Joseph Smith for President: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in New England

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On January 29, 1844, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and a few other Church leaders held one of the most unusual meetings in Latter-day Saint history. They met in Joseph Smith's office in Nauvoo, Illinois, to determine what action they should take relative to the upcoming presidential election. On that occasion Willard Richards presented a motion that the Prophet Joseph Smith should run for the presidency on an independent ticket and that they should "use all honorable means in [their] power to secure his election." Those present voted unanimously in favor of the motion, and thus began one of the most fascinating third-party campaigns for president of the United States in the history of the nation.

Other publications have given a general overview or have stressed particular facets of the campaign; however, the purpose of this essay is to consider only one aspect—the activities of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in New England.² The Apostles actually concentrated their campaign efforts more in that region of the United States than in any other. In fact, the most significant political gathering for Joseph Smith outside of Nauvoo was held in New England.

The Campaign Strategy

After the Twelve voted in favor of Joseph Smith running for the presidency, the Prophet replied with the following instructions: "If you attempt to accomplish this, you must send every man in the city who is able to speak in public throughout the land to electioneer and make stump speeches, advocate the 'Mormon' religion, purity of elections, and call upon the people to stand by the law and put down mobocracy." He further directed: "After the April Conference

we will have General Conferences all over the nation. . . . Hyrum, Brigham, Parley and Taylor must go. . . . There is oratory enough in the Church to carry me into the presidential chair first slide." With this declaration, the Prophet immediately established the unique role of those who would participate in the campaign. They would not only "electioneer and make stump speeches" but would also "advocate the 'Mormon' religion." In other words, those who would campaign for Joseph Smith would also be involved in preaching the gospel. In addition, members of the Quorum of the Twelve would be involved in the endeavor. Finally, many of the campaign activities would be organized in conjunction with regional general conferences.

This concept of interweaving spiritual sermons with presidential politics carried on into the next general conference in Nauvoo. In that assembly on April 9, 1844, Hyrum Smith admonished the Saints not only to build their temple but also to "lift up [their] voices like thunder" and use their "power and influence" to elect Joseph Smith president.⁴ Brigham Young likewise emphasized constructing the temple but then said that the Church was going to send elders "to preach the Gospel and electioneer" for Joseph Smith.⁵ Then Heber C. Kimball stood and spoke of the importance of preaching the first principles of the gospel. However, he concluded by saying, "We are going to arrange a plan for Conferences, and we design to send Elders to all the different States to get up meetings and protracted meetings, and electioneer for Joseph to be the next President."

Near the end of the meeting, Church leaders called for volunteers to serve these political-religious missions, and 244 people stepped forward.⁷ Thus began something unique in American as well as Latter-day Saint history: missionaries were called to campaign for their presidential candidate and, at the same time, proselytize for their church.

During the next few days the leaders called even more missionaries and by April 15 the Church had published a list of 340 names. The Apostles also designated one or two elders to preside over the missionaries of each state.⁸ The Twelve then scheduled a series of conferences to be held all over the United States, starting in Quincy, Illinois, on May 4 and ending in Washington DC on September 15.⁹ The elders who presided over the various states were to organize the conferences.¹⁰ Once again the missionaries were reminded of their dual responsibility: they were to "present before the people" the Prophet's published platform entitled *General Smith's Views of the Powers and Policy of the General Government*,¹¹ and they were to "be faithful in preaching the gospel in its simplicity, and beauty."¹² As it turned out, the elders would usually preach the gospel during the Church's conferences and then schedule political rallies for either the day before or the day after.

Following are the conferences that the Apostles scheduled for the New England states:

Boston, Massachusetts June 29–30
Salem, Massachusetts July 6–7
Scarboro, Maine
Peterboro, New Hampshire July 13–14
New Bedford, Massachusetts July 13–14
Vinal Haven, Maine
Lowell, Massachusetts July 27–28
Westfield, Massachusetts July 27–28
Farmington, Connecticut
New Haven, Connecticut August 10–11
Canaan, Connecticut August 17–[18]
Norwalk, Connecticut August 24–25 ¹³

Originally the Twelve Apostles did not assign themselves to specific conferences but chose to "devote the season to traveling, and attend as many conferences as possible." ¹⁴

On the Way to New England

During the next few weeks following April conference, several Apostles began their missions from Nauvoo to the East. Seven of them would spend significant time in New England: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, William Smith, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, and Lyman Wight. The five Apostles who either stayed behind in Nauvoo or served primarily in states outside of New England were Parley P. Pratt, John E. Page, John Taylor, George A. Smith, and Willard Richards.

On May 9 Elder Woodruff recorded, "It has been my lot to travel in the vineyard [every] summer with one exception for the last ten years of my [life]." He parted from his family, accompanied by George A. Smith, Jedediah M. Grant, Ezra Thayer, and Thayer's son. Elder Woodruff parenthetically added to his journal over two months later: "I this day took the last Parting hand & look with the Prophet and Patriarch at their own dwelling. [Oh] what a look Joseph gave me. Ah he knew what I did not." That was the last time that Elder Woodruff saw the Prophet and Hyrum before they were martyred.

Elders Woodruff and Smith began making their way east across Illinois, preaching the gospel as they went to such places as La Harpe and Toulon. Their first political rally was held at a courthouse in Ottowa, Illinois, on May 17. George A. Smith lectured on *General Smith's Views* to an audience of about three hundred and was apparently well received. Evidently, Wilford Woodruff continued on to La Salle, where he preached the gospel to a "Branch of about 50 members from Norway."¹⁷

On May 18 and 19 they held their first conference in Newark, Kendall County, Illinois. This would be the first of four conferences they would hold on their trip east before Wilford Woodruff would arrive in Boston at the end of June. The pattern they followed at this conference would be repeated many times by most of the Apostles as they traveled through the country. First they held a traditional Church conference on Saturday and Sunday. Here they took care of ecclesiastical business and preached the gospel. In Newark, 133 members attended from eight different branches. The Apostles ordained eight elders, one priest, and two teachers. Wilford Woodruff "instructed the elders to be careful to preach the first principle[s] of the gospel & doctrin[e] of Christ & not spend their time in warring with the opinions of other men." 18

Then, the day following the ecclesiastical conference, they held a political gathering in a schoolhouse in Newark. Henry Jacobs read *General Smith's Views* and David Fullmer, Wilford Woodruff, and George A. Smith addressed the audience. When they were finished, a "Dr. Smith arose and [harangued] the people in a vile manner & raised a row. [There] was some prospect of fighting, but with soft words [they] turned away wrath & returned home in peace."¹⁹

On May 21 they rode to Joliet, Illinois, where they spoke at a political rally held in a large school room. George A. Smith conducted the meeting and introduced Wilford Woodruff. "I arose & felt inspired by the spirit of God," wrote Woodruff.²⁰ He spoke on a variety of political topics, including the Mormon persecutions and *General Smith's Views*. The concluding speakers were David Fulmer and George A. Smith. They "had the best attention of the people & a good impression was made."²¹

By May 28 they arrived in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Wilford Woodruff said it was "the finest town [they] saw [since they] left Nauvoo. The "improvements [were] after the eastern fashion." From there they went to the small village of Comstock, where they stayed for the next five days, mostly at the home of Ezekiel Lee, the presiding elder in the area. During that time, members and missionaries in the region began to gather for a conference. On May 31 they held a political meeting in Brother Lee's barn. Charles C. Rich conducted and Henry Jacobs read *General Smith's Views*. Wilford Woodruff "spoke of the foundation laid By [Joseph] Smith to unite the nation." He was followed by George A. Smith and David Fullmer. They felt they had "left a good impression upon the minds of the people." 23

The next two days they held a Church conference that was attended by 126 members from nine branches. They sustained Charles C. Rich and Harvey Green to preside over the state of Michigan. In the first session alone at least eleven people spoke, and "the Elders were strictly Charged to keep within the limits of the first principles of the gospel & let mysteries alone." After the last session on Sunday, June 2, Elder Woodruff wrote that they "had an interesting conference & good time with the Saints." He was also impressed that Charles Rich "manifested much wisdom in [concocting] his plans in carrying out his work both on politics & religion, in the State of Michigan." The elders then "took up a collection" to assist them on their mission and obtained \$4.50.25

For the next five days they traveled across the state toward Pleasant Valley, Michigan, where they would hold their third conference. Along the way they stayed with members of the Church, ordained an eighty-seven-year-old to be a high priest, and administered to a sick child. During this part of the journey they did not preach the gospel or hold any political rallies.²⁶ Then, on June 8

and 9, they held their conference in Pleasant Valley. Eighty-nine members from six branches attended. The following day they had a political meeting, but no details were recorded other than that they "had a good time."²⁷

A week later, on June 15 and 16, Elders Woodruff and Smith held their fourth conference, this time in Franklin, Michigan. There were 170 members from twelve branches in attendance, but there is no record of the traveling Apostles holding a political rally either before or after the conference. On June 17 Wilford Woodruff wrote a letter to his wife, Phebe, and put it in a package with twelve dollars of silver. He gave the package to George A. Smith, who parted company with Elder Woodruff and went back to Nauvoo before campaigning further elsewhere.²⁸ Wilford continued traveling east by way of Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, and Albany before arriving in Boston on June 26, 1844.²⁹

During much of the time Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith had been traveling through Illinois and Michigan, four other Apostles—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Lyman Wight, and William Smith—had also been journeying to the East by way of such places as St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh. Three of those Apostles (Young, Kimball, and Wight) left Nauvoo on May 21, 1844, "amidst the acclamations of three cheers from the shore, 'Joseph Smith, the next president of the United States!' "30 They headed down the Mississippi River toward St. Louis on the steamer Osprey, which had about 165 passengers. The first day on the boat Lyman Wight delivered "a political address" that established the "right Joseph Smith had to the presidential chair." Wight claimed his speech met with "the entire satisfaction of nearly all the passengers on board." During his talk he was "frequently interrupted with loud laughing and clapping hands, by way of approbation." 33

At that time it was common, during election years, to conduct straw polls or mock voting on riverboats on the Mississippi, perhaps the closest thing they had to a Gallup Poll of our day. One such vote was taken on the *Osprey* after Lyman Wight spoke, and "Joseph Smith received a large majority over all the other candidates." However, since the steamer was coming from Nauvoo, it is fair to assume that a significant number of those aboard were members of the Church.

The next day, May 22, the elders arrived at St. Louis. Here Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball met with a large branch of the Church that had almost seven hundred members. They did not record details of the meeting except to say they "instructed them spiritually and politically."³⁵

While in St. Louis, they were joined by another Apostle, William Smith. On May 23 Elders Young, Kimball, Wight, and Smith boarded another boat, the *Louis Phillippe*, headed for Cincinnati. "There were at first some little prejudices" against them until Brigham Young spoke on the principles of the gospel, which evidently alleviated the animosity.³⁶

While they were on the steamboat, Lyman Wight struck up a conversation with David Guard, an affluent businessman from Lawrenceburgh, Indiana. Elder Wight found that Guard had been one of the earliest settlers in Cincinnati and was worth between two and three hundred thousand dollars. Lyman gave the man two copies of *General Smith's Views*, which greatly impressed him. The gentleman promised to have *Views* published in both Lawrenceburgh papers, which were housed in buildings that he owned. "If they did not" publish it, Guard maintained, the editors "would have to seek shelter elsewhere."³⁷

The steamer arrived in Cincinnati on May 26, and that evening Elders Young and Kimball went on shore to meet with members of the Church while Elder Wight stayed behind to transfer their luggage to the *Neptune*, a boat soon bound for Pittsburgh.³⁸ The next day, Elders Young, Kimball, and Wight held a Church conference in Cincinnati at 8 a.m. All three of them spoke "on the subject of politics and perseverance in duty, and the great necessity of reform in government."³⁹ They also instructed the local elders to print two thousand copies of *General Smith's Views* and charged them to distribute the pamphlets "with the velocity of lightning and the voice of thunder."⁴⁰

By 10 a.m. that same day, the Apostles were on a steamboat heading for Pittsburgh. While on board, Lyman Wight gave an address on the Book of Mormon and the present situation of the world. On that voyage another mock vote was taken for president of the United States, and according to Wight "a large majority of the votes were given" to Joseph Smith.⁴¹

The four Apostles reached Pittsburgh on May 30, 1844. The next day Brigham Young parted company with the other three. Heber C. Kimball, William Smith, and Lyman Wight went on to Washington DC. They traveled by "steamer, stage and railway," wrote Lyman, "preaching . . . and thorning everybody with politics that came in our way." These three would reunite with Brigham Young in Boston four weeks later. Meanwhile, on June 1 and 2, Elder Young attended a Church conference in Pittsburgh with another Apostle, John E. Page. 43

After those meetings, Brigham Young turned west for a time and spent the next week in Ohio. In Shalorsville he stayed with the Salmon Gee family and spoke to the townspeople about *General Smith's Views*. ⁴⁴ The next day, June 7, lawyers and doctors called on him to obtain copies of the pamphlet. That same day he met with Lorenzo Snow in Mantua and preached in Hiram, a former center of Latter-day Saint activity where Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon had been tarred and feathered in 1832. ⁴⁵ For the next few days he visited with family and even preached in the Kirtland Temple. He then proceeded to New England by way of Buffalo, Albany, and New York City, arriving in Boston on Sunday, June 16, 1844. ⁴⁶

While Brigham Young and many of the Apostles had been making their way east across the United States, persecution against the Church was mounting back in Nauvoo. In the early part of 1844, some of Joseph Smith's closest associates had apostatized from the Church, including William Law, Second Counselor in the First Presidency. On June 7, 1844, Law and several cohorts published the Nauvoo Expositor in an effort to defame Joseph Smith and promote their own causes.⁴⁷ Among other things, they charged the Prophet with abusing political and ecclesiastical power, teaching plural marriage and plurality of gods, violating the separation of church and state, establishing a secret society for religious purposes, organizing an inquisition, teaching spiritual wifery, and having a hostile spirit toward Missouri. 48 On June 10 the Nauvoo City Council authorized Joseph Smith, in his capacity as mayor, to have the Nauvoo Expositor "removed without delay." 49 Joseph Smith immediately ordered the city marshal to destroy the press of the infamous periodical, which was done within two hours. 50 In response, the Warsaw Signal, an anti-Mormon newspaper, proclaimed: "War and extermination is

inevitable! Citizens Arise, One and All!!! . . . We have no time for comment: every man will make his own. *Let it be made with powder and ball!!!*"⁵¹ In this charged atmosphere, on June 18 Joseph put the city under martial law.⁵² Then, two days later, the Prophet wrote letters to all the Apostles serving missions in the east, asking them "to come home immediately."⁵³ However, before any of the letters could reach the Apostles, Joseph Smith was murdered in Carthage Jail on June 27, 1844.⁵⁴

Back in Boston, on the date of the martyrdom, Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff spent much of the day together. In the evening, while sitting in the railroad station, Brigham Young was overcome with a "heavy depression." He was so melancholy that he "could not converse with any degree of pleasure." After the fact he recorded, "Not knowing anything concerning [Joseph Smith's death] at this time in Carthage jail, I could not assign my reasons for my peculiar feelings."55 It would be nearly two weeks before the Apostles in New England would receive word that the Prophet had been martyred. Therefore, they diligently continued to campaign for Joseph Smith even though he had already died. In fact, the most significant political gathering outside of Nauvoo on behalf of Joseph Smith took place in Boston four days after the Prophet had been killed. At least six Apostles attended that event: Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, William Smith, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, and Lyman Wight.

New England and the Massachusetts Convention

New England held a special place in the hearts of many of the Apostles, and they knew the region well. Brigham Young was born in Vermont, and between 1835 and 1843 he served several missions in New England, especially in and around Boston. In addition, his daughter Vilate lived in Salem, Massachusetts. Heber C. Kimball and William Smith were also born in Vermont. Elder Kimball was one of the most successful missionaries in the Church. In 1835 and 1837 his proselytizing activities took him to Massachusetts. Norson Hyde was a native of Connecticut and was one of the great pioneer missionaries of New England. In 1832 he and Samuel Smith, the Prophet's brother, were the "first known missionaries in

four New England states: Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maine, and Massachusetts."⁵⁹ Orson Pratt was not born in New England, but in 1832 he and Lyman Johnson were the first missionaries to labor in New Hampshire.⁶⁰ Perhaps the greatest missionary of them all was Wilford Woodruff, who was born in Connecticut. His most prominent mission was in England in 1840, when he converted over eighteen hundred people in eight months.⁶¹ However, he also served a successful mission in the Fox Islands, twelve miles off the coast of Maine, where he converted enough people to establish two new branches.⁶² Elder Woodruff also had family in New England: his wife's parents lived in Scarboro, Maine, and his own father and stepmother lived in Farmington, Connecticut.⁶³

These Apostles and many others began to gather in Boston during the last week of June for a large Church conference followed by a state political convention on behalf of Joseph Smith. Brigham Young had arrived in Boston on June 16 and had been in or near the city ever since. Wilford Woodruff had come from Albany on June 26. During the next two days Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, William Smith, Orson Pratt, and Lyman Wight all came to Boston from other cities in the East but outside of New England.

First the Apostles held a Church conference in Franklin Hall on June 29 and 30, 1844. Brigham Young presided, and seven members of the Twelve attended. Orson Hyde spoke in the Saturday morning session "in an interesting manner." Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Lyman Wight each addressed the assembly in the afternoon session. Elders Young and Kimball also ordained two elders during the meeting.⁶⁴

The following day, Orson Pratt spoke in the morning session and "took away all the objections of the world against new revelation." Lyman Wight spoke again in the afternoon meeting on a wide variety of subjects including "the immortality of the body as well as the soul," baptism for the dead, and charity. In the evening session Wilford Woodruff spoke on the topic "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you." The Twelve seemed to be pleased with the meetings. "The house was full through the day and evening," wrote Woodruff, "and much instruction was given . . . during the whole Conference by those that spoke." 65

The next day, July 1, they held their political convention. The Twelve had already participated in numerous political meetings during the months of May and June, but in some respects this one was different. It was the first political rally held in New England, the ancestral home of many leaders and members of the early Church. In addition, this was more than just another local political rally or mass meeting. This gathering was an official state convention for Joseph Smith's independent political party, which would elect delegates to a national convention to be held in Baltimore, Maryland, on July 13, 1844.⁶⁶ The only other state convention that had ever been held for Joseph Smith's party had been in Nauvoo, Illinois, on May 17, 1844.⁶⁷ Finally, this convention was attended by at least six members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, which was twice as many as had attended any other political rally for Joseph Smith outside of Nauvoo.

The convention was held at the Melodeon, a public hall on Washington Street "between the Paramount Theatre on the south and the Opera House on the north." The meeting began at 10 a.m. Brigham Young was president of the convention with William Smith and Lyman Wight serving as vice presidents. The assembly formally nominated Joseph Smith as candidate for president of the United States and Sidney Rigdon as vice president. There were several speakers, including Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, William Smith, Orson Pratt, and Lyman Wight of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and George B. Wallace of Boston. "The Convention was addressed with much animation and zeal," declared Wilford Woodruff, and it was "attended with sound argument during the day and evening."

Unfortunately there were also some serious disruptions. "The Melodeon was [crowded] in the evening and it was soon evident that a large number of rowdies were in the galleries & felt disposed to make [a] disturbance." Right in the middle of Brigham Young's talk, a woman by the name of Abby Folsom rudely rose from her seat and began speaking. Soon thereafter an unruly young man stood and started yelling mean-spirited remarks from the gallery all the while being encouraged by his raucous companions. Ultimately, chaos broke out in the gallery and the police had to be summoned to escort the young man out of the building. The law enforcement

officers "were assaulted and beaten badly by a set of young desperadoes." One person was cut badly on his face. After a considerable amount of fighting, however, the gallery was finally cleared. Wilford Woodruff believed the disruption was "a disgrace to Boston & shows the spirit of the times." Brigham Young proclaimed, "This proves that the voice of the people rules; that is, the voice of the rabble." Nevertheless, before the convention broke up the Elders were able to accomplish some important business: they officially nominated Heber C. Kimball and S. B. Wallace as delegates to the national convention in Baltimore.

In spite of the disruptions at the Boston convention, the Apostles remained optimistic. Wilford Woodruff claimed, "The citizens [could] see their [sic] was sufficient reasons to awaken the minds of the people upon the affairs of our government, in order to save them from ruin." In addition, Brigham Young wrote that "all this did us good in Boston." The convention received enough attention that the Boston Daily Times published its proceedings.

On July 2 the Twelve met with the elders in the area at Franklin Hall at 8 a.m. At this meeting they decided "to divide into different parts of the vineyard; each one of the Twelve was appointed to take the oversight of several conferences." Then they all went to a nearby home and administered to William Smith's wife, who was ill. ⁷⁹ At 4 p.m. Lyman Wight gave a political address at Bunker Hill. ⁸⁰ Then at 7 p.m. Wilford Woodruff left Boston for Portland, Maine. Four days later he presided at a conference in Scarboro, Maine. ⁸¹

On the evening of the Fourth of July, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and "others of the Twelve" attended "a grand exhibition of fireworks on the Boston common." 82 Then, by July 7, Elders Young, Kimball, Pratt, and Wight were all participating in a conference in Salem, Massachusetts. 83

July 9, 1844, was truly significant in the lives of five of the Latter-day Saint Apostles serving in New England. On that day they first heard rumors of the tragic death of their beloved prophet, Joseph Smith. Brigham Young and Orson Pratt were in Boston when they received word of the martyrdom, but they did not want to believe it. Heber C. Kimball and Lyman Wight were still in Salem when they heard of the killing. They immediately left for Boston to be

with Brigham and Orson.⁸⁴ Wilford Woodruff was in Portland, Maine, getting ready to take a steamboat to the Fox Islands, when he read an account of the martyrdom in the *Boston Daily Times*. Without delay, he discontinued his plans to go to the islands and the next day took a train to Boston.⁸⁵

For the next week or so these five Apostles attempted to carry on the work of the Church in the East until they received sure word that the Prophet had truly been killed. On July 16, while staying in Boston, Wilford Woodruff received two letters from Nauvoo confirming Joseph Smith's death. He then wrote a letter to Brigham Young, validating the news of the martyrdom.⁸⁶

Brigham Young and Orson Pratt were in Peterboro, New Hampshire, participating in a Church conference when Brigham received Wilford's letter. Earlier in the day, Elders Young and Pratt had another letter read to them about the Prophet's death. Brigham Young wrote about his reaction: "The first thing which I thought of was, whether Joseph had taken the keys of the kingdom with him from the earth; brother Orson Pratt sat on my left; we were both leaning back on our chairs. Bringing my hand down on my knee, I said the keys of the kingdom are right here with the Church." Brigham started back to Boston that evening.

Elder Young arrived in Boston the next day, July 17. He and Wilford Woodruff walked to the house of Sister Voce, who lived at 57 Temple Street. Here emotion finally overcame these two great Apostles as they expressed their sadness at the death of Joseph Smith. Elder Woodruff recorded: "[Brother] Young took the bed and I the big chair, and I here veiled my face and for the first time gave vent to my grief and mourning for . . . Joseph and [Hyrum] Smith who were murdered by a gentile mob. After being bathed by a flood of tears I felt composed."88

On July 18, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, and Wilford Woodruff met in Boston and made plans to return to Nauvoo. They wrote an open letter "To the Elders and Saints Scattered Abroad" and had it published in the Church periodical *The Prophet*. In this epistle they admonished all the brethren who had families in the West to "return to them as soon as convenient." That night Orson Hyde and Brigham Young spoke to members and friends in a hall on Washington Street in Boston. 90

The Apostles stayed in the East for another six days. During this time they preached the gospel, took care of Church business, and bid farewell to friends and relatives. On July 24, Elders Young, Kimball, Hyde, Pratt, Woodruff, and Wight departed for Nauvoo.

Conclusion

The campaign of the Twelve Apostles for Joseph Smith was indeed a fascinating episode in Church history. It was unique inasmuch as the Apostles called "electioneer" missionaries to both proselytize for the Church and campaign for their prophet. The Twelve also scheduled Church conferences all over the United States. Political rallies were often scheduled either the day before or the day after these conferences. The Apostles tried to visit as many of the conferences as possible.

Like the rest of the missionaries, the Twelve both preached the gospel and electioneered for Joseph Smith. One scholar has observed that "while many electioneers gave political addresses and distributed copies of Joseph Smith's platform, in the main, their activities did more to strengthen the Church than to present the Prophet to the nation as a presidential candidate."91 A careful analysis of the missionary activities of the Twelve makes it evident that the Apostles also expended more energy in building the ecclesiastical kingdom than in campaigning for Joseph Smith. For example, Wilford Woodruff's electioneer mission lasted about nine weeks. During that time he was involved in only five political meetings, averaging one in every twelve days. Brigham Young's mission lasted approximately seven weeks. He gave five political addresses during that time—about one every eight days. Both Apostles spent at least twice as much time in Church meetings as they did in political rallies.

Historians have written much about how certain events in Church history helped prepare the Twelve, especially Brigham Young, to one day lead the Church. Zion's Camp, the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri, and the mission of the Twelve to the British Isles are all episodes that provided the Apostles with significant leadership opportunities. ⁹² Certainly another important event that should be added to that list was the involvement of the Twelve

in Joseph Smith's campaign for president. Scholars often overlook the fact that the seven Apostles who campaigned in New England collectively visited members in the nation's capital and nearly half the states of the union during the two months preceding Joseph Smith's death. This experience also helped prepare them to "bear off the kingdom" after the martyrdom of their prophet.

NOTES

¹Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), 6:188.

²For an overview of Joseph Smith's campaign see Arnold K. Garr, "Joseph Smith: Candidate for President of the United States," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: Illinois*, ed. H. Dean Garrett (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1995), 151–68. For specific aspects concerning the campaign see James B. Allen, "Was Joseph Smith a Serious Candidate for the Presidency?" *Ensign*, September 1973, 21–22; Martin B. Hickman, "The Political Legacy of Joseph Smith," Dialogue: *A Journal of Mormon Thought* (Autumn 1968), 22–27; Arnold K. Garr, "General Smith's Views of the Powers and Policies of the Government of the United States," in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, ed. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 419–20; Richard D. Poll, "Joseph Smith's Presidential Platform," *Dialogue: Journal of Mormon Thought* (Autumn 1968), 17–21; Margaret C. Robertson, "The Campaign and the Kingdom: The Activities of the Electioneers in Joseph Smith's Presidential Campaign," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 3 (2000), 147–80.

³Smith, History of the Church, 6:188.

⁴Smith, History of the Church, 6:324.

⁵Smith, History of the Church, 6:322.

⁶Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:325.

⁷Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:325.

⁸ Times and Seasons, April 15, 1844, 504–6.

⁹ Times and Seasons, April 15, 1844, 504-6

¹⁰ Times and Seasons, April 15, 1844, 506.

¹¹ Times and Seasons, April 15, 1844, 506.

¹² Times and Seasons, April 15, 1844, 506.

¹³ Times and Seasons, April 15, 1844, 506-6.

¹⁴ Times and Seasons, April 15, 1844, 506.

¹⁵Wilford Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, typescript, ed. Scott G. Kenney (Midvale, UT: Signature, 1983), 2:394.

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16Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:394.
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¹⁷Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:397.

¹⁸Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:398.

¹⁹Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:400.

²⁰Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:400.

²¹Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:400.

²²Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:402.

²³Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:403–4.

²⁴Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:405.

²⁵Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:406.

²⁶Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:406–9.

²⁷Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:410.

²⁸Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:411–12.

²⁹Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:412–13.

³⁰Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:136.

³¹Smith, History of the Church, 7:136.

³²Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:136.

³³Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:136.

³⁴Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:136.

³⁵Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:136.

³⁶Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:136. ³⁷Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:137.

³⁸Elden Jay Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968), 167; see also Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:136.

³⁹Smith, History of the Church, 7:136.

⁴⁰Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:137.

⁴¹Smith, History of the Church, 7:137.

⁴²Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:137.

⁴³Watson, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 167–68.

⁴⁴Watson, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 168.

⁴⁵Watson, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 168.

⁴⁶Watson, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 168–69.

⁴⁷The publishers were William Law, Wilson Law, Charles Ivans, Frances M. Higbee, Chauncey L. Higbee, Robert D. Foster, and Charles A. Foster. See Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:444.

⁴⁸Nauvoo Expositor, 7 June 1844.

⁴⁹Smith, History of the Church, 6:448.

⁵⁰Smith, History of the Church, 6:432.

⁵¹ Warsaw Signal, June 12, 1844; cited in B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 2:236; emphasis in original.

⁵²Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:497.

⁵³Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:519.

⁵⁴For more details on the last three weeks of Joseph Smith's life, especially in his role as mayor, see Arnold K. Garr, "Joseph Smith: Mayor of Nauvoo," *Mormon Historical Studies* 3, no. 1 (spring 2002): 42–43.

⁵⁵ Millennial Star 26 (28 May 1864): 343.

⁵⁶Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 51, 107, 413–14.

⁵⁷Watson, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 169.

⁵⁸See Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 37; and Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 110.

⁵⁹Arnold K. Garr, "Early Missionary Journeys in North America," in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, ed. S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 30.

⁶⁰Garr, "Early Missionary Journeys in North America," 30.

⁶¹Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), 119.

⁶²Donald Q. Cannon, "Fox Islands," in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, ed. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 394.

⁶³Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:416, 429.

⁶⁴Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:414.

⁶⁵Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:414.

⁶⁶Smith, History of the Church, 6:386.

⁶⁷Smith, History of the Church, 6:386–97.

⁶⁸LaMar C. Berrett, ed., *Sacred Places: New England and Canada* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999), 5.

⁶⁹Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:415.

⁷⁰Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:415.

⁷¹Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:415.

⁷²Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:415.

⁷³Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:210.

⁷⁴Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:416.

⁷⁵Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:416.

⁷⁶Smith, History of the Church, 7:210.

⁷⁷Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:415.

⁷⁸Watson, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 170.

⁷⁹Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:416.

80 Smith, History of the Church, 7:159.

81 Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:416–17.

82 Watson, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 170.

⁸³Smith, History of the Church, 7:169; Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 170.

- 84Smith, History of the Church, 7:175.
- 85 Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:419–20.
- 86 Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:422.
- ⁸⁷Watson, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 171.
- 88 Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 2:423.
- 89Smith, History of the Church, 7:198.
- 90 Smith, History of the Church, 7:197-98.
- 91Robertson, "The Campaign and the Kingdom," 149.
- ⁹²See James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 91, 100–3, 139–40, 160–64; *Church History in the Fulness of Times* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints, 2000), 141–52, 211–13, 225–39; and James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men With a Mission: 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992).