

1851?), 11. *Report of the London Pastoral Conference . . . December 25th and 26th, 1852* (London, 1853?), 14. *Minutes of the London Conference . . . December the 30th 1855* (London? 1856?), 5.

33. *Millennial Star* 13:16; 14:16; 15:48; 16:48; 17:95; 18:47; 19:63; 20:63, 570–71, 777; 21:291, 483, 508–9, 707; 22:47.

34. *Millennial Star* 10:152. See items 634, 723, and 729.

35. David J. Whittaker, "Orson Pratt: Prolific Pamphleteer," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (autumn 1982): 35.

346 1. This edition of *General Epistle from the Council of the Twelve Apostles* contains three obvious typographical errors: *Jordon* for *Jordan*, p. 3, line 18; *Hyrum* for *Hyrum*, p. 4, line 20; *petetion* for *petition*, p. 4, line 39.

2. *General Epistle from the Council of the Twelve Apostles*, 6. "Journal History," 5 December, 24–27 December 1847. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 3:293–95, 299–301.

3. "Historian's Office Journal," 9:25–26, 28–31, USiC. "Biography and Journal of William I. Appleby," 209–10, USiC. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 3:297–98. Willard Richards to G. D. Watt, 16 May 1848, *Millennial Star* 11:8–9. The suggestions by Pratt, dated 16 November 1847, those of Woodruff and Smith, undated, and those of Benson, 25 November 1847, are in the Brigham Young papers, USiC. These papers also include two corrected drafts of the epistle in Thomas Bullock's hand and a third copy in Bullock's hand, signed by Brigham Young and Willard Richards.

4. "Journal History," 28 December 1847; 14 January, 16–17 January, 17 July 1848 (p. 5). "Biography and Journal of William I. Appleby," 211, 214. Ezra T. Benson and William I. Appleby to Brigham Young and Council, 17 January 1848, USiC. "Journal of E. Snow from Decr 27th 1847 Sketch Book No. 5th," 6, photocopy, UPB.

5. "Journal History," 17 January 1848. Benson and Appleby to Brigham Young and Council, 17 January 1848. "Biography and Journal of William I. Appleby," 214. "Journal of Amasa Lyman, 1848," 4, microfilm, USiC.

The *Daily Missouri Republican* shop would also print William Clayton's *Emigrants' Guide* in March.

6. *Gospel Herald*, 31 August 1848, 106.

347 1. See, for example: Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, and Wilford Woodruff, respectively, in *Journal of Discourses* 9:273 and 10:255–56; 10:74 and 11:153; 11:179–80; 10:15.

2. Orson Spencer to Samuel Curtis, 3 May 1849, photocopy, USiC.

3. *Millennial Star* 10:16, 64; 12:272.

348 1. "Journal of Franklin D. Richards," 24 December 1848, 18 January 1849, type-script, USiC.

2. *Millennial Star* 9:35, 158, 356; 10:47–48, 70.

3. T. Edgar Lyon Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet* (Provo, Utah, 1989). *Millennial Star* 12:15, 207, 345; 13:15, 334; 15:78–79, 169. *Deseret Evening News*, 29 November 1889, 3. Thomas E. Lyon, "Publishing a Book of Mormon Poetry: *The Harp of Zion*," *BYU Studies* 27 (winter 1987): 85–95.

350 1. Bowes, *Mormonism Exposed*, 3, 72. In his introduction to *Mormonism Exposed*, Bowes remarks: At "Bradford, in 1848, I had a debate for nine nights with James Marsden,

one of the Mormon priests, and in the same year I published a refutation of Mormonism in the 'Christian Magazine, exhibiting the church as it ought to be.'" Bowes appears to have published the pamphlet version late in 1849 (see item 456).

Mormonism Exposed advertises three volumes of *The Christian Magazine* on its back page, but the only located copies of this magazine are the parts of the six issues for January–June 1848, which contain Bowes's anti-Mormon article. at the LDS Church.

Born in Yorkshire, June 12, 1804, John Bowes commenced preaching in the Wesleyan Methodist Church while still in his teens and then shifted his allegiance to the primitive Methodists. About 1830 he renounced all formal affiliations and began an independent ministry in Dundee. For many years he traveled from town to town, speaking whenever he could find an audience—a practice that resulted in his being prosecuted a number of times for street preaching. On several occasions he had a public encounter with Mormon missionaries. Refusing a salary for most of his ministry, he supported himself mainly from the sale of his books and his more than two hundred tracts. He died in Dundee, September 23, 1874. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Bowes, John." *Millennial Star* 12:214–17. "Diary of Crandall Dunn," 2:124–25, USIC. Thomas Smith, *Who is the Liar?* (Northampton? 1850?).

2. *Millennial Star* 10:53, 76; 15:42, 250, 511, 842; 16:763. Susan Easton Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848* (Provo, Utah, 1989), 37:266–67. "European Emigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. *Deseret News* 28:64. International Genealogical Index, UPB. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 1137.

Bury was in the Manchester Conference, five miles north of Manchester, five miles east of Bolton.

351 1. Some uncertainty exists over the year Thomas Smith was born. In the biographical sketch accompanying item 138 his year of birth is given as 1812, following the sketch at the beginning of his first diary and the LDS Church Archive's catalogue. But in his diary under the date February 21, 1848, Smith writes, "I was this day 32 years of age," suggesting that he was born in 1816. "Journal of Thomas Smith (1812–52)," 3:37, USIC.

2. "Journal of Thomas Smith," 3:38–40.

353 1. "Diary of Crandall Dunn," 2:58–60, USIC.

2. *Millennial Star* 8:78; 9:256; 10:150–51; 11:294; 12:15, 345; 13:24. "Diary of Crandall Dunn." 1:103–5, 195.

354 1. *William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City, 1921), 74, 81–83, 91, 104–5, 136–37, 143, 152–53. *Millennial Star* 12:49–50, 65. Will Bagley, ed., *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane, Wash., 1997), 128, 153. Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, with an introductory essay by James B. Allen (Tucson, Ariz., 1997), 3–4, 14.

Clayton discovered that a rear wheel of one of Heber C. Kimball's wagons was 14 feet 8 inches in circumference, so that it made exactly 360 revolutions in one mile. *William Clayton's Journal*, 136–37.

2. *Millennial Star* 12:18–19, 33–35, 49–50, 65–68, 81–83, 97–100, 113–15, 129–31, 145–47, 161–66, 177–78. *William Clayton's Journal*, 159, 344. Bagley, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints*, 158, 218, 257. Kimball, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, 14–15.

Bullock's "Synopsis" is in his papers in the LDS Church Archives.

3. William Clayton's *Journal*, 340–41. Bagley, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints*, 247. Kimball, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, 4–5, 15.

King's new device would "tell the distance for one thousand miles without keeping any account." Of William A. King little is known. Born in Oxford County, Maine, July 3, 1821, and a member of the Twenty-fifth Quorum of Seventy in Nauvoo, he returned to Winter Quarters with Brigham Young's company in the fall of 1847 and then seems to have disappeared, for his residence was unknown when the presidents of the Twenty-fifth Quorum published their reports in 1853 and 1854. He reportedly died in Boston in 1862. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 137, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. Temple Index Bureau. "Journal History," 30 August 1847, 9 May 1853, 28 September 1854. Bagley, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints*, 277, 306. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:710–11. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1959), 2:583.

4. William Clayton's *Journal*, 347, 376.

5. William Clayton to Brigham Young, 15 November 1847; Clayton to Young, 7 February 1848, USIC. "Journal History," 7–8 February 1848. Kimball, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, 7.

6. "Journal History," 10 February, 29 February, 28 March, 2 June 1848. Nathaniel H. Felt to Brigham Young, 7 March 1848; Felt to Young, 28 March 1848; USIC. Kimball, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, 7.

7. Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gains, eds., *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff* (New York, 1944), 1:56, 126–27. Byron N. McKinstry, *The California Gold Rush Overland Diary of Byron N. McKinstry* (Glendale Calif., 1975), 147, 151, 181, 240. Irene D. Paden, ed., *The Journal of Madison Berryman Moorman* (San Francisco, 1948), 46. "Silas Newcomb Journal," 123, CtY; microfilm, UPB

8. "Journal History," 16 July 1849, 3.

9. Joseph E. Ware, *The Emigrants' Guide to California*, with introduction and note: by John Caughey (Princeton, 1932). P. L. Platt and N. Slater, *Travelers' Guide Across the Plains Upon the Overland Route to California*, with an introduction by Dale Morgan (San Francisco, 1963). Kimball, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, 8, 30–31.

10. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, 1991), 472–73. Roger W. Harris, who searched the copyright records in the Library of Congress in the early 1970s, found no record of a copyright for Clayton's *Guide*; see his "Copyright Entries Works by and About the Mormons, 1829–1870," photocopy, UPB.

11. Several facsimile reprints of the 1848 edition are extant, and a few obvious attempt at a forgery; most of these are arranged in a single 24-page signature.

355 1. Joseph S. Willes, "Brief Biographical Sketch of the Life of William Willes with Excerpts from Several Journals Kept by Him," 6, microfilm of typescript, USIC. See also William Willes, "The Life of William Willes," 11–12, microfilm, USIC.

2. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)," microfilm, UPB. "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 4:196; 5:166–69, 173; 7:4, 187; 9:314, 352; 10:80, 141, 252; 11:134, 287, 350; 14:35, 354; 15:151, 492. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia* 2:590–91. C. LeRoy Anderson, *Joseph Morris and the Saga of the Morrisites* (Logan Utah, 1988). Ancestral File.

356 1. "Biography and Journal of William I. Appleby," 216–20, 226–27, 237, USIC. "History of the Signs of the Times," a 184-page manuscript, now in the LDS Church Archives, is dated on the title page June 1848, but entries continue up to 1855.

2. "Biography and Journal of William I. Appleby," 226–27, 230–32. "History of the Signs of the Times," 112.

3. In "Biography and Journal of William I. Appleby," 230–32, the poem is entitled "Lines. Suggested by the present State of the World!"; in "History of the Signs of the Times," 112–15, it is titled the same as in the broadside. The deleted verse is number 6 in the manuscripts.

357–60 1. *Millennial Star* 10:234.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 6:308–59, 377, 384; 7:651–60, USIC.

361 1. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register." 188. "Early Church Information File." *History of the Church* 4:237, 484. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:440. "Journal History," 3 February, 29 February, 3 March 1848; 11 October 1851; 25 May 1854 (p. 3); 21 May 1858. 1850 Iowa census, Pottawattamie County, 105. 1856 Utah census, Mill Creek, 551. 1860 Utah census, Utah County, Springville, 293. 1870 Utah census, Millard County, Petersburg, 364. *Frontier Guardian*, 17 October 1849, 2. Family Group Record of Sidney Roberts, microfilm, 1274947, UPB.

2. "Journal History," 3 February, 29 February, 1 March, 3 March, 24–27 March 1848. *Historical Record* 8:899–900. J. Keith Melville, *Conflict and Compromise: The Mormons in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Politics* (Provo, Utah, 1974), 6–15. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1930), 3:323–27.

Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate, won the presidency, but the Whigs lost in the state. Following the election, the Iowa House of Representatives passed a bill to disorganize Pottawattamie County, which failed in the Senate because of the efforts of four Whig state senators.

3. The only located copy of *Man Is a Self-Existing Being Spiritually* is addressed in manuscript on the back: "Mr George A Smith Counsell Bluffs."

362 1. *Frontier Guardian*, 2 May 1849, 1. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 3:352–64. "Journal History," 28 June, 22 August 1848.

2. Woodruff did record the receipt of a letter from Hyde and a copy of the prospectus for the *Frontier Guardian* on October 11, 1848. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 3:376.

3. "Journal History," 2 October (p. 3), 3 December 1848.

363 1. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Salt Lake City, 1995), 199–200. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 3:268–69. Will Bagley, ed., *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane, Wash., 1997), 281–82. *Millennial Star* 10:30. *Frontier Guardian*, 11 July 1849, 1.

2. *William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City, 1921), 19–20. James B. Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo: William Clayton's Experience in Mormon Illinois," *Journal of Mormon History* 6 (1979): 54–57. Paul E. Dahl, "'All Is Well . . .': The Story of 'the Hymn That Went around the World,'" *BYU Studies* 21 (1981): 515–27.

3. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," vol. 3, USIC. Flanigan does not mention the poem in his diary.

4. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:631. *Times and Seasons* 6:1038. "Diary of James H. Flanigan." 4:2, 10, 28, 60–61, USIC. *Millennial Star* 10:313; 11:32, 294; 12:345; 13:72–75.

364 1. European Mission Financial Records, 7:79. USIC. *Millennial Star* 10:90, 121, 224. J. F. Bell, *A Reply to the Objections of the Rev. Mr. Osborne* (Wolverhampton? 1849). 8. J. H. Flanigan, *Invitation* (Manchester? 1851?), 4. J. F. Bell, *A Reply to the Bare-Faced Falsehoods and Misrepresentations of Mr. John Theobald* (n.p., 1851?), 8.

2. *Millennial Star* 13:249. European Mission Financial Records, 6:300–99.

367–70 1. *Millennial Star* 10:241.

2. The Brigham Young University Lee Library has a copy of *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon*, part 5, in a blue stiff paper wrapper, plain, except for the following on the front: *Tract No. [handwritten 5] of the Latter Day Saints' Loan Tract Society. Shropshire Conference. To all unto whom this tract may come. Greeting.* This is followed by twenty-two lines of text inviting the recipient to read the tract and preserve it “with care” until it is called for by the distributor, signed *J. W. Young, President* and *D. James, Jun., Secretary*. At the bottom is *Mr. D. James, Jun., General Book Agent, Castle Foregate, Opposite the Red Lion Inn, Shrewsbury.*

The Peirce pamphlet collection at Harvard includes an off-white stiff paper wrapper, by itself with no pamphlet, issued by the Bradford Conference, which has on the front within an ornamental border: *No. [blank space] Latter-day Saints tract distribution society. Address to the reader. Respected reader,* followed by thirty-eight lines of text that are an expanded version of the Articles of Faith. This is continued on the inside front wrapper within the same border and signed at the end, *Robert O. Menzies, President*. The inside back wrapper is plain, and the outside back wrapper has a list of books for sale—including the *Millennial Star*, “a semi-monthly Publication” and “Elder William Gibson’s Discussion”—within a different ornamental border. with *Jowett, Printer, 45, Tyrrel Street, Bradford* at the foot above the border.

In November 1850 James H. Flanigan gathered some of the Saints together to stitch covers on some of Orson Pratt’s tracts, which were to be distributed in the Birmingham Conference (see item 526). Eli B. Kelsey mentions “numbering the tract covers” in his 1851 London *Semi-Half-Yearly Circular* (item 575). And on March 7, 1851, Jacob Gates, president of the Leicestershire and Derbyshire Conference, examined “the proof sheet of a short address to cover our Tracts which we design to distribute among the People who have not as yet imbraced the Truth.” “Diary of James H. Flanigan,” 4:106–11. “Journals of Jacob Gates,” vol. 4, 7 March 1851, microfilm, USIC.

3. Richard L. Evans, *A Century of “Mormonism” in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City, 1937), 244. *Millennial Star* 13:16; 15:48.

4. *Millennial Star* 10:272.

5. The handwritten autobiographical sketch in the George Peden Waugh pamphlet volume makes it clear that Waugh obtained the book before he left England in February 1853 (see item 403). Waugh’s book is in the Brigham Young University Lee Library.

6. European Mission Financial Records, 6:359–414; 7:1–303.

7. *Millennial Star* 18:536. European Mission Financial Records, 11:67; 13:547–49.

371 1. *Frontier Guardian*, 7 February (p. 2), 21 February (p. 3), 2 May 1849 (p. 1). *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 3:354–55, 358. “Journal History,” 28 June, 22 August, 9 October (p. 3), 15 October (p. 5), 16 November 1848 (p. 2); 5 April 1849 (pp. 5–8). *Millennial Star* 11:43, 52–53.

2. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 3:376. *Gospel Herald*, 21 December 1848, 216; 22 March 1849. 4. I am grateful to John Hajicek for bringing these last two sources to my attention.

- 372** 1. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret News* 24:297. "Journal of William Gibson Senr in Great Britain Wrote for the Historian's Office 1841-1851." 2. USIC. "William Gibson's Journal," No. 3, 4-9. USIC. *Millennial Star* 7:137-38; 9:173-74, 345; 10:68-70, 197-98, 293-94; 11:28, 287, 294; 12:345; 13:24.
2. "William Gibson's Journal," No. 3, 165-71. "Journal of William Gibson Senr." 81-86.
- 373-76** 1. *Millennial Star* 10:336.
2. European Mission Financial Records, 6:374-461; 7:1-303.
3. *Millennial Star* 15:714. European Mission Financial Records, 8:500, 575.
- 377-80** 1. *Millennial Star* 10:336, 352, 368; 12:272.
2. European Mission Financial Records, 6:392-461; 7:1-303.
3. *Millennial Star* 13:352.
4. *Millennial Star* 15:714. European Mission Financial Records, 8:500, 575.
- 381-84** 1. *Millennial Star* 10:380; 11:16, 32; 12:272.
2. European Mission Financial Records, 6:417-461; 7:1-303.
3. *Millennial Star* 13:352.
- 385-86** 1. *Millennial Star* 11:208, 224.
2. European Mission Financial Records, 7:32-303.
3. Orson Pratt's essay that deals with these ideas, entitled "Mormon Philosophy," is in the *New-York Messenger* for September 13, 1845.
4. Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City, 1965), 7, 45. For the current LDS view of the Holy Ghost, see, e.g., D&C 130:22; James E. Talmage, *A Study of the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, 1977), 159-63, 168-69; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation* (Salt Lake City, 1954), 1:38-41; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City, 1966), 358-59.
- 387** 1. *Millennial Star* 10:376.
2. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)," microfilm, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 10:376; 13:334; 14:666; 15:761; 16:9, 140. "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. *Deseret Evening News*, 10 April 1891, 8. Frank Esshom. *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 711.
- 388** 1. "Journal of William Gibson Senr," 87-88. "William Gibson's Journal," No. 3, 173.
- 389** 1. European Mission Financial Records, 6:384-89, USIC.
- 390** 1. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," 4:10, 15-18, 21-23, USIC. *Millennial Star* 10:313, 320.
2. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," 4:23-24, 26.
- 391** 1. "William Gibson's Journal," No. 3, 174.
2. "William Gibson's Journal," No. 3, 174. "Journal of William Gibson Senr." 89-90. Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was a Swedish scientist, philosopher, and mystic, who experienced a series of dramatic visions and devoted himself to theological study during

the last twenty-five years of his life. Although he made no attempt to found a church, during the second decade after his death his followers formed a society in England for publishing his writings, and in 1787 they organized the New Jerusalem Church, or New Church. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Cambridge, Eng., 1911), 19:514–15; 26:221–23. Cyriel Odhner Sigstedt, *The Swedenborg Epic* (London, 1981). Carl Theophilus Odhner, *Annals of the New Church* (Bryn Athyn, Pa., 1904).

Joseph N. Paton, a lay preacher in the New Church, wrote at least one other tract, *The Priesthood of the Holy Jerusalem Defended* (Dunfermline, 1846). A prosperous pattern designer for the manufacture of damask and a collector of antiquities, he affiliated with the Calvinists as a young man, moved to the Methodists and then to the Society of Friends, and finally aligned himself with the New Church in the late 1830s. He died in Dunfermline, April 14, 1874, at age seventy-eight. Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, 530. *The Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine* 21 (1874): 288. I am grateful to Carroll Odhner of the Swedenborg Library, Philadelphia, for supplying the latter source.

392 1. European Mission Financial Records, 7:80, 83. *Millennial Star* 10:336, 352, 368. J. F. Bell, *A Reply to the Objections of the Rev. Mr. Osborne* (Wolverhampton? 1849), 8. J. H. Flanigan, *Invitation* (Manchester? 1851?), 4. J. F. Bell, *A Reply to the Bare-Faced Falsehoods and Misrepresentations of Mr. John Theobald* (n.p., 1851?), 8.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 6:392–99. *Millennial Star* 13:154, 249.

3. See, e.g., p. 100, line 13; p. 106, line 8; p. 110, line 14; p. 156, line 11; p. 193, line 12; p. 204, line 8; p. 209, line 9; p. 321, line 2 from the bottom; p. 322, line 2.

393–94 1. *Millennial Star* 10:352, 368, 380.

2. *Millennial Star* 12:336.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 6:401–414; 7:1–303.

395 1. “Journal History,” 3 February, 29 February, 1 March, 3 March, 24–27 March 1848.

2. “Biography and Journal of William I. Appleby,” 249, USIC.

3. In *To Emigrants to the Gold Region* Roberts urged the overland traveler to go to California by way of Council Bluffs and Salt Lake City on the Mormon trail—the route that he obviously intended to take. According to its constitution, the Joint Stock Mutual Insurance Merchandizing Company was to go to California and return “once in twelve months.” Copies of *To Emigrants to the Gold Region* are located at NjP and NN.

4. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 3:422–23. *Frontier Guardian*, 17 October 1849, 2. 1850 Iowa census, Pottawattamie County, 105. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:440.

396 1. Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown* (Logan, Utah, 1972), xii–xviii, 139–42. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” Liverpool Branch Record, 410:16, 18, 21, 24, microfilm 87012, UPB. *Millennial Star* 8:179–80. *Frontier Guardian*, 20 March 1850, 2. *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 17 July 1881, 1. Ancestral File, UPB. International Genealogical Index, UPB. Temple Index Bureau. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records. Cedar City Cemetery Records.

2. Born in Glasgow, June 25, 1776, William Cuninghame was the only child of William Cuninghame and his second wife Elizabeth Campbell. He inherited his father’s estate at Lainshaw in 1799 and lived there until his death, November 6, 1849. His published works include more than twenty items. Brown, *Letter to W. Cunningham*, 1. William Anderson,

The Scottish Nation (Edinburgh and London, 1864), 1:747–48. James Paterson, *History of the Counties of Ayr and Wigton* (Edinburgh, 1866), 3:586–89. International Genealogical Index.

3. Brown, *Letter to W. Cunningham*, 1.

400 1. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," 4:144, 147, 164, 169, USIC. *Millennial Star* 10:312; 12:267. "Journal History," 2 July 1848.

2. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," vol. 5, 8 January, 14 January, 21 January, 28 January, 4 February 1849, USIC.

401 1. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," vol. 5, 5 February, 10–11 February, 13 February 1849.

402 1. *Frontier Guardian*, 7 February (p. 2), 21 February (p. 3), 2 May 1849 (p. 1). *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 3:354–55, 358. "Journal History," 28 June, 22 August, 9 October (p. 3), 15 October (p. 5), 16 November 1848 (p. 2); 5 April 1849 (pp. 5–8). *Millennial Star* 11:43, 52–53. Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The First Printing at Council Bluffs," *Annals of Iowa* 18 (1931): 3–11.

2. Hyde's printing office "stood as a central sturdy structure on the southwest corner of what had evolved into intersecting main roads, Hyde Street and Main Street." Myrtle Stevens Hyde, *Orson Hyde: The Olive Branch of Israel* (Salt Lake City, 2000), 231, 235.

For a brief account of Hyde's Kanesville press, including a description of the contents of the shop, see the introduction to this volume.

3. Orson Hyde to Willard Richards, 1 June 1849, USIC.

4. *Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel*, 8 April 1852, 2.

5. In the *Guardian* of October 17 and 31, 1849, Hyde indicated that he hoped to publish the paper weekly—"so soon as we can place confidence in our mails."

6. *Frontier Guardian*, 22 January 1851, 2.

7. *Frontier Guardian*, 7 February 1849, 2.

8. *Frontier Guardian*, 28 November 1849 (p. 2); 10 July (p. 2), 27 November 1850 (p. 2); 11 July (p. 2), 14 November 1851 (p. 2). Daniel Mackintosh to John T. Caine, 29 August 1851, UPB.

Richard John Moxey Bee also worked at the *Frontier Guardian* during the paper's last year, "in all the departments while there from 'devil' to pressman, compositor, etc." Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, February 6, 1835, he joined the Church there in 1850 and came to St. Louis that fall and to Kanesville the following spring. In 1852 he made the trek to Utah and eventually settled in Bear Lake County, Idaho, where he, Lyman O. Littlefield, and others founded the *Bear Lake Democrat*, which he helped publish from 1880 to 1888. He died in Bear Lake County, July 18, 1912. "Autobiographical Sketch of the Life of Richard John Moxey Bee," typescript, UPB. "Early Church Information File." Edith Parker Haddock and Dorothy Hardy Matthews, comps., *History of Bear Lake Pioneers* (Bear Lake County, Idaho, 1968), 67. Ancestral File, UPB. Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 23 October 1880.

9. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 250, UPB. "Early Church Information File." "Journal History," 24 September 1852; 22 August 1855; 5 January 1856; 14 January (p. 4), 22 February (p. 7), 21 April, 30 April, 27 June, 18 July (p. 3), 10 August (p. 2), 3 October 1857 (p. 4); 20 June, 22 June, 27 October 1858. *Millennial Star* 19:510–11. *Deseret News* 10:232. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1019. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City, 1974), 213–14, 272, 343. Norma S. Davis, *A Song of Joys: The Biography of Mahonri Mackintosh Young* (Provo, Utah, 1999). Family Group Record of Daniel Mackintosh, microfilm 1274629, UPB.

10. The *Guardian's* forthright Whig position undoubtedly contributed to the establishment of a weekly Democratic newspaper in Kanesville, the *Western Bugle*, by Orson Hyde's political adversary Almon W. Babbitt. The *Guardian* of May 2, 1851, reported that Babbitt had bought a press—and had been cut off from the Church by the Kanesville high council for other reasons—but his newspaper did not appear until a year later, undoubtedly because he traveled to Salt Lake City with some of the new territorial appointees in the summer of 1851. The first issue of the *Bugle* appeared on April 28, 1852, listing Babbitt as publisher and Lyman O. Littlefield as printer, and makes clear the paper's Democratic leaning as well as its independence from the Church; its prospectus, for example, declares: "We shall take no part in Religious or Sectarian controversies." In the sixth number (June 2) Babbitt announced that he had engaged his brother-in-law Joseph E. Johnson—Utah's most prolific founder of newspapers—to manage the *Bugle*, although he remained editor and publisher, and in August of the following year, because of his appointment as Utah Territory secretary of state, he sold the paper to Johnson. Three months later Johnson changed its name to *Council Bluffs Bugle* and remained the "proprietor" until January 1856 when he sold an interest in the paper to D. W. Carpenter. Subsequently he took another partner, Lysander W. Babbitt, no relation to Almon, and in May 1857 sold out to Carpenter and Babbitt. *Frontier Guardian*, 2 May (p. 2), 14 November 1851 (p. 1). *Western Bugle*, 28 April, 2 June 1852 (p. 2); 10 August, 24 August, 2 November 1853. *Council Bluffs Bugle*, 16 November 1853; 25 December 1855; 8 January 1856; 26 May, 2 June 1857; 20 July 1859; 25 April 1860. J. Sterling Morton, *Illustrated History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, Neb., 1907), 2:336–37, 341. Homer H. Field and Joseph R. Reed, *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1907), 177.

11. *History of Mills County, Iowa* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1881), 387–88. Morton, *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, 2:348–49. *Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel*, 8 April 1853, 2. McMurtrie, "The First Printing at Council Bluffs," 11.

Dawson changed the paper to a weekly and published it through vol. 4, no. 39 (November 11, 1852), when he sold it to A. C. Ford, a lawyer in Sidney, Iowa. Ford continued the paper for another six months and then closed it because it was not profitable. *Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel*, 11 November 1852 (p. 2); 12 May 1853 (p. 2). McMurtrie, "The First Printing at Council Bluffs," 11.

The *Guardian* also did job work, printing, for example, the broadside *Beloit Company* in May 1850, giving the rules, officers, and members of this overland company—a copy of which is pasted in the "Silas Newcomb Journal" at the Yale University Beinecke Library. It also printed an 1851 handbill advertising an "Ice Cream Saloon" in Kanesville—which is reproduced in Rufus David Johnson, *J. E. J.: Trail to Sundown* (Salt Lake City, 1961), 108. See also item 540.

403 1. Holograph Autobiographical Sketch of George Peden Waugh in *A Series of Pamphlets* (Liverpool, 1851), UPB. "Register of the Edinburgh Branch . . . Revised by Elder George Peden Waugh, in 1847," 8, microfilm 104151, UPB. "Early Church Information File." "Journal History," 9 September 1853 (p. 26); 7 April, 19 May (p. 2) 1854; 17 February (p. 3), 24 April, 2 June 1855; 25 May (pp. 1–2), 28 June (p. 5), 15 October (p. 1), 30 November (p. 8) 1856. John Lyon, *Dairy [sic] of a Voyage from Liverpool to New Orleans, on Board the Ship International* (n.p., n.d.). *Millemial Star* 17:792. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 302. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records and grave marker F–10–8.

2. *Millennial Star* 1:168, 240; 2:11; 3:29, 160; 8:19–21; 9:21, 76, 256; 11:287; 12:15, 207, 325, 345; 13:58.

3. *Millennial Star* 11:93–94.

404 1. The eighth and ninth Glasgow reports were issued in 1853 and 1855.

2. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 112. "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 10:269; 11:92–93, 190; 12:27–28, 43, 89, 267, 345; 14:15, 41. "Journal History," 31 December 1852, supplement, 120. *Deseret Evening News*, 28 March 1885, 5. *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 28 March 1885, 4, 8. *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 28 March 1885, 4. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 983. Eli B. Kelsey, "A Card to the Public," *Utah Magazine* 3:411–12.

3. "Glasgow Branch Record," 2, 48, 258, microfilm 104152, UPB. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret News* 26:312. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1951), 12:458. Ogden City Cemetery Records.

405 1. Gravely is about eighteen miles southeast of Bedford.

2. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," 4:28, 31–33, 35–37, USIC. Flanigan, *Reply to a Sheet*, 1–3. Flanigan states in his diary that he picked up the 300 copies of his "Replies" on Friday, April 21, but he is mistaken because April 21 fell on Saturday.

3. Flanigan refers to Bays's tract, *The "Blood of Christ," or the Mormon Baptist Water* (Chatteris: J. Southwell, Printer, 1849).

406–8 1. *Millennial Star* 11:123, 134.

2. The 1848 imprints are the two hymnals and the *Kingdom of God, Part I*. The other 1849 imprints are *Mormonism Triumphant!* and the 1849 hymnal.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 7:1–303.

4. Pratt, *Reply to a Pamphlet*, 8.

412 1. "Bolsover Branch Record of Members 1845–1850," 3, 10, microfilm 86983, UPB. Temple Index Bureau. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." *Millennial Star* 9:157; 10:151, 255; 11:56. Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 29 January 1849. 1856 Utah census, Springville, 1040. J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore, Md., 1981), 350. *Deseret News* 37:336. "Diary of Crandall Dunn," 2:86–87, 120–21, USIC. "Journal History," 31 December 1852, supplement, 7, 10; 31 May 1925, 1. James G. Bleak. "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," 271, typescript, UPB. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1964), 7:399–403. Andrew Karl Larson, "I Was Called to Dixie" (Salt Lake City, 1961), 36–37. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1197. Maureen Smith Bryson and Kerry William Bate, *The Lives and Letters of the Sylvesters and Nicholsons* (Provo, Utah, 1997), 52–78.

2. "Diary of Crandall Dunn," 2:86–87, 120–21.

413 1. John Hyde Sr., born in London, January 9, 1810, was baptized into the Church by John Banks and served consecutive terms as president of the Cheltenham, Norwich, Reading, and Sheffield conferences, 1852–58. In January 1859 the *Millennial Star* reported that he was about to immigrate to Utah, but five months later it announced that he had been excommunicated. He died in London, July 11, 1892. His son John Hyde Jr. joined the Church in September 1848, at age fifteen, served as a missionary in the French Mission, 1851–53,

came to Utah in 1853, and three years later went on a mission to the Hawaiian Islands, where he apostatized; in 1857 he published the well-known anti-Mormon book *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs*. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." Temple Index Bureau. *Millennial Star* 10:362–3; 13:334; 14:32, 319; 15:41–42, 79, 511; 16:79, 122; 17:777; 19:795; 21:61, 365. Ancestral File. John Hyde Jr., *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York, 1857), 17–26. 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), 62–67. Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, "John Hyde, Jr., Mormon Renegade." *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 120–44. "Diary of Samuel W. Richards," 2:148, 151, 153, typescript. UPB.

2. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 3:352–64, 388–89, 543–51.
3. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 3:443–45, 455.

414 1. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," vol. 5, 3 April, 19 April, 5 May 1849, USIC. "Early Church Information File." *Report of the Warwickshire Conference* (Leamington, 1850), 1, 3, 10. "Journal History," 19 August, 2 December 1854; 18 April 1855 (pp. 3–4); 25 May (pp. 1–2), 28 June (p. 3), 15 October (p. 2), 30 November (pp. 4, 7, 60) 1856. *Millennial Star* 16:554, 764; 17:777–78; 18:154, 377; 31:402–3, 565, 806–7. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 301. *Deseret Evening News*, 2 September 1893, 5. Ruth J. Martin, comp., *Twentieth Ward History 1856–1979* (n.p., 1979?), 40–41. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1216. Ancestral File.

2. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," vol. 5, 27–28 May 1849. "Reminiscences and Diary of John Freeman," 27 May 1849, USIC.

415 1. *Millennial Star* 10:380; 11:57, 134, 160; 12:41; 13:288. "Journal of James H. Flanigan," 4:104, USIC. European Mission Financial Records, 7:83–84, 299, USIC. J. F. Bell, *A Reply to the Objections of the Rev. Mr. Osborne* (Wolverhampton? 1849), 8. J. H. Flanigan, *Invitation* (Manchester? 1851?), 4. J. F. Bell, *A Reply to the Bare-Faced Falsehoods and Misrepresentations of Mr. John Theobald* (n.p., 1851?), 8.

2. See, e.g., what are now 1 Nephi 3:23; 5:1; 5:4; 11:1; 12:9; 14:2; 14:7; 19:11; 2 Nephi 3:14; 3:20; 23:9; Mosiah 27:30; Alma 1:29; 17:6; 17:31; 23:3; 27:25; 51:37; Helaman 6:41; 3 Nephi 9:7; 20:12–13; and Ether 2:20; 4:1. For a tabulation of the changes between the various editions see Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah, 2004).

3. Six of these forty-four 1840 changes, all corrections of misprints, had been made in the 1841 edition. The three 1840 changes introduced in the 1849 edition occur in 1 Nephi 4:18, Mosiah 2:4, and Alma 46:40—the first two corrections of misprints, the third a grammatical correction. Jeffrey R. Holland, "An Analysis of Selected Changes in Major Editions of the Book of Mormon—1830–1920" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966). Stanley R. Larson, "A Study of Some Textual Variations in the Book of Mormon Comparing the Original and Printer's Manuscripts and the 1830, the 1837, and the 1840 Editions" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974).

417 1. Early in 1849, some Kirtland Safety Society notes, in \$1, \$2, \$3, \$5, and \$10 denominations, countersigned by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Newel K. Whitney, and Thomas Bullock, were circulated in the Valley as gold-backed notes. See, e.g., Alvin E. Rust, *Mormon and Utah Coin and Currency* (Salt Lake City, 1984), 54–60.

2. Orson Hyde to Willard Richards, 1 June 1849, USIC.

418 1. "Southampton Branch Record of Members 1845–1849," 97, microfilm 87032, UPB. *Millennial Star* 7:192; 9:80, 83–85; 10:16, 37–38, 48, 153–54, 348; 12:27, 174–75, 218, 370–74; 13:88–89, 186–87, 302, 352; 14:76–78, 364–65, 525; 15:57, 234–36, 470–71, 665–66; 16:32, 191–92, 350, 816, 822; 17:792. "Journal History," 1 October 1854; 3 January 1856 (p. 2); 28 May 1857 (p. 4); 11 May 1858 (p. 2); 15 September 1859. *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 8 March 1882, 4. *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 2:91–92. *Improvement Era* 7:634. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:385. Ronald W. Walker, "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 51–72. J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City, 1938), 61, 79, 297–98, 340–49.

Fanny Warn Stenhouse was born in St. Helier, Jersey, and baptized into the Church on August 11, 1849. Her birth date, however, is uncertain: the Ancestral File lists April 23, 1826; the Southampton branch record gives 1827; the temple record gives April 12, 1828; and "Tell It All" specifies 1829. Ancestral File, UPB. "Southampton Branch Record of Members 1845–1849," 103. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. "Tell It All" (Hartford, Conn., 1874), 32, 47–53.

2. *Millennial Star* 10:153; 12:26–27, 207, 219. *Minutes of the London Conferences . . . 22nd and 23rd of December, 1849* (London, 1850), 3. *Half-Yearly Reports of the Southampton Conferences . . . June 8 and 9, 1850* (Portsmouth, 1851?), 3.

419–20 1. "Autobiography of Elder James Ferguson Bell Including a History of the Malta Mission" (Transcribed from Pitman Shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth, Geographical and Personal Names Edited by John E. Fell), 1, 7–8, 13, 15, 32–33, 40, typescript, USIC. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)," microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 12:345; 13:207; 14:604; 15:96, 202, 432, 539, 780, 794; 16:364–65, 510–11, 636–37, 782–83; 17:233. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," vol. 5, 19 November 1849, USIC. *St. Louis Luminary*, 14 July 1855, 2. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:596–97.

2. James Osborn, born in Rochester, Kent, began his ministerial career in 1836 and filled five assignments including three years in London before coming to Wolverhampton in 1847. In 1850 he left Wolverhampton, served next in Barnsley and then in seven other locations before going to Southampton, his last, in 1870, where he was appointed superintendent in 1873 and was living at the time of the 1881 census. He died in Southampton, April 28, 1882, at age seventy-two. "Autobiography of Elder James Ferguson Bell," 19. William Hill, *An Alphabetical Arrangement of All the Wesleyan-Methodist Ministers, and Preachers* (London, 1882), 121. William Hill, *An Alphabetical Arrangement of All the Wesleyan Methodist Ministers and Preachers* (London, 1892), 205. *Ministers and Probationers of the Methodist Church* (London, 1952), 432. Gerald P. Mander, *A History of Wolverhampton to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Wolverhampton, 1960), 132, 166. 1851 English census, Barnsley, Yorkshire, 467. 1881 English census, Southampton—All Saints, Hampshire, 69. *General Index: Deaths Registered in England and Wales in the Months of April, May, and June 1882* (London, 1882), 221. Death certificate of James Osborn, certified copy, UPB.

3. "Autobiography of Elder James Ferguson Bell," 20.

4. "Autobiography of Elder James Ferguson Bell," 19–20.

421 1. European Mission Financial Records, 7:33, USIC.

422 1. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," vol. 5, 15 July 1849, USIC.

2. "Record of Members of the Coventry Branch," 1, microfilm 86992. UPB. *Report of the Warwickshire Conference* (Leamington, 1850), 1. "European Emigration Card Index," microfilm. UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm. UPB. *Millennial Star* 10:149–50. "Journal History," 9 September 1853, 5, 23. 1856 Utah census, Salt Lake City, 213. J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore, Md., 1981), 44. Eunice E. C. Record, comp., *The Ancestors and Descendants of Enos Curtis & Ruth Franklin, Utah Pioneers, 1783–1964, and Related Families* (n.p., n.d.), Broadhead section, 1–2. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 770. Ancestral File, UPB.

423 1. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," vol. 5, 19 July, 11–12 August, 26 August 1849.
2. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," vol. 5, 16 July, 16 September 1849; vol. 6, 16 December, 30 December 1849; 9 January 1850. "Record of Members of the Coventry Branch," 3, 5–6, 9, 20, 29. "European Emigration Card Index." "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 959. Ancestral File [William Walker Jeffs].

425 1. "Journal of James Holt," microfilm, USIC. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 12:47–48; 19:304. "European Emigration Card Index." "Utah Immigration Card Index." "Journal History," 8 February, 13 April 1854; 6 February 1856. 1856 Utah census, Davis County, 118. *Deseret News* 6:280. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records. Ancestral File [James Cooper Holt]. Steven Bule, *From Calico Printer to Portrait Painter: Sutcliffe Maudsley Nauvoo Profelist* (Orem, Utah, 2002), 3, 42–43.

The best known of the Holts is James Holt (1804–94); see Dale L. Morgan, "The Reminiscences of James Holt: A Narrative of the Emmett Company," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 1–33. Another is the James Holt who was baptized in Manchester, July 26, 1840, and was subsequently cut off; see "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)."

2. *Millennial Star* 9:363–54; 10:25, 175, 254; 11:233, 263–64, 267, 295–97; 12:11–14, 90–92, 157–59, 235; 13:10–11, 80, 88, 188–91, 255. Cleo H. Evans, comp., *Curtis Edwin Bolton: Pioneer Missionary* (Fairfax, Va., 1968), 38–43. *Frontier Guardian*, 28 November 1851, 2. *Deseret News* 28:624. "Life of William Howell by his Grandson William Louis Howell," typescript, UPB. Ronald D. Dennis, "William Howells: First Missionary to France," *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah, 1985), 43–81.

3. I am grateful to Scott Duvall for this assessment of the French text.

4. "Life of William Howell," 5. *L'Évangile* is advertised on the back wrapper of the July 1849 issue of *Udgorrn Seion*.

5. *Millennial Star* 10:175; 13:80.

6. *Millennial Star* 11:263–64, 295–97; 12:11–14, 91–92, 157–59. *Deseret News* 1:169–70.

428–29 1. *Millennial Star* 11:134, 160, 176, 192, 208, 224, 240.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 7:303.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 7:33–303, 402.

4. T. W. P. Taylder remains an obscure figure. He was christened on May 24, 1818, at the New Street Independent, Penryn, Cornwall, England, where five sisters were also christened. The 1881 census lists him in Gateshead, Durham, age sixty-three, born in Penryn,

a widower with four children—Eliz. E., 18, born in Highworth, Wiltshire; Thomas E. and Annie, both 16, born in Highworth; and Matilda, 10, born in Amble, Northumberland—his occupation given as “minister without charge.” He died in Newcastle upon Tyne, April 12, 1903, at age eighty-five. His death certificate gives his occupation as “Congregational Minister (Retired).” In addition to *The Materialism of the Mormons*, he wrote *The Mormon's Own Book* (two issues: London, 1855 and 1857), *Twenty Reasons for Rejecting Mormonism* (two issues: London, 1857 and Gateshead, 1900), and at least five temperance tracts. International Genealogical Index, UPB. 1881 English census, Gateshead, Durham, 5. *General Index: Deaths Registered in England and Wales in the Months of April, May, and June 1903* (London, 1903), 286. Death certificate of Timothy William Potter Taylder, certified copy, UPB. T. W. P. Taylder, *The Wines of the Bible* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1888), 46–48.

5. Taylder, *The Materialism of the Mormons*, 16–17. Laplace, for example, wrote that if, at any given instant, an infinite mind could perceive the position and momentum of each atom in the universe, then it could precisely determine all past and all future events.

430 1. *Millemial Star* 10:40–41. “Journal History,” 25 November 1847.

2. One other ephemeral piece from the 1849 Mormon emigration is located in the Thomas E. Jeremy papers in the LDS Church Archives, the *Passengers' Contract Ticket* for Jeremy and his family, issued by Orson Pratt on February 19, 1849, for passage on the ship *Buena Vista* from Liverpool to New Orleans.

3. *Millemial Star* 11:284, 363. Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 2 September 1849.

431 1. “Diary of James H. Flanigan,” 4:38–39, USIC.

William Palmer was born in Norfolk County, England, the oldest son of a “good old Baptist” father. Mainly self-educated, he began a trial ministry in St. Neots and then served in Dunstable, Willingham, Spalding, and, for about twenty years, in Chatteris. Subsequently he moved to Homerton-row and labored there another twenty years, until his death on May 14, 1873, at age seventy-three. He wrote a number of books and pamphlets in addition to his two tracts on Mormonism. *The Baptist Hand-Book for 1874* (London, 1874), 289–90.

2. “Diary of James H. Flanigan,” 4:43–45, 54.

3. In his *The City of the Mormons; or, Three Days at Nauvoo, in 1842* (London, 1842 and 1843), Caswall claimed to have shown Joseph Smith a Greek Psalter that Smith identified as Egyptian—a claim John Taylor, who was present on the occasion, refuted in his *Three Nights' Public Discussion*.

The son of a clergyman, Henry Caswall was born in Yateley, Hampshire, England, in 1810, moved to the United States in 1828, graduated from Kenyon College in Ohio two years later, received an M.A. from Kenyon College in 1834, and was ordained to the Episcopal clergy in 1837. He returned to England in 1842 and six years later became vicar of Figheldean, Wiltshire; in 1854, he received a D.D. from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. He came back to the United States about 1868 and died in Franklin, Pennsylvania, December 17, 1870. Among his tracts and books are five that dealt with Mormonism: *America and the American Church* (1839 and 1851); *The City of the Mormons; or, Three Days at Nauvoo, in 1842* (1842 and 1843); *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century* (1843); *Mormonism and Its Author* (1851, 1852, 1854, 1856 and 1857); and *The Western World Revisited* (1854). *Crockford's Clerical Directory* (London, 1860), 106. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, s.v. “Caswall, Henry.”

4. Both states, for example, are at UPB.

434 1. *Millennial Star* 11:272; 13:144, 154, 249. European Mission Financial Records, 7:85–86, 299, USiC. J. F. Bell, *A Reply to the Bare-Faced Falsehoods and Misrepresentations of Mr. John Theobald* (n.p., 1851?), 8.

435 1. The discussion of this entry is taken from the author's article "The Constitution of the State of Deseret," *BYU Studies* 29 (fall 1989): 7–22, first published in commemoration of the two millionth volume acquired by the Brigham Young University Lee Library in Friends of the Library *Newsletter* 19 (1982) and republished in *Life in Utah: Centennial Selections from BYU Studies*, ed. James B. Allen and John W. Welch (Provo, Utah, 1996), 68–88.

2. At the time of its organization, Utah Territory included all of what is now Nevada and Utah, about a third of Colorado, and the southwest corner of Wyoming.

3. Buffington declined the appointment as chief justice, and Lemuel G. Brandebury of Pennsylvania was appointed in his place.

436–38 1. *Millennial Star* 11:208, 256, 288, 304.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 7:64–303.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 7:402.

439 1. "Journal History," 31 March, 1 April (p. 2), 3 June 1847; 17 July (p. 8), 11 October, 20 December 1848; 7 May, 7 August, 14 September 1849. "Biography and Journal of William I. Appleby," 182, 184, USiC. *Millennial Star* 9:348–49; 11:54. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 3:290. Wendell J. Ashton, *Voice in the West: Biography of a Pioneer Newspaper* (New York, 1950), 5–6, 9–13, 16–23. For a brief history of this first Salt Lake City press, see the introduction to this volume.

2. Two drafts of the epistle in Thomas Bullock's hand, one heavily corrected, are in the Brigham Young papers in the LDS Church Archives.

3. "Journal History," 9 September 1849, 14 September 1850. *Second General Epistle*, 8. *Deseret News* 1:119. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:380. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 77–79, 97–102, 355, 382.

4. *Millennial Star* 12:122.

440 1. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," 5:3–5, USiC. *Millennial Star* 12:75, 189–90.

441 1. International Genealogical Index, UPB. "Early Church Information File." "Dundee Branch Register," 89, microfilm 104151, UPB. "European Emigration Card Index." "Journal History," 31 December 1852, supplement, 7. Temple Index Bureau. *Deseret Evening News*, 26 July 1893, 5. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records (G–5–5).

442 1. *Millennial Star* 11:57, 134, 351–52; 13:154; 14:128. "Journal of James H. Flanigan," 4:104. European Mission Financial Records, 7:86, 106, 299.

2. J. F. Bell, *A Reply to the Objections of the Rev. Mr. Osborne* (Wolverhampton? 1849), 8. J. H. Flanigan, *Invitation* (Manchester? 1851?), 4. J. F. Bell, *A Reply to the Bare-Faced Falsehoods and Misrepresentations of Mr. John Theobald* (n.p., 1851?), 8.

3. These changes occur in what are now 7:2, 38:27, 48:6, 68:25, 105:25, and those later reversed in 97:2, 102:10, 135:3. See Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974).

4. These occur in 9:1, 59:10, 63:11, 63:25, 63:27, 76:21, 76:47, 88:24, 89:5, 90:30, 96:2, 101:100.

5. These occur in 64:30, 65:5, 67:10, 84:104, 84:112, 127:4, 128:23, 133:8.

6. These occur in 68:16, 76:21, 76:67, 76:110, 76:119, 93:21, 93:22.

7. These occur in 30:4, 84:40, 84:60, 104:77, 133:18, and those later reversed in 70:14, 71:11, 88:135, 98:47, 124:108.

443 1. "Journal of Ralph Ramsey," microfilm, USIC.

Winlton is about three miles southwest of Newcastle, across the Tyne River.

2. *Millennial Star* 13:15, 207. *Deseret Evening News*, 3 February 1905, 5. Roberta Flake Clayton, *Pioneer Men of Arizona* (n.p., 1974), 397–401. Preston Nibley, *Stalwarts of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, 1954), 147–48. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1940), 2:489–90. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), 284. Ramsey's eagle is now on display at the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum in Salt Lake City.

444 1. The fifth of the five located Sheffield Conference reports was issued near the end of 1854.

2. "Diary of Crandall Dunn," 1:194, USIC.

3. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "Sheffield Branch Record of Members 1843–1870," 14, microfilm 87031, UPB. "Early Church Information File." "European Emigration Card Index." "Utah Immigration Card Index." "Journal History," 13 August 1853; 22 June 1854, 2. 1856 Utah census, Springville, 1033. Don Carlos Johnson, *A Brief History of Springville, Utah* (Springville, 1900), 23, 32.

4. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 8:74–75; 9:64; 10:151; 13:158. "European Emigration Card Index." "Journal History," 5 November (pp. 1–2), 25 December 1854 (pp. 3–5); 8 April (pp. 7–8), 19 October 1855; 6 April 1856 (pp. 10, 13–16); 6 October 1858 (p. 5); 10 March 1859 (p. 5). J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore, Md., 1981), 213.

447 1. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," 4:33, 38–39, 42–43, 58, 79. USIC. *The Baptist Hand-Book for 1874* (London, 1874), 290.

448 1. "List of Names in the Oldham Branch of the Manchester Conference," 2, and "List of Office Bearers in the Oldham Branch of the Manchester Conference," 62, microfilm 87027, UPB. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "Utah Immigration Card Index." *Deseret Evening News*, 23 February 1889, 2.

2. Richard Cook was born in Lincolnshire, December 10, 1822, converted to Mormonism in 1841, and was the presiding elder in Oldham when he was called to be the president of the Manchester Conference about April 1848. In January 1850 he was released as conference president and that summer immigrated to Utah. He returned to England in January 1853, served as the pastor of the Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Norwich conferences, and trekked back to Utah in 1854. Late in 1860, although the bishop in South Weber at the time, he embraced the prophetic claims of Joseph Morris, and in February 1861 he, his brother John, and several others were excommunicated. Sixteen months later, when territorial officers attacked the Morrisite community at South Weber and killed Joseph Morris, Cook and many others were arrested, and in March 1863 he was convicted of resisting an officer but pardoned by Governor Stephen S. Harding immediately thereafter. At that point he seems to have left the territory. "Early Church Information File." "Record of the South Weber Branch," 1–2, microfilm 27291, UPB. Ancestral File. *Millennial Star* 10:8–9, 53–54, 152, 199–201; 11:294; 15:58, 781; 16:74, 240, 462–63. "Journal History,"

31 December 1850, supplement, 1; 31 December 1854, supplement, 13; 11 February 1861; 13 June, 15 June, 18–19 June 1862; 19–20 March, 31 March 1863. Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah*, 79. C. LeRoy Anderson, *Joseph Morris and the Saga of the Morrisites* (Logan, Utah, 1988).

Daniel Hall, born in Bury, Lancashire, September 11, 1819, joined the Church in 1842, separated from it thirteen years later, and was rebaptized in 1863. Five years later he and his family came to Utah and settled in Davis County. He died in Bountiful, May 3, 1900. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." Ancestral File. "Utah Immigration Card Index." *Millennial Star* 6:75–76. Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah*, 144. Bountiful City Cemetery Record.

William Stott, also a native of Lancashire, was born in April 1803 and baptized into the Church at Oldham by Orson Hyde. Crossing the Atlantic in 1849, he came to Utah in 1852, settled in Millard County, and served on the first Fillmore city council. He died at Meadow, October 31, 1883. *Millennial Star* 45:832. *Deseret News* 32:720. Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah*, 347. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 1192. Edwin Stott, "A Sketch of My Life," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9 (1941): 184–89.

James Whitehead was born in Oldham, June 30, 1803, became a Church member in 1839, left England for America in 1855, and made the overland journey to Utah four years later. He settled in Salt Lake City, where he died on March 18, 1891. "List of Names in the Oldham Branch of the Manchester Conference," 5. Ancestral File. *Millennial Star* 53:288. *Deseret Evening News*, 18 March 1891, 8. "European Emigration Card Index." "Utah Immigration Card Index." Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah*, 382.

All that is known about William Brierly (or Brierley) is that he was received in the Oldham branch on July 10, 1859, and died fifteen months later. "List of Names in the Oldham Branch of the Manchester Conference," 22, and "List of Office Bearers in the Oldham Branch of the Manchester Conference," 63. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)."

3. *Millennial Star* 10:8–9, 53–54, 152, 199–200; 11:294.

449 1. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)," microfilm, UPB. Woolwich Branch Record, Book 458:471, microfilm 87039, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 6:109; 10:59–60, 92, 122, 232; 11:318; 13:88. *Minutes of the London Conferences . . . 1st and 2nd of June 1850* (London, 1850), 3, 8. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . Nov. 30th and Dec. 1st. 1850* (London, 1851), 2, 11, 18. "European Emigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. "Wellsville Ward Record—Early to 1896," 48, microfilm 27410, UPB. *Windows of Wellsville, 1856–1984* (Providence, Utah, 1985), 133, 459–60. Ancestral File, UPB.

451 1. W. Frost is undoubtedly William Frost, the only Frost listed in Banningham in the 1851 English census. This William Frost, born in Cossey, Norfolk County, age fifty-six at the time of the census and a brickmaker employing six men, is likely the same William Frost, a "Primitive Methodist Local Preacher," who published a book of hymns in 1827 in North Walsham, about four miles east of Banningham. Frost's *Dialogue Between a Latter Day Saint and a Methodist* was printed in Aylsham, about three miles southwest of Banningham, which is about thirteen miles north of Norwich. 1851 English census, Banningham, Norfolk [April 1851], 378. *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1961), 80:185.

- 452** 1. European Mission Financial Records, 7:141, USIC.
2. *Millennial Star* 12:25, 75, 89, 140, 189, 216–17.
- 454** 1. *Congressional Globe* 21:86–87, 211–13.
- 455** 1. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 15, UPB. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:687. *History of the Church* 2:183, 204. *Millennial Star* 10:298, 300; 11:56, 190, 224, 294; 12:15. *Report of the Glasgow Quarterly Conference . . . 1st January 1851* (Glasgow, 1851), 6. Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 9 January 1851. *Deseret News* 32:110. Elizabeth Beckstrom and Bessie Snow, “*Oh Ye Mountains High*”: *History of Pine Valley, Utah* (St. George, Utah, 1980), 17–19.
- 456** 1. These comments are from the version of *Who is the Liar?* in the *Millennial Star* 12:29–31. They suggest that Bowes published *Mormonism Exposed* late in 1849. Alfred Cordon took note of it in his journal under the date January 24, 1850: “Came to Rugby . . . I obtained a pamphlet that had been printed against us by J Bowes It was mostly taken from other pamphlets, such for instance as Bennets, Mormonism Exposed, Howes, Mormonism Unveiled, and &c.” Bowes had published an earlier version in six installments in his *Christian Magazine* in 1848 (see item 350). “Alfred Cordon’s Journal,” 6:66, USIC.
2. *Mormonism Exposed*, 45–47. Smith’s letter, which dealt with rebuking evil spirits, first appeared in the *Millennial Star* of August 1, 1847.
- 457** 1. “Alfred Cordon’s Journal,” 6:49–56.
- 458** 1. Clifford L. Stott, ed., *The Journals and Letters of Elder Thomas Day, 1814–1893* (n.p., 1995), 5–7. Stott claims the Ebenezer Chapel was built in 1844.
2. “Alfred Cordon’s Journal,” 6:38–39, 66–74.
Robert Aitken (1800–73) attended the University of Edinburgh and was ordained a deacon in the Church of England in 1823 and a priest the following year but withdrew from the church, aligning himself with the Wesleyan Methodists. Although he was permitted to preach in their churches, he was not admitted to the Wesleyan ministry and eventually established his own independent congregations. In December 1840 he returned to the Church of England and in 1849 was appointed incumbent in Pendeen parish, Penzance, Cornwall, which position he held until his death. He was known throughout England as a “preacher of almost unrivalled fervour” and was the author of a number of works. The Aitkenite congregations provided a number of converts to Mormonism. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Aitken, Robert.” *Crockford’s Clerical Directory* (London, 1860), 5. James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1992), 330–31.
3. *Millennial Star* 12:75, 189–90.
4. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” “Early Church Information File.” “Alfred Cordon’s Journal,” vol. 5, 30 August 1849. *Millennial Star* 15:464. “European Emigration Card Index.” “Utah Immigration Card Index.” 1856 Utah census, Salt Lake City 13th Ward, 367. “Salt Lake City 13th Ward Record of Members 1851–1867,” microfilm 889379, UPB.
- 459** 1. *Congressional Globe* 21:94, 213, 229. “Journal History,” 21 March 1850.

460–61 1. In the only located copy of item 460, at Yale, the distance from the top edge of the broadside to the top of the line *What Is "Mormonism?"* is 2.5 mm., while in the only located copy of item 461, at Brigham Young University, the distance between the lines *What do the Latter-day Saints Believe; or, and What Is "Mormonism?"* is 3 mm.

2. *Millennial Star* 4:200; 5:172–73; 7:196; 9:375–76; 10:3, 151, 255; 11:350; 12:32, 207, 345; 14:15, 72. *Autumn Leaves*, vols. 2–3, passim. *Saints' Herald* 31:554, 567. *Journal of History* 8 (1915): 191–215.

462 1. "Historian's Office Journal," 13:15, 20–21, 52, USIC. "Journal History," 22 January, 24 January, 26 August 1850. *Deseret News*, 31 August 1850. *Deseret News, Pioneer Jubilee Edition*, 24 July 1897, 28. For a brief history of the Salt Lake print shop, see the introduction to this volume.

2. *Constitution of the State of Deseret* (Salt Lake City, 1850), 30–32. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:363.

463 1. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," 4:67, USIC.

Benjamin Willmore attended St. Bees Theology College, was ordained a deacon in 1847, a priest in 1848, and that year became the perpetual curate of Holy Trinity Church in West Bromwich, where he died on November 8, 1870, at age forty-nine. He wrote a number of tracts, including a four-part series *Mormonism Unmasked* (1855). *Crockford's Clerical Directory* (London, 1860), 667. *The Clergy List* (London, 1862), 347; (London, 1868), 358. *General Index: Deaths Registered in England and Wales in the Months of October, November, and December 1870* (London, 1870), 328. Death certificate of Benjamin Willmore, certified copy, UPB.

2. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," 4:67, 69, 72, 74.

464 1. Alfred L. Bush, "The Princeton Collections of Western Americana," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 33 (1971): 9.

2. "Record of Marks and Brands, 1849–74," USIA.

3. The Princeton copy appears to have belonged to Hosea Stout.

4. "Historian's Office Journal," 13:27–28, 38.

5. *Ordinances, Passed by the Legislative Council of Great Salt Lake City, and Ordered to be Printed* (Salt Lake City, 1850?), 3–4. *Deseret News* 1:41.

6. *Deseret News*, 6 March, 3 April 1852. "Record of Marks and Brands, 1849–74," 16, 20.

7. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 17–18, 130–31, 134. *Acts and Resolutions Passed at the Third Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1854), 18. Clayton had just returned from three months in England.

8. The legislative act of January 16, 1854, that raised the recording fee to \$1.00 also stipulated that printed copies of the brands be sent gratis to each probate judge, county clerk, sheriff, justice of the peace, constable, and pound keeper in the territory. At the end of "Record of Marks and Brands, 1849–74" is a list of all these officers with sequences of numerals, 1–9, suggesting a record of those sheets sent to them.

465 1. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," 4:70–71.

466 1. Ira Jones Willis (sometimes spelled Willes) was born in Albany County, New York, January 21, 1812, converted to Mormonism in 1831, and went to Missouri with the

Colesville branch that summer. He was one of the early settlers of Lehi and in 1852 was sustained as a counselor in the Provo Stake presidency. On December 5, 1863, near Lehi, he was killed along with one of his sons when a wagonload of wood overturned on them. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 187. "Early Church Information File." *History of the Church* 2:46. "Journal History," 3 October 1852 (p. 4); 7 July 1862. Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (n.p., 1881), 121, 335. Erwin G. Gudde, *Bigler's Chronicle of the West* (Berkeley, Calif., 1962), 85, 103–5, 107–8. *Deseret News* 13:160. Hamilton Gardner, *History of Lehi* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 29–30, 40–41, 451–54. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:767. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion* (Logan, Utah, 1996), 15, 24, 199, 203, 222, 338.

2. Ralph P. Bieber, ed., "Diary of a Journey from Missouri to California in 1849," *Missouri Historical Review* 23 (1928): 34. Narrative of William T. Coleman in H. H. Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth* (San Francisco, 1891), 1:314. Thomas D. Clark, ed., *Gold Rush Diary: Being the Journal of Elisha Douglass Perkins on the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849* (Lexington, Ky., 1967), 115, 127. Sarah Royce, *A Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California* (New Haven, Conn., 1932), 34.

3. Irene D. Paden, "The Ira J. Willis Guide to the Gold Mines," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 32 (1953): 193–208.

4. Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, eds., *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff* (New York, 1944), 1:157, 264, 547; 2:1207–8.

5. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 87. "Early Church Information File." "Journal History," 21 June 1847 (p. 29); 22–23 January, 29 January, 14 September 1849; 22 January, 24 January, 26 January, 7 February, 16 February, 18 February, 8 March 1850; 22 April, 4 August 1857; 23 June 1858; 20 June, 13 September 1860. *Deseret Evening News*, 6 June (p. 2), 7 June (p. 2), 13 June 1898 (p. 2). Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:322. Death certificate of Brigham H. Young, Alameda County, Calif., certified copy, UPB.

6. "Early Church Information File." "Journal History," 26 June (pp. 6–7), 28 September 1848 (pp. 3–23); 17 July 1853 (p. 2); 24 July 1855 (p. 3); 5 January 1856; 5 January 1857; 9 February 1858; 24 January 1859 (p. 2); 1 August, 24 December 1860; 13 January 1863. J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore, Md., 1981), 105. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), 2:787–88; 5:546, 658. Manti City Cemetery Records, City Recorder's Office, Manti, Utah. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1960), 3:537–38. Ancestral File, UPB. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 222.

7. "Silas Newcomb Journal," 123, 137, CtY; microfilm, UPB.

8. Franklin Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines* (Ogdensburg, N.Y., 1855), 19. Langworthy's description of the Mormon guidebook as "a pamphlet of five or six leaves" is consistent with the Young-Eagar book, counting the cover. Moreover, he could not have been speaking of William Clayton's *Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, which has twenty-four pages and would hardly have been characterized as not "of the least service in crossing the plains."

467 1. Committee on Elections, *Iowa Contested Election Case*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1850, H. Misc. Doc 47. William Thompson, *To the Committee on Elections* (n.p., 10 June 1850). *Frontier Guardian*, 20 March, 3 April 1850. "Journal History," 2 October 1848, 6–8. Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* (New York, 1903), 1:250–52. J. Keith Melville,

Conflict and Compromise: The Mormons in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Politics (Provo, Utah, 1974), 15–37.

Daniel F. Miller (1814–95) was born in Allegheny County, Maryland, studied law in Pennsylvania, and came to Fort Madison, Iowa, in 1839. The following year he was elected to the territorial legislature. After serving the remainder of the term in the Thirty-first Congress, he returned to Iowa and continued his law practice there for the next forty years. He was one of the founders of the Republican party, a presidential elector, mayor of Keokuk, and again a member of the Iowa legislature in 1893. He died in Omaha, Nebraska. *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1887), 569–70. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:191. Nelson C. Roberts and S. W. Moorhead, eds., *Story of Lee County Iowa* (Chicago, 1914), 1:301–2. Charles Lanman, *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States, During Its First Century* (Washington, 1876), 293.

William Thompson (1813–97) was born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, grew up in Ohio, and began the study of law at age twenty-one. In 1839 he came to Iowa and established his law practice in Mount Pleasant. He was elected to the Iowa territorial legislature in 1843, served as chief clerk of the House during the next two sessions, and was elected to the U.S. Congress in 1847. For several years he edited the *Iowa State Gazette*. At the beginning of the Civil War he raised a company for the First Iowa Cavalry and was repeatedly promoted during the war, eventually brevetted brigadier general. After the war he was commissioned captain in the regular army and served with George Armstrong Custer in the Indian campaigns, retiring six months before Little Bighorn. He died in Tacoma, Washington. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:262. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), 1:958. Lanman, *Biographical Annals*, 424.

2. Committee on Elections, *Iowa Contested Election Case*. Thompson, *To the Committee on Elections*. *Congressional Globe* 21:89, 214–19, 996–97, 1227, 1292–96, 1299–1303, 1305–1312, 1315–17; 23:100. *Frontier Guardian*, 3 April, 24 July, 18 September, 27 November 1850. *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1883), 11, 20. “Journal History,” 2 October 1848, 9. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 1:259–60. Melville, *Conflict and Comprise*, 29–37.

3. Committee on Elections, *Iowa Contested Election Case*, 19–21, 24–26. *Frontier Guardian*, 20 March 1850.

468 1. “Diary of George Halliday,” 119–20, typescript, UPB.

2. “Diary of George Halliday.” Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*. 3:389–92. *Millennial Star* 10:366; 11:350; 12:345; 14:15; 15:58, 121; 22:810; 23:26; 26:394–95. *Deseret Evening News*, 18 May 1900, 8. Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 6 June 1877, 27 October 1888, 8 January 1889.

3. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” “Early Church Information File.” *Millennial Star* 10:8, 76–77, 295, 366; 12:202–3, 345; 13:238; 14:666; 15:89–90, 253. “Utah Immigration Card Index.” “Journal History,” 12 August 1865; 20 September 1868, 1–2. *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* 6:428. *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1866), 5; (1866 [i.e. 1867]), 5. *Deseret Evening News*, 16 March 1891, 8. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 6 March 1889. Ancestral File.

469–70 1. “Diary of James H. Flanigan,” 4:74, 129, USIC.

2. *Half-Yearly Reports of the Southampton Conferences* (Portsmouth, 1851?), 10.

471 1. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” “Sheffield Branch Record of Members 1849–1868,” 8, microfilm 87031, UPB. *Millennial Star* 9:157.

- 475** 1. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:358–59.
 2. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:359, 362.
 3. “Journal History,” 3 March, 8 April (pp. 1–2), 28 April (p. 3), 26 May 1849 (pp. 1–3). Robert G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee* (San Marino, Calif., 1955), 1:97–98, 107. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:351.
 4. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 57–63. *Acts and Resolutions, Passed at the Second Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1853), 90–96.
 5. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:405–6. *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions* (Salt Lake City, 1852), 13, 18, 52–53, 56, 59.
 6. *Acts and Resolutions Passed at the Second Annual Session*, 68–70.
 7. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions*, 289–97.
 8. “Journal History,” 22 January, 24 January, 26 January 1850. Cf. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 13:20–21, USIC. The “Historian’s Office Journal” notes that on January 25, “[Thomas] Bullock] correcting the type set yesterday, while the Printer & others are frolicking in a Sleigh.”
 9. “Journal History,” 7 February, 16 February, 18 February, 4 March, 15 March, 21 March 1850. “Diary of Samuel Whitney Richards 1824–1909,” 85, typescript, UPB. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 13:25, 28–29, 33, 37–38.
 10. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:363, 388. *Laws and Ordinances of the State of Deseret* (Utah) (Salt Lake City, 1919), 25–31.
- 476** 1. Cleland and Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 1:94–96, 102. “Journal History,” 24 February (p. 2), 28 April (p. 2), 24 November 1849 (p. 2).
 2. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions*, 105–6, 164–67. *Laws and Ordinances of the State of Deseret* (Utah), 69–71.
- 477** 1. “Journal History,” 21 March 1850. *Congressional Globe* 21:94, 213, 229, 633. Committee on Elections, *Minority Report* [re Hugh N. Smith], 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1850, H. Rep. 220.
 2. *Congressional Globe* 21:830, 915, 982, 1375, 1386, 1413–16, 1418–23, 1779, 1811, 1850–51, 1868. *Deseret News* 1:164.
 3. *Congressional Globe* 23:431–32.
 It is doubtful that such an election took place in Utah on October 5, 1850. Word of the passage of the bill creating Utah Territory reached Salt Lake City on October 15 and was reported in the *Deseret News* on the 19th. Hosea Stout learned of it on October 16. Moreover, in his diary for October 5, Stout reports only a routine meeting that morning of the provisional legislature, a meeting that afternoon of the regents of the University of Deseret, and a meeting later in the afternoon of the officers of the Nauvoo Legion. The “Journal History” for that date reports the session of the legislature and that Ira Eldredge had finished surveying the state road from Great Salt Lake City to Provo. *Deseret News* 1:140–41. “Journal History,” 5 October, 15 October 1850. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:381–82.
 4. “Journal History,” 25 April, 24 September 1850; 19 July 1851.
- 478** 1. A draft of the epistle in Thomas Bullock’s hand, heavily corrected, is in the Brigham Young papers in the LDS Church Archives.

479 1. *Constitution of the State of Deseret* (Salt Lake City, 1850), 30–32. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:363, 365–66. “Biography and Journal of William I. Appleby,” 277, USIC. “Diary of Samuel Whitney Richards 1824–1909,” 87, 91–93. “Journal History,” 13 March, 31 March 1850. “Historian’s Office Journal,” 13:40–41. Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City, 1886), appendix, 21.

2. Horace K. Whitney, “Account Book of Work Done in the Printing Office,” 6, photocopy, ULA.

Whitney records that he set type for “Petition to Assembly” on April 4 and again on April 5, and on “Reg. Proclamation” on the 17th, but whether these were actually printed is not known. Samuel W. Richards worked on his petition, or “proclamation,” for several days and then gave it to W. W. Phelps on April 12 “to be handed to the Press” but does not mention it was printed. W. I. Appleby’s circular, dated April 11, 1850, is transcribed in his journal without any indication that it was put in print.

3. “Account of Job Printing done in the News Office” [7 October 1850–24 September 1851], USIC. See Saunders 13.

4. *Deseret News* 1:156, 158, 206, 212; 15 November 1851, 4. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City*, appendix, 21–22.

480 1. *Deseret News* 1:61–64.

2. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:367. “Diary of Samuel Whitney Richards, 1824–1909,” 94–95. Whitney, “Account Book,” 6.

481 1. William Wilson, brother-in-law of Archbishop John Bird Sumner, was born in Westmorland in 1783, received a B.A. from Queen’s College, Oxford, in 1805, an M.A. in 1808, a B.D. in 1820, and a D.D. in 1824, and was a fellow of the college from 1815 to 1825. The author of a number of books, he was vicar of Holy Rood, Southampton, from 1824 until his death, August 22, 1873, and canon of Winchester from 1831. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Wilson, William.” *Crockford’s Clerical Directory* (London, 1860), 670. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1968), 4:1586. *International Genealogical Index*, UPB.

William Orger, born in London, received a B.A. from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, in 1826 and an M.A. in 1829. He was incumbent of Shirley parsonage, near Southampton, from 1836 until his death on May 2, 1859, at age seventy. *Crockford’s Clerical Directory*, 459. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 3:1044. *Gentleman’s Magazine* 206 (1859): 652.

John Knowles, the Wesleyan Methodist minister in Southampton, was born in Lancashire about 1805 and began his ministerial career in 1832. In 1848 he came to Southampton, served there for two years, and then filled nine other assignments before being appointed superintendent in Tunbridge-Wells in 1871. He died in 1888. *An Alphabetical Arrangement of all the Wesleyan Methodist Ministers and Preachers* (London, 1892), 201. William Hill, *An Alphabetical Arrangement of all the Wesleyan-Methodist Ministers, and Preachers* (London, 1874), 90. 1881 English census, Tunbridge-Wells, Lancashire, 30.

Of the “Reverend” Enos Couch nothing is known, nor is anything known about William Betts, Esq., or the Rev. John Trestrail.

485 1. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen* (Salt Lake City, 1988). “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 11, UPB. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. *History of the Church* 7:425, 535, 554. *Deseret Evening News*, 10 August 1895, 4. *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 44:380. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:766–67. Erastus Snow, “Journal of E. Snow from Decr 27th 1847 Sketch Book No. 5th,” 83, 86, 90, 100, photocopy, UPB.

Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 2–4, 16, 34–35, 40, 47, 78, 87–88, 97.

2. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen*, 76. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 4, 16.

486 1. “Diary of Crandall Dunn,” 1:235–36, USIC. *Millennial Star* 8:78; 9:256; 10:252; 11:294; 12:15, 207, 345; 13:24. Cupar, in the county of Fife, is about twenty-five miles north of Edinburgh across the Firth of Forth.

487 1. *Millennial Star* 5:173; 7:8, 63, 76, 128; 8:121, 144; 10:214–17; 12:92–93, 280–83; 28:793.

2. The Brigham Young University library catalog lists James H. Flanigan as a possible author, but Flanigan spent 1850–51 in the Birmingham Conference until his death in January 1851, while Bury is north of Manchester in the Manchester Conference. Moreover, a poem signed “J. H.” is in the *Millennial Star* of November 20, 1852.

488 1. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 134. “Early Church Information File.” *Millennial Star* 10:331; 11:55, 294; 12:15, 345; 13:24, 158. *Deseret News* 32:285.

490 1. Five of these London reports were issued subsequent to 1852, two in 1853, two in 1854, and one in 1856.

2. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. “Early Church Information File.” *Millennial Star* 4:198; 5:167; 7:186; 9:80, 247; 10:137; 12:325, 345; 13:24; 15:475, 555–58, 784. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . Nov. 30th and Dec. 1st, 1850* (London, 1851), 11. “European Emigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. “Utah Immigration Card Index,” microfilm, UPB. “Journal History,” 8 April, 4 May 1852; 28 September 1855 (p. 5); 4 October (p. 6), 9 November 1856 (p. 12). *Deseret News* 6:258. Ancestral File, UPB.

3. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File).” “Early Church Information File.” Family Group Record of George Piercy, microfilm 547671, UPB. *Millennial Star* 11:287; 12:15; 19:249. Wilford H. LeCheminant, “‘Entitled to Be Called an Artist’: Landscape and Portrait Painter Frederick Piercy,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (1980): 49–65. *General Index: Deaths Registered in England and Wales in the Months of April, May, and June 1891* (London, 1891), 320. Death certificate of Frederick Piercy, certified copy, UPB. Ancestral File.

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

494 1. “Journal History,” 1 April 1847.

2. For biographical sketches of Thomas Bullock, Brigham H. Young, George Hales, Arieh C. Brower, and Joseph Cain, see item 223 (note 6) and items 446, 745, and 562. For a sketch of Horace K. Whitney, see Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1904), 4:61–62.

3. For a biographical sketch of Elias Smith, see Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:719–22, and Wendell J. Ashton, *Voice in the West: Biography of a Pioneer Newspaper* (New York, 1850), 373–74.

4. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 10. “Early Church Information File.” *Deseret Evening News*, 20 September 1889, 3. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:126–27; 4:313, 695.

5. The history of the print shop is outlined in the introduction to this volume.

6. The only located copy of vol. 1 with a title page is at the Yale University Beinecke Library. The title page is bound at the front of the volume with the index immediately following it, even though the index is paginated [313]–316. This title page has a piece missing at the bottom, so it is not clear if it originally included the date of publication. A copy of vol. 1 with the index bound at the back, but with no title page, is in the LDS Church Library.

7. "Historian's Office Journal," 14:30–31, 34–36, 38, 41–42, 45, 54, 58–59, USIC.

8. The July 9, 1953, issue of the *News* is misdated, "Saturday, July 10, 1853."

9. Local papermaking really began in 1851 with the arrival of Thomas Howard, a papermaker from Buckinghamshire, England, who was immediately assigned by Brigham Young to supervise the construction of a paper mill, which he, a machinist Thomas Hollis, and that well-known promoter Sidney Roberts had under construction by the end of the year. This initial effort proved unsuccessful, however, and in 1853 Brigham Young imported a paper mill at a cost of \$8,500, which Howard and Hollis set up with some of the machinery that had been brought in to make beet sugar, and with this water-powered mill and rags collected from the local Saints, they produced the first usable local paper in 1854. Three years later the mill was taken down and parts of it sent south for making iron. In 1860 a new mill was brought into the Valley, which produced much of the paper used for the *News*—during the Civil War, from rags collected around the territory by George Goddard. This mill continued in operation until 1893, when it was destroyed in a fire. Ashton, *Voice in the West*, 53–58, 122–25. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 114–16. Richard Saunders, "'Rags! Rags!! Rags!!!': Beginnings of the Paper Industry in the Salt Lake Valley, 1849–58," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (1994): 42–52. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1941, 1950), 3:31–34; 11:34–35. Brigham Young to Nelson Gavit, 16 February 1860; Young to Gavit, 8 March 1860; Young to Gavit, 28 June 1860; USIC. Brigham Young to John Neff, 8 March 1860, USIC. Brigham Young to Thomas Howard, 19 August 1861, USIC. *Deseret News*, 27 December 1851; 28 May 1853; 12 January, 6 July, 12 October 1854; 3 February, 13 February 1861.

For biographical sketches of Thomas Howard, see *Deseret Evening News*, 10 March 1906, 2, and Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:526.

10. The dates of the next nine volumes are: vol. 9 (March 9, 1859–February 29, 1860), vol. 10 (March 7, 1860–February 27, 1861), vol. 11 (March 6, 1861–June 25, 1862), vol. 12 (July 2, 1862–June 24, 1863), vol. 13 (July 1, 1863–September 21, 1864), vol. 14 (October 5, 1864–September 27, 1865), vol. 15 (October 12, 1865–November 28, 1866), vol. 16 (January 2, 1867–February 5, 1868), vol. 17 (February 12, 1868–February 3, 1869).

495 1. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register." 126. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 812. *Millennial Star* 9:380; 10:218, 298–300; 11:32, 294; 12:15, 345; 13:267. Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 15 May 1857. "Journal History," 27 August 1855, 1. J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore, Md., 1981), 73. George A. Horton, Jr., "An Early History of Milford Up to Its Incorporation as a Town" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1957), 25.

496 1. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "European Emigration Card Index." "Utah Immigration Card Index." "Record of Baptisms in the 13th Ward Edwd. Hunter Bishop 1851," 1, 15, microfilm 889379, UPB. *Millennial Star* 12:254, 312, 346; 13:304, 346; 14:15, 269–70, 319, 666; 15:58–59, 79, 141–42, 688; 16:763. 1856 Utah census, 384.

497 1. *Millennial Star* 11:294; 12:345; 13:15, 24. "Diary of Crandall Dunn," 1:236; 3:1–3, USIC.

498–99 1. Of the twelve players besides Pitt listed in his 1845 Nauvoo handbill (item 259), at least seven had come to Utah by 1849: William Clayton, James Smithies, James Standing, Martin H. Peck, Andrew Cahoon, John Kay, and Robert T. Burton. "Journal History," 13 October 1850; 31 December 1850, supplement, 11. "Utah Immigration Card Index." Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1947–50), 8:439; 9:476, 494, 503, 511; 10:468; 11:395, 422, 438.

2. Janet Burton Seegmiller, "*Be Kind to the Poor*": *The Life Story of Robert Taylor Burton* (n.p., 1988), 96. Horace G. Whitney, "The Nauvoo Brass Band," *Contributor* 1 (1880): 134–37. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1962), 5:227–28.

3. "Historian's Office Journal," 14:32, USIC. *Deseret News* 1:8, 23.

4. *Deseret News* 1:23.

5. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:375. *Deseret News* 1:51.

6. *Deseret News* 1:33, 48, 50.

7. *Deseret News* 1:107, 113, 115, 123.

500 1. For a biographical sketch of Curtis E. Bolton, see item 284, note 3. Bolton's father was a successful New York businessman, a "shipping merchant" who had "visited Europe several times." Cleo H. Evans, comp., *Curtis Edwin Bolton: Pioneer Missionary* (Fairfax, Va., 1968), 38, 43, 57a, 153n–153p, 319–21. Curtis E. Bolton to Eleanor Post, Paris, 4 February 1834; Bolton to Post, Paris, 13 February 1834; Bolton to Post, Paris, 21 February 1834; Bolton to his father, Paris, 14 February 1834; Bolton to his father, Paris, 22 October 1834; microfilm, USIC.

2. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 38–39. *Millennial Star* 12:268–70.

One of these articles for the *Boulogne Interpreter*, in the form of a letter from John Taylor, is reprinted in the *Millennial Star* of August 1, 1850.

John Pack, born in New Brunswick, Canada, May 20, 1809, joined the Church in 1835, lived with the Saints in Kirtland, Far West, and Nauvoo, and came to the Great Salt Lake Valley with the pioneer company in 1847. In 1852 he returned from the French Mission to his Salt Lake City home and in 1856–57 labored in Carson Valley. He died in Salt Lake City, April 4, 1885. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 18. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret Evening News*, 6 April 1885, 3. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:714.

Arthur Stayner, a native of the Isle of Guernsey, was fifteen years old at this point and seems to have spoken French (see item 641).

3. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 40. See also, John Taylor, *Three Nights' Public Discussion* (Liverpool, 1850), 1.

4. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 39–42. Taylor, *Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 1.

501 1. Bedworth is about four miles north of Coventry.

2. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," 7:154–56, 166–67, USIC.

502 1. Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City, 1886), 379. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 81–84. John Reese, "Biography," CU-B. John Reese, "Mormon Station," CU-B.

2. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 37. "Early Church Information File." *Deseret Evening News*, 21 July (p. 3), 25 July 1876 (p. 2). Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1124.