

time the association began performing in January. Not included are two prominent members of the original organization, William Clayton and William Pitt, who had not yet returned from their English missions (see item 792).² The only known copy of item 811 is pasted in the front of the second Deseret Dramatic Association minute book, in the LDS Church History Library.³

USIC.

812 [Catalogues of works. Liverpool? 1853]

The *Millennial Star* of July 2, 1853, mentions two catalogues—issued by S.W. Richards about halfway through his first term as mission president:

Notice to Book Agents.—With No. 26 *Star* [25 June] we sent out new Catalogues of works on sale at this office. The large one is intended for placing in the chapels or meeting-houses, and the small ones for distribution, principally among the strangers who may visit the meetings. The catalogue contains all the works now on sale, and also a new work—“Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and his Progenitors for many Generations,” which is now in press, and which will be duly advertized again when ready. It is hoped the Saints by means of this catalogue will be able to make up their stock of the Church works, and that strangers may be led to purchase such books as will give them correct views of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church.

The European Mission financial records identify the large ones as “Royal Catalogues,” the small ones as “Demy 8vo” catalogues, and indicate they were printed in 1,500 and 10,000 copies, respectively.¹

813 *Report of the Glasgow conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, held in the Mechanics' Institution Hall, Canning Street, Calton, Glasgow. 3d July, 1853. Edward Martin, President. Patrick Lynch, Secretary. Glasgow: Printed by William Gilchrist, 145 Argyle Street. 1853.*

16 pp. 21.5 cm.

The eighth of nine located Glasgow Conference reports (see items 404, 706, 959), this report opens with two tables on p. [2] containing the statistics and finances for twenty branches in the conference and then gives a brief summary of the meeting on Saturday, July 2, 1853, and detailed minutes of the three meetings on Sunday, July 3. The book agent's account on p. 15 shows £155 7s. 10½d. due the *Millennial Star* office, with an inventory of books, cash on hand, and money owing from the branches in the same amount. F. C. Robinson's poem “Press On” is on the last page (see item 728).

Born in Preston on November 18, 1818, Edward Martin was baptized by Orson Hyde in October 1837, came to Nauvoo in 1841, and marched to California with the Mormon Battalion, reaching the Salt Lake Valley in 1848. He returned to

England as a missionary in February 1853 and was assigned to preside over the Glasgow Conference; twenty-three months later he assumed the pastoral charge of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Hull, and Carlisle conferences. On May 25, 1856, he sailed for Boston on the *Horizon* in charge of 856 emigrating Saints and later that year led the fifth handcart company on its calamitous trek to the Valley (see item 1078). For the rest of his life he lived quietly in Salt Lake City, where he died on August 8, 1882.¹

Flake-Draper 1927. MH, UHi, UPB, USIC.

814 *Half yearly report of the London conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, held on Saturday & Sunday, 2nd & 3rd July, 1853. James Marsden, President. Thos. C. Armstrong, Secretary.* [Caption title] [London? 1853?] 2[2] pp. 21 cm.

This short pamphlet is the seventh of ten located London Conference reports, the third issued during James Marsden's first term as conference president (see items 490, 772, 856). It gives brief summaries of a meeting in the Eastern Lecture Hall, Church Lane, Whitechapel, on Saturday evening July 2, 1853, and three meetings on Sunday, July 3, in the Freemason's Hall, Great Queen Street. At the Sunday afternoon session, Orson Pratt "delivered a most instructive and interesting address upon the subject of Celestial Marriage and Peopling of Worlds, which made a good impression upon the minds of both Saints and strangers" (see items 769–71). The usual tables on pp. [3–4] give the statistics, names, meeting places, president's names, and president's address for forty branches. The financial report on p. 2 shows the London General Book and Star Agency owed the Liverpool office slightly more than £604, and was owed about £185 by the London branches and £175 by the Kent, Essex, Reading, Norwich, Cambridgeshire, Bradford, Preston, and South conferences and Calcutta branch, with about £237 in stock on hand.

Flake-Draper 1940a. UPB, USIC.

815 FARNHAM, Augustus Alwin. *To the public.* [Signed and dated at the end:] *A. Farnham. Sydney, July 23rd, 1853.* [Sydney? 1853] [At head of title:] *He who judgeth a cause before he heareth is not wise.*

Broadside 28.5 × 15.5 cm.

816 *The Zion's Watchman, published by the authority of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in Sydney.* Sydney: August 13, 1853–May 24, 1856. 2 v. (38 [i.e. 22] nos. in 265[3]80[3] pp.) 21 cm.

Augustus Farnham, William Hyde, Burr Frost, John Hyde, Josiah W. Fleming, Paul Smith, James Graham, John S. Eldredge, and Absalom P. Dowdle were called

THE ZION'S WATCHMAN,

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,
IN SYDNEY.

No. 1.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 13, 1853.

Vol. I.

PROSPECTUS OF THE "ZION'S WATCHMAN."

—o—

"The Law of the Lord is perfect, converting the Soul :
The testimony of the Lord is sure,
Making wise the Simple."—19 Psalm, 7 v.

To the Saints and all the friends of TRUTH. The "Zion's Watchman" we intend to issue monthly. We would say to the friends of truth, who wish to subscribe for the "Watchman," that we design to pursue a course which will shew the difference between the error which has often been published by the Periodicals of the day, and the *truth* as it exists with the Saints of God ;—which truths have been revealed from heaven by the Angels of the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith, and which truths are still being revealed to the servants of God, who still hold the power of the Holy Melchisedic Priesthood upon the earth at the present day, and are authorised to administer in its ordinances according to the Law of the Holy Priesthood, which is without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God—abideth a Priest continually. Peter like, we judge between the truth and error, and as the Apostles and Elders, by the gift of the Holy Spirit of truth as it is in Christ Jesus ;—behold the darkness that rests upon the minds of the people, we as Elders being clothed with said Priesthood, are deeply impressed with the necessity of discharging the duty laid upon us by the aforesaid authority, to warn the inhabitants of the earth to repent of their sins, to be baptized for the remission of the same, and to have hands laid on them for the gift of the Holy Ghost. That you with us may become the heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ in the kingdom of God, and be redeemed from your sins, and receive salvation thro' the principles of the everlasting gospel as preached by the Prophets and Apostles ever since the world began, and ever will be by all who have authority to preach the Gospel of Christ. Who have the authority to preach the Gospel of Christ? no person except they have been called of God as was Aaron. How shall they preach except they be sent of God? Now we have not received the spirit of the world but the

to Australia at the August 1852 special conference, and with John W. Norton added to the corps, the ten missionaries sailed from San Francisco on the bark *Pacific*, reaching Sydney on March 31, 1853—six days before Charles W. Wandell left for America (see items 630–31, 655, 670, 711). A smallpox quarantine kept them aboard ship for nine more days, and their only contact with Wandell came when he pulled alongside the *Pacific* and conversed with them from another boat. On Saturday, April 9, they went ashore and the following day were introduced to the Sydney branch, which sustained Farnham as mission president. The missionaries met on the eleventh at William Robb's house, when Farnham assigned them to their various fields of labors: Frost and Smith to Melbourne; Dowdle and Norton to Adelaide; Graham and Eldredge to the Camden district southwest of Sydney; William Hyde to the Hunter River; Fleming to stay in Sydney with Farnham along with John Hyde, who was dying of throat cancer. For thirty-eight months Farnham would labor in Australia and New Zealand, before sailing for America on May 28, 1856, with a company of 120 emigrating Saints.¹

The day after the ten missionaries reached Sydney, the *Sydney Morning Herald* noted their arrival and reprinted a piece from the *San Francisco Daily Herald* that included excerpts from the *Deseret News* extra of September 14, 1852, acknowledging the Mormon practice of polygamy (item 734).² This prompted a new round of anti-Mormon attacks. When these assaults continued and the papers refused to print any rebuttals, the men of the Sydney branch met on July 21, 1853, and concluded to publish an organ of their own. Two days later Farnham issued item 815.³

To the Public was more a reply than a prospectus.⁴ The first paragraph refers to the attacks in the newspapers and their refusal to print Mormon responses, and the second announces “a Monthly Paper . . . to be called ‘ZIONS WATCHMAN,’ the first number to appear early in August next.” The rest of the broadside, except for a postscript at the end, is a reprint, with the author identified, of all but the first paragraph of Parley Pratt's *Mormonism! Plurality of Wives!* (item 710)—bearing two trivial changes adjusting the text for the Australian audience. The postscript notes: “Service held every Sabbath Day at the old Assembly Rooms, opposite the old Court House, King-street West, Hours of meeting 11 a.m., 3 p.m., and 7 p.m.”

The first number of *Zion's Watchman* appeared on August 13, the next, a double number, on September 24, and the third on November 12. October was skipped “in consequence of pecun[i]ary difficulties.” In December, Farnham reported to Brigham Young: “Since the ‘Zion's Watchman’ has made its appearance, the whole ecclesiastical club is up in arms, and find no place of refuge, where the little fellow is not with them. The elders are so much scattered over the colony, that it has got a wide circulation, for they pass it into every person's hand who will read it and pass it to his neighbor.” While the listed price was threepence for the first number, sixpence thereafter—and Burr Frost did collect some subscriptions—the magazine was mainly distributed gratis.⁵

A complete file of *Zion's Watchman* comprises two volumes. Volume I, no. 1, is dated Saturday, August 13, 1853. The rest of the first volume consists of sixteen double numbers, labeled vol. I, nos. 2–3; vol. I, nos. 4–5; and so on until vol. I, nos. 32–33. These double numbers are dated September 24, November 12, December 17, 1853; January 28, March 4, May 6, July 1, August 5, September 16, October 14, November 15, December 15, 1854; January 15, February 15, March 15, and April 12, 1855. Volume I, no. 1, is in 8 pages, and the first fifteen double numbers are each in 16 pages, these sixteen issues continuously paginated [1]–248. The last double number has 20 pages, paginated [249]–265[266–68], the last three pages unnumbered. Pages [266–67] contain an index to the volume, and p. [268] has errata. One usually finds the volume bound with a title page, the verso blank, followed by a one-page preface. These two leaves were undoubtedly issued with the last number. The title page reads: *The Zion's Watchman. Volume I.* [1 line] *Edited and published by A. Farnham, Sydney, from August 1853, to April 1855.*

The second volume consists of five numbers, labeled vol. II, nos. 1–3; vol. I [i.e. II], no. 4; and vol. 2, no. 5. The first four are dated May 15, June 15, June [i.e. July] 18, and October 27, 1855. The fifth is dated May 24, 1856—four days before Farnham sailed for America on the *Jenny Ford*. The first four numbers are each in 16 pages, continuously paginated [1]–64; the fifth number has 19 pages, paginated [65]–80, 49–51. An editorial in the fourth number notes: “In consequence of the departure for Zion of many of the saints, and the call from President Brigham Young, for the return of all Elders of the Mission, the ‘Watchman’ has been suspended for a time, and will only henceforth be issued as circumstances may seem to require.”⁶

Zion's Watchman follows the format of the *Millennial Star* with the issue number, date, and volume number on a line between the main text and the caption title: *The Zion's Watchman, published by the authority of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in Sydney.* The first thirteen numbers have *Edited and Published by A. Farnham, Sydney* at the foot of the last page. The next six numbers change this to *Edited and Published by A. Farnham, No. 103, Parramatta-street, Sydney.* And vol. II, nos. 3–4 give Farnham's address as *No. 25, Bank-street, Chippendale, Sydney.* Although Farnham is listed as editor and publisher throughout the magazine's life, much of the work was undoubtedly performed by John Jones, who is identified as “Sub-Editor” in the preface to the first volume.

The revelations about Mormon polygamy in the local newspapers ensured that *Zion's Watchman* would devote some of its pages to that topic, and, like most of the other Mormon periodicals, it borrowed from other sources, especially the *Millennial Star*. The first number opens with a “prospectus” that is different from the one in item 814, followed by an extract from Howard Stansbury's *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* taken from vol. 14 of the *Star*. The second number reprints Orson Pratt's August 29, 1852, discourse and the revelation of July 12, 1843, from the *Deseret News* extra of September 14, 1852 (item 734). The succeeding numbers carry excerpts from the *Seer*, including Orson's first and second epistles; the ninth and eleventh general epistles from the

First Presidency; Brigham Young's discourse "Adam, Our Father and Our God" and "Milton on Polygamy" from vols. 15 and 16 of the *Star*; and a summary of the July 24, 1854, celebration from the *Deseret News* (see item 901). The *Watchman* reprints James H. Flanigan's Fourteen Articles of Faith accompanied by a slightly modified set of scriptural references from his *Invitation* (items 469–70, 615); Belinda Marden Pratt's *Defence of Polygamy, by a Lady of Utah* (items 873–75); Orson Spencer's *The Gospel Witness* (item 357); Joseph Smith's correspondence with James Arlington Bennet (items 198, 199, 271); and Joseph Smith's King Follett funeral discourse (see item 271). It gives the local newspapers some attention, especially the Presbyterian *Christian Herald*, which receives a four-part reply. It includes editorials, minutes of the local quarterly conferences, and letters from the elders laboring in Australia and elsewhere. And it has contributions from Farnham and John Jones, including Farnham's "Epicurean God, Not the God of the Mormons," his three-part "Hue and Cry," and "Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon," and Jones's informative "A Sketch of the History of the Work of the Lord in the Australasian Colonies," which details the first two years of the Mormon effort in Australia. The final number focuses on Farnham's departure for America and includes the minutes of the conference on May 4, 1856, when he conferred the presidency of the mission on A. P. Dowdle.

Born in Massachusetts on May 20, 1805, Augustus Farnham converted to Mormonism in 1843, worked on Joseph Smith's political campaign with C. W. Wandell in New York, and made the overland trek to Utah in 1849. Returning from his mission in 1856, he settled in Davis County and was the architect for the Bountiful Tabernacle—the oldest continuously used church building in the state. He died in Farmington on May 2, 1865, and was interred in Brigham Young's burial ground in Salt Lake City.⁷

Less is known about John Jones. A Welshman, he came to Australia in January 1841 with his wife, Jane Howard, and a seven-year-old son, who died thirteen days after they arrived. He was present when John Murdock preached his first sermon at the Race Course on November 2, 1851, and was among the first persons baptized in Sydney. He served as a counselor to both Murdock and Wandell and continued to serve as president of the Sydney branch after Farnham was sustained as mission president. On May 28, 1856, he sailed with his family for America on the *Jenny Ford*, but what became of him after that is not known.⁸

Item 815: USIC. *Item 816:* Flake-Draper 10144. CSmH[v.1], CtY[v.1], UPB, USIC, UU[v.1].

817 *General ticket. Utah Territory.* [Salt Lake City? 1853?]

Broadside 13 × 8 cm.

This ticket—similar to those issued for the two previous territorial elections—lists the Salt Lake County "candidates" selected by the Church authorities to be voted upon in the upcoming "election" on Monday, August 1, 1853 (see

items 597, 720–21). For delegate to Congress, it names John M. Bernhisel; for councilors, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Daniel H. Wells, Orson Hyde, and Parley P. Pratt; for representatives, Jedediah M. Grant, Franklin D. Richards, Albert P. Rockwood, Albert Carrington, Wilford Woodruff, Jonathan C. Wright, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, William Stewart, James W. Cummings, William W. Phelps, and John L. Smith; for selectman, Reuben Miller; for justice of the peace, Horace Gibbs; and for constable, Andrew Cunningham. The only located copy has the remnant of a wavy rule at the bottom edge, so originally the ticket may have listed additional candidates.

The *Deseret News* extra of August 25, 1853, and the regular issue of the *News* for October 1 give the results of the “election,” identifying those men listed in the preceding paragraph as the successful candidates. As it turned out, John Taylor replaced Orson Hyde in the Council, a consequence of Hyde’s resignation that October because of his call to lead the Fort Supply mission (see item 844).¹

Flake-Draper 3539b. USIC.

818 SNOW, Lorenzo. [2 lines] *The only way to be saved.* [1 line] *An explanation of the first principles of the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. By Lorenzo Snow, missionary from America, and president of the Italian, Swiss, and East India Mission. Madras: Re-printed by R. Ballantyne. [sic] presiding elder of the mission to Madras. 1853.*

8 pp. 21.5 cm.

819 PRATT, Parley Parker. *Proclamation of the gospel, extracted from a work by P. P. Pratt, an apostle of Jesus Christ. Now re-published by Richard Ballantyne, presiding elder of the mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to Madras, and surrounding country. Also, a short account of the rise and progress of this church.* [2 lines] *Price 2 Annas, or to be returned when called for.* [Caption title] [At foot of p. 8:] *S. Bowie, Printer, 164, Popham’s Broadway, Madras. [1853]*

8 pp. 21.5 cm.

Nine new missionaries were called to India along with two to Siam at the August 1852 special conference: Nathaniel V. Jones, Amos Milton Musser, Samuel A. Woolley, Richard Ballantyne, Robert Skelton, William Fotheringham, William F. Carter, Truman Leonard, and Robert Owens to India; Chauncey W. West and Sterne Hotchkiss to Siam. By the time they left Salt Lake City that October, Benjamin F. Dewey, Elam Luddington, and Levi Savage had replaced Hotchkiss, and in company with those bound for Hawaii, Hong Kong, and Australia, the India and Siam missionaries traveled to Los Angeles and then to San Francisco (see items 815–16, 893). With financial assistance from John M. Horner, Quartus S. Sparks, and Thomas S. Williams, they sailed from San Francisco on January 29, 1853, and reached Calcutta on April 26.¹

“He that *judgeth* a matter before he *heareth* it, is
not wise.”

THE ONLY WAY TO BE SAVED.

“THE WAYFARING MAN, THOUGH A FOOL, NEED NOT ERR THEREIN.”

AN EXPLANATION
OF THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE DOCTRINE
OF
THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF
LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

BY LORENZO SNOW,

*Missionary from America, and President of the Italian, Swiss, and
East India Mission.*

Madras:

RE-PRINTED BY R. BALLANTYNE.

Presiding Elder of the Mission to Madras.

1852,

William Willes had reported in May 1852 that the Calcutta branch included 19 Europeans and 170 natives (see items 739–40), so the new missionaries were surprised to find “only six or eight members” in the branch—its numbers reduced by apostasy over the issue of polygamy and the defection of virtually all of the native converts.² But James P. Meik remained steadfast and opened his house at 2½ Jaun Bazaar to them. On April 29 the thirteen missionaries, Meik, and other branch members met at Meik’s room, sustained N. V. Jones as mission president, and accepted the following assignments: Ballantyne, Skelton, and Owens to Madras; Carter and Fotheringham to Dinapur and Chunar; Leonard and Woolley to Chinsura; and Jones and Musser to remain in Calcutta. Eight days later Leonard and Woolley departed for their field of labor; Carter and Fotheringham left on May 16; and Ballantyne and Skelton sailed for Madras on June 20. Owens, at this point, was at odds with his fellow missionaries and remained in Calcutta. West and Dewey had started for Ceylon on May 15, Luddington and Savage for Rangoon on June 15.³

Ballantyne and Skelton’s voyage on the ship *John Brightman* extended to thirty-four days, during which they became friends with the captain, Thomas D. Scott, and taught him the gospel.⁴ Scott gave Ballantyne fifty rupees and a pair of shoes and arranged lodging for them in Madras, and on July 23, the day before they dropped anchor, he offered to pay for a Madras edition of Lorenzo Snow’s *Only Way to Be Saved*. Two days later he sent Ballantyne a note that he had arranged for the printing of 300 copies. Ballantyne corrected the proof on the 27th and, offered a reduction in price, increased the size of the edition to 1,000 and ordered a better paper. At this point he was contemplating a second tract, and on July 29 Scott agreed to pay for it as well. The next day Ballantyne ordered 1,000 copies of *Proclamation of the Gospel* and picked up the finished copies of the *Only Way to Be Saved*. Three days later he read the proof for the second tract, and on August 3 Scott gave him another fifty rupees—more than enough to pay the printer’s bill of forty rupees for the two pieces. On the 5th Ballantyne received the finished copies of *Proclamation of the Gospel* and paid the printer. Later that day he reported to Samuel W. Richard that he and Skelton had distributed “many of the first tract, with a few of the second, and intend sending a copy of each to every priest, editor, merchant, and officer of government, not forgetting the poor.” By August 12 they had circulated “over 300” but had been paid for only eleven.⁵ Ten more weeks passed before they baptized their first convert (see items 823, 827–28, 882, 887, 891, 899).⁶

Like all of Ballantyne’s Madras pamphlets, the *Only Way to Be Saved* was printed by S. Bowie at the Oriental Press and bears his colophon: *S. Bowie, Printer, 164, Popham’s Broadway, Madras*. Its text indicates that it was reprinted from the second or later state of the 1851 London edition (item 639)—probably the second state because it copies the wavy rule over the colophon. Ballantyne notes in his journal that he added the line *Re-printed by R. Ballantyne, Presiding Elder of the Mission to Madras* to the title page so the public would know who was responsible for the tract.

Proclamation of the Gospel opens with chapters I–III and the first five paragraphs of chapter VI of Parley Pratt’s *Proclamation to the People of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific* (item 630). This is followed by “Rise and Progress of the Church,” the first three-fourths of which is from Joseph Smith’s Wentworth Letter (see items 177, 199). The tract concludes with Ballantyne’s call to the people “to open their houses, and churches, and we will cheerfully unfold unto you the scriptures of eternal truth that relate to these things, without money or price.”

Richard Ballantyne, born in Scotland on August 26, 1817, converted to Mormonism in 1842, came to Nauvoo a year later, and reached the Salt Lake Valley in 1848. The following year he established the Church’s first Sunday School. One year to the day after he went ashore at Madras, he left India for England (see item 899), sailed from Liverpool in charge of a company of Mormon immigrants, and arrived in Salt Lake City in September 1855. Moving to Ogden in 1860, he was one of the city’s first merchants, an Ogden city alderman, owner and publisher of the *Ogden Junction*, and for seventeen years a member of the Weber Stake high council. He died in Ogden on November 8, 1898.⁷

Item 818: Flake-Draper 8215. CtY, CU-B, UPB, USIC, UU. Item 819: Flake-Draper 6618. CtY, CU-B, UPB, USIC, UU.

820 JONES, Nathaniel Vary. *A reply to “Mormonism Unveiled.”* [5 lines] By Nathaniel V. Jones, an elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Calcutta: Printed by Sanders, Cones and Co., No. 14, Loll Bazar. 1853.

120 pp. 21.5 cm. Gray printed wrappers.

While Richard Ballantyne was seeing his first two tracts through the press, Nathaniel V. Jones was waiting for a piece of his to come from the printer (see the preceding items). He and Amos Milton Musser seem to have begun “dissecting” the anonymous tract *Mormonism Unveiled. A Brief Expose of the Doctrines and Practices of the So-called “Latter-day Saints” and their Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr.* (Calcutta: Printed at the Star Press, 1852) on May 11, 1853, at James P. Miek’s Acra farm eight miles down the Hooghly River from Calcutta, and over the next eight weeks, at Acra and Calcutta, they composed a reply.¹ “We should have considered the production unworthy of our notice,” Jones later wrote, “had we not been strangers in the country; besides, we were assured that many people believed it to be the truth.” He brought Richard Ballantyne into the project on May 18, and for the next ten days Ballantyne worked on the part pertaining to “the Gold plates and the Testimony of the Witnesses.” Musser notes in his journal that on May 24 Arthur McMahon—who had been baptized two days earlier—was “preparing for the press what we have already written,” and on July 9 one hundred pages of manuscript were sent to the printers. Two days later Musser read nine pages of proof, and on the 12th he corrected a second batch. After a visit to the printers on July 25, he began soliciting for donations and that day received 15 rupees. On August 4 the printers delivered “over 250” copies of *Reply to “Mormonism Unveiled,”*

and the following day Jones and Musser paid them 160 rupees against their bill of 192½ rupees. William Willes sent 25 rupees “for the benefit of the Church” on August 31, and on September 9 Musser paid the remaining 32½ rupees.²

Mormonism Unveiled draws on the Doctrine and Covenants, Book of Mormon, *Voice of Warning, Times and Seasons*, and various anti-Mormon sources, including John C. Bennett’s *The History of the Saints*, in an attempt to show that Mormonism is a “silly fabrication of falsehood and wickedness, got up for a speculation.” *Reply to “Mormonism Unveiled”* is, in large part, a point-by-point rebuttal. In many places it condemns *Mormonism Unveiled* for misquoting or misrepresenting the Mormon works it uses. At two points it reprints a group of documents to discredit John C. Bennett and refute his allegations (see items 156–57). To support the idea that God is not the author of discordant creeds, it inserts a long quotation from the third part of Orson Pratt’s *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* (item 521). It argues that the Book of Mormon is a “new covenant,” discusses the witnesses to the book, rehearses the persecutions of the Saints, and defends the doctrines of the gathering and plurality of wives. It supports the Mormon claim to miracles by reprinting accounts of miraculous healings from the fifth part of *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* and concludes with a long quotation from the fifth number of the *Seer*. And it is not above an occasional epithet itself—at one point referring to the author of *Mormonism Unveiled* as a “wicked, vile miscreant” (p. 55).

The preface of *Reply to “Mormonism Unveiled”* (pp. [3]–4) is dated July 11, 1853. The book was issued in gray stiff paper wrappers, the title page reprinted on the front within a border of straight and wavy rules and corner decorations, an ad dated July 30, 1853, for books for sale “At No. 2, Jaun Bazar Street” on the back. The LDS Church has a copy with the front wrapper; the only known copy with a complete wrapper is in private hands.

Nathaniel V. Jones’s labors in India extended to almost two years, and on March 5, 1855, he sailed for Hong Kong with William Fotheringham. Born in New York on October 13, 1822, Jones joined the Church about 1841, moved to Nauvoo in 1843, marched to California with the Mormon Battalion, and was one of Stephen W. Kearny’s escorts when Kearney went to Fort Leavenworth with John C. Frémont. In 1849 he came to the Salt Lake Valley and was appointed a city alderman when Great Salt Lake City was incorporated in 1851; the following year he was chosen to be bishop of the Salt Lake City Fifteenth Ward. During the Utah War he served as a colonel in the Utah militia, and in 1859 he was sent to England as a missionary. Less than two years after he returned from this mission, on February 15, 1863, he died in Salt Lake City of pneumonia.³

Although he is not listed as an author in *Reply to “Mormonism Unveiled,”* it is clear that Amos Milton Musser contributed much to the book. His stay in India lasted almost three years, until March 3, 1856, when he sailed for London. Born in Pennsylvania on May 20, 1830, he moved to Nauvoo with his mother just after the exodus had begun and made the trek to Utah in 1851. He was appointed

Traveling Bishop of the Church in 1858 and an assistant trustee-in-trust in 1873. Active in a number of business enterprises, he was a founding partner and general superintendent of the Deseret Telegraph Company. In 1885 he served five months in the penitentiary for unlawful cohabitation. At the April 1902 general conference he was sustained as an assistant Church historian, a position he held until his death in Salt Lake City on September 24, 1909.⁴

Flake-Draper 4493. CtY, MH, UPB, USIC.

821 FERGUSON, Andrew. [Placard advertising five lectures. Arbroath? 1853?]

Andrew Ferguson met with John Mather, president of the Dundee branch, on Friday, August 6, 1853, and agreed to organize a course of five lectures in Dundee (see items 695, 788, 794). That evening he walked the seventeen miles from Dundee to Arbroath, and there on Monday the 8th, he “drew out a Bill with 5 Lectures, to be delivered by the Brethrine here, to try & rais a Stir amongst the people.” On August 21, an “Elder Mcfarlane”—probably Andrew MacFarlane—“diliverd the 2nd Lecture on our playcard, viz the reinstatment of the Church of Christ on Earth.” One week later Ferguson spoke on the same subject in Arbroath—“this Lecture along with others” having been “intimated Publicly.” “Elder Murdock” gave the fourth lecture on “the Literal gathering of Israel” in Dundee on September 4, and Robert L. Campbell delivered the last lecture, on Joseph Smith, in Dundee on September 11. “In Dundee & Arbroath,” Ferguson reported to S. W. Richards on the twenty-second, “we have had a course of Lectures that have been well attended, & have created a Stir amongst the people.”¹ Whether he used different placards for Dundee and Arbroath or a single piece is unclear (see items 76, 440, 447, 823).

822 YOUNG, Brigham. *Territory of Utah. Proclamation by the governor. Whereas, the Utah Indians of this Territory have been for some time, and still are in a state of open and declared war with the white settlers, committing injuries upon them at every opportunity, killing them, driving off their stock, and burning their mills, and dwellings; and, [34 lines] In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of said Territory to be affixed, at Great Salt Lake City, this nineteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty three, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the seventy-eighth. By the Governor, Brigham Young, Willard Richards, Sec'ry pro tem. Appointed by the Governor.* [Salt Lake City, 1853]

Broadside 28 × 20 cm.

Following William M. Wall's expedition to the southern settlements in April and May 1853 (see item 801), Brigham Young and Walker exchanged gestures of peace, culminating in Walker's visit with Young in Salt Lake City on July 2.¹ But fifteen days later, near Springville, not far from where Walker was camped,

a fight erupted over a trade during which James Ivie killed one of Walker's band and injured two others. The next day a party from Walker's camp killed Alexander Keele while he stood guard at the outskirts of Payson and drove off a small herd of cattle.² Immediately the Nauvoo Legion was mustered and dispatched to Utah County and counties to the south, and over the next four weeks the settlements were collected into "forts," their cattle driven to Salt Lake City for safekeeping, and their fields harvested under guard. On August 17, two more Mormons were killed in an ambush near Parley's Park. Two days later Brigham Young issued item 822. By mid-October the death toll stood at eleven whites and about three times that many Indians, and on October 26, although not directly related with the Walker conflict, John W. Gunnison and seven of his party were murdered by Pahvants at the Sevier River.³ This ended the killing, but sporadic Indian raids continued into the following February. The Walker War was finally brought to an end when Walker and Brigham Young struck a truce at Chicken Creek, Juab County, on May 11, 1854.⁴ Less than nine months later, on January 29, 1855, Walker, not yet fifty years old, died near Fillmore of pneumonia.⁵

Brigham Young's proclamation of August 19, 1853, places "all the forces" in readiness to march to any point at a moment's notice; enjoins every person to be prepared to defend himself and aid others "by personal service, or with supplies, whenever required"; forbids any person to give, trade, or sell weapons or ammunition to the Utes, unless by permission from the superintendent of Indian affairs or the Indian agent or sub-agent, and revokes all existing licenses to trade with the Indians in the territory; urges all parties going into the canyons to do so armed and in sufficient numbers to protect themselves; and requires all officers to keep an accurate record of service and expenses and forward it to the governor's office. Willard Richards signed it as territorial secretary pro tem because of Benjamin G. Ferris's departure in May (see item 801). The proclamation was reprinted in the *Deseret News* extra of August 25, 1853, from a different setting; in the *News* of October 1; and in the *Millennial Star* of November 12, 1853.

Flake-Draper 9354d. CtY, USIC.

823 BALLANTYNE, Richard. [Notice to the Public. Discourses will be delivered on the subjects of the restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ by an Angel, the dispensation of the fulness of times, the gathering of Israel and Judah to their own lands, the hour of Gods judgements and second coming of Christ, which is now near, the Millennial Reign—manner of its introduction—glory of that period &c. &c. Madras, 1853]

Broadside?

No copy of Richard Ballantyne's Madras handbill is located. The title above is taken from a transcription in his journal, and it is clear from this journal entry that the bill had blank spaces for specific meeting times and locations to be written in by hand (see items 76, 440, 447).¹

On Saturday, August 6, 1853, Ballantyne and Robert Skelton took a carriage the nine miles from Madras to St. Thomas Mount, where they stayed with John Charles, one of Matthew McCune's converts, and two days later they organized a branch of the Church there (see items 739–40, 818–19). Ballantyne received permission from the Brigadier on the 11th to preach in the St. Thomas Mount cantonment, and on August 13, with Charles's help, they rented a house in the central part of the station. Leaving Skelton to promote the work at St. Thomas Mount, Ballantyne returned to Madras on August 21, and on the 22nd he had one hundred copies of item 823 struck off by Mr. Bowie at the Oriental Press—who printed them gratis. The next day Ballantyne rented a house at No. 38 Anderson Street and that evening filled out some of the handbills to advertise his preaching there every Friday at 6:30 p.m. and Sunday at 3:00 p.m. He apparently filled out some for St. Thomas Mount as well, for on Sunday, August 28, Skelton came to Madras and reported that he did not hold a meeting that day because “the people [tore] down the notices and not one came to hear.” Ballantyne experienced the same result with his Sunday meeting but, undaunted, filled out forty-eight more handbills on Thursday, September 1, and “had them posted on the corners of the Streets.” That Friday he had an audience of “about 15 gentlemen,” but on Sunday only four attended.²

Flake-Draper 265a.

824 *Deseret News—Extra. Great Salt Lake City, Thursday morning, August 25, 1853.* [Salt Lake City, 1853]

Broadside 41.5 × 27.5 cm. Text in three columns.

This *Deseret News* extra was issued about midway through a two-month suspension of the paper occasioned by a shortage of newsprint. Not until October 1 did the next regular issue appear—three days after a new supply of paper arrived from the East. The entire extra is reprinted in this issue from the broadside setting. The extra's first column contains Brigham Young's proclamation of August 19, 1853 (item 822). The second column opens with a plea for patience—“We wish our friends and patrons, to be patient with us, as we are with all men, and especially the *paper dealers*”—and then reports on the confrontations with the Indians and efforts toward defense. The third gives the results of the August 1 election (see item 817), followed by news items and bits of advice.

Flake-Draper 2802. USIC.

825 BROWN, Benjamin. *Testimonies for the truth: a record of manifestations of the power of God, miraculous and providential, witnessed in the travels and experience of Benjamin Brown, high priest in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, pastor of the London, Reading, Kent, and Essex conferences. Liverpool: Published by S. W. Richards, 15, Wilton Street. London: For sale at the L. D.*

Saints' Book and Millennial Star Dépôt, 35, Jewin Street, City. And by agents and all booksellers throughout Great Britain and Ireland. 1853.

32 pp. 21.5 cm.

Benjamin Brown, born in New York on September 30, 1794, was baptized into the Church on May 15, 1835, participated in the dedication of the Kirtland Temple the following year, gathered to Nauvoo in 1839, and joined the exodus seven years later. At Winter Quarters he served as a bishop and in 1848 made the trek to the Salt Lake Valley. The following year he was called to be the bishop of the Salt Lake City Fourth Ward. At the August 1852 special conference he was assigned to England as a missionary, and on January 5, 1853, he landed at Liverpool and immediately was appointed pastor of the London, Reading, Kent, and Essex conferences.¹

Brown seems to have composed *Testimonies for the Truth* after he reached England, his “principal object” being “to preserve, for the benefit of my posterity, a record of some of the remarkable testimonies I have received.”² His book is the second of the autobiographical “faith-promoting” works, coming thirteen years after *Journal of Heber C. Kimball* and preceding Lucy Smith’s *Biographical Sketches* by a month (items 93, 829). Arranged in four chapters with chapter summaries, it gives an account of his life up to the time he arrived in England, emphasizing the miraculous events he claims to have witnessed. The last page includes a poem, “The Rays of Truth,” in nine 6-line verses, by William G. Mills, dated at the end, “Newbury, Berks, July 28, 1853.”³ Richard James’s colophon *Printed by R. James, 39, South Castle Street, Liverpool* is at the foot of the last page. Some copies have an errata slip approximately 2 × 11 cm, pasted on p. 31 at the bottom, correcting the dates on p. 10 of Brown’s baptism and ordination as an elder.

The *Millennial Star* of August 27, 1853, advertised *Testimonies for the Truth* at 4d. each, noting that “a perusal of it will no doubt serve to strengthen the faith of many who know that the supernatural manifestation of divine power among the people of God in all ages of the world, is consistent with His character and attributes.” The office filled the first order on September 9, and between that date and June 30, 1854, it sold slightly less than 4,200 copies. An inventory of the latter date shows 421 copies remaining in the office, so the pamphlet was undoubtedly published in an edition of 5,000—consistent with Richard James’s charge of £22 10s. for printing it.⁴ Two weeks after the first copies were sold, Samuel W. Richards wrote to Brown about the error in the pamphlet that “was not discovered until the work was printed and partly sold,” and on October 14 James billed the office 6s. for printing the errata slip.⁵ Except for the last three pages, *Testimonies for the Truth* was reprinted in *Gems for the Young Folks* (Salt Lake City, 1881), the fourth book of the Juvenile Instructor Office’s “Faith-Promoting Series.”

Brown served as pastor for a year and then labored as a traveling elder in the Manchester, Liverpool, Preston, Staffordshire, and Shropshire conferences. On March 31, 1855, he sailed from Liverpool and reached the Valley that summer. He

TESTIMONIES FOR THE TRUTH:

A RECORD OF

Manifestations of the Power of God, Miraculous and Providential,

WITNESSED IN

THE TRAVELS AND EXPERIENCE

OF

BENJAMIN BROWN,

HIGH PRIEST IN THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS,

Pastor of the London, Reading, Kent, and Essex Conferences.

LIVERPOOL:

PUBLISHED BY S. W. RICHARDS, 15, WILTON STREET.

LONDON:

FOR SALE AT THE L. D. SAINTS' BOOK AND MILLENNIAL STAR DEPÔT, 35, JEWIN STREET, CITY,
AND BY AGENTS AND ALL BOOKSELLERS THROUGHOUT GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

1853.

continued as the bishop of the Fourth Ward and in 1873 was ordained a patriarch. He died at his home in Salt Lake City on May 22, 1878.⁶

Flake-Draper 892. CSmH, CtY, CU-B, ICN, MH, NjP, TxDaDF, ULA, UPB, USIC, UU, WHI.

826 HAVEN, Jesse. *On the first principles of the gospel. A letter by Elder Jesse Haven, one of the presidents of the Seventies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and president of the mission at the Cape of Good Hope; written to his brother, Rev. John Haven, pastor of the Congregational Church in the town of Charlton, Worcester County, state of Massachusetts, United States of America.* [Caption title] [At end:] [1000 copies printed for circulation.] [At foot of p. 14:] *Van de Sandt de Villiers & Tier, Printers, Cape Town.* [1853?]

14 pp. 18.5 cm.

Three months into their mission at the Cape of Good Hope, Jesse Haven, William Walker, and Leonard I. Smith were enjoying their best results in what are now the southern suburbs of Cape Town—Mowbray, Newlands, and Rondebosch—and in Simon's Town, twenty miles to the south on the peninsula (see items 807–8). About the middle of July 1853, Haven and Walker began lodging in Mowbray with a new convert, Nicholas Paul, and on August 16 they organized a branch of the Church there. Three weeks later they organized a branch at Newlands.¹

That July, Haven attended two anti-Mormon lectures by an Anglican cleric, Robert G. Lamb, and during August 22–24 he composed a letter to Lamb, asking him to stop attacking the Church and harassing a young female convert who was living in his home. Seven days later—perhaps prompted by his letter to Lamb—he took up a letter to his older brother John, a Congregational minister in Massachusetts.² Haven had finished a draft of this letter on March 11, one month into his voyage to South Africa. Now he began to rework it as a general proselytizing piece. He continued working on it until September 6 and the next morning took the manuscript to Cape Town and ordered it printed in 1,000 copies. On the 12th he picked up the proof and returned it to the printer the next day. That evening he convened a meeting of the Mowbray and Newlands branches and appointed certain members to circulate tracts in their neighborhoods. He received the first one hundred copies of *On the First Principles of the Gospel* on September 15 and the rest the next day, when he began to distribute the tracts to those who had been assigned to circulate them.³

On the First Principles of the Gospel comprises Haven's letter to his brother, dated at Cape Town, September 1853. Patterned after Lorenzo Snow's *Only Way to Be Saved*, it draws heavily on the New Testament to argue that Jesus and the early apostles taught faith in Christ, repentance from sin, baptism by immersion, and the baptism of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. It further contends that Christ's true church includes "Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, &c." and its members possess "all the gifts of the gospel, such as the gift of prophecy, gift of tongues,

interpretation of tongues, gift of healing, miracles, &c.” It was Haven’s most successful tract. In 1855 he published a second edition in English and an edition in Dutch (items 967, 1028). Unfortunately, only item 826 is extant, and it is not entirely clear which edition it is. The circumstances surrounding the printing of the second English edition, however, tend to suggest it was printed by W. Foelscher and hence that the one printed by Van de Sandt de Villiers & Tier is indeed the first edition (see item 1028).

Flake-Draper 3891b. UPB, USIC.

827 BALLANTYNE, Richard. *A reply to a tract written by the Rev. J. Richards, M.A., giving a more correct answer to the question “What is Mormonism?”—purporting to be answered by him.—By Richard Ballantyne, elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* [Caption title] [At foot of p. 8:] S. Bowie, Printer, 164, Popham’s Broadway, Madras. [1853]

8 pp. 21.5 cm. Blue printed wrappers.

828 BALLANTYNE, Richard. *A reply to the second tract written by the Rev. J. Richards, M.A., giving a more correct answer to the question “What is Mormonism?”—purporting to be answered by him.—By Richard Ballantyne, elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* [Caption title] [Madras, 1853]

8 pp. 21.5 cm. Blue printed wrappers.

Neither tract by the “Rev. J. Richards, M.A.” is located. Richards was the chaplain at the St. Thomas Mount cantonment and without doubt was roused to issue his tracts by Robert Skelton’s proselytizing during August and September 1853 (see item 823).¹ Ballantyne “studied” the first tract and took notes on September 7 and decided to write a reply six days later when it appeared it was affecting Skelton’s efforts. He worked on his reply for the next five days and took the manuscript to S. Bowie of the Oriental Press on the 19th, arranging with him to print 300 copies and bind them in wrappers with his first two Madras tracts at a cost of about 13 rupees. Bowie further agreed to be paid out of the proceeds from the pamphlet’s sale. On September 23 Ballantyne corrected the proof, and on October 4 he reported to S. W. Richards that he had published 400 copies “one week ago.” Twenty-two days later he settled his bill with Mr. Bowie.²

Richards’s second tract—“written in a very virulent and abusive style”—came to Ballantyne’s hand on October 5, and on the 13th he was composing a reply. The following day he wrote to James Mills—a Baptist preacher and superintendent of a local tract society, who would subsequently join the Church—describing its contents and soliciting his help in getting it published, and that evening Mills borrowed the manuscript. On the 15th Ballantyne obtained an estimate from the Oriental Press of “about 17 Rupees” to print 300 copies, and two days later Mills urged him to go to press at once. That day Ballantyne corrected

the manuscript and took it to the Oriental Press, and on October 28 and 29 the printer delivered 397 copies. Because it was longer than first estimated and printed in more copies, the cost was slightly more than 26 rupees. Ballantyne left fifty of each tract with the printer to sell, the proceeds to be applied to his bill. By December 10 he had reduced his debt to Bowie by 5 rupees, and that day he paid him 10 rupees borrowed from Thomas Brown, leaving a balance of about 11 rupees.³

Ballantyne begins his first reply with a refutation of the Spaulding-Rigdon theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon, quoting the account of Sidney Rigdon's introduction to the book in the "History of Joseph Smith" and excerpts from John Haven's letter reporting Jesse Haven's interview with Matilda Davison (see items 77, 80, 169, 791). He reprints the testimonies of the Three and Eight Witnesses, quotes John 10:16 and Isaiah 29, dismisses "Henry Caswall's testimony" as "unworthy of credit" (see items 431, 514–15), and remarks that he knew Joseph Smith and his brothers Hyrum and Samuel and that they "were men of God." He adds an outline of Mormonism's basic tenets and at the end argues against the notion that "the Cannon of Scripture is full."

The first reply was issued in a blue paper wrapper, bound with the Madras editions of the *Only Way to Be Saved* and *Proclamation of the Gospel* (items 817–18). The front wrapper has the following text within a ruled border with corner decorations: *A reply | to | a tract | written by the | Rev. J. Richards, M. A., | giving a more correct answer to the question | "What is Mormonism?" | purporting to be answered by him. | By Richard Ballantyne, | elder in the Church of Jesus Christ | of | Latter-day Saints. | To which is appended | a treatise | on the | doctrine of Christ, | proclamation of the gospel, | and | a brief account | of the | rise and progress | of this work. | Price four annas per copy.—To be had at the Oriental Press. | Madras:—Printed by S. Bowie, at the Oriental Press.* The back wrapper has a notice that a supply of books "is daily expected" and that meetings are held at No. 38 Anderson Street on Sunday at 3:00 p.m. and Monday and Friday at 6:30 p.m. (see item 823). The interior of the wrapper is plain.⁴

Ballantyne opens his second reply by responding to Richards's objection that the advent of the Book of Mormon was "one series of Marvels." Here he uses the accounts of Moses's receiving the Law on Mount Sinai and Jeremiah's hiding the record of purchase (Jeremiah 32:14) and then defends the Mormon interpretation of Isaiah 29, Ezekiel 37, and Daniel 2. Next he reprints Lectures III, IV, and V of the Lectures on Faith (see item 22). In his note to James Mills, he remarked that he had included these "so that the garbled extracts of Mr. Richards may be made manifest and the glorious nature of the trinity be set forth in its true light." "The Tract will not only be a reply to Mr. Richards," he continued, "but is designed, especially on the subject just named, to be a standard work." At the end he outlines Mormonism's first principles—adding a "holy, virtuous, and prayerful" life and a patient wait "for the coming of the Son of Man." The second reply was also issued in blue wrappers with the following text within a similar border on the front:

*A reply | to the | second tract | written by the | Rev. J. Richards, M. A., | giving a more correct answer to the question | “What is Mormonism?” | purporting to be answered by him. | By Richard Ballantyne, | elder in the Church of Jesus Christ | of | Latter-day Saints. | Containing also, | three lectures, | on the | character, attributes & perfections | of the | Deity. | Price two annas per copy—To be had at the Oriental Press. | Madras:—Printed by S. Bowie, at the Oriental Press.*⁵

Item 827: Flake-Draper 266. CtY, CU-B, UPB, USIC, UU. Item 828: Flake-Draper 267. CtY, CU-B, UPB, USIC, UU.

829 SMITH, Lucy Mack. *Biographical sketches of Joseph Smith, the prophet, and his progenitors for many generations. By Lucy Smith, mother of the prophet. Liverpool: Published for Orson Pratt by S. W. Richards 15, Wilton Street. London: Sold at the Latter-day Saints’ Book Depôt, 35, Jewin Street; and by all booksellers. 1853.*

xii[xiii–xiv][15]–297[1] pp. 15 cm.

Lucy Smith’s *Biographical Sketches* is one of “the essential sources for Mormon origins.”¹ Originating during the winter of 1844–45, the book arose from a collaborative effort between Lucy Smith, then sixty-nine years old, and Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, forty-seven years her junior.² Martha Jane wrote Lucy’s reminiscences as she dictated them, producing a preliminary manuscript of approximately 210 pages. She and her husband Howard Coray then made a finished transcription—expanded with excerpts from the “History of Joseph Smith”—that went to Lucy. They made a second transcription for Brigham Young, which was undoubtedly finished by mid-January 1846, when the Church paid the Corays for their work on the reminiscences.³ On July 18, 1845, Lucy Smith obtained the copyright for her book in the Illinois district court.⁴

Orson Pratt acquired Lucy’s finished transcription from Almon W. Babbitt in December 1852, soon after he arrived in Washington, DC (see items 769–71). He later reported that Babbitt claimed to have purchased it for “several hundred dollars” from “some man in Cincinnati”—undoubtedly Isaac Sheen, Babbitt’s brother-in-law. Sheen had been a religious associate of William Smith’s in Covington, Kentucky, just across the Ohio River from Cincinnati, until he and William acrimoniously parted company in the spring of 1850 (see item 318). The *Daily Cincinnati Commercial* of May 20, 1850, reported the break and noted that Sheen had kept William Smith’s church records—including, most likely, Lucy Smith’s finished transcription.⁵

On December 31, 1852, Orson Pratt wrote to Brigham Young:

I think I will step over to Liverpool and publish . . . another work, which will be very interesting, namely, the narrative of Mother Smith, giving the genealogy of Joseph, back for seven generations, and a statement of many facts, visions, dreams, and incidents, connected with the finding & translating of the plates, the rise of the church &c. These items have never before been published, and I think that they will

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

JOSEPH SMITH

THE

PROPHET,

AND HIS

Progeniture for many Generations.

BY

LUCY SMITH,

MOTHER OF THE PROPHET.

Liverpool:

PUBLISHED FOR ORSON PRATT BY S. W. RICHARDS
15, WILTON STREET.

London:

SOLD AT THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS' BOOK DEPÔT,
35, JEWIN STREET;

AND BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1853.

do much good both to the church & the world. These manuscripts I purchased of Bro. Babbitt, and am to pay him by the first of June next.⁶

Orson arrived in Liverpool on May 29, 1853, arranged for the publications of Lucy's transcription, and sailed for New York about two and a half months later.⁷ In the mean time, the *Millennial Star* of March 12, 1853, announced that the manuscript would soon be published and remarked, mistakenly, that it was "written by the direction and under the inspection of the Prophet." Four months later the *Star* noted that *Biographical Sketches* was in press, and on October 15 it advertised the book as "now ready for sale." Copies in sheep, calf, and morocco were offered in England at 2s. 6d., 4s., and 6s., respectively, and in Washington at \$1.00, \$1.50, and \$2.00. Samuel W. Richards advertised the book in Salt Lake City in November 1854 at \$1.75, and again a year later at \$1.50.⁸

Biographical Sketches was printed in London by William Bowden at a cost of £177 13s., plus an additional £3 for "100 Sup[er]ior copies." Orson Pratt and Samuel W. Richards's correspondence and the European Mission financial records make it clear that the edition initially belonged to Pratt, who contracted for the printing and the first round of bindings. Richards purchased the edition from Pratt in 1853 or 1854, apparently at Pratt's request, and retained ownership of it thereafter. In 1857 he approached Orson about buying back the unsold portion, but Pratt declined, claiming that he was "already several thousand dollars in debt." Twenty-one years later Richards again wrote to Pratt, asking for some financial relief for the loss he had suffered when the book was suppressed.⁹

The European Mission financial records indicate that orders for the book were first filled on October 7, 1853; the following day Samuel W. Richards sent a copy to Orson Pratt in Washington. Between October 7, 1853, and July 7, 1854, the mission office sold slightly more than 1,800 copies. An inventory of the latter date shows 6,898 copies still in the office, 6,361 in unbound sheets, and 537 bound books—158 in morocco, 73 in calf, and 306 in sheep. In February 1854 Richards shipped 1,205 copies to Utah in two cases, a lot not reflected in the financial records. It appears, therefore, that *Biographical Sketches* was printed in an edition of 10,000. Seven hundred and fifty additional copies were bound and 702 more books were sold during the period July 7, 1854–June 30, 1856, and 131 books were sold between June 30, 1856, and March 30, 1861, when George Q. Cannon sent Brigham Young an inventory of the Liverpool office that listed 454 bound copies of *Biographical Sketches* and 5,611 in sheets.¹⁰

Sales of the book were certainly affected by a notice from Brigham Young in the *Millennial Star* of May 12, 1855:

There are many mistakes in the work entitled 'Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and of his progenitors for many generation, by Lucy Smith, mother of the Prophet.' . . . I have had a written copy of those sketches in my possession for several years, and it contains much of the history of the Prophet Joseph. Should it ever be deemed best to publish these sketches, it will not be done until after they are carefully corrected.

Young discussed the book with Wilford Woodruff, the assistant Church historian, on February 13, 1859, and directed him, Church historian George A. Smith, and Elias Smith “to take up that work & revise it & Correct it that it belonged to the Historians to attend to it that there was many fals statements made in it and he wished them to be left out and all other statements which we did not know to be true, and give the reason why they are left out.”¹¹ Less than two years later, George Q. Cannon arrived in Liverpool and soon after wrote Brigham Young about the massive inventory of books and tracts that sat unsold in the Liverpool office. In his reply of May 15, 1861, Young directed Cannon to send the basic bound books to Utah and give the tracts away. With respect to *Biographical Sketches*, he advised:

I wish you to gather up from the Saints all the copies you can of the history of Joseph Smith the Prophet, said to be written by mother Smith, and printed by O. Pratt, and have them with those in the office, and such tracts as are incorrect in doctrine, destroyed—provided you cannot sell them to a paper maker with the privilege of seeing them all thrown into the vat, or otherwise rendered unfit to read.

Six months later Young clarified his instructions, adding: “Of course in this explanation I do not include Mother Smith’s History of Joseph, nor tracts or other publications containing incorrect doctrine which are to be disposed of, as then advised, to the pulp tub of the paper makers, at any rates you can obtain.” The following spring Cannon shipped most of the bound books in the mission’s inventory to Salt Lake City, but no copies of *Biographical Sketches*. He seems to have destroyed all those in the office along with a few copies gathered from the local members.¹² Still, almost four thousand were distributed prior to Brigham Young’s instructions to suppress the edition, and today *Biographical Sketches* is a “common” rare book.

An official condemnation came three years after Cannon sent the British Mission’s inventory to Utah. On May 8, 1865, Brigham Young spoke in Wellsville, Utah, and, prompted by seeing a copy of *Biographical Sketches* at Ezra T. Benson’s house, used the occasion to ventilate his concerns with the book. Branding it “a tissue of falsehoods,” he gave his understanding of its history, cited two examples of errors in it, complained that Orson Pratt had published it “without saying a word to the First Presidency or the Twelve”—apparently not recalling Orson’s letter of December 31, 1852—and enjoined “the Twelve, the High Priests, the Seventies, the Bishops, and every one in the Church, male and female, if they have such a book, to destroy it.” The following month he spoke again on the same subject in Spanish Fork, “requesting those who had copies to let him have them, and receive value for them if they desired it.” The official statement appeared in the *Deseret News* of August 23, 1865, and was reprinted in the *Millennial Star* of October 21. Signed by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and all of the Twelve except Orson Pratt, it opens with a reference to the Wellsville visit and repeats much of the language of the Wellsville discourse before moving to a denunciation of Pratt’s *Seer*, *Great First Cause*, and *Holy Spirit* (see items 543, 769–70, 1097).¹³

Brigham Young's instructions to Wilford Woodruff in February 1859 inaugurated an effort to correct the text of *Biographical Sketches*, which appears to have produced three marked copies of the book, two at the LDS Church, the third at Brigham Young University. Each of these has the following note on a front flyleaf:

This work was written in Nauvoo in 1845 by Mrs. Howard Coray, from Narrations of Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet, after his death. Her memory having been very much impaired, and Somewhat shattered by the successive losses of a husband and four Sons, as well as by care and old age, the work contains many things which are incorrect. It was entitled the History of Mother Smith by herself; the metamorphose in the title and preface were added without her consent or knowledge; and the Mss. was Surreptitiously obtained from her by Isaac Sheen, who sold it to Orson Pratt, who published it without the consent or knowledge of the First Presidency or any of the Twelve.

In each instance, this note is signed by George A. Smith and Robert L. Campbell; one of the Church's copies is dated "Historian's Office, 1860." The manuscript changes in the three books are virtually the same, differing only at two or three points, although not always in the same hand. They occur on just forty-one pages, and many are relatively minor.¹⁴

This effort was renewed at a meeting of Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, and some of the Twelve on April 22, 1866, when Young instructed Wilford Woodruff: "as soon as G A Smith Comes home I want you to get Elias Smith & set down & Correct the Errors in the History of Joseph Smith as published by Mother Smith & then let it be published to the world." The "Historian's Office Journal" records the collaborative work of George A. Smith, Elias Smith, Joseph F. Smith, and Robert L. Campbell during April, May, and September 1866.¹⁵ Out of this seems to have come two additional marked copies, both at the LDS Church—the "Elias Smith copy" and the "Samuel W. Richards copy." The corrections in the Elias Smith copy are significantly different from those in the three marked copies discussed in the preceding paragraph. There are more corrections—occurring on about one hundred pages—but many are simply stylistic modifications that do not affect the meaning of the text. All of the changes in the Elias Smith copy, except one, appear in the Salt Lake City 1902 edition—the LDS Church's first authorized edition—and it is conceivable that the Elias Smith copy was used to produce the 1902 edition.¹⁶ A substantial fraction of the changes in the Elias Smith copy occur in the Samuel W. Richards copy, but not all of the changes.

Richard Lloyd Anderson and Howard Searle have addressed the issue of errors in *Biographical Sketches*. Anderson checked "some 200 names" mentioned in the book against various contemporary sources and verified over 190 of them. Further, he found that while Lucy's history is inaccurate in some of its dates, "the deviation is confined to narrow limits." Overall, he concluded, the book possesses "a demonstrable degree of accuracy"—consistent with Searle's conclusions that even Lucy's incorrect dates "are within a year or two" and that George A. Smith and his associates "made very few significant changes."¹⁷

If the book was generally accurate, why was Brigham Young so offended by it? Anderson, Searle, and Jan Shipps have suggested some possibilities. Young was clearly bothered by Lucy's understandably warm treatment of William Smith, her only surviving son, who was anathema to Brigham because of his behavior in the eastern states, his attempts to secure the leadership of the Church, and his subsequent schismatic activities (see items 148, 153, 191–92, 211, 318). Brigham Young's dispute with Orson Pratt over doctrinal issues and the condemnation of some of his works may have spilled over to *Biographical Sketches*, which Young repeatedly claimed Pratt had published without authorization. Perhaps irritating to Young was Pratt's and then S. W. Richards's ownership of what he viewed as the property of the Church. Another factor may have been the emergence of the Reorganization. Shipps points out that the picture of early Mormonism in *Biographical Sketches* is largely "familial, even tribal, rather than organizational and institutional"—a fact underscored by the book's copyright title: "The History of Lucy Smith wife of Joseph Smith the first Patriarch of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, who was the father of Joseph Smith, Prophet, Seer & Revelator;—containing an account of the many persecutions, trials and afflictions which I and my family have endured in bringing forth the Book of Mormon, and establishing the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; and also an account of Many remarkable dreams and visions never before published: a genealogy of our family for many generations and the history of the Murder of my sons Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Carthage Jail." The book's emphasis on the Smith family, Shipps argues, may have been perceived as supporting RLDS claims.¹⁸

Biographical Sketches collates: half title (pp. [i–ii]); title page (p. [iii]), with *Entered at Stationers' Hall* on the verso; *Contents* (pp. [v]–xii); *Preface* signed by Orson Pratt (pp. [xiii–xiv]); main text (pp. [15]–282); and *Appendix* (pp. [283]–297), with *London: Printed by William Bowden, Bedford Street, Holborn* on the verso of p. 297. The title page occurs in two states, with and without a comma after *Joseph Smith*.¹⁹ The Samuel W. Richards copy has page 195 misnumbered 197; it is the only known copy with this printing variant. Orson's preface opens with the mistaken claim that "the following pages, embracing biographical sketches and the genealogy of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and his Progenitors, were mostly written previous to the death of the Prophet, and under his personal inspection." The appendix (pp. [283]–297) contains an 1838 mission journal of Don Carlos Smith and two letters to his wife, followed by three of Eliza R. Snow's poems: "Elegy on the Death of . . . Joseph Smith, Senior"; "Lines Written on the Death of Gen. Don Carlos Smith"; and "The Assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith" (item 249). These were first published in the *Times and Seasons* of October 1840, August 16, 1841, and July 1, 1844, respectively, and are reprinted in the first volume of Eliza's *Poems*, pp. 100–5, 142–45.

The European Mission financial records indicate that William Bowden printed "100 Sup[er]ior copies" of the book in addition to the standard edition. Orson Pratt sent ten of these superior copies to Lucy Smith in January 1854.²⁰ The Elias Smith copy is a superior copy. It is printed on heavier paper and bound

in black grained morocco with a blind and gilt arabesque inside a double ruled blind border on the covers, gilt ornaments and gilt title between raised bands on the backstrip, gilt edges, and green coated endsheets with a diagonal array of gilt stars. The University of Utah has a copy in the same binding with blue endsheets, and several others are in private hands, bound similarly in black or brown morocco with green, ivory, or blue endsheets—including one bearing a presentation from Lucy Smith to her daughter Lucy Smith Millikin and another with a presentation from Lucy to her grandson Alexander H. Smith. The block of 298 pages, not including endsheets, is about 17 mm thick for a superior copy, about 13 mm thick for a standard copy.

Original bindings of the standard copies include blue, black, or brown blind-stamped diced or textured sheep with an arabesque inside an ornamental border on the covers, bands in blind and title in gilt on the backstrip, and yellow coated endsheets; black or brown diced calf with a gilt ruled border on the covers, blind-stamped backstrip with raised bands and gilt title, gilt edges, and green or blue green coated endsheets; brown grained morocco with a gilt arabesque surrounded by a double ruled border in blind on the covers, gilt panels and gilt title between raised bands on the backstrip, gilt edges, and yellow coated endsheets with a diagonal array of gilt stars; black grained morocco with a gilt rectangular panel surround by a vinelike border inside a double ruled border in blind on the covers, gilt panels and gilt title between raised bands on the backstrip, gilt edges, and green coated endsheets with a diagonal array of gilt stars; brown morocco with a double ruled border with corner decorations in blind surrounding a gilt arabesque on the covers, blind-stamped panels and gilt title between raised bands on the backstrip, goffered edges, and blue embossed coated endsheets.

Flake-Draper 8080. CSmH, CtY, CU-B, ICN, MH, MoInRC, MWA, NjP, UHi, UPB, USIC, USID, UU.

830 HAVEN, Jesse, William Holmes Walker, and Leonard Ishmael Smith. *A warning to all*. [Signed at end:] *Jesse Haven, William Walker, Leonard I. Smith, Elders in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Special Witnesses to the Cape of Good Hope*. [Cape Town, 1853?]

2 pp. 21 cm.

Jesse Haven's *On the First Principles of the Gospel* had been out of press two weeks, when he spent "a good part" of Friday, September 30, 1853, at Nicholas Paul's composing *A Warning To All* (see items 807–8, 826). The next day he "nearly finished" it, and on October 4 he took the manuscript to Cape Town and contracted for the printing of 1,000 copies at a cost of thirty shillings. Two days later he and Leonard I. Smith went to Cape Town and corrected the proof, and on the 8th he obtained the copies.¹

Two editions of *A Warning to All* in English are extant, the second published in 1855 (item 968). These are distinguished by the word *Special* or *Especial* just

preceding *Witnesses* at the end of the tract. The edition with *Especial* capitalizes two words, corrects six spelling or punctuation errors, and introduces a misprint, so one might guess it is the second edition. Both editions are single sheets, with the page number 2 on the verso. Haven also published a Dutch edition in August 1854 (item 907).

Undoubtedly produced for the tract distribution campaign Haven had organized on September 13 (see item 826), *A Warning to All* opens with the testimony that Joseph Smith was “a virtuous, high-minded, good, and an honourable man; and a Prophet of the Most High.” It calls upon everyone “of whatever name, grade, rank, or condition” to repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins and to prepare for the “judgments that await this generation.” “The Lord is now sending forth His Servants for the last time to warn the inhabitants of the earth,” it continues, and after this testimony “will come the testimony of wars, famine, pestilence, earthquakes, &c.” Condemning the anti-Mormon tracts in circulation, it declares that Haven, Walker, and Smith are “willing and ready, to meet privately or publicly, any Minister, Dean, or Bishop in this Colony, and prove by the Bible, that the doctrines we teach, are the doctrines of the Bible.” Haven reported that when *A Warning to All* was issued, the head Wesleyan cleric wanted to organize a public debate but discarded the idea when the ministers of the other denominations would not join in.²

William Walker, born in Vermont on August 28, 1820, was baptized into the Church in 1835, three years after his father, who was wounded at Haun’s Mill. He boarded with Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, marched with the Mormon Battalion, and reached the Salt Lake Valley in September 1847. Moving to southern Utah in 1862, he constructed flower and lumber mills in Millard County, established a school at Big Cottonwood in 1875, and in 1884 purchased land with his sons in Lewisville, Idaho. Ordained a patriarch in 1892, he died in Lewisville on January 9, 1908.³

Less is known about Leonard I. Smith. Born in Illinois in 1823, he converted to Mormonism in 1847 and had come to the Salt Lake Valley by 1852. Returning from his mission in May 1856, he settled in Salt Lake City, where he is listed as a “Hotel Keeper” in the 1860 census. Subsequently he moved to Tooele County and during the 1860s carried the mail from Salt Lake City to some of the outlying settlements. On July 19, 1877, near the terminus of the Utah Western Railroad, he was killed in a gunfight with his nephew.⁴

Flake-Draper 3892a. UPB.

831 [Perpetual Emigrating Fund circular. Liverpool, 1853]

Under the date October 11, 1853, the European Mission financial records list: “Richard James Cr. By invoice of 11th (P. E. F. circulars) 0.4.6.”¹ These “circulars” undoubtedly pertained to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, but exactly what they were is not known.

832 JAQUES, John. *Salvation: a dialogue between Elder Brownson and Mr. Whitby. By John Jaques, elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* [Caption title] [At head of title right:] [No. 1. [At foot of p. 8:]] *Liverpool: Published by S. W. Richards, 15, Wilton Street. London: For sale at the L. D. Saints' Book and Millennial Star Depôt, 35, Jewin Street, City, and by agents and all booksellers throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Printed for the publisher by R. James, 39, South Castle Street, Liverpool.* [1853]
8 pp. 21 cm.

833 JAQUES, John. *Salvation: a dialogue between Elder Brownson and Mr. Whitby. By John Jaques, elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* [Caption title] [At head of title right:] [No. 2. [At foot of p. 8:]] *Liverpool: Published by S. W. Richards, 15, Wilton Street. London: For sale at the L. D. Saints' Book and Millennial Star Depôt, 35, Jewin Street, City, and by agents and all booksellers throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Printed for the publisher, by R. James, 39, South Castle Street, Liverpool.* [1853]
8 pp. 21 cm.

Following his appointment as assistant editor of the *Millennial Star* in January 1852, John Jaques was a frequent contributor to the magazine, and his *Salvation* in two parts—like *Exclusive Salvation* published two years earlier—originated as pieces for it (see item 593).¹ Both parts appeared in the *Star* in two installments, the first in the issues of September 17 and September 24, 1853, the second in the issues of October 1 and October 8. Samuel W. Richards contracted with Richard James to print a pamphlet edition on October 14. Fifteen days later the *Star* advertised the two parts at 1d. each, noting that they were “well calculated to do good by general distribution, not only from the amount of useful information they contain . . . but from the familiar and pleasing style in which important truths are advanced.” Each part was printed in 5,000 copies, at a total cost of £10, plus a royalty to Jaques of £6 5s.² Second editions were issued about a year later, and a German translation was published in seven installments in the second volume of the *Darsteller* (items 917–18, 1005).

At this point the dialogue was a familiar format for Mormon writers (see, e.g., items 138, 229, 291–93, 409, 451, 696). Jaques casts his dialogues as visits of an LDS elder named Brownson to the home of a Mr. Whitby, who makes “no profession of religion” but is receptive to Brownson’s message. The first part lays out Mormonism’s first principles—faith, repentance, baptism by immersion, the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the reality of the gifts of the Spirit—with biblical proof-texts accompanying each point. At the end is a catalogue of works. The second part, following Orson Pratt’s *Remarkable Visions*, gives an account of Joseph Smith’s first vision, the advent of the Book of Mormon, and the founding of the Church. It describes the Church’s moves to Missouri and Illinois, the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and the settlement of the Salt Lake Valley, and it mentions

the various foreign missions and a few of the Church's publications, including an edition of the Book of Mormon in "Polynesian." It then summarizes the organizational structure of the Church, introduces the doctrine of the gathering, and, in the last page and a half, gives a brief—and standard—defense of plural marriage.³ The pamphlet edition embodies a little more than a dozen insignificant grammatical improvements and changes in punctuation and capitalization from the version in the *Star*. In addition, the second part changes the name of the angel from Nephi to Moroni, adding a reference to Lucy Smith's *Biographical Sketches*, and corrects the date of Joseph's and Hyrum Smith's deaths.

Item 832: Flake-Draper 4350. CU-B, CtY, ICN, MH, NjP, UPB, USIC. Item 833: Flake-Draper 4353. CSMH, CtY, ICN, MH, NjP, UPB, USIC.

834 *Acts and resolutions, passed at the second annual session of the Legislative Assembly of the territory of Utah, begun and held on the second Monday of December, A.D. 1852, at Great Salt Lake City. Also the constitution of the state of Deseret, and the ordinances of said state now in force, in the territory of Utah. Published by authority of the Legislative Assembly. Great Salt Lake City. George Hales, Printer. 1853.*

iv[5]–168[1] pp. 19.5 cm.

835 *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council and joint sessions of the second annual and adjourned sessions of the Legislative Assembly, of the territory of Utah: held at Great Salt Lake City, 1852 and 1853. [Published by authority of the Legislative Assembly.] Great Salt Lake City: Printed by George Hales. 1853.*

147 pp. 18 cm.

The second annual session of the Utah territorial legislature convened on December 13, 1852, and ran in regular session through January 21, 1853, and in an adjourned joint session, June 1–3.¹ The first legislature had legalized the ordinances of the state of Deseret as territorial statutes on October 4, 1851, and in a joint resolution of January 21, 1853, the second legislature directed the Code Commissioners—Elias Smith, Albert Carrington, and William Snow—"to prepare, and revise the laws of the Provisional State of Deseret, so as to render them compatible with more recent enactments; and that the same be published with, or as an addenda, to the acts and doings of the present session of this Legislature." Another joint resolution of the same date specified that the laws of the 1852–53 session be printed in 1,000 copies and the journals in 400 copies, and that the secretary of the Council, James Ferguson, and chief clerk of the House, Thomas Bullock, with their assistants, Thomas W. Ellerbeck and Jonathan Grimshaw, "prepare marginal notes, contents, and index to the same for publication in proper order." A third resolution of January 21 specified the distribution of the published books: one copy of both the laws and journals to each governor of a US state or territory, one

hundred copies of each to the Utah governor, two of each to every member of the legislature and one of each to the officers of the legislature, five copies of each book to the Utah Library and library of the University of Deseret, and a copy of the laws to each civil officer of the territory. A fourth resolution of that date granted the secretary and chief clerk, their assistants, and the reporters to the Council and House forty days to prepare the journals for publication.²

Thomas Bullock, George D. Watt, and Jonathan Grimshaw read the proof of the laws between September 20 and October 30, 1853, when Bullock noted in the “Historian’s Office Journal” that the printers were “very busy so as to send off some of the laws on Tuesday morning [November 1] by Mail to the States.” During November 4–26 he and Grimshaw read the proof of the journals.³ The general appropriation bill approved January 21, 1854, awarded \$120 each to Ferguson, Ellerbeck, Bullock, Grimshaw, George D. Watt, reporter to the Council, and Walter Thomson, reporter to the House, “for forty days service after the close of session 1852–3”; \$2,965.05 to George Hales for printing the laws and journals for the 1852–53 session; \$72 to Bullock “for examining proofs and revise of the Laws”; and \$54 to Grimshaw “for examining proofs and revise of the Journals.”⁴ Who bound them is not clear. Most were undoubtedly bound by John Bookbinder Kelley, who arrived in Utah in the fall of 1853. The *Deseret News* bindery ledger, under the dates December 1853 and February 28, 1854, has the entries “200 Journals bound,” at a cost of \$15.00, and “600 Copys of Laws bound,” at a cost of \$136.00.⁵ Because of the small cost, one might guess that the journals were bound in paper covers.

Item 834 collates: title page (pp. [i]) with the verso blank; members of the legislature (pp. [iii]–iv); acts (pp. [5]–64); resolutions (pp. 64–70); memorials (pp. 70–81); constitution and ordinances of the State of Deseret (pp. [82]–143), with the verso of p. 143 blank; acts and resolution passed at the adjourned session, June 1–3, 1853 (pp. [145]–158); index to the laws, resolutions, and memorials passed at the regular session (pp. [159]–165); index to the constitution and ordinances of the provisional State of Deseret (pp. [166]–168); and index to the acts and resolution passed at the adjourned session (p. [169]). The approval dates of the actions of the regular session span the period December 23, 1852–January 21, 1853, those of the adjourned session, June 1–June 4, 1853. The Brigham Young University Lee Library copy is in half tan sheep with gray paper covered boards, bearing the name of Lorin Farr, a member of the Council from Weber County. The Bancroft Library has Franklin D. Richards’s copy bound in legal sheep with the laws of the first and third sessions.

Item 835 collates: title page (p. [1]), with the verso blank; journal of the House of Representatives (pp. [3]–72); journal of the Council (pp. [73]–121, with p. [122] blank; and minutes of the joint sessions (pp. [123]–147). The Lee Library has Franklin D. Richards’s copy, bound in legal sheep with the journals of several other sessions.

Item 834: Flake-Draper 9384a. CtY, CU-B, NjP, UPB, USIC. *Item 835:* Flake-Draper 9385d. CtY, CU-B, UPB, USIC.

836 SNOW, Lorenzo. [1 line] *The only way to be saved.* [1 line] *An explanation of the first principles of the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* By Lorenzo Snow, missionary from America, and president of the Italian, Swiss, and East India missions. Re-published by Elders Woolley and Fotheringham. Delhi: Re-printed at the Indian Standard Press, by W. DeMonte. 1853.

8 pp. 21 cm.

837 WOOLLEY, Samuel Amos, and William Fotheringham. [Circulars. Agra, 1853]

Samuel A. Woolley and Truman Leonard went to Chinsura, their assigned field of labor, on May 7, 1853, and on the 16th, William Fotheringham and William F. Carter left Calcutta for Dinapur and Chunar (see items 818–19). At both places Fotheringham and Carter were prohibited to proselytize at the cantonments, and on June 25 they returned to Calcutta. When William Willes wrote for help with his efforts near Delhi, Fotheringham was reassigned to assist him, and on August 17 N. V. Jones wrote Woolley, asking him to accompany Fotheringham.¹

Woolley and Fotheringham departed Calcutta on the bullock-drawn wagon train on August 24 and reached Sikandarabad, near Delhi, about four and a half weeks later. There they met William Willes, and after nine days they separated, Willes to Calcutta, Woolley and Fotheringham to Meerut, home of one of the largest cantonments in Upper India. On October 6 they reached Meerut, where they found lodging with an acquaintance of Willes's. As in Dinapur and Chunar, the military authority forbade them to preach in the cantonment, and their efforts to hold meetings outside the station met with little success, so they turned to the tract to disseminate their message.² Fotheringham reported on November 2 that they had "sent to Delhi" to get Lorenzo Snow's *Only Way to Be Saved* printed in 1,000 copies. Woolley arranged with the Delhi *Indian Standard* to print it and gave his watch to satisfy the forty-rupee bill. To help circulate the pamphlets, they hired "a reliable cooly" who could work all day in the heat, but out of the five or six hundred bungalows they canvassed, only about ninety would accept the tract "as a gift."³ The text of their edition indicates they reprinted the second or later state of the 1851 London edition—probably the second state inasmuch as the Delhi edition copies the wavy rule at the end (see item 639).

After five fruitless weeks in Meerut, Woolley and Fotheringham left for Delhi on November 10, reaching it the next day. Here they failed to draw sufficient numbers to their meetings and again fell back on distributing pamphlets, with the same result as in Meerut. On December 7 they departed Delhi for Karnal, tarried there a week, and came to Agra on the 19th. Once again the military prohibited them from preaching in the cantonment, but a Mr. Gibbons, editor of the Agra *Mofussilite*, befriended them and fitted up an enclosed veranda for their use in the building housing his print shop. He also struck off "a number of circulars" advertising their meetings. They continued to preach at Mr. Gibbons's until their

listeners “dwindled down to one” and then rented a hall in another part of Agra. When the editor of the *Agra Messenger* declined to print “a few circulars gratis,” they went back to Gibbons, who “furnished [them] with all the circulars [they] required.” Disappointingly, only one man, a native, and his wife came to their first lecture.⁴

After a little over a month in Agra, the two missionaries made the five-day journey to Kanpur. There they rented a bungalow and hired “two reliable coolies” to distribute the *Only Way to Be Saved* and a “circular” giving the location and times of their meetings. Their first lecture drew eleven, who soon dwindled to three, so they concentrated on circulating pamphlets and after eight days departed for Allahabad. In Allahabad they again fixed up a room and hired a cooly to hand out the *Only Way to Be Saved* and a “circular”—and attracted one person. On February 21, 1854, after about two weeks in Allahabad, they left for Calcutta, reaching it on March 6. Their six-month journey had produced no converts.⁵

Woolley and Fotheringham advertised some of their meetings in Meerut and Delhi with circulars, which Fotheringham suggests were handwritten. Whether the circulars they distributed in Kanpur and Allahabad were handwritten or printed is not known. Perhaps in these places they used a piece printed by Gibbons in Agra that had blank spaces where different meeting times and locations could be written in by hand (see items 76, 440, 447, 823). Woolley mentions putting out his “circulars all over the station” at Chinsura a few months later, and it is conceivable that he used this piece there also.⁶

Samuel A. Woolley continued to labor in India until November 1, 1854, when he sailed for Boston. The younger brother of Edwin D. Woolley, he was born in Pennsylvania on September 11, 1825, joined the Church in 1840, and came to Utah in 1848. In 1856 he was called as a counselor to his brother John in the bishopric of the Salt Lake City Ninth Ward, appointed acting bishop upon John’s death in 1864, and set apart as bishop in 1872, serving until his death on March 23, 1900.⁷

William Fotheringham remained in India another year after his journey with Woolley and then sailed for Hong Kong with N. V. Jones on March 5, 1855. Born in Scotland, April 5, 1826, he converted to Mormonism in 1847 and immigrated to Utah in 1850, settling in Lehi. In 1861 he went to South Africa to preside over the mission there, and in 1865, a year after his return to Utah, he was called to Beaver. There he served as justice of the peace, territorial legislator, mayor, counselor in the stake presidency, and patriarch; in 1885 he spent two and a half months in the penitentiary for unlawful cohabitation. He died in Milford on February 27, 1913.⁸

Item 836: Flake-Draper 8214.USIC.

838 *Journal of Discourses*. Liverpool: November 1, 1853–May 17, 1886.
26 v. 22 cm.

During his first year and a half in Utah, George D. Watt taught classes in Pitman shorthand, used his skill to report the speeches of the Church leaders, and advertised

Journal of Discourses

BY BRIGHAM YOUNG,

President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,

HIS TWO COUNSELLORS,

THE TWELVE APOSTLES, AND OTHERS.

REPORTED BY G. D. WATT,

AND HUMBLY DEDICATED TO THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN ALL THE WORLD.

VOL. I.

LIVERPOOL:

PUBLISHED BY F. D. AND S. W. RICHARDS, 15, WILTON STREET.

LONDON:

LATTER-DAY SAINTS' BOOK DEPÔT, 35, JEWIN STREET, CITY.

1854.

his services as a reporter to the local citizenry (see items 262, 525, 640, 734, 796, 834–35)¹. But making ends meet as a reporter proved difficult, and by the spring of 1853 he was compelled to try something new. On May 3, 1853, he wrote to Brigham Young and asked permission to publish in England a few of Young’s discourses and two of Parley Pratt’s “in the form of a magazine of about 150 or 200 pages to sell.” This idea, in a slightly expanded form, appealed to the First Presidency, and on June 1 they wrote to Samuel W. Richards and endorsed Watt’s plan to publish a “Journal” consisting of his reports of the “public sermons, discourses, lectures, &c., delivered by the Presidency, the Twelve, and others in this city,” with “all the profits arising therefrom to be under the control of Elder Watt.”² What resulted was the *Journal of Discourses*—one of Mormondom’s great treasures.

Samuel W. Richards contracted with Richard James on October 18 to print 10,000 semimonthly issues of the *Journal*—the same print run as the *Seer*—for £20 per sixteen-page issue. During the next three days, he assembled the first number, and on October 26 and 27 he read the proof. The *Millennial Star* office began sending out the first number on November 3, and the *Star* of November 5 advertised the *Journal* at 2d. per issue, noting that the “matter runs from one Number to another continuously, so that, at the end of the year, the Volume can be bound, and appear as a complete work, undivided by headings and imprints.” “The *Journal* is similar in size and type to the *Seer*,” this ad continues, “consequently aged people will be able to read it with facility.” The office distributed the twenty-fourth number on October 27, 1854, and fifteen days later the *Star* announced that the first volume bound in “half calf” was “ready” at a price of 5s. 6d. It further noted that the second volume would commence on January 1, “the Numbers to be issued semi-monthly as usual.” George D. Watt advertised the bound first volume in Salt Lake City in September 1855 for \$1.25. At this point his only compensation for reporting the discourses of the Church leaders came from the sale of the *Journal*.³

But the response was disappointing, and the publishers cut the run of the second volume in half and continued to reduce it for the next six years. Richard James printed each number of vol. 2 in 5,000 copies; each of vol. 3 in 4,000 copies; and each of vol. 4 in 3,700. His printed vol. 5, no. 1, in 3,700 copies; the individual numbers of vol. 5, no. 2, through vol. 6, no. 4, in 3,200 copies; those of vol. 6, no. 5, through vol. 7, no. 1, in 2,900; those of vol. 7, nos. 2–24, in 2,450; and those of vol. 8, nos. 1–9, in 2,250 copies.⁴

On September 25, 1860, the First Presidency directed George Q. Cannon, who was about to depart for England, to “open an account with the Journal of Discourses, which is now Church property, that we may be accurately informed in relation to the profits, if any, arising from that publication.”⁵ The following March, Cannon reported to Brigham Young that the Liverpool office had sold—undoubtedly out of its inventory—just 481 numbers of the *Journal* during the preceding three years and had on hand 2,884 unbound volumes and 108,716 odd numbers. That April the British Mission established its own press, and beginning with vol. 8, no. 10, the mission shop printed the *Journal* thereafter.⁶ Its print

runs of the individual numbers of the next eight volumes were: vol. 8, no. 10, through vol. 9, no. 3, in 2,250 copies; vol. 9, no. 4, through vol. 10, no. 20, in 2,300 copies; vol. 10, nos. 21–23, in 2,100 copies; vol. 10, no. 24, and vol. 11, no. 1, in 2,300; vol. 11, nos. 2–4, in 2,000; vol. 11, no. 5, through vol. 12, no. 23, in 1,700; vol. 12, no. 24, through vol. 13, no. 2, in 1,350; vol. 13, nos. 3–18, in about 1,300; vol. 13, no. 19, through vol. 14, no. 7, in 1,200; vol. 14, nos. 8–15, in 1,100; and vol. 14, no. 16, through vol. 16, no. 7, in 1,200 copies.⁷ During the period vols. 15–18 were published, the *Millennial Star* office distributed a few more than 1,100 copies of each number to the various British conferences, suggesting that the each number of vols. 16–18 was printed in 1,200 copies.⁸ With vol. 19, no. 20, the number of copies distributed to the conferences fell below 1,100. It dropped below 1,000 with vol. 20, no. 19; below 900 with vol. 21, no. 20; below 800 with vol. 23, no. 1; below 700 with vol. 23, no. 17; and below 600 with vol. 24, no. 10—the fifth from the last number whose distribution is enumerated in the financial records.⁹ One might infer that the runs of individual numbers for vols. 19–22 were between 1,200 and 1,000 and those for the last four volumes no more than 1,000.

The *Millennial Star* office sent out vol. 2, no. 1, of the *Journal* on January 5, 1855. Over the next eight years the magazine issued twice monthly with no serious lapses, each of vols. 2–9 conforming to the calendar year—except for the last two numbers of vol. 8, which were delayed “for several week.”¹⁰ The eight years that followed, however, saw just four additional volumes of the *Journal*. Volume 10, no. 1, appeared on January 12, 1863, while no. 16 issued on February 1, 1864; no. 20 on December 5, 1864; and vol. 10, no. 24, on May 29, 1865. The *Millennial Star* office sent out vol. 11, no. 1, on July 3, 1865; no. 4 on March 12, 1866; no. 18 on April 8, 1867; and vol. 11, no. 24, on August 5, 1867. It distributed vol. 12, no. 1, on September 23, 1867; no. 8 on April 20, 1868; no. 16 on January 11, 1869; and vol. 12, no. 24 on July 12, 1869. After a gap of four and a half months, it circulated vol. 13, no. 1, on December 1, 1869; no. 12 on August 10, 1870; and vol. 13, no. 24, on March 15, 1871.¹¹

With vol. 14, the *Journal* drew closer to a semimonthly. Volume 14 spanned the period March 29, 1871–May 23, 1872; vol. 15, June 5, 1872–July 30, 1873; vol. 16, September 17, 1873–November 4, 1874; vol. 17, November 18, 1874–December 21, 1875; vol. 18, January 4, 1876–July 16, 1877; vol. 19, September 5, 1877–September 17, 1878; vol. 20, October 9, 1878–March 1, 1880; and vol. 21, March 24, 1880–April 19, 1881.¹² The *Journal*’s last five volumes appeared over five years plus a few days, with vol. 22 issuing over the period May 3, 1881–March 28, 1882; vol. 23 over April 12, 1882–March 22, 1883; vol. 24 over April 10, 1883–February 25, 1884; vol. 25 over March 10, 1884–January 26, 1885; and vol. 6 over February 9, 1885–May 17, 1886.¹³

As the ad in the *Star* of November 5, 1853, indicates, the *Journal* differs from the other Mormon periodicals in that each volume is really a book in parts consisting entirely of speeches of the Church authorities. Each volume comprises twenty-four

numbers, the first twenty-three in sixteen pages, the twenty-fourth in eight pages—except vol. 3, no. 24, and vol. 11, no. 24, which are in seven. The text of each number is in two columns, with the issue number and volume number at the bottom of the text on the first page. With the exception of vol. 12, the first number of each volume has the caption title *Journal of Discourses* on the first page, while the subsequent numbers have the continuous text beginning at the top of the first page. Volume 1, no. 1, has the following two lines printed along its spine: *Journal of Discourses. Price 2d. Nov. 1, 1853. | S. W. Richards, 15, Wilton Street, Liverpool. L. D. S. Dépôt, 35, Jewin Street, City, London.* Variations of this, with an appropriate issue date, are printed on the spines of all the other numbers. The texts of the speeches run continuously from one number to the next, with only a single heading at the beginning of each speech. In seven instances, for vols. 16–17 and 21–25, the last speech in the volume is carried over and completed in next. Each volume is continuously paginated. A pagination error occurs in the twelfth volume, where the first two numbers are paginated 376–407, and the remainder of the volume is paginated 33–376. Each volume has a title page and table of contents, issued with the twenty-fourth number. The title page to vol. 1 reads: *Journal of Discourses | by Brigham Young, | President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, | his two counsellors, | the Twelve Apostles, and others. | Reported by G. D. Watt, | and humbly dedicated to the Latter-day Saints in all the world. | Vol. I. | Liverpool: | Published by F. D. and S. W. Richards, 15, Wilton Street. | London: | Latter-day Saints Book Dépôt, 35, Jewin Street, City. | 1854.* The title pages of the other volumes generally follow this format—with John Taylor’s name replacing Brigham Young’s after vol. 19.

On average, there are about fifty-six speeches per volume, and the twenty-six volumes contain the remarks of fifty-five people. Brigham Young is the most frequently represented, with 400 discourses. John Taylor is next with 162, and Orson Pratt, Heber C. Kimball, George Q. Cannon, George A. Smith, and Wilford Woodruff follow with 127, 114, 112, 81, and 65, respectively. Not every entry is strictly a discourse. Volume 1, for example, contains George A. Smith’s plea and Zerubbabel Snow’s charge at the trial of Howard Egan (see items 675–76); vol. 2 prints the four prayers at the Salt Lake Temple cornerstone ceremony (see items 797–98); vol. 4 includes J. M. Grant’s prayer at the 1856 Big Cottonwood celebration (see item 1093); vol. 6 has Willard Richard’s prayer at the dedication of the Old Tabernacle (see item 686); vol. 18 includes Daniel H. Wells’s prayer at the dedication of the St. George Temple; and vol. 19 prints Orson Pratt’s dedicatory prayer at the site of the Logan Temple.

With only a few exceptions, the *Journal* took its speeches from the *Deseret News*. And a drop in the number of reports in the *News* directly affected the regularity of the *Journal*. Volumes 5–12 of the *News*, for example, which roughly covered the period of vols. 2–9 of the *Journal*, averaged about 68 discourses per volume, while vols. 13–19 of the *News*, which appeared during vols. 10–13 of the *Journal*, averaged 31 discourses per volume. Noting that vol. 10, no. 17, of the *Journal* was just out, the *Millennial Star* of September 17, 1864, remarked: “we

hope to be able in the future, to issue [the *Journal*] with greater regularity than we have for sometime past. The advent of a new paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, in Great Salt Lake City . . . will enable the *News* to devote more of its space to the publishing of the Remarks and Sermons of the Authorities of the Church, thus supplying us with matter for the *Journal*.”¹⁴ The polygamy raids of the 1880s kept the Church leaders from speaking in public, and this combined with a shrinking readership brought the *Journal* to an end.

George D. Watt was the reporter for the first three volumes. John V. Long joined him for vol. 4, reporting twenty of the discourses in the volume, and Watt and Long are listed as the reporters on the title pages of vols. 5–10. In addition, Leo Hawkins was responsible for one of the discourses in vol. 6 and John B. Milner for one in vol. 7. Edward L. Sloan joined the corps for vol. 10, reporting five of the speeches in that volume.¹⁵ Volumes 11–12 list Watt, Sloan, and David W. Evans as the reporters, and vol. 13 gives Evans and John Grimshaw. “Wm. Thurbood” is identified in the text as the reporter of a speech in vol. 12.¹⁶ The title pages of vols. 14–15 give Evans, John Q. Cannon, and “Miss Julia Young,” and the title page for vol. 16 lists Evans, Cannon, and James Taylor—although Cannon was responsible for only one speech in vol. 14, none in vol. 15, and two in vol. 16, Julia Young reported two in vol. 14 and none in vol. 15, and Taylor reported two in vol. 16.¹⁷ Evans was the sole reporter for vol. 17, and he and George F. Gibbs were the reporters for vol. 18. Gibbs was the principal reporter for vol. 19, and he and John Irvine were the reporters for vols. 20–26.¹⁸ Moreover, George C. Ferguson reported one of the discourses in vol. 18; Rudger Clawson, James Taylor, James H. Hart, Josiah Rogerson, and John C. Graham reported four, three, two, one, and one, respectively, in vol. 19, which also included two earlier reports of David Evans. “Joseph May, of Sheffield” and James Taylor each reported one in vol. 20.¹⁹ Taylor was responsible for one speech in vol. 22, and “C. C. S.” for one in vol. 24. James H. Hart and James D. Stirling each reported one in vol. 25, and Arthur Winter, John H. Burrows, and Frederick E. Barker were the reporters for one, one, and two of the speeches, respectively, in vol. 26.²⁰

Flake-Draper 4504. CSmH, CtY, MH, UPB, USIC, UU.

839 \$100 reward!! Escaped from custody in this city, last night, during the hours of from 10 to 12 o'clock, two prisoners, by the names of James Sanders and Samuel Martin, of the following descriptions, viz: The former about 25 years old, stout built, 5 feet 7 1-2 inches high, sandy complexion;—the latter about 30 years old, well proportioned, about 5 feet 11 1-2 inches high, light complexion. The above were convicted of larceny, and are supposed to have fled to the vicinity of Green River, in this Territory. The above reward will be paid on the delivery of said prisoners, or fifty dollars for the delivery of either one to me at this city. James Ferguson, Sheriff, Great Salt Lake County, Utah Territory. G. S. L. City, Nov. 23, 1853. [Salt Lake City? 1853?]

Broadside 21.5 × 23.5 cm.

James Ferguson played many roles—lawyer, actor, adjutant general of the Nauvoo Legion, chief clerk of the House of Representatives, and newspaper publisher. Here he acted as the sheriff of Great Salt Lake County (see items 596–97, 625, 720–21, 777–79, 845, 1111, 1163–64). Nothing is known about the fugitives beyond what is in the poster. One might guess they remained at large, since Ferguson ran the same reward notice in the *Deseret News* of December 1 and December 8, 1853.¹ USIC.

840 PHELPS, William Wines. *Deseret almanac, for the year of our Lord 1854: being the second after leap year, and after the sixth of April, the twenty-fifth year of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; and the third of the last half century of this dispensation. By W. W. Phelps, K. J. Calculated for the latitude and meridian of Great Salt Lake City. Containing also, miscellaneous events, facts, scientific tables, &c., for years. W. Richards, Printer; G. S. L. City, U. T. [1853] [At head of title:] No. 4.*
32 pp. 19 cm.

The *Deseret News* of November 24, 1853, noted that W. W. Phelps's fourth *Deseret Almanac* was out and could be purchased at the Post Office, "Price 25 cents" (see items 550, 657, 761). And the *Deseret News* bindery ledger, under the date December 1853, lists "2000 Almanacks Cut" at a cost of \$2.00—undoubtedly the entire edition.¹ Following the format of his two preceding almanacs, *Deseret Almanac for 1854* has such items as the names and characters of the planets, times of the seasons, and abbreviations (p. [2]); the times that year of the two eclipses of the sun and two of the moon (p. [3]); the "moon's longitude table" (p. [4]); and then the monthly calendars on the next twelve odd-numbered pages. Like those of the earlier almanacs, these calendars give the phases of the moon, the rising and setting of the sun, the setting of the moon, a few world dates, some Mormon dates, aphorisms, and bits of advice. The almanac includes some of Phelps's poetry; a long essay by him entitled "Spirits" (pp. 22, 24, 26, 28); the officers of Utah Territory and the members of the territorial legislature (pp. 30–31); the General Authorities of the Church (p. 31); and a list of the post offices in the territory (p. 32). Four advertisements are at the end, one from Phelps himself, who continued to identify himself on the title page as "King's Jester."

Flake-Draper 6347. CtY, ULA, UPB, USIC, USID, UU.

841 *Dramatic Association.* [Broken underline] *are respectfully invited to attend a pic-nic party, at the Social Hall, on Monday, Dec. 5th, at 1 o'clock, p.m., to be given for the benefit of the ladies of the Deseret Dramatic Association. Dancing to commence at 2 p.m. Tickets \$2 per couple. Managers, {J. W. Cummings, J. T. Caine, D. Candland. G. S. L. City, Dec. 1, 1853. [News Typ.]*

Broadside 19 × 12.5 cm. Embossed ribbon and floral border.

A single copy of this invitation is located, addressed to “Mr. W. H. Kimball & Ladies,” at the Pioneer Memorial Museum in Salt Lake City. It is on a sheet 19 × 25 cm, folded to make four pages, with print on the first page and an embossed ribbon and floral border.

The *Deseret News* notes that the Deseret Dramatic Association threw the party “for the benefit of the ladies of the *corps dramatique*” and gives “great praise” to John T. Caine and the management committee. In attendance were Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Ezra T. Benson, John Taylor, A. W. Babbitt, Lazarus H. Read, and Zerubbabel Snow. “During the recess of dancing,” the *News* reports, “Messrs. Dunbar and Maiben cheered the assembly with comic and sentimental songs; and in the course of the evening, Governor Young and Mr. John Kay favored us with the beautiful piece commencing with ‘Come, come ye Saints, no toil no labor fear,’ which gave great pleasure.” “The Association,” the *News* adds, “commence their public performances in the Social Hall Saturday evening, and intend to continue them on the succeeding Wednesday and Saturday evenings during the season.”¹

John T. Caine was born on the Isle of Man, January 8, 1829, came to the United States in 1846, joined the Church in New York the following year, and immigrated to Utah in 1852. For many years he was an actor and stage manager at the Social Hall and Salt Lake Theater. In 1854 he left for a two-year mission in Hawaii and upon his return served as a secretary to the territorial legislative Council. He assisted William H. Hooper, Utah’s delegate to Congress, for several months in 1870 and that year became the managing editor of the *Salt Lake Daily Herald*. Four years later he began the first of four terms in the territorial Council, and during 1883–93 he served as the delegate from Utah in the US House of Representatives. Unsuccessful in his bid for governor in 1895, he was elected to the state senate the following year. He died in Salt Lake City on September 20, 1911.²

USID.

842 PRATT, Orson. *A catalogue of works published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and for sale by Orson Pratt, Washington City, D. C.* [Washington? 1853?]

Broadside 27 × 13.5 cm.

The only known copy of this piece is dated on the back in manuscript, “Jany 54,” but Orson Pratt’s correspondence suggests it was published earlier, probably about the first of December 1853. On December 13, from Washington, he wrote Brigham Young: “I have on hand several hundred dollars worth of various publications of the Saints, to supply demands from all parts of the States: but a few have yet been ordered. But since sending out to the various subscribers some 12 or 1500 circulars, containing catalogues, prices, & rates of postage of these works, the demand seems to be increasing” (see items 769–71).

Item 842 lists four-dozen items with prices and postage costs. Among these are the Book of Mormon in English, Welsh, Danish, French, German, and Italian; the Doctrine and Covenants in English and Welsh; the Pearl of Great Price in English and Welsh; *Harp of Zion*, hymnal, *Biographical Sketches*, Spencer's *Letters*, and *Voice of Warning*—each in a variety of bindings; vols. 11–15 of the *Millennial Star* with the supplement for vol. 14; a few pamphlets; the *Prophwyd y Jubili* and the first four volumes of *Udgorn Seion*; and, of course, the *Seer* and all of Orson Pratt's pamphlets, both bound and unbound. A note at the top says: "Postage, when pre-paid, on bound or unbound books, will be one-third less than the rates mentioned below."

Flake-Draper 1331b. USIC.

843 YOUNG, Brigham. *Governor's message. To the members of the Council, and House of Representatives of the legislature of Utah.* [Caption title] [At end:] Brigham Young. *Utah Territory, Executive Office, Dec. 12, 1853.* [Salt Lake City, 1853]

8 pp. 21 cm.

The third annual session of the Utah territorial legislature opened in the Council House at Great Salt Lake City on December 12, 1853, and ran for forty days, through January 20, 1854.¹ In the morning of the second day, the two houses met with the governor in joint session to receive his message, which was read to the assembly by Thomas Bullock. When Bullock had finished, the joint session ordered the message printed in pamphlet form in 1,000 copies and in the *Deseret News*, and the following day he and Willard Richards read a proof.² The message is reprinted in the *News* of December 15 from the pamphlet setting, in the *Millennial Star* of April 8 and 15, 1854, and in *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions, of the Third Annual Session, of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1854), pp. 111–23.

Brigham Young begins the message with his views on proper legislation, a theme he had touched upon a year earlier (see item 753). "Laws should be simple, and plain," he asserts, "easy to be comprehended by the most unlearned; void of ambiguity, and few in number. . . . It is my firm conviction that particularization by the Legislature, of every minute point which is liable to arise in law cases is founded in error, and tends to promote litigation, screen the guilty, subvert justice, entammel the honest jurist, and ensnare the unwary victim in its hydra meshes." And further: "It is much better to have no written law, than to send people into the labyrinths of such a mass of nonsense as fills the library of the law student." Moving to the heart of his message, he refers to the "hostilities of the Utah Indians" (i.e., Utes) and the murder of Capt. John W. Gunnison and seven of his party, estimates the immigration the past season to be "about ten thousand souls," laments the state of the mails from the east—"we have been left without

a solitary mail, for over half a year at a time”—and reports that the regents of the University of Deseret are engaged in devising an English language phonetic alphabet (see items 822, 881, 1084). He calls attention to the need of some regulation of herds and herding grounds, mentions that Indians problems have slowed the work on the Fillmore State House, notes that A. W. Babbitt has located a site for a penitentiary “adjacent to the south eastern limits” of Salt Lake City, and inserts a brief financial statement which differs slightly at some points from the one issued by Asa Calkin on December 16 (item 845). In the latter part of his message he summarizes the Indians hostilities during the year, which resulted in the deaths of nineteen whites including the Gunnison party, and asks the legislature to memorialize Congress for compensation for the losses (see item 860). At the end he returns to philosophizing about the legislative process: “From my observation of the past, I am convinced that Legislatures meet too often Ninety days in session, devoted with sincerity and energy for the benefit of the people, is ample, in ordinary cases, and, then only convene once in two, three, or four years, unless some important exigency should arise.”

Flake-Draper 9353. CtY, USIC.

844 *Names of members of the Legislative Council of Utah.* [First 3 lines] [At foot of p. 7:] *100 copies: printed by authority. [Arieh C. Brower, Public Printer.]* [Salt Lake City, 1853?]

7 pp. 18 cm.

During the afternoon of December 13, 1853, the House of Representatives ordered “100 copies of the rules of the House, with a list of the members, officers, and standing committees of both Houses” to be printed “for the use of the House.” That same afternoon the Council ordered 100 copies of the names of the legislators, officers, and standing committees. The following day Thomas Bullock and Willard Richards read a proof, and the legislature appointed Arieh C. Brower territorial public printer.¹

Names of Members lists the Council on the first page—H. C. Kimball, Willard Richards, D. H. Wells, P. P. Pratt, and John Taylor from Great Salt Lake County; Thomas S. Smith from Davis; Jonathan Browning and Lorin Farr from Weber; Aaron Johnson and Leonard E. Harrington from Utah and Juab; Isaac Morley from San Pete; James McGaw from Millard; and George A. Smith from Iron—with the officers and standing committees of the Council on p. 2. The members, officers, and standing committees of the House of Representatives are on pp. 2–4. *Rules for conducting business in the House of Representatives of the Territory of Utah* occupies pp. [5]–7. Generally this edition follows the format of the one issued by the second territorial legislature (item 756), and the twenty rules of the House are those of the second session.

CtY, UPB.

845 *Report of the adjutant general of the Territory of Utah.* [Caption title] [Signed on p. 5:] *James Ferguson, Adjutant General Militia Utah Territory.* [Signed on p. 8:] *A. Calkin, Auditor, &c.* [Salt Lake City, 1853]
8 pp. 18 cm.

A single copy of this piece is known, bound between pp. 110 and 111 of Franklin D. Richards's copy of *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions, of the Third Annual Session, of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Great Salt Lake City, 1854), in the Brigham Young University Lee Library. The adjutant general's report, dated December 7, 1853, and signed by James Ferguson at the end, covers pp. [1]–5, and the *Auditor's Report of Public Accounts*, dated December 16, 1853, and signed by Asa Calkin, occupies pp. [6]–8.

The adjutant general's report was read and accepted in the House of Representatives on December 20, 1853, when 100 copies were ordered printed "in pamphlet form for the use of the House." The following day the auditor's report was read and accepted in the House, and 100 copies ordered printed. At that time, Franklin D. Richards, from the Committee on Printing, stated that the two reports would be ready by December 24.¹

In his report, Ferguson refers to the annual return of the militia and notes that it shows "an addition to the aggregate forces of nearly seven hundred." He laments the state of the public arms and asserts he had communicated several times with Washington and was told that Utah Territory had its quota for 1851–52, prompting him to suggest "the propriety of preparation for manufacturing our own arms and ammunition." He summarizes the conflict with the Indians the preceding year and reports that nineteen white men had been killed by Indians since July 18, 1853, including Capt. John W. Gunnison and his party (see items 801, 822). The militia is hampered in its efforts to subdue the Indians, he continues, because of the unsettled question of jurisdiction over the Indians—which was then being litigated in the territorial supreme court. Because there are too many offices of importance filled by "incompetent persons," he concludes, the legislature should give the governor the power to issue brevet commissions—indeed "entrust the nominating as well as commissioning power of all Military officers in the hands of the Governor."

Asa Calkin's auditor's report, his second of three (see items 760, 938), gives the assessed valuation of eight counties—Great Salt Lake, Davis, Weber, Utah, Juab, Tooele, San Pete, and Iron—totaling \$1,669,193; the total tax due, \$16,691.93; and the amount collected including delinquent taxes, \$6,948.76, with "a total delinquency at this date" of \$16,206.17. It further lists the amounts dispersed and summarizes the progress on certain public projects. Millard County is not included in the report, but in January 1854 the legislature estimated its taxes at \$300.²

UPB.

846 *Social party. Mr. [ruled underline] and ladies are respectfully solicited to attend a pic-nic party, to be given at the Social Hall, on [ruled underline] at 2 o'clock p.m., precisely. Managers: T. O. Angell, A. H. Raleigh, Frederick Kesler. Great Salt Lake City, December 29, 1853. (\$1,50 per Couple.)*

Broadside 15.5 × 10 cm. On lined paper.

One example of this invitation is located, addressed to Frederick Kesler, in his papers at the University of Utah Marriott Library.¹ It is printed on a sheet of lined paper, 15.5 × 20 cm, folded to make four pages, with print only on the first page. The dates of the party are handwritten in ink above the ruled underline, in this instance, "T. W. & Thursday Jan'y 3, 4 & 5/54."

The *Deseret News* of Thursday, January 5, 1854, reported that the Social Hall had been occupied every afternoon and evening since Sunday by the parties, "changing daily," each vying with the others for the most enjoyable event. The "Governor, heads of departments, legislators, &c." were present Monday evening, this report continues, when "the Governor gave a most splendid address . . . showing who were the lawful heirs of rational amusements and genuine pleasures, and what was and ever should be the ruling object of all pleasurable entertainments." "The assemblies will be continued from day to day," it notes, "till all the public hands have had a cotill[i]on dance, and we presume as many more as wish." Hosea Stout also attended on Monday and noted there was "Dancing singing and preaching till three in the morning."²

Truman O. Angell, Brigham Young's brother-in-law, was born in Rhode Island on June 5, 1810. A carpenter and joiner, he converted to Mormonism in 1833, worked on the Kirtland Temple, supervised the carpentry on the Nauvoo Temple, and came to Utah with the pioneer company in 1847. When William Weeks, the architect of the Nauvoo Temple, left the Valley, Angell was assigned to design the Council House, and at that point he became the Church's architect. His other buildings include the Seventies Hall, the Old Tabernacle, the Social Hall, the Fillmore State House, and the Salt Lake and St. George Temples. He died in Salt Lake City on October 16, 1887.³

Frederick Kesler was one of the Church's longest serving bishops. Born in Pennsylvania on January 20, 1816, he joined the Church in 1840, worked on the Nauvoo Temple, and ran the ferry between Council Bluffs and Winter Quarters before immigrating to Utah in 1851. In 1856 he was called to be the bishop of the Salt Lake City Sixteenth Ward, a position he held until his death in Salt Lake City, June 12, 1899.⁴

UU.

847 *"He that readeth, let him understand." [Caption title] [Along inner fold:] To be had of T. C. Armstrong, at the Office, 35, Jewin Street, City; at 1s. per Hundred, or 6s. per Thousand. Printed by W. Aubrey, 25, Brandon Street, Walworth. [London, 1853?]*

[4] pp. 18.5 cm.

848 “*He that readeth, let him understand.*” [Caption title] [Along inner fold:]
To be had of Edmund C. Brand, at the Office, 35, Jewin Street, City; at 1s. 4d.
per Hundred, or 6s. 6d. per Thousand, Printed by Bt [?] Briscoe, 57½, Red Cross
Street, Cripplegate. [London, 1854?]
 [4] pp. 19 cm.

Items 847 and 848 were printed from the same typesetting—undoubtedly from stereotype plates—with the change of text along the inner fold and the addition of an ad for meetings in item 848. One of the copies of item 847 at the LDS Church has *To be had of C. Armstrong* in place of *To be had of T. C. Armstrong* and may represent a different impression. Thomas C. Armstrong was the London Conference book agent at 35, Jewin Street from October 1851 until he sailed for America on April 4, 1854 (see items 545, 620, 635). Edmund C. Brand was sustained as book agent at the June 1854 London conference and served until he sailed for America that November (see item 897). One might guess, therefore, that Armstrong issued the first of at least two impressions of item 847 in 1853 and that Brand issued item 848 during his term as book agent.

“*He that Readeth, Let Him Understand*” is another variation of James H. Flanigan’s *Invitation* (see items 469–70, 471, 615, 644–47, 648, 719). Opening with the declaration that the God of Noah, Abraham, and Moses has chosen a prophet through whom he has established his kingdom, it quotes, in order, Isaiah 29:14; Daniel 2:44; Matthew 24:14; Revelation 14:6; Mark 16:15–18; and Matthew 24:35. Then, after calling upon the reader to believe, repent, and be baptized, it quotes Acts 5:38–39; Acts 13:40–41; the familiar saying about hearing “both sides,” usually attributed to Solomon; John 7:51, which it attributes to Nicodemus; and 1 Thessalonians 5:21, which it attributes to Paul. Beginning at the top of p. [2], under the heading *The faith and doctrines of the Latter-day Saints, with scriptural proofs*, are Flanigan’s Fourteen Articles of Faith, with biblical citations accompanying all but the last three articles. The articles here are textually identical to those in item 469 except for a few changes in punctuation and capitalization, the addition of *own* in the twelfth article, and the addition of *we* in the fourteenth. And here they are attributed to Joseph Smith. The format of the citations is that of item 469, and of approximately 150 citations, all but about 30 occur in item 469, and all but about 20 of those in item 469 are included in “*He that Readeth, Let Him Understand.*” The main text in item 847 ends at the top of p. [4], followed by the two lines, *N. B.—You are respectfully invited to attend the Services of | the Latter-day Saints*, with the rest of the page blank so meeting times and locations could be written in by hand. Item 48 adds nine additional lines giving the meeting times at 5, Providence Street, South St., Walworth Common, and an ad for the Book of Mormon “and all other Publications.”

Item 847: Flake-Draper 3930a. UPB, USlC. *Item 848:* Flake-Draper 3930b. CSmH.

849 *Psalmer og aandelige sange, til brug for Jesu Christi Kirke af Sidste Dages Hellige i Skandinavien. Fjerde udgave. Kjøbenhavn. Udgivet og forlagt af J. Van Cott[.] Trykt hos F. E. Bording. 1853.*

[i–iv][i]–xii[1]–361[2] pp. 10.5 cm.

The fourth Danish hymnal collates: title page, with the verso blank (pp. [i–ii]); leaf with *Psalmer og aandelige Sange* on the recto and the verso blank (pp. [iii–iv]); preface to the fourth edition, signed at the end by John Van Cott (pp. [i–iii]), with the verso of p. [iii] blank; alphabetical index to first lines (pp. [v]–xii); one hundred seventy-two numbered hymn texts (pp. [1]–361), with the verso of p. 361 blank; and an unnumbered page of errata correcting the numbering of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth hymns (p. [363]). Pages [ii] and [iii] of the preface are numbered 4 and 309, respectively. In the first Brigham Young University copy and the one at the University of Utah the hymns are numbered in the text 1–24, 24, 43, 27–101, 107, 103–4, 110–11, 107, 113, 109–72; in the second BYU copy and the three LDS Church copies they are numbered 1–24, 24, 43, 27–172. In each instance, they are properly numbered in the index. The first Brigham Young University copy is bound in plain black diagonally ribbed cloth with gilt bands and gilt title on the backstrip; the second is bound in black horizontally striated leather with fleur-de-lis-like corner decorations within a thin ornamental border in blind on the covers, gilt ornaments and title on the backstrip, a former owner's name in gilt on the front cover, and gilt edges. The LDS Church's are bound in black polished leather with an embossed robed figure surrounded by a blind and gilt ornamental border on the front and back covers, gilt decorations and gilt title on the backstrip, and plaid coated endsheets; black polished leather with a gilt ruled border on the covers, gilt bands and gilt title on the backstrip, gilt edges, and white coated endsheets; and black polished vertically striated leather with a gilt ornamental border on the covers, a former owner's name in gilt on the front cover and 1855 in gilt on the back, gilt ornaments and gilt title on the backstrip, gilt edges, and white coated endsheets. The copy at the University of Utah is in black ripple-grained leather with a thin gilt ornamental border on the covers, gilt ornaments and gilt title on the backstrip, gilt edges, and white embossed fabric coated endsheets.

The fourth Danish hymnal is a major revision of the third (item 668). Like the earlier editions, it opens with Parley Pratt's "The Morning Breaks, the Shadows Flee," but only fifty of the sixty-six hymns of the third edition are retained in the fourth, rearranged among the other 122 hymns. At least forty of the new hymns were composed by Jacob Johannes Martinus Bohn, a convert to Mormonism in 1851.¹ One might wonder if it was Bohn's prodigious output that prompted Willard Snow to undertake the revision.

Snow reported to S. W. Richards on April 13, 1853, that the third edition had been "all disposed of," and on July 4 he wrote Richards that he would have a revised edition out in time for the August 12 Copenhagen conference.² But

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Udgivet og forlagt af J. Van Cott

Troft hos F. G. Bording.

1853.

the book was unfinished at the time of his death on August 21, and it fell to his successor, John Van Cott, to see it through the press. Who actually put it together is not known, but Peter O. Hansen undoubtedly had a hand in it. In March 1853 Hansen translated two hymns, and one of his own compositions appears in it as No. 165.³ F. E. Bording printed the hymnal in 5,000 copies, at a cost of 425 rigsdaler.⁴

Flake-Draper 1739. UPB, USIC, UU.

850 *Songs of Zion*. [Caption title] [N.p., 1853?]
[4] pp. 15 cm.

Songs of Zion consists of the texts of five songs. In the only known copy, the first and fourth songs are numbered with large bold face numerals. Whether the other three were unnumbered or numbered with numerals that were trimmed off is unclear. Its songs are Alexander Ross's "The Shepherds Have Raised their Sweet Warning Voice"—a version of "Ye Elders of Israel" (see item 587); "How Glorious Will be the Morning"; William Clayton's "Come, Come Ye Saints" (see items 363, 587); "There Is a Land Beyond the Sea"; and James Davenport's "Come All Ye Sons of God."¹ Ross's and Clayton's songs are in the 1851 Liverpool *Programme of the Latter-day Saints' Soirée* (item 587), and Clayton's and Davenport's are in the 1851 hymnal (item 604). When, where, or by whom *Songs of Zion* was published is not known. The only located copy is sewn into John Freeman's "Collection of Songs," a small scrapbook of hymn texts, mainly made up of handwritten transcriptions and clippings from vols. 10–17 of the *Millennial Star* (see item 511). About three-quarters of the clippings are from vols. 14, 15, and 17, most from vol. 15, and *Songs of Zion* is surrounded by clippings from this volume. Consequently, 1853 is tentatively assigned as the date of publication.

USIC.

851 JONES, Thomas. *Traethodau ar ail-ddyfodiad Crist, yr adgyfodiad, a'r mil blynyddau*. [1 line] *Llanelli: Cyhoeddwyd ac ar werth Thomas Jones, 1853*. [Treatises on the second coming of Christ, the resurrection, and the thousand years. Llanelli: Published and for sale by Thomas Jones, 1853.]
12 pp. 17.5 cm.

Flake-Draper 4498a. Dennis 72. WsN.

852 JONES, Thomas. *Traethodau ar y doniau gwyrthiol, a'r mil blynyddoedd, &c.* [1 line] *Llanelli: Cyhoeddwyd ac ar werth Thomas Jones, 1853*. [Treatises on the spiritual gifts, and the thousand years, etc. Llanelli: Published and for sale by Thomas Jones, 1853.]
12 pp. 17.5 cm.