullock's journal.
These entries cover the period of 5-9 February 1846.

the clothing in the Temple was being washed and dried in the upper room. The stove got over heated. The wood work caught fire and burned from the railing to the ridge about 16 feet North and South and about 10 feet East and West. The shingles on the north side were broken through in many places. The damage to that part is about 100 dollars but other damage was also done in the anxiety to put out the fire. When it was completely extinguished the Saints gave glory to God and shouted Hallelujah which made the air rejoice. During the fire some of the Troops tried to force their passage into the Temple but were prevented by the Brethren who stood in the door way. When the fire was out Pres. B. Young sent word for the brethren to disperse to their homes and take care that their houses were not set fire as the city was full of devils. At the same time that the Temple was on fire a man and two boys were crossing the River in small skiff. Thro' the unskilfulness of the man, his boat was in a sinking condition. They hailed to a flat boat on which 20 or 30 of the brethren were crossing who veered round to help them. The wind being high the boat began to fill. They succeeded in rescuing the man and two boys. As quick as they were on board, a wicked man squirted some tobacco juice into the eyes of an ox which kicked and plunged in the River, dragging with him another ox, who, as he went over the side, knocked a plank off the side of the boat when the water began to flow in. They steered for the side and as they reached it, Hosea Stout leaped off. The boat went to the bottom with its cargo. Several of the brethren were picked up in an exhausted condition. All were rescued. A yoke of oxen attached to a bro. Thomas Grover's¹²⁷ waggon went to the bottom and were drowned. After some time they and the waggon were got out. A few things were lost.¹²⁸ This evening I received an order from Dr. Willard Richards for 270 days pay at 1.50 per day. He said he had counselled with Pres. Young about it, that I was deserving it, and it was my right and I should have it. He has also given me a strong recommend to the new Trustees as follows:

Nauvoo February 7, 1846

To Almon W. Babbit and Trustees

You will please receive into your office and employ, my long tried, and confidential clerk, Thomas Bullock. Help him to make sale of his property and forward him and family to me as speedily as possible unless public business should crown upon you so that you should specially need his services.

By Council [*sic*] of President Brigham Young and oblige your servant,

Willard Richards

Sharp frost. [page 15]

¹²⁷Thomas Grover (1807–1886), born at Whitehall, New York, was baptized in 1834. He became a member of the Nauvoo High Council in 1839 and the Nauvoo Legion in 1841 (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 259).

¹²⁸Understandably, Bullock's account of this complicated incident is a little confused. Hosea Stout was on a boat that was unable to turn around to help the sinking skiff. Another ferry with about twenty

Tuesday 10 A steam boat went down the River this a.m. I was assisting Dr. in continuing his packing up. At 3 PM went on the Temple. Saw the place where the fire was yesterday. Had a view all round—a most delightful view. I am heartily glad that the fire was put out with so little damage; That it the Temple yet stands as a monument of God's mercy; That thousands can yet go on the top and see the vast extent of Country. At night I heard a comfortable chat with Dr., bro Rogers¹²⁹ from Sandwich Islands, Wm. Kay¹³⁰ and others. Bro Rogers told of the attempt on the Prophet's Life by Wm. Law and some dozen others 3 or 4 years ago¹³¹ and of the manners and customs of the Sandwich People.¹³² My cow having been badly worried last week by a dog, calved this day two beautiful calves, which were unfortunately dead. This is the effect of bad dogs and bad boys. Light rain at night, frost in morning.

Wednesday 11 Went to office. Sent to Orson Hydes house twice, to Pres. Joseph Young's once for a letter that was sealed and I delivered to J. Young. He called in the office, and among other things, the Dr. told him to use his influence in my favor to be in the Temple office, that I was the oldest clerk, was fully competent, and that it was my place and right and that whenever he wanted me for the Spiritual affairs to use me. I received orders to attend the Temple at dusk every night to pray and take minutes of the proceedings. Very cold wind blowing NW. Staid in office till 5 p.m. then went to the Temple, prayed, and took minutes. Came out about 7 then went to Music Hall to my Quorum. Spoke a few minutes urging the necessity of prayer and to stand firm to their faith. I gave a toast "Heres a health to every man of the 27th Quorum who will follow their Leaders come Life come Death" and after enjoying ourselves, separated. I went home with brother and sister Mead.

people on board saw the situation of those in the skiff and saved them. It was aboard this ferry that the oxen went overboard. The ferry which Stout was on also began to sink and barely reached land (Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 1:113–14, 117).

¹²⁹Noah Rogers (1797–1846), born in Bethlehem, Connecticut, presided over the Society Islands Mission 1844–1845. Rogers was instrumental in establishing the work on Tahiti, Huahine, and Toobouï. He returned to Nauvoo on 29 December 1845 in time for the general exodus of the Saints (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 4:377; and *Times and Seasons* 6 [15 February 1845]: 812–14; 6 [1 January 1846]: 1085–87).

¹³⁰William Kay, Jr. (1811–1875), born in Lancashire, England, was baptized in 1837, served as a missionary in England, and finally immigrated to America in 1844 (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 4:549).

¹³¹William Law (1809–1892) experienced a remarkable rise to power in the Church followed by an equally remarkable fall. From 1841–1844 he was second counselor to Joseph Smith. Toward the end of 1843, he began to show signs of apostasy, associating himself with the enemies of the Church. He was excommunicated on 18 April 1844 (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:53). The incident referred to here occurred not "3 or 4 years ago" but rather at the time of Law's excommunication, when he is reported to have said, "I put pistols in my pockets one night, and went to Joseph Smith's house, determined to blow his infernal brains out, but I could not get the opportunity to shoot him then, but . . . I will shoot him the first opportunity" (*History of the Church* 7:227; see also Lyndon W. Cook, "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," *BYU Studies* 22 [Winter 1982]: 47–72).

¹³²Bullock's referral here to the Sandwich Islands appears to be inaccurate. Whether he remembered it wrong or whether Rogers incorrectly referred to the region of his mission (Society Islands in the South Pacific) as the Sandwich Islands is not clear. It might be that Rogers had spent some time in the Hawaiian Islands and was simply relating his experiences there. The Latter-day Saint mission to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) was not founded until the late 1850s (see Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1986], 3–20).

Thursday 12 At office until 5 assisting Dr. when I went to the Temple to pray. 13 met and Pres. Joseph Young prayed¹³³ after which 15 bottles of oil were consecrated. fine day. I was this day informed that Green Wilson was the rascal who set the dog to worry my cow. This has been a bad name for my neighbor's. One /Barlow/ Wilson allowed his cattle to destroy my corn twice or thrice and lied in the bargain and then abused me and my family. Another Wilson (Wellington) has got my strayed cow and threatened my life if I took my own property home. And now Green Wilson sets his dog [which] worries my cow causing it a premature delivery of two pretty heifer calves, both dead, and my old cow itself is near dead not having eaten any thing since. May the Lord deliver me from such neighbors in a new country.

Friday 13 Henrietta was very sick in bed this day. Vomiting much in the morning. My cow very ill. And washing day so I staid at home to attend to my family and carry water for Lucy. Jane Rushton sent word she should not come because I did not treat her well the cause of complaint being because I would not give her and Frederick my /\$450./ house and lot. She is as ungrateful as a person can be. She thinks nothing of the scores of dollars that I have paid for her and her family, the months that I have kept them, nor of the nails that she has stolen from me, &c &c. She is also mad because I will not pay for their expenses to the West. I remember "that a burnt child dreads the fire." At past 11 the Dr. sent for me dead or alive. I went and took an account of the goods that was packed in the last Waggon and went with it down to the River. Saw it ferried on the Mississippi then returned to the Drs. house. Staid till dusk then went to the Temple to pray. 27 met. Trueman O. Angel¹³⁴ prayed. I was unwell. They prayed for me and wife. Fine day.

Saturday 14 I was unwell. In bed much of the day. At 5 I went to the Temple to pray. 21 met. Snow storm commenced in the night. Snowed /nearly/ all day. Ground covered a considerable depth.

Sunday 15 At home until 5 when I went up to the Temple to pray. We assembled in the Upper Room at 6. 29 assembled for prayer and Benjamin L. Clapp¹³⁵ was leader. L went to see her sister and brother off. Dr. R. crossed the River this p.m. Frosty night.

Monday 16 At home until about 3 p.m. when I went to the Temple office. Cast up my account. Entered 405 dollars to my credit, leaving about 180

¹³³Subsequent entries seem to indicate that these prayer meetings were in the form of prayer circles (see n. 172).

¹³⁴Truman O. Angell (1810–1887), brother-in-law to Brigham Young, was born at Providence, Rhode Island, and baptized in 1833. He was a carpenter, joiner, and architect and had been recently appointed Church Architect after the departure of William Weeks. In this capacity, he oversaw the final stages of the temple construction (Paul L. Anderson, "Truman O. Angell: Architect and Saint," in *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker [Provo: Religious Study Center, 1985], 133–73).

dollars due to me. At dusk went to the Temple to pray. 27 assembled. After meeting was over, we all agreed to assemble at sunset for the future. Heard¹³⁶ that the Trustees had sold 25,000 worth of property, 10,000 in cash 15,000 in goods; that the agent is in town and the purchasers were gone to Kentucky after the means; that the brethren were to go by steam boats to the Council Bluffs that were not provided with teams. Frosty night. [page 16]

Feb. 1846

Tuesday 17 At home writing &c till about 4 when I went to the Temple office. Saw F. D. Richards, conversed with him in the office. Brother J. Whitehead¹³⁷ brought out a jug of Wine for I [myself] and L. Staid till sunset, then went up to the Temple to pray. [blank] assembled. Abel Lamb¹³⁸ prayed in No. 1 Room. After prayer I called at brother Martin's house. Lucy was there. Mr. Clayton said that a letter had been received from Hoge (the Senator)¹³⁹ saying that Congress allowed that the "Mormons" had a right to remove out of the United States if they pleased and that the U.S. would not hinder them. This is the first time that the U.S. have graciously given leave for the Saints to go where they pleased. Mem[o]: because they could not help themselves.

The burnt part of the roof of the Temple was this day relaid and covered over with lead. The plastering is not yet put on. Many persons came to see the Temple and go to the top of the tower. J. B. Backenstos is in town and says, that the Governors and authorities will not molest the Saints in their removal from Nauvoo. It would be a strange act to burn out, drive and shoot the Saints, and try to exterminate them, and because the Saints are driven from their own firesides into the wilderness and then attempt to stop them from going. Frosty night.

Wednesday 18 Went with Lucy to assist William [Clayton] to pack up his goods. Went with James [Clayton] to fetch another waggon. They not going to day. I called at the Temple office on my way home. At sunset I went to the Temple to pray. [blank] present. 1/4 to 7 called at Wm. Clayton's for Henrietta, Lucy and J. B. Backenstos. Went to the Masonic Hall where the 27 Quorum met. Transacted the business, then recreation,

¹³⁵Benjamin L. Clapp (1814–1860), born in Alabama, was baptized in 1835 and was one of the presidents of the Eighth Quorum of Seventies before being set apart as one of the First Seven Presidents of the Seventy in 1845 (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:195; and Black, Membership 9:725–26).

¹³⁶Underlined in the original.

¹³⁷James Whitehead (1813–1898), a native of Fulwood, England, had been an assistant to William Clayton in the recorder's office since June 1842. He was a high priest (Black, Membership 45:764).

¹³⁸Abel Lamb (1801–1874), baptized in 1833, was born at Rowe, Massachusetts. A high priest, he was appointed stake president over the Mount Hope Stake in 1840. In 1844, he was appointed to preach in Illinois as a missionary. In October 1844, he was called to preside over a branch of the Church (Black, Membership 27:201–5; and *History of the Church* 4:233, 6:340, 7:305).

¹³⁹Joseph P. Hoge (1810–1891) was born in Ohio and in 1836 moved to Galena, Illinois, where he gained prominence as a lawyer. In 1842, he had been elected to Congress supposedly with the help of the Latter-day Saint vote and was currently serving his one and only term in office (Clayton, *Illinois Fact Book*, 103).

dancing, and singing. We left 1/4 to 1 in the morning. Pleasant walk home. Fine day.

Thursday 19 Snow storm in the early part of the morning and continued all day. I was unwell and in bed great part of the day. Did not go to meeting this night.

Friday 20 Snow drifted a considerable height, sharp frost. Ice running in the river again. H. C. Kimball and B. Young came over the river to day. I went to the Temple at 12. Got some flour, returned home, and at 5 went to the Temple to pray 13/9/ met. F. D. Richards prayed. He prayed for the recovery of my health and family and for peace. After prayer went home much refreshed. Pres. B. Young, H. C. Kimball, and O. Hyde in the Temple. Deep snow.

Saturday 21 About 11 I went to the Temple office and there saw Pres. Young and Kimball. Shook hands. They were very lively. It does me good to see them again. 1/2 past 12 returned home. At 4 went to the Temple office. Staid till sunset then went to the Temple to pray. 12 met. Wm. Felshaw prayed.¹⁴⁰ In the Temple saw that the roof is not yet plastered where burnt. Snow deep. Ice running in the River. Returned home met Stephen Nixon who had been at my house relating a dream.

Sunday 22 At 10 I went to the Temple with Henrietta, Lucy, and Fanny. O. Hyde was to preach. When the meeting was opened and bro Clapp was praying, the floor settled down to the tressels about one inch which caused much fright and confusion. Some jumped up to the windows and began to smash them. One fellow, Uriel Chittenden Nickerson,¹⁴¹ smashed thro' the east window, jumped thro' and hurt his arm. He is a Strangite.¹⁴² Several other windows were smashed and persons jumped out. Great alarm was created altho' there was not the least danger. In the midst of the uproar Pres. B. Young called out for the Saints to adjourn to the Grove. All went. When meeting was again called to order B. Clapp prayed, O. Hyde preached and B. Young followed (see my minutes). We then went to Wm. Clayton's. Staid an hour when James drove us up home in the carriage. At 5 I went to the Temple. Went to the top and round the tower twice, then descended to the architects room. 25 met. Wandle Mace¹⁴³ prayed. Returned home

¹⁴⁰William Felshaw (1800–1867), born in Granville, New York, was baptized in 1832. A member of the Fourth Ward, he was also a seventy in the Seventieth Quorum of the Seventies. Felshaw married Mary Harriet Gilbert. As a contractor and builder, he helped in the construction of the Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake Temples (Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 869; and Black, Membership 16:117–21).

¹⁴¹Uriel Chittendon Hatch Nickerson (1810–1888), baptized in 1833, was born at Cavendish, Vermont. He married Mary Ann Richardson in April 1834. Nickerson actually broke his arm because of his fall (Black, Membership 32:653–64; and *History of the Church* 7:594).

¹⁴²A follower of James J. Strang (see n. 154).

¹⁴³Wandle Mace (1809–1890), from Johnstown, New York, was baptized in 1837 after the miraculous healing of his son by P. P. Pratt. A skilled wheelwright, Mace settled in Quincy, Illinois, in 1838, moving to Nauvoo in 1842. Here he designed all of the wooden framing used in the construction of the Nauvoo Temple, the Nauvoo House, and the Arsenal. He was also a member of the Nauvoo Legion (*Biography of Wandle Mace as Told to Rebecca E. H. Mace, His Second Wife* [Salt Lake City: William M. Mace, 1961], Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University).

with bro. F. D. Richards. Received much good instruction this day which causes me to rejoice. Pres. Young and Kimball crossed the river this evening to Camp. Ice running. Sharp frost.

Monday 23 At 12 I went to bro Wm. Clayton's. Copied some songs. At 4 went to Levi Richards.¹⁴⁴ Staid [page 17] till 5. I then met bro. A. W. Babbit who ordered me to the Trustees office. I went. Bish. Heywood told me that a person was wanted to go and get subscribers for the Nauvoo Newspaper¹⁴⁵ and asked me if I would do it. I told him I was willing to do any thing. At sundown I went to the Temple to pray. 28 present. F. D. Richards prayed. I went part way home with him and had agreeable conversation. Went home. I supped alone, H and L being gone out visiting to S. Nixon's. This day at 3 the river closed up at the Upper Steam Mill for the second time this winter.

Tuesday 24 At 12 I went to the Temple office. Staid there all p.m. Heard that the Pioneers started this day with about 50 waggons. The camp will move away tomorrow. At sundown went to the Temple to pray. 26 met.

Wednesday 25 At home till about 2 then I, H and L went to Mother Rushton's. Had supper. Then went to Temple. 32 met. After prayer ret'd. to Mother Rushton's. Sang awhile. Then went home.

Report. Chester Loveland¹⁴⁶ came from Carthage and said Major Warren had recd. a lte [letter] from Sugar Creek signed by W. Richards by order of Pres. Young sayg. they had left the States and wod. return when they pleased and the Govr. cod. not help himself &c.

Thursday 26 [blank]

Friday 27 About 9 went down to Wms., but he had started for the Camp. Then called on Sis Ann Fox who with Lucy crossed on the ice over the River with me. Saw Wms. Company which left Montrose. Then we returned with Father Clayton. Went to his house. Staid till about 3. Went to the Temple office. Saw Babbitt who wanted me to get subscribers to the newspaper the Eagle.¹⁴⁷ Went to the Temple to pray. Then took with

¹⁴⁴Levi Richards (1799–1876), older brother of Willard, was born in Hopkinton, Massachusetts. He became a skillful physician while in New York and after joining the Church nursed Joseph Smith back to health in early 1837. After a three-year mission to England, Levi became a member of the Nauvoo City Council and surgeon-general of the Nauvoo Legion. He was also in the Council of Fifty (Whitney, *History of Utah* 4:445–48; and Quinn, “Council of Fifty,” 195).

¹⁴⁵This newspaper would actually be called the *Hancock Eagle* (see n. 147).

¹⁴⁶Chester Loveland (1817–1866) was born in Madison, Ohio, and baptized in 1837 (Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 2:236).

¹⁴⁷In March, attempts were made to begin a new “gentile” paper in Nauvoo. The *Hancock Eagle*, as it was called, appears to have been an attempt by “Jack-Mormons” (originally a nonmember sympathizer) to create sympathy for the Latter-day Saints and entice them to remain in Nauvoo. The first issue appeared 3 April 1846, and the paper continued until the death of its manager, Dr. William E. Matlack, around the end of August. Although the paper claimed to be a “Democratic” sheet, it became embroiled in the political turmoil of the frontier and actually resulted in further harm to the remaining Latter-day Saints (Thomas Gregg, *History of Hancock County, Illinois* [Chicago: Chase C. Chapman & Co., 1880], 347).

faintness, sweating, chilling &c same as I was about 9 years ago. The brethren laid hands on me, anointed me, and rebuked it in the name of the Lord. Got better. Went to Mr. Clayton's. Staid by the fire till about 9 then went home. This day I can say I have walked over the greatest River in N America, even the Father of Waters. Wrote and sent a letter to Father Richards by Lyman Whitney.¹⁴⁸

Saturday 28 I was in bed all day sick. John and Ellen Clayton called for Lucy to go to Carthage. They left about 2 without her. This p.m. Cottam shot a Mr. Gardiner. He had first ran away with his b's wife, and when Gardiner went for his Wife, Cottam shot him thro' the bladder. They all lived in the north part of the City.¹⁴⁹

Sunday March 1 [1846] Dreamed about new Temple, the dead, sealing, kingdom &c &c, driving a big restive grey mare and anor.[another] mare. At 1/4 after 9 a.m. F. D. Richards called on me to go over to the camp with him. After we partook of breakfast we started on our journey. Again walked on the Mississippi River. Got to camp about 1/2 past 12. Saw Pres. Young, Dr. Richards &c. Asked Dr. about letter to Major Warren. No letter ever written from the camp to him. Gave him Wm. Smith's letter, taking a copy of it for Lewis Robbins¹⁵⁰ in the tent. Dr. gave me orders not to have any thing to do with the newspaper and if new Trustees wod. not take me into the office, for me to hang about, collect history and record it, [and] to come as quick as I could to him. He gave me directions about making my tent. Wanted me to go with him if I could, but as I could not leave my family, he pressed on me to prepare and follow him quickly. Left at 3. Report. John E. Page¹⁵¹ turned Strangite. Preached a Strang Sermon and O. Hyde whipt him on every argument he had brought forward. Joseph Young read the letter from the 12,¹⁵² after which J. E. Page was disfellowshipped. Returning crossed the Mississippi as the sun was setting. I prayed that as all the brethren had now crossed the River in safety,

¹⁴⁸Possibly Clark Lyman Whitney (Black, Membership 45:932).

¹⁴⁹Although the details of this incident are unclear, the *Warsaw Signal* reported the following: "We learn that on Saturday last a man by the name of Gardner, was shot, in Nauvoo by a Mormon named Cotton and instantly killed. The cause of the difficulty was this: —Gardner, who is not a Mormon, has a wife belonging to the Church. She wished to emigrate with the Saints, but her husband would not go along. She, therefore left him and took up with Cotton. —This led to the quarrel which terminated in the death of Gardner" (4 March 1846).

¹⁵⁰Lewis Robbins (1811–1864), from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, was baptized in 1832. He was a seventy in the Nauvoo Third Ward. He married Frances Smith (Black, Membership 37:31–34).

¹⁵¹John E. Page (1799–1867), originally from Trenton Township, New York, was baptized in 1833. He was ordained an Apostle in 1838. Becoming disillusioned with the Church leadership under Brigham Young, Page by early 1846 began flirting with "Strangism" and on 9 February 1846 was informally disfellowshipped in a letter issued by the Twelve Apostles (see n. 152). Page was excommunicated in late June 1846 (John Quist, "John E. Page: An Apostle of Uncertainty," *Journal of Mormon History* 12 [1985]: 53–68).

¹⁵²This letter, dated 9 February 1846, said in part, "Dear Brethren and Sisters— We take this opportunity to say to you, that we have no fellowship with Elder John E. Page, in consequence of his murmuring [*sic*] disposition, and choosing to absent himself from our Councils. . . . Now, beloved brethren, you are not bound to look to him as one of the Twelve apostles, for he hath yielded himself up to temptation, and he cannot resist the spirit of apostacy which inspires him to find fault with the organization of the Church" (Elden J. Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846–1847* [Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1971], 31).

that the ice might go away and the River be opened for the steam boats /this week/. Arrived at home very tired about 7. A beautiful day.

Monday 2 At home till mp 11. Went to Temple office. Saw A W. Babbit and told him the Drs. orders. He said there had been no order to take me in the office &c. I told him I had delivered to Bishop Heywood Dr. Richards written order signed by council [*sic*] of B. Young. He replied that he took no notice of any order from Dr. R. or any one else except Pres. Young and the old Trustees. So it appears the greatest must stoop to the lower. In the evening at home carrying water &c for washing. At sunset went to Temple to pray. Gave the copy of Wm. Smith's letter to Lewis Robbins. do.

Tuesday 3 H. and Lucy left home while I was milking my cow and went to her mothers. At 1/2 past 12 I went to the Temple office. At 1 John E. Page having given out that a revelation would be read about going to California. I went and took minutes of his and Savage¹⁵³ discourse. When El. O. Hyde got up and knocked every one of their agruments in the head and ordered Savage to go to Voorhee and tell them [followers of Strang] they wod. be damd and then go to the West (see my minutes). At 1/2 past 4 closed. Then went to Temple to pray. do. [page 18]

March 1846

Wednesday 4 I was at home all day putting in order my Secretaire etc. Staid till sundown when I went to the Temple to pray. [*blank*] prayed. I procured a copy of J. J. Strang's¹⁵⁴ anathemas on the Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ, Pres. Joseph Young having brought it to the Temple. L. at bro. Whiteheads. Beautiful day.

Thursday 5 At 11 this morning I was visited at my house by G. D. Watt, Henry Royle,¹⁵⁵ Matilda Royle,¹⁵⁶ and Sister Green. They staid about an hour. I copied Strang's anathemas. Compared Hyde and Page's discourse. At 5 went to the Temple office and saw the last piece out of 1621 [pounds of?] pork all gone. None for me as usual. I trust that at the next Stake of Zion there will be more equality, and that I shall have my portion.

¹⁵³Jehiel Savage (1808–1868), born in Upper Canada, was a seventy in the Church. He later joined the Reorganized Church (Black, Membership 38:325–26).

¹⁵⁴James J. Strang (1813–1856), originally from Scipio, New York, moved to Wisconsin, where he heard of the Latter-day Saints and their city of Nauvoo. He was baptized by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo shortly before the latter's death. After the Martyrdom, Strang claimed that Joseph had promised him the keys to the kingdom. The Apostles quickly denounced Strang as an imposter, and he was excommunicated 26 August 1844. In April 1846, Strang officially organized his church and was building up his kingdom on Mackinac Island in Lake Michigan. His followers were made up mostly of disaffected Latter-day Saints like George Miller, John C. Bennett, George J. Adams, and William McLellin. Strang later had himself crowned king but by the mid-1850s, apostasy and dissension threatened to break up his kingdom. In 1856, Strang was assassinated by some of his disillusioned followers (Lawrence Foster, "James J. Strang: The Prophet Who Failed," *Church History* 50 [June 1981]: 182–92; and Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strange* [Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988]).

¹⁵⁵Henry Royle (1813–1852), a native of Cheshire, England, was baptized in 1839. After immigrating to Nauvoo, he moved into a house in Bullock's neighborhood (Black, Membership 37:905–6; and James L. Kimball, Jr., Church Historical Department).

¹⁵⁶Matilda Braddock Royle, originally from Bedford, England, was one of Henry's wives, probably his first. She was born in 1828 (Black, Membership 6:489).

The snow nearly all gone and the river nearly open. Went to the Temple to pray. [blank] prayed. Came back with brother Mead. Staid at the end of his house talking very agreeably [for] sometime. do.

Friday 6 I dreamed of taking a mission to Africa and Asia and of travelling round the world. I regulated my corn both up stairs and down. At 5 went to the Temple to pray. [blank] prayed. Ice running in the river. After prayer went to Mr. Clayton's, staid till 9 when Lucy returned home with me. do.

Saturday 7 I copied three Songs for Wm. Standing.¹⁵⁷ Went with them to Mr. Clayton's. Gave them to him. Mr. Clayton came with me as far as G. A. Smith's old house. Ice running in the river. And in the evening there were three Steam Boats opposite Nauvoo, puffing off their Steam. This answers prayer of last Sunday. Pigeons flying north in great numbers. do.

Reports: John Taylor going to preach his last Mormon Sermon tomorrow being on his way to Nauvoo for that purpose; that Hosea Stout has shot Pres. B. Young and was fastened to a tree, B. Young being dead and great excitement in the Camp. Many of the police left the Camp.

Sunday 8 At 10 I went to the Stand when O. Hyde read a letter from B. Young Pres. W. Richards Clerk. 53 miles from Nauvoo on Indian Creek. All well and in good spirits, which upsets all the lying reports of the 6 and 7th. After which O. Hyde preached (see my minutes) on the organization of the Church.¹⁵⁸ Had much power upon him. Then introduced Luke Johnson¹⁵⁹ to the congregation, who made confession, wished to be, and go with the Saints to the West. A vote was taken when all hands were held up on favor of his return at which he was so affected that he wept in concert with many, many others. At 5 he was again baptized by O. Hyde in the Mississippi River with 3 others and confirmed in the Attic Story of the House of the Lord at 7 p.m. in the presence of several. And an exhortation was given by El. Hyde. At Sunset I went up to the Temple to pray. We again met in No. 1 Room of the Attic Story, where the Spirit of God rested down upon us. El. Hyde came in to our midst after confirming Luke Johnson. We partook of Sacrament according to the Ancient Pattern, and I thank my heavenly Father for this great privilege,

¹⁵⁷William Standing was born in 1821 at Lancaster, England. In 1821 he moved with his family to Preston, where his entire family was baptized in 1838. In February 1841 he sailed for Nauvoo aboard the *Sheffield*. He stopped in St. Louis, where he got married. In 1845 he finally moved to Nauvoo, where in June he was ordained to the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies. He was later excommunicated after he "became rich and dropt [*sic*] Mormonism" (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 7, 36; and Black, Membership 41:184).

¹⁵⁸More specifically, Hyde's sermon was an impassioned denunciation of Strangism. He picked apart Strang's revelations and compared them to the revelations in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. He remarked, "I tell you Strangism has no grounds it is blown to the 4 winds. . . . Mr. Strang says that J. Smith is the Shepherd c [and] Stone of Israel—the Doc [and] Covt. says Jesus is? Which will ye have the old book or the new one—the old)—[said by congregation]" (Bullock Minutes, Typescript, 17–18).

¹⁵⁹Luke Johnson (1807–1861), born in Pomfret, Vermont, was baptized in 1831 by Joseph Smith. Ordained an Apostle in 1835, Johnson by 1837 had become alienated from the Prophet and was finally excommunicated in December 1838. After teaching school in Virginia and practicing medicine in Kirtland, Johnson came to Nauvoo and was rebaptized on this occasion by his brother-in-law, Orson Hyde (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 110–11).

Prayer - went to Mr. Clayton's, started all of them to pray, prayed, ice running in the river - after
May 7 I copied three songs for Wm. Standing, went with them to Mr. Clayton's, gave them to him - Mr. Clayton
came with me as far as G. A. Smith's old house. ice running in the river - and in the evening there
were three steam boats opposite Nauvoo, puffing off their steam - this answers prayer of last Sunday -
Pigeons flying north in great numbers
Reports John Taylor going to preach his last sermon, sermon tomorrow, being on his way to Nauvoo for that
purpose - that Hiram Bull has shot Geo. H. Young, and was fastened to a tree - a young being dead,
and great excitement in the camp. many of the Police left the camp -
May 8 at 10 I went to the Stand when O. Hyde read a letter from W. Young Pres. W. Richards Cash.
53 miles from Nauvoo, one Indian Creek - all well, and in good spirits, which speaks all the lying
reports of the b.c. after which O. Hyde preached (see my minutes) on the organization of the Church -
had much power upon him - then introduced Luke Johnson to the congregation, who made
Confession, united to be, Hyde with the Saints to be elect - a vote was taken when all hands were
held up in favor of his return, at which he was so affected that he wept, in concert with many
many others - at 5 he was again baptized, by O. Hyde in the Mississippi River with 3 others,
and confirmation was given by O. Hyde - at sunset I went up to the Temple to pray - we again met
in the 1st Room of the Amic Story, where the Spirit of God rested down upon us - O. Hyde came in
to our midst after confirming Luke Johnson. we partook of Sacrament according to the Ancient
Pattern, and I thank my heavenly Father for his great privilege, and the instruction I received - (4)
Pigeons flying in great numbers to the north - at 2 P. M. William Smith landed in Nauvoo
with a parcel of drunken rascals who commenced firing guns in the air, and creating a
disturbance and alarm - as he was passing along the Street he saw Sister Phelps standing in
her garden, he went up to her and said how do you do Sister Phelps, offering his hand to her - she replied
Nastily, about Sister Phelps me! it is divine that not a single person took any notice of him -
Rev. J. M. John E. Sage after preaching a begging sermon, opposite David Avery's house, W. T. S. Nicholson
sitting with a large bundle of books before him on a table - sent the hat round for a collection, which was
returned with a few coppery buttons, chips & bits of stick. being so much for the effects of apostasy -
also reported that Hiram Bull had come out last night in a prayer
meeting for praying the deceiver -
May 9 Pigeons still flying in large numbers to the north - this morning George Zibardo left Nauvoo
having lived here since 25 Oct last, without panis ...

Two entries from p. 18 of Thomas Bullock's journal. The 8 March 1846 entry reports on a letter from Brigham Young to the Saints still in Nauvoo and on the return of Luke Johnson to the Church.

and the instruction I received.(14) Pigeons flying in great numbers to the North. At 2 p.m. William Smith landed in Nauvoo with a parcel of drunken rowdies who commenced firing guns in the air and creating a disturbance and alarm. As he was passing along the Street he saw Sister Phelps standing in her garden. He went up to her and said how do you do Sister Phelps, offering his hand to her. She replied sharply, dont Sister Phelps me! It is said that not a single person took any notice of him. This p.m. John E. Page after preaching a begging Sermon opposite Daniel Avery's house, and U. C. Nickerson sitting with a large bundle of books before him on a table, sent the hat round for a collection, which was returned with a few coppers, buttons, chips and bits of stick being so much for the effects of apostacy. Also reported that Rufus Beach Senior President of 27 Quorum had come out last night in a prayer meeting for Strang the deceiver. do.

Monday 9 Pigeons still flying in large numbers to the north. This morning George Wardle left my house having lived here since 25 Oct. last, without paying any rent. When he came he promised to find fodder for my cow &c., but he has not done it. His 3 cattle have eaten up my fodder and now all is gone and my cow very poor. He having also told things out of my house and caused me much uneasiness [which] drove me to order him out of my house. He has behaved bad to me, being a liar. And I am now thankful I am rid of him. After he went I set to work to clean out my upper room which was very dirty. At 5 I went to the Temple to pray. 11 prayed. I and C. A. Mead then called on Secretary Mackintosh¹⁶⁰ to notify him not to give up the Record Book to Beech which he promised to do. Then went home. do.

Tuesday 10 I wrote three notices calling the 27 Quorum together on Sunday morning next. Gave one to C. A. Mead, posted one on Temple office, another on the Guard house. When at the office Bishop Heywood gave me an [page 19] order on Trueman O. Angel for my four boxes and tent poles. While going to the Temple 9 of the Troops passed, having guarded the great Francis M. Higbee¹⁶¹ into the City. To such a degraded pitch are the United States militia reduced. After prayer meeting /(12)/ in the Temple, I went to Mr. Clayton's. Walked with Lucy sometime. J. B. Backenstos called at Mr. Clayton's this evening. rainy day.

Report: John E. Page, William Smith, and Hiram Stratton¹⁶² held a council in J. E. P[age]'s house this p.m.

¹⁶⁰Daniel McIntosh (1800–1860), a native of Galvine, Scotland, was trained in the “Grocery, Tea, Wine, & spirit trade.” He later moved to Edinburgh, where in 1841 he was baptized. On 2 February 1845, McIntosh married Elisabeth Hogg and two weeks later they sailed for America. They arrived in Nauvoo in May, and in June McIntosh was ordained to the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies and became the quorum secretary (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 15; and E.C.I.F.).

¹⁶¹Francis M. Higbee (b. 1820), baptized in 1832, was a member of the Nauvoo Second Ward when he was excommunicated for apostasy. He was one of the disaffected editors of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, which was destroyed by the Nauvoo Legion in June 1844 after the City Council had declared the anti-Mormon press a nuisance. Sheriff Backenstos and Willard Richards both identified Higbee as one of the assassins (*History of the Church* 7:130; and Black, Membership 22:700).

¹⁶²Stratton, another “Strangite,” was born in 1812 at Windham Co., Vermont. He was ordained to the First Quorum of the Seventy. He, like so many others, had become disaffected from Brigham Young and the Twelve. Nothing is known of his later life (E.C.I.F.; and *History of the Church* 2:204).

Wednesday 11 At home till 2 then went to Daniel McIntosh about some goods and the records. Went from there with some flour in very heavy rain. Waded thro' a pool of water to Mrs. Clayton's. Staid till sundown. Then went to the Temple to pray. 8. Returned at 7 to Mrs. Clayton's. Staid till after 9 when Lucy walked about home with me in good spirits. When in the Temple the brethren prayed for me and my family that I might be able to govern and put all things in order, which I feel will be so. Dull day, heavy rain.

Thursday 12 At home all day putting my fence in good order. Staid till sundown, then went to Temple. Returned thanks that last nights prayer was answered on my head. /9 present. I president./ Heard that C. W. Wandell¹⁶³ had written the supposed record of Chardolemas which John E. Page preached about on Sunday last and supposed to be translated by J. J. Strang.¹⁶⁴ So easily can men be deceived when they have lost the light of God. Returned to Mrs. Claytons. Staid till 8 when Lucy returned home with me rejoicing. Wet day.

Friday 13 Clearing up my brush pile in the morning. At 2 p.m. bro. Benson called at my house. Staid an hour then went with me to Brothers Hall, Mead, and Wandell. I then went to Temple office. At 4 with C. E. Bolton in the Blacksmith Shop¹⁶⁵ until sundown. We then went up into the Temple to pray. 14 prayed. Heard that Lawyer Edmonds¹⁶⁶ would allow William Smith to study Law under him if Smith would drop all his Gospel, but not without. Weather cleared up.

Saturday 14 Last night while lying in my bed, comfortable, I saw a vast range of mountains. A river had been crossed and I saw the waggons pass up round a mountain into the hollow of a hill, and again come round the other side of the defile and ascend the road up the other side of the mountain. The waggons appeared to me to be about 8 or 10 rods in advance of each other and /the cavalcade/ must have been several miles in length. The tops of the mountains appeared to reach the clouds, almost perpendicularly, while beneath the road was an immense precipice. The

¹⁶³Charles W. Wandell (1819–1875), baptized in 1837, was born in Courtland, New York. In 1844, he presided over the missionary work in New York. After the Martyrdom, Wandell engaged in river trade as a steamboat officer in St. Louis. He began working with Bullock in the Church Historian's Office 12 March 1845. Wandell also kept an office journal with entries from 9 April 1845 to 26 July 1845. Although it lacks detail, it does corroborate some of Bullock's records (Historian's Office Journal, vols. 1, 2, and 4, 12 March 1845; and Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 3:551–52).

¹⁶⁴Bullock is probably referring to the record that Strang had recently translated concerning ancient Americans. The "translation" was part of Strang's attempt to prove that he was the lawful successor to Joseph Smith (see Charles K. Backus, *The King of Beaver Island* [Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1882], 22–28, and *passim*).

¹⁶⁵This would have been the Edwin Webb Blacksmith Shop located on the north side of Parley Street between Granger and Bain streets. Webb was born in 1813 at Hanover, New York, and baptized in 1834. At this time, the blacksmith shop was a key spot in the city. From 1845–1846, Edwin and his brother Chauncey built hundreds of wagons to assist the Saints in their trek west (Holzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo*, 129–30).

¹⁶⁶George Edmunds was born in New York in 1822. He was an attorney working in an office along with Almon W. Babbitt (1850 Illinois Census).

road appeared scarce wide enough for the waggons to pass, being very narrow. The waggon covers appeared a deal darker, as if they were dirty with use. I involuntarily rose up in my bed and discovered it was a vision and not real. At 9 I went to the office for some turnips, corn and potatoes with Edwin Rushton and ox team and returned home about 12. At sundown while going to the Temple I saw C. W. Wandall who gave me the original (from which a copy was sent to Jehiel Savage) supposed manuscript and his letter to Savage. Went to the Temple to pray. 9 prayed. A letter was received from H. C. Kimball in the camp. Fine day

Sunday 15 I went with bro Mead to the Temple. Elder Orson Hyde preached on the south side on the organization of the Church and read a Revelation which was given him this morning by the Spirit and distributed them to the congregation (see my minutes).¹⁶⁷ He also stated that as he passed John E. Page this morning, Page told him that he had “had a revelation which makes me ashamed of myself and ashamed of my God.” (This alluded to the revelation which he preached about last Sunday, and C. W. Wandell having been to him this morning and confessed his authorship). How forcibly this explains the scriptures when a man falls from the light, how great is the darkness. After meeting I, Mead, and four others met South of the Stand, and [also] Rufus Beech, having been to Pres. J. Young and confessed his error of Strangism. We were counselled to let his case stand over, to see if Beech will act according to counsel. Then went to Mrs. Claytons where all my family was, dined, and at a 1/4 past 1 went to the 70s Hall. Joseph Young and B. L. Clapp spoke (reported minutes). Returned at 4. At sundown went to the Temple. 14 partook of the Sacrament after which we had a most glorious time. Some of the brethren spoke in tongues. Bro Z. Coltrin¹⁶⁸ and Brown held a talk in tongues which was afterwards interpreted and confirmed. Some prophesied. Bro. Anderson¹⁶⁹ related a vision. And all of us rejoiced with exceeding great gladness. A light was seen flickering over bro. Anderson’s head while relating his vision, Phinehas Richards face shone with great brightness. Two men arrayed all in priestly garments were seen in the n. e. corner of the room. The power of the Holy Ghost rested down upon us. I arose full of the Spirit and spoke with great animation, which was very cheerfully responded to by all, and prophesied of things to come. A brother testified that our meeting was accepted of God. And we continued our meeting until after midnight, which was the most profitable, happy, and glorious

¹⁶⁷ Although I have been unable to locate the full text of this revelation, Bullock’s minutes contain its main points. The revelation, meant as a direct attack on Strangism, authoritatively assured the Saints that God still supported the “priesthood”: “I have made my Church as upon a hill. The Priesthood holds the power and all have been ordained or ought to be. It is necessary that all be ordained. It is necessary that it should rest upon all, not upon men only but upon women also that ye may be all one. Fear not little flock, it is the Father’s good pleasure to give you the Kingdom. It is given to you and power to overcome all things.” The major thrust of Hyde’s discourse was to dispute Strangism and the evils of not following the brethren (Bullock Minutes, 15 March 1846, 1/2 past 10 A.M., 21–24).

¹⁶⁸ Zebedee Coltrin (1804–1887), born in Ovid, New York, was baptized early in 1831. He was ordained a president of the First Quorum of the Seventy in 1835, and in 1841 he became a counselor in the Kirtland Stake Presidency. Moving to Nauvoo in 1842, he later actively campaigned for Joseph Smith as president of the United States (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 75–76).

¹⁶⁹ Probably William Anderson (see n. 203).

meeting I had ever attended in my life, and may the remembrance be deeply rooted in my soul for ever and ever. Beautiful day. [page 20]

March 1846

Monday 16 Copied C. W. Wandell's manuscript and letter and about 12 gave him the copy. Went to the Temple office. Returned home and at Sundown went to the Temple to pray. While there heard that last night Chester Loveland was called out of bed by his mother in Law stating that the Temple was again on fire. He dressed as quick as lightning and ran out of doors and saw the Temple all in a blaze. He studied a few seconds, and as it did not appear to consume any, and as there was no others running, he was satisfied it was the glory of God, and again went to bed. Another brother saw the belfry all on a fire at a 1/4 to 10. He ran as hard as he could, but when he came to the Temple he found all dark and secure. About the same time Sister Almira Lamb¹⁷⁰ while in her own room saw a vision of her dead child. It appeared to her in great glory and filled the room with light. She was afraid. It went away and after she was calmed down, her child appeared again to her and told the mother to remove her bones from where they were buried among the Gentiles, and bury them among the Saints, and again disappeared. H dreamed that while walking, two persons came to her and asked H. to allow them to be sealed to me. And L dreamed that I was in a very large bed where 5 were lying with me and another just going to get into bed when L got up to give me some beautiful peaches and wine. Thus was the Spirit, power and glory to God manifest, not only at the Temple while we were there but also in our families for which my soul rejoices exceedingly. After prayer five of us went to lay our hands on Sister Harding who was sick nigh unto death and returned home. Exhorting my family to union and humility that the blessings of God might be manifest unto us. Beautiful day.

Tuesday 17 Dreamed that some people were building a tower, which they wanted to excel in height the Temple. When I prophesied that when any want to have a building to excel, in height or beauty, the Temple of the Lord it should surely fall and come to naught. It being St. Patrick's day I remembered my pledge to Charles Young Ferguson.¹⁷¹ Talked of old Ireland and of days gone by. Felt very well. Staid at home till sunset, my family out visiting. Brother Allen brought me a load of fodder. At sunset went to the Temple to pray and heard that Uriel C. Nickerson (a Strangite) said that on Sunday night last the Temple was illuminated from the top of the Belfry to the ground and swore that he saw men passing back and forwards having candles in their hands and wanted to make the people believe that there was a visitation by angels, but they were the Mormons

¹⁷⁰Almira Merrill Lamb (1807–1865), born at Hartford, Connecticut, was baptized in 1833. She married Abel Lamb (see n. 138) in 1826 and by 1843 had borne him eleven children (Almira Merrill Lamb, Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File; and E.C.I.F.).

¹⁷¹Although Bullock spent over two years in Ireland, no record of his life there is presently known. His reference here of a pledge made to Charles Young Ferguson is nebulous at best. The only other mention of Ferguson is in 1844 when Bullock recorded the following: "We remember with kindness our old friend C. Y. Ferguson" (Historian's Office Journal, vol. 1, 21 April 1844).

themselves. Thus has a Strangite born strong testimony of the glory of last Sabbath. Returning home heard frogs singing. Rain at 7, rest fine.

Wednesday 18 At 10 I went to Mrs. Clayton with milk and butter. From thence to the Temple office. Bishop Heywood promised me that I should go in a company that will start on 1st May and that I should overtake the first company on Bear River where they will stay to rest a while. I also saw Trueman O. Angel who told me that A. W. Babbit had been in his office and had taken away Bishop Heywood's order for my four boxes and set of tent poles. Thus is every obstacle thrown in the way of my following my Father [Willard Richards] and the Twelve. I then went to the Lodge when L. N. Scovil gave me up Albern Allen's note. Then returned home and carried water for my people who were washing. Willard cut another tooth this day (5). At sundown went to the Temple to pray. I was appointed mouth.¹⁷² The Spirit was upon me and we all had a most glorious meeting. The glory of God again resting on the Temple in great power. This day myriads of knats [gnats] made their appearance in columns &c. [Found] the body of Bostwich, who was drowned opposite Fort Madison last Feb. 7. His body was but little decayed, but went fast after being brought out into the open air. Some lightning, frosty night.

Thursday 19 A thin ice on the water this morning. At 11 I went to the office. Saw Fullmer who was better in answer to prayer. I received a letter from Father in Camp ordering me to be fitted out immediately and to follow the Camp. An order also came from the Council to the Trustees on the same subject. Went to Mr. Clayton's and returned home at 2. At Sundown went to the Temple to pray. A variance of opinions caused a vote to be taken to put an end to a man expressing his opinion. Some unpleasant words passed which were at last settled by begging pardon and shaking hands. Returned home at ep 9. Muddy.

Friday 20 I went to S. Lippot¹⁷³ and ask her to go as an Asst. to California. She sd. she wod. consider and let me know. Then to the Temple. Saw W[ilmer] B[enjamin] Benson. Went with him up to the top of the Tower, on the roof, down to the ground. Saw the baptismal font. Went up one side, down the other. A most beautiful structure when I wished to be baptized for all my dead relatives. From thence to the Temple office and brother Levi's [Richards]. Went with Levi to Susannah's. [page 21]

Description of my Cattle

White face A light brown cow with white face. Belly, feet, hoofs, and end of tail white. About 7 rings on her horns. Right horn small hole bored in

¹⁷²It appears that these nightly prayer sessions were in the form of prayer circles. At these prayer meetings, a "mouth" and a "president" were appointed. The "mouth" uttered the words of the prayer to be repeated by those joining in the circle, and the "president" was the presiding officiator in charge of the ceremony (see D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 [Fall 1978], 79-105).

¹⁷³Susannah Lippot (b. 1806) had been sealed to Willard Richards 6 February 1846. Her husband had passed away in 1844 (Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File; and E.C.I.F.).

it underneath. Left ear cropt. Right ear cropt and a piece cut out. Nose speckled with black.

Cherry A small red cow. Streak of white under her belly. Blackish hoofs. Left ear slit. Tail cut short. Seven rings on her horns.

Star A small red cow. White star on her forehead. Belly white. Small teats. Under part and end of tail white. Inside of both hind knees white. Reddish hoofs. Tips of her horns black. Small horns with three rings. Both ears cropt and left crop slit in it.

Tom A black ox with white head and black ears and nose and hoofs. His back, dulap, belly and tail white. Both ears a piece cut out on the underside. About 9 years old. Horns tipt with black.

Jerry A red ox with small white star on the left side of his forehead. White streak under his belly. End of back and tail white. White hind feet. Light hoofs. Both ears a piece cut out on the under side. Both horns bored. About 9 years old. Horns tipt with black.

Black A black ox with a black spotted belly. Two small white spots inside his hind knees. Some white hairs underneath and in end of his tail. Both ears the ends cut off. About 6 years old. Horns tipt black.

Bright A red ox with a white star in his forehead. Belly and legs white. End of tail white and some white on his body. Right ear cropt. Left ear 2 slits. About 6 years old. Horns tipt with black.¹⁷⁴ [page 22]

1846

Monday June 1 Took Black and Bright into the wood and hauled a log to Spencers Shop to make a wagon tongue. This is my first attempt to drive oxen and I succeeded to my satisfaction. At 1 p.m. went with Allen's Wagon for corn for oxen. Returned home and took oxen into the woods to pasture for the evening. Mornng. rainy, evening fine. Br. Whitehead told me they might perhaps kill a beef and asked me if I wanted a piece. I told him I did. In the night a great storm of wind.

Tuesday 2 After breakfast I went to the mill for meal. At 11 went with Mr. Clayton to the Big Field to hunt his sheep. Found them at n. e. corner. Returned home at ep 6. Very tired having seen a country desolate, houses empty, and inhabitants gone. Prairies deserted of cattle and people. Such is the blasting effect of mob misrule. Terrific wind in the night which rocked my house. It was really awful. Fine day.

¹⁷⁴“Black” and “Bright” would later pull Bullock's wagon and family into the Salt Lake Valley (Bullock Journal, 1843–49, 20 September 1848).

Wednesday 3 At 5 went into the wood to pasture oxen. Staid till 10 then went to the Temple office. Staid till 1. Got 5.00. Went and bought a wagon cover, nails, tongue bolt &c &c. Returned home at 2. Went into the wood with oxen. Got wood for ox bows and carried it home. Sundown drove cattle home. Fine day.

Thurs 4 Cut out new wagon cover and assisting Lucy to make same. Attending the oxen in the wood all day also in the evening assisting Albern Allen to make the ox bows. Harder work than Ive been used to. Beautiful day.

Fri 5 At 10 went to Temple office. Br Anderson wanted me to exchange my big oxen for poorer ones, telling me that I could not drive them to the camp &c &c. I told him I should take them and deliver them up to Dr. Richards according to my first orders. I was also told that the Trustees would not let me have any more oxen, altho' they had promised me two more yokes a week ago. I immediately went to the Trustees who would not let me have any more oxen. They told me to have 200 lbs. of flour which was at br. Whiteheads and promised me money to buy the remainder in a few days. Bishop Heywood said I was "a Chiel among em takin notes and faith ye'll [*undecipherable word*] it,"¹⁷⁵ then why not attend to the orders of the Twelve. I found that the ox was killed this week but I had no beef as usual. I have to live on meal and milk while others can live on the best the land affords. I wish I was in the midst of equal justice. Beautiful day.

Satur 6 Took oxen to wood and assisted Albern Allen to load up his wagon. At 11 went to Temple office, Whitehead's, Clayton's Workshops Stores &c and returned home. About 2 bro. Clift called. Wanted to drive my team, but he had too much of a load for me. Went to hunt my cattle. Brought them home about 5. Then fixing hinges to boxes, making wooden rivets. Fed cattle, milked &c &c. G. Wardle brought 2nd wagon home about 8 p.m. Fine day.

Sun 7 Went to Temple with Lucy. Took minutes of discourse of bro Snow (see them). Returned home and at 3 went again to Temple. Partook of Sacrament. Zebedee Coltrin Pres. Erastus Snow¹⁷⁶ mouth. [*blank*] present. Had a good time. Returned home at sunset with Henrietta. Lucy churned¹⁷⁷ twice this day. Lynching commenced at Macedonia this day.¹⁷⁸ Beautiful day.

¹⁷⁵A *chiel* is a "familiar term for man, esp. young man, lad; 'fellow,' 'chap'" (*Oxford Dictionary*, 3:111). It is obvious that Bullock was trying to write down Heywood's exact wording; however, the exact meaning of this phrase is unclear.

¹⁷⁶Erastus Snow (1818–1880), originally from St. Johnsbury, Vermont, was baptized in February 1833. He served many missions for the Church, campaigned for Joseph Smith in Vermont, was a member of the Council of Fifty, and was an active Mason (Andrew Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church* [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971]).

¹⁷⁷To shake or agitate with violence or continued motion (*Noah Webster's American Dictionary*).

¹⁷⁸*Hancock Eagle*, 12 June 1846, 2.

Mon 8 Having heard that there was a piece of beef put by for me yesterday I went very early but found out it was gone as usual. Br Whitehead sd. he gave orders that I must have that piece (22 lbs) and no one else yet I was disappointed. I have not had any meat since April 9 yet others can live on the best of every thing. This is the 2nd beef killed this week. Br Whitehead told me the flour that I was having from his house he bought for himself, having borrowed the money to pay for it. Is not this a pretty treatment, both of Whitehead and me. W[hitehead]. sd. if it had not been for him I shod. not have had one single thing. Babbitt taking almost every thing to his own private office. The reason I am not fit out or cannot get on is because I am an Englishman. Babbitt has been against me since I received the Drs. council at Sugar Creek not to have any thing to do with the Eagle Newspaper. May the time soon come that he may be taught obedience to his Superiors and deal justly, instead of assisting his favorites. After some hunting I got a piece of beef, bloody and bony. Br. Whitehead reproving John [S. Fullmer] for his conduct. I retd. home and fixed my wooden rivets. Then put on my wagon cover and attending to my cattle. Sunset I went to the Temple. J[udge]. Higbee Pres. Z. Coltrin mouth. [blank] present. There is quite a revival in attendance. Fine day.

Report. A delegation came into the city from the mob camp which caused great excitement. A many of the brethren packed up and crossed the River. A meeting was called in the Temple to defend it.

Tues 9 I drove cattle into the wood. G. Wardle came at 10. We yoked up Tom and Jerry and fetched the barrel of flour from bro. Whiteheads and some things for him. Returned about 1. I regulated my medicine chest. Then gathered some sage and dried it. In the evening I bought an ox yoke and assisted G. Wardle to fix ox bows and wagon box and then fetched the cattle home. Albern Allen and John Rushton¹⁷⁹ called in the evening. Henrietta at Agnes Smith's¹⁸⁰ all day. Rainbow in the evening. The Saints were rushing to the River nearly panic struck. P.M. new citizens met at 70s hall.¹⁸¹

Wednes 10 Packing up my goods in order for speedy removal in case of attack. A man came to offer me some fever and ague pills for my house and lot and sd. that the mob was whipping and driving the Mormons 4 miles off; That all the houses that had been sold to the new citizens were to have a sign up. I replied "I suppose like the custom of the Jews, to sprinkle the

¹⁷⁹John Rushton, brother of Harriet Rushton Nixon (see n. 35), was born in 1821 at Yorkshire, England. Endowed 3 February 1846, John died several years later in St. Louis (Black, Membership 37:966–67).

¹⁸⁰Agnes Coolbrith Smith, widow of Don Carlos Smith (who died in 1841) was born in 1811 at Scarsborough, Maine. She married Don Carlos in 1835 and had three children by him (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 274–75; and Black, Membership 11:444–45).

¹⁸¹*New citizen* was the term given to a person moving into Nauvoo and buying the Saints' lands and properties. Because the new citizens wanted to protect their newly acquired properties, they looked unfavorably upon the mob actions and were unwilling to join forces with them in driving out the Mormons. For this reason they were seen as Mormon sympathizers and were also harshly treated. Many were driven out of Nauvoo.

lintels and door posts with blood in order that the Destroying Angel might pass over all in that house, well sir, mine is a maiden at present." He sd. "I suppose so" and smiled. [page 23] At 4 I went to the Temple office to enquire if it was right to run or fight. I found out more scare than actual danger. Returned home to continue my preparations fixing locks to boxes and wagon cover. Warm day.

Reports. Two new citizens who refused to join the mob severely whipped. The brethren rushing to the ferry in order to cross the River. A woman whipped "until the blood run off her heels" by the mob. A brother compelled to sell 500 worth of property for 100 by the mob.¹⁸²

Thurs 11. Preparing to leave. At 11 Father Clayton called and I went with him to the Temple office. I asked for chains, ox yokes and bows when Bishop Fulmer said "we can do nothing for you." "We want you to stay here and fight." I told him I understood I was wanted in the Camp to write. I find they will not assist me in any thing. Went with Mr. Clayton to look after his wagons. /Bought a pen knife .40./ Returned home about 4. After supper I, Henrietta and Lucy robed ourselves, prayed, and had sacrament. I gave them much instruction in regard to their duty. Fine day.

Reports. The People are panic struck. 4 boats have started to cross at Nashville in addition to the regular ferries but they are not half enough. One man offered a barrel of flour to cross, but the ferryman (Blakeslee) referd. up to the Trustees for an order for the amount and to request them to stop the panic. Heywood replied to Blakeslee "we are better without such men than with them." Old Mother Sandford driven into the city by the mob. The mob threaten to come in tomorrow. The merchants have packed up their goods and are removing as fast as they can. The mob is encamped at Golden's Point and are driving all who wont join them.

Friday 12 I carried tongue of my wagon to the blacksmiths to get a pull back put on. Waited while it was done and carried it back. Then went to the Temple office to get some meal but could not. Returned home about 7 and was told Black and Bright had strayed away. I immediately started in pursuit, as also Lucy, taking different routes. Both returned home after dark unsuccessful. This is the effect of my not having yokes. I have often asked for them but cannot get any. If they are lost it is entirely on account of not being yoked together. Hot day.

Reports. The citizens were called together this p.m. in order to organize for the defense of the place and a committee sent off to negotiate with the mob.

Satur 13. I was up by sunrise and started for Caspers Creek and the English Settlement where I had heard they [the lost cows] were but again returned home disappointed. While at home the other cattle ran away after a cow

¹⁸²*Hancock Eagle*, 12 June 1846, 2.

that wanted a bull. I had a race after them thro the fields and wood until I had not one dry thread on me. Brought them back about 8 and again started in pursuit of the lost ones, and after beating the woods well up to the Le Harp Road we found them with a cow. Such is the effect of being without yokes and the Trustees will not let me have means to get them. After much trouble got them home also. Having overexerted myself, I was taken sick and had to lay down. I took 3 bowls of thorrowort¹⁸³ which made me ill. The hives plague very bad. Mother Rushton came and staid all day. Lucy baking Gingerbread &c all day. Henrietta sewing and assisting Lucy. This last week has been the happiest week I have had, being united in love and harmony. Peace has reigned entirely this week. Very hot day.

Reports. Bro. Richardson sd. the mob at Golden's Point had agreed to let the Mormons remain another week, and then they were to come in and do what they please. The Sheriff having returned from Galena, called the citizens together this p.m. 4 oclock, and swore in 300 Deputy Sheriff's in order to maintain law and order before Justice Wells, and Higbee and Robinson. The mob are now 400 strong at Golden's Point and have one cannon to storm the Temple.

Sunday 14 Went to the Temple with my musket and pistols to defend it /(altho I was so weak as scarce to walk there)/ an attack being expected this day. I saw the brethren under arms who had met on the Green at the ringing of the Temple Bell. Sheriff Backenstos was Commander in Chief, Capt. Clifford¹⁸⁴ commanded the Cavalry and Stephen Markham¹⁸⁵ /and Capt. Pickett¹⁸⁶ /commanded the Infantry. After parading some time, the whole marched off in double file to the Mansion where they all discharged their fire arms in the air. [This was heard across the River and the brethren thinking the mob had attacked the City, bro. John Bair¹⁸⁷ determined to cross and assist, but no one would ferry him, being against Council. When he replied, the Council of Jesus Christ was, he that would not lay down his life for his brethren had not the love of God in him. He then bought a skiff for 200 and ferried himself across, being fully armed and equipped. C. W. Patten¹⁸⁸ also hearing it. His father sd. the mob was

¹⁸³Another name for boneset. Comfrey is one common variety of boneset.

¹⁸⁴Benjamin Clifford was a new citizen from Quincy who was sympathetic toward the Saints and served in the militia for their protection. A native of Rhode Island, he was born in 1801 and married a Sophia in the mid-1820s. He had four children and by 1850 would be living in Quincy, Illinois, working as a merchant (1850 Illinois Census).

¹⁸⁵Stephen Markham (1800–1878), originally from Avon, New York, was baptized in 1837. He was a carpenter by trade but became a colonel of the Nauvoo Legion in 1843 and a bodyguard to Joseph Smith. Although Markham left Nauvoo in February with the main group of Saints, he had been sent back to transact some business. He would be in Nauvoo throughout June and July (Mervin L. Gifford, "Stephen Markham: Man of Valour" [Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973]; Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 3:676; and Black, *Membership* 29:351–57).

¹⁸⁶William Pickett was also a new citizen and a friend of the Mormons. He was originally from Alabama (*Hancock Eagle*, 3 August 1846, 2).

¹⁸⁷John Bair, born in 1810, was married in 1829 and baptized in 1834. This daring attempt to aid the "brethren" was not his first one. In July 1843, he had been involved in the *Maid of Iowa* expedition to rescue Joseph Smith (see *History of the Church* 5:482–84; and Black, *Membership* 3:234–37).

¹⁸⁸Charles W. Patten was born in 1811 in Herkimer County, New York. He was ordained a high priest in 1844 and at this time served on the committee to aid the destitute in Nauvoo (Donald Q. Cannon

fighting in the city. He remembering a prophecy given in No. 1 Room, replied there was not, but any how would come and see for himself.]¹⁸⁹ They then remarched to the green. A hollow square was formed, when the Sheriff sd. he should dismiss them until the ringing of the Bell. Col Markham returned thanks for his appointment, and their obedience to the word of command and sd. that he had come and should stay here until mob rule was put down and law and order again [*continued in next entry*][page 24]

June 14. 1846 established in Hancock Co. Capt. Clifford next addressed them and returned thanks for the promptness and alacrity that they had all met. Capt. Pickett in a neat speech sd. that we were come up here to be perfected and sd. he hoped that the damd mob would stand that we might be tried together in order to prove our acquaintance. He was afraid they would not stand but hoped they would. He then proposed 3 cheers for the Sheriff, and 3 for Capt. Clifford, 3 for Gen. Markham, and 3 for the ladies in general and sd. no man ought to have a sweetheart who would not turn out this time. Sheriff Backenstos then proposed 3 cheers for Capt. Pickett and 3 for law and order, which were all most heartily responded to. At 2 p.m. they again met and the committee reported that when they went to the mob camp they had only left their committee, who were told that they could only be treated as a mob from this time and for ever. When the brethren were all dismissed until further call.

Report that when the Committee went to the mob camp last evening and told them fully what they must expect, about 100 fled for home when old Macauley¹⁹⁰ sat down and cried. He sd. "that he had been trying for the last three years to raise a Company to drive the Mormons out of Hancock Co. and now in this last struggle you are all going to leave me." After dismissal S. Markham marched the troops into the Temple and preached to them while I was in the Watch Tower I counted them as they past. 488 foot, 68 horsemen, 17 wagons with about 102 in them and about 50 at the Temple making about 700 under arms. Went to the top of the Tower and round the outside. At six oclock went to the Sacrament. John S. Fulmer was Pres. F. D. Richards mouth. [*blank*] present. Had a very good night of it. Hot day.

Report. The swiftest race ever run in Hancock Co. was between Golden Point and Carthage by the mob.

Monday 15 Breakfast. Past 10 went to the wood with the oxen and returned about 2. Wrote a long letter to the Dr. At sundown went to the Temple to pray. Tarleton Lewis Pres. Wm. Burton¹⁹¹ Mouth. 8 Present.

and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983], 280; and *History of the Church* 7:158).

¹⁸⁹Brackets are in the original.

¹⁹⁰John McAuley (1799-1874), originally of Ireland, immigrated to New York and later moved to Pontoosic Township, Illinois, in 1832. He was an ardent anti-Mormon and had fought desperately since 1844 to expel the Saints from Illinois. Some accounts implicate him in the burning of the Nauvoo Temple in 1848 (Biographical Information on John McAuley, n.d., LDS Church Archives).

¹⁹¹William Burton (1809-1851), born at Garthorp, Lincolnshire, England, served many missions for the Church. He was a seventy. Burton's diary indicates that he attended these nightly prayer meetings

Stephen Markham related things of the Camp. Frogs and crickets make a terrible din. Cherry with a young bull all night.

Report. When mob had fled to Carthage they heard that the Sheriff was going against them with 900 men when they fled in every direction. The wicked flee when no man pursueth. New citizens issue a circular confessing themselves anti mormons.¹⁹² Warm.

Tuesday 16 But little sleep on acct. of Bugs and Mosquitoes. John Rushton visited me. Fixed a bell on Black. Drove the oxen to the wood. Returned about 2. A man came and offered me 150. for my lot which I of course refused. At sundown went to the Temple to pray. S. Markham was Pres. Z. Coltrin mouth (8). We had a very comfortable meeting. Heard much about the Camp which made us rejoice. Markham was requested to preach to the people and disabuse their minds on the reports from the Camp. Warm day.

Wednesday 17 In the woods with the oxen and at home all day. Went to the Temple to pray. W. Burton Pres. C. E. Bolton mouth (8). Then returned home. The new citizens began to replace their goods. Groceries continued increasing. Warm.

Thursday 18 At 6 went with G. Wardle to buy ox bows and yoke. Then to Temple. Borrowed 1.00 from Lewis Robins which Whitehead promised should be repaid to him. Went to Music Hall and thence with F. D. Richards to his old house. Staid till 11 then went home for breakfast. Again with him to Music Hall. Ret. home. At 1 took a chair to swap for bows. Pd. for a yoke and another pair of bows. Met with Mr. Clayton. Measured off Edward Martin's lot. Then to the office, drank a cup of wine. On way home called at Bensons where we dined. At 7 went with Benson and Father Clayton to Neibaur's.¹⁹³ Mended a net and then went a fishing. I wheeled the net to Laws Mill where we netted until after midnight. We got home again about 2 a.m. Fine day and night.

Friday 19 Assisted Lucy being washing day, carrying water, laying out clothes to dry, all morning. At 12 went to Bensons for my ox bows, and at 2 assisted G. Wardle to fix his waggonbox. At 4 we went to bathe in the Mississippi. Returned home about 6. At 7 went to Temple to pray. I was chosen President and [I] appointed Wandel Mace mouth (9). A sick man

but provides no further insight. He did attend the dedication of the temple on 30 April and 1 May, an event that Bullock does not record (William Burton Diary, LDS Church Archives; and Black, Membership 7:714–17).

¹⁹²In actuality, the circular was not an anti-Mormon statement but rather one of anti-violence. It pleaded with the mobs not to attack the fleeing Saints as such restraint would enable them to leave sooner (*Hancock Eagle*, 3 July 1846, 2).

¹⁹³Alexander Neibaur (1808–1883), born at Ehrenbreitsen, France. He was baptized in England in 1838 and immigrated to Nauvoo in 1841. In Nauvoo he practiced dentistry and made matches. He was in the Nauvoo Legion. Neibaur also recorded one of the first accounts of Joseph Smith's first vision. On 26 May 1845, Neibaur had pulled one of Bullock's teeth and presumably this visit was in connection with a tooth problem (Theda Lucille Bassett, *Grandpa Neibaur Was a Pioneer* [Salt Lake City: Artistic Printing Co., 1988]; and Historian's Office Journal, vol. 1, 26 May 1845).

came to be anointed and healed of his infirmity. I feel that he will get better. Warm day.

Saturday 20 Mr. Clayton came to my house. I wrote a letter to Dr. Willard Richards and went to Mr. C. Spencer¹⁹⁴ who promised to deliver it. We went to the Temple, Waggon Shop and down to the River. Saw one waggon start across. Took a walk by the River. Saw a Circus near Joseph's old store.¹⁹⁵ Had some talk with Amos Fielding¹⁹⁶ and ret. home at 2. About 6 went to the Temple to pray. Tarleton Lewis¹⁹⁷ Pres. Isaac Higbee mouth (10). Fine.

Sunday 21 With Henrietta to the Temple. A. W. Babbit and Joseph Young spoke. I reported same (see my minutes). Returned home. At 3 went to Temple again. Curtis E. Bolton Pres. Erastus Snow mouth (14). Joseph L. Heywood and John McEwan¹⁹⁸ came to be administered to. Had the Sacrament and adjourned before 7. Then took a walk with Lucy by the River and thro the Wood home. Willard can walk by the side of chairs, boxes &c. A cool day.

Monday 22 At 10 I went down to Mr. Clayton's, he being notified to leave his house, the purchaser being come. I then [page 25] hunted for a house for them to go into and at length found O. M. Duel's.¹⁹⁹ Took Mrs. Clayton to see it and [she] was satisfied. Returned about 5 when I wrote a long letter for G. Wardle to go to England which took till after sundown. Fanny here for Tea with him. Milked, attended to my cattle. Warm.

Tuesday 23 At 10 Lucy and I went down to her Father's to assist them to remove. Staid there till sundown when I went up to the Temple to pray. I was chosen President. I nominated William Burton mouth (8). Had a good time. Returned to Mr. Clayton's and walked home with Lucy at dark. Hot.

Wednesday 24 Went with Lucy to the Trustees office to get some dry goods. Then to Mr. Clayton's and back to the Trustees. Waited a long time when Babbitt and Heywood came in. In talking of fitting me out they told

¹⁹⁴Possibly Claudius Victor Spencer (1824–1910) (Black, Membership 40:847–52).

¹⁹⁵On 5 January 1842, Joseph Smith's red brick store opened for business. The first story of the store was primarily used for business while the second story became a meeting place for several organizations and committees, including the Relief Society, Temple Committee, Nauvoo House Committee, Nauvoo City Council, and Nauvoo Legion. It was located on the south side of Water Street near Granger Street (Holzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo*, 144–47).

¹⁹⁶Amos Fielding, an Englishman, had arrived in Nauvoo on 26 March 1845 (Historian's Office Journal, vol. 2, 26 March 1845).

¹⁹⁷Tarlton Lewis (1805–1890), born in the Pendleton District of South Carolina, was baptized in 1836. He was injured in the Haun's Mill massacre in 1838 and afterwards moved to Quincy and then to Nauvoo in October 1839. He spent nine months cutting timber on the Black River for the temple and later oversaw the cranes for hoisting materials used in the temple's construction. He was ordained a high priest in 1839 and acted as bishop of the Nauvoo Fourth Ward from 1839 until 1846 when he departed for the West (Black, Membership 28:118–28).

¹⁹⁸John P. McEwan (1824–1878), born in Garvahy, Ireland, was baptized in 1840 and later became president of the Twenty-Second Quorum of Seventies (Black, Membership 30:173–76).

¹⁹⁹Osman M. Duel (1802–1855), originally from Galway, New York, joined the Church in the early 1830s. He was a member of the Nauvoo Third Ward and served a mission to New York in 1844. He had apparently left for the West and abandoned his home (Black, Membership 14:539–40; and *History of the Church* 6:336).

me I must give up the waggon and oxen to the Church. I told them I understood I was to give them up to Dr. Richards. They replied “no, the Dr. has already overdrawn his account and I must give them up to the Church.” They also told Mr. Clayton that William had overdrawn his account by 2 or 300 dollars. But they promised to assist him in about 3 weeks. They told me that if I would wait a little they would fit me out with what I wanted but to try and sell my house if I could. They let me have some goods. We returned home by the River. Went to look after oxen as usual and at sundown went to the Temple to pray. Graham Coltrin²⁰⁰ President. I mouth (7). Some thunder and rain this day.

Thursday 25 Lucy and I went to assist her mother to remove to O. M. Duel’s house all day. In the afternoon there was some heavy rain, thunder and lightning. At sundown went to the Temple to pray. Tarlton Lewis President. Graham Coltrin Mouth (6). Returned to Mrs. C’s when Lucy returned home with me. I overstrained myself this day. W. Phelps²⁰¹ left on the Steam Boat. Hot.

Friday 26 The thunder shook my house pretty severe in the night, much lightning and rain and heavy wind which ript one of the covers off my waggon. I was at home all day in consequence of the overstraining yesterday and was obliged to take a regular cleansing by vomit, purge, sweat, and hot bathing. And afterwards my body was wished with Spirit. I kept very quiet and was much relieved. Warm.

Saturday 27 Attending to oxen until about 4 p.m. Then to Store to get some meal. At 7 went to Temple to pray. [blank] Prest. I was mouth. Felt much of the Spirit upon me. Warm.

It is now two years this day since Joseph and Hyrum were martyrd, and what a tremendous alteration has taken place in Nauvoo. Surely it has fallen, is fallen. Wherever you now look Taverns, Grogeries, Bowling Alleys, Ten pin Alleys, Whorehouses. Lawyers and Doctors salute your eyes and ears. The reeling drunkard, the boisterous laugh, the giddy dance, confusion and riot rule supreme. Hundreds, I might say thousands, of houses empty where once happy Saints dwelt, sung and prayed. Fences nearly all down, gardens laid waste, fruit trees destroyed by cattle, and all again running to destruction and its late wildness. In the last few years has

²⁰⁰Graham Coltrin (1796–1851), older brother of Zebedee Coltrin, was born at Franklin, Massachusetts, and joined the Church in 1831. A carpenter by trade, he was a member of the Nauvoo First Ward (Black, Membership 11:185–88, 193–94).

²⁰¹William Wines Phelps (1792–1872), native to Hanover, New Jersey, was baptized in 1831. He was a prominent Church leader from 1831 until his excommunication in 1838. After living in Ohio for several years, he contacted Church leaders and was active again in the Kirtland Area. In 1841, Phelps moved to Nauvoo, where he was the mayor’s clerk, a fire warden, and a clerk, scribe, and confidant to the Prophet till the latter’s death. From Bullock’s minutes, it is clear that Phelps was in Nauvoo at this time and he was this day probably departing for the West; he resided at Winter Quarters until 1849 (Walter Dean Bowen, “The Versatile W. W. Phelps: Mormon Writer, Educator, and Pioneer” [Master’s Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958]; Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 87; and Bullock Minutes, 3 May 1846, 10 A.M., 26; 10 May 1846, 10 A.M., 44; 17 May 1846, 10 A.M., 52 and 57).

this spot been translated from a wilderness to a garden and the most delightful spot on the River and now again running to its native wildness and desolation.

Sunday 28 Went to the Temple and reported the discourses of Markham, Lytle,²⁰² and Snow (see them) and returned home. At 3 went again to the Temple to pray. F. D. Richards President, William Anderson²⁰³ mouth (12). Partook of the Sacrament, then went to Mr. Clayton's at 7 p.m. and took a walk down on the flats and so home. Henry J. Young gave me the Hancock Eagle. He is the man who supplies me with papers and extras for history. Warm day, showery p.m.

Monday 29 The oxen having strayed away again I went after them and took them to Doyles Wood. I had not been in many minutes before Pat Doyle came and ordered me to drive them out of the Wood. I asked if he would allow me to have them in the near part of the Wood, if I watched them, but he still ordered me to drive them out. He has joined the mob party and may the Lord soon reward him for his unkindness. W[ilmer] B[enson]. his fence is down in five places being open to the common land. Remember also George Colemere's Wife's blackguardism this day. Attended the oxen in the open fields till about 3 then writing letters to Mr. Wassell (England) Mr. Reuben Bullock, and Mr. William Mums. Being alone all p.m. Lucy being sent for to attend her sick mother and Henrietta being gone to her mother's. At Sundown went to the Temple to pray. Wandle Mace President. William Burton mouth (8). After meeting we had much agreeable conversation. Returned home at 10 and then had to milk all my cows. Finished about 11. A vast number of gnats. Hot day.

Tuesday 30 With oxen from 9 till 3 in the open fields. At 5 went to the Temple office for some corn and pork. Got two bushels of corn and 151 lb. Pork for my journey. Called at Mrs. Clayton's, who was very sick. Staid till sundown then went up to the Temple to pray. William Burton Pres. I was mouth (10). Afterwards conversed till after 9 then went to Mrs. Clayton's. Returned home. Lucy drank some cold water while in a great perspiration which made her very ill indeed. Her breath ceased several times but in 2 or 3 hours I succeeded in getting her into a sweat and she fell asleep. Hot day.

Wednesday 1 July [1846] Lucy was some better today. Henrietta sick also. 10 tending cattle till 2 p.m. Then writing &c. At home all p.m. Sundown to Temple. I was chosen President and I appointed Isaac Higbee

²⁰²John Lytle (1803–1892), born at Turbotville, Pennsylvania, was baptized in 1836. In Nauvoo, he served as a policeman and a seventy. He was one of the men arrested in connection with the destruction of the Expositor press in 1844. He would later become a bishop in the Salt Lake Eleventh Ward (Black, Membership 28:919–23; and E.C.I.F.).

²⁰³William Anderson (1809–1846), born in Lewiston, Maine, was baptized in 1841. From 1842–1844, he served a mission to Chicago and other parts of Illinois. He was killed in the battle of Nauvoo on 12 September (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 2:585–86). Curtis E. Bolton called him “One of God’s noblest Spirits” (Curtis Edward Bolton Journal, 6).

mouth (7). Received copy of Sidney Rigdon's revelations.²⁰⁴ Laid hands on a sick man. Returned home and went to bed. Hot day.[page 26]

Wednesday July 1. 1846 I had not been in bed more than an hour when I heard a rumpus among the oxen. Got up and found they had broke the fence and were following a cow. Had considerable difficulty in getting them back to my lot. I weighed 116 lb.

Thursday 2 Milked the cows. Then drove them and the oxen to pasture. Staid till 3 p.m. Then wrote recommends for F. D. Richards who was going on a mission to England. At 6 I went to the Temple. At Sundown prayed. [blank] President. [blank] mouth. (). I was mouth in blessing some packages for the East and for England. After meeting went to Samuel W. Richards²⁰⁵ and gave him my packet and also some further instructions. Staid with him till 9. Kissed him, blessed him and then went home. Hot day.

Friday 3 At home all day assisting Lucy in washing and Henrietta ironing. About 6 went to the Temple and prayed. [blank] President. [blank] mouth. (). Returned home and slept in my California waggon with Wife and child. A pleasant night. Warm.

Franklin and Samuel Richards started down the River on the Steam Boat.²⁰⁶

Saturday 4 At 10 I went to the Temple and staid until 3 where I was told that William Law had been taken thro the Temple by A. W. Babbit. Many persons expressed their dissent of the act and well do I remember Josephs words, "If it were not for a Brutus, Caesar might have lived." So has Law proved a Brutus unto Joseph. At 3 I went into the woods to hunt oxen. Returned at 5 and found Benson at home. Sundown I went to the Temple. [blank] Pres. [blank] mouth. (8). At the close of the meeting C. E. Bolton gave me the lie in regard to the prayer meeting, when it was first commenced. I replied that he was not there the first meeting, but I was, being one of the seven who met with Joseph Young on Feb 11th and the only one of the seven who now meet. That he had contradicted me in a thing where he was not present and had hurt my feelings. He replied "I dont care if they are." "I am a liberal man." Query how has he shown his "liberal" feelings in insulting Phinehas Richards, Levi Richards, Franklin Richards, Zebedee Coltrin, William Anderson, Wandel Mace and others both in and out of that sacred building. He has prayed (out of the Temple) to God that

²⁰⁴After the Martyrdom, Rigdon claimed to be the guardian over the Church and was subsequently excommunicated on 8 September 1844. By April 1845, he had organized a church and was receiving revelations. Rigdon's main revelation during this period was for the Saints to gather in the East and await the great battle that would ensue in the West (F. Mark McKiernan, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer, 1793-1876* [Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado Press, 1971]).

²⁰⁵Samuel Richards (1824-1909), a native of Richmond, Massachusetts, was the son of Phineas Richards and the younger brother of Franklin D. Richards (see n. 109). He joined the Church in 1838 and in 1842 moved to Nauvoo with his family. There he worked as a carpenter on the temple and as a drill sergeant in the Nauvoo Legion (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:718-19).

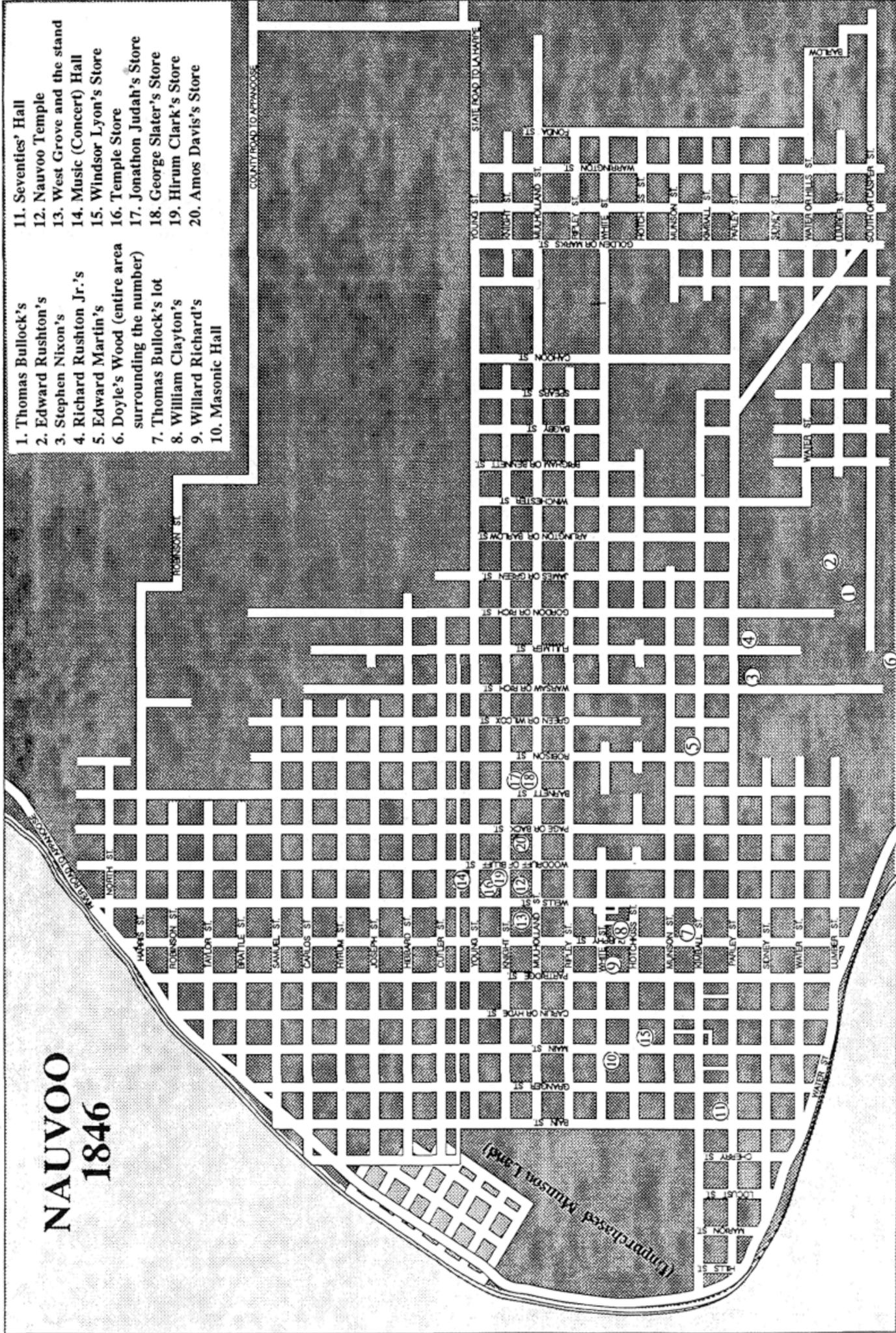
²⁰⁶Franklin and Samuel were leaving on a mission to England.

some parts of my property might be destroyed and that I might not get it into California. If such principles are “liberal” principles Good Lord deliver me from the same unfriendly, overbearing disposition. Returned home and got severely xd. by H. and L. Warm day.

Sunday 5 A heavy storm of thunder, lightning and rain. I had to remove the bed out of the waggon into the house. Lucy asked forgiveness for all past offenses. I forgave her and she forgave me and we determined to love more and more. At 10 I went to the Temple with Henrietta. Elder Babbitt preached. I was too late to get to my reporting Seat. Sat in the north aisle. Could not hear much of what was spoken. Returned home, severely pained with piles and I had to undress and stay at home the remainder of the day. Took some cooling medicine.²⁰⁷ H and L went to the Temple in the p.m. to hear Joseph Young preach. He spoke very feelingly against abusing animals, wives and children. Hot day.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ A common nineteenth-century ointment for piles (hemorrhoids) consisted of jimsonweed and catnip leaves, onions, tobacco, whisky, and bacon lard (see *Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 222–29, 1140).

²⁰⁸ After this page, there is one blank page and then a space where six pages have been cut, leaving only a stub of paper behind. It is not clear if they contained any writing. In addition, the journal has a wrapper page used as the outer cover of the journal. It has been torn and badly damaged. On this sheet is written a list of grocery items and their prices and/or amounts. For example, on 21 February Bullock lists “shoes _____ 1.00,” “meal 1/2 Bush _____ 18 3/4,” and “wine 1 Quart _____ 37 1/2.” The list is dated from mid-February to mid-April 184–(?). The year has been badly damaged but would logically have been 1846 when Bullock worked during those corresponding months in the Trustees Office, where large amounts of supplies were given out to those leaving Nauvoo for the pioneer camp in Iowa. Similar lists can be found in Bullock’s 1843–49 journals. Because the list has little relevance to this project, I have not included it here.



Transplanted to Zion: The Impact of British Latter-day Saint Immigration upon Nauvoo

Richard L. Jensen

After the Latter-day Saints' traumatic expulsion from Missouri, the opportunity to settle in western Illinois and southeastern Iowa revived hopes for a truly international gathering home of converts to prepare for the Savior's millennial reign. Delighting in the prospect of such a development, the Saints had sung since 1835:

There's a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing,
That the good of this world all the saints may be sharing;
For the harvest is ripe, and the reapers have learn'd
To gather the wheat, that the tares may be burn'd.¹

According to the hymn, the Lord's servants were to go forth to every nation, proclaiming the urgent need to prepare for the Second Coming of the Savior and actively promoting emigration:

Go gather the willing, and push them together,
Yea, push them to Zion (the saints' rest forever).²

After leaving Nauvoo still in its first stages of development, members of the Quorum of the Twelve found during their fabulously successful mission to the British Isles that their converts needed little if any prodding to gather to Nauvoo. In six short years, more than forty-six hundred Latter-day Saints left the British Isles for Nauvoo and its vicinity. What effect did such substantial immigration have upon Nauvoo? What roles did the immigrants from the British Isles play in significant developments there?³

The analogy of the harvest suggested by the early hymn could certainly be appropriate. However, my findings suggest a process more like a transplanting in hopes of additional growth, rather than

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a culminating harvest or an uprooting. The time for that was yet in the future.

The British Latter-day Saint immigration built rapidly to a peak, with nearly 300 reaching the United States in 1840, about 900 in 1841, and more than 1,500 in 1842. With the arrival of 1,022, immigration continued strong through 1843, declining after the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, with 644 arriving in 1844 and probably just over 300 in 1845.⁴ Thus more than 90 percent of those British Latter-day Saint immigrants who went directly to Nauvoo arrived before the Martyrdom and were associated in some way with the city under the Prophet Joseph Smith's leadership.

The addition of substantial numbers of overseas converts could be viewed as progress in the building of God's kingdom. In a letter dated May 1841, Joseph Smith reported: "I am happy to inform you, that things are going on well in this place, we have been greatly prospered, and many are flocking in from Europe & about 300 have arrived in less than a week, more are on the way."⁵ On the other hand, Bishop George Miller, charged with assisting the poor, remembered that same spring as a challenging time involving hectic effort to relieve the newly arrived poor and provide employment.⁶

Environmental impact studies today try to assess in detail the effects of a rapid influx of people into communities. While the resources for such a study of Nauvoo are presently not at hand, there are indications of some of the challenges created by such a large immigration. Although the land was productive, the processing and distribution of food were problematic until adjustments were made to accommodate the increased demand. Mary Ann Weston Maughan recalled that "the worst part was to get provisions in this new country." She remembered her husband waiting all night to have a little grain ground at a small Nauvoo gristmill.⁷

Land and housing were also key issues. While Orson Hyde was on a mission in Palestine, Peter and Mary Ann Maughan borrowed his Nauvoo home during the winter of 1841–42 for their newly arrived family of seven. But frontier conditions still prevailed in the new settlement. The Maughans' feather beds froze to the floor until spring and, because they had no table and no cupboards, much of their china perished during the winter. After Elder Hyde returned in the spring, they camped out at the site of their new home until it was completed sufficiently to house them.⁸

Establishing a home with scanty funds sometimes evoked a frontier style of resourcefulness in the immigrants. In 1843 John Marriott and Christopher Layton, friends from Bedfordshire, appealed to Joseph Smith himself after they found initial arrangements by their compatriots for obtaining property unsatisfactory.

The Prophet is said to have given each of them 2 1/2 acres of land at what became the Big Mound settlement, about seven miles east of Nauvoo; there the two of them built a one-room sod house for themselves and their wives. Layton later recalled of the house: “When it was pared down it looked pretty well. The first winter we had quilts for doors; we had a dirt floor, and when the beds were made down they just about filled the room.”⁹ The largely brick reconstruction of Nauvoo in our day cannot adequately convey a sense of the new settlers’ initial struggles to obtain shelter.

The British immigration showed the need for purchasing land beyond that in Nauvoo and Iowa’s Half-Breed Tract, if the Latter-day Saints were to have adequate land for farming. As a result, the settlement of Warren, just south of Warsaw and about seven miles south of Nauvoo, was designated as a gathering place for British immigrants. However, the new settlers found themselves in an untenable position there as surprisingly strong anti-Mormon sentiment bubbled over in Warsaw. The high price and low quality of provisions made available to the Latter-day Saints and restrictions on the availability of firewood made the location undesirable, but if the Latter-day Saints relocated, they risked alienating influential citizens who were selling them the land. Nevertheless, under Joseph Smith’s direction they moved away. That the move was not a totally successful solution is indicated by the fact that Mark Aldrich, one of the principal citizens in selling the land, was later one of the defendants charged with the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. His financial embarrassment resulting from the Latter-day Saints’ cancellation of their purchase of Warren may have been one of the factors leading to his later anti-Mormon activities.¹⁰

The immigrants’ success in finding work was closely related to their occupational skills. Farmers could begin production immediately—if land was available. Those with experience in the building trade were particularly in demand; many British stonemasons and carpenters helped build the Nauvoo Temple.

On the other hand, when they moved from the world’s most highly industrialized nation to “emerging” Nauvoo, many workers found little need for their specialized skills, particularly those in the textile industries. Joseph Smith appealed to the Saints remaining in Britain and to the Church at large to assist in developing industries in Nauvoo that would utilize these human resources,¹¹ but the effort to establish factories was stymied by a shortage of experience and capital. While Nauvoo’s new arrivals had plenty of experience as factory workers and even as foremen, none had experience in establishing a factory. In addition, there was little capital available

among the Latter-day Saints, who were focusing their energies on building the temple and the Nauvoo House. British immigrants who had funds available before emigration had often exhausted them in helping as many of their less fortunate friends to emigrate as possible. For example, Thomas Bullock, though not wealthy by most standards, was credited in an unpublished obituary with assisting forty-three emigrants to Nauvoo.¹² Edward Ockey, a prominent convert from among the United Brethren, assisted “many families” to emigrate in 1841.¹³ Had non-Mormon capitalists recognized the potential in Nauvoo’s British-trained work force, they might have established several profitable industries; however, in view of the volatile history of the Latter-day Saints’ relations with their neighbors such an investment would have been somewhat risky.

The lack of demand for factory workers meant that they and their families had to adjust to new circumstances. Three years after his immigration, James Jepson had changed from a bleacher in a cotton factory to a horse doctor. John Robinson had broadened his specialty from pistol filer to gunsmith. However, some still listed the specialized skills they had acquired in Britain long after those skills had ceased to be useful to them in Nauvoo. Nauvoo Masonic Lodge records list Frederick Cook as a cotton spinner in 1845 after he had been in Nauvoo for three years.¹⁴ Dressmakers like Mary Ann Maughan sometimes continued to pursue their trade but found a limited clientele since most women in that part of the United States did their own sewing.¹⁵

Among the most successful contributors to Nauvoo were British immigrants with clerical training. Everywhere one turned, it seemed, a British clerk was keeping track of things. Robert Lang Campbell assisted Patriarch John Smith and Elder Willard Richards with clerical work in Nauvoo.¹⁶ David Candland was a clerk for Brigham Young in Nauvoo as well as a schoolteacher.¹⁷ Thomas Bullock was a scribe for Willard Richards and Joseph Smith and served as Nauvoo City recorder.¹⁸ William Clayton served as Joseph Smith’s secretary and played a major role in the preparation of the Prophet’s history. He was also temple recorder, clerk and recorder for the Nauvoo City Council, secretary pro tem of the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, and city treasurer for Nauvoo.¹⁹ Clayton’s Nauvoo journal is an important source for Latter-day Saint history, as are the Thomas Bullock diaries recently acquired by Brigham Young University. George D. Watt, who would later be responsible for the preservation of a generation of Latter-day Saint sermons through his skill in shorthand, taught that skill in Nauvoo, and, beginning in the spring of 1845, recorded minutes of important proceedings, including the trial of the assassins of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.²⁰

The arts benefited by the infusion of talent from the British Isles. William Pitt's brass band enlivened Nauvoo.²¹ Portrait painter William W. Major and artist Sutcliffe Maudsley were welcome additions to the city.²² John M. Kay was in great demand for the entertainment of visitors as a vocal soloist and instrumentalist.²³ Alexander Neibaur, a native of Alsace–Lorraine who was converted in the British Isles, taught German and Hebrew to Joseph Smith.²⁴

Relatively few British Latter-day Saint immigrants held administrative or leadership positions in the Church or in the community. John Benbow was one of fifteen trustees for the Mercantile and Mechanical Association of Nauvoo.²⁵ William Clayton served briefly on the Zarahemla Stake high council and later as stake clerk before moving to Nauvoo.²⁶

In addition, the British immigrants seem to have had relatively little impact in the political sphere, aside from the advantages and disadvantages of helping to make Nauvoo as large as it was. Many of them did not become American citizens until several years after immigrating.²⁷ Except for Thomas Bullock and William Clayton, their names are scarce among local officeholders. The Council of Fifty, responsible for planning and carrying out Joseph Smith's 1844 campaign for the presidency of the United States and eventually for preparing for the Latter-day Saint exodus from Nauvoo, included only one British Latter-day Saint immigrant during the Nauvoo period. This was William Clayton, who served as clerk.²⁸

In their survey of Church history, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, James Allen and Glen Leonard estimate that nearly one-fourth of Nauvoo's population consisted of British Latter-day Saint immigrants.²⁹ The detailed research of Susan Easton Black concurs with this estimate.³⁰ Clearly, the British Latter-day Saint immigrants constituted a relatively large segment of Nauvoo's population.

To get a sense of the grass-roots involvement of the British Latter-day Saint immigrants in community-related affairs, I have compared passenger lists of the immigrants with membership lists of the Nauvoo Relief Society and the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge. This comparison made possible a preliminary identification of British Latter-day Saint immigrants affiliated with each organization. The passenger lists that can be located account for only two-thirds of the immigrants. Listings exist for 100 percent of the immigrants in 1840, 54 percent in 1841, 43 percent in 1842, 76 percent in 1843, 22 percent in 1844, and 100 percent in 1845. Although the lack of documentation for one-third of the immigrants allows only a rough estimate, this comparison is still useful in learning something about British Latter-day Saint immigrant activities in Nauvoo.³¹

Nauvoo Relief Society records list nearly 1,300 members by name and indicate that the society had between 1,300 and 1,400 members before it ceased to function in the spring of 1844.³² Of these, no more than about 70 can be identified from the passenger lists as British Latter-day Saint immigrants. Adding half that number again to compensate for the missing passenger lists, we estimate that about 105 British Latter-day Saint immigrants were members of the Nauvoo Relief Society. This figure is only about 8 percent of the Relief Society enrollment, or one member in twelve. The estimate may be slightly low because some women who arrived in Nauvoo before they married may have joined the Relief Society under their married names, which in most cases I have not identified. But even if as many as 50 women joined Relief Society on that basis, still only 12 percent—one in eight—of the Nauvoo Relief Society members would have been British immigrants, suggesting a much lower rate of Relief Society participation for British Latter-day Saint immigrants than for their neighbors.

In a preliminary membership survey which matches the names on passenger lists with those on the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge's records, I identified 57 British immigrants to Nauvoo among the 1,354 men associated with the lodge.³³ This number probably accounts for only two-thirds of the actual number of British immigrants to Nauvoo who were lodge members; thus about 86 of the British Latter-day Saint immigrants joined the Masonic lodge—just over 6 percent of the lodge's membership, or about one in sixteen.

Immigrants living away from the city were at some disadvantage with respect to activities available in Nauvoo. The apparently low rate of participation of British Latter-day Saint immigrants in two organizations that played such significant roles in the social and religious life of the community raises several interesting questions which can only be outlined here in hopes that further study may help shed additional light on Nauvoo's social and religious history. How many of the immigrants actually lived in Nauvoo or in close enough proximity to attend meetings regularly? For example, living in the Big Mound Settlement, John Marriott was not a member of the Masonic Lodge, nor was his wife Susan a member of the Nauvoo Relief Society. Many British-American Saints relocated from Iowa and Warren to Nauvoo, but how many lived in the city and how many in the surrounding countryside, at least throughout Hancock County? Aside from the fact that they were not the earliest settlers, are the reasons so many British immigrants settled outside Nauvoo itself understood sufficiently?

How many British Latter-day Saint immigrants never settled in Nauvoo and vicinity? Defections from the ranks sometimes

occurred before the immigrants ever set foot on Nauvoo soil. For example, in 1841 about thirty passengers of the *Sheffield* remained at St. Louis, having become disaffected through reports they heard about Nauvoo.³⁴ How many others abandoned their goal en route?

How many British immigrants and other residents left Nauvoo before the exodus? Could Nauvoo have had a more fluid population than may have been thought?

Were the British immigrants less inclined than their American neighbors to join such organizations as Relief Society and Masonry? The urgent requirements of making a living and establishing a home in a new country may have dominated their time to the exclusion of organizational activities, particularly if, as a general rule, their financial situation was precarious.

Were the immigrants less frequently invited to join these organizations? Were significant social barriers, or perhaps just social distances, connected with Nauvoo's differences in national origin? How important were kinship networks and older friendship networks in establishing access to these organizations, which apparently remained fraternal and sororal in nature despite the size they attained? Many may have mistakenly attributed a more open, even democratic, approach to the recruitment process of these organizations than was actually the case.

Participation in temple-related ceremonies was another significant facet of life for many in Nauvoo. Three British Latter-day Saint immigrants were among 88 Saints who received their endowments before the Nauvoo Temple was opened for the ordinances. These were Jenetta Richards and William and Ruth Clayton.³⁵ In Nauvoo Temple records, places of birth are listed for many of the more than 5,600 individuals who received their endowments in the temple.³⁶ A comparison of these with passenger lists reveals that 216 of the British-born endowed were British Latter-day Saint immigrants. From among the relatively large number of persons for whom no birthplace is given, 81 can be tentatively identified as British immigrants to Nauvoo. If about 150 are added, in proportion to the passenger lists that are lacking, the estimated total of 450 indicates a remarkably low immigrant participation in relation to the total number of endowments. Apparently only about 8 percent of those endowed in the Nauvoo Temple were British Latter-day Saint immigrants—fewer than one in twelve.

The relatively low participation of British-American Latter-day Saints in temple ordinances raises questions about religious observance and belief. In June 1843 Joseph Smith taught that the purpose of the gathering was to build a temple and to go there to

learn the “ways of salvation” and participate in vital ordinances.³⁷ Why, then, did relatively few of the immigrants participate in something so central to the very reason for which their immigration was encouraged? For some, distance from Nauvoo may have hindered participation in temple ordinances since endowments in the temple were performed only for a period of nine weeks, from 10 December 1845 through 8 February 1846. However, although distance may have been a factor, it is not a sufficient explanation. Were the immigrants less likely to pay tithing—a prerequisite for temple ordinances—than others?³⁸ Were the immigrants as a rule poorer than their American neighbors?

The British Latter-day Saint immigrants’ relatively low level of participation in temple work, Relief Society, and Masonry does not necessarily demonstrate disaffection from the Latter-day Saint Church’s doctrine and leadership in Nauvoo. One indicator of their later loyalty and commitment to the Church, under the leadership of the Quorum of the Twelve, would be the extent to which they followed Brigham Young and the Twelve in the trek west from Nauvoo. Black’s data for early Latter-day Saint membership could eventually provide data on that subject, but no study to this point addresses the question.³⁹

British immigrant Latter-day Saints maintained a relatively low profile in Nauvoo. Individuals who had been leaders in the British Isles were not so prominent in Nauvoo. Thomas Kington, leader of the United Brethren, who was converted by Wilford Woodruff and others, was conference president and an outstanding missionary in the British Isles, but little is heard of him in the Nauvoo period. Like many of his fellow British immigrants, he lived outside Nauvoo itself, six miles from the city. Later, in Utah he became bishop of the settlement at South Weber.⁴⁰ Second in authority to Kington in the United Brethren had been Thomas Henry Clark, who led a company of Latter-day Saint immigrants to Nauvoo in 1841. Little is known of Clark in Nauvoo; he eventually presided over a ward in Grantsville, Utah.⁴¹

Others had not yet come into their own in Nauvoo. The orphaned George Q. Cannon learned much in the household of his uncle, Elder John Taylor, and in Taylor’s *Times and Seasons* print shop. Later, as a publisher and as counselor in the First Presidency, he made use of what he had learned in Nauvoo.⁴² Many immigrants were like Cannon in several respects, serving apprenticeships in Nauvoo, as it were, in preparation for larger roles thereafter.

After the decision was made for the Latter-day Saints to leave Nauvoo, British immigrants were among those who helped prepare for the exodus. Richard Ballantyne managed the Coach and

Carriage Manufacturing Company, which built many of the wagons used in the trek west.⁴³ British Saints like Charles Lambert helped defend the city in the September 1846 Battle of Nauvoo, using makeshift cannons they improvised from steamboat shafts.⁴⁴ Many were like Thomas Bullock; sick, weak, and hungry, they were forced to join the last evacuees. They later experienced the miracle of the quail that provided food on the Iowa side of the Mississippi.⁴⁵

The transplanting of British Latter-day Saints to American soil in Nauvoo involved thousands of individuals in a process somewhat analogous to the plant world. For a time, the operation had a dampening effect on visible growth and performance. Most of the immigrants had been Latter-day Saints for only a relatively short period. During this interlude it was necessary for these immigrants to establish their roots more firmly, while many others who had associated as fellow church members in America for years had already developed extensive support systems. In time, many of the British Latter-day Saint immigrants whose growth in Nauvoo had been less evident would become fully productive participants in the Mountain West and in missions further afield. Integration would be facilitated by the shared experiences of crossing the plains and establishing communities together. A new frontier setting would provide better opportunity for an open society. But that is another chapter beyond Nauvoo.

NOTES

¹Emma Smith, comp., *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of the Latter Day Saints* (1835; and reprint [Independence, Mo.]: Herald Heritage, 1973), hymn 35, stanza 1.

²Emma Smith, *Sacred Hymns*, hymn 35, stanza 10.

³The focus of this study is on Latter-day Saints who converted in the British Isles and then immigrated to Nauvoo. Apparently the Nauvoo experience of other British immigrants, whose conversion to Mormonism came in Canada or the United States, tended to be somewhat different from that of the new convert-immigrants.

⁴Estimates based on Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890*, University of Utah Publications in the American West, 17 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 148–49; on Andrew Jenson and others, comp., “Church Emigration” (4 vols., typescript), Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), vol. 1; and on my own examination of passenger lists from the following series: 1. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (hereafter, USINS), Port of New Orleans, passenger lists for arriving vessels; 2. USINS, Port of New Orleans, abstracts of passenger lists for arriving vessels; and 3. USINS, Port of New York, passenger lists for arriving vessels.

⁵Joseph Smith to Oliver Granger, 4 May 1841, in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 494.

⁶George Miller, *Correspondence of Bishop George Miller with the Northern Islander from His First Acquaintance with Mormonism up to near the Close of His Life, 1855*, cited in Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 145.

⁷Kate B. Carter, ed., “Journal of Mary Ann Weston Maughan,” *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1959), 2:363 (hereafter cited as Maughan Journal).

⁸Maughan Journal, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 2:363–64.

⁹Myron W. McIntyre and Noel R. Barton, eds., *Christopher Layton* (Salt Lake City: Christopher Layton Family Organization, [ca. 1966]), 9–13. See also Richard L. Jensen, “J. Willard Marriott’s Ancestors,” *Task Papers in LDS History*, no. 32, January 1980.

¹⁰Marshall Hamilton, “‘Money-Diggersville’—The Brief, Turbulent History of the Mormon Town of Warren,” *The John Whitmer Association Journal* 9 (1988): 49–58; and Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 53–55.

¹¹*Millennial Star* 1:255, 268–69, 269–73.

¹²“Another Old Veteran Gone,” unpublished obituary for Thomas Bullock, LDS Church Archives.

¹³Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85), 2:92 (19 April 1841).

¹⁴Mervin B. Hogan, “The Vital Statistics of Nauvoo Lodge,” unpublished paper, Research Lodge #2 (Des Moines, Iowa, June 1976), LDS Church Archives, 71, 86, 100.

¹⁵Maughan Journal, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 2:368.

¹⁶Frederick S. Buchanan, “Robert Lang Campbell: ‘A Wise Scribe in Israel’ and Schoolman to the Saints,” *BYU Studies* 29 (Summer 1989): 16–17; and Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (1901–36; reprint, Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 3:613.

¹⁷David Candland Journal, photocopy of holograph, Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

¹⁸Thomas Bullock autobiographical sketch, ca. 1845, Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, Seventies Quorum Records, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁹James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), especially 79–80, 105, 115, 121.

²⁰*Times and Seasons* 6:871; and Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1932–51), 7:394, 404, 421–25 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). A biography of George D. Watt is currently being prepared by a descendant, Ronald G. Watt.

²¹Kate B. Carter, ed., “Early Bands and Leaders,” *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1977), 20:70–71.

²²Hogan, “Vital Statistics of Nauvoo Lodge,” 92, 93.

²³Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 3:661.

²⁴“Alexander Neibaur,” *Utah Genealogical & Historical Magazine* 5 (April 1914): 56.

²⁵D. Michael Quinn, “The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945,” *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 169, n. 27.

²⁶*History of the Church* 4:352, 382.

²⁷A copy of the document certifying Peter Maughan’s application for citizenship, filed 3 May 1848, suggests that a two-year waiting period after application was common practice (Maughan Journal, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 2:371).

²⁸Quinn, “The Council of Fifty and Its Members,” 163–97. Quinn’s article includes a list of all known members of the council during the time period involved.

²⁹James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 146. Allen and Leonard state that the British immigration “boosted the population of Nauvoo by nearly one-third.” Thus the British immigrants comprised one-fourth of the total population.

³⁰Susan Easton Black, “New Insights Replace Old Traditions: Membership of the Church in Nauvoo, 1839–1846,” paper presented at the symposium “Nauvoo, the City of Joseph,” Brigham Young University, 21 September 1989.

³¹Passenger lists generally provide name, age, sex, occupation, country of origin, and country (sometimes state) of destination. Some passenger lists, particularly the abstracts, are less complete, sometimes listing initials rather than given names, and rarely giving occupations. The absence of passenger lists for larger numbers of immigrants in certain years complicates efforts to provide meaningful estimates. However, the pattern of generalizations indicated by this study seems strong enough to warrant the use of this approach, though with some caution.

³²Minutes of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, original in custody of the Relief Society General Presidency, Salt Lake City, Utah, copy in possession of Maureen Ursenbach Beecher. Members accepted into the Relief Society are listed in the order in which they were admitted. Only names are listed; no personal data is given. The estimate of between 1,300 and 1,400 members is the final item in the minutes as part of an undated entry apparently made in March 1844.

³³Hogan, “Vital Statistics of Nauvoo Lodge.” This source provides date of application for membership, name, age, occupation, town of residence, date of acceptance or rejection, and other data concerning any nonroutine matters in the processing of applications. A few entries contain only partial information. I found 24 applicants listed whose applications were never approved; they are not included among the 1,354 members. In this index Mervyn Hogan also lists 50 Latter-day Saints known to have been affiliated with three other lodges. As far as I could determine, none were British Latter-day Saint immigrants.

³⁴Jenson, "Church Emigration," vol. 1.

³⁵Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), 102–3.

³⁶Nauvoo Temple Endowment Record, 1845–46, microfilm copy, Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

³⁷Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, comps., *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980): 209–16, citing Joseph Smith Diary by Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff Journal, Franklin D. Richards's "Scriptural Items," and Eliza R. Snow Diary, all for 11 June 1843.

³⁸Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, 206–8; and *History of the Church* 7:292–93, 301.

³⁹Dean L. May estimated that about 38 percent of the Latter-day Saints who joined in the westward trek and went at least as far as western Iowa by 1850 were recent immigrants from the British Isles. Dean L. May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830–1983," in *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective*, ed. Thomas G. Alexander and Jessie L. Embry, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, no. 13 ([Provo, Utah]: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, 1983), 46–50. May's focus, however, was on British who immigrated after the exodus began and did not include immigrants to Nauvoo. May's estimate was unfortunately distorted by his inclusion of immigrants for two years beyond the period under consideration. Without those extra immigrants, using May's statistics and following his procedures, I estimate that the post-Nauvoo British Latter-day Saint immigrants and their offspring could have constituted about 24 percent of the Latter-day Saint westering population in 1850.

⁴⁰V. Ben Bloxham, "The Apostolic Foundations, 1840–1841," in V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987* (Solihull, England: Corporation of the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 136–37, 143–44; and Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 2:348 (3 February 1844); 2:291–92 (30 November 1854).

⁴¹Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:547.

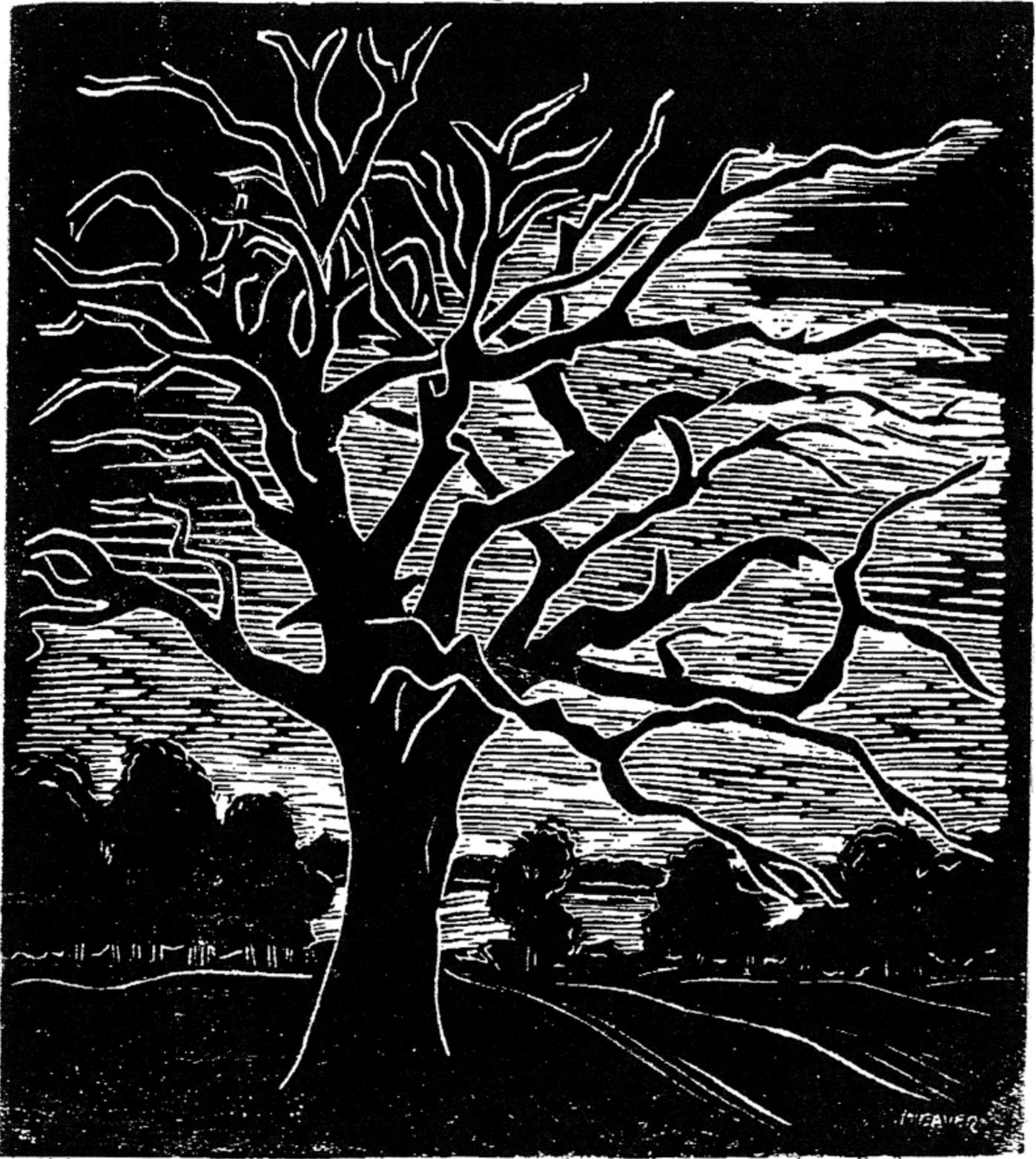
⁴²Beatrice Cannon Evans and Janath Russell Cannon, *Cannon Family Historical Treasury* (Salt Lake City: George Cannon Family Association, 1967), 85–117; for Cannon's Nauvoo apprenticeship, see especially 88.

⁴³Conway B. Sonne, *Knight of the Kingdom: The Story of Richard Ballantyne* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1949), 28, 35.

⁴⁴Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 2:779.

⁴⁵Thomas Bullock, "Letter from the Camp to Elder Franklin Richards," *Millennial Star* 10 (15 January 1848): 28–30. This undated letter from Winter Quarters was written ca. 1 December 1847.

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Manoo'83

Grading Tree Oak

Mad. Williams

The Historians Corner

Edited by Ronald W. Walker

To give yet another variation on this issue's Nauvoo theme, "The Historians Corner" includes letters written by two Nauvoo immigrants, who reveal the feelings and everyday concerns of "typical" Saints and citizens. The letters have been edited by Glen M. Leonard, coauthor of *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*.

Not all who came to Nauvoo found their hopes fulfilled. But as Leonard's documents show, many found their new home to their liking. They were impressed not only by its promised bounty, but also by the community's spirit and religious teaching. We will not fully understand the Mormon city on the Mississippi without this view.

Leonard, whose Farmington home lies on ground owned and settled by Truman Leonard, his pioneer progenitor, is currently preparing for publication a collection of Nauvoo letters and a history of Nauvoo.

Letters Home: The Immigrant View from Nauvoo

Glen M. Leonard

The arrival of immigrants was a persistent aspect of Nauvoo life during the time the Latter-day Saints made the City Beautiful their headquarters. From its beginning with an influx of exiled Missouri Saints, Nauvoo was a city constantly adjusting to newcomers. Its rapid growth burgeoned when English converts joined the gathering to Nauvoo. The first converts departed Liverpool in June 1840 on the *Britannia* bound for New York City.¹ New Orleans soon became the ocean port of favor, and the Saints completed the journey on Mississippi steamers. Meanwhile, Latter-day Saints in Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Upper Canada, and many other places headed overland and along river routes in response to Joseph Smith's call to gather to Nauvoo.² The process was never ending. Even as Brigham Young

and the Twelve led an exodus into the western wilderness, members continued to gather to Nauvoo, transforming it from a destination point to a staging center for the trek west.

The thousands of immigrants drawn to Nauvoo arrived with expectations and concerns. For many, settling there would afford the first opportunity to meet the Prophet and hear his discourses—a spiritual highlight of their lives.³ The Saints also looked forward to the promised temple blessings. They gathered to help build the temple and to receive their endowments and sealings. But sacrifices for religious benefits were accompanied by economic concerns. Many Saints, especially those from the British Isles, left their homelands expecting financial betterment. Even relocating Americans expressed hopes that Nauvoo's prosperity would benefit their own families. Some Latter-day Saints hesitated to respond to the spirit of the gathering because of the unknowns of the Mississippi frontier. Could they recover losses from selling their established farms or businesses? Was the cost of moving across an ocean or half a continent worthwhile? They sought reliable information on such questions. While they found some advice in Church publications, they turned mostly to friends and relatives who had already made the trip.⁴

Letters home from Nauvoo typically followed a pattern. For the recent arrival, the first letter written to kinfolk who had been left behind contained news of family members and friends, details on the ordeals of the trip, and reports on conditions in the new Zion. The messages generally encouraged others to follow. Two such letters from new immigrants to Nauvoo are reproduced below. Both were written to relatives, responding to the typical questions a newcomer might be expected to answer for curious relatives. Both letters reveal much of what first caught the attention of those who relocated to Nauvoo. The first letter was penned in May 1841 by Edward Hunter and sent to his uncle, Edward Hunter (Presiding Bishop from 1851 to 1883) who was still living in his native Pennsylvania. The second, from James Jones, an English immigrant, was written in June 1844 to his married son Henry (age twenty-nine) and other relatives in England.

In a succinct letter to his “respected uncle” in Chester County, Pennsylvania (just outside Philadelphia), twenty-year-old Edward Hunter⁵ captures the essence of Nauvoo's public life. In short sentences that move quickly from one subject to another, Hunter touches almost every topic of conversation of the day. A skilled observer, he is precise and accurate in detail. Although most immigrants writing home expanded on their subjects, Hunter merely outlines a dozen or so topics, an index to activities of the

time: Nauvoo's site, her growth, her people, the purposes of the militia, the size of the immigration, progress on the temple and the Nauvoo House, living costs, health, his own plans and feelings, and advice to immigrants. He concludes with his testimony and a report on the new practice of proxy baptism. Although he does not elaborate on his observations, Edward Hunter's notes from Nauvoo provide a worthy overview of the city in the spring of 1841.

The letter is reproduced, with one minor correction, from a typescript prepared by donors of the Edward Hunter Collection at Brigham Young University and with permission of the BYU Archives and Manuscripts Section.

City of Nauvoo, May 6, 1841

Respected Uncle:

I arrived here last Saturday [May 1] after a tedious journey of three weeks from the time I left Philadelphia.⁶ I am well at present and I hope that these lines will find you enjoying the same blessings. Nauvoo is situated in a very pleasant place.⁷ The soil is of the first quality and improvements are going on at a rapid rate.

I should suppose that there is something like 400 houses here and the chief has been created in the short space of two years.⁸

The brethren seem very kind.

They have a battalion of men here called the Nauvoo Legion. They are determined that they will no more submit to mobs. They can raise 700 men, efficient for military duty already.⁹

There have something like 400 brethren arrived here in about a fortnight. Some from England, others from Kentucky, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Philadelphia, etc.

The corner stones of the temple have been laid. The Nauvoo House is to be commenced immediately.¹⁰

Board here is \$2.50 per week.

It is quite sickly here. Several have died within a few weeks with the winter fever and dysentery. Fever and ague is quite prevalent here.¹¹

I'm going up the Mississippi River about 600 miles to help get timber for the Nauvoo House.¹² I get \$20 per month and board, and take my pay in land as money here is very scarce.

I am very well pleased with the place; it exceeds my expectation. Capitalists is wanted here very bad. I should like you to come out here after the harvest if you can and see the place. Any person bringing \$2,000 here could, I think, in a few years double the same.¹³

I do not feel anything like denying the faith, but I hope through my service to increase it. Baptism for the dead is going on here every week, more or less. There was 450 baptized last fast day week, and yesterday I saw Brother [William I.] Appleby from New Jersey baptized 34 times for his departed relatives.¹⁴

No more at present, but I remain yours, etc.,

Edward Hunter

The second letter is a more reflective response to Nauvoo from James Jones,¹⁵ an English immigrant of 1844. Jones, age fifty, of Alfrick (about seven miles west of Worcester, Worcestershire), suffered many of the personal sacrifices often required of those gathering with the Saints. Yet for him the effort brought compensating rewards. Long-distance travel by ship and riverboat, friends and possessions left behind, a wife buried at sea—all of these tests of faith faded against what the new land offered in economic and spiritual rewards. Friends, children, abundant land, saving ordinances, a living prophet—these were among the benefits of the gathering for Jones and his family.

Although the trip from England meant the loss of his wife en route, Jones was consoled by the promise of a proxy temple sealing. Although he left many friends behind, he found a kindly reception by the American foreigners. And in his mind Old England offered nothing to compare with the promise of prosperity in a new land of abundance. Jones freely and soberly shares his feelings on these and other subjects in four surviving letters to Henry.

The first letter, written from New Orleans on 8 March 1844, describes the ocean voyage and reports the death of his forty-six-year-old wife, Mary. Jones had left Liverpool 23 January 1844, aboard the Yankee bark *Fanny* with a company of 210 Latter-day Saints under William Kay. Just south of the east tip of Puerto Rico, Mary died on 19 February 1844 and was buried at sea the next day.¹⁶

The rest of the company reached New Orleans early on the morning of 7 March 1844. At New Orleans, Kay, Jones, and many others in the party transferred to the Mormon riverboat *Maid of Iowa* commanded by its Welsh half-owner, Captain Dan Jones.¹⁷

In the letter reproduced below, dated 10 June 1844, James Jones exudes confidence about the gospel and his new life. Repeatedly he reaffirms his own faith and encourages his son to believe. Four of the children who accompanied him to Nauvoo—John, age twenty-two; Herbert, age twenty; Mary, age seventeen; and Hannah, age twelve—lived with him. Another son, Peter, age twenty-four, worked away. The family lived on a ten-acre farm at the Great Mound, six miles east of Nauvoo;¹⁸ his cultivated property promised abundant crops. Among his neighbors were the John Benbow, William Benbow, and John Kay families, fellow English converts. The Benbows lived near each other and more than two miles south of the Mound, the Kays within a mile of Jones. Some time before October 1845, an ailing Jones moved in with the Kays but was under his daughters' care.

In his third letter (19 October 1845), Jones picks up a theme introduced in the June 1844 letter, which responds in part to correspondence from his son Henry in England. Henry had joined the Latter-day Saints but then reaffiliated with his former religion. His doubts about "Mormonism" kept him from leaving his native England, and he blamed the Church for separating the family. Henry's brother, James, Jr. (1817–1892), also remained in England as did the brothers and sisters of the senior James. The letters reveal the pain of separation that never fully left the immigrant James Jones, nor as long as he lived did he cease his efforts to encourage his family to gather to Zion.

In his last letter home from Nauvoo written on 19 May 1846 while he prepared to depart for the West, Jones repeats his conviction in his conversion and attempts once more to reconcile Henry to the faith. By this time, Jones had remarried. He identifies his new wife only as the widow of John Cole, an old neighbor from Froomes Hill. Countering this happy family news was a sobering report. Two of three sons who had accompanied Jones to America, John and Herbert, had sought work in St. Louis contrary to their father's advice and had died in 1844 from illnesses contracted there. Jones himself died before reaching Utah.¹⁹

For Jones, the restored gospel offered personal blessings, and in the following letter he shares his heartfelt testimony with his son, Henry, who had promised to join his father in Nauvoo. James reminds him of the promise. To build trust in his skeptical son, Jones offers a frank profile of the residents of the new land. He speaks

openly about his and other English immigrants' spiritual and economic progress. He offers practical advice on what to bring and what to buy in America. Although he wrote on the day of the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, Jones was too far removed from Nauvoo to have heard of it yet. Nor was he much interested in reporting such things. Unlike the newsy brief of young Edward Hunter, Jones's correspondence home is deeply personal, yet meaningful in a broader scope as well. The letter is a prime example of the importance of eternal family ties to the Saints and of the optimism retained by many immigrants amidst personal sacrifice.

The letter is published by permission of the Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, from an original manuscript. For ease of reading, punctuation (almost totally absent in the original) and paragraphing have been added and capitalization standardized. The original spelling is preserved. Jones writes like his speech must have sounded, with the absence of an occasional *h* where his American neighbors would expect one. Jones also consistently writes *here* or even *hear* when he apparently means *there*. To avoid a misreading, these are corrected by added punctuation (*as*, meaning *has*, becomes *'as*) or bracketed insertions (*been* [i.e., *being*]).

Near Nauvoo, June 10, 1844

My Dear Henry:

I take the oppertunity of writing a few lines to give you such information as you requested me to do when you wrote to me while I was stopping at Liverpool. Respecting our journey over the sea, as I said before, the voyage was as prosperous as any people ever had, I beli[e]ve, that crossed the great Atlantic,²⁰ but still my sorrows and troubles was very great, I mean in the severe and unrepairable loss of loosing her that was dearer to me than my own life. But still it chears and makes me happy in my great bereavment, knowing as I do that she died in the faith and that the glorious time is nigh when I shall, if I prove faithfull, receive her not as a mortal creature but immortal and enjoy her society forever.

Hear [there] 'as been a glorious principle taught that have [*sic*] been revealed from the Lord to the Prophet of been [being] sealed for eternity to those that

have lost their partners, and without this sealing power no one can claim their bosom friends in another world, as the law by wich myself and most [?] beside me was only bound together for the term of our natural life, consequently we could have no claim on them in a future state. I have been with some of the heads of the Church respecting attending to this ordinance, but it 'as not been done as yet. Wether it can be done before the Temple of the Lord is finished I cannot tell as yet, but I assure you I am very anxious about it.²¹

Hear [there] are many glorious truths taught here which makes my very heart rejoice, things that we never heard of in England.²² [T]here are such men here that their fellows are not to be found in the known world, men taught by the Lord and [who] teach and preach with power and in the demonstration of the Spirit as patriarchs, prophets, and apostles did of old, and these things are manifest to every honest-hearted man or woman that will enquire after truth. I know that this is the work of the Lord. I know that it is the will of the Lord that every honest-hearted person must be to come here, for there is no other place of salvation for the human family.

I sincerely hope, dear Henry, you will come very soon and bring James with you as you promised you would. You would find that this place would suit you well, both for your temporal welfare and spiritual instruction, as this is a place of freedom. Indeed, it is a free country, and this do very much please and delight me to live as a free man amongst a free people. I am very pleased with the customs and manners of the Americans. I mean those not only in the Church, but those out of the same, generally speaking, are a generous and inteligent people. You will find them a[n] open-hearted kind [people], not possessing that proud, haughty, and mean spirit that you find so prevalent among the English. The rich here do not look down with a frown upon those that are poorer than themselves but treat them with familiarity and kindness. Indeed I find myself already at home at America and would not come back to spend by life in England, not for all its boasted pomp and fals[e] show.

Not that I should dread the journey in the least in crossing the sea. We arived here on the 13th day of April.²³ We had a very tedious journey in coming up the river. The boat was a great deal to[o] small for the company, and luggage been [being] over loaded, the shaft of the water weel broke 3 times, which hindered us very much, but, although it was so, we arrived here in health and safety and continue to enjoy better health than what we did in England. We found friends to take us in in the city where we stayed about a fortnight. Peter whent up or down the country to look [for] work from Nauvoo and we have not heard from him since. He was well then. John, Herbert, Mary, and Hannah are all living with me and seem to enjoy themselves very much. We have been very busy since we came here.

Brother Ingram, late of Worcester, when he came over last spring, built him a small house on what they call a patent quarter, been [being] land owned by someone at a distant, and people build upon it, and should the owner come, it is customary to pay for the improvements or the person give something for the land and have a title to it. He had not inclosed any land to it in consequence of haveing presented unto him a better chance of doing. He hearing of my being come, sent to me, and I gave him a trifle for his house and have inclosed, since I came, about 2 acres of land and have got most of it planted with potatoes, beans, peas, corn, melons, cucumbers, etc., and the crop is looking very promising, which is a great deal more than I anticipated, been [being] so late when we came here, but the land in this country is so very rich that is [it] forces the crop astonishingly.

I believe that the land in this country is the pleasantest and richest in the whole world, and not only so but the prospect is beautifull and will soon be the joy of the whole world. I have bought 10 acres of land at the Great Mound and I intend to build [a] shanty. Likewise the water is excelent. It is very easey to find good springs with very little expence by diging about 12 or 14 feet, but we have a beautifull runing spring on the premises where we live, as good, I think, as any I ever drank. We have got a cow and calf. John and Herbert

bought it. A[n] Englishman told if she was in England, [she] would be worth £14. It is a first rate one and she is very usefull to us and costs us nothing in the keep, as [t]here is grass plenty, and it would astonish you to see the quantities that are kept here. It is about 6 miles from the city where we live, but [t]here are a great quantities of inhabitants here. It is not lonely at all.

I think the best for you would be to have some land and bring with you what things are usefull, and bring some lasts, hemp, saloon silk, wide cloth, cotton thread, pins, needles, etc., as these thing[s] will be very usefull, not that they are near so dear as they have been. You had best please yourself about bringing your gun. Riffles [rifles] are mostly used in this country, as people do not think what can be shot with a gun of any account. You can get a good riffle peice for £2. Things are to be got a great deal better than I could have thought, only been [being] a new country, money is very scarce hear. Here [there?] are abundance of stores where anything can be got, more suited to the country generally than what is made in England. There is plenty of houses and land in the city on high ground. The place is of more extent and importance than any one can conceive unless they have seen it.

I hope the day will soon dawn that I may have the pleasure of seeing you, James, your wife, and my dear little Henry, and Emma, [grandchildren] whom I love dearly. Give them a kiss apiece for me. I have many things to write but I must conclude. John, Herbert, Mary, and Hannah join with me in kind love and best wishes to you all and to John, Samuel, my brothers and sisters in the flesh.

And believe me to be ever your affectionate father,

James Jones

[The following notes appear along the edges of the first and second pages of the letter.]

Pleas to give our kind love to our brothers and sisters in the Covenant and all old acquaintances and enquiring friends.

I have now been told that Peter is at Warsaw.

I have seen Mr. and Mrs. [John] Benbow. They are believing firmly in the work and doing nobly, and enjoy themselves much. Please to write very soon. Direct [it] for me, near Nauvoo, and I shall have it, because the letters are advertised in the publick papers.

A peach tree will grow up in 3 years so as to bear fruit and from the stone.

When you write lett me know every particular and when you intend [to] start from England. January would be the best time.²⁴

Bring husbandry tools, and what seeds you please. Fruit tree[s] grow up very soon here, but you can get them in the woods wild.

NOTES

¹Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902–32), 4:134; hereafter cited as *History of the Church*. “At least thirty-two companies of British emigrants totaling nearly five thousand persons gathered to Nauvoo and comprised perhaps a quarter of its citizens by 1845” (Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965], 86).

²The call was emphasized on 24 May 1841, when the Prophet discontinued all stakes outside Hancock and Lee counties and encouraged all Saints to move to “this corner-stone of Zion. Here the Temple must be raised, . . . which can only be done by a concentration of energy and enterprise” (*History of the Church* 4:362).

³Examples of reactions from listeners are quoted in Truman G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 89–91.

⁴For a discussion of concerns and examples of advice offered, see Flanders, *Nauvoo*, 86–91.

⁵Edward Hunter (1821–1892), a son of William and Sarah Ann Davis Hunter, was baptized in Pennsylvania in June 1840, four months before his uncle. He married Mary Ann Whitesides (1825–1914), another Pennsylvania migrant to Nauvoo, on 18 November 1843. After the exodus, the couple lived in Grantsville, Tooele County, Utah (William E. Hunter, *Edward Hunter, Faithful Steward* [Salt Lake City: Mrs. Edward H. Hunter, 1970], 56, 334). Bishop Edward Hunter (1793–1883), a son of Edward and Hannah Maris Hunter, was a Pennsylvania native who prospered with his Chester County farm. Hunter had built a nondenominational seminary on his farm. During the winter of 1839–40, the Prophet stopped to preach there while on his way to Nauvoo from Washington, D.C. Orson Hyde baptized Edward Hunter in October 1840, while en route to Palestine (Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. [Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–36], 1:227–32).

⁶Edward traveled to Nauvoo with one of several groups from Chester County which made the trip in 1841. His group arrived 1 May 1841; others arrived in July and September (Hunter, 57).

⁷Hunter’s observation echoes the First Presidency proclamation of 15 January 1841, which notes, “The name of our city (Nauvoo,) is of Hebrew origin, and signifies a beautiful situation, or place, carrying with it, also, the idea of *rest*; and is truly descriptive of this most delightful situation (*Times and Seasons* 2 [15 January 1841]: 273–74; *History of the Church* 4:133).

⁸In January 1841, the First Presidency reported more than three thousand inhabitants in Nauvoo (*History of the Church* 4:268).

⁹By December 1842, the Nauvoo Legion was reporting 1,490 members. The Legion was formally organized by the City Council on 8 February 1841. It consisted of two cohorts subdivided into regiments, which initially contained six companies. Twelve additional companies were organized on 1 May, the day Hunter arrived in Nauvoo (*Times and Seasons* 3 [1 January 1842]: 654; *History of the Church* 4:293–94, 353; David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* [Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974], 98).

¹⁰The temple cornerstones were laid in ceremonies held on Tuesday, 6 April 1841. The Nauvoo House, a hotel for visitors, was authorized as a Church-supported venture in the 19 January 1841 revelation announcing the temple (D&C 124). A Nauvoo House Association to sponsor its construction was created by the Illinois Legislature on 23 February. Work began that summer but languished and was stopped in 1843 in favor of efforts on the temple, with the hotel's brick walls at the second floor (*History of the Church* 4:327, 276, 301–2; Flanders, *Nauvoo*, 158, 181–83, 189–90).

¹¹To correct misunderstandings about “the sickness which has prevailed in the summer months,” the First Presidency’s proclamation of 15 January 1841 quoted Dr. John C. Bennett’s opinion that only the northwestern portion of the city was afflicted by fever and ague. That situation, the doctor believed, “can be easily remedied by draining the sloughs on the adjacent islands in the Mississippi” (*History of the Church* 4:268).

¹²Peter Haws and Alpheus Cutler led a party to establish sawmills on the Black River in Wisconsin on 22 September 1841. The lumber was earmarked for the temple and the Nauvoo House, although—to the consternation of project trustee George Miller—some was diverted for workers’ homes (Flanders, *Nauvoo*, 158, 183–84).

¹³Uncle Edward Hunter did visit Nauvoo in September 1841 and purchased a farm and six building lots before returning east. He later wrote Joseph Smith about additional property and about business opportunities. In December 1841 the Prophet responded, encouraging Hunter to bring a steam engine for a sawmill even if others established competing businesses: “As respects steam engines and mills, my opinion is, we cannot have too many of them. . . . We have no good grain or board mill in this place; and most of our flour and lumber has to be brought twenty miles” (*History of the Church* 4:482). To encourage such enterprises, the state chartered The Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, a joint-stock corporation to promote flour and lumber mills and agriculture and husbandry (*History of the Church* 4:303–5). The elder Hunter sold his 550-acre Pennsylvania estate and moved to Nauvoo in June 1842, where he consecrated several thousand dollars to Church and industrial projects. According to family sources, he lost it all in the exodus to Utah (Hunter, *Edward Hunter*, 35–37, 57–58, 69–70, 82, 88).

¹⁴Proxy baptisms in the river began in September 1840 and continued until 3 October 1841. After dedication of a font in the temple on 8 November the ordinance was resumed there, beginning on 21 November (*Deseret News 1976 Church Almanac* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1976], G34; Miller and Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph*, 67).

¹⁵James Jones was born 14 March 1794, in Leigh, Sireton, Worcester, England, a son of Peter and Susannah Jones. After his marriage to Mary Jones (see n. 16) the family settled in her hometown of Alfrick and remained there until leaving for America. Jones was a bootmaker (Family Group Sheet, Family History Library, Salt Lake City).

¹⁶Mary Jones, daughter of Henry and Ann Jones, was born 14 December 1797, at Bower, Alfrick, Worcester (Family Group Sheet of James Jones, Family History Library). James told his son in the October letter that he obtained the exact latitude and longitude of his wife’s burial site from the ship’s captain so that he would know where to go on the morning of the resurrection to claim his eternal companion. William Kay reported her death and a second, “the youngest child of sister Greenhalgh, which died on Monday last,” in a 9 March 1844 letter to Reuben Hedlock, Church emigration agent in Liverpool (*Millennial Star* 4 [April 1844]: 202).

¹⁷Kay was delighted with the arrangement: “We have this morning the steamer alongside of us, and intend getting our luggage on board to day. I assure you we rejoiced exceedingly at the sight of the steamer, which was the *Maid of Iowa*, and at the thoughts of going up in a vessel belonging [to] the church, and commanded by an elder of the church, brother D. Jones” (*Millennial Star* 4 [April 1844]: 202). Jones was half-owner with Joseph Smith (on behalf of the Church) of the eighteen-month-old riverboat (Donald L. Enders, “The Steamboat *Maid of Iowa*: Mormon Mistress of the Mississippi,” *BYU Studies* 19 [Spring 1979]: 321, 326). Information on the ship *Fanny* is from Conway B. Sonne, *Ships, Saints, and Mariners: A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 75.

¹⁸The “Great Mound” or simply “the Mound,” is also known as the “Davis Mound,” after Amos Davis, a non-Mormon resident who built a home and barn atop the fifty-foot hill. It was a landmark on the road east from Nauvoo (Hancock County Historical Society Historic Sites Committee, comp., *Historic Sites and Structures of Hancock County, Illinois* [Carthage: Hancock County Historical Society, 1979], 162–69).

¹⁹Nauvoo sexton records list John’s death as 25 September and Herbert’s as 31 October 1844 (cited in *Nauvoo Deaths and Burials: Old Nauvoo Burial Ground* [Nauvoo:Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1990], 19). Family records say James died 8 August 1848, on the plains in Iowa (Family Group Sheet, Family History Library, Salt Lake City). The children in America did not lose touch with their brother after

their father's death. The Jones letters in the Church Archives are catalogued under Henry's name as receiver and include three others written to Henry: one from Salt Lake City by Peter and Hannah (1852) and two from Fillmore, Utah, by Hannah and Mary (1874 and 1895).

²⁰William Kay agreed with this assessment in almost identical words: "I believe that no people that ever crossed the Atlantic ever had a more prosperous voyage than the Lord has favoured us with. The captain and crew declare they never experienced such a passage before; but such a captain and crew for kindness I believe could scarcely be met with; his liberality exceeds all that ever came under our notice." The captain was especially helpful during Mrs. Jones's illness (*Millennial Star* 4 [April 1844]: 202).

²¹Nauvoo Temple records suggest that Jones was endowed on 31 January 1846. No record of a Nauvoo sealing has been located, but a proxy sealing was performed 23 January 1966. Sealing a living person to a deceased spouse was performed on a limited basis in Nauvoo. A few ordinances were performed on 9 October 1845, and others (after the temple was dedicated for that purpose) were performed from 7 January to 5 February 1846 (Family Group Sheet, Family History Library; *Deseret News 1976 Church Almanac*, G34).

²²Jones only hints at what these teachings might have been. The King Follett funeral discourse had been delivered on 7 April 1844. In another major discourse on 12 May, Joseph Smith spoke about his own prophetic calling, the resurrection, and the need for ordinances for both the living and the dead. Besides these sermons, the Prophet's public speaking during the time from mid-April to early June included denunciations of apostates who were accusing him of immorality because of private plural marriages (a 26 May discourse) and comments on government and his political campaign for U.S. President (see, for example, the same dates in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith* [Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980]; also see *History of the Church* 6:363–67, 408–12).

²³The *History of the Church* 6:333 records the party's arrival: "About 5 p.m., the 'Maid of Iowa' arrived at the Nauvoo House wharf, filled with passengers from England, led by William Kay. 210 souls started from Liverpool, and nearly all arrived in good health and spirits, one smaller company having previously arrived."

²⁴January was recommended as a departure time from Liverpool in order to avoid the hot, sickly months in New Orleans and on the Mississippi. As noted in Kay's letter, Jones's party further avoided New Orleans by transferring directly from the *Fanny* to the *Maid of Iowa* without landing at New Orleans. January through March became an almost exclusive departure time for the Liverpool-to-New Orleans route from 1849 to 1855 in order to reach Utah before winter (Kay, *Millennial Star* 4 [Apr. 1844]: 202; *Deseret News 1976 Church Almanac*, G2–3).

Max D. Weaver

D. R. Dant

To me, art is a personal way of life, unique in every respect to the individual artist. It embraces body, soul, and spirit. This is reflected in everything the artist does. Art is creativity and idea, the design, the material, and the process.

— Max D. Weaver

The painting reproduced on the front cover and the five prints in this issue testify to the manner in which the artist Max D. Weaver interweaves art and life. The painting and prints were produced from 1982 to 1984 while Max and his wife, Ruth, served a Church mission in Nauvoo; typically Max gave tours during his missionary shift and every other possible hour painted or made prints of old Nauvoo and related areas. Max's unflagging diligence as both a missionary and an artist is reflected in the jottings of two small notebooks he kept with him. On each left page he noted his off-duty activities for a week. Typical entries read:

Worked on Painting Flood along Mississippi R
Cultural Hall and Bakery—
Worked on Painting Where Missouri and Miss- River Meet
Delta Queen River Boat in it— [see the front cover]
Painted the printing press to make it easier to clean up
[The week of 17 January 1983]

Made Drawing Wilford Woodruff Home and Painted it in Pastel
16" x 20"
Worked on Oil Painting Nauvoo Temple 24" x 30"
worked it in Oil
Made Drawing 16" x 20" Blacksmith Shop and Painted it in Pastel
Worked on River Road Painting in Oils 18 x 24:
Worked on Painting Horton Lake 16" x 20" Pastel
Printed 5 Trading Tree Oaks 9" x 10" [see p. 88]
" 4 Delta Queen Boat 9" x 12"
" 6 Hills of Iowa 4 1/2 x 9"
Framed all Pastels to this Point and they look very good
Printed 36 Nauvoo 1846
Printed 36 Nauvoo 1846
Printed 36 Nauvoo Temple

Printed 60 Cardinals Presents for Nauvoo Missionaries
 [The week of 11 December 1983]

Printed Pastel 16" x 20" Jonathan Browning Home and Gun Shop
 [see p. 112 of this issue]

Drew & wood cut 5 x 7 cut and proofed and printed 22 Prints

Boxelder Tree just down west Lyon Drug Store—

Made drawing Keokuk Indian Village & Cut & Printed 25 Pts

Glazed 10 pots and fired 7 of them—To give away for Christmas

Drawing—Nauvoo Reflections

Cut and Printed 25 Prints

looks good—moody print but good

Drawing—Nauvoo Back-Country 5 x 7 Cut and Printed 25 prints

looks good—

Working on Japanese way of cutting blocks wood-plank grain

[The week of 18 December 1983]

On the right page of the notebooks Max listed his missionary activities: the number of people who took his religious-historical tours, the religious books he placed, and the number of prints he gave to the visitors on his tours. All told, Max gave a tour to 1,821 visitors, placed 56 Books of Mormon and 102 other books, produced 35 oil paintings and 10 pastels, cut 25 –5" x 7" wood and linoleum prints, and presented visitors with 3,426 copies of those prints. All the copies were printed by Max and his wife on a homemade press designed for rapid production (see the notebook entry for the week of 17 January 1983). The prints were in such demand that some visitors took Max's tour several times in order to develop their collection. In short, Max used his art to magnify his missionary labors and his mission to enhance his art.

Skilled in a variety of media, Max has exhibited his pottery, paintings, prints, jewelry, and crafts in many one-man shows throughout the Western United States and has won awards in all of these areas. Known by his former colleagues in the art department at Brigham Young University as a "Renaissance man," he commented, "I have had a good life. When I get tired of one thing, I can do another."

Book Reviews

JANET PETERSON and LARENE GAUNT. *Elect Ladies*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1990. ix; 229 pp. Appendixes, notes, index. \$10.95.

Reviewed by Mary Stovall Richards, an associate professor of history, Brigham Young University.

Latter-day Saint women's history is finally coming into its own as a mature, sophisticated field. No longer satisfying are the staples of much of the "first wave" of this history—vignettes about the first Latter-day Saint woman to attend medical school or to be invited to the White House, often written to prove that Latter-day Saint women were "there, too." As John Hope Franklin remarked to me years ago about Afro-American history, "Black history will finally have come of age when it no longer feels it necessary to chronicle the first black person to have gone ice fishing."

An equivalent maturation is occurring in the field of Latter-day Saint women's history. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Carol Cornwall Madsen, Jessie Embry, Jill Mulvay Derr, Lavina Fielding Anderson, Valeen Tippetts Avery, and Linda King Newell, among others, refuse to settle for simplistic stories stressing only women's presence. Women are no longer the objects of history but the subjects—powerful actors on the historical stage, not passive creatures at the mercy of circumstance. The women who emerge from the pages of these authors' histories are often maddeningly complex, defying any attempt to sum up their lives as faith-promoting parables which support worthy lessons for the gospel or contemporary feminism.

Thus *Elect Ladies*, by Janet Peterson and LaRene Gaunt, is disappointing because expectations for what it *could* have been are so high. It is, in many ways, an anachronism. Fifteen or even ten years ago it might have been hailed as pathbreaking simply for making available biographies of the Relief Society presidents, but now that the novelty of writing about the history of women has long worn off, we are demanding that such work not only exist but be done well. The political correctness of a subject cannot atone for poor scholarship.

This book, unfortunately, falls far short as serious history. Consisting of a competently written, short biography (fifteen to twenty pages) on each general president of the Relief Society from Emma Smith to Barbara Winder, *Elect Ladies* assumes the lineaments of scholarship but not the substance. Neither Peterson nor Gaunt is a trained historian, even at the undergraduate level, and their inexperience is apparent. While we should applaud their undertaking such a mammoth task and emerging with some pleasant sketches of the lives of the Relief Society presidents, serious historians will not only find little new here, but will also be annoyed by Peterson and Gaunt's historical errors and generous borrowing from others' work without full acknowledgment. Historians will also be distressed by many of the authors' interpretations of the more sensitive aspects of Church history.

The errors range from the mundane—assuming West Virginia existed in 1822, believing Church promotional literature that the *Woman's Exponent* was the second national women's magazine, and misspelling Sonia Johnson's name (62, 87, 172)—to the more serious. The authors misunderstand the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment and the resultant division in the woman's suffrage movement over support for that amendment, which defined citizenship and indirectly awarded black men the franchise but made no provision for women, either black or white. The formation in 1869 of the National Woman Suffrage Association by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton thus represented not a "rapidly gather[ing] momentum" for suffrage (86) but a fracturing of the movement as Anthony and Stanton, insisting that women be included, split from the more conservative Lucy Stone and Henry Ward Beecher, who subscribed to the "half a loaf" philosophy and supported the amendment even though women were omitted.

A more general concern arises from the authors' misunderstanding that proper scholarly acknowledgment is necessary for all ideas that are not their own, not just the direct quotations for which their footnotes are primarily reserved. Whole pages of exposition pass with nary a note to recognize those upon whose insights the authors are relying. The failure to cite completely leaves the general reader with an insufficient appreciation of the debt Peterson and Gaunt owe the work of other historians, particularly that of Maureen Beecher and Carol Madsen, whose analyses of Eliza R. Snow and Emmeline B. Wells, respectively, form much of this book's chapters on these women, which, ironically, are the strongest in the work.

Errors of fact and interpretation emerge in the first chapter on Emma Smith. Evidently written without reference to the Newell and Avery biography or to any of the numerous articles on Emma,

the chapter suffers from the authors' unwillingness to confront history boldly when that history might offend contemporary sensibilities. For example, after quoting several items from the 1842 Relief Society minutes to document the beginnings of that organization, Peterson and Gaunt inexplicably revert to an inaccurate secondary source for Joseph's bestowal of authority on the Relief Society. Thus the key is not turned "to you," as the minutes state, but turned "in your behalf" (4). Needless to say, the relationship between the temple endowment in Nauvoo and the bestowal of priesthood is not even mentioned. The authors are effective at recreating Emma's endurance through trials so long as those trials are conventionally acceptable. Their squeamishness about polygamy, however, causes them to gloss over the poignant irony of Nauvoo, since Joseph's involvement became the source of much of Emma's agony both in her personal life and with the Relief Society as she increasingly used the Relief Society as a vehicle to fight plural marriage. According to Peterson and Gaunt's work, polygamy had no role in either the demise of the Relief Society in Nauvoo or its twenty-year hiatus.

Similar problems plague the discussion of the life of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young, who was sealed to Joseph and then to Brigham while civilly married to Henry Jacobs. To their credit, the authors address this delicate issue, but their unwillingness to be forthright (even in a footnote) about early polyandry only leaves the uninformed reader deeply puzzled about the reasons for the practice. Further, their circumlocution produced the effect of maligning Henry Jacobs, who appears to have deserted his family after leaving on a mission during the trek west. Peterson and Gaunt fail to reveal that Brigham sent Henry away shortly after Brigham's marriage to Zina and that Henry, although rejected, continued to profess his love in letters to his wife.

An even more wrenching disjointedness emerges from the account of Amy Brown Lyman's life. Written in a tone of almost relentless cheerfulness, the chapter describes Amy as a paragon of industry, faith, and stoicism, and her marriage to Richard Lyman as one of unalloyed happiness. Then with no warning or context, the reader is told that in 1843 Richard, an Apostle, was excommunicated (141). Obviously, all was *not* well in the Lyman household. Such Pollyannaism does a disservice not only to the Lymans, but also to all the book's readers who faithfully (if naïvely) believe its pronouncements on the achievement of mortal perfection and then berate themselves for not reaching that same pinnacle.

Perhaps nowhere is this disjuncture between "pretty history" and the full story of contemporary events more apparent than in the

recounting of Barbara Smith's administration. Burdened with controversies, including the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), the International Women's Year (IWY) in 1977, and the excommunication of Sonia Johnson, her presidency was a time of ferment and crisis for many women in the Church. Yet, Peterson and Gaunt describe the building of the Nauvoo Monument to Women as one of Barbara Smith's greatest achievements. The irony is unintended and tragic; at a time when women desperately needed substantive help to cope with and transcend their pain, they were offered instead lifeless replications of perfect womanhood as the embodiment of the ideal to which they should strive. Nor do the authors mention the Church's mobilization of ward and stake Relief Societies to campaign against the ERA or even hint at the controversy surrounding the IWY in Utah.

One is tempted to conjecture that Peterson and Gaunt did not realize that by choosing to write about the presidents of the Relief Society they would inevitably be confronted with many sticky issues—not only polygamy, but also the role of family connections in callings to prominent Church office, the reduction of the power and autonomy of the Relief Society in the twentieth century, and the Church's largely negative reaction to the revival of feminism in the 1960s and 70s. To authors or a publisher anxious to avoid controversy, such a history is a mine field; to the readers of their efforts, however, the result is less than explosive.

ROGER VAN NOORD. *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988. xii, 335 pp. Notes, index. \$29.95.

Reviewed by James B. Allen, a professor of history, Brigham Young University.

Four months before the assassination of Joseph Smith, James J. Strang, formerly a professed atheist, hitched his wagon to Joseph Smith's star. Since childhood, Strang had dreamed of greatness and power, even of becoming a king, and when he saw all Joseph Smith had done, the possibilities for himself "with his cunning and far superior education" (6) seemed exciting. The death of his daughter in 1843 made Strang realize that his own life span was limited and that his ambitions might never be realized. Joseph Smith's career, however, rekindled his youthful dreams, and Joseph's assassination gave him an opportunity to seize power.

As soon as the Prophet was dead, Strang produced a letter, signed by Joseph Smith and dated nine days before the murder, appointing him as Joseph's successor. The letter was quickly followed by a visit from an angel, who showed him where six brass plates were buried and who gave him the Urim and Thummim. Strang took four witnesses with him to dig up the plates from under a tree, and he himself soon translated them. The "Rajah Manjou Plates" told the story of a survivor of a slain ancient people and prophesied of a forerunner (Joseph Smith) who would be killed and of a "mighty prophet" (Strang) who would follow him (35). Later Strang produced the *Book of the Law of the Lord*, which included an inspired translation from additional plates, called the Plates of Laban, containing "the most important parts of the law given to Moses" (97). Aggressive, impressive, and persuasive, Strang succeeded in gaining a following that included among its leaders two former Nauvoo Saints of questionable character: John C. Bennett and George J. Adams. These two became key actors in Strang's rise to power on Beaver Island in Lake Michigan.

Roger Van Noord brings admirable balance to the story of the rise and fall of the "King of Beaver Island." He shows respect, even admiration, for Strang's intellect, imagination, and skill as an orator and legislator. But he also shows that Strang was a conscious fraud who forged, or had forged, his original prophetic credentials as well as misled both followers and outsiders on many other issues. Although the narrative becomes tedious, at times, with long strings of facts or events and little interpretive analysis, it is nonetheless a fascinating tale, ending with a well thought-out interpretation of Strang's motives and impact.

Voree, Wisconsin, was designated as Strang's holy city, but internal conflict soon set in, apparently kindled by his deceptions and a secret order within the church. As Van Noord observes, "Those followers who were seeking a church centered around spiritual values were disillusioned, and many left the fold" (63). In the meantime Strang explored Beaver Island, found it to his liking, and in 1848–49 persuaded many of his flock to follow him there and purchase property. By the end of 1849 there were approximately 250 Strangites on the island. Strang himself purchased some property, although eventually he told the faithful that the land (mostly federal land) was theirs by right, as members of the Kingdom, regardless of the law. This attitude contributed to violent conflict with their non-Strangite neighbors.

Strang's first wife, Mary, followed him to Beaver Island, bore him children, and longed for him when he was gone. The reason for their eventual separation is not clear, although she greatly disliked island living as well as her husband's frequent absences. She left the island even before knowing for sure that he had taken another wife, though Van Noord suggests that there was plenty of evidence despite Strang's vehement denunciation of plural marriage and his constant denials of his own involvement.

Strang took his second wife, Elvira Field, in 1849. In contrast to Mary, she became not only a wife, but also his "intellectual mate" throughout the rest of his life (82). At first she traveled with him disguised as a man and posing as his personal secretary, Charles J. Douglas. She was called "Charlie," went with him everywhere, and, under her male name, wrote articles for the *Gospel Herald*. Not until Elvira's first child was born did Strang finally receive a revelation permitting plural marriage. Eventually he had five wives; all of them except Mary seemed happy with him.

The Strangites quickly gained political power, not only dominating Beaver Island, but also tending to control county politics. This control added to the tension between them and their "Gentile" neighbors. Tensions increased when Strang received a revelation that he was to become king and when on 8 July 1850 an elaborate coronation ceremony took place. His followers swore absolute allegiance to him, which included a commitment to pay him one-tenth of all their possessions. These "consecrations" were expected of long-standing disciples as well as of new members who settled on the island.

Strang's rapidly growing power created animosity both within and without the kingdom, and some of his subjects, including George J. Adams, left. Strang and other associates were arrested several times on various charges, including unlawfully occupying

federal lands, counterfeiting, and threatening people's lives. However a trial that concluded on 9 July 1851 pronounced Strang and others as not guilty, and various other indictments were soon dropped.

Strang's local power continued to accumulate as he acquired more property, largely through the auction of land confiscated from the Gentiles by the sheriff for unpaid taxes. Strang became a justice of the peace and, in 1851, a "supervisor" in the township government. Among the laws he enforced most rigorously was the state law against selling liquor to Indians, much to the dismay of non-Strangite traders. As tension continued to mount, each side charged the other with plunder and dishonesty, and by the fall of 1852 all except eight Gentiles had moved off the island.

In the fall of 1852 Strang achieved another dream when he was elected to the state legislature on the strength of the Strangite vote. He used his new position to promote legislation that strengthened the Strangites even more—the legislation created a new county—but he also received accolades from the *Detroit Advertiser*, once his nemesis, for his powerful arguments against a railroad bill. In general Strang received high praise for his legislative work, but the praise may have made him unrealistically heady: he unsuccessfully sought the presidential appointment as governor of the Territory of Utah to replace Brigham Young in 1854.

Violent conflict between the Strangites and their frontier Michigan neighbors was probably inevitable, and in July 1852 it finally broke out. A group of Gentiles in a little settlement on Pine River shot at a Strangite sheriff and his deputies and chased them downriver until the officers took refuge on a boat headed for Chicago. When an officer went back to Pine River to arrest those who took part in the shooting, he found the area abandoned. The Strangites had lost the initial battle but had won control of the Pine River area in addition to Beaver Island.

By 1855 the political tide was turning against Strang, and his second term in the legislature saw him battling to keep his kingdom intact. Efforts to dethrone him were not limited to Gentiles; in 1856 at least four disgruntled followers joined in a plot to assassinate him. On Monday, 16 June, two of them, Thomas Bedford and Alexander Wentworth, shot Strang from behind as he was walking toward a ship docked at St. James on Beaver Island. Bedford then bludgeoned Strang's head with the butt of his pistol. Strang was taken to Voree where, on 9 July 1856, just six years after being crowned king, he died. The two conspirators took refuge aboard the U.S.S. *Michigan* and later appeared before a justice of the peace in Mackinac. After a short hearing they were released.

Even before Strang died, anti-Strangite mobs were invading Beaver Island, and before the summer was over, most of the Strangites had evacuated and King James's kingdom was gone. Today a remnant of about two hundred Strangites live in Wisconsin, New Mexico, and a few other places.

As with any work, reactions to *King of Beaver Island* will be conditioned by the reader's background and interests. The author, Roger Van Noord, is a Michigan journalist who became interested in Strang while on a hunting trip on Beaver Island, where he discovered many unanswered questions about this unusual man. In his ensuing research he did a splendid job of ferreting out the details of Strang's life, using sources that took him all over the country, including visits to the Beinecke Library at Yale, the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City, and numerous archives and private collections elsewhere. The result is a fine biography that fills a significant gap in Michigan history.

Those more specifically interested in Strang as a part of the larger history of the Latter-day Saints, however, may feel that the book lacks some important comparative perspectives and interpretations. This is no criticism of Van Noord, for Church history was not his concern. It seems appropriate, however, to comment briefly on some things that might cross the minds of those interested in Church history.

What jumps off the pages is the series of striking parallels between the history of Strang and Joseph Smith, many of them concocted by Strang himself. Van Noord alludes to some of them, though he does not make the comparisons in detail. He notes Strang's claim to authority: the visit of the angel, the brass plates, the testimony of witnesses, and a new book of scripture. But there are other parallels worth noting. Just as Joseph Smith was confirmed a king (in the meetings of the Council of Fifty), so Strang was anointed king of Beaver Island. Joseph Smith proclaimed Jackson County, Missouri, to be the site of the New Jerusalem but had to find a new gathering place for the Saints after they were driven from the state. Strang proclaimed Voree, Wisconsin, as the divinely designated site for his holy city, but dissention and other problems made him move the gathering place to Beaver Island. Joseph Smith attained remarkable political power in Nauvoo, including the office of mayor and head of the Nauvoo Legion; Strang attained at least equivalent political power in his little section of Michigan. Joseph Smith aspired to be president of the United States; while Strang did not begin any moves in that direction, he aspired to the governorship of Utah Territory. The two men were criticized by their nonmember neighbors for many of the same things, including their political

power, their friendship with the Indians, the way their followers acquired land, and plural marriage. Joseph Smith began the practice of plural marriage secretly and dictated the revelation later in 1843; Strang also began the practice secretly and later announced a supporting revelation. Both men were brutally assassinated, with dissidents playing a role in their deaths. Also in both cases, the murders seemed justified in the popular mind, and in neither instance were the murderers punished by the law. Joseph Smith's accused assassins were brought to trial but found not guilty, while Strang's killers appeared at a hearing for less than an hour and were released. After Joseph Smith's death his followers were driven from Nauvoo by hostile neighbors; the same thing happened to the Strangites, except that the process was much faster.

Such parallels, however, are only a historical veneer; beneath the surface one finds essential differences that are more significant to Latter-day Saint readers. An examination of the two men, in fact, could be a marvellous study in contrasts. For example, Joseph Smith's death brought various contenders to succeed him. Strang's death, on the other hand, brought no contenders for his throne; his kingdom, for all practical purposes, died with him. Joseph Smith became a martyr whose death strengthened the Church; Strang's legacy was just the opposite.

The most significant difference, however, has to do with the nature of the two men themselves. While Joseph Smith still has his critics, modern scholars generally accept him as a religious person who believed sincerely that he was inspired and directed by God. They do not see him as the fraud painted by Fawn Brodie forty-five years ago. Even though he may have put too much trust in rogues like John C. Bennett, his life was one of concern for the Church and the Saints and of completely unselfish devotion to their cause.

Strang, on the other hand, is seen in the pages of this book as one obsessed by his own quest for power, willing to do almost anything to grasp and hold on to it, and as one who distorted much of what he heard from Joseph Smith. His willingness to advise his followers to take federal land unlawfully rather than purchase it, for example, is clearly the opposite of what Joseph Smith advised his followers to do in Missouri. So also was Strang's curious interpretation of "consecration," which seemed designed primarily to keep the king solvent and to maintain his hold on the people. The law of consecration given through Joseph Smith, on the other hand, was clearly designed for the spiritual and economic well-being of the Saints themselves, and the consecrated properties were turned to their benefit first. In the end, the majority of Joseph Smith's closest associates not only stuck with him but continued with the

movement under Brigham Young. In contrast, Strang's closest associates nearly all left him, and almost immediately after his death his kingdom broke up. From almost any point of view, Joseph Smith's movement was a success; Strang's was not.

Paradoxically, however, Van Noord observes that, by some of his own standards, Strang himself was successful: "He had realized his kingdom. He had tasted power. He had found a market for his intellect. He had gained lasting notoriety. And through time he has survived. Long before his death, he had said that kingdoms could decline and fall, that 'all the works of man are destined to decay. . . . And fame, fame alone of all the productions of man's folly may survive'" (274).



March 20 '82 Joseph Smith's Home, Nauvoo, Illinois (1844) (1844)

GEORGE W. GIVENS. *In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Joseph*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1990. xi; 290 pp. Index. \$10.95.

RICHARD N. HOLZAPFEL and T. JEFFERY COTTLE. *Old Mormon Nauvoo, 1839–1846: Historic Photographs and Guide*. Provo, Utah: Grandin Book Co., 1990. xii; 259 pp. \$12.95.

Reviewed by Donald Q. Cannon, Associate Dean of Religious Education, Brigham Young University.

Latter-day Saints have a fascination with Nauvoo. Nauvoo Restoration projects, a steady stream of visitors to the area, and a continual flood of new books and articles attest to the attraction of this “kingdom on the Mississippi.”¹ Early in 1990 two new books were released that dealt with Nauvoo. While both books deepen our knowledge, each has its own character and purpose.

In Old Nauvoo is a social history. Its author, George W. Givens, states that his book was written “to fill a vacuum that has been neglected by Mormon historians” (ix). Givens is only partially correct. It is true that there are no book-length social histories of Nauvoo; there are, however, numerous articles and monographs that focus on various dimensions of Nauvoo’s social life. Givens seems unaware of these, and I can only conclude that he has not attained the cutting edge of Latter-day Saint historical scholarship. A reading of Givens’s sources will quickly reveal this deficiency. He cites well-known general studies but overlooks specialized and even pathbreaking articles. For instance, in his chapter “Sickness and Death,” Givens has not cited the article by Bishop, Lacey, and Wixom entitled “Death at Mormon Nauvoo, 1843–1845” (*Western Illinois Regional Studies* 9 [Fall 1988]: 70–83). Similar examples could be given for almost every chapter.

Having said this, I would still maintain that this is a useful volume, especially for the general reader. It is informative and the narrative is lively. Givens’s description of roads and travel in Nauvoo is especially insightful and helps the reader comprehend the difficulty of getting from one place to another in that era. Givens also is effective in relating much of his material to a broader historical context. For example, in this same chapter on roads and travel, he compares travel in Nauvoo to travel in other parts of the U.S. during the 1840s.

Old Mormon Nauvoo, 1839–1846, is a guidebook. It skillfully combines historical photographs and maps to help the visitor discover the often hidden charms of Nauvoo. The motivation for this book is rooted in a visit which the authors made to Nauvoo in

1988. They naturally wanted to see several historic sites “but found it difficult to locate many of them” (vii).

Following an introduction and a discussion of both historic and modern Nauvoo, the reader comes to a section entitled “Guided Tours of Nauvoo.” These tours are divided into sections such as “Upper Nauvoo” and “Flats—East.” Each section includes a detailed map, photographs, and descriptions of individual sites. The volume also includes “Guided Tours of the Surrounding Communities.”

One of the strengths of this book is the high quality of the photographs. Some of the historic photographs are published for the first time. The sources used to document the historical and descriptive narratives are excellent. Clearly these authors have done their homework. The bibliography reads like a “Who’s Who” in Church historical scholarship. An added feature of this guidebook is its attempt to inform us about historical sites where the original structures have vanished. Here sketches and old photographs converge to assist the Nauvoo tourist to find and re-create the past. Unfortunately, the sources of the photographs are not clearly identified. The authors could have specified the geographical location of the photograph collections and even the catalogue numbers. This criticism is perhaps a little picky, but a better system of identification would be helpful, especially to scholars.

This is a very useful book and should enhance the pleasure and understanding of everyone who visits Nauvoo.

NOTE

¹This phrase was coined from the title of Robert Bruce Flanders’ book, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

Church History in the Fullness of Times. Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989. 643 pp. Paperback. \$5.55.

Reviewed by Dennis L. Lythgoe, columnist for the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City and adjunct professor of history at the University of Utah.

This attractive volume gives the initial impression that it is a pathbreaking, progressive, one-volume account of Latter-day Saint history. Even though it is a manual for a religion course, it is formidable in appearance, suggesting substantive content. Although a paperback, it is aesthetically designed with numerous impressive photographs and illustrations. One highlight, for instance, is the photograph of the stained glass window of the First Vision from Salt Lake's 17th Ward chapel. Unfortunately, the manual's ultimate value is confined to the layout and the photographs because its content is surprisingly shallow and its scholarship disappointing.

Having been prepared by a committee, this volume lacks depth. The style is pedestrian, overly simplified, and spotty in its coverage of important material. But the most serious problems are found in the consistent lack of scholarship from beginning to end. For instance, few of the important scholarly works of Latter-day Saint history are used in any visible way in this volume. The end notes for each chapter cite the works used, but in most cases they are disappointing and do not reference authors with critical insights into the topics considered.

It is impossible, for instance, to definitively tell the story of Joseph Smith without using such important books about the Prophet's life as Donna Hill's monumental but not problem-free biography and Richard Bushman's more recent and more insightful book about Joseph Smith and the beginnings of the Church. Similarly, telling the story of the First Vision without recounting and explaining its various accounts as detailed by such scholars as James B. Allen and Dean Jessee shortchanges the reader.

A study of Nauvoo's history calls for the interpretations of T. Edgar Lyon, Glen Leonard, and Robert Flanders. A study of Kirtland or of the Kirtland bank fiasco should not be made without consulting Larry Wimmer. Nor can one properly analyze the contribution of Brigham Young without sampling generously the definitive work of Leonard Arrington (cited once in 643 pages).

In the modern phase of Church history, such prominent figures as J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and Spencer W. Kimball are analyzed without using the work of the major historians who have treated their lives. D. Michael Quinn wrote an indispensable book on President

Clark, and the biography of President Kimball by his son and grandson is a major contribution to Latter-day Saint biography, yet neither is consulted. Ronald Walker continues to work on a full-length biography of Heber J. Grant and has already contributed several trailblazing articles, but none of them are consulted for this volume. Instead, the reader is left with minor references from the *Ensign* and the *Church News* and lightweight accounts of minor Latter-day Saint writers to teach us about Lorenzo Snow, Heber J. Grant, and David O. McKay.

Essentially, this manual is an attempt to telescope the major events in Church history without giving them proper perspective or adequate explanation.

Such an important event as the Mountain Meadows Massacre, immortalized in print by the definitive pen of Juanita Brooks, is treated lightly and inaccurately, without any of Brooks's interpretations. The Kirtland Bank and Joseph Smith's role in it is glossed over and rationalized away without any attempt to put it in context with the economic problems of either the early Church or early America. Masonry is passed over as one of the ways we can understand the assassination of Joseph Smith at Carthage. The Council of Fifty, about whom scholars such as Klaus Hansen, D. Michael Quinn, and Andrew F. Ehat have written perceptively, is short-changed and misunderstood.

In short, the history of the Church becomes bland through the pages of this volume. The blandness is a natural consequence of attempting to write what some define as "faith-promoting history"—an approach that endeavors to avoid raising questions or creating controversy. Since the Church can stand on its own without any attempt to whitewash its history, this approach is a disservice to students of religion who may use it in a course on Latter-day Saint history.

JOSEPH FIELDING MCCONKIE and DONALD W. PARRY.
A Guide to Scriptural Symbols. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1990.
193 pp. \$10.95.

Reviewed by Steven C. Walker, professor of English, Brigham Young University.

A Guide to Scriptural Symbols is precisely what its title claims: not the only guide, not the definitive guide, not the most thorough guide, but a useful general guide to the basic meanings of scriptural symbols. Introductory in its intent, this reference book is targeted specifically for Latter-day Saints. Its tendency toward overview rather than detail, summation rather than explication, and tradition rather than investigation make it a helpful book for general students of the scriptures—missionaries, Sunday School teachers, and most Latter-day Saint readers.

While the rest of the Christian world has been plumbing the meanings of types and symbols for so many centuries as to make that manner of reading second nature, McConkie and Parry's approach will be, for many Latter-day Saint readers, a new and eye-opening experience. Latter-day Saints tend to read the scriptures realistically and historically—the most productive approach if we must read them in only one way. But our attentiveness to the historical dimension of scripture has caused us to ignore another of its crucial aspects—symbolic implications.

Reference books to this unfamiliar and complex subject map a precarious path between two precipices. On the one hand lies the danger of so little information about the symbols that the reader becomes lost. On the other hand lurks the less obvious but perhaps more serious danger of too much information, of burying the reader in an avalanche of symbolic interpretations. McConkie and Parry's guide paces itself carefully between those dangers. The book leans strongly, but probably wisely, in the direction of a simplicity which will likely be appreciated by its intended Latter-day Saint audience. Its definitions of symbols are far from complete, suggestive rather than definitive, leaving the reader open to more individualistic implications of a particular symbol.

Such restraint will be for many readers the book's major strength. The authors stick consistently to Latter-day Saint precedent—usually scriptural precedent—although invitation to speculation beckons on every side. *A Guide to Scriptural Symbols* works a lot like the recent Gospel Doctrine manuals, where deliberately shorter lessons urge greater reader involvement. A typical example will demonstrate that “less is more” approach:

Eve: The name *Eve* signifies life and speaks of a great posterity and offspring. “And Adam called his wife’s name Eve, because she was the mother of all living; for thus have I, the Lord God, called the first of all women, which are many” (Moses 4:26). (47)

This entry, like most entries in McConkie and Parry’s guide, is notable for its succinctness, for its reliance upon scriptural sources, and for its refusal to elaborate.

Those very strengths of the book for the beginning reader of symbols, however, are likely to frustrate a reader who wants more depth. For example, *Armageddon*, a biblical symbol on which volumes have been written, is relegated in *A Guide to Scriptural Symbols* to no more explication than “a Hebrew name meaning ‘mount of destruction’”—

a place found in Israel where literally scores of battles have taken place throughout history. It is also, therefore, the prophetic name of the area where the final great religious battle will focus during the immediate period before Jesus Christ makes his appearance in power and great glory. (16)

Such an entry will cry out to some readers for rehearsal of those “scores of battles,” for detail of the events surrounding the climactic struggle, and for indication of where it is to be fought.

The guide, in short, is short; it could have been more thorough. By the time the authors have separated out “Symbols, Names, and Titles for Deity” and “Symbolic and Theophoric Names”—which might well have been another book, leaving room for more development of this one—there are barely one hundred pages for defining the symbols in almost two thousand pages of scripture.

The problem of limited scope exists not only within entries, but also among them. Why these entries and not others? Why is no mention made—to give only a representative sample—of the following:

—archer, eunuch, fool, gentile, queen, orphan, whore, widow, wife, usurer

—hart, kine, leopard, leviathan, ram, seal, sparrow, swine, viper

—apple, almond, aloes, gourd, grapes, loaf, wheat

—burial, crucifixion, demons, idol, latter days, plague, tempest

—back, face, foot, legs, skin, teeth

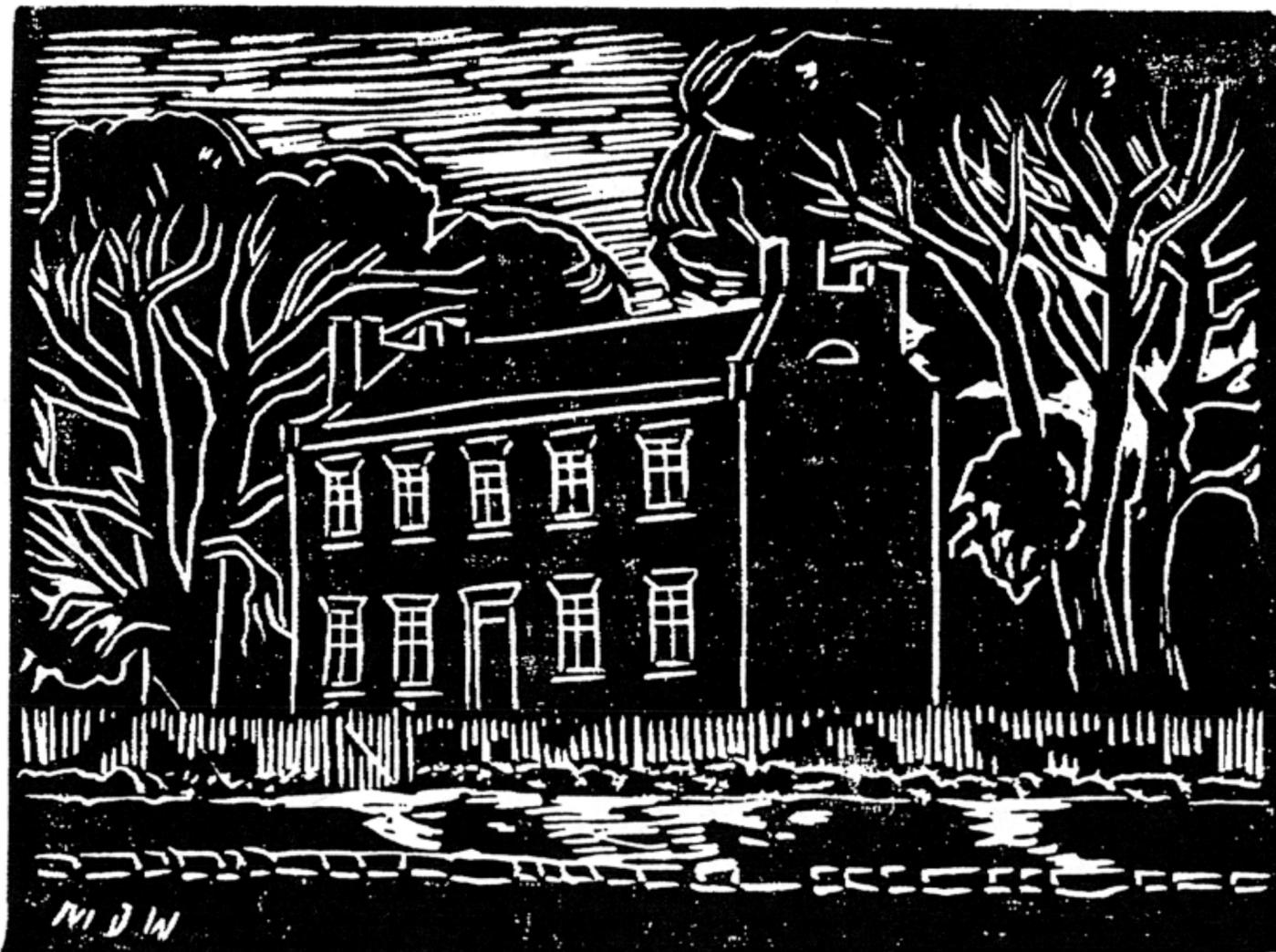
—war, wedding, well, west, white, winter, womb.

The authors were trapped between the precipices of general overview and so much information as to overwhelm their readers.

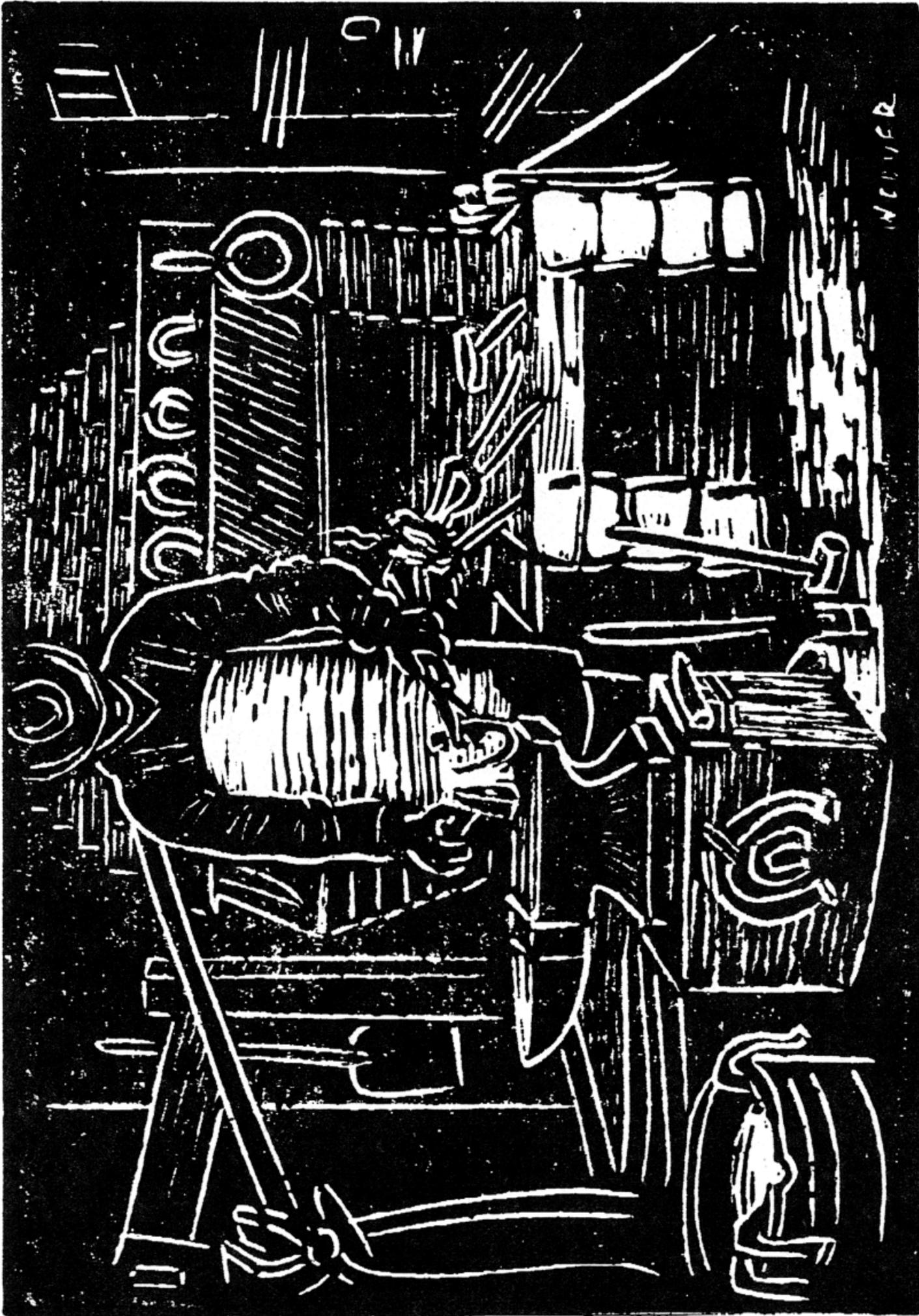
Even though the book could say much more on its subject, it has the virtue of speaking clearly to its audience. Although the entries would be easier to find if Bookcraft separated them and perhaps bolded them for easier location, the entries themselves are always easy to read, simple and straightforward in style. And it should be noted that there is more to McConkie and Parry’s work than meets the eye. Many books of this type are three or four times as long with no appreciable gain in actual information. The guide’s careful cross-referencing eliminates much need for repetition. And some articles pin down their subjects for a Latter-day Saint reader so well that extra words would be simply extraneous. *Ladder*, for example, seems hard to improve on:

The ladder seen in vision by Jacob represents progression from the telestial kingdom (or this earthly existence) upward into the celestial kingdom. Standing at the head of the ladder is God, who waits for those who have successfully endured the rigors of their journey (Gen. 28:12–19; and *Teachings*, 304–5). (75–76)

I recommend the book as an introduction to scriptural symbols for Latter-day Saint readers. Much as I would like to see a more inclusive sequel by McConkie and Parry, *A Guide to Scriptural Symbols* does the limited job they intended.



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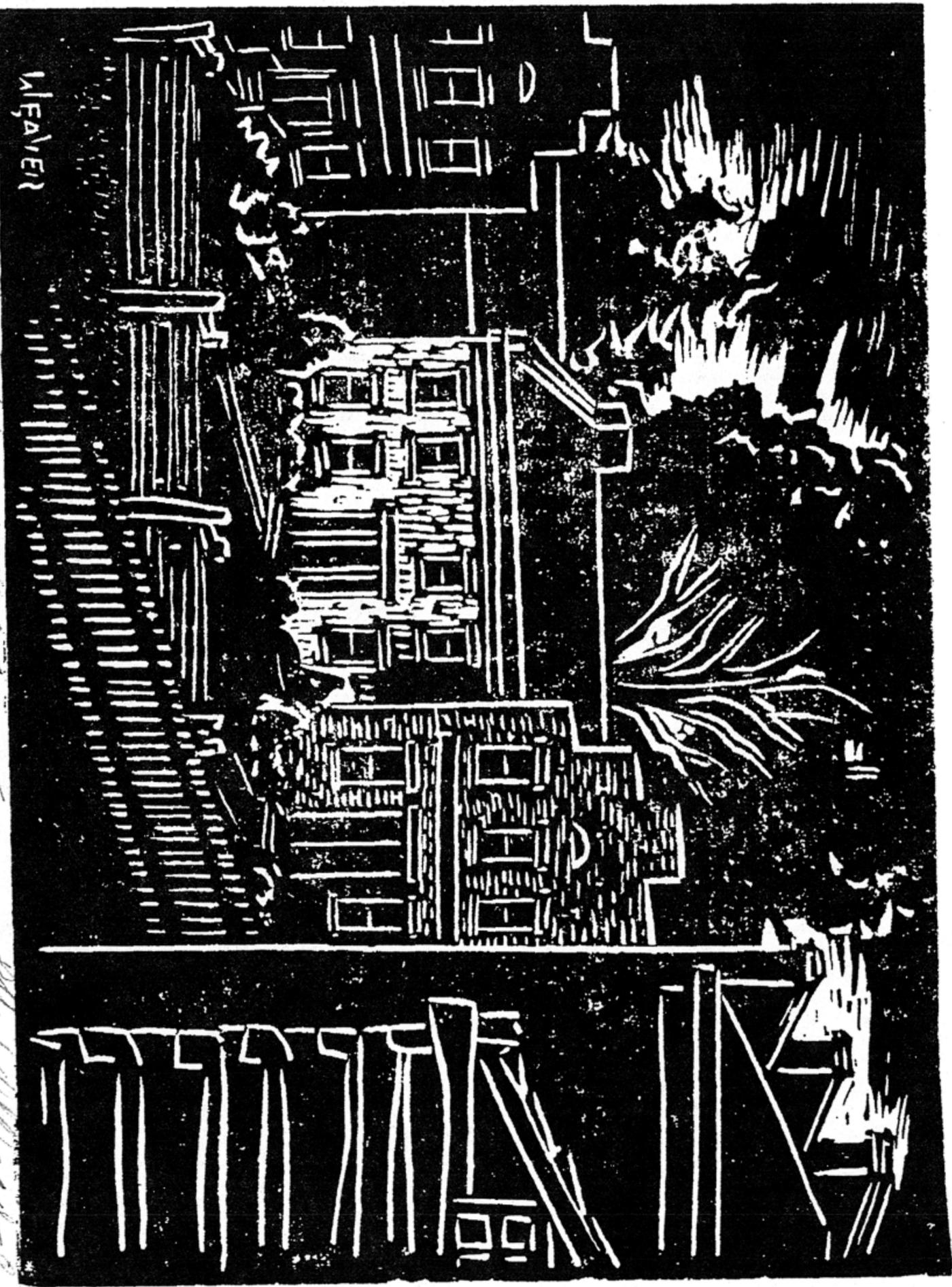
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