

Notes

Addendum 1. “Fragment of History of C. C. Rich,” USIC [MS 889 bx 3, fd 1]. “Minutes of a Convention held at the Court House in Jackson, State of Michigan, July 6th 1844,” USIC [MS 889 bx 3 fd 4]. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1948–59), 6:386–92; hereafter cited as *History of the Church*.

2. *Sword of Truth*, 1 November 1863 (p. 6); 15 February (p. 5), 15 April 1865 (p. 7). 1860 Maine census, Hancock County, 482. 1870 Maine census, Hancock County, 672. 1880 Maine census, Hancock County, 403C. *Ellsworth American*, 22 February 1877, microfilm, Ellsworth Public Library, Ellsworth, Maine. “York Hill Cemetery, Sullivan, Hancock County, Maine,” microfilm of typescript, Ellsworth Public Library.

3. Shane J. Chism, *A Selection of Early Mormon Hymnbooks* (Tucson, Ariz., 2011), 101–3.

4. Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File), microfilm, UPB. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. “European Emigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 301. Diane R. Parkinson and Lori Youngstrom, comp., *Index to the Utah County Cemeteries* (Provo, Utah, 1997), 2:1050. *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude* (Salt Lake City, 1998), 4:3433–34.

5. *Millennial Star* 10:80, 380; 11:16, 380; 12:16, 368; 13:16, 208, 380; 14:16, 112, 128.

Introduction 1. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. “Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” 28–29 August 1852, USIC; hereafter cited as “Journal History.” Scott G. Kinney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript* (Midvale, Utah, 1983), 4:144; hereafter, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*. Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861* (Salt Lake City, 1964), 2:449–50; hereafter, Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*. Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 28–29 August 1852; hereafter, Jenson, *Church Chronology*. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1901–36); hereafter, Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*.

2. For the locations of the *Deseret News* shop during this period, see vol. 2, pp. 19–20.

3. *Acts and Resolutions, Passed at the Second Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1853), 69. *Deseret News*, 19 March 1853, 2.

4. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:415. 1850 Utah census, Great Salt Lake City, 20. *Deseret News* 5:36; 24:8; 32:192. *Deseret Evening News*, 8 July 1919, 2nd sec., 3. James H. Hawley, *History of Idaho* (Chicago, 1920), 4:218–19.

5. “Early Church Information File.” Family Group Record of John Bookbinder Kelly, microfilm 1274480, UPB. *Millennial Star* 12:15, 345; 14:634; 15:79, 250, 269. “European Emigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. “Utah Immigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. *Deseret News* 9:244; 12:209; 16:53; 17:168; 20:32; 21:315; 32:425, 448. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1973), 16:532–33. Winnifred Sims McDonald, “John Bookbinder Kelly, the Pioneer,” typescript, UPB. *The Salt Lake City and*

Business Guide, for 1869 (Salt Lake City, 1869), 117. *Salt Lake City Directory for the Year 1873* (Salt Lake City, 1873), 50. *Gazeteer of Utah, and Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City, 1874), 237. *The Utah Directory, for 1883–84* (Salt Lake City, 1883), 121.

6. The *Millennial Star* office was located at 15, Wilton Street, August 1848–April 1855, and then at 36, Islington for the rest of the century. In April 1856 the address at 36, Islington was changed to 42, Islington, even though the location remained the same. *Millennial Star* 10:244; 17:202; 18:283.

7. For a sketch of John S. Davis and his presses, see vol. 2, pp. 22, 387.

8. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *Millennial Star* 15:32, 42, 842; 16:465, 479; 17:76; 18:170, 760; 19:811. Ronald D. Dennis, *Welsh Mormon Writings from 1844 to 1862: A Historical Bibliography* (Provo, Utah, 1988), 74, 169, 171, 207–9.

Daniel Daniels was born in Wales on August 9, 1807, and came to Utah with the first Welsh company in 1849. After his mission he moved to Malad, Idaho, where he served as the bishop. He died in Malad on September 1, 1879. “Journal History,” 27 October 1849, 8. *Deseret News* 22:103; 23:579; 24:795. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 1 September 1879. Blaine Crump and Marianne Crump, *Malad Valley History* (Malad, Idaho, 2006), 1:10–11. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 835.

9. *Millennial Star* 18:47, 479; 19:63, 479; 20:63.

10. Brigham Young to Asa Calkin, 5 March 1858, USIC. Brigham Young et al. to George Q. Cannon, 25 September 1860, USIC. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 1 March 1861; Cannon to Young 30 March 1861; Young to Cannon, 15 May 1861; Young to Cannon, 12 November 1861; USLC.

11. See, e.g., Stephen O. Saxe, *American Iron Hand Presses* (New Castle, Del., 1992), ii, 42–47; James Moran, *Printing Presses* (London, 1973), 79–81.

12. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 30 October 1857, USIC. Brigham Young to Dwight Eveleth, 18 October 1859; Young to Eveleth, 20 March 1860; USIC. J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City, 1938), 324–27, 345.

13. *Galerie de Toutes les Personnes Célèbres, par Ordre Alphabétique, Depuis les Temps les Plus Reculés Jusq’en 1852* (Genève: Imprimerie C.-L. Sabot, Rive, 10, 1854). Villiam Favre, *Luther a la Diète de Worms* (Genève: Imprimerie Charles-Louis Sabot, Rue de Rive, No. 10, 1855). François Thioly, *L’Italie et la Suisse dans la Question de Savoie* (Genève: Imprimerie Charles-Louis Sabot, Rive 10, 1860).

14. *Millennial Star* 23:224, 240, 256, 264–65, 272. 1861 English census, Toxteth Park, Liverpool, Lancashire, 74. James moved his shop to 51, South John Street in August 1858.

15. 1851 English census, Liverpool, Lancashire, 13. 1861 English census, Liscard, Cheshire, 18. See item 806.

16. 1851 English census, St. George, Holborn, London, 3. 1861 English census, Islington, London, 8.

17. 1851 English census, Liverpool, Orton, 14. 1861 English census, Woodchurch, Orton, 20. *Slater’s 1855 Directory of Lancashire*, s.v. Fazakerley, Thomas. Howard M. Nixon and Mirjam M. Foot, *The History of Decorated Bookbinding in England* (Oxford, Eng., 1992), 106. *Millennial Star* 51:333–34.

18. *St. Louis Luminary*, 20 October 1855, 190. *Mormon*, 30 May 1857, 3.

768–71 1. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10, 14–22. *Journal of Discourses* 2:58–59. *Deseret News*, 2 October 1852, 2. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, 1991), 415–19, 429–31, 433–35, 441–43, 447, 450–51, 456, 459, 463, 471–72. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 19 September–21 October

1853, microfilm, USIC. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 20 November 1852; Pratt to Young, 31 December 1852; USIC. David J. Whittaker, “The Bone in the Throat: Orson Pratt and the Public Announcement of Plural Marriage,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (1987): 293–314.

2. Pratt to Young, 31 December 1852. In his letter of January 30, 1853, Orson mentions “publishing several hundred hand bills,” but it is not clear if this refers to the bill identified in his December 31 letter or another bill. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 30 January 1853, USIC.

3. Pratt to Young, 30 January 1853. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 4 March 1853, USIC. *Deseret News*, 14 May 1853, 2.

4. Orson Pratt to Thomas L. Kane, 12 May 1853, “Journal History,” under date. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 30 May 1853, USIC. *Seer* 1:144. *Millennial Star* 15:384, 497–500.

5. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 10 September 1853; Pratt to Young, 4 November 1853; USIC. *Seer* 1:160.

6. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 13 December 1853; Pratt to Young, 14 February 1854; USIC. Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 30 November 1853; Young to Pratt, 31 January 1854; Young to Pratt, 29 April 1854; USIC. *Seer* 2:256, 288. “Journal History,” 16 June, 27 August 1854. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:286. *Journal of Discourses* 2:58–59.

7. *Millennial Star* 15:42–43, 57, 59, 120.

8. European Mission Financial Records, 8:230, 248, 263, 280, 297, 330, 358–59, 393, 413, 427, 431, 460, 510, 517, 528, 542, 546, 578, 619, 650, 682, 708, 725; 9:25, 40, 97; USIC. *Millennial Star* 15:827.

9. *Millennial Star* 16:720.

10. *Millennial Star* 17:297–98.

A year before Orson’s return to Salt Lake City on August 27, 1854, Brigham Young wrote him that some points in the *Seer* were “not Sound Doctrine, and will not be so received by the Saints,” and on November 4, 1853, Orson wrote back apologetically that he was “liable to err.” Young replied on January 31, 1854, that in alluding to certain doctrines in the *Seer* he “did so with the best of feeling, and not with an idea that any harm had accrued therefrom,” that he “presumed” the *Seer* “might obtain a more extended circulation by treating more upon simpler subjects, and those Doctrines that more immediately concerned unbelievers; hence there is no occasion for you to disquiet yourself on account of the item you commented upon in your last.” But three weeks after his return, Pratt’s conflict with Young over certain doctrines surfaced at a meeting of Church leaders—and continued to be an issue for the next twelve years. One point of contention was whether God continued to progress in knowledge. Pratt believed that God no longer grew in knowledge because he knew “all things,” while Young held that God “is progressing eternally [in knowledge and power], and so are his children: they will increase to all eternity, if they are faithful.” Pratt to Young, 4 November 1853. Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 31 January 1854, USIC. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:288, 401–2. *Journal of Discourses* 3:203; 11:286. Gary James Bergera, “The Orson Pratt-Brigham Young Controversies: Conflict Within the Quorums, 1853 to 1868,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13 (summer 1980): 7–49.

11. I am grateful to Chad Foulger for bringing this to my attention.

12. *Deseret News* 10:162–63; 14:372–73. *Millennial Star* 27:657–63.

772 1. “Journal of Jacob Gates,” vol. 5, 25–26 December 1852, microfilm, USIC. “Diary of Job Smith a Pioneer of Nauvoo, Illinois and Utah,” 34, mimeographed, UPB.

773 1. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)," microfilm, UPB. "European Emigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. "Sixth Ward [Salt Lake City] Record of Blessings and Confirmations Beginning Feby 1888 and Ending," 11, microfilm 26658, UPB. *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Salt Lake City Directory 1893*, s.v. "Goulder, George." Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. Ancestral File, UPB.

774 1. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council and Joint Sessions* (Salt Lake City, 1853), 38, 41, 137. *Acts and Resolutions, Passed at the Second Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1853).

775 1. European Mission Financial Records, 8:185, 190.
2. *Millennial Star* 15:105, 154, 282, 288, 329–30. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 23 January, 15 February 1853. Frederick Piercy and James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool, 1855), 15.

776 1. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret News*, 15 February 1855 (p. 1); 23 January 1856 (p. 365). 1860 Utah census, Great Salt Lake County, 37. 1870 Utah census, Great Salt Lake County, 627. "Journal History," 24 February 1852, 2. J. Kenneth Davies, *Deseret's Sons of Toil* (Salt Lake City, 1977), 56, 58–59, 69, 230. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 19 December 1875. Ancestral File.

2. "Journal: Matthias Cowley, Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, April 6, 1856," typescript, USIC. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 246, UPB. "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 15:730; 17:685. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 121–22. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 25 April, 13 September 1857. *Deseret News* 7:264; 13:288. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records. Davies, *Deseret's Sons of Toil*, 57, 228.

777–79 1. What the first play performed in the Valley was is unclear. See, e.g., Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), 737; John S. Lindsay, *The Mormons and the Theatre* (Salt Lake City, 1905), 8–9; Myrtle E. Henderson, *A History of the Theatre in Salt Lake City* (Evanston, Ill., 1934), 15–21; *Salt Lake Theatre Program of Gala Performance Saturday, October 20th, 1928* (Salt Lake City, 1928), 5; George D. Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse* (Salt Lake City, 1937), 39–45; Ila Fisher Maughan, *Pioneer Theatre in the Desert* (Salt Lake City, 1961), 17–19.

2. *Second General Epistle of the Presidency* (Salt Lake City, 1849), 1. *Frontier Guardian*, 19 September 1849, 4. "Journal History, 1 July, 24 July 1849; 3 December, 6 December 1851. *Salt Lake Theatre Program of Gala Performance*, 5. Maughan, *Pioneer Theatre in the Desert*, 20–21.

3. Minute Book of the Deseret Dramatic Association, 20 February 1852–14 June 1853, USIC. Maughan, *Pioneer Theatre in the Desert*, 29–30. The entry in the Minute Book says they met on "Monday evening," February 20, but February 20 fell on Friday.

4. Minute Book of the Deseret Dramatic Association. Maughan, *Pioneer Theatre in the Desert*, 29–34.

5. Minute Book of the Deseret Dramatic Association. "Journal History," 19 March, 31 May 1852. *Millennial Star* 14:507–8; 15:393. *Deseret News*, 22 January 1853, 2–3.

6. "Journal History," 31 May 1852. *Millennial Star* 14:507–8. Linforth and Piercy, *Route from Liverpool*, 110. *Harper's Weekly*, 11 July 1857, 441–442. John M. Bourne, "Research Report Salt Lake City Social Hall Historical Background and Structure Report," 31 October 1977, photocopy of typescript, UPB.

The Social Hall was razed in 1922. In 1992 a glass and steel structure mirroring the original shape of the building was constructed on top of the foundation.

7. Minute Book of the Deseret Dramatic Association. *Deseret News*, 19 February 1853, 2. “Journal of Rachel Emma Woolley Simmons,” in Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:169.

8. Minute Book of the Deseret Dramatic Association. *Deseret News*, 22 January (p. 3), 5 March 1853 (p. 2). *Millennial Star* 15:393.

Each of the following plays in a nineteenth-century edition can be found, for example, at Yale University and Brigham Young University: *Don Caesar de Bazan* by Philippe M. Dumanoir (1806–65); *A Dead Shot!* by John Baldwin Buckstone (1802–79); *The Stranger* by August von Kotzebue (1761–1819); *The Gentle Shepherd* by Allan Ramsay (1686–1758); *Robert Macaire* by Charles Selby [George Henry Wilson] (1802?–63); *The Irish Lion* by John Baldwin Buckstone; *Hunting a Turtle* by Charles Selby; *The Lady of Lyons* by Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803–73); *Fortune’s Frolic* by John Till Allingham (fl. 1799–1810); *The Golden Farmer* by Benjamin Webster (1797–1882); *How to Pay the Rent* by Tyrone Power (1797–1841); *The Serious Family* by Morris Barnett (1800–56); *The Irish Attorney* by William Bayle Bernard (1807–75); *Money* by Edward Bulwer-Lytton; and *His Last Legs* by William Bayle Bernard.

9. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 144. *Deseret Evening News*, 13 May 1901, 8. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:672–75.

10. *Deseret News*, 11 January 1855, 3. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 112. *Deseret Evening News*, 5 June (pp. 2–3), 9 June 1890 (p. 2).

11. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 14. *Deseret Evening News*, 11 November 1907, 1. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:238–41. Janet Burton Seegmiller, “Be Kind to the Poor”: *The Life Story of Robert Taylor Burton* (n.p., 1988).

12. “Journal of Rachel Emma Woolley Simmons,” 164–72. “Early Church Information File.” Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. *Deseret Evening News*, 14 February 1872, 2.

780 1. *Millennial Star* 15:27. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, 1991), 422. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 19 September 1852, microfilm, USIC.

2. *Millennial Star* 15:11, 27, 64; 16:58, 303–4, 319–20, 495–96, 542–43, 718–19. European Mission Financial Records, 8:183, 185, 575.

781 1. “Journal History,” 25 January 1853.

2. *Deseret News*, 5 February 1853, 3. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:183.

3. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 44. *Deseret Evening News*, 14 October 1881, 3. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:630–33. Leonard J. Arrington, *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint: Bishop Edwin D. Woolley* (Salt Lake City, 1976).

782 1. Lyon’s poems in the *Millennial Star* are found in 6:176; 7:80; 8:57, 110–11, 143; 9:24, 76, 111, 207, 256; 10:15, 79, 287, 304, 367; 11:63, 192, 288, 336; 12:63, 80, 96, 128, 223, 320; 13:48, 336, 352; 14:111, 247, 416.

2. “Journal of Franklin D. Richards,” 15 October 1851, USIC. Samuel W. Richards to George A. Smith, 3 September 1852, *Deseret News*, 25 December 1852, 2. *Millennial Star* 14:504; 15:73, 169. *Dairy [sic] of a Voyage from Liverpool to New Orleans, on Board the Ship International* (Keokuk, Iowa? 1853?), 1. *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). T. Edgar Lyon Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet* (Provo, Utah, 1989), 156–63.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 8:483, 519–20.

4. European Mission Financial Records, 13:547–49.

5. European Mission Financial Records, 9:49.

6. Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City, 1878), back wrapper.

7. The three pieces in the *Star* that are not in *Harp of Zion* are “The Inquiry” (8:143, left column), “Lines on the Death of Marlon . . . Pratt” (11:288), and “Accept Dear Brother,” a tribute to F. D. Richards (14:247).

8. These are “A Wish” (“Where the Voice of Friendship’s Heard”); “Confidence in God” (“O Lord! Responsive to Thy Call”); “Confirmation” (“O Lord Do Thou Thy Gifts Bestow”); “Anointing and Prayer for the Sick” (“When Sickness Clouds the Soul with Grief”); “Marriage” (“O Lord, Do Thou in Heaven Seal”); “Praise to God” (“To Thee, O God, We Do Approach”); “Practical Religion” (“Come Let Us Purpose with One Heart”); “Millennial Hymn” (“Hail! Bright Millennial Day of Rest”).

783 1. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *Millennial Star* 15:27.

2. “Biographical Sketch and Diary of Isaac Chauncy Haight 1813–1862,” 89, 93, 98–100, typescript, UPB. *Millennial Star* 15:57, 75, 89.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 8:191, 238; 9:28, 45, 60; 10:305. *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).

4. Hardback editions of Spencer’s *Letters* were published in 1848, 1852, 1866, 1874, 1879, 1889, and 1891 (see items 347, 736).

784 1. Daniel H. Thomas, comp., “Preston Thomas: His Life and Travels,” photocopy of typescript, UPB. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 107. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1951), 12:458. *Deseret News* 5:12, 190; 26:393.

2. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. Thomas, “Preston Thomas: His Life and Travels,” 191–97, 200–2, 207–14. *Seer* 1:144.

3. Thomas, “Preston Thomas: His Life and Travels,” 210–15. The American Antiquarian Society has the issue of the *American Sovereign* for April 23, 1853, which lists J. T. Heard as the editor.

785 1. Lorenzo Snow, *The Italian Mission* (London, 1851), 20–25. *Millennial Star* 13:108, 186–87, 252, 302; 14:76–78. *Half-Yearly Reports of the Southampton Conferences* (Portsmouth, 1851?), 6, 9. *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay: India–Scotland*, comp. Ross and Linnie Findlay (Ephraim, Utah, 1973), part 1:5. Fanny Stenhouse, “*Tell It All*” (Hartford, Conn., 1874), 31–38, 70–72, 111. Dale Z. Kirby, “History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Switzerland” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971).

2. T. B. H. Stenhouse to Lorenzo Snow, 31 January 1853, *Deseret News*, 18 June 1853, 3. Stenhouse, “*Tell It All*,” 121–22. *Millennial Star* 14:525.

Serge L. Ballif was born near Lausanne on April 17, 1821, was educated in Switzerland and Russia, and was active in the Swiss Mission until he immigrated to Utah in 1854. In 1860 he settled in Logan, returned to Europe that year as a missionary, and went again to Europe in 1879 to preside over the Swiss-German Mission. He died in Logan on April 25, 1901. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. “Journal History,” 28 October

(pp. 2–3), 31 December 1854 (sup., 13). *Deseret Evening News*, 26 April 1901, 2. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:305–6.

3. Stenhouse to Snow, 31 January 1853. *Millennial Star* 15:57, 234–36; 16:400. European Mission Financial Records, 9:12, USIC. *Catalogue of Works Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and for Sale by Orson Pratt, at Their General Repository, and “Millennial Star” Office, 42, Islington, Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1856), 3. Stenhouse, “*Tell It All*,” 156.

4. *Millennial Star* 15:235, 471. Stenhouse, “*Tell It All*,” 141, 154–55.

5. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. Family Group Record of Jacque Daniel Robellas, microfilm 1274945, UPB. “European Emigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 15:470–71. Stenhouse, “*Tell It All*,” 157. Ancestral File.

6. Both states, for example, are in the LDS Church Archives. I am indebted to Curt Bench for bringing state b to my attention.

786 1. Cleo H. Evans, comp., *Curtis Edwin Bolton: Pioneer Missionary* (Fairfax, Va., 1968), 117. *Le Réflexeur* 1:48.

2. An English translation of *Traité sur le Baptême* by Christina Cheney is in the Brigham Young University Lee Library.

787 1. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 15, UPB. Family Group Record of Daniel Garn, microfilm 1274119, UPB. *History of the Church* 3:209; 4:430; 5:119, 486; 6:103, 149; 7:298, 306, 548, 626. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record* (Salt Lake City, 1983), 188. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:508. “Journal of George P. Dykes, 1849–1851,” 87, typescript, USIC. *Millennial Star* 14:35, 89, 398; 15:156.

Five different versions of Daniel Garn’s last name appear in the record. During his 1852–54 European mission, for example, the *Millennial Star* usually referred to him as “Carn.” *History of the Church* identifies him mostly as “Garn” but also uses “Carn,” “Carnes,” and “Garns.” The “Journal History” employs “Carn,” “Carns,” and “Garn.” *Biographical Encyclopedia* uses “Garn,” as does the Ancestral File. His grave marker in the Salt Lake City Cemetery (C–7–4) gives “Garn.”

2. *Millennial Star* 14:461–63. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1964), 7:379–80.

3. *Millennial Star* 14:603; 15:152–54, 156–58, 296, 362–67, 539, 587; 16:41, 140. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 22 February 1854, 1 October 1854.

4. *Millennial Star* 15:106, 156–58, 362–67.

5. European Mission Financial Records, 9:377. *Millennial Star* 24:558.

6. James B. Hill, “History of the Utah State Prison 1850–1952” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952), 66–68, 71. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1951), 12:140. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 7:379–80. “Journal History,” 30 September 1863, 8. Family Group Record of Daniel Garn. *Deseret News* 21:153. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records.

788 1. For a biographical sketch of Daniel D. McArthur, see Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:336–37.

2. “Diary of Andrew Ferguson,” 50, 53–56, 60, 80, UPB.

789 1. “Journal of Samuel Francis,” 60, 65, 69, typescript, UPB.

Truro is in Cornwall, about forty miles west of Plymouth. For a biographical sketch of Samuel Francis, see item 1005, note 6.

2. "Journal of Samuel Francis," 69.

3. "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 11:287; 14:666; 15:79, 511; 16:79, 479, 764; 17:233. "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. *Deseret Evening News*, 1 September 1906, 1. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:241–2. J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City, 1938), 144, 146, 152.

790 1. *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay: India–Scotland*, comp. Ross and Linnie Findlay (Ephraim, Utah, 1973), part 1: 1–6. *Millennial Star* 13:332–33; 17:281. *Deseret News*, 7 February 1852, 3. Hugh Findlay to William Gibson, 13 November 1853, *Deseret News*, 27 April 1854, 2. R. Lanier Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic: The Compelling Story of the First Latter-day Saint Missionaries in India* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 44–45, 183.

2. *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay*, part 1: 6–41. Findlay to Gibson, 13 November 1853. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 183–88.

James George Deck was born in Suffolk, England, on November 1, 1807. In 1824 he went to India as a young army officer and during a visit to England two years later experienced a religious conversion, leading him to resign his commission and return to England in 1835. Becoming disenchanted with the Church of England, he aligned himself with the Plymouth Brethren and began to preach in their behalf. Illness prompted him to move to New Zealand in 1853, and for thirty years he promoted the Brethren's cause in his adopted land, where he died on August 14, 1884. He published a few other pieces in addition to his anti-Mormon tract but is best known for a large body of hymns. John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (New York, 1957), 1:285–86. Christopher Knapp, *Who Wrote Our Hymns* (New York, 1925), 174–79. Hy. Pickering, *Chief Men Among the Brethren* (Neptune, New Jersey, 1986), 36–39. Napoleon Noel, *The History of the Brethren*, ed. William F. Knapp (Denver, Colo., 1936), 1:135. James G. Deck, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London, 1889). International Genealogical Index.

3. *Millennial Star* 14:635–36. *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay*, part 1: 18; part 2: 1, 5, 15, 34, 47–48, 54–55. Findlay, "The Mormons" or "Latter-day Saints," iii. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 188–89.

For biographical sketches of William Tait, see Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1958), 1:318–20, and Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (New York, 2008), 263.

4. Both variants are at USIC. I am indebted to Chad Foulger for bringing the variant to my attention.

5. *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay*, part 1: 43; part 2: 52. *Millennial Star* 14:473, 635–36, 654–65; 15:167–68, 638–39, 714–16; 16:26. Findlay to Gibson, 13 November 1853. Chauncey W. West to S. W. Richards, 29 July 1853, *Deseret News*, 15 December 1853, 1. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 187, 193–94, 198–200.

6. *Millennial Star* 16:223, 313, 701–3; 17:42–44, 281–82, 383, 556, 607. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:3. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 1:318–20. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 200–206.

7. *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay*, i–vii. "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 9:345; 10:69, 197–98, 293–94; 12:239, 345; 13:334. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 1 December 1855. *Deseret Evening News*, 7 March 1900, 7. Edith Parker Haddock and Dorothy Hardy Matthews, comp., *History of Bear Lake Pioneers* (Bear Lake, Idaho, 1968), 210–11. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 13:402–3. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 871. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 284.

791 1. *Millennial Star* 14:541–42; 15:331–35, 558; 16:218. Nathaniel V. Jones, “Hindustanee Mission,” *Deseret News* 5:334, 364; 6:42. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 2:84, microfilm, USIC. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 60–61, typescript, UPB. “Amos M. Musser’s Private Journal,” 2:59; 3:117; microfilm, USIC. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 55–69, 86.

Within a short time, the converts Willes and Richards had made on this journey began to fall away. William Fotheringham, “Travels in India,” *Juvenile Instructor* 12:224–25, 244. Jones, “Hindustanee Mission,” 6:42.

2. William Willes, “The Life of William Willes,” 24, microfilm, USIC.

792 1. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, 1995), 415, 486–87, 499–500, 508. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *Millennial Star* 15:58.

2. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 488–91, 493, 497–99. *Millennial Star* 15:96, 144, 269. S. W. Richards to Brigham Young, 22 April 1853, *Deseret News*, 10 July 1853, 3. James B. Allen, *No Toil Nor Labor Fear: The Story of William Clayton* (Provo, Utah, 2002), 279–303.

793 1. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10.

Houtz, Spencer reported, “had a passable knowledge of the German.” Of German and Swiss descent, he was born in Pennsylvania on October 12, 1814, converted to Mormonism in 1844, made the trek to Utah three years later, and settled in Salt Lake City. Just before his Prussian mission, he established a farm and gristmill in Springville, and after his mission he expanded his business interests there, including the construction of a cotton factory. In 1868 he moved to Springville, where he died on December 11, 1896. Spencer, *Prussian Mission*, 9. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1904), 4:108–9. *Deseret Evening News*, 24 December 1896, 2. Diane R. Parkinson and Lori Youngstrom, *Index to the Utah County Cemeteries* (Provo, Utah, 1997), 1:547.

2. *Millennial Star* 15:58, 89, 106, 136–37, 250. Spencer, *Prussian Mission*.

3. *Millennial Star* 15:58; 17:240, 462, 776; 18:330.

4. *Millennial Star* 15:169. European Mission Financial Records, 8:243, 239–9:51.

794 1. “Diary of Andrew Ferguson,” 62–66.

2. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 195. *Deseret Evening News*, 17 December 1890, 2. *Millennial Star* 15:58–59, 510–11; 16:78–79, 763–64; 17:776; 18:330. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 94, 289. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:633–34.

795 1. “Scandinavian LDS Mission Index,” microfiche, UPB. “Early Church Information File.” *Millennial Star* 15:347–49. *Deseret News* 5:214; 13:100. “Utah Immigration Card Index.” Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:337–38. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 47, 54, 79–80.

796 1. Ronald G. Watt, “The Beginnings of *The Journal of Discourses*: A Confrontation Between George D. Watt and Willard Richards,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 75 (2007): 134–48.

797–98 1. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 3:239; 4:195–98, 213–14. *Deseret News*, 19 April 1851 (p. 241); 19 February (p. 2), 16 April 1853 (pp. 2–3).

2. *Deseret News*, 16 April 1853, 2–3.

3. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:213. At the afternoon conference session, Brigham Young explained his choices of those who laid the four cornerstones and the order in which they were laid. *Journal of Discourses* 1:131–37.

On the second day of this conference, April 7, 1853, Parley Pratt delivered a sermon that was published in the *Deseret News* of April 30 and in the first volume of the *Journal of Discourses*. This sermon was also published in an 8-page pamphlet with the caption title *Spiritual Communication. A Sermon Delivered by Elder P. P. Pratt, Senr., Before the Conference at Salt Lake City, April 7, 1853*. Flake-Draper 6624 tentatively lists this pamphlet as an 1853 San Francisco imprint, but its features suggest it was printed later. No other piece by Parley published during his lifetime identifies him as *Senr.* or *Sr.*, and it is unlikely that one would because Parley P. Pratt Jr. turned twenty years old seven weeks before his father's death on May 13, 1857. The title of Parley's sermon in the *Journal of Discourses* reads, "Spiritual Communication. A Sermon Delivered by Elder P. P. Pratt Before the Conference at Great Salt Lake City, April 7, 1853," and Great Salt Lake City bore this name until it was changed by the territorial legislature to "Salt Lake City" in 1868. Moreover, a copy of *Spiritual Communication* in the LDS Church History Library is inscribed "Rasmus Olsen Ephraim price 10 cts March 6th 1882" (the 1880 census shows Rasmus Olsen, age seventy-three, in Ephraim, Utah). In light of the foregoing, it seems likely that *Spiritual Communication* was published a number of years after Parley's death—probably in Utah about the time Rasmus Olsen inscribed his copy. *Deseret News*, 16 April, 30 April 1853. *Journal of Discourses* 1:6–15. *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (Salt Lake City, 1973), 451, 462. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 29 January 1868.

799 1. For biographical sketches of Hahn and Weihe, see items 616–17, note 7.

2. *Millennial Star* 15:313–15, 525. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 3, USIC.

3. A copy of this variant is at UPB.

800 1. *Millennial Star* 15:313–15. *Le Réflecteur*, 96. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 3.

2. The Scandinavian Mission printing account daybook has two entries in 1852 for *En Sandheds-Røst*, one under March for 3,000 copies printed at a cost of 45 rigsdaler, the other under November for 1,000 copies printed at a cost of 33 rigsdaler. It seems likely, therefore, that there were two editions of the tract published in 1852, and, as indicated in the discussion of the entry, item 768 is either the second or third edition. Which one it is seems impossible to determine at this point. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 3.

801 1. William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 67–90. Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 226–44. Howard A. Christy, "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (1979): 395–420.

For a biographical sketch of Walker, see Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 1174–75.

2. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions, of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 91–94.

3. “Journal History,” 20 April, 23 April 1853. *Journal of Discourses* 1:103–4. *Deseret News* 14 May 1853, 3. Brigham Young, *Governor’s Message* (Salt Lake City, 12 December 1853), 6. *Autobiography of George Washington Bean* (Salt Lake City, 1945), 88–89.

Bean identifies this well-armed stranger as “a Mountaineer from Santa Fe, New Mexico, named Bowman,” who not long after “was waylaid and killed by some Indians in Salt Creek Canyon.”

4. *Deseret News*, 28 May 1853, 3. *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, 89. Bean gives the names of twenty-six of Wall’s company.

5. Benjamin G. Ferris was born in New York on July 9, 1802, graduated from Union College in 1826, married Cornelia Woodcock in 1830, and that year joined his father-in-law’s legal practice in Ithaca. He served as Tompkins County district attorney and in the New York state legislature, before being nominated as Utah secretary. After returning to the East, he practiced law in New York City for a few years but spent most of the rest of his life in Ithaca, where he died on February 21, 1891. In his later years he published a book on natural selection, *A New Theory of the Origin of the Species* (1883). Mrs. Ferris died in Ithaca on March 31, 1893, at age eighty-three. Benjamin Gilbert Ferris, Union College Alumni Questionnaire (1855), Special Collections, Union College Schaffer Library, Schenectady, New York. Thomas W. Burns, *Initial Ithacans* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1904), 50–52. John H. Selkreg, *Landmarks of Tompkins County, New York* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1894), 70, 119, 148–49. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1887), 8:387, 399. 1850 New York census, Tompkins County, 257. 1870 New York census, Tompkins County, 88. 1880 New York census, Tompkins County, 215B. *Ithaca Daily Journal*, 21 February 1891 (p. 3); 1 April 1893 (p. 3). Death certificate transcript of Benjamin G. Ferris, Tompkins County Health Department, Ithaca, New York, in the possession of the author. Benjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons* (New York), 1854, 13, 339. Mrs. B. G. Ferris, *The Mormons at Home* (New York, 1856), 83, 101, 205–6. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:1.

802 1. *Deseret News*, 28 May 1853 (p. 3); 16 March 1854 (p. 2). *Deseret Almanac, for the Year 1855* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 15. “Diary of Oliver B. Huntington, 1847–1900,” 2:83, photocopy of typescript, UPB. “Journal History,” 5 June, 20 October 1855.

803 1. *Half-Yearly Report of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Conference*, 3–5. *Millennial Star* 10:278, 343.

2. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 11:73; 12:312–13; 13:333; 14:666; 15:781; 16:106, 141. “Journal History,” 15 September 1856, 4. 1856 Utah census, 121. 1860 Utah census, Weber County, 138. *Saints’ Herald* 5:155. Eva Beatrice Squires Poelman, comp., *Notes of Interest to the Descendants of Thomas Squires by His Son John Paternoster Squires* (Salt Lake City, 1970), ix, 139. I am grateful to W. Randall Dixon for calling this last source to my attention.

3. Temple Index Bureau. *Millennial Star* 9:101, 144; 10:55, 80, 278; 15:511; 16:79. “European Emigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 889. 1856 Utah census, 965. J. R. Kearl, C. L. Pope, and L. T. Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore, Md., 1981), 132. Beaver City Cemetery Records.

804 1. Lyon’s original diary is in the Brigham Young University Lee Library. “Christopher Arthur Emigrating Co. Journal, 1853 Feb–Oct,” in the LDS Church Archives, does not

identify George Sims as the author, but it is clear he was. See, for example, the entries for April 27–29, which record the illness and death of the author's daughter Henrietta Sims and the entry for May 22 in which he refers to his wife and "child Julia." This journal also includes the record of the overland trip of the Jacob Gates company, for which Sims was the clerk.

2. Autobiography of John Lyon in "Minutes of the 37th Quorum of Seventy, 1854–1899," microfilm, USIC. "Christopher Arthur Emigrating Co. Journal," 2 June 1853.

Keokuk had two newspapers at this time, the *Des Moines Valley Whig* and the *Keokuk Dispatch*. Winifred Gregory, *American Newspapers* (New York, 1967), 176.

3. "Christopher Arthur Emigrating Co. Journal," 21 May, 23 May 1853.

Christopher Abel Arthur was born in Surrey on September 25, 1796, and joined the Church in 1839. A man of means, he helped underwrite the passage of a number of the Saints on the *International* and that summer made the overland trip to Utah. Within a few months of reaching the Valley, he was sent to Cedar City to assist with the iron works, in which he was "a heavy shareholder." On July 19, 1859, at his home in Beaver, he was struck by lightning and killed. "Records of Christopher J. Arthur," part 1:1, 4–8, 16; part 2:1, 6–8, 22, typescript, UPB. Family Group Record of Christopher Abel Arthur, microfilm 1273554, UPB. Mountain View Cemetery Records, Beaver, Utah. Eshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 723.

4. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "Early Church Information File." "European Emigration Card Index." "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 27:779; 28:30. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:712–13.

805 1. Lyon, *Dairy* [sic] *of a Voyage from Liverpool to New Orleans*, 5.

806 1. Sadler's 1854 Mormon pieces are items 898 and 929. All of his earlier pieces give his address as 16 Moorfields, Liverpool (see items 460–61, 585, 587, 719).

807–8 1. *Millennial Star* 14:541–42.

2. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 15 September 1852; 11 February, 19 April 1853; 14 January 1856; microfilm, USIC. *Missionary Journals of William Holmes Walker*, transcribed by Ellen Dee Walker Leavitt (Provo, Utah, 2003), 2, 11, 19. *Millennial Star* 18:189.

3. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 25–27 April, 30 April, 5–7 May, 11 May, 18–20 May, 27 May, 7–8 June, 13 June, 15 June, 18 June 1853; 14 January 1856. *Millennial Star* 15:695–96. David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Imprints in South Africa," *BYU Studies* 20 (1980): 404–9.

4. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 26 May, 1–5 June 1853.

In his summary of his mission, Haven notes that he paid out "something like £33" for printing during his time in Africa—an average of about £3 per piece. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 14 January 1856.

5. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 8 June, 13 June, 18 June 1853; 14 January 1856.

Haven did use Van de Sant de Villiers & Tier to print one of the editions of his third tract, *On the First Principles of the Gospel* (item 826).

6. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 14 January 1856.

7. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 23 May, 26 May 1853. *Missionary Journals of William Holmes Walker*, 26–27. *Millennial Star* 18:318.

8. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 21 November 1853; 25 March 1854; 14 January 1856. *Missionary Journals of William Holmes Walker*, 60. *Millennial Star* 16:604.

9. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 28 March 1853; 28 March 1854; 28 March 1855; 28 March, 21 April 1856. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 54, UPB. Martha Haven to Father and Mother, 27 December 1843, *New England Quarterly* 9 (1936): 586–91. "Journal History," 20 January 1848 (p. 20), 19 April 1849 (p. 2), 4 July 1850 (p. 2), 31 December 1850 (sup., 7), 18 January 1851. "Utah Immigration Card Index." *Deseret News*, 25 January 1851 (pp. 197–98), 25 May 1854 (p. 3). *Deseret Evening News*, 16 December (p. 101), 18 December 1905 (p. 1). Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:378–79. Ancestral File.

810 1. *Deseret News*, 18 June (p. 2), 9 July 1853 (p. 1). Minute Book of the Deseret Dramatic Association, 15 June 1853–19 January 1854, USIC.

2. Nineteenth-century editions of *Love's Sacrifice, or, the Rival Merchants* by George William Lovell (1804–78) and *Rough Diamond* by John Baldwin Buckstone (1802–79) can be found, for example, at Brigham Young University and Yale University.

811 1. Minute Book of the Deseret Dramatic Association. For a biographical sketch of James W. Cummings, see item 488.

2. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *Millennial Star* 15:202; 16:763.

3. Minute Book of the Deseret Dramatic Association.

812 1. *Millennial Star* 15:432. European Mission Financial Records, 8:367.

813 1. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 48. "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 15:137; 16:763; 17:77; 18:365–66, 377. "Journal History," 5 January 1842; 31 December 1844 (p. 15); 26 May 1852; 30 June 1857; 6 October 1858 (p. 5); 18 April, 9 October 1859 (p. 5); 4 July 1861; 30 September 1863 (p. 12); 8 July, 24 December 1868; 4 October 1869 (p. 4). Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1969), 12:354–57. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion* (Logan, Utah, 1996), 24, 68, 152. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 91–141. *Deseret Evening News*, 8 August 1882, 3.

815–16 1. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *The Private Journal of William Hyde* (n.p., 1968), 56, 59–60. John Jones, "A Sketch of the History of the Work of the Lord in the Australasian Colonies," *Zion's Watchman*, 1:262–63. *Zion's Watchman* 2:81. *Millennial Star* 15:766–67; 18:702, 733–34. John S. Eldredge to George Q. Cannon, 28 April 1856, *Deseret News* 6:130. *Western Standard*, 30 August (p. 2), 6 September 1856 (p. 2). Marjorie Newton, *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii, 1991), 29–30, 136–37, 149–52, 223.

Wandell reported on March 29, 1853, that the Sydney branch numbered 63 members, Melbourne had 10, and the Hunter and Manning districts contained 20 members. Nineteen adults and ten children sailed with him to America on April 6. On July 3, 1853, the total in these branches was 102 members. *Millennial Star* 15:603, 766. Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 136, 223.

John Hyde died in Sydney on August 27, 1853. Jones, "A Sketch of the History," 264. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 27 August 1853. *Millennial Star* 16:155.

2. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 April 1853, 2.

3. Jones, "A Sketch of the History," 262, 264. *Millennial Star* 15:767. Augustus Farnham to Brigham Young, 14 August 1853, *Deseret News*, 8 December 1853, 4. Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 32, 57–61.

4. I am indebted to Chad Foulger for bringing this piece to my attention.

5. Jones, "A Sketch of the History," 264. Augustus Farnham to Brigham Young, 24 December 1853, *Deseret News*, 27 July 1854, 3. Burr Frost Journal, 6 December 1853, microfilm, USIC. *Zion's Watchman* 1:153. Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 57–61.

6. *Zion's Watchman* 2:63.

7. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 67. "Early Church Information File." *History of the Church* 6:336. "Journal History," 31 December 1849, sup., 5D. *Deseret News* 6:301; 14:256. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1958), 1:275–78. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:307. C. Mark Hamilton, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York and Oxford, 1995), 62–63.

8. Jones, "A Sketch of the History," 260–63. *Zion's Watchman* 1:57, 90, 121, 154, 199, 201, 256; 2:49, 81. Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 149, 225.

817 1. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 1 August 1853. *Deseret News*, 1 October 1853, 2. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 73. Myrtle Stevens Hyde, *Orson Hyde: The Olive Branch of Israel* (Salt Lake City, 2000), 311–16.

818–19 1. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. "Amos M. Musser's Private Journal," 2:20, microfilm, USIC. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 1:1, 10, 132; 2:1–2, 69, 193, microfilm, USIC. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 4–5, 51, 55–56, typescript, UPB. "Journal of Levi Savage," 1:43–44, 103–7, UPB. Nathaniel V. Jones, "Hindustanee Mission," *Deseret News* 5:293, 334. Chauncey W. West, "The India Mission," *Deseret News* 5:198. Levi Savage to Ira Eldredge, 27 August 1853, *Deseret News*, 2 February 1854, 2. Levi Savage to John Taylor, 17 March 1856, *Mormon*, 29 March 1856, 3. William Fotheringham, "Travels in India," *Juvenile Instructor* 11:284–85; 12:4, 16–17, 27–28. "Incidents from the Journal of William F. Carter," in *Heart Throbs of the West*, comp. Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City, 1943), 4:204–20. R. Lanier Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic: The Compelling Story of the First Latter-day Saint Missionaries in India* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 9–10, 13–32.

2. *Millennial Star* 14:413–15. Jones, "The Hindostanee Mission," 5:334. Savage to Eldredge, 27 August 1853. "Amos M. Musser's Private Journal," 2:53. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 2:69–70. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 56. "Journal of Levi Savage," 1:108–10. "Incidents from the Journal of William F. Carter," 4:208–9. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 20–31.

3. Jones, "Hindustanee Mission," 5:334. *Millennial Star* 15:700–2. West, "The India Mission," 5:198. Savage to Eldredge, 27 August 1853. "Amos M. Musser's Private Journal," 2:53–54, 57, 60, 68–69. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 2:71–73, 87, 90, 119. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 56–57, 60–61. "Journal of Levi Savage," 1:113–16, 144–48. Fotheringham, "Travels in India," 12:44, 136. "Incidents from the Journal of William F. Carter," 4:209–10. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 31–36.

4. Although Scott expressed an interest in Mormonism and declared himself "a decided believer" in its teachings, eventually his interest seems to have waned, and apparently he did not join the Church.

5. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 2:120, 130–31, 136, 144–45, 149, 151–52, 155–56, 160–61, 166–68, 176, 180, 182–84, 186, 205. *Millennial Star* 15:700–2. Robert Skelton to Thomas Bullock, 5 September 1853, *Deseret News*, 2 February 1854, 2. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 61–65. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 121–31. David J. Whittaker, "Richard Ballantyne and the Defense of Mormonism in India in the 1850s," in *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah, 1985), 175–212.

One rupee was equivalent to two English shillings, or one-tenth of an English pound. One anna equaled one-sixteenth of a rupee. Fotheringham, "Travels in India," 17:157. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Cambridge, Eng., 1911), 23:855.

6. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 3:155–57. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 93.

7. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne." "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 78. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:78. *Ogden Standard*, 9 November 1898, 5. *Deseret Evening News*, 9 November 1898, 2. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:703–6. Conway B. Sonne, *Knight of the Kingdom: The Story of Richard Ballantyne* (Salt Lake City, 1989). J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City, 1938), 146–49.

820 1. Flake-Draper locates a single copy of *Mormonism Unveiled*, at the LDS Church. Jones reported that "its principal author was Charles Saunder, third teacher in the La Martineer (an institution of learning for boys); also the second teacher of the same school contributed much towards it." In *Reply to "Mormonism Unveiled"* he writes, "I shall, for the sake of convenience in reference, call him Charles Sunder. I do not pretend that this is the compiler's real name, but only assumed, as a convenience for the time being." Nathaniel V. Jones, "Hindostanee Mission," *Deseret News* 5:350. Jones, *Reply to "Mormonism Unveiled,"* 7.

2. "Amos M. Musser's Private Journal," 2:58–67, 70–73; 3:2–3, 10–12, 15a–15b, 41, 48. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 2:91–92, 94, 96, 102. Jones, "Hindostanee Mission." *Millennial Star* 15:558–59. William Fotheringham, "Travels in India," *Juvenile Instructor* 12:136.

McMahon was baptized with his wife and two little daughters. He apostatized before the missionaries left India, but his wife remained a great support to them. *Millennial Star* 15:558. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 172, 178–79. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 172, 250, 253–54, 265.

3. *Millennial Star* 17:428–29. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 271. "Early Church Information File." Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 9 January 1851, 5 March 1855, May 1860, August 1860. *Deseret News* 12:269. Rebecca M. Jones, "Extracts from the Life Sketch of Nathaniel V. Jones," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 4 (1931): 6–24. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:368–69. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion* (Logan, Utah, 1996), 25, 29, 115, 126, 161–68. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 285–86.

4. "Early Church Information File." Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 3 March 1856, 26 September 1857, 9 May 1885, 12 October 1885, 4 April 1902. *Deseret Evening News*, 25 September 1909, 5. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:381–86; 3:765–76. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 288–89.

821 1. "Diary of Andrew Ferguson," 114–15, 121, 123, 127–28, 200, 205, UPB.

822 1. "Journal History," 2 July 1853. Howard A. Christy, "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (1979): 395–420.

2. *Deseret News*, 30 July 1853, 2. "Journal History," 19 July 1853. Christy, "The Walker War," 400–1. Peter Gottfredson, *History of Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1919), 43–47. *Autobiography of George Washington Bean* (Salt Lake City, 1945), 90–91. Ronald W. Walker, "President Young Writes Jefferson Davis about the Gunnison Massacre Affair," *BYU Studies* 35:1 (1995): 147–70.

3. *Deseret News*, 1 October 1853, 2. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 18 July, 17 August, 13 September, 1 October, 4 October, 14 October, 26 October 1853. "Journal History," 19 July, 18 August, 13 September, 1 October, 4 October, 14 October 1853. *Report of the*

Adjutant General of the Territory of Utah (Salt Lake City, 1853), 2. Brigham Young to Edward Martin, 30 November 1853, USIC. Christy, "The Walker War," passim. Gottfredson, *History of Indian Depredations in Utah*, passim.

John W. Gunnison, born in New Hampshire in 1812, graduated second in his class from the US Military Academy in 1837, joined the Corps of Topographical Engineers the following year, and was promoted to first lieutenant in 1846 and captain on March 3, 1853. He was second in command of the Stansbury Expedition that surveyed the Great Salt Lake Valley in 1849–50 and out of that experience wrote a sympathetic account of the Saints, *The Mormons, or, Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia, 1852). In 1853 he led an expedition to survey a Pacific railroad route, and on October 26, at the Sevier River, about six miles west of Deseret, Millard County, Utah, he and seven of his party were killed by Pahvant Indians. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), 1:483. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1887), 7:96, 108; 9:79, 96. Nolie Mumey, *John Williams Gunnison* (Denver, Colo., 1955). Howard Stansbury, *Exploration of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*, introduction by Don D. Fowler (Washington and London, 1988), ix–xii. Report of Lt. E. G. Beckwith, *Deseret News*, 12 November 1853, 3. Josiah F. Gibbs, "Gunnison Massacre," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (1928), 67–75. Walker, "President Young Writes Jefferson Davis about the Gunnison Massacre Affair," 147–70. Brigham Young to Mrs. J. W. Gunnison, 30 November 1853, USIC.

4. *Deseret News*, 8 June 1854, 2. *Millennial Star* 17:500. Christy, "The Walker War," passim. Gottfredson, *History of Indian Depredations in Utah*, passim.

5. *Deseret News*, 8 February 1855, 3. *Millennial Star* 17:500.

823 1. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 3:3–5.

2. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 2:189, 197–98, 203, 207, 216; 3:1, 3–5, 25–28, 30–32, 69, 73, 80–81. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 70, 72–74, 79, 87–89. *Millennial Star* 15:700–2, 796–98.

825 1. Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 49, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 8 April 1849. "Journal History," 31 December 1848, sup., 4. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *Deseret News*, 2 October 1852, 2. *Millennial Star* 15:58, 94. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 773.

2. Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*, 2.

3. William G. Mills, at this point, was president of the Reading Conference, a conference in Brown's pastorate (see item 1026). *Millennial Star* 15:510–11; 16:78–79.

4. *Millennial Star* 15:569. European Mission Financial Records, 8:454; 8:449–9:51, USIC. James, for example, consistently charged about £22 for printing 10,000 copies of a 16-page issue of the *Seer*.

5. "Diary of Samuel W. Richards, 1839–1874," 2:144, typescript, UPB. European Mission Financial Records, 8:484.

6. *Millennial Star* 15:511, 781; 16:465, 763; 17:219–21, 233. "Journal History," 31 March (p. 3), 3 September 1955; 30 September 1863 (p. 10); 7 May 1873 (p. 2). "Diary of Samuel W. Richards," 2:266. *Deseret News* 27:272.

826 1. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 16 August, 7 September, 15 October 1853, microfilm, USIC.

Haven reported to S. W. Richards on August 20, 1853, that, at that point, they had baptized thirty-nine. *Millennial Star* 15:695–96.

2. John Haven was born in Holliston, Massachusetts, on September 23, 1808, graduated from Amherst College in 1834 and Hartford Theological Seminary two years later. At the time Jesse was in Africa, he was serving in Charlton and would continue to serve there until 1881. He died on September 10, 1892. Family Group Record of John Haven (1774–1853), microfilm 1274283, UPB. *The Congregational Year-Book, 1893* (Boston, 1893), 26.

3. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven, 11 March, 7 July, 14 July, 22–24 August, 31 August, 1–2 September, 6–7 September, 9 September, 12–13 September, 15–16 September 1853; 14 January 1856. David J. Whittaker, “Early Mormon Imprints in South Africa,” *BYU Studies* 20 (1980): 404–9.

827–28 1. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 2:203, 207, 216; 3:30–32, 95, 158–59. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 72, 75. David J. Whittaker, “Richard Ballantyne and the Defense of Mormonism in India in the 1850s,” *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah, 1985), 175–212.

The “Rev. J. Richards, M.A.” is undoubtedly John Richards, who was born in Cornwall and earned a BA at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1844 and an MA in 1847. Ordained a deacon in the Church of England in 1844 and a priest the following year, he was curator of Matson, Gloucester, 1844–45, chaplain of Trinity College, 1846–48, curator of St. Andrew’s-the-Great, Cambridge, 1847–48, chaplain of the East India Company, 1848–65, a fellow of Madras University, and Her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools for India, 1855–58. Returning to England, he served as vicar of Ash-next-Sandwich, Kent, 1869–84, and rector of Tansor, Northamptonshire, from 1884 until his death in 1898, at age eighty-four. J. A. Venn, comp., *Alumni Cantabrigienses* II (Cambridge, 1953), 5:288. Henry I. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from 1500* (Northampton, 1941), 11:183, 185. 1881 English census, Kent, 4.

2. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 3:85, 93–97, 101, 103–4, 116, 164. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 86. *Millennial Star* 15:796–98; 17:28.

In his journal under the date July 10, 1854, Ballantyne lists his five tracts and four numbers of the *Millennial Star* and *Monthly Visitor* and remarks that they make “in all 4,300 pamphlets.” The first two pamphlets were each printed in 1,000 copies, his second reply to Richards and his *Dialogue Between A and B on Polygamy* each in 400 copies, and each number of his magazine in 300 copies—totaling 4,000. This suggests that his first reply to Richards were printed in 300 copies, not 400 as he reported to Samuel W. Richards. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 5:38–39.

3. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 3:126, 141–47, 171; 4:9–10, 15–17. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 75–76, 98, 115, 137. *Millennial Star* 15:796–98; 17:28. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:87.

4. A copy of the first reply with a complete wrapper is in the Yale University Beinecke Library.

5. A copy of the second reply with the front wrapper is in the LDS Church History Library.

829 1. Richard Lloyd Anderson, “The Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (summer 1969): 28.

I am grateful to Richard Lloyd Anderson for his suggestions regarding this entry.

2. For a biographical sketch of Lucy Smith, see item 318, note 1.

Martha Jane Knowlton was born in Covington, Kentucky, June 3, 1822, and moved with her family to Ohio and then to Hancock County, Illinois, where she was baptized into the Church in January 1840. Thirteen months later, she married Howard Coray. Howard was born in New York on May 6, 1817, joined the Church in Illinois in 1840, served as one of Joseph Smith's clerks, and campaigned for him in Illinois. In 1850 he and Martha Jane came to Utah. For a number of years, they lived in Provo, where she served on the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy. She died in Provo on December 14, 1881. The *Woman's Exponent* ran a long obituary, commenting, "Very early in life she evinced a character in a degree somewhat rare for one of her sex—that is, of decidedly doing her own thinking; hence, before adopting any principle of religion, law or politics, whether proposed by father, husband, priest, or king, she must clearly see and understand for herself the righteousness and consistency of the matter." Howard served for more than ten years as a patriarch, died in Salt Lake City on January 16, 1908, and was buried in Provo. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 60, UPB. "Early Church Information File." *Times and Seasons* 2:324. *History of the Church* 6:340. Dean C. Jessee, "Howard Coray's Recollections of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 17 (1977): 341–47. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:407. *Woman's Exponent* 10:133–34. *Deseret Evening News*, 17 January 1908, 2. Martha J. C. Lewis, "Martha Jane Knowlton Coray," *Improvement Era* 5 (April 1902): 439–40. Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family History* (Salt Lake City, 2001), 77–85, 93–94. Amy Reynolds Billings, "Faith, Femininity, and the Frontier: The Life of Martha Jane Knowlton Coray" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2002). Elizabeth Ann Anderson, "Howard and Martha Coray: Chroniclers of Joseph Smith's Words and Life," *Journal of Mormon History* 33 (fall 2007): 83–113.

3. Martha Jane Coray to Brigham Young, 13 June 1865, USIC. Discourse of Brigham Young at Wellsville, Utah Territory, 8 May 1865, Brigham Young papers, USIC. *Millennial Star* 27:658. "Howard Coray's Bill Labor by Compiling & Transcribing Mother Lucy Smith's History," 14 January 1846, Whitney MSS, UPB. *History of the Church* 7:519. Lewis, "Martha Jane Knowlton Coray," 440. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 67–93, 132–34.

Howard Coray was paid \$200 for "compiling the history" plus \$35 for "transcribing" it, \$50 of which was to be "paid in store goods." Undoubtedly this included payment for Martha Jane's services. "Howard Coray's Bill Labor by Compiling & Transcribing Mother Lucy Smith's History."

There are four manuscripts associated with *Biographical Sketches*: (1) a notebook of 64 pages, now in the Brigham Young University Lee Library, in the handwriting of Martha Jane Coray, containing scattered notes on early Christianity, accounts of the missions of Samuel Smith, Joseph Smith Sr., and John Smith, and Mary Aikens Smith's journey to Missouri, excerpts from John Smith's missionary journal, some genealogical data, and a chronology; (2) the preliminary manuscript, now in the LDS Church Archives, approximately 210 pages, in the handwriting of Martha Jane Coray, which remained in the Corays' possession until after they came to Utah, when it was given to the Church; (3) Lucy Smith's copy of the finished transcription, used by Orson Pratt in publishing *Biographical Sketches*, now lost; (4) the Church's copy of the finished transcription, approximately 337 pages with 145 pages in Martha Jane's handwriting and the remainder in Howard Coray's, now in the LDS Church Archives. Lavina Fielding Anderson argues that in addition to these four there was a fifth manuscript, an "intermediate draft" that came between the preliminary manuscript and Lucy Smith's final transcription, and she identifies a fragment she contends came from this "intermediate draft," the rest of which apparently has not survived. Howard C. Searle, "Early Mormon

Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons 1830–1858” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1979), 360–90. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 88–93, 140–49, 218.

Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 219ff, prints the preliminary manuscript and *Biographical Sketches* in parallel, with annotations from the Church’s finished transcription, the UPB corrected copy of *Biographical Sketches*, and later editions of the book.

4. Copyright Records, Illinois, vol. 18, August 1821–September 1848, in Roger W. Harris, “Copyright Entries Works by and About the Mormons, 1829–1870,” photocopy, UPB.

5. Orson Pratt to Lucy Smith, 28 October 1853, USIC. Orson Pratt to Lucy Smith, 16 January 1854, MoInRC. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 31 December 1852, USIC. Dale Morgan, *A Bibliography of the Churches of the Dispersion* (Salt Lake City, 1953), 135–36.

George A. Smith, Martha Jane Coray, and Joseph F. Smith all include Isaac Sheen in the sequence of men who possessed Lucy’s manuscript before it was obtained by Orson Pratt—although their sequences and the one given here are all different from one another. George A. Smith, signed manuscript note on the flyleaf of *Biographical Sketches*, UPB and USIC. Martha Jane Coray to Brigham Young, 13 June 1865. Joseph F. Smith, introduction, *History of the Prophet Joseph by His Mother Lucy Smith* (Salt Lake City, 1902), iii.

Isaac Sheen (1810–74) was married to Babbitt’s sister Drucilla. In 1849–50 he published the *Melchisedek & Aaronic Herald* in Covington, Kentucky, and subsequently aligned himself with the Reorganization and was the editor of its official organ, the *True Latter Day Saints’ Herald*. For an example of another important manuscript that went from William Smith to Sheen and from Sheen to Babbitt, see Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* (Salt Lake City, 1996), 1:467–68. Morgan, *A Bibliography of the Churches of the Dispersion*, 134–36. *True Latter Day Saints’ Herald* 21:255. Susan Easton Black, *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Provo, Utah, 1993), 5:354–55. Ancestral File.

Orson Pratt remarks in his letter to Lucy Smith of January 16, 1854, “Mr Babbitt, after he sold them to me, visited Nauvoo, and on his return to Washington, he stated, as near as I can recollect, that you would sell the title for this country for \$100. I did not particularly wish to purchase the title at that time, and told him that I would make you a present of \$100 dollars and you could do as you saw proper about giving me the title.” Lucy responded to this letter, authorizing Pratt to use the manuscript “in any way you see proper.” On February 11, 1853, Horace S. Eldredge recorded Babbitt’s return to Washington in his journal with the comment, “he has been to Nauvoo to get the Manuscript of Mother Smith’s life to have it published.” As it turned out, Pratt did not pursue an American edition. Orson Pratt to Lucy Smith, 16 January 1854. Lucy Smith to Orson Pratt, 4 February 1854, USIC. “Journal of Horace S. Eldredge,” 11 February 1853, microfilm, USIC.

6. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 31 December 1852.

7. *Millennial Star* 15:384, 497–500. *Seer* 1:144. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 10 September 1853, USIC.

8. *Millennial Star* 15:169, 432, 682; 16:303, 495. *Catalogue of Works Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and for Sale by Orson Pratt, at Their General Repository, and “Millennial Star” Office, 42, Islington, Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1856), 1. *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). *Deseret News*, 16 November 1854 (p. 3), 21 November 1855 (p. 296).

9. Orson Pratt to Lucy Smith, 28 October 1853. Orson Pratt to Samuel W. Richards, 25 June 1857; Richards to Pratt, 16 November 1878; S. W. Richards papers, USIC. European Mission Financial Records, 8:512; 9:74; 10:306; 11:177, USIC.

10. European Mission Financial Records, 8:475–9:74; 10:306; 11:177. “Diary of Samuel W. Richards 1839–1874,” 2:148, 168–69, 191–92, 199, 223, 233, typescript, UPB. Samuel W. Richards to Orson Pratt, 16 November 1878. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 30 March 1861, USIC.

11. *Millennial Star* 17:297–98. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 5:287–88.

12. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 15 May 1861; Young to Cannon, 12 November 1861; Cannon to Young, 30 March 1861; Cannon to Young, 7 September 1861; USIC. European Mission Financial Records, 13:547–49.

Cannon actually shared the presidency of the British Mission with Charles C. Rich and Amasa M. Lyman, but he was in charge of the publishing activities, finances, and emigration.

A typed note laid into a copy of *Biographical Sketches* owned by a private collector reads as follows: “In 1860 Geo. Q. Cannon, by order of B. Young, ordered the remainder of this edition burned. Duncan M. McAllister burned them in the back yard of the Liverpool office. The edition comprised 5,000 copies. Of these from 3,000 to 3,500 copies were burned.” There are, of course, a number of errors here, e.g., the date 1860, the size of the edition, and the number of copies destroyed.

13. Discourse of Brigham Young at Wellsville, Utah Territory, 8 May 1865. *Deseret News* 14:301, 372–73. *Millennial Star* 27:657–63.

14. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 102–4. The marked copy at Brigham Young University, for example, has corrections on pp. 198, 200, 202, 204, 283, 289 in Thomas Bullock’s distinctive hand, while these corrections occur in the Church’s two copies in the handwriting of someone else.

15. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 6:283. “Historian’s Office Journal” as quoted in Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 118–19.

16. The 1902 edition is entitled *History of the Prophet Joseph by His Mother Lucy Smith as Revised by George A. Smith and Elias Smith*. It was also published serially in the *Improvement Era*, 1901–3. For a discussion of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions subsequent to 1853, see Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 153–63.

17. Richard L. Anderson, “Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision Through Reminiscences,” *BYU Studies* 9 (1969): 390–91. Richard Lloyd Anderson, “The Emotional Dimensions of Lucy Smith and Her History,” *Dedication Colloquiums Harold B. Lee Library* (Provo, Utah, 1977), 135–36. Anderson, “The Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith,” 27. Searle, “Early Mormon Historiography,” 389–90. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 120–24, 150–52.

18. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 5:287–88. Anderson, “The Emotional Dimensions of Lucy Smith and Her History,” 129–30. Searle, “Early Mormon Historiography,” 402–14. Jan Shippo, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana and Chicago, 1985), 100–5. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 125–32.

19. Both states are at UPB.

20. European Mission Financial Records, 8:512. Orson Pratt to Lucy Smith, 16 January 1854. Lucy’s reply of 4 February 1854 indicated that only eight of the copies reached her.

830 1. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 30 September, 1 October, 4 October, 6 October, 8 October 1853; 14 January 1856; microfilm, USIC. David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Imprints in South Africa," *BYU Studies* 20 (1980): 404–9.

2. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 14 January 1856.

3. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 74, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. *Deseret Evening News*, 10 January (p. 5), 13 January (p. 7), 18 January 1908 (p. 25). *The Life Incidents and Travels of Elder William Holmes Walker* (n.p., 1943). Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 4 September 1857. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1904), 4:192–96. Margaret W. Roper, *Echoes of the Sage and Cedars* (Salt Lake City, 1970), 460–61. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion* (Logan, Utah, 1996), 24, 61, 239, 252.

4. "Early Church Information File." Temple Index Bureau, UPB. "Journal History," 31 May 1856; 25 March, 28 December 1864; 30 June 1867 (p. 2). Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 2 March 1857. 1860 Utah census, Salt Lake County, Salt Lake City Thirteenth Ward, 171. *Deseret Evening News*, 19 July (p. 3), 20 July 1877 (p. 3). Mildred Allred Mercer, ed., *History of Tooele County* (Salt Lake City, 1961), 581. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records.

831 1. European Mission Financial Records, 8:495.

832–33 1. For a biographical sketch of John Jaques, see items 70–71, note 7. His poems and other articles in the *Star* from the time he became assistant editor up to the appearance of *Salvation* are found in 14:63, 86–88, 109–10, 119–21, 127, 151–53, 176, 240, 369–72, 384, 444–45, 511–12; 15:31–32, 47, 59–61, 91–93, 97–102, 133–36, 145–49, 161–66, 193–97, 463, 509, 529–32, 545–48, 569–72, 587–89, 604–7. For his earlier pieces, see item 593, notes 2 and 3. In addition to these, Jaques began publishing his *Catechism for Children* serially in the *Star* of November 19, 1853 (see item 898).

2. *Millennial Star* 15:714; 16:640. European Mission Financial Records, 8:500; 9:46, USIC. "Diary of Samuel W. Richards," 2:149.

3. Jaques had earlier published a four-part defense of polygamy in the *Millennial Star* of February 12, February 26, March 5, and March 12, 1853.

834–35 1. At the end of the joint session in the evening of January 21, 1853, "the Assembly adjourned to the 1st of June next, at 10 o'clock A.M.," and at the afternoon session on June 3, "the Governor intimated to the members of the Assembly that as this was not a call session, but merely an adjourned meeting, he did not wish any claims to be made for compensation." *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council and Joint Sessions* (Salt Lake City, 1853), 72, 142, 147.

2. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions, of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 205. *Acts and Resolutions Passed at the Second Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1853), 67–70. *Annual Message of Governor Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City, 13 December 1852), 1–2.

For a biographical sketch of William Snow, see Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:519–20.

Jonathan Grimshaw, the assistant clerk of the House for the first, second, third, and fifth sessions, was born in Yorkshire, England, on January 24, 1818, joined the Church in 1849, and immigrated to Utah in 1851. He was also a clerk in the Historian's Office until the summer of 1856, when, apparently disaffected, he left the territory. "Early Church

Information File.” “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 14:55–56, 573–74. *List of Names and Residence of the Members and Officers of the Legislative Council of Utah Territory* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 1–2. *Deseret News*, 25 December 1852 (p. 2), 15 December 1853 (p. 3), 14 December 1854 (p. 2), 19 December 1855 (p. 325). Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:532, 569. “Journal History,” 4 October (p. 6), 30 November 1856 (pp. 22, 36). Dean C. Jessee, “The Writing of Joseph Smith’s History,” *BYU Studies* 11 (1971): 460.

3. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 20 September–26 November 1853, USIC.

4. *Acts and Resolutions Passed at the Third Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 26–28. *Deseret News*, 26 January 1854, 3.

5. *Deseret News Bindery Ledger*, UHi. For a sketch of John Bookbinder Kelly, see the introduction to this volume.

836–37 1. Nathaniel V. Jones, “Hindustanee Mission,” *Deseret News* 5:293, 334. Chauncey W. West, “The India Mission,” *Deseret News* 5:198. William Fotheringham, “Travels in India,” *Juvenile Instructor* 12:123, 136, 196, 207, 224–25, 235–36, 255. “Incidents from the Journal of William F. Carter,” *Heart Throbs of the West*, comp. Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City, 1943), 4:210–19. “Amos M. Musser’s Private Journal,” 2:57, 60, 72–74; 3:15a, 21, 29, 34, microfilm, USIC. “Diary and Letters of Truman Leonard 1853–1855,” vol. 1, letters, 7–8, 19, typescript, UPB. R. Lanier Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic: The Compelling Story of the First Latter-day Saint Missionaries in India* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 69–99.

Too ill to remain in India, William F. Carter was released from his mission and sailed for Boston on July 9.

2. *Millennial Star* 16:124–26. “Extracts from a Letter Written by Elder Wm. Fotheringham to Joseph Cain,” 2 November 1853, *Deseret News*, 27 April 1854, 3. “Amos M. Musser’s Private Journal,” 3:34. Fotheringham, “Travels in India,” 13:94, 106–7, 160–61, 176, 200.

3. *Millennial Star* 16:124–26. “Extracts from a Letter Written by Elder Wm. Fotheringham to Joseph Cain.” Fotheringham, “Travels in India,” 13:206.

One rupee was equivalent to two English shillings, or one-tenth of an English pound. One anna equaled one-sixteenth of a rupee. Fotheringham, “Travels in India,” 17:157. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Cambridge, Eng., 1911), 23:855.

4. *Millennial Star* 16:124–26, 189–90. Fotheringham, “Travels in India,” 13:218, 233; 14:10, 28–29, 51. “Amos M. Musser’s Private Journal,” 3:106.

5. *Millennial Star* 16:189–90, 572–75. Fotheringham, “Travels in India,” 14:77, 123, 233, 245; 15:28–29, 99; 16:32.

6. Fotheringham, “Travels in India,” 13:200, 233. *Millennial Star* 16:573.

7. *Millennial Star* 17:94. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 24 March 1900, 5. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:781–82. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 295–96.

8. *Millennial Star* 17:428–29. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 4 March (p. 14), 6 March 1913 (p. 10). Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 16 May, 20 May, 4 August 1885. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:190–92. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 284–85.

838 1. See, e.g., *Deseret News*, 19 February (p. 3), 5 March (p. 3), 14 May 1853 (p. 4). For a biographical sketch of George D. Watt, see item 262.

2. *Deseret News*, 18 June 1853, 3. *Millennial Star* 15:730–31. Ronald G. Watt, “The Beginnings of *The Journal of Discourses*: A Confrontation Between George D. Watt and Willard Richards,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 75 (2007): 134–48.

3. “Diary of Samuel W. Richards,” 2:150–51, 153, 155–56. European Mission Financial Records, 8:503; 9:23, 226, 318, USIC. *Millennial Star* 15:729–30; 16:720. *Deseret News* 5:216. Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, 29 November 1855, USIC. James charged £20 5s. each for numbers 16–24.

4. European Mission Financial Records, 9:671; 10:81, 308, 541, 764–65; 11:165, 273, 292, 609, 626; 12:187, 192, 216, 256, 381, 625, 654, 666; 13:28, 40, 52, 63, 75, 86, 103, 124.

5. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells to George Q. Cannon, 25 September 1860, USIC.

Under the date May 8, 1860, the European Mission financial records show a “stock transfer” from Watt to the Church in the amount of £1,154 19s. 3d. European Mission Financial Records, 2:442.

6. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 30 March 1861, USIC. *Deseret News* 10:244. *Millennial Star* 23:264–65.

7. European Mission Financial Records, 13:160, 180, 225, 346, 430, 459, 491, 523, 558, 588, 617, 643, 698, 722, 757; 14:21, 234, 706; 15:73, 261, 360, 497, 650; 16:132, 270, 382, 486; 17:34, 150, 235, 336, 418; 18:31, 122, 130, 269.

8. European Mission Financial Records, 18:20–21, 122, 130–574.

9. European Mission Financial Records, 18:589–647; 19:7–22, 26, 32–165, 171, 178–342, 347, 358–448; 23:2–71, 78, 82–161, 166, 171–273, 281, 286–309.

10. European Mission Financial Records, 9:321; 10:56, 82, 512, 549; 11:260, 286, 616, 621; 12:165, 201, 605, 650; 13:328, 400, 407, 738. *Millennial Star* 24:10, 795.

11. European Mission Financial Records, 14:5, 333, 606; 15:46, 76, 262, 576; 16:25, 52, 205, 389, 492; 17:13, 147, 267. *Millennial Star* 33:169.

12. European Mission Financial Records, 17:273, 467, 474; 18:84, 96, 269, 274, 399, 403, 574, 589; 19:40, 44, 207, 215, 363.

13. European Mission Financial Records, 19:368; 23:71, 78, 209, 216. *Journal of Discourses*, vols. 24–26, unbound numbers, USIC.

The dates of the volumes are those the *Millennial Star* office began to distribute the first and last numbers—up through vol. 24, no. 1. After vol. 24, no. 1, the dates are those printed on the spines of the first and last numbers. In most instances, the dates on the spines differ by a day or two from the dates the numbers were actually distributed.

14. *Millennial Star* 26:602.

15. *Journal of Discourses* 6:28; 7:63; 10:289, 314, 328, 349, 373. For biographical sketches of John V. Long, Edward L. Sloan, and Leo Hawkins, see items 582, 954, and item 999, note 3. For a sketch of John B. Milner, see Florence C. Youngberg, *Conquerors of the West: Stalwart Mormon Pioneers* (Sandy, Utah, 1999), 3:1680–82.

16. *Journal of Discourses* 12:188. “Wm. Thurbood” is probably William Thurgood, whose obituary is in *Deseret News* 31:519. John Grimshaw has not been identified.

David W. Evans was born in Lincolnshire, England, on January 6, 1833, converted to Mormonism in 1854, and immigrated to Utah in 1860. He worked as a stenographic reporter for the Church and on the editorial staffs of the *Salt Lake Telegraph* and *Deseret News* and taught classes in reporting. Self-educated, he played the violin in the theater orchestra for about ten years and spoke French “with considerable fluency.” He died of Bright’s disease in Salt Lake City on July 6, 1876. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. “Utah Immigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB.

Deseret News 25:376. Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City, 1884), 358.

17. *Journal of Discourses* 14:7, 137, 218, 271; 16:47, 146, 160, 185. Cannon also “transcribed” a second discourse in vol. 14 with Feramorz Young. For sketches of John Q. Cannon, see Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:243–44, and *Deseret News*, 14 January 1931, 1. For one of Feramorz Young, see Dean C. Jessee, *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City, 1974), 295–97. “Miss Julia Young” is probably Julia Ann Vilate Young (1845–1928), the daughter of Brigham Young’s brother Joseph. Jessee, *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*, 351. The reporter James Taylor has not been identified.

18. George F. Gibbs was born in Wales on November 23, 1846, came into the Church with his parents in 1850, immigrated to Utah in 1868, and returned to England as a missionary three years later. For many years he served as the secretary to the First Presidency. He died in Salt Lake City on March 10, 1924. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, 352–58. *Deseret News*, 10 March 1924, 2.

John Irvine, born in Scotland on September 17, 1848, joined the Church in England in 1877 and came to Utah in 1879. That year he began reporting the discourses of the Church leaders and later worked as a reporter for the “Salt Lake dailies.” He died at his home in Salt Lake City on August 27, 1909. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. Family Group Records of John Irvine, microfilm 439435, UPB. *Deseret Evening News*, 28 August 1909 (p. 2), 4 March 1910 (p. 5). *Journal of Discourses* 20:268.

19. *Journal of Discourses* 18:208; 19:45, 66, 76, 98, 104, 107, 161, 198, 249, 266, 311, 341, 367; 20:142, 361. For a sketch of James H. Hart, see items 869–70. For sketches of George C. Ferguson, Ruder Clawson, Josiah Rogerson, and John C. Graham, see *Deseret News* 31:172; Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan, *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History* (Salt Lake City, 2000), 215–16; Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1961), 4:546–47, and *Deseret News*, 16 March 1926, sec. 2, 1; and S. A. Kenner, *Utah As It Is* (Salt Lake, 1904), 493–94, and *Deseret Evening News*, 19 March 1906, 8.

20. *Journal of Discourses* 22:193; 24:16; 25:130, 144; 26:18, 204, 303, 364. For sketches of Arthur Winter, John H. Burrows, and Frederick E. Barker, see *Improvement Era* 43:541; Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:522–23, and *Deseret News*, 27 June 1944, 7; and Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:310, and *Deseret News*, 13 November 1922, 7. For the Family Group Record of James D. Stirling, see microfilm 1275150 at UPB.

839 1. *Deseret News*, 1 December (p. 3), 8 December 1853 (p. 3). Ferguson’s reward poster is reproduced in Will Bagley, “A Bright, Rising Star”: A Brief Life and a Letter of James Ferguson Sergeant Major, Mormon Battalion; Adjutant General, Nauvoo Legion (Spokane, Wash., 2000), 15.

840 1. *Deseret News*, 24 November 1853, 2. *Deseret News Bindery Ledger*, UHi.

Thomas Bullock and Jonathan Grimshaw read the proof of the almanac on October 21–22 and November 2 and 8. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 21–22 October, 2 November, 8 November 1853, USIC.

841 1. *Deseret News*, 8 December 1853, 3.

2. “Journal of John T. Caine, 1854–1856,” 1, microfilm of typescript, USIC. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 20 September 1911, 1–2. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:726–38. J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City, 1938), 307–12.

- 842** 1. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 13 December 1853, USIC.
- 843** 1. *Deseret News*, 15 December 1853, 3. *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), 3, 142–43. *Millennial Star* 16:419. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:499, 504.
2. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 111–24. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 13–14 December 1853. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:499.
- 844** 1. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 7–8, 76–77. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 14 December 1853. For a biographical sketch of Arie C. Brower, see item 562.
- 845** 1. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 21, 23.
2. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 44.
- 846** 1. I am indebted to Richard Saunders for bringing this piece to my attention.
2. *Deseret News*, 5 January 1854, 3. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:503.
3. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 6, UPB. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. *History of the Church* 3:92; 7:326. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1947), 8:401. *Deseret News* 36:640, 672. Paul L. Anderson, “Truman O. Angell: Architect and Saint,” *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah, 1985), 133–73. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:693.
4. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 125. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 12 June 1899, 1. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12:445. Everett L. Cooley and Margery W. Ward, “Register of the Papers of Frederick Kesler (1816–1899),” 3–4, photocopy of typescript, UPB. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:643–44.
- 849** 1. *Psalmer til Brug for Jesu Christi Kirke af Sidste-Dages-Hellige* (Copenhagen, 1867), ix–xxii.
Jacob Johannes Martinus Bohn (1823–1900) was born in Aalborg, Denmark, came to Utah in 1854, and lived in Cedar City, Beaver, Sanpete County, and South Cottonwood, where he died at age seventy-six. In his obituary, Andrew Jenson referred to him as “the Wm. W. Phelps of the Scandinavian mission.” “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 31 March 1900, 24. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:604. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 532.
2. *Millennial Star* 15:313–15, 525.
3. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen* (Salt Lake City, 1988), 86. *Psalmer til Brug for Jesu Christi Kirke af Sidste-Dages-Hellige*, xii, xxii.
4. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 3, USIC. *Psalmer og Aandelige Sange*, i–iii.
- 850** 1. Helen Hanks Macaré, “A Comprehensive List of Hymns Appearing in Official Hymnals of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1835–1950,” accompanying “The Singing Saints: A Study of the Mormon Hymnal, 1835–1950” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1961).

- 853–54** 1. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 125–28.
- 856** 1. “Diary of Andrew Ferguson,” 50, 128–31, UPB. *Millennial Star* 15:842; 16:763–64.
2. “Diary of Andrew Ferguson,” 129.
- 857** 1. “Journal of Matthew Rowan,” 51–52, microfilm of typescript, USIC.
2. “Journal of Matthew Rowan.” “Early Church Information File.” *Millennial Star* 13:208, 304, 334; 15:781; 16:763–64; 17:280. Family Group Record of Matthew Rowan, microfilm 439620, UPB. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1143.
- 858** 1. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 129.
- 859** 1. Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, 31 January 1854, USIC.
2. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 55–56, 99.
3. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions, of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 222–23. *Acts and Resolutions, Passed at the Second Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1853), 76–77.
- 860** 1. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions*, 229. *Acts and Resolutions, Passed at the Second Annual Session*, 77–78.
2. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 13, 66, 106.
3. *Millennial Star* 16:687. *Deseret News*, 5 October 1854, 2. *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* (Boston, 1855), 10:226, 307, 698.
- 861** 1. *Acts and Resolutions, Passed at the Second Annual Session*, 72. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 55, 61, 97, 104–5, 134.
2. *Millennial Star* 18:687. *Deseret News*, 5 October 1854, 2.
- 862** 1. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions*, 225–26.
2. *The Statutes at Large*, 10:219, 294, 579. *Report of the Secretary of War: Communicating Copies of All Reports of the . . . Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 33d Cong., 1st sess., 1854, S. Ex. Doc. 29. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 126, 140. *Deseret News*, 2 February 1854, 2–3. *Millennial Star* 16:420.
3. *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations, of the United States of America* (Boston, 1863), 12:489–98.
- 863** 1. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 61, 95, 103. LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail* (Lawrence, Mass., 1976), 56–60.
2. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions*, 226. *Acts and Resolutions, Passed at the Second Annual Session*, 79–80.
3. *The Statutes at Large*, 10:684. *Deseret News* 6:108, 133. Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, 60–63.

Congress cancelled the contract with Magraw in 1856 and gave it to Hiram Kimball, who took it in behalf of Brigham Young's Y. X. Carrying Company. Magraw responded with a vengeful letter to the president, which was used by the Buchanan administration to justify the Utah Expedition.

864 1. *Memorial to Congress, for an Appropriation for a State House* [Salt Lake City, 1854].

2. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 57, 59–60, 131, 140. *Millennial Star* 16:687. *Deseret News*, 5 October 1854, 2.

865 1. Dale L. Morgan, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851–1858," *Pacific Historical Review* 17 (1948): 395–96. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions*, 231.

2. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions*, 44, 95.

3. *The Statutes at Large*, 10:332. *Millennial Star* 16:687. *Deseret News*, 5 October 1854, 2.

866 1. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *Millennial Star* 15:296. "Journal History," 1 May 1853. Edward L. Hart, *Mormon in Motion: The Life and Journals of James H. Hart, 1825–1906, in England, France, and America* (Salt Lake City, 1978), 67–70.

2. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *Millennial Star* 15:137, 232, 296, 313, 475, 569.

3. Mormon proselytizing seems to have begun in the Channel Islands in 1847, and in June 1851 the Islands were transferred from the British Mission to the French. At the July 23, 1853, conference, it was reported that the French Mission consisted of four conferences and nine branches, with a total membership of 337, of whom 48 resided in France, the rest in the Channel Islands. *Millennial Star* 9:282; 13:218; 15:569.

4. *Millennial Star* 15:569; 16:303, 319, 496, 543, 719; 17:324. Letter of A. L. Lamoreaux, 7 September 1853, *Deseret News*, 22 December 1853, 2. "Journal History," 6 March 1860. Hart, *Mormon in Motion*, 85–86. *An Epistle to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in France, and the Channel Islands*, 6. L. A. Bertrand to Erastus Snow, 17 June 1855, *St. Louis Luminary* 1:122–23. European Mission Financial Records, 9:368, 397–98.

5. An English translation of Bertrand's introduction by Christina Cheney is in the Brigham Young University Lee Library.

6. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 51, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. *History of the Church* 6:339. "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:118, 125, 128. *Millennial Star* 16:763; 17:267. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 17 April, 13 June 1855. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:666–67.

869–70 1. Hart, *Mormon in Motion*, 89–91, 94, 98.

2. I am indebted to Scott H. Duvall for this assessment of the French text.

3. Hart, *Mormon in Motion*, passim. *Millennial Star* 16:240, 297, 462–3. *Deseret Evening News*, 14 September 1907, 30. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:27–28.

4. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 61. Hart, *Mormon in Motion*, 96–99, 104. *Millennial Star* 16:249, 297. *Deseret Evening News*, 14 May (p. 11), 18 May 1910 (p. 10). Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:564–65.

871 1. European Mission Financial Records, 8:622.
2. *Millennial Star* 16:187, 297. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 12 March 1854. Frederick Piercy and James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool, 1855), 15.

872 1. European Mission Financial Records, 8:622.
2. *Millennial Star* 13:320; 14:79–80, 143–44; 15:576, 656, 847–48; 16:400, 448.
3. “Journal of Franklin D. Richards,” 18 October 1853, USIC. “Early Church Information File.” *History of the Church* 2:510–11; 6:193, 347, 357, 495; 7:370, 437. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1948), 9:507. *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude* (Salt Lake City, 1998), 3:2564.
4. *History of the Church* 3:326. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion* (Logan, Utah, 1996), 21, 29–30, 237–38.

873–75 1. Autobiographical Sketch of Belinda Marden Pratt, Salt Lake City, 17 February 1884, photocopy, USIC. Isabella Eleanor Pratt Robison, Biographical Sketch of Belinda Marden Pratt, typescript by Parker Pratt Robison, photocopy, UPB. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 70. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 19 February (p. 5), 20 February 1894 (p. 5). *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (Salt Lake City, 1973), 463. 1860 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 169. 1870 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 693. *Woman’s Exponent* 38:70–71. Stella H. Day, *100 Years of History of Millard County* (Springville, Utah, 1951), 276–77. Family group record of Parley Parker Pratt and Belinda Marden, microfilm 1274879, UPB. Ancestral File. David J. Whittaker, “Early Mormon Polygamy Defenses,” *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 43–63.

2. A number of defenses were issued by women later in the century, e.g., Eliza R. Snow, *Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Reynolds Case* (Salt Lake City, 1879); *Defense of Plural Marriage by the Women of Utah County* (Provo, Utah, 1879); *Memorial of Emeline [sic] B. Wells and Zina Young Williams, of Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, to the Senate and House of Representatives* (Washington, 1879); Hannah Tapfield King, *Letter to a Friend* (Salt Lake City? 1881); Helen Mar Whitney, *Plural Marriage, as Taught by the Prophet Joseph* (Salt Lake City, 1882) and *Why We Practice Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City, 1884); and “*Mormon Women’s Protest: An Appeal for Freedom, Justice and Equal Rights*” (Salt Lake City, 1886).

3. Lydia Marden Kimball was born in New Hampshire on July 2, 1812, and in 1832 married Alvah (or Alva) Kimball—whose occupation is given as “Trader” in the 1850 and 1860 censuses. Belinda lived with her in Nashua, New Hampshire, for a time while attending school and seems to have remained on good terms with her even though they strongly differed over religion. Alvah died before the 1870 census, and thereafter Lydia lived in Nashua with her daughter. She died in Nashua on April 25, 1902. *Defence of Polygamy*, 1. Robison, Biographical Sketch, 1. *Woman’s Exponent* 38:70. Family Group Record of John Marden (1772–1833), microfilm 1274642, UPB. 1850 New Hampshire census, Hillsborough County, 248. 1860 New Hampshire census, Hillsborough County, 235. 1870 New Hampshire census, Hillsborough County, 203. 1880 New Hampshire census, Hillsborough County, Ward 8 Nashua, 4. 1900 New Hampshire census, Hillsborough County, Nashua Ward 8, 1A. Death certificate of Lydia Marden Kimball, City Clerk’s Office, Nashua, New Hampshire, photocopy at UPB.

4. One of the local converts in the Cape of Good Hope Mission asked Jesse Haven not to read *Defence of Polygamy* to his family because he felt it was “not decent to be read before females.” “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 19 December 1854, microfilm, USIC.

5. “Journal of Franklin D. Richards,” December Tuesday 1853; 11–12 March, 29–30 March 1854, USIC. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:255, 257.

6. Both states are at USIC.

7. William McBride Journal, 1854–1855, 12–14 November 1854, USIC.

There were at least two newspapers in San Jose at this time, the *San Jose Telegraph and Santa Clara County Register*, and the *San Jose Tribune*.

One copy of item 874 is known to have been bound with the Washington *Seer*. The *St. Louis Luminary* of April 14, 1855, advertised “Polygamy, by a Lady in Utah” for 5¢ each and Vol. 1 of the *Seer* “elegantly bound” with “Polygamy, by a Lady in Utah” and other tracts for \$2.25.

8. Jules Remy, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City* (London, 1861), 2:96–109.

9. Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London, 1861), 525–34.

10. *North American Review* 95 (July 1862): 191.

876–78 1. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 30 January 1853; Pratt to Young, 30 May 1853; Pratt to Young, 10 September 1853; USIC. Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 31 October 1853, USIC. *Millennial Star* 15:42–43, 384, 497–500. *Seer* 1:144.

2. “Diary of Samuel W. Richards, 1839–1874,” 2:144, 148–49, typescript, UPB. S. W. Richards to B. Young, 28 November 1853, S. W. Richards papers, USIC. O. Pratt to B. Young, 13 December 1853, USIC.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 8:647, 678, USIC. *Millennial Star* 16:187; 51:333–34.

4. Both states are at USIC.

5. It departs from being strictly line-for-line on pp. 152–54, 273, 375, 377–79.

879 1. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 15–25 November 1853, USIC. *Deseret News*, 1 December 1853, 2.

2. “Diary of Oliver B. Huntington 1847–1900,” 2:95, photocopy of typescript, UPB.

3. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 150. *Deseret Evening News*, 1 February 1879, 3. D. B. Huntington, *Vocabulary of the Utah and Sho-sho-ne or Snake Dialects* (Salt Lake City, 1872), 3. *History of the Church* 4:308; 5:18, 270–71. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1904), 4:209–11. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:748–49. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 950. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion* (Logan, Utah, 1996), 15–16, 26, 32, 51, 233–34, 258, 344.

881 1. *Journal of Discourses* 1:70.

2. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), 712–14. “Journal History,” 22 November, 27 November, 1853; 19 January 1854. *Deseret News*, 24 November 1853 (p. 3), 19 January 1854 (p. 2). *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:225. Brigham Young, *Governor’s Message* (Salt Lake City, 12 December 1853), 3. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:499–500, 509. “Eleventh General Epistle,” *Millennial Star* 16:419. Douglas D. Alder, Paula J. Goodfellow, and Ronald G. Watt, “Creating a New Alphabet for Zion: The Origin of the Deseret Alphabet,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (1984): 275–86. Roby Wentz, *38 Mormon Characters: A Forgotten Chapter in Western Typographic History* (Los Angeles, 1978), 11–14. Douglas Allen New, “History of the Deseret Alphabet and

Other Attempts to Reform English Orthography” (EdD diss., Utah State University, 1985), 189–91. William V. Nash, “The Deseret Alphabet” (University of Illinois Library School, 1957), 5–8.

At this point the regents of the University of Deseret were Orson Spencer, chancellor, Albert Carrington, Daniel H. Wells, James Lewis, John Taylor, Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, W. W. Phelps, Elias Smith, Hosea Stout, Lorenzo Snow, Parley P. Pratt, and John Vance; David Fullmer was the treasurer; George D. Watt, the secretary. *Deseret Almanac, for the Year 1855* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 10.

3. *Deseret Almanac, for the Year 1855*, 26. Brigham Young, *Governor’s Message to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 11 December 1854), 4.

Phelps’s facsimile was reprinted by Jules Remy as part of an article in French about his visit to Salt Lake City in the *San Francisco Chronicle*; it was reprinted from the *Chronicle* in Benn Pitman’s *The Phonographic Magazine* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1856), 102, and reprinted again in the French and English editions of Remy’s travelogue, *Voyage au Pays des Mormons* (Paris, 1860), 2:154, and *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City* (London, 1861), 2:184.

4. *Deseret News* 5:144, 184, 256, 280. “Journal History,” 28 December 1855; 4 February, 6 February, 11 February, 25–26 February 1856; 20 Nov 1858. “Diary of Samuel Whitney Richards, 1824–1909,” 1:110a–110b, typescript, UPB. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:399–407. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah: for the Sixth Annual Session* (Salt Lake City, 1857), 32. Brigham Young to Horace S. Eldredge, 29 May 1857, USIC. *Mormon*, 29 August 1857, 3.

5. “Journal History,” 27 November 1858; 1 February, 16 February 1859. Franklin D. Richards, “The Deseret Alphabet” (notes for H. H. Bancroft, c. 1885), manuscript P-F 66, CU-B. *Deseret News* 9:244.

For a list of the differences in the two versions of the alphabet, see note 9.

The 1859 *Deseret News* version of the Deseret characters is printed on a stiff card, 8 × 5.5 cm, headed *Deseret Alphabet*, the characters and their equivalent sounds in columns separated by two vertical rules, all within a wavy ruled border with decorative corner elements. The setting of this card is the same as that of the list of characters in the *News* of February 23, 1859, and an ad for what was probably this card appears in the same issue. Two copies of the card are located, at UPB and USIC. A second separate printing of what appears to be this version of the alphabet is on a stiff card, 17 × 12 cm, headed *The Deseret Alphabet*, the characters in four columns separated by vertical rules, the two left-hand columns headed *Vocal Sounds*, the two right-hand columns headed *Articulate Sounds*. A single copy of this piece is located, at CtY (see note 11).

John Henry Rumel was born in Philadelphia on August 28, 1819, came to Utah in 1849, and died in Salt Lake City, May 19, 1894. In 1854, it is reported, he cast the first type in the Valley. He was a member of the Salt Lake high council and supported John Sharp when Sharp pled guilty and promised to obey the law in order to avoid prison after he was arrested for unlawful cohabitation. Subsequently Rumel did the same. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 19 May 1894, 1. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent of Utah*, 208. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1944), 5:134. Kate B. Carter, *Treasures of Pioneer History* (Salt Lake City, 1952), 1:63. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 30 November 1886. James B. Allen, “‘Good Guys’ vs. ‘Good Guys’: Rudger Clawson, John Sharp, and Civil Disobedience in Nineteenth-Century Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (1980): 168, 172.

6. Wentz, 38 *Mormon Characters*, 14–22. New, “History of the Deseret Alphabet,” 223–39. Nash, “The Deseret Alphabet,” 12–16.

The two primers (Flake-Draper 2817, 2818) were each published in 10,000 copies, the first part of the Book of Mormon (Flake-Draper 608) in 8,000 copies, the full Book of Mormon (Flake-Draper 607) in an edition of 500. In each instance the book was printed from stereotype plates. The territorial legislature appropriated \$10,000 for the project, the Church contributed an additional \$2,000, and the balance of the total printing costs, \$453.86, was supposed to have been covered through sales of the books. In addition, the legislature awarded Orson Pratt \$6,000 for transliterating the books. *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1870), 168. Wentz, *38 Mormon Characters*, 16–19. New, “History of the Deseret Alphabet,” 223–40. Nash, “The Deseret Alphabet,” 15, 26–27.

7. Richards, “The Deseret Alphabet.” Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, Mass., 1853), lxxxiii. George D. Watt, *Exercises in Phonography* (Salt Lake City, 1851). Alder, Goodfellow, and Watt, “Creating a New Alphabet for Zion,” 282–86.

8. *Juvenile Instructor* 10:234. Richards, “The Deseret Alphabet.”

9. The version of the Deseret Alphabet in item 881 and that in Phelps’s *Deseret Almanac for 1855* differ in their characters for the short *e* and short *ow*—the character for the short *e* in item 881 being unique to this piece; further, the *Deseret Almanac* includes two additional characters, one for the short *oi*, the other for the short *u*. The *Deseret News* alphabet reverts to thirty-eight characters, omitting those for the short *oi* and short *u*; moreover, the *News* differs from the *Deseret Almanac* in the characters for the short *a* (which the *Almanac* employs for the short *o*), the short *ah* (which the *Almanac* employs for the short *a*), the short *o* (which the *Almanac* employs for *r*), the short *oo* (a new symbol), the short *ow* (which is the symbol for this sound employed in item 881), the *r* (a new symbol), and the *n* (which the *Almanac* employs for the short *ah*). The New York version differs from that in the *Deseret News* only in the character for the long *a*, which is the reverse of the *Deseret News* symbol.

10. “Hosea Stout Journal,” 24 March 1854, UHi. Actually, Stout’s transcription differs in the character for “P” because he mistakenly copied the character for “I” a second time from the preceding line instead of the one for “P.”

11. *Deseret News* 5:181; 6:136. See note 5.

882 1. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 4:16–17, 72, 74–79, 83, microfilm, USIC. *Millennial Star* 17:28.

John McCarthy was the fourth person Ballantyne and Skelton baptized in Madras; Samuel Pascal, baptized on October 23, 1853, was the first. James Mills’s daughter was also baptized on March 5 along with her mother and Mrs. McCarthy. Skelton baptized James Mills about September 1, 1854, after Ballantyne left India. When he returned to England, Ballantyne reported that he and Skelton had baptized a total of twelve in Madras during the year he was there. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 3:154–57; 4:76. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 93, 99, 112, 137, typescript, UPB. *Millennial Star* 17:28, 44–45.

2. Ballantyne had read the December 1853 issue of the *Seer* when he wrote his wife in February 1854. Richard Ballantyne to his wife, 2–6 February 1854, USIC.

3. The preceding December, Ballantyne had “examined a manuscript, which Mr. Mills gave me, written by a Baptist, being a dialogue between the Minister and Member concerning the impropriety of admitting an unbaptised person or a Polygamist to what they call the Lord’s Table.” “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 4:14.

4. Philip wanted to marry a second wife while his first wife was alive, and Luther, Melancthon, and others wrote that, in their view, such a marriage was not prohibited by Holy Writ but should be done in secret to avoid political repercussions. Ballantyne cites “the 1st vol. of a work entitled ‘History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches’ by James Benign Bossuet” as his source for the letter, the identical source given in “Christian Polygamy in the Sixteenth Century”—making it clear that he reprinted the letter from Orson Pratt’s article.

5. Ballantyne cites the “First Book on Christian Doctrine” as his source for Milton’s discussion of polygamy. His use of it appears to be the first—by two months—in a Mormon work. In various forms it was subsequently printed in the *Millennial Star* of May 27 and June 3, 1854; *Deseret News* of August 10, 1854; *Skandinaviens Stjerne* of December 1 and 15, 1854; T. B. H. Stenhouse’s *Les Mormons (Saints des Derniers-Jours) et leurs Ennemis* (Lausanne, 1854); *Zion’s Watchman* of January 15, 1855; *St. Louis Luminary* of February 3, 1855; Robert Skelton and James P. Meik’s *A Defence of Mormonism* (Calcutta, 1855); and John McCarthy’s *The (Madras) “Christian Instructor” versus Mormonism* (Madras, 1856). For a discussion of the Mormon use of Milton’s views on polygamy and the various editions of *Christian Doctrine* that may have been available to Ballantyne, see John S. Tanner, “Milton and the Early Mormon Defense of Polygamy,” *Milton Quarterly* 21 (May 1987): 41–46.

883–84 1. *Acts and Resolutions Passed at the Third Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 25.

2. Franklin Pierce appointed Almon W. Babbitt territorial secretary to replace Benjamin G. Ferris in 1853 during the Senate recess and then formally nominated him on February 1, 1854, the Senate confirming the nomination on April 25. In 1856 Babbitt went east to purchase territorial supplies, and that September, on his return to Utah, he was killed by Cheyenne Indians on the trail west of Fort Kearny. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1887), 9:230, 308. *Millennial Star* 18:667, 823–24; 19:324–26, 443. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:284–86.

3. *Acts and Resolutions Passed at the Third Annual Session*, 18–19, 26–28. *Deseret News Bindery Journal*, UHi.

885–86 1. Andrew Jenson writes, “During the year 1854, Elder Canute Peterson wrote a small pamphlet or tract consisting of Bible references. It was the first pamphlet of that kind published in the Scandinavian Mission, and was used by the missionaries to great advantage for several years afterwards.” Peterson, however, does not mention such a pamphlet in his diary or in his autobiography. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 95. “Journal of Canute Peterson,” vol. 1, 9 September 1851–15 June 1854, microfilm, USIC. “The Story of Canute Peterson as Told to His Daughter Carrie,” *Instructor* 81:122–25, 172–77, 181, 219–22, 234.

2. “Journal of John Van Cott,” 1:225, UPB.

3. *Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905*, 4, USIC.

887 1. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 3:116, 125, 129.

2. See item 882, note 1.

3. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 4:74–78, 81, 83–84, 98–99, 101, 112.

4. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 4:118–19, 127; 5:14, 24, 33. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 121, 127–28, 143–45, 148, 151. *Millennial Star* 17:28; 18:523.

5. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 1–4, 250–52, 268–71. *Deseret Weekly* 50:246. *Portrait, Genealogical and Biographical Record of the State of Utah* (Chicago, 1902), 361–62. Mildred Allred Mercer, ed., *History of Tooele County* (Salt Lake City, 1961), 20, 40, 178, 187, 265, 577–78. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 1162. R. Lanier Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic: The Compelling Story of the First Latter-day Saint Missionaries in India* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 291–92.

890 1. *Millennial Star* 16:140, 333.
2. European Mission Financial Records, 9:226.
3. "Manuscript History of the Swiss, Italian & German Mission," vol. 4, 21 August 1861, USIC.

4. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 103. "Early Church Information File." *History of the Church* 6:338. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1941 and 1947), 3:218; 8:442. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *Millennial Star* 15:106, 156–58, 362–67; 16:140, 333, 608, 620–24; 17:112. *Deseret Evening News*, 25 January (p. 8), 26 January 1892 (p. 8). Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 13 August, 5 September 1854; 3 February 1855. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:337–38.

891 1. Owens was at odds with his fellow missionaries from the time he arrived in India, and his disruptive influence continued in Madras. His behavior became particularly alarming to Ballantyne when Brown reported that Owens had made several unseemly advances to some of the women in Brown's employ, and word of these allegations spread throughout the branch. Ballantyne wrote to Owens asking him to return to Calcutta on April 30 and outlined the problems in great detail to Nathaniel V. Jones in a letter of May 3, 1854. Owens sailed from Calcutta for Australia on July 24, 1854. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 4:131–39; 5:1–13. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 112–13. *Millennial Star* 16:650–51.

2. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 5:13, 16. See item 882, note 1.

3. Vepery is in the northeastern part of Madras, at that time "outside the walls of the city."

4. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 5:18–21. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 114–15. Richard Ballantyne to John Taylor, 29 May 1854, *Deseret News*, 19 October 1854, 2–3.

893 1. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 27. Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Provo, Utah, 1997). George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, 1991), 129–31. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 12 August 1877. *Deseret Evening News*, 22 November (p. 9), 6 December 1905 (p. 11). *Improvement Era* 9:264; 14:544–47. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. *Millennial Star* 15:428–29.

2. *Polynesian* 10:186. *Seer* 1:174.

3. Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 162–65, 177–78. Johnson, *Why the "Latter Day Saints" Marry a Plurality of Wives*, 2. B. F. Johnson to Brother William, 23 April 1854, "Letters to and from Missionaries in the Sandwich Islands 1851–1860," 92–94, typescript, UPB.

4. Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia, 1852). John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons, or, Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia, 1852). Thomas L. Kane, *The Mormons* (Philadelphia, 1850).

- 894** 1. European Mission Financial Records 9:4, 23, USIC. Snow's royalties were adjusted downward on June 20, 1854.
- 895** 1. *Council Bluffs Bugle*, 21 December 1853 (p. 2), 6 February 1855 (p. 2). For a discussion of the *Council Bluffs Bugle*, see item 402, note 10.
 2. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 114, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 25:310. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:434. J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, Larry T. Wimmer, comps., *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore, 1981), 254. *Journal of Discourses* 7:172–75; 16:166–67. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records. Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, 1996), 609–21.
- 897** 1. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . May 31st, and June 1st, 1851* (London, 1851?), 6. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . December 6th & 7th, 1851* (London, 1851?), 6. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . June 5th and 6th, 1852* (London, 1852?), 8. *Report of the London Pastoral Conference* (London, 1853?), 16. *Half Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . 2nd & 3rd July, 1853* (London, 1853?), 4.
 2. *Millennial Star* 15:842; 16:763–64.
 3. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)," microfilm, UPB. "Early Church Information File." "European Emigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. *Saints' Herald* 37:682, 721–22. *Journal of History* 7:462–84. Some records give Brand's birthday as February 26.
- 898** 1. *Millennial Star* 15:756. Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* (Rexburg, Idaho, 1978), 299, 309, 350.
 2. *Millennial Star* 15:756–57; 16:345, 416, 718, 784; 17:672. "Diary of Samuel W. Richards 1839–1874," 2:174–76, 178, typescript, UPB. European Mission Financial Records, 9:69, 428, 649.
- 899** 1. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne, 5:21–22, 27, 38–39. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 119–21.
 2. "Journal of Richard Ballantyne, 5:39–40, 42, 45. "Journal of Robert Skelton," 126–28. *Millennial Star* 17:28. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:78.
- 901** 1. *Deseret News*, 27 July 1854, 3.
 2. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:523. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:285.
- 902–6** 1. *Skandnaviens Stjerne* 3:332. *Millennial Star* 18:218–221.
 2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 4, USIC.
 3. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 4.
- 907** 1. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 30 May, 2 June 1854, microfilm, USIC. *Missionary Journals of William Holmes Walker*, transcribed by Ellen Dee Walker Leavitt (Provo, Utah, 2003), 114.
 2. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 17 June, 14 July, 24 July, 29 July, 31 July, 3 August, 7 August, 13 August 1854. *Missionary Journals of William Holmes Walker*, 122, 130. *Millennial Star* 16:604. David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Imprints in South Africa," *BYU Studies* 20 (1980): 404–9.

3. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 24 July, 31 July 1853; 14 January 1855. Endowment House Record, Book D, 123, microfilm 183404, UPB. "Early Church Information File." Salt Lake City Cemetery Records.

908 1. *Deseret News*, 3 August (p. 3), 10 August 1854 (p. 3).
2. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:524. John Hyde Jr., *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York, 1857), 189–90.

909 1. *Frontier Guardian*, 2 May (p. 2), 14 November 1851 (p. 2). *Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel*, 29 April 1852, 2. *Western Bugle*, 28 April (p. 2), 21 July 1852 (p. 2).
2. *Council Bluffs Bugle*, 21 December 1853 (p. 2), 6 February 1855 (p. 2). For a discussion of the *Council Bluffs Bugle*, see item 402, note 10.

910 1. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 3:332. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen* (Salt Lake City, 1988), 107.
2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 4.

911 1. *Millennial Star* 16:458, 763. *Deseret News*, 13 April (p. 2), 21 December 1854 (p. 3).

912 1. *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (New York, 1874), 457–78. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:258–59. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and J. M. Grant, "To All, to Whom this Letter May Come," 3 May 1854, photocopy, UPB. *Deseret News*, 4 January (p. 2), 8 February (p. 3), 8 March (p. 3), 4 July (p. 136), 22 August 1855 (pp. 189–90, 192).
2. Edward C. Kemble, *A History of California Newspapers*, ed. Helen Harding Bretnor (Los Gatos, Calif., 1962), 115. Claude Petty, "John S. Hittell and the Gospel of California," *Pacific Historical Review* 24 (1955): 1–16.
3. *California Chronicle*, 2 September 1854, 2.
4. See, e.g., *California Chronicle*, 6 October (p. 2), 23 November 1854 (p. 2); 26 January (p. 2), 10 February (p. 1), 27 February (p. 1), 2 March (p. 1), 6 April (p. 2), 22 May 1855 (p. 2). Matthew J. Grow, "'A Providential Means of Agitating Mormonism': Parley P. Pratt and the San Francisco Press in the 1850s," *Journal of Mormon History* 29 (Fall 2003): 158–85.
5. *California Chronicle*, 22 May 1855, 2.
6. *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, 460. *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (Salt Lake City, 1973), 411.

913–14 1. "Journal of Franklin D. Richards, 12 September, 14 September 1854, USIC.
2. *Millennial Star* 16:426. Frederick Piercy and James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool, 1855), 117. *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* (Boston, 1855), 10:219, 294, 579. *Report of the Secretary of War: Communicating Copies of All Reports of the . . . Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 33d Cong., 1st sess., 1854, S. Ex. Doc. 29.
3. European Mission Financial Records, 9:250. *Millennial Star* 16:778. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 27 November 1854. Piercy and Linforth, *Route from Liverpool*, 120.

917–18 1. *Millennial Star* 16:640, 718. European Mission Financial Records, 9:206, 649.

919 1. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 4:31. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 4.

920–21 1. *Deseret News*, 13 April 1854, 2. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:258–59. Erastus Snow to the Editor, *Deseret News*, 3 September 1855. *Millennial Star* 16:240, 297, 462–3, 685–87. Autobiographical Sketch of James Henry Hart, 9, microfilm, USIC. Edward L. Hart, *Mormon in Motion: The Life and Journals of James H. Hart, 1825–1906, in England, France, and America* (Salt Lake City, 1978), 121–23.

2. Erastus Snow to Elizabeth Snow, 22 October 1854, UHi. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:4. Snow to the Editor, 3 September 1855. *Mormon*, 17 May 1856, 1.

3. In 1853 the staging area was at Keokuk, Iowa; in 1854 at Kansas City, Missouri, “14 miles west of Independence”; and in 1855 at Mormon Grove, about four miles from Atchison, Kansas. Piercy and Linforth, *Route from Liverpool*, 18, 58–60, 78, 118. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:50, 74, 87, 90–91, 99.

4. Erastus Snow to Brigham Young, 29 October 1854, as quoted in Andrew Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow* (Salt Lake City, 1971), 260. *Mormon*, 17 May 1856, 1.

5. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:1–2. Snow to Elizabeth Snow, 22 October 1854. Snow to Young, 29 October 1854. Erastus Snow to Elizabeth Snow, 24 January 1855, UHi.

An ad for A. P. Ladew & Co. that ran in most of the issues of the *Luminary* states that they sell “every variety of type, paper, ink, printing presses, rule borders, flowers, and every other article used in a Printing Office.” For a sketch of A. P. Ladew, see Richard Edwards and M. Hopewell, *Edwards's Great West and Her Commercial Metropolis* (St. Louis, 1860?), 169; or J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), 2:1321–22.

6. *Deseret News*, 11 January (p. 3), 18 January (p. 4), 25 January 1855 (p. 4).

7. Autobiographical Sketch of James Henry Hart, 9. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:154, 178, 190. Snow to the Editor, 3 September 1855.

8. Snow to the Editor, 3 September 1855. “Erastus Snow’s Biography,” 39, UPB. John Taylor to Brigham Young, 21 November 1855, USIC.

9. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:206. *Mormon*, 1 December 1855, 2.

10. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:413. *Deseret News* 6:53.

11. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:6. Thirteenth General Epistle, *Deseret News* 5:268. Brigham Young to Erastus Snow, 31 October 1856, USIC.

12. See, e.g., *St. Louis Luminary* 1:26, 46, 50, 62, 66, 74, 78, 90, 94, 98, 102, 106, 110, 114, 122, 150, 154, 158, 166, 171, 198–99, 207.

13. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:6, 50, 74, 87, 90–91, 99.

924 1. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:283. *Deseret News*, 6 July 1854, 2. “Journal History,” 28 June, 17 October (pp. 2–6), 5 November, 12 November, 11 December 1854. Daniel H. Thomas, comp., “Preston Thomas: His Life and Travels,” 320, 323–24, photocopy of typescript, UPB. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:2. *Millennial Star* 16:811–12.

2. Thomas, “Preston Thomas: His Life and Travels,” 323. John Taylor to Brigham Young, 25 October 1854, USIC. “Journal History,” 11 November 1854, 2. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:6. *Millennial Star* 16:812.

925 1. *Millennial Star* 16:707–9; 24:558. Symbolic, perhaps, is the Brigham Young University copy, which is uncut and unopened.

2. Emile Guers was born on March 25, 1794, in Prévessin, France, a few miles north-west of Geneva. He studied science and theology at the Academy in Geneva and while a student became confirmed in the Protestant faith. In 1817 he took part in founding the first

independent church in Geneva and the following year became one of its pastors. He and a colleague were consecrated for their Genevan ministry at a Congregational chapel in London in 1821, and from that point on he was one of the spiritual leaders of the dissident community in Geneva. A prolific writer, he authored more than a dozen books, some of which were translated into English, German, and Dutch. He died at Geneva on October 27, 1882. An English translation of his *L'Irvingisme et le Mormonisme* was published in London in 1854. Francis Chaponnière, *Pasteurs et Laïques de l'Église de Genève au Dix-Neuvième Siècle* (Geneva, 1889), 88–98. Timothy Stunt, “Geneva and British Evangelicals in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981): 36, 43.

Amédée Pichot, born in Arles on November 5, 1796, studied medicine in Montpellier and Paris and in 1819 settled in Paris and began a life of letters. Visiting England and Scotland in 1822 and 1824, he immersed himself in the literature of the British Isles and in 1843 assumed the editorship of the *Revue Britannique*, a position he held for the rest of his life. He wrote many books and numerous articles on a variety of subjects and was awarded the Legion of Honor. He died in Paris on February 12, 1877. Gustave Vapereau, *Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains* (Paris, 1880), 1445. J. C. F. Hoefler, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1862), 40:80–81.

Count Agénor de Gasparin was born in Orange on July 12, 1810, lived in Orange for his first twelve years, and then moved with his brother to Paris, where he studied law but never entered the practice. De Gasparin was a Protestant, and after twelve years of government service he moved to Switzerland in 1848 and there gained prominence as a writer and lecturer. He vigorously opposed France’s involvement in the Franco-Prussian War but came to the relief of the French troops when they retreated into Switzerland. Infected by the diseases they carried, he died on May 14, 1871. Agénor de Gasparin, “Les Mormons,” *Archives du Christianisme au Dix-Neuvième Siècle* 20 (1852): 185–87; 21 (1853): 15–18, 41–44, 66–69, 74–77, 83–86. L. A. Bertrand, *Mémoires d’un Mormon* (Paris, 1862), 210–11. T. Borel, *Count Agénor de Gasparin* (New York, 1881). Hoefler, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 19:561–63.

Stenhouse writes, “What is Mr. Favez? A missionary without a mission, a member of a body without a head,” and then, quoting Agénor de Gasparin, suggests that Favez was aligned with the Plymouth Brethren and John Nelson Darby. Other than this, nothing is known about him. Stenhouse, *Les Mormons et Leurs Ennemis*, 23.

926 1. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 38:566; 39:688. Family Group Record of William Littlefair, microfilm 439492, UPB. Stockton-on-Tees is about nine miles southwest of Hartlepool.

2. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 10:3, 255; 17:73, 300–3. “European Emigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. Utah Immigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. 1860 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 222. 1870 Utah census, Cache County, 150. 1880 Utah census, Cache County, 134. *Improvement Era* 7:477.

3. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” *Millennial Star* 17:64.

4. The sources to follow give five different birthdays for Dalling, in 1814 or 1816. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” “Early Church Information File.” Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. Family Group Record of John Dalling, microfilm 428183, UPB. *Millennial Star* 14:324, 355, 505, 604; 16:763; 17:171–72. *Deseret News* 5:288. *Deseret Evening News*, 25 October 1919, sec. 4, v.

927 1. Phelps's correspondence suggests that he considered publishing a combined almanac for 1856–57 but could not raise the funds to publish it. Beginning with the one for 1858, he issued at least eight more almanacs, 1858–65. The 1858 almanac was first advertised in the *Deseret News* of February 10, 1858. W. W. Phelps to Brigham Young, 9 September 1856, USIC. *Deseret News* 7:389.

2. *Deseret News*, 12 October 1854, 2. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 8–9.

928 1. European Mission Financial Records, 9:50, 278; 10:308, 315; USIC. *Millennial Star* 16:592, 718; 51:333–34.

2. The Huntington Library has a copy of the “fifth European edition” with the colophon *London: Printed by William Bowden, 16, Princess Street, Red Lion Square* on the verso of p. 563. But this is a perfected book, its last leaf replaced with the last leaf from a copy of the first state of the 1852 edition.

929 1. *Millennial Star* 16:720.

2. Franklin D. Richards corrected the first sheet on August 30, 1854, and the third on September 14. “Journal of Franklin D. Richards,” 30 August, 14 September 1854, USIC.

3. “Mr. Parley P. Pratt in Account with Mr. Franklin D Richards,” microfilm, USIC. “Mr. Parley P. Pratt in account with Mr. Franklin D. Richards,” 29 August 1855, photocopy, UPB. European Mission Financial Records, 10:304; 13:547–49.

4. See, e.g., p. 17 line 4 from bottom; p. 25 line 18 and line 7 from bottom; p. 27 line 2; p. 28 line 4; p. 29 last line; p. 47 line 19 and line 3 from bottom; p. 65 lines 7 and 19; p. 72 first paragraph; p. 75 line 5; p. 92; p. 103; p. 131 lines 18 and 19; p. 147; p. 185 lines 4, 9, and 11.

930 1. An English translation of the song by Michelle Stockman is given in Richard D. McClellan, “Not Your Average French Communist Mormon: A Short History of Louis A. Bertrand,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 1 (Fall 2000): 11–12.

2. “Missionary Correspondence,” *Deseret News*, 21 December 1854, 3. *Millennial Star* 16:763; 17:267. “European Emigration Card Index.” Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 17 April, 13 June 1855. L. A. Bertrand, *Mémoires d'un Mormon* (Paris, 1862), 228–29. *Circular: To Presidents and Bishops of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Throughout the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 29 April 1856). *St. Louis Luminary* 1:118.

931 1. See item 576, note 3, and item 656, note 9.

2. For the justification of these conclusions, see item 656, note 8.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 9:368–69; 13:547–49. *Millennial Star* 16:303, 495, 718. *Deseret News* 23:611, 732, 763; 24:11, 679. Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City, 1878), back wrapper.

934 1. *Deseret News*, 14 December 1854, 2–3. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 5, 93–104. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:532–33. Wilford Woodruff's *Journal* 4:294–95. “Historian's Office Journal,” 12 December 1854, USIC. “The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office,” 11 March 1856, UPB. *Deseret News Bindery Journal*, 12 December 1854, UHi.

2. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 143. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:549.

3. Brigham Young was nominated by Millard Fillmore on September 26, 1850, and approved by the Senate two days later. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1887), 8:252–53, 266.

4. Lazarus H. Read and Leonidas Shaver were nominated by Millard Fillmore on August 13, 1852, and approved by the Senate on August 31 to fill the unfinished terms of Chief Justice Lemuel G. Brandebury and Associate Justice Perry E. Brocchus, respectively (see items 435 and 610). Read arrived in Salt Lake City on June 5, 1853, returned to his home in Bath, New York, about a year later, and died there on March 27, 1855, at age thirty-nine. Shaver reached Salt Lake City on October 26, 1852, and died in the city on June 29, 1855 (see item 1012). *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, 8:436, 452. *Deseret News*, 18 June 1853, 2. *Deseret News* 5:109, 132–33. *Mormon*, 14 April 1855, 2.

On February 1, 1854, Franklin Pierce nominated George Edmunds Jr. to succeed Shaver, John W. H. Underwood to succeed Associate Justice Zerubbabel Snow, and John F. Kinney to succeed Read—the terms of Snow, Read, and Shaver expiring that September. Edmunds and Underwood declined the nominations. Kinney was approved by the Senate on March 14 and arrived in Salt Lake City on August 22. He left Salt Lake City in April 1856 but was reappointed chief justice and returned in October 1860; in 1863 he was elected Utah’s delegate to the Thirty-eighth Congress. After being away from Utah for more than thirty years, he moved back to Salt Lake City in 1899, where he died on August 16, 1902, at age eighty-six. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, 9:224, 265. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:525, 596. *Deseret News* 6:53; 10:252. *Deseret Evening News*, 16 August 1902, 8. “John Fitch Kinney,” *Annals of Iowa* 16 (1927): 145–50. Michael W. Homer, “The Federal Bench and Priesthood Authority: The Rise and Fall of John Fitch Kinney’s Early Relationship with the Mormons,” *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986–87): 89–108.

Pierce nominated George P. Stiles in place of Underwood on July 17, 1854, and the Senate confirmed him on August 1. Stiles arrived in Salt Lake City with Kinney on August 22, anticipating the appointment, which reached him on September 28. Nominally a Mormon, he had served as a temporary member of the Nauvoo City Council in 1844 and was one of those identified to testify at Joseph Smith’s Carthage trial. He was excommunicated for adultery on December 22, 1856, and left the territory the following April. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, 9:361, 373. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:525, 611, 625. *Millennial Star* 16:779. *History of the Church* 6:212, 419, 495, 576.

Pierce nominated William W. Drummond in place of Edmunds on January 9, 1855, the Senate confirming him two days later. About thirty-five years old and a native of Virginia, Drummond reached Salt Lake City on July 9, 1855, and departed the territory on May 17, 1856. From the Mormon perspective, he was the most odious of all the early judges, and his inflammatory letters were used by the Buchanan administration to justify the Utah Expedition. And the Mormons did not lose track of him: Andrew Jenson notes in his *Church Chronology* that Drummond died on November 20, 1888, “in a grogshop in Chicago, Ill., as a drunken pauper.” *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, 9:399–400. 1850 Illinois census, Stark County, 196. *New York Daily Times*, 18 May 1857, 1. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:558, 596. *Deseret News* 5:149. *Millennial Star* 19:328–35. Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859* (New Haven, Conn., 1966), 18, 54–57. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 20 November 1888.

5. *Deseret News*, 7 September 1854, 3. Capt. Rufus Ingalls to Gen. Thomas S. Jesup, 22 November 1855; Ingalls to Jesup, 25 August 1855; *Message from the President of the United States*, Part II, 34th Cong. 1st sess., 1855, Senate Ex. Doc. 1, 152–68.

Edward J. Steptoe, born in Virginia in 1816, graduated from the US Military Academy in 1837 and was promoted to first lieutenant the following year. During the Mexican War he was promoted to captain and breveted major for gallantry and meritorious conduct at the battle of Cerro Gordo and lieutenant colonel for his service at the battle of Chapultepec. He was promoted to major in the Ninth Infantry in 1855 and lieutenant colonel in the Tenth Infantry on September 9, 1861. In 1858 he and 159 men under his command engaged a large force of Coeur d'Alene, Yakima, Spokane, and Palouse Indians in a famous battle near Rosalia, Washington, and, defeated and surrounded, escaped at night, limiting their casualties to seven dead and thirteen wounded. Three weeks after he was promoted to lieutenant colonel, he resigned his commission because of ill health. He died in Virginia in April 1865. Referring to Steptoe, Brigham Young remarked, "If they wish to send a Governor here, and he is a gentleman, like the one I have referred to, every heart would say, 'Thank God, we have a *man* to stand at our head in a gubernatorial capacity; a man who has got a good heart, and is willing that we should enjoy the federal rights of the Constitution as well as himself.'" Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), 1:921. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, 9:438; 12:39. B. F. Manring, *The Conquest of the Coeur d'Alenes, Spokanes and Palouses* (Spokane, Wash., 1912), 264–74. Laura Woodworth-Ney, *Mapping Identity: The Creation of the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation, 1805–1902* (Boulder, Colo., 2004), 58–65. Ingalls to Jesup, 22 November 1855, *Message from the President of the United States*, 154. *Journal of Discourses* 2:188.

6. John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, 8 August 1854; Bernhisel to Young, 8 September 1854; Bernhisel to Young, 16 October 1854; Bernhisel to Young, 17 November 1854; Bernhisel to Young, 18 November 1854; Bernhisel to Young, 8:00 p.m., 18 November 1854; USIC. Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, 31 October 1854, USIC.

7. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, 9:393, 396. Franklin Pierce to E. J. Steptoe, 6 January 1855, in Manring, *The Conquest of the Coeur d'Alenes, Spokanes and Palouses*, 272b–72f. John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, 18 December 1854, USIC. *Millennial Star* 17:110. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:304. Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, 7 February 1855, USIC. Brigham Young to Erastus Snow, 28 February 1855, USIC.

The *St. Louis Luminary* of December 23, 1854, reported that Steptoe had "been appointed Governor of Utah." *St. Louis Luminary* 1:18.

8. John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, 1 January 1855; Bernhisel to Young, 18 December 1855; USIC. E. J. Steptoe to My Dear Friend [Franklin Pierce?], 3 April 1855, USIC. E. J. Steptoe to Bishop Elias Blackburn, New York, 3 November 1855, USIC. Ingalls to Jesup, 25 August 1855, *Message from the President of the United States*, 158.

In his letter to Steptoe of January 6, 1855, Pierce stated that he would have to resign from the army if he accepted the governorship.

9. Bernhisel to Young, 18 December 1855. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, 9:393–10:275. *Constitution of the United States of America . . . Also, "An Act to Establish a Territorial Government for Utah"* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 27.

The *Mormon* of February 17, 1855, reprints an article dated January 31, 1855, from the *New York Herald* claiming that Pierce appointed "Colonel Steptoe, of the army, Governor of Utah, knowing positively all the time that the gallant colonel will not accept the appointment, and that Brigham Young will hold on to his office until some other person shall be appointed to supersede him, who will accept the appointment and be qualified." The *St. Louis Luminary* of October 20, 1855, commented, "A correspondent of the New York Times writing from Washington city, is of opinion that Governor Young will not be turned

out of office during this administration, but that it will be left for President Pierce's successor to perform that dangerous and formidable *coup d'etat*." And in his letter to Brigham Young of December 18, 1855, Bernhisel wrote, "The President's feelings seemed to be like this: that he would not make another appointment unless compelled to by public clamor."

10. The murders of the Weeks brothers and the trial and execution of two of the perpetrators are described in detail in Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:525–27.

11. But tensions resulting from the presence of the soldiers would not be long in coming. See, e.g., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:296, 302–4, 312; and Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:536, 538.

935–36 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 7, 37–38. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:532. "The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office."

For a biographical sketch of Joseph Cain, see item 562.

2. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 38.

937 1. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 23–25, 84.

2. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 7, 16, 37, 112.

3. "The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office."

4. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:569–70. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:362.

5. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1857), 13. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:609.

938 1. "Diary of Asa Calkin, 1850–58," 6, photocopy, UPB.

2. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 15, 109–12. "The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office." Deseret News Bindery Journal, 12 December 1854.

939–40 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 24, 61, 118–19. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:535, 541. "The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office."

941–43 1. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, 9:393, 396.

A second petition to Pierce asking for Young's reappointment was signed on December 30, 1854, by Steptoe, his officers, the three territorial justices, other federal officials, and Salt Lake City merchants. Steptoe apparently did not view himself as a candidate for the governorship at this point, and although he signed the petition, he remarked to George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson at the time that "it might be good policy to appoint another man for governor on the ground that such an appointment would have a better influence in removing the political prejudice which existed against Gov. Young at Washington, DC, and in the United States, he being the head of the Mormon Church." "Journal History," 30 December 1854. *Mormon*, 2 June 1855, 2. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:113. *Deseret News* 7:204.

2. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 14, 106–7. *Constitution of the United States of America* . . . Also, "An

Act to Establish a Territorial Government for Utah” (Salt Lake City, 1852), 36. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:77. *Mormon*, 21 April 1855, 3.

3. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 106–7. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:535. “The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office.” Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, 2 January 1855, USIC.

944 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 109, 115–17. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:536–37. “The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office.”

945–46 1. “Diary of David Candland, 1819–1902,” 16–17, typescript, UPB. *Deseret News*, 4 January (p. 3), 11 January 1855 (pp. 2–3).

2. *Deseret News*, 11 January 1855, 2–3. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:538–39. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:301.

3. *Deseret News*, 11 January 1855, 3.

947 1. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 325, UPB. “Autobiography of Edward Bunker,” typescript, UPB. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:31–33. *Millennial Star* 14:355; 15:58, 272; 16:763; 17:776; 18:140, 300. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 81–90.

2. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. “Utah Immigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 13:208; 14:112, 544; 15:256, 688; 16:48, 479, 672. H. Kirk Memmott, ed., *Thomas Memmott Journal* (Provo, Utah, 1976), 1:1–2, 28. *Deseret Evening News*, 19 September 1898, 2. Ancestral File.

948–51 1. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 4, USIC.

952 1. *Zion’s Watchman* 1:8, 262–63. *A Memory Bank for Paragonah* (Provo, Utah, 1990), 424–25, 445. Marjorie Newton, *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii, 1991), 99, 122, 241. “Journal History,” 12 December 1857 (p. 2); 1 June 1862 (p. 2). Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 27 June 1857. “A Journal of the Company of Saints on the Ship, ‘Lucas,’” microfilm 928396, UPB. “European Emigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. Temple Index Bureau, UPB. Parowan City Cemetery Records, City Office, Parowan, Utah. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 1134. Ancestral File.

2. First published in London in 1843, Marryat’s novel went through a number of editions with slightly different titles, e.g., *The Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet* and *The Travels and Romantic Adventures of Monsieur Violet*.

Mackay’s *The Mormons: or Latter-day Saints*, first published in London in 1851, also went through a number of printings. *Methodism Priestcraft Exposed* quotes the 320-page 1852 London “third edition.”

3. The one in private hands is not the Salt Lake Public Library copy—made clear by a photocopy of the latter in the author’s possession.

953 1. 1851 English census, Shincliffe, Durham, 13. “European Emigration Card Index.” “Journal History,” 22 April 1855, 4. 1860 Illinois census, Madison County, 190. 1870 Illinois census, Madison County, 562. 1880 Illinois census, Madison County, 23. *History of Madison County Illinois* (Edwardsville, Ill., 1882), 400, 514. *Alton Evening Telegraph*,

25 August (p. 5), 28 August 1894 (p. 2); 6 June 1899 (p. 3); 17 June 1922 (p. 1). Godfrey Cemetery, Godfrey, Illinois, lot 124.

954 1. Endowment House Record, Book D, 261, microfilm 183404, UPB. *Millennial Star* 18:444; 20:59; 21:62, 257; 22:411; 23:523–24, 763; 24:796; 25:266, 395–96; 26:122–24. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 10 May 1862, USIC. *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 4 August 1874, 2. *Deseret News* 23:429. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1904), 4:622–24. J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City, 1938), 307–10.

2. For a biographical sketch of William Sharman Crawford (1781–1861), see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Crawford, William Sharman.”

3. See, e.g., *Millennial Star* 15:816; 16:351–52; 18:96; 19:416, 496; 20:720. Sloan, *The Bard’s Offering*, 38–39.

955 1. A photocopy of the Salt Lake Public Library copy in the author’s possession shows that it is not the one in private hands.

956 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 71–72, 120. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:539, 541. “The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office.”

957 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 120–21. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:541. “The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office.”

958 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, for the Fourth Annual Session*, 122–23, 126–27. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:544. “The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office.”

959 1. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. International Genealogical Index. “European Emigration Card Index.” *Deseret News* 10:301.

961 1. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 138, 142–43.

2. *Deseret News*, 18 January 1855, 3.

3. *Deseret News* 5:144, 184, 216, 256, 280, 352.

4. *Deseret News* 5:352, 408.

963 1. *Millennial Star* 16:763. “Missionary Journal of John Solomon Fullmer,” 94–97, typescript, UPB. Southport is on the coast, about twelve miles north of Liverpool.

964 1. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:549.

2. *Deseret News*, 16 February (p. 3), 3 August (p. 3), 14 September 1854 (p. 3). *Journal of Discourses* 8:39. Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London, 1861), 435–36. I am grateful to W. Randall Dixon for the use of his file on the Union Hotel.

965–66 1. *Deseret News*, 15 February 1855, 1.

2. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 8. *Deseret News* 7:377–78; 28:585. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:511, 725.

967–68 1. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 31 October 1854, microfilm, USIC.

In this report, Haven noted that the branches at Mowbray and Newlands comprised thirty-one members, with twenty-one children who had been blessed “under the hands of the Elders”; the branch at Fort Beaufort, where William Walker was laboring, had twelve members; and Leonard I. Smith had baptized sixteen at Port Elizabeth.

2. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 14 January 1856.

3. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 27 December, 11 January, 12 January, 30 January 1855; 14 January 1856.

4. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 16–25 February 1855.

5. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 30 January, 8 February 1855; 14 January 1856.

969 1. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions, of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 154. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 217. Ralph Hansen, “Administrative History of the Nauvoo Legion in Utah” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954), 17, 102–3.

2. *Deseret News*, 22 February 1855, 3.

3. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 2 March (p. 1), 5 March 1868 (p. 3). Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:370–72. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 831. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1948), 9:480.

4. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret News* 20:312. *City Charter and Ordinances, Resolutions and Reports, of the City Council of Great Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 3–5. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:720. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1194. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 8:407.

5. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 1 December 1886, 2. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:682–83. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 8:442. R. Lanier Britsch, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Laie, Hawaii, 1998), 63–64, 67, 74, 77–78, 81–84, 201, 219.

6. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 7 July (p. 2), 3 August 1892 (p. 4). Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 27 January 1878. Charles S. Peterson, “‘A Mighty Man Was Brother Lot’: A Portrait of Lot Smith—Mormon Frontiersman,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 1 (1970): 393–414. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:803–6. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1168–69. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion* (Logan, Utah, 1996), 15, 28, 265–66, 328.

7. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 15 June (p. 2), 15 August 1896 (p. 5). Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:764–66. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 913. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 23, 82, 137. Sidney Alvarus Hanks and Ephraim K. Hanks, *Scouting for the Mormons on the Great Frontier* (Salt Lake City, 1948).

8. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret News* 7:40. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:750. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 22.

970 1. *Millennial Star* 17:73–74.

972 1. *Deseret News*, 15 February 1855, 2.

2. *City Charter and Ordinances*, 3–4. Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), 77. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:615.

3. "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 5:128, 166; 6:7, 108–9. "Utah Immigration Card Index." Jenson, *Church Chronology*, xvi–xvii. *Deseret News* 33:457. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:236–37.

4. "Early Church Information File." "Utah Immigration Card Index." *Deseret Evening News*, 21 June 1894, 2. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 909. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:536.

5. "Early Church Information File." 1850 Pennsylvania census, Philadelphia County, 192. 1860 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 156. 1880 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 4. *Deseret Evening News*, 1 November 1894, 5. "Journal History," 8 December 1856. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:609. J. Kenneth Davies, *Deseret's Sons of Toil* (Salt Lake City, 1977), 35, 41–42, 229. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records.

6. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 201. "Early Church Information File." "Journal History," 23 September 1844; 20 April, 27 April 1848; 21 April 1850 (p. 3); 14 April 1852; 5 October 1853 (p. 2); 27 June 1855 (p. 2); 17 January 1858; 3 December 1859; 5 February, 4 March 1860 (p. 3).

973 1. *Deseret News*, 1 February 1855, 3. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:305.

2. *Deseret News*, 12 October 1854 (p. 2), 11 April 1855 (p. 36), 8 August 1855 (p. 173). "Journal History," 26 September 1855.

3. "Early Church Information File." Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 11:443. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 7 October 1856, 18 September 1885. *Deseret Evening News*, 23 December 1891, 4. James B. Allen, "'Good Guys' vs. 'Good Guys': Rudger Clawson, John Sharp, and Civil Disobedience in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (1980): 148–74. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:677–78.

4. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 110. "Early Church Information File." Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 8:407. *Deseret News* 5:173. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:720.

5. "Early Church Information File." Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12:438. *Deseret Evening News*, 29 December 1894 (p. 1), 8 January 1895 (p. 6). Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:647–48.

6. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 24. "Early Church Information File." *History of the Church* 1:332; 2:183, 204, 327; 4:52; 7:326. 1850 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 134. *Deseret Evening News*, 6 April (p. 5), 7 April 1893 (p. 1). Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:687–88.

974–76 1. *Deseret News*, 18 January (p. 3), 25 January 1855 (p. 3). *Report of the First General Festival of the Renowned Mormon Battalion* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 3.

2. *Report of the First General Festival*, 20, 38.

3. *Report of the First General Festival*, 4, 14, 38.

4. Thomas S. Williams was born in Tennessee on January 2, 1826, married in 1842, and marched with the Mormon Battalion as second sergeant of Company D, accompanied by his wife, two children, and his wife's sister. Settling in Salt Lake City, he established himself as a prominent merchant and attorney but during the mid-1850s seems to have aligned himself with the city's "Gentiles," and on November 16, 1856, he was cut off from the Church. On March 18, 1860, during a trip to California, he was killed by Indians in the Mojave Desert. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Record," 229. "Early Church Information File." *Wasp*, 10 September 1842, 3. *Deseret News* 10:60. "Journal History," 16 November 1856, 21 April 1860. 1850 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 53. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 25, 32, 49–50, 239, 252, 258, 344, 346. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:370,

408–9, 431–33, 435, 468, 533, 561, 584, 591–92, 595–604, 622, 625, 661–66, 688–95, 700–3. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, 379–81.

5. *Report of the First General Festival*, 3, 19, 21.

6. *Report of the First General Festival*, 5, 8.

7. Long came to the Salt Lake Valley in 1854 and by the first of the year had established himself as a reporter, an occupation he would pursue for almost ten years (see items 582, 838, 1048). *Deseret News*, 25 January (p. 3), 9 May 1855 (p. 71).

8. *Deseret News* 5:24. Deseret News Bindery Ledger, UHi.

9. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:174.

10. *Report of the First General Festival*, 23.

977 1. *Deseret News*, 6 July 1854, 2. “Journal History,” 17 October (pp. 2–6), 5 November, 12 November, 11 December 1854. Daniel H. Thomas, comp., “Preston Thomas: His Life and Travels,” 320, 323–24, photocopy of typescript, UPB. *Millennial Star* 16:811–12.

2. *Wilson’s Business Directory of New York City* (New York, 1855), 282–85, 339–40.

3. John Taylor to Brigham Young, 11 April 1855, USIC.

4. John Taylor to Brigham Young, 16 September 1855; Taylor to Young, 20 October 1855; Taylor to Young, 24 February 1857; USIC. Samuel W. Richards to Brigham Young, 19 September 1857, USIC. *Mormon*, 1 December 1855 (p. 2); 30 August 1856 (p. 2); 24 January (p. 2), 30 May 1857 (p. 2). *Millennial Star* 19:668–71.

5. Taylor to Young, 11 April 1855. John Taylor to Brigham Young, 18 May 1855, USIC. *Mormon*, 14 July 1855 (p. 2), 18 April 1857 (p. 2). *Millennial Star* 18:639; 19:606, 621; 20:604.

George John Taylor, the oldest child of John and Leonora Taylor, was born in Canada on January 31, 1834, and came to Utah with his parents in 1847. In the years following his stay in New York, he served as a missionary in England, member of the Salt Lake Stake high council, teacher and regent for the University of Deseret, clerk of the territorial legislature, and county coroner. He was the chief editor of the humor magazine *The Keepapitchinin* (1867–71), which responded to the Godbeite schism. He died in Salt Lake City on December 15, 1914. “Early Church Information File.” Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 8:424. *Deseret Evening News*, 15 December (p. 7), 16 December 1914 (p. 5). Ronald W. Walker, “The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* or the Mormon Pioneer was Human,” *BYU Studies* 14 (1974): 331–44. B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor* (Salt Lake City, 1965), 243, 465–66, 475.

Dulin’s ad “C. C. Dulin, Book Binder, &c., Mormon Office, No. 102 Nassau street, New York” runs in most issues of the second volume of the *Mormon*. In April 1857 he was ordained a high priest and called to be a counselor to Alexander Ott in the presidency of the New York Conference, and he appears to have come to Utah in the same company as Ott. Beyond this, nothing is known about him. *Mormon*, 8 November (p. 2), 22 November 1856 (p. 2); 11 April (p. 2), 18 April (p. 2), 30 May 1857 (p. 2). *Deseret News* 9:197. *Millennial Star* 20:604.

6. Alexander Ott was born in Prussia on November 23, 1824, came in contact with George Parker Dykes in Hamburg and joined the Church there about 1852, labored as a missionary in the Channel Islands in 1853, and came to Utah the following year. Less than a year after he arrived in the Valley he left for New York, returning to Utah four years later. During the next nine years he taught German and wrote articles for the *Deseret News* and lectured on a wide variety of subjects. He died in Salt Lake City on October 15, 1868. “Early Church Information File.” *Millennial Star* 15:272, 569; 24:235. *Deseret News* 5:224; 9:197, 344, 349–50; 11:26; 12:212; 17:301. *Mormon*, 26 January 1856, 3. *Circular*:

To Presidents and Bishops of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Throughout the Territory of Utah (Salt Lake City, 29 April 1856).

7. John Taylor to Brigham Young, 18 April 1857, USIC. *Mormon*, 9 February (p. 2), 12 April (p. 2), 28 June (p. 2), 30 August 1856 (p. 2); 11 April (p. 2), 30 May 1857 (p. 2). *Millennial Star* 18:618, 639. *Western Standard*, 29 May 1857, 3. Brigham Young to John Taylor, 25 March 1857, USIC. Brigham Young to W. I. Appleby, 1 April 1857, USIC. Brigham Young to George Taylor & Others, 30 May 1857; Young to Taylor & Others, 29 June 1857; USIC.

For biographical sketches of Nathaniel H. Felt, Alexander Robbins, T. B. H. Stenhouse, and William I. Appleby see items 671, 750, 418, and 176, respectively.

8. *Constitution of the State of Deseret* (New York: S. Booth, Printer, 109 Nassau Street, 1856?). *Wilson's Business Directory of New York City*, 339. *Trow's New York City Directory* (New York, 1855), 90.

The supposition that Booth printed the *Mormon* is supported by Andrew Jenson's statement that Charles R. Savage worked nearly two years for Booth after Savage arrived in New York in February 1856. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:709.

978 1. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 16. "Early Church Information File." Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 9:486. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1975), 18:128, 131–32. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 45. *Deseret News—Extra*, 14 September 1852, 10. "Missionary Journal of John Solomon Fullmer," 19–22, 104–5, typescript, UPB. *Millennial Star* 15:96, 106; 16:763; 17:171–72. J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore, Md., 1981), 125. *Deseret News* 32:617. Clara Fullmer Bullock, *The John Solomon Fullmer Story* (n.p., 1968).

2. *History of the Church* 6:568, 573–74, 595, 600–7, 612.

3. Fullmer, *Assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith*, 3. Dean C. Jessee, "Return to Carthage: Writing the History of Joseph Smith's Martyrdom," *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 6–7. European Mission Financial Records, 9:387, 396. *Millennial Star* 17:123–24.

979 1. *Millennial Star* 17:128. European Mission Financial Records, 9:387, 649. *Catalogue of Works Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and for Sale by F. D. Richards* (Liverpool, June 1855), 2.

980 1. "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 15:272, 377; 16:26; 17:43, 282, 379–83, 590; 18:283. *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay: India–Scotland*, comp. Ross and Linnie Findlay (Ephraim, Utah, 1973), part 1: 189–90. Chauncey W. West, "The India Mission," *Deseret News* 5:206. R. Lanier Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic: The Compelling Story of the First Latter-day Saint Missionaries in India* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 107, 198–99, 206–11.

Allen Findlay reports that in Jalna he "procured a house, and got it furnished with benches and chairs, &c.; filled up invitations, then circulated them, talked to a good number of people and gave them tracts." This undoubtedly refers to Cyrus H. Wheelock and Alexander F. McDonald's *Invitation* (item 719)—which had a space for the meeting times and locations to be written in by hand—a number of which Allen brought with him to India. *Millennial Star* 17:382. *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay*, part 1: 189.

2. *Millennial Star* 18:283, 330. *Deseret Evening News*, 5 March 1891, 8. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 289–90. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 241, 283.

- 981** 1. See, e.g., *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay*, part 1: 198; part 2: 33, 37, 56.
2. Nathaniel V. Jones to the Editor, 2 April 1854, *Deseret News*, 10 August 1854, 2. *Millennial Star* 17:281–82. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 203–5.
3. *Missionary Journals of Hugh Findlay*, part 1: 198. *Millennial Star* 16:223.

982 1. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. Family Group Records of Henry Clegg, microfilm 428163, UPB. “European Emigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. Utah Immigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 17:280, 347, 374–75. 1870 Utah census, Utah County, Springville, 14. *Deseret Evening News*, 4 September 1884, 8. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:659. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 811. Fred E. Woods and Melvin L. Bashore, “On the Outskirts of Atchison: The Imprint of Latter-day Saint Transmigration at Mormon Grove,” *Kansas History* 25 (Spring 2002): 47.

2. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” “European Emigration Card Index.” “Utah Immigration Card Index.” *Millennial Star* 9:371; 17:415.

3. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” The Salt Lake City Cemetery has a record of a John Matthews buried there, his birth date given as *September 7, 1810*, his death in 1884.

4. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).”

5. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” *Millennial Star* 29:395–97. *Deseret News* 18:81. Death Certificate of Samuel H. Carlisle, State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

983 1. Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich* (Provo, Utah, 1974), 159–83, 196–201. Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community* (Salt Lake City, 1996), 40–41, 46, 54–59, 68–69, 164–71. *An Illustrated History of Southern California* (Chicago, 1890), 416–20. Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich, *Circular* (Los Angeles, 1855).

2. “Journal History,” 8 March 1855. Brigham Young to Amasa Lyman, 27 March 1855, USIC.

3. *Deseret News* 5:53, 61, 85, 93. Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, 30 April 1855, USIC. Brigham Young to Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich, 1 June 1855, USIC. Lyman, *San Bernardino*, 168–69. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 148–50.

984 1. European Mission Financial Records, 9:417. *Millennial Star* 17:233. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 31 March 1855. Frederick Piercy and James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool, 1855), 120.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 9:376, 385, 426, 458.

3. *Millennial Star* 17:171, 267, 280, 296. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 27 February, 17 April, 22 April, 26 April 1855. Piercy and Linforth, *Route from Liverpool*, 120.

985 1. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:302–6. “Diary of Samuel W. Richards, 1839–1874,” 2:196–97, typescript, UPB. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:550–51. *Deseret News*, 1 March (pp. 1–3), 14 March 1855 (p. 5). *Deseret News Bindery Ledger*, UHi.

2. *History of the Church* 5:458–60, 465–73. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 16–25 September 1854; 20–22 February 1855; USIC.

3. See, e.g., John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, 16 October 1854; Bernhisel to Young, 18 November 1854; Bernhisel to Young, 14 December 1854; Bernhisel to Young, 18 December 1854; Bernhisel to Young, 1 January 1855; Bernhisel to Young, 18 January 1855; USIC.

4. The idea that the US Constitution would “hang by a thread” and be saved by the Mormon elders seems to have originated with Joseph Smith. See, e.g., *Journal of Discourses* 6:152; 7:15; and Eliza R. Snow, “Latter-day Saint Ladies of Utah,” *Deseret News* 20:287.

5. *Mormon*, 5 May (p. 1), 12 May 1855 (p. 1). *St. Louis Luminary* 1:105, 109. *Deseret News* 6:305. *Millennial Star* 21:329–33. *History of the Church* 5:465–73. *Journal of Discourses* 2:163–91.

987 1. *Deseret News*, 27 April 1854, 1. *Millennial Star* 17:310–12. *History of the Church* 3:385–92.

2. *Deseret News*, 27 April 1854, 1. *Millennial Star* 17:295. *History of the Church* 3:385.

3. Another version of the ideas in D&C 129:4–8 is in *Priesthood*, the second section of *Revelations*.

4. *Priesthood* also includes that statement that “the spirit of man is not a created being, it existed from eternity and will exist to eternity.”

5. This was undoubtedly part of Joseph Smith’s discourse on Sunday, May 16, 1841. The comments about murderers are somewhat differently reported in the summary of the discourse in the “History of Joseph Smith.” *Deseret News* 5:17–18. *Millennial Star* 18:533–34. *History of the Church* 4:358–60.

6. The fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are printed in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, 1938), 180–81. Parts 3 through 8 are printed in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah, 1980), 44, 59–60, 74, 87–88, and in George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, 1995), 514–17.

7. “L. John Nuttall His Book, 1880,” 1–26, UPB. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 87, 513–24. Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 44, 59–60, 74, 87–88.

8. “Willard Richards Pocket Companion, written in England,” 13–15, 31–37, 63–73, USIC.

988 1. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 4:176. “Journal of John Van Cott,” 1:185, UPB. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 4, USIC. Pratt, *En Advarsels Røst* (Copenhagen, 1856), iv.

989 1. *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (New York, 1874), 433. *Deseret News*, 8 January 1853, 2. *Millennial Star* 15:500–3; 16:472–74; 17:208.

The Brigham Young University Lee Library has a manuscript draft in Parley Pratt’s hand of part of chapter xvii.

2. Franklin D. Richards to Parley P. Pratt, 25 May 1855; Richards to Pratt, 6 October 1855; USIC.

3. “Mr. Parley P. Pratt In Account with Mr. Franklin D. Richards,” 29 August 1855, photocopy, UPB. European Mission Financial Records, 9:672–73, USIC.

Richards applied for the copyright on April 26, 1855. British Copyright Certificate, 2 May 1855, photocopy, UPB.

4. Richards to Pratt, 25 May 1855. Sadler corrected the stereotype plates. European Mission Financial Records, 10:535.

5. European Mission Financial Records, 14:75.

990 1. *Millennial Star* 17:572. This quotation is at the end of the fourth paragraph on the sixth page.

2. *Millennial Star* 17:572. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 10 March, 31 March 1855; 14 January 1856, microfilm, USIC.

3. *Millennial Star* 18:318.

991 1. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 89–95. J. Marinus Jensen, *History of Provo, Utah* (Provo, Utah, 1924), 76–77. John Clifton Moffitt, *The Story of Provo, Utah* (Provo, Utah, 1975), 265–66.

2. Moffitt, *The Story of Provo, Utah*, 276.

992 1. William Willes, “The Life of William Willes,” 43, microfilm, USIC.

2. *Millennial Star* 17:172, 189, 280. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 22 April 1855. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:110, 114.

3. *Millennial Star* 17:399–400. The version in *The Mountain Warbler* omits the sixth verse.

993–96 1. Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God* (Salt Lake City, 1976), 63–78.

2. *Millennial Star* 16:427–28. “The Equality and Oneness of the Saints,” *Seer* 2:289–300. *Journal of Discourses* 2:96–104, 259–66, 298–308.

3. *Journal of Discourses* 5:65. Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, 61, 71–77.

4. *Millennial Star* 17:503. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions*, 268–69.

5. Brigham Young University has seventeen forms, the University of Utah has one, and the rest are at the LDS Church History Library.

998 1. *Journal of Discourses* 2:49–74. *Deseret News*, 2 November 1854, 3. *Millennial Star* 16:421–22; 17:502.

999 1. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 61–62.

2. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 120–21, 123–24, 131. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions*, 289–97.

3. “The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office,” 11 March 1856, UPB. Deseret News Bindery Ledger, UHi.

The general appropriation bill of January 19, 1855, gave Evan M. Greene \$120 for “forty days extra service for examining proofs and revise in the new compilation of laws.” The appropriation bill of January 17, 1856, awarded a “balance due” of \$103.88 to Greene; \$24 to Thomas Bullock and \$15 to Robert L. Campbell for work on the compiled laws;

and \$36 each to Leo Hawkins and Thomas Bullock for “preparing the laws and journals for publication.” *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions*, 299. *Resolutions, Acts and Memorials Passed at the Fifth Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1856), 43–44.

Evan M. Greene, eldest son of John P. Greene, was born in New York on December 22, 1814, joined the Church in 1832, and was the postmaster, recorder, and treasurer of Pottawattamie County while the Mormons paused at Kaneshville. Coming to Utah in 1852, he settled in Provo and served there as mayor, postmaster, and member of the territorial legislature. In 1858 he moved to Grantsville, Tooele County, where again he was the probate judge and territorial legislator. Subsequent to 1863 he lived in Bear Lake, Smithfield, Springdale, and Escalante, and in 1873 he was ordained a patriarch. He died in Piute County on May 2, 1882, while traveling from Salt Lake City to Escalante. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 44, UPB. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. *History of the Church* 2:40–41, 206. *Deseret Evening News*, 16 May 1882, 3. Gordon Kay Greene, “Daniel Kent Greene: His Life & Times 1858–1921,” mimeographed, 3–17, 28–31, 36, UPB. Edith Parker Haddock and Dorothy Hardy Matthews, comp., *History of Bear Lake Pioneers* (Paris, Idaho, 1968), 218–20. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 899.

Leo Hawkins, born in London on July 19, 1834, converted to Mormonism in 1848, sailed to America the following year, and came to Utah in 1852. He was assistant clerk of the territorial House of Representatives for the fourth session, assistant secretary of the Council for the fifth session, and secretary of the Council for the sixth, seventh, and eighth sessions. He served as the Salt Lake County recorder and as a clerk in the Historian’s Office. On May 29, 1859, at age twenty-four, he died in Salt Lake City of “consumption.” George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff spoke at his funeral, and Woodruff notes in his journal that “one of the Largest processions ever” accompanied his remains to the cemetery. “Early Church Information File.” “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. “Journal History,” 31 December 1852 (p. 61B); 20 September 1853. *Millennial Star* 21:496–97. *Deseret News*, 14 December 1854 (p. 2). *Deseret News* 5:325; 6:333; 7:332. Daily Minutes of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of Utah Territory, 13 December 1858, UPB. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 5:341. Dean C. Jessee, “The Writing of Joseph Smith’s History,” *BYU Studies* 11 (1971): 460.

1000 1. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions*, 297.

2. “The United States for the Territory of Utah to the Deseret News Office.” Deseret News Bindery Ledger.

3. *Resolutions, Acts and Memorials Passed at the Fifth Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1856), 43–44.

1005 1. *Millennial Star* 15:493, 763, 781; 16:383, 474, 572, 707–9; 18:11, 154–57. *Scraps of Biography* (Salt Lake City, 1883), 38–41.

2. *Millennial Star* 18:154.

3. *Millennial Star* 18:157. John Chislett to W. G. Mills, 2 November 1855, *Deseret News* 6:84. “Journal of John L. Smith,” 1:103, 119, 175, UPB.

Tyler and Smith apparently hired Grossman to do the translating. Smith also took German lessons from him. In September 1862, Smith inaugurated a new periodical in Geneva, *Die Reform*, initially printed in 500 copies. “Journal of John L. Smith,” 1:129, 140, 154, 169–72, 175, 178–79, 201, 223, 277; 4:249.

4. "Journal of John L. Smith," 1:81, 119, 129, 134, 138, 140, 149, 159, 169, 174, 180, 192, 200, 222, 231, 241, 254, 262; 2:10, 19, 64, 67, 130, 133, 139. *Millennial Star* 18:11, 157.

For a biographical sketch of Jabez Woodard, see items 700–2.

5. "Journal of John L. Smith," 4:23, 27. *Millennial Star* 23:141; 24:558. "Manuscript History of the Swiss, Italian & German Missions," vol. 4, 11 June 1861, USIC.

6. "Journal of John L. Smith," 1:81, 134, 137, 140, 149, 154, 158, 165, 174, 176, 277; 2:3, 20; 4:40. "Journal of Samuel Francis," 150–52, 188, 190, 193, 199–200, 205, 220, 223–24, 227–28, 230, 235, 240, 253–54, typescript, UPB. *Millennial Star* 19:218–20; 20:362–65.

John Chislett was born in Trowbridge, Wiltshire, on November 23, 1831, and was baptized into the Church by Samuel Francis on March 17, 1849. He assumed the presidency of the Kent Conference in January 1854 and five months later was called to the Swiss and Italian missions. On May 4, 1856, he sailed for America on the *Thornton* and that year crossed the plains with the Willie handcart company. Settling in Salt Lake City, he established himself as a merchant and by the mid-1860s had drawn away from the Church; in the 1870s he was a contributor to the *Salt Lake Tribune*. He was living in St. Paul, Minnesota, at the time of the 1880 census and in Chicago when the 1900 and 1910 censuses were taken. "Early Church Information File." "Journal of John L. Smith," 1:126. *Millennial Star* 15:842; 16:383; 18:330. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 54, 93–107, 127–31, 289. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), 312–32, 417. Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana, Ill., 1998), 62, 237. 1860 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 21. 1870 Utah census, Summit County, 110. 1880 Minnesota census, Ramsey County, 360. 1900 Illinois census, Cook County, 7683, 1910 Illinois census, Cook County, 7701.

Samuel Francis was Chislett's Church associate and close friend. Born on July 3, 1830, also in Trowbridge, he converted to Mormonism in 1847 and became an active local missionary the following year. In August 1854, Franklin D. Richards sent him to the continent, and for the next three and a half years he labored in northern Italy and Switzerland. Returning to England, he presided over the Durham Conference, sailed for America in May 1861, and came that year to Utah. Two years later he moved to Morgan County, where he served as a counselor in the Morgan Stake presidency, patriarch, justice of the peace, county clerk and recorder, county commissioner, county attorney, probate judge, and territorial legislator. He died in Morgan on May 26, 1906. "Journal of Samuel Francis," 1, 8, 110, 253–54. *Millennial Star* 20:362–65; 21:63; 23:26, 328–29. *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 2:72–74. *Improvement Era* 9:828. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:81–83.

7. "Journal of John L. Smith," 1:166, 235.

8. "Journal of John L. Smith," 1:126. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 235, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. *Deseret Evening News*, 12 November 1906, 3. *Scraps of Biography*, 21, 27. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:389, 766. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion* (Logan, Utah, 1996), 24, 68. Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (n.p., 1881).

9. "Journal of John L. Smith," 1:1, 65, 67, 126; 2:217; 3:91. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 93. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret Evening News*, 2 March 1898, 6. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:388. *Deseret Weekly* 49:2–3.

1006 1. *Millennial Star* 17:366.

2. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 72. *History of the Church* 6:336. *Millennial Star* 16:379, 461, 763; 17:77; 18:347, 353–55, 413–15. *Deseret Evening News*, 17 January 1894, 5. German E. Ellsworth and Mary Smith Ellsworth, comp., John Orval Ellsworth, ed., *Our Ellsworth Ancestors* (Salt Lake City, 1956), 88–118. Maybelle Harmon Anderson, ed., *The Journals of Appleton Milo Harmon* (Glendale, Calif., 1946), 33–35. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:700–1. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, June 1885. Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 53–79.

1007 1. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 4, USIC.

1008 1. "Daily Journal of Jesse Haven," 11 March, 10 April, 2–3 May, 16 May, 30 May, 4 June 1855, microfilm, USIC.

2. *Missionary Journals of William Holmes Walker*, transcribed by Ellen Dee Walker Leavitt (Provo, Utah, 2003), 55–57, 96, 120.

3. *Deseret News*, 24 January 1852, 1.

1010 1. "Early Church Information File." The Dockstader Genealogy, "Utah Pioneer Biographies," 37:71, microfilm 982304, UPB. *Deseret News*, 16 October 1852 (p. 2); 30 April 1853 (p. 3); 13 April (p. 2), 30 November 1854 (p. 3); 11 April (p. 4), 20 June (p. 119), 8 August 1855 (p. 175); 9 April (p. 40), 15 October 1856 (p. 256). 1880 Utah census, Piute County, 7. Kate B. Carter, *Treasures of Pioneer History* (Salt Lake City, 1955), 4:167–74. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 317, 333. Ancestral File.

1011 1. *Deseret News* 5:146–47. The preceding four Fourth of July celebrations are reported in the *News* of 12 July 1851 (pp. 291–92), 10 July 1852 (p. 1), 9 July 1853 (p. 2), and 13 July 1854 (pp. 1–2).

2. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:558.

3. "Diary of Samuel W. Richards 1839–1874," 2:255–56, typescript, UPB.

1012 1. 1850 Virginia census, Washington County, 210. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1887), 8:436, 452. "Journal History," 26 October 1852. *Millennial Star* 15:106. *Deseret News* 5:132–33. *Journal of Discourses* 2:372. Brigham Young et al., "To the Hon. Franklin Pierce President of the United States," 30 September 1853, UPB.

2. "Historian's Office Journal," 1 July 1855, USIC.

3. W. W. Drummond to Jeremiah S. Black, 30 March 1857, *The Utah Expedition: Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting Reports . . . Relative to the Military Expedition Ordered into the Territory of Utah*, 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, H. Ex. Doc. 71, 212–14. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), 279–80. See, e.g., Nelson Winch Green, *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons: Being the Narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith* (New York, 1858), 247–48; C. V. Waite, *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1866), 24; and J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1870), 169–70.

1013 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 125.

2. *Deseret News*, 8 February (p. 3), 22 February 1855 (pp. 3–4). *Deseret News* 5:48, 128, 135–36. *Deseret News Bindery Ledger*, 20 June 1855, UHi.

3. *Deseret News* 7:72.

4. See, e.g., the entry for Gilbert Morse on p. 3 of the 1850 *List of Recorded Brands*, which is dated February 11 in the 1850 sheets, January 19 in Clayton's manuscript record, and January 19 in *Book of One Thousand Marks and Brands*.

1014 1. Journal of Amasa Lyman, vol. 13, 23–25 June, 27–28 June 1857, USIC. "Memoirs of William Decator Kartchner," 31–33, typescript, UPB. Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich* (Provo, Utah, 1974), 199–200. Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community* (Salt Lake City, 1996), 164–66.

2. *Southern Californian*, 4 July 1855, 2. The *Southern Californian* was "published every Wednesday morning in the City of Los Angeles, Calle Principal," by William Butts and John O. Wheeler. One of the copies of the circular at the LDS Church is dated July 1, 1855, in manuscript at the bottom.

3. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich*, 202. Lyman, *San Bernardino*, 174, 402–3.

1015 1. *Millennial Star* 16:223. "Diary and Letters of Truman Leonard, 1853–1855," 1, 6, 8, 21–23, 124–25, 131, typescript, UPB. R. Lanier Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic: The Compelling Story of the First Latter-day Saint Missionaries in India* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 200, 214–43.

2. "Diary and Letters of Truman Leonard," 11–12, 15, 18–19, 21, 34, 100, 133, 135–36; letters section, 45. *Millennial Star* 17:588–90; 18:45–46.

3. "Diary and Letters of Truman Leonard," 174–75, 180, 182, 184–87, 201; letters section, 52.

4. This title page, followed by Leonard's manuscript of the tract, is in a volume of pamphlets—now in the possession of a descendant—that Leonard appears to have had bound for himself in Bombay in November 1855.

5. "Diary and Letters of Truman Leonard," 273, 287–88, 291–92.

6. "Diary and Letters of Truman Leonard," 203–5, 219, 280. "Hindustan," *Deseret News* 5:158.

7. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 69. "Early Church Information File." Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:428. *Millennial Star* 18:217, 489. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 25 November 1855, 20 November 1897. Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 214–17, 284. *Deseret Weekly* 55:782. Glen M. Leonard, "Truman Leonard: Pioneer Mormon Farmer," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 240–60. Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic*, 286.

1016 1. *Millennial Star* 17:464. European Mission Financial Records, 9:568ff.

1017 1. *Mormon*, 13 October 1855, 2. *Millennial Star* 17:509–11.

1018 1. *Millennial Star* 15:493; 16:58, 74, 764; 17:776–78; 18:170, 760; 19:233–34. *Deseret Weekly* 52:780. Bishop David Evans and His Family (Provo, Utah, 1972), 82–94. Hamilton Gardner, *History of Lehi* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 372–73. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:743. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 15, 23, 137, 197, 203, 222. Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 153–57.

2. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)," microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 15:256; 16:57–58, 705–9; 17:333, 528; 18:206. *Deseret News* 10:368; 12:88, 182. *Deseret Evening News*, 4 February 1909, 2, 4. Death Certificate of Charles R. Savage, State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:708–11; 4:727.

Bradley W. Richards, *The Savage View: Charles Savage, Pioneer Mormon Photographer* (Nevada City, Calif., 1995).

3. "Diary of Israel Evans, 1855–1856," 52, microfilm, USIC. A photocopy of the Savage scrapbook is at UPB. Item 1018 is reproduced in Richards, *The Savage View*, 10.

1019 1. *Deseret News*, 8 March 1855, 3.
2. Deseret News Bindery Ledger, UHi.

1020 1. European Mission Financial Records 9:648.

1021 1. "Early Church Information File." R. W. Wolcott to the Editor, 2 July 1855, *Mormon*, 4 August 1855, 3. *Millennial Star* 16:474, 764; 17:776, 778; 18:188. *Deseret News*, 5 January 1854, 4. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB.
2. *Millennial Star* 17:621–22.

1022 1. Wolcott, *A Collection of Testimonies*, 2.
2. *Truth Promoter* 4:5–7, 13–15. John Bowes, *Mormonism Exposed* (London, 1855?), 82–83. Bowes reprinted the letter in the *Truth Promoter* from the *Leicester Mercury* of December 30, 1854.

Henry Palmer was born in Leicester in 1813, baptized there on October 27, 1851, sailed with his wife Mary on the *Ellen Maria* on January 17, 1853, and came to Utah that summer in Claudius V. Spencer's company. Some of the stories in his letter appear to have been adapted from other sources, e.g., his account of a Mormon who courted a girl on the *Ellen Maria*, "married her in Salt Lake and took her home to his first wife who had reared a family by him: in consequence of this, the first wife died broken hearted." "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "European Emigration Card Index." "Utah Immigration Card Index."

3. Hannah Tapfield King was an intellectual leader among the Mormon women. Born in Cambridge, England, March 16, 1808, she was baptized into the Church in 1850 along with her children and in 1853 came to Utah with her family—including her husband who had not converted to Mormonism. A writer and poet, she published several pieces including *Songs of the Heart* (1879) and *An Epic Poem: A Synopsis of the Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1884). She died in Salt Lake City on September 25, 1886. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret News* 35:589. Augusta Joyce Crocheron, *Representative Women of Deseret* (Salt Lake City, 1884), 91–96. Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York, 1877), 456–57. Rose Thomas Graham, "Utah Pioneer Women Poets," *Relief Society Magazine* 34 (1947): 389–90.

4. Emily Hill Woodmansee, another of Mormondom's prominent poets, was born in Wiltshire on March 24, 1836, joined the Church in 1852, and came to Utah in 1856 with the Willie handcart company. The following year she became the plural wife of William G. Mills, separated from him in 1863 when he apostatized, and married Joseph Woodmansee in 1864, with whom she had eight children. She died in Salt Lake City on October 19, 1906. Seven of her poems appeared in the *Millennial Star* before she left England, and her song "As Sisters in Zion" is still in the LDS hymnal. Her piece in Wolcott's pamphlet, however, does not seem to be in any other source. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret Evening News*, 20 October 1906, 2. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1904), 4:593–95. Crocheron, *Representative Women of Deseret*, 82–90. Graham, "Utah Pioneer Women Poets," 393–94. *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude* (Salt Lake City,

1998), 4:3451–52. *Millennial Star* 15:15–16, 80, 623–24, 672; 16:239–40; 17:48, 608. Myrlon Bentley Abegg, comp., *The Poetry of Emily Hill Woodmansee* (Orem, Utah, 1986).

1023 1. *Millennial Star* 17:672. European Mission Financial Records, 10:34, 246; 13:547–49.

2. See, e.g., pp. 12, 24, 40, 53, 58, 68, 73.

1024–25 1. *Missionary Journals of William Holmes Walker*, transcribed by Ellen Dee Walker Leavitt (Provo, Utah, 2003), 60, 73–76. *The Life Incidents and Travels of Elder William Holmes Walker* (n.p., 1943), 29, 31–32, “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 21 November 1853, 20 August 1855, microfilm, USIC. *Millennial Star* 17:780–83.

2. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 15 November, 4 December 1855; 14 January 1856. *Missionary Journals of William Holmes Walker*, 77, 156. *The Life Incidents and Travels of Elder William Holmes Walker*, 33, 52–53, 57–59, 67. *Millennial Star* 18:106–7, 140. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 25 November 1855, 18 February 1856. *Deseret News* 6:100; 7:196–97.

3. *The Life Incidents and Travels of Elder William Holmes Walker*, 53–56.

4. *The Life Incidents and Travels of Elder William Holmes Walker*, 56.

5. *The Life Incidents and Travels of Elder William Holmes Walker*, 56.

1026 1. “Early Church Information File.” Temple Index Bureau. “European Emigration Card Index.” “Utah Immigration Card Index.” *Millennial Star* 13:304, 333; 14:666; 15:511, 591–92; 16:479, 763–64; 17:267; 23:107, 507; 24:297; 25:314. 1856 Utah census, Salt Lake City 14th Ward, 396. “Journal History,” 24 July, 24 October 1856; 6 April, 30 June, 6 July 1857; 8 January (p. 2), 6 October 1858 (pp. 4–5); 1 January (p. 4), 13 June 1859 (p. 2); 4 July 1860 (p. 3). *Deseret Evening News*, 25 May 1895, 5.

2. See, e.g., *Millennial Star* 5:41–42; 9:95, 143–44, 367–68; 10:335–36; 11:367–68; 12:192, 256; 13:206; 14:95–96, 639–40; 15:304, 318–20, 351–52, 591–92; 16:176; and *Deseret News* 6:60, 80, 274; 7:43, 102, 264, 353; 8:13, 117, 125, 141, 149, 157, 165; 9:49; 10:145.

3. *Deseret News* 5:269.

1027 1. European Mission Financial Records, 10:41.

2. *Millennial Star* 17:792, 824. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 30 November 1855. Frederick Piercy and James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool, 1855), 120.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 10:34.

4. *Millennial Star* 17:812, 824; 18:170. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 12 December 1855. Piercy and Linforth, *Route from Liverpool*, 120.

1028 1. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 16 May, 18 June, 12–14 August, 7 October, 15 October, 18 October, 29 October, 2 November, 5 November, 13 November 1855; 14 January 1856.

2. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 14 January 1856.

1029 1. *Deseret News*, 5:325, 328. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:359–60. *Millennial Star* 18:251.

1030 1. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 24 November, 26–27 November, 29 November 1855. *Millennial Star* 18:111–12.

2. At the conference in Port Elizabeth on August 12–13, 1855, the total membership was reported to be 123—30 at Fort Beaufort, 59 at Port Elizabeth, and 34 at Cape Town. By the time Haven left Africa, ten more had been baptized and twelve had departed for Utah, “leaving now 121 Saints in Cape Colony, in good standing.” “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 20 August 1855, 14 January 1856. *Millennial Star* 18:189–91.

3. “Daily Journal of Jesse Haven,” 12–15 December 1855; 13–14 February, 23–25 May, 28 June, 12 July, 22 August, 24–25 August, 10 November, 15 December 1856. *Millennial Star* 18:377.

1031 1. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions, of the Legislative Assembly, of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 161–62, 206–7. *Deseret News*, 29 November 1851, 2. Everett L. Cooley, “Utah’s Capitols,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (1959): 259–62. Everett L. Cooley, “Report of an Expedition to Locate Utah’s First Capitol,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 329–37.

Hosea Stout notes in his journal, “This morning at ten o’clock the Legislature met in the new State House which is however not entirely finished yet the upper room in which the House of Representatives meets is a spacious Hall [blank space] feet by [blank space] and well finished.” Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:569.

Angell’s design for the stone building involved “four two-story wings projecting from a central domed rotunda. The dome towered above the wings and terminated with a statue of an eagle standing on a beehive. The entire building was surrounded by a two-story porch decorated with lattice panels and Gothic pinnacles.” Only the south wing was ever constructed. It is now maintained as a state park. Paul L. Anderson, “Truman O. Angell: Architect and Saint,” in *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah, 1985), 148–49.

2. Franklin Pierce appointed Almon W. Babbitt territorial secretary to replace Benjamin G. Ferris in 1853 during the Senate recess and then formally nominated him on February 1, 1854, the Senate confirming the nomination on April 25. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1887), 9:230, 308.

3. *Deseret News* 5:317, 324–25, 365. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:569–70, 589. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:361–62, 395.

4. At the time Utah Territory was created, Congress appropriated \$20,000, which was applied to the construction of the Council House in Salt Lake City (see items 661, 864, 943). One might infer from Brigham Young’s comment that the cost of the south wing of the Fillmore State House, at that point, was about \$32,000—paid out of local funds.

1032 1. I am indebted to Richard Saunders for bringing this piece to my attention and to Kari M. Main, museum curator, for locating it.

2. *Deseret News* 5:333.

3. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. “Journal History,” 20 January (p. 9), 7 October, 13 October 1848; 5 November, 15 December, 24 December 1856; 14 March 1857; 7 October (p. 2), 25 October 1869; 8 April 1871 (p. 4). 1850 Utah census, Salt Lake City, 130. 1860 Utah census, Davis County, 378. 1910 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 925. *Deseret Evening News*, 4 July 1910, 5.

1033 1. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:569–70. For a biographical sketch of George Hales, see item 745.

1034 1. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:570–72, 574.

2. Albert Carrington to Elias Smith, Fillmore, 23 December 1855, *Deseret News* 5:341.

About the time Carrington wrote to Smith, Brigham Young wrote from Fillmore to James H. Hart in St. Louis and, referring to the two acts, stated, “Both those laws are printed in pamphlet form, and will be published in the ‘News,’ (I send you a copy for publication in the Luminary, and presume that you will lend the movement such aid as you may be able through your columns.)” Edward L. Hart, *Mormon in Motion: The Life and Journals of James H. Hart, 1825–1906, in England, France, and America* (Salt Lake City, 1978), 126–28.

1035 1. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 54. “Early Church Information File.” *The Private Journal of William Hyde* (n.p., 1968). *Deseret News* 23:105, 126. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:759–63.

2. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 126. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret News* 5:44, 112, 205, 272; 6:71; 8:176; 9:136. *Deseret Evening News*, 2 March 1907, 12. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 1 September 1887, 5 March 1888. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 740.

1036 1. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 26 January 1856, USIC.

2. See item 1051, note 4.

3. John R. Young to Lorenzo D. Young, 15 March 1856, *Deseret News* 6:190. See also H. P. Richards to Franklin D. Richards, 19 April 1856, *Millennial Star* 18:460.

4. An English translation of *He Olelo Hoolaha* is included in David J. Whittaker, “Placing the Keystone: George Q. Cannon’s Mission of Translating and Printing the Book of Mormon in the Hawaiian Language,” *Revelation, Reason, and Faith: Essays in Honor of Truman G. Madsen*, ed. Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson, and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, Utah, 2002), 518–29. The title in English is An Announcement to the Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands and to All People Who Love the Truth.

1037 1. *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* (Boston, 1862), 9:123–26. James W. Oberly, “Military Bounty Land Warrants of the Mexican War,” *Prologue* 14 (Spring 1982): 25–34.

2. *Deseret News* 1:310. William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake* (London, 1857), 273–74. Oberly, “Military Bounty Land Warrants,” 25–30.

3. *The Statutes at Large*, 10:701–2. *Deseret News* 5:127. Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 273. *Autobiography of George Washington Bean* (Salt Lake City, 1945), 89.

4. *Deseret News* 5:84–86, 349. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:382.

1038–39 1. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 145, 150–51, 155, 164, typescript, UPB.

2. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 175, 179, 190, 204–5, 213, 242. *Millennial Star* 18:142–43.

3. *Bengal Hurkaru and the India Gazette*, 23 October (p. 391), 26 October (pp. 402–3), 1 November (p. 422), 3 November 1855 (p. 430).

Female Life Among the Mormons by “Maria Ward” was the most widely sold of all the nineteenth-century anti-Mormon novels—and, according to Arrington and Haupt,

“the most abominably written.” First published in 1855 in New York and London, it went through numerous printings under various titles, including editions in Danish, French, German, and Swedish. Who “Maria Ward” was is not known. Mrs. Benjamin G. Ferris has been suggested as a possibility, but she spent some time in Utah, and it is apparent that “Maria Ward” did not. Arrington and Haupt guess that “some other Eastern woman, not yet discovered, was the real author.” Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, “Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature,” *Western Humanities Review* 22 (1968): 253–54.

4. Skelton and Meik, *A Defence of Mormonism* [second state], i, 1. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 242–43. *Millennial Star* 18:143.

5. Charles Henry Appleton Dall (1816–86) was born in Baltimore, Maryland, and graduated from Harvard College in 1837 and the Harvard Divinity School in 1840. Ordained to the Unitarian ministry, he served as a “minister-at-large” in St. Louis, Baltimore, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and then held brief pastorates in Massachusetts and Toronto, Canada. After a physical and mental breakdown in Toronto, he went to Calcutta in 1855 as the first, and only, American Unitarian foreign missionary. For the rest of his life, he lived in Calcutta, where he established a number of successful schools. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (New York and Oxford, 1999), 6:26–29.

6. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 261–62, 268–71, 291, 294–95. *Millennial Star* 18:348–50, 522–24, 696. *Western Standard*, 23 August (p. 2), 30 August (p. 3), 6 September 1856 (p. 3). *Deseret News* 6:318.

7. Endowment House Record, Book G, 114, microfilm 183406, UPB. *Millennial Star* 13:283–84; 14:90–91; 27:589. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 270, 300–1. *Deseret News* 18:185, 389, 396–97; 19:245, 444; 25:513, 523. “Journal History,” 7 September 1876. R. Lanier Britsch, *Nothing More Heroic: The Compelling Story of the First Latter-day Saint Missionaries in India* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 287–88.

1044 1. Brigham Young to Parley P. Pratt, 7 May 1855; Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 7 May 1855; USIC.

2. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 31 August 1855, USIC. *Mormon*, 15 September 1855, 3. *Deseret News* 5:103. *Millennial Star* 17:319.

3. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 26 January 1856, USIC. *Mormon*, 2 February 1856, 2. *Deseret News* 6:5. *Millennial Star* 18:170–71.

1045 1. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:581, 585–86.

1046 1. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 86, UPB. “Utah Immigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. *Deseret Evening News*, 30 December (p. 5), 31 December 1907 (p. 7). Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 987. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1951), 12:241–44. *Millennial Star* 16:379, 383, 474; 17:509–11, 764–66, 776; 18:125. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register” gives Kimball’s year of birth as 1827.

2. James G. Bleak, “Annals of the Southern Utah Mission,” 114, typescript, UPB. “Diary of James Godson Bleak, Book B,” i–ii, 15–16, 18, typescript, UPB. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. “Utah Immigration Card Index.” *Deseret Evening News*, 13 February 1918, sec. 2, 4. Brandon J. Metcalf, “James G. Bleak: From London to Dixie,” *Journal of Mormon History* 35 (Winter 2009): 117–56.

1047 1. *Deseret News* 5:381.

1048 1. See, e.g., *Deseret News*, 25 January (p. 3), 9 May (p. 71), 16 May 1855 (p. 76).

2. *Deseret News* 5:312, 318, 352, 358, 366. *Deseret News Bindery Ledger*, UHi.

3. Compare, for example, the second paragraph, p. 7, in Long's book with the corresponding paragraphs in the 1852 and 1853 editions of Pitman's. Copies of the 1852 edition are at CtY, ICN, and NN; copies of the 1853 edition are at CLU and NN.

1049 1. Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 277. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:575, 585, 588–90. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:384. *Resolutions, Acts and Memorials Passed at the Fifth Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1856), 37–38, 44–46. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 162–70.

2. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:590. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:397, 398. *Deseret News* 5:372–73, 381. *Millennial Star* 18:381. *Mormon*, 26 April 1856, 1.

3. *The Statutes at Large*, 11:448. *Deseret News* 6:176; 7:29, 43–44, 60–61. *Millennial Star* 19:362–63. LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail* (Lawrence, Mass., 1976), 60–62.

1050 1. *Deseret News* 5:381.

1051 1. George Q. Cannon, *My First Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1879), 4–22. Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 2–32. R. Lanier Britsch, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Laie, Hawaii, 1998), 3–5, 13–17, 20–21. David J. Whittaker, “Placing the Keystone: George Q. Cannon’s Mission of Translating and Printing the Book of Mormon in the Hawaiian Language,” *Revelation, Reason, and Faith: Essays in Honor of Truman G. Madsen*, ed. Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson, and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, Utah, 2002), 499–541. Donald R. Shaffer, “Hiram Clark and the First LDS Hawaiian Mission: A Reappraisal,” *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 94–109. Michael N. Landon, ed., *The Journals of George Q. Cannon* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 1:151–53, 155, 163. “Journal of William Farrer,” 25 September, 15–22 November, 12 December, 14 December, 17 December, 20 December 1850; 20 August 1851; UPB.

2. Cannon, *My First Mission*, 26–38, 58–62. Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 24–26. Britsch, *Moramona*, 25–26. Whittaker, “Placing the Keystone,” 502–8. “Journal of William Farrer,” 20 August 1851, 24 December 1853, 31 January 1854. *Millennial Star* 14:492–95. *Deseret Evening News*, 15 December 1900, 40.

Whittaker argues that Cannon used the 1849 Book of Mormon for the translation. Whittaker, “Placing the Keystone,” 532.

Jonathan (or Jonatana) H. Napela was born on Maui, September 11, 1813, received an education in a Protestant school, and entered the practice of law. Cannon baptized him into the Church on January 5, 1852. When Walter Murray Gibson presided over the Church in the Islands, Napela served as his counselor. In 1869 he came to Utah and visited with Brigham Young and some of the Twelve. Four years later his wife contracted leprosy, and Napela went to live with her in the colony on Molokai, where he presided over the Latter-day Saints there. He died of leprosy on August 6, 1879, less than two weeks before the death of his wife. Fred E. Woods, “An Islander’s View of a Desert Kingdom: Jonathan Napela Recounts His 1869 Visit to Salt Lake City,” *BYU Studies* 45, no. 1 (2006): 22–34.

J. W. H. Kauwahi (1824–70) was a prosperous, well-educated native Hawaiian, a lawyer, legislator, and land manager. He was William Farrer’s first convert, baptized on August 17, 1851. Following his baptism he was an effective missionary, and for a time

Philip B. Lewis and his wife lived in an upper room of his store. He was ordained an elder on April 22, 1853, but appears to have apostatized by 1857. "Journal of William Farrer," 10 May, 17 August, 14 November 1851; 14 June 1852; 22 April 1853; 20 March, 26 July 1854. "Journal of John R. Young," 6 January 1857, UPB. Scott G. Kenney, "Mormons and the Smallpox Epidemic of 1853," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 31 (1997): 2–3, 15, 24. *Memoirs of John R. Young* (Salt Lake City, 1920), 138–39. John Hyde Jr., *No Ka Aoa'o Moremona* (Honolulu, 1856), 15–16. International Genealogical Index.

3. Cannon, *My First Mission*, 62, 64. Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 28–32. Britsch, *Moramona*, 26–28. Whittaker, "Placing the Keystone," 508–10. *Deseret News*, 2 March (p. 4), 13 April 1854 (p. 4); 4 January (p. 2), 4 July 1855 (p. 136). "Journal of William Farrer," 26 September, 6 October, 30 October, 1 November, 3 November, 13 November, 19 December, 31 December 1853; 24 January, 2 February, 4–5 February, 26 June, 29 July 1854. "Journal of John S. Woodbury," 6 October 1853; 12 January, 27 January, 4 February, 21 March, 6 October, 10 October, 27 October 1854; 14 March 1855, UPB. Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Provo, Utah, 1997), 149, 156, 158–59, 166, 170. George Q. Cannon, *Writings from the "Western Standard"* (Liverpool, 1864), v–vi. William McBride Journal, 1854–1855, 1 March 1854, USIC. *Deseret Evening News*, 15 December 1900, 40.

Haalelea was repaid the \$500 plus \$67 interest on January 5, 1855. Cannon paid Edward Dennis \$200 against his loan in June 1857. "Journal of John S. Woodbury," 5 January 1855. Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 170. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 19 June 1857, USIC.

4. Cannon, *My First Mission*, 63–64. Cannon, *Writings from the "Western Standard,"* vi–viii. Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 69–74. Whittaker, "Placing the Keystone," 510–13, 535–38. *Deseret News*, 30 November (p. 3), 21 December 1854 (p. 3). *Deseret News* 5:36, 77, 222, 286, 373; 6:76. *Mormon*, 28 July (p. 3), 15 September (p. 3), 6 October (p. 3), 17 November 1855 (p. 3). Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 7 May 1855, USIC. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 27 July 1855; Cannon to Young, 31 August 1855; USIC. *Deseret Evening News*, 15 December 1900, 40.

In his letter of December 3, 1855, Joseph Bull noted that the "index and title page will have to lay over till our small type (Brevier) arrives from the east, unless we can borrow a pair of Brevier cases from some office in the city." And on March 26, 1856, he reported, "Our type and other necessary material, that we had to send to N.Y. for, arrived safely on the 15th of January." *Deseret News* 5:373; 6:76.

For a biographical sketch of Joseph Bull, see item 666.

Matthew F. Wilkie was born in Scotland on July 9, 1834, converted to Mormonism in 1853, came to Utah the following year, and worked as a compositor at the *Deseret News* until he left for San Francisco with George Q. Cannon and Joseph Bull. He resumed his employment with the *News* after returning to Utah in 1857 but suffered from declining health, and on October 14, 1861, he died in Salt Lake City of consumption. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret News* 11:208.

5. Cannon, *Writings from the "Western Standard,"* viii. Whittaker, "Placing the Keystone," 513–16, 538–39. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 1 October 1855; Cannon to Young, 26 January 1856; Cannon to Young, 1 March 1856; Cannon to Young, 27 September 1856; Cannon to Young, 31 August 1857; Cannon to Young, 30 October 1857; USIC. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 3 April 1856, USIC. *Deseret News* 6:48; 7:317. Diary of Henry William Bigler, 24 November 1857, photocopy of microfilm, UPB. "Manuscript History of the Hawaiian Mission," 25 April 1858, microfilm, USIC. *Western Standard*, 23 February 1856, 4.

Brigham Young's copy of the book had reached him by April 3. Young to Cannon, 3 April 1856. *Deseret News* 6:48.

6. *Deseret News* 13:385. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 8 April 1864. "Manuscript History of the Hawaiian Mission," 14 June 1864. *Memoirs of John R. Young*, 132. Britsch, *Moramona*, 51–58.

7. Roger G. Rose, *A Museum to Instruct and Delight: William T. Brigham and the Founding of Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum* (Honolulu, 1980), 21–23. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography* (New York, 1937), 16:294.

8. Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 25 July 1868, as quoted in David W. Forbes, *Hawaiian National Bibliography, 1780–1900* (Honolulu, 2001), 3:148.

1052 1. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 4–6, USIC.

2. *Millennial Star* 17:517, 524, 554, 571. "Hector C. Haight's Journal," 30 April, 14 August, 16 August, 9 September 1855; 1 January 1856; 4 February 1858, microfilm, USIC.

1053 1. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 5.

1054–55 1. *Deseret News* 5:388–89.

2. *Deseret News* 5:352.

1056 1. *Deseret News* 5:389.

2. "Early Church Information File." 1850 Utah census, 72. *Deseret Evening News*, 9 February 1893, 5. Alvin E. Rust, *Mormon and Utah Coin and Currency* (Salt Lake City, 1984), 86–89. Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases—Part II," *Utah Law Review* 9 (summer 1965): 543–52.

3. "Early Church Information File." Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1947), 8:431. 1850 Utah census, 84. 1860 Utah census, Centerville, Davis County, 33. *Deseret Evening News*, 7 May (p. 2), 13 June 1896 (p. 15). *Utah Since Statehood* (Chicago and Salt Lake City, 1919), 3:40–44. Mary Ellen Smoot and Marilyn Sheriff, *The City In-Between* (Centerville, Utah, 1975), 269–74. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 800.

1057 1. *Deseret News* 5:328, 352, 358.

2. *Deseret News* 6:232, 256.

1058 1. European Mission Financial Records, 10:121, 139, 145, 160, 183.

2. *Millennial Star* 18:140, 217, 266, 282–83, 300, 347, 542. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 18 February, 23 March, 19 April 1856. Jenson says the *Caravan* sailed on February 18 with 454 emigrating Saints and the *Enoch Train* arrived at Boston on May 1.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 10:221, 268.

4. *Millennial Star* 18:330, 377, 521, 542. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 4 May, 1 June 1856.

1059 1. European Mission Financial Records, 10:131ff.

1060 1. *Poems, Religious, Historical, and Political*, 1:210–12, 236, 269.

2. Jill Mulvay Derr and Karen Lynn Davidson, *Eliza R. Snow: The Complete Poetry* (Provo, Utah, and Salt Lake City, 2009), 1055–1189.

3. Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* (Rexburg, Idaho, 1978), 53. *Millennial Star* 18:105–6, 112.

4. European Mission Financial Records, 10:128, 291.

5. Franklin D. Richards to Eliza R. Snow, 31 May 1856, USIC. I am indebted to Karen Lynn Davidson for bringing this letter to my attention.

6. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 30 March 1861, USIC. European Mission Financial Records, 13:547–49. Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City, 1878), back wrapper.

7. In the spring of 1857, Brigham Young sent the manuscript for a second volume of Eliza Snow's poems and a daguerreotype of her for a frontispiece to Orson Pratt in Liverpool by Joseph W. Young. Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 22 April 1857, USIC.

8. Derr and Davidson, *Eliza R. Snow: The Complete Poetry*, 1055–1189.

9. The Huntington Library has a copy, stamped *Vol. I* on the backstrip, bound to match one of the standard leather bindings of the 1877 second volume.

1061 1. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 26 January 1856, USIC.

Cannon also dropped the price for his British subscribers to \$2.50. The *Deseret News* advertised the *Standard* at an annual subscription of \$3, including postage. By May 26, Cannon had cleared up his debt. *Millennial Star* 18:170. *Deseret News* 6:69. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 26 May 1856, USIC.

2. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 1 March 1856, USIC.

3. Cannon to Young, 27 September 1856; Cannon to Young, 19 February 1857; Cannon to Young, 19 May 1857; Cannon to Young, 19 June 1857; USIC. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 3 April 1856, USIC. Beatrice Cannon Evans and Janath Russell Cannon, eds., *Cannon Family Historical Treasury* (Salt Lake City, 1967), 248. *Deseret News* 7:77, 236, 411. *Western Standard*, 17 July (p. 2), 24 July (p. 3), 31 July (p. 2), 18 September 1857 (p. 2). Cannon, *Writings from the "Western Standard,"* 465 n.

David H. Cannon, George Q. Cannon's youngest brother, was born in Liverpool on April 23, 1838, came with his family to Nauvoo in 1843 and to Utah in 1849, and apprenticed at the *Deseret News* the following year. Returning to Salt Lake City from San Francisco on January 1, 1858, he helped transport the *Deseret News* press to Fillmore, and the following year he worked at the *Mountaineer*. In 1861 he was called to southern Utah, where he served as the bishop of the St. George Fourth Ward, as counselor to two stake presidents, and as president of the St. George Temple. He died in St. George on December 24, 1924. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret News*, 24 December 1924, 2nd sec., 1. Evans and Russell, *Cannon Family Historical Treasury*, 239–60. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 794.

William H. Shearman, born in Yorkshire, England, December 17, 1831, followed his family to New York in 1845 and went to California four years later. He was baptized into the Church on September 7, 1855, and less than three months later was laboring as a missionary in northern California. In 1857 he moved to Utah and in 1862 began a three-year mission in England, where he presided over the Birmingham District and assisted in editing the *Millennial Star*. Shearman was a central figure in the Godbeite "New Movement," and in the fall of 1869 he separated from the Church. Subsequently he returned to it and performed missionary service in the Eastern States and Europe. He died in Salt Lake City on December 19, 1892. Endowment House Record, Book C, 108, microfilm 183404, UPB. *Tullidges's Quarterly Magazine* 1:77–79. William H. Shearman to George Q. Cannon, 29 February 1856, *Deseret News* 6:68. *Millennial Star* 27:299, 589. *Deseret Evening News*, 20 December (p. 8), 21 December (p. 8), 24 December 1892 (p. 4).

Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana, Ill., 1998), 7, 130–34, 171–73, 178–79, 354–55.

Henry McEwan was born in Scotland, July 3, 1830, baptized into the Church at age thirteen, trained as a printer in Edinburgh, and came to Utah in 1853. Two years later he began working at the *Deseret News*, and in April 1857 he was called to San Francisco. Following his California mission, he returned to the *News* and over the next three decades worked there and at the *Salt Lake Daily Telegraph*, retiring from the *Deseret News* in 1887. At the time of death in Salt Lake City on April 16, 1894, he was employed at the *Tooele Times* and owned a third interest in the *Bingham Bulletin*. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 16 April (p. 5), 21 April 1894 (p. 5). J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City, 1938), 36–39, 262–63.

William M. Cowley was born on the Isle of Man, September 29, 1836, came to Nauvoo with his family in the early 1840s, and made the trek to Utah in 1850. Within a year or two, he found employment at the *Deseret News* and later worked at the *Salt Lake Daily Herald* and the *Woman’s Exponent*. During the 1870s he moved to Sevier County, where he was involved with the *Richfield Advocate*, the *Southern Censor*, and the *Richfield Reaper*. He died in Venice, Sevier County, on October 2, 1915. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 15 October 1915, 16. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:407. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1973), 16:513–15. Alter, *Early Utah Journalism*, 219–20.

4. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 4 August 1857, USIC. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 30 October 1857, USIC. *Deseret News* 7:365. “Joseph Bull” in Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), biographies, 124.

Cannon advertised his shop for sale in the last two issues of the *Standard*. In his letter to Brigham Young of October 30, 1857, he explained that “the prospect of the sale of printing materials is very poor at present. Ours is an Office that many would like to have, and is very suitable for a country paper, but money is very scarce and hard to be procured and the newspaper business is entirely overdone, so that the chance to sell is not very good.”

5. *Western Standard*, 1 November (p. 2), 15 November 1856 (p. 2).

6. *Western Standard*, 28 February 1857, 2.

7. *Western Standard*, 3 July 1857, 2.

8. With regard to the masthead, Brigham Young thought that the “temple should be a little higher to show a symmetrical proportion being too large for its height.” Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 29 April 1856, USIC.

9. For a recent discussion of Cannon’s editorials, see Roger Robin Ekins, *Defending Zion: George Q. Cannon and the California Mormon Newspaper Wars of 1856–1857* (Spokane, Wash., 2002).

1062–64 1. Hahn had separated from the Church at this point.

2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 4–6, USIC.

3. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 5:144.

1065–67 1. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 5:96, 112, 208, 224; 7:32, 48.

2. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 5:144. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 4–5.

1068 1. Flake-Draper 6528, 6528a, and 6529.

2. Erastus Snow, *One Year in Scandinavia* (Liverpool, 1851), 9. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 11–12.

1069 1. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 5. "Hector C. Haight's Journal," 4 June 1856, microfilm, USIC.

2. *Skandnaviens Stjerne* 5:144. "Hector C. Haight's Journal," 4 June 1856. *Millennial Star* 18:539.

1070 1. Wright Howes, *U.S.iana* (New York, 1962), 348. Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West* (New York, 1953), 285.

For biographical sketches of Frederick Piercy and James Linforth, see item 490 and items 70–71, note 7.

2. *Route from Liverpool*, vii, 15, 23, 30. *Millennial Star* 15:121, 282. Wilford H. LeCheminant, "'Entitled to Be Called an Artist': Landscape and Portrait Painter Frederick Piercy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (1980): 49–65.

3. *Route from Liverpool*, passim. "Journal History," 9 August, 9 September 1853. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 9 September 1853.

4. *Route from Liverpool*, 24–25.

5. *Route from Liverpool*, vii–viii. *Millennial Star* 16:330; 18:16.

6. "Diary of Samuel W. Richards, 1839–1874," 2:175, 179, typescript, UPB. European Mission Financial Records, 9:88, USIC.

7. This broadside is bound with the copies of part 1 at CtY, UPB, and USIC.

8. European Mission Financial Records, 9:130, 179, 215, 261, 328, 370, 409, 499, 520, 557, 701; 10:36, 99, 153, 222, 277. *Deseret News* 7:112.

9. *Millennial Star* 16:703–4.

10. *Millennial Star* 18:224; 19:249. European Mission Financial Records, 10:222; 13:547–49. Orson Pratt to S. W. Richards, 25 June 1857, S. W. Richards papers, USIC. *Deseret News* Bindery Ledger, UHi.

11. Brigham Young to James Linforth, 14 March 1857, USIC. Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 1 April 1857, USIC. European Mission Financial Records, 11:21. LeCheminant, "'Entitled to Be Called an Artist,'" 62–64.

12. Seventeen of Piercy's original sketches are at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, nine of which were used for the steel engravings. In addition, sixteen others are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, including twelve that were used in the book. Six other sketches are in private hands. Jonathan Fairbanks, "The Great Platte River Trail in 1853: The Drawings and Sketches of Frederick Piercy," *Prints of the American West: Papers Presented at the Ninth Annual North American Print Conference*, ed. Ron Tyler (Fort Worth, Texas, 1983), 67–86.

Marsena Cannon, born in New Hampshire on August 3, 1812, joined the Church in the mid-1840s and had come to Salt Lake City by December 1850 when he began to advertise his services as a daguerreotypist in the *Deseret News*. In 1860 he formed a partnership with C. R. Savage, and the following year he was called to southern Utah but returned to Salt Lake City two or three years later. By 1870 he had distanced himself from the Church, and in 1874 he was excommunicated. The 1880 census lists him as a photographer in San Francisco, living with his daughter Sarah. When Sarah married, he moved back to Utah and died in Salt Lake City on April 29, 1900. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. *Deseret News* 1:174. 1850 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 37. 1880 California census, San Francisco, 10. *Deseret Evening News*, 30 April 1900, 8. Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana, Ill., 1998), 216. Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Through Camera Eyes* (Provo, Utah, 1975), 18–20, 33–36. Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone Fixed in Glass: The Mormons, the West, and*

Their Photographers (Salt Lake City, 1996), 15–47. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1948), 9:105–6, 128.

13. *Millennial Star* 18:221–23.

1071 1. *Deseret News* 5:389.

2. George D. Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse* (Salt Lake City, 1928), 53; (Salt Lake City, 1937), 59.

3. Nineteenth-century editions of *The Two Bonnycastles, a Farce, in One Act* by John Maddison Morton (1811–91) and *Luke the Labourer* by John Baldwin Buckstone (1802–79) are in the Brigham Young University and Yale University libraries.

1072–74 1. *Deseret News* 5:381, 389, 397; 6:16, 24, 29–30, 37, 40. *Millennial Star* 18:417–25. “Diary of Samuel Whitney Richards, 1824–1909,” 1:110c, 116, typescript, UPB. “Diary of Samuel W. Richards, 1839–1874,” 2:274–76, typescript, UPB. Brigham Young to Thomas L. Kane, 14 April 1856; Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, 14 April 1856; USIC.

2. *Deseret News* Bindery Ledger, UHi.

3. Samuel Booth’s shop was located at 109 Nassau Street, the *Mormon* office at 102 Nassau Street. *Trow’s New York City Directory* (New York, 1855), 90. *Wilson’s Business Directory of New York City* (New York, 1856), 350.

4. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 22 April 1856, USIC. *Deseret News* 6:53, 173; 7:368. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 4:413, 440–41. John Taylor, George A. Smith, and John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, 12 July 1856, USIC.

5. *Letter of the Delegate of the Territory of Utah in Congress* (35th Cong., 1st sess., 20 April 1858, Senate Misc. Doc. No. 240). *Utah Territory: Memorial of a Convention of the People of the Territory of Utah* (36th Cong., 2d sess., 31 December 1860, House Misc. Doc. No. 10). *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States* (Washington, 1860), 122.

1075 1. European Mission Financial Records, 10:308.

This handwritten note reads, “Letter March 28/56 Liverpool Office F. D. Richards Agt—to B. Young Advices of Drafts, Emigration Prosperity of Missions &c Recd. July [illegible]/56 Eastern Mail.”

1076 1. *Millennial Star* 18:315–18.

1077 1. Nathaniel Preston Felt, the son of N. H. Felt and his first wife, Eliza Ann Preston, was born in Nauvoo on June 2, 1846, and came to Utah with his family in 1850. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret News* 5:320.

2. *Mormon*, 9 February 1856, 2. *Millennial Star* 18:618.

3. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:267. *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude* (Salt Lake City, 1998), 4:3039. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1964), 7:231–33. There is no Margaret Taylor in the 1856 census in Salt Lake County, and the only Margaret Taylor in Salt Lake County in the 1860 census is Margaret Young Taylor.

1078 1. The only located copy contains the names of Richard Farmer, 32; Hariat Farmer, 38; Elizabeth Farmer, 67; Aney Meria Farmer, 11; and John Link, 36. These sailed on the *Horizon* but were not members of the Martin handcart company. *Mormon*, 21 June 1856, 3. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 295–302.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 10:215, 225.

3. *Millennial Star* 18:377, 542, 553–57. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 25 May 1856. Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 91–93.

1079 1. Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* (Rexburg, Idaho, 1978), 54–56, 58. *Millennial Star* 18:90, 282.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 10:309, 316.

3. Eliza R. Snow, *Poems, Religious, Historical, and Political* (Liverpool, 1856), 44, 67–68, 81–82, 135–36, 153–55, 234–35,

4. *Millennial Star* 11:240; 12:112; 13:272, 288; 14:63, 127, 160, 399–400, 448; 15:63; 16:176, 400, 432, 592; 17:272, 544; 18:144, 192, 240.

1080 1. I am indebted to W. Randall Dixon and Chad O. Foulger for bringing this piece to my attention.

2. Deseret News Bindery Ledger.

1082 1. “Journal of Richard Ballantyne,” 3:138, 144–47; 4:74–77; 5:25–26, microfilm, USIC. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 98, 121, 137, 145, 150–51, 270–71, typescript, UPB. *Deseret News*, 9 November 1854 (p. 3), 9 May 1855 (p. 72). *Millennial Star* 17:44–45, 430; 18:522–24. *St. Louis Luminary* 1:87. McCarthy, *The (Madras) “Christian Instructor” Versus Mormonism*, 1.

1083 1. *Resolutions, Acts and Memorials Passed at the Fifth Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah*, 15–16.

2. “Diary of Samuel W. Richards, 1839–1874,” 2:284, typescript, UPB. Deseret News Bindery Ledger.

1084 1. *Deseret News* 6:108–9, 133. *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* (Boston, 1855), 10:684. LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail* (Lawrence, Mass., 1976), 56–63.

2. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 2 June, 3 June, 14 June 1856, USIC. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:597.

3. *The Statutes at Large*, 11:448. Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, 61.

1085–86 1. *Deseret News* 6:140–41.

2. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. “Utah Immigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. *Improvement Era* 16:651. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:620–21; 4:726. *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity* (Chicago, 1902), 524–25.

3. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret News* 31:793, 801. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:724–26. Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), biographies, 83–85. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1904), 4:666–67.

4. “Early Church Information File.” “Journal History,” 3 October 1854. 1860 Utah census, Salt Lake County, 208. *Deseret News* 35:227. Ruth J. Martin, comp., *Twentieth Ward History 1856–1979* (Salt Lake City, 1979), 43–44.

1087–88 1. *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (New York, 1874), 480. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:579.

2. *Deseret News* 5:356–57. *Millennial Star* 18:337–44, 394, 426, 529–31.

3. See, e.g., *Millennial Star* 18:494, 549, 564, 579–81, 621, 734; 19:92, 142.
4. Compare, for example, p. 4, line 8, in the various versions.
5. European Mission Financial Records, 10:300, 431.
6. European Mission Financial Records, 10:300. *Millennial Star* 18:494.

1089 1. *Deseret News* 6:125.

Nineteenth-century editions of each of the plays *A Race for Dinner* by J. Thomas G. Rodwell (James Thomas Gooderham, d. 1825) and *The Iron Chest* by George Colman (1762–1836) are at Brigham Young University and Yale University.

2. *Deseret News*, 1 February (p. 3), 1 March 1855 (p. 3). *Deseret News* 5:112, 200; 12:209. H. G. Whitney, “Dominico Ballo,” *Contributor* 1 (1879): 31–35.

1090 1. “Diary of Samuel W. Richards, 1839–1874,” 2:178, typescript, UPB. *Millennial Star* 16:458, 461, 474, 730; 17:571; 18:154, 504.

For a biographical sketch of Cyrus H. Wheelock, see items 70–71, note 7.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 10:267, 308.

1091 1. *Millennial Star* 18:539. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 5:368. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 5, USIC.

1092 1. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. Kate B. Carter, *Treasures of Pioneer History* (Salt Lake City, 1957), 6:287–89. “Journal History,” 20 September 1854 (p. 1), 18 June 1865 (p. 6). *Millennial Star* 17:780–83. International Genealogical Index.

2. *Millennial Star* 19:173–74.

1093 1. *Deseret News* 6:164–65.

1094 1. *Deseret News* 6:165, 189.

1095 1. *Deseret News* 6:333. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:599. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah: for the Sixth Annual Session* (Salt Lake City, 1857), 3, 7–8. *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (Salt Lake City, 1973), 433–42.

1096 1. “Journal of Robert Skelton,” 291–92, typescript, UPB. *Western Standard*, 23 August (p. 2), 30 August (p. 3), 6 September 1856 (p. 2).

2. *Deseret News* 6:40. *Western Standard*, 23 August (pp. 2–3), 20 September (p. 2), 22 November (p. 3), 29 November 1856 (p. 2). “The Rev. John Hyde,” *Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine* 22 (1875): 468–77. *General Index: Deaths Registered in England and Wales in the Months of July, August, and September 1875* (London, 1875), 152. Roger Robin Ekins, *Defending Zion: George Q. Cannon and the California Mormon Newspaper Wars of 1856–1857* (Spokane, Wash., 2002), 117–39. For a sketch of Hyde’s early life, see item 413, note 1.

1097 1. *Millennial Star* 18:475, 520, 760; 19:136, 697, 713. Journal of James A. Little, 31–32, microfilm of typescript, UPB.

For a biographical sketch of James A. Little, see items 70–71, note 7.

2. *Millennial Star* 18:536, 553, 617.

3. *Millennial Star* 18:648–50.

4. *Millennial Star* 18:650.

5. *Millennial Star* 18:697.

6. European Mission Financial Records, 11:67.

An inventory of the books in the *Millennial Star* office on December 31, 1860, shows the following numbers of the eight chapters still in the office: 12; 3,801; 4,674; 4,769; 4,965; 4,901; 5,243; and 4,996, respectively. George Q. Cannon included none of these when he shipped most of the British Mission's inventory of books to Utah in 1862. European Mission Financial Records, 12:633; 13:547–49.

7. Orson Pratt to S. W. Richards, Liverpool, 25 June 1857, S. W. Richards papers, USIC.

The total book debt the conferences owed the British Mission stood at £3,971 when Orson Pratt arrived in England in July 1856 and had declined slightly during the preceding six months. One year later it was £6,506, and at the end of 1857 it was £6,885. Without doubt, the bulk of the increase came from Pratt's new series. The *Millennial Star* office charged the branches 14s. per hundred for each tract in the series, so if it sent out a total of 40,000 of each one, the total combined cost to the conferences would have been £2,240. *Millennial Star* 18:47, 479; 19:63, 479; 20:63. European Mission Financial Records, 10:457, 484, 590, 660; 11:182, 197, 207.

8. Journal of James A. Little, 46. Pratt to Richards, 25 June 1857.

9. All of these editions are at UPB.

10. *Journal of Discourses* 4:266–67. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 5:30.

11. *Deseret News* 14:372–73. *Millennial Star* 27:657–63.

1098–1100 1. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 5:177–82, 193–98, 211–16, 233–36, 251–53, 257–63, 289–94, 368.

2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 4–5, USIC.

1102–3 1. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 5:316–20, 333–35, 357–61, 380.

2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 5.

1104–5 1. *Millennial Star* 18:665. European Mission Financial Records, 10:452.

2. *Millennial Star* 18:697.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 10:483; 11:67.

1106 1. *Deseret News* 6:228, 237. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:448, 451. *Journal of Discourses* 4:43–63. Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah M. Grant* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), 203–16. Paul H. Peterson, *The Mormon Reformation* (Provo, Utah, 2002), 23–25. Gustive O. Larson, "The Mormon Reformation," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (1958): 45–63.

2. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder*, 218–21. *Journal of Discourses* 4:188–89.

3. *Deseret News* 5:256. "Journal of the Missions of William Gibson Senr for the Historians Office," 3, USIC. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:339, 482–83, 486–87. "Autobiography of John Powell," 58–59, typescript, UPB. Peterson, *The Mormon Reformation*, 27–31, 42. "Historian's Office Journal," 15 November 1856, USIC.

4. Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 27 January 1857, USIC. *Millennial Star* 19:348. Peterson, *The Mormon Reformation*, 30–32. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:493. "Diary of George Halliday, 130, typescript, UPB.

For the experiences of two home missionaries, see "Journal of the Missions of William Gibson Senr," 16, 18, 21, 24; and "Journal of Richard Ballantyne," 13 November, 27–28 November, 4–5 December, 21 December 1856, USIC.

- 1107** 1. "Journals of James Ure," 1–2, 11, 14, 29–30, 36, typescript, USIC.
 2. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. "Journals of James Ure," 1–3, 28, 30, 36, 72, 84, 126–27. *Millennial Star* 4:197; 5:27, 172; 6:108; 7:75; 8:95–96; 9:296; 10:134–35; 11:63; 18:448, 536, 760; 19:25, 506, 540; 20:154; 26:491, 507. "Journal History," 23 June 1858, 3, 7–8. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 19 February 1858; 24 June 1877. *Deseret Weekly* 55:256, 287. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1221.
 3. "Journals of James Ure," 81.
- 1108** 1. For a biographical sketch of Hawthornthwaite, see item 536, note 3.
 2. Ezra T. Benson to John Taylor, 26 November 1856, *Deseret News* 7:14. Journal of James A. Little, 41, microfilm of typescript, UPB.
- 1109** 1. *Deseret News* 6:309, 317. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:494, 497–500.
 2. Hosea Stout notes in his journal, "As a Major General [J. M. Grant] was buried in the honors of war As a Master Mason he was buried as such and above all as a Saint he lived, died and was buried as such." Stout replaced Grant as speaker of the House of Representatives. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:608–9.
 3. *Deseret News* 6:315. This page in the *News* actually occurs in two states, with and without *Order of Proceedings at the Funeral of President Jedediah M. Grant*, which gives a report of the funeral procession.
 4. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:499–500.
- 1111** 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah: for the Sixth Annual Session* (Salt Lake City, 1857), 5–13. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:608–10. *Deseret News* 6:333, 336. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:514, 518.
 2. In 1856 Babbitt went east to purchase territorial supplies and that September, en route to Utah, was killed by Cheyenne Indians west of Fort Kearny. *Millennial Star* 18:667, 823–24; 19:324–26, 443. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:284–86.
 3. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 52–54. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:620.
- 1112** 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 13. *Deseret News* 6:333.
- 1113** 1. David Oliver Allen (1799–1863) was born in Massachusetts, graduated from Amherst in 1823 and Andover Theological Seminary in 1827, and was ordained to the Congregational ministry and foreign missionary service during his senior year at Andover. In 1827 he went to India, where he served for the next twenty-five years, much of the time in behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society as a translator and editor. He left India in 1853 and died in Massachusetts ten years later at age sixty-three. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Allen, David Oliver."
 2. Martin Madan (1725–90), born in London, graduated from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1746, and practiced law before taking holy orders in the Church of England and the position of chaplain to the Lock Hospital, London, an institution for reformed prostitutes. His *Thelyphthora; or, a Treatise on Female Ruin* advocated polygamy as a remedy for the social ills he had observed. Its publication generated a storm of opposition, and he subsequently resigned his chaplaincy and retired to Epsom. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Madan, Martin."
 3. *Mormon*, 23 February (p. 2), 1 March (p. 2), 3 May (p. 2), 17 May 1856 (p. 2).

4. See, e.g., *Western Standard*, 23 February, 5 April, 3 May, 10 May, 9 August, 13 September, 27 September, 11 October 1856.

5. *Western Standard*, 8 November 1856, 4.

The Mormons at Home consists of a series of letters by Cornelia Woodcock Ferris, wife of Utah territorial secretary Benjamin G. Ferris, describing their journeys to and from Utah and six-month stay in the territory—and is not a sympathetic treatment of the Latter-day Saints (see item 801 and item 801, note 5).

6. *Western Standard*, 15 November (p. 2), 20 December 1856 (p. 2). George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 3 January 1857, USIC.

1114 1. “Journal of John L. Smith,” 1:232–33, UPB. *Millennial Star* 18:666–67.

2. “Journal of John L. Smith,” 1:260–62, 264–65, 271; 2:3. “Diary of John Lyman Smith,” 32, typescript (1940), UPB. *Millennial Star* 19:218–20.

3. I am indebted to Scott H. Duvall for this assessment of the text.

1115 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 23, 27, 34. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:612–15.

1116 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 25, 29, 35. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:613–14, 616.

1117 1. *New-York Daily Times*, 19 June 1856, 1. *A Bill to Punish and Prevent the Practice of Polygamy in the Territories of the United States, and Other Places*, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 26 June 1856, H. R. 433. *Congressional Globe*, 30 June 1856, 1491; 6 January 1858, 184–85; 15 May 1858, 2114. *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations, of the United States of America* (Boston, 1863), 12:501–2. Orma Linford, “The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases—Part I,” *Utah Law Review* 9 (1964): 313–15. *Mormon*, 5 July 1856, 2–3.

2. Cleo H. Evans, comp., *Curtis Edwin Bolton: Pioneer Missionary* (Fairfax, Va., 1968), 133–35, 140. “Curtis Edwin Bolton Journal,” USIC. *Deseret News* 6:24, 63, 151. Bryan Lee Dilts, comp., *1856 Utah Census Index* (Salt Lake City, 1983), 27.

For a biographical sketch of Curtis E. Bolton, see item 284, note 3.

1118 1. See, e.g., pp. 85–86, 99, 104, 130, 136, 139, 191, 221, 253, 282, 293–94, 331–33, 350, 359.

2. *Psalmers til Brug for Jesu Christi Kirke af Sidste-Dages-Hellige* (Copenhagen, 1867), xi, xiii, xxii.

3. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 1851–1905, 5, USIC.

1119 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 30–32, 35. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:614–16.

1120 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 34–35, 39. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:616–17.

1121 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 37, 39–40, 43. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:616–18.

1122 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 37, 39–40. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:616–17.

1123 1. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 42, 44, 48. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:617–19.

1124 1. European Mission Financial Records, 10:582, USIC.

1125 1. *Journal of James A. Little*, 20, 22, 28–29, 32, 46, microfilm of typescript, UPB. Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* (Rexburg, Idaho, 1978), 53, 79. *Millennial Star* 18:377, 410, 504; 19:121.

A glimpse into the process employed in compiling the book is provided by an entry in the financial records under the date January 30, 1857: “F. D. Richards Dr To Goods used in compilation of the Compendium, and cut, so as to be unfit for sale[:] 4 Books of Mormon . . . 2 Doc & Cov . . . 33 Nos. Jour of Dis . . . 11 Nos. Star . . . 2 Supp to Vol 14 . . . 1 [Supp to Vol] 15 . . . 6 Pearl of Gt Price.” European Mission Financial Records, 10:604.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 10:353, 411, 476, 509, 622, 691–92; 11:176; 13:547–49; 15:509; 16:131; 17:34, 127, 234. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 30 March 1861, USIC. *Deseret News* 23:611, 732, 747, 763; 24:11, 679.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 10:613.

4. *Journal of James A. Little*, 28, 32, 48. *Millennial Star* 16:379; 18:520; 19:136.

For a biographical sketch of Little, see items 70–71, note 7.

1126–27 1. I am indebted to Christopher K. McAfee for this summary.

2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 6.

1128–29 1. See, e.g., the last three paragraphs of p. 1 and the second and third lines of p. 2.

2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 4.

1130 1. European Mission Financial Records, 10:671; 11:165.

2. *Millennial Star* 19:334, 376, 479, 489. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 28 March, 25 April, 30 May 1857.

1131 1. “Journals of James Ure,” 88–89, typescript, USIC.

1132 1. For biographical sketches of A. P. Rockwood and H. S. Eldredge, see items 671 and 735. For sketches of Joseph Young, Henry Herriman, Zera Pulsipher, Benjamin L. Clapp, and Levi W. Hancock, see Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:187–89, 193–96.

1133 1. *Millennial Star* 17:821–23.

2. “Hector C. Haight’s Journal,” 20 May, 4 June, 7 June, 11 June, 14 June, 18 June 1856, microfilm, USIC. *Millennial Star* 18:346–47, 350; 19:204.

3. “Hector C. Haight’s Journal,” 13 January, 15–16 January, 28–29 January, 31 January 1857. “Journal of Joseph W. Young,” 30 August, 3 September, 15 September, 5 October, 9 October, 12 October, 14 October 1857, and passim, microfilm, USIC. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 5.

1134–35 1. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 5.

- 1136–37** 1. *Millennial Star* 19:314.
 2. *Millennial Star* 19:339–42, 345–47. *Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal* (Provo, Utah, 1958), 42, mimeographed, UPB.
 3. *Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal*, 42–45.
 4. *Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal*, x–xii, 1–4, 8–9, 13, 18–19, 24–25, 33, 58, 283–84. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 227, UPB. *Millennial Star* 18:475, 488, 520, 760; 20:154. *Deseret Evening News*, 21 April (p. 3), 23 April 1910 (p. 2). Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:323–25.

1138 1. *Millennial Star* 19:379–80.

1139 1. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 12 August 1885, 4. “Journal History,” 6 January 1895, 5. Patricia Lyn Scott, “Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke: ‘The Respected Mrs. Cooke,’” *Worth Their Salt, Too*, ed. Colleen Whitley (Logan, Utah, 2000), 1–27, 281–88. “Diary of David Candland 1819–1902,” 14, typescript, UPB. *Deseret News*, 27 April 1854, 4. *Deseret News* 5:69, 100, 231; 6:93; 7:96, 120; 8:138, 142, 144.

2. *Deseret News* 7:96, 120.

3. “Diary of John D. T. McAllister,” 2:115–16, typescript, UPB.

1140 1. “Journals of James Ure,” 97.

1141 1. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 6:287. *Millennial Star* 19:203–5, 507–9.

2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 4–5.

A confusing and probably incorrect 1856 entry also occurs in the printing account daybook for Joseph W. Young’s *Israels Indsamling og Zions Forløsning* (items 1161–62). One might note that *Evangeliets Sande Grundsætninger* is not listed in the catalogue of works in the February 1857 edition of *Indbydelse til Guds Rige* but is listed in the 1857 “2det Oplag.”

1142 1. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 4 July 1857, USIC.

1143 1. “Journals of James Ure,” 100.

2. “Journals of James Ure,” 102.

3. “Journals of James Ure,” 102.

1144–47 1. *Deseret News* 7:165. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:633–35. “Journal of Lorenzo Brown,” 1:281–83, typescript, UPB. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 5:68–70. Everett L. Cooley, ed., *Diary of Brigham Young 1857* (Salt Lake City, 1980), 48–49, 53.

2. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 23 July 1857. *Deseret News* 7:165, 173. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:634. “Journal of Lorenzo Brown,” 1:282–83. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 5:69. “Elias Smith’s Journal,” 23–24 July 1857, typescript, UPB. Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), 156–57. Cooley, *Diary of Brigham Young*, 49. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 4 August 1857, USIC.

Smoot, Stoddard, and Rockwell probably confirmed the rumors of an approaching army, which the Church leaders had been aware of, perhaps as early as May 29, when John M. Bernhisel and George A. Smith reached Salt Lake City. The mail contract was the financial linchpin of the Express and Carrying Company, and its cancellation put the company out of business (see items 863, 1049, 1084). Cooley, *Diary of Brigham Young*,

49–53. William P. MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point* (Norman, Okla., 2008), 223–27. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 162–70.

3. Cooley, *Diary of Brigham Young*, 44–47. *Journal of Discourses* 5:56.

4. “Early Church Information File.” “Utah Immigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. *Deseret News* 22:449, 465; 25:169; 26:401, 417; 33:393. *Deseret Evening News*, 3 July 1884, 3. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:773–74. Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music* (Urbana and Chicago, 1989), 48–49, 92–95, 99, 118–19.

1148 1. *Acts and Resolutions Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, During the Sixth Annual Session* (Salt Lake City, 1857), 22–23.

2. John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, 13 March 1855, USIC.

3. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:620–24, 628, 633. Deseret News Bindery Ledger, UHi.

1149 1. *Acts and Resolutions Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, During the Sixth Annual Session*, 22–23.

1150 1. *Contributor* 3:177. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 3–31 August 1857.

1151 1. I am indebted to Ronald D. Dennis for bringing this piece to my attention and for a description of its contents. For a biographical sketch of Daniel Daniels, see Introduction, note 8.

2. *Mormon*, 25 April 1857, 3.

3. For a biography of David Bevan Jones, see D. L. Davies, “From a *Seion* of Lands to the Land of Zion: The Life of David Bevan Jones,” *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp (Salt Lake City, 1989), 118–41.

4. *Millennial Star* 18:170; 19:314, 811.

1152 1. UHi, UPB, and USIC each have both states.

2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 6, 12.

1153 1. “Journal of John L. Smith,” 2:104, 106, UPB.

1154 1. “Journal of John Van Cott,” 1:225, UPB.

2. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 6.

1155–56 1. See, e.g., Cooley, *Diary of Brigham Young*, 81.

2. Cooley, *Diary of Brigham Young*, 68–69.

3. Cooley, *Diary of Brigham Young*, 73–74, 76–80. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 14 September 1857. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 5:87, 91–98. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:637–38. *Deseret News* 7:221, 224. *The Utah Expedition: Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting Reports . . . Relative to the Military Expedition Ordered into the Territory of Utah*, 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, H. Ex. Doc. 71, 24–26. Jesse A. Gove, *The Utah Expedition, 1857–1858*, ed. Otis G. Hammond (Concord, N. H., 1928), 59–60.

The draft of the proclamation dated “Saturday, August 5, 1857” is in the Daniel H. Wells papers [MS 1344 bx 3].

1157 1. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 6.

1158 1. “Journal of John L. Smith,” 2:113–14, 124–26, 133, 139, 147. “Journal of Samuel Francis,” 214, 220, 222, typescript, UPB.

2. “Diary of John Lyman Smith,” 32, typescript (1940), UPB.

3. *Étoile du Déséret*, 64, 80, 96, 112, 160. D. B. Richards and N. C. Giaucque, *Hymnes a l’Usage des Branches Françaises de l’Eglise de Jésus-Christ des Saints des Derniers Jours* (Berne, 1899), 18–19, 78–79. *Hymnes de l’Eglise de Jésus-Christ des Saints des Derniers Jours pour les Conférences Françaises des Missions Suisse-Allemande et Néerland-Belge* (Rotterdam, 1907), 10–11.

1159 1. European Mission Financial Records, 11:197.

2. *Millennial Star* 19:649, 668–71.

1160 1. “Diary of David Candland 1819–1902,” 28, typescript, UPB. Jill Mulvay Derr and Karen Lynn Davidson, *Eliza R. Snow: The Complete Poetry* (Provo, Utah, and Salt Lake City, 2009), 566–70, 1197–98.

1161–62 1. “Journal of Joseph W. Young,” 6 August, 16 August 1857; 4 February 1858, microfilm, USIC. “Hector C. Haight’s Journal,” 16 August 1857; 4 February 1858, microfilm, USIC. *Millennial Star* 19:540; 20:154. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 6:361.

2. “Journal of Joseph W. Young,” 26–27 October, 29–30 October, 2–4 November, 27–28 November, 31 December 1857.

Young’s history of his trip over the plains is published serially in the *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, beginning in the issue of October 1, 1857.

3. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 4, 6.

4. A confusing and probably incorrect 1856 entry also occurs in the printing account daybook for Orson Pratt’s *Evangelists Sande Grundsætninge* (item 1141). Note that *Israels Indsamling og Zions Forløsning* is not listed in the catalogues of works in the two 1857 editions of *Indbydelse til Guds Rige* but is listed in the 1859 edition.

5. “Journal of Joseph W. Young, 3 September, 15 September, 5 October, 9 October, 12 October, 14 October 1857, and passim.

6. See, e.g., p. 1, lines 7, 12, 19 of the text; p. 2, lines 6, 22–23, and paragraph 8; p. 3, line 7 from the bottom; p. 9, lines 12–14; p. 14, last line; p. 16, lines 1, 8, 10, and lines 5, 9, 10, 14 from the bottom.

7. I am indebted to Christopher K. McAfee for this summary.

8. “A History of the Persecutions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Written by J. W. Young,” 1, 33–35, microfilm of typescript, USIC. “Journal of Joseph W. Young,” 12 January 1858. “Hector C. Haight’s Journal,” 12 January 1858. *Millennial Star* 12:133, 139–40, 345; 14:171, 666; 15:154. Madoline Cloward Dixon, *Peteetneet Town: A History of Payson, Utah* (Payson, Utah, 1974), 17, 199. Rhea Hone, et al., *The Payson Story* (Payson, Utah, 1950), 5. James G. Bleak, “Annals of the Southern Utah Mission,” 282, 299, 301, 324, typescript, UPB. “Diary of James Godson Bleak,” Book B, 15–16, 18, 45, 97, 119, 140, 149, 192, typescript, UPB. *Deseret News* 22:330. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:546.

1163–64 1. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:646–49. *The Utah Expedition: Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting Reports . . . Relative to the Military Expedition Ordered into the Territory of Utah*, 35 Cong., 1st sess., 1858, H. Ex. Doc. 71, 75–76.

2. *Constitution of the United States of America . . . Also, "An Act to Establish a Territorial Government for Utah"* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 27.

3. *Deseret News* 7:293, 325. Everett L. Cooley, comp., *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah During the Seventh Annual Session for the Years 1857–58 at Great Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1956), 12–16, 31. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:649.

4. For a discussion of the Express and Carrying Company, organized by the Church and then abandoned because of the lost mail contract, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 162–70.

5. Cooley, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 36–37, 58. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:649–50, 652.

1165 1. Cooley, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 16, 33.

2. I am indebted to Kari M. Main, museum curator, for locating this piece.

1166 1. Scandinavian Mission Printing Account Daybook, 5.