

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.

3. Reese, "Mormon Station." *Deseret News* 1:72, 80, 88, 96, 120, 122–23; 21 August (p. 3), 6 November 1852 (p. 3). "Journal History," 25 September 1850. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City*, 379. John S. McCormick, *The Historic Buildings of Downtown Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1982), 6–7.

4. Reese, "Mormon Station." Reese, "Biography." Temple Index Bureau, UPB. "Journal History," 20 April 1888. *Deseret Evening News*, 21 April 1888, 2.

503 1. Eli B. Kelsey and James Linforth to John S. Davis, 24 July 1850, USIC. I am grateful to Chad Foulger for bringing this letter to my attention.

2. "Alfred Cordon's Journal." 7:166–67.

3. *Millennial Star* 12:89, 105, 139, 153, 216, 246–51. "Journal of Crandall Dunn," 1:246–49, USIC. "Alfred Cordon's Journal." 7:167–70.

508 1. *To the Citizens of Pottawotamie County, Iowa* is dated at the end, St. Louis, August 24, 1850. A single copy is located, at USIC (see item 513).

510 1. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," 7:186–87. *Report of the Warwickshire Conference* (Leamington, 1850). *Millennial Star* 12:267.

511 1. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," 7:203.

2. *Millennial Star* 9:102–3, 315–16; 10:149, 359. "Journal of John Freeman." USIC. Freeman's journal was sent to the LDS Church Historian's Office in 1931 by A. William Lund, president of the British Mission at the time, apparently after he had obtained it in England from one of Freeman's descendents.

513 1. See item 508, note 1.

514–15 1. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 40–41. Taylor, *Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 1–3.

2. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 40. Taylor, *Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 1, 7.

3. Philip Cater, born in London in 1797, was the Baptist minister at the York Street Chapel in Bath during the 1830s. Over the course of his life he published at least a dozen works. He died in London, April 27, 1872, at age seventy-five. Taylor, *Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 36. International Genealogical Index, UPB. *The Freeman*, 10 May 1872, 235. George Pilkington, *Testimonies of Ministers, of Various Denominations, Showing the Unlawfulness to Christians of All Wars* (London, 1837), 7. *Baptist Quarterly* 37 (January 1997 and October 1998): 29, 370. Philip Cater, *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Rev. John Paul Porter* (Bath, 1834). Edward C. Starr, *A Baptist Bibliography* (Chester, Pa., 1954), 102–3. *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books*, 35:352. *General Index: Deaths Registered in England and Wales in the Months of April, May, and June 1872* (London, 1872), 49. Death certificate of Philip Cater, certified copy, UPB.

Charles William Cleeve, born about 1802, received a B.A. from St. Alban Hall, Oxford, in 1824 and was ordained a deacon that year and a priest in 1826. He served in Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Devonshire, 1826–39; as a missionary in Demerara, 1839–48; and as chaplain at Vevey, 1848–51. Thereafter he was chaplain at Palermo, Sicily, 1851–54, and minister at St. Andrew, Jersey, 1851–61; minister of the Proprietary Chapel of St. Paul's, St. Helier, Jersey, 1861–68; chaplain at Nice, 1868–69; and chaplain at Ajaccio, 1869–72. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1968), 1:262. *Crockford's Clerical Directory* (London, 1874), 174.

William Kynaston Groves—who went by Kynaston Groves—was born November 15, 1804, received a B.A. and was Latin Prizeman from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1827 and was awarded an M.A. ten years later. Ordained a deacon in 1833 and a priest in 1834, he was minister of the Lower British Church in Boulogne, 1842–72, and rector of Thorpeby-Ashbourne, Derbyshire, from 1872 until his death in 1878. Taylor, *Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 46. J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* II (Cambridge, 1947), 3:165. *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, 361. *General Index: Deaths Registered in England and Wales in the Months of April, May, and June 1878* (London, 1878), 126. Death certificate of William Kynaston Groves, certified copy, UPB.

Of Charles Townley and Mr. Luddy nothing is known.

4. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 41–42. Taylor, *Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 1–3.

5. *Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 20, erroneously cites the *New York Tribune* of October 9, rather than October 8, as the source of the account Bolton read.

6. Truman Smith's *Speech of Mr. Smith . . . Delivered in the Senate of the United States, July 8, 1850*—which quotes a letter from a General John Wilson praising the Mormons for their industry and accomplishments in the Great Salt Lake Valley—would be used by at least two other Mormon pamphleteers (see items 578 and 585).

Truman Smith (1791–1884), a Whig from Connecticut, served in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1839–43, and 1845–49, and in the Senate, 1849–54. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Smith, Truman."

7. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 42.

8. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 39, 42–43. Taylor, *Three Night's Public Discussion*, 3–4. *Millennial Star* 12:279–80, 380; 13:16. European Mission Financial Records, 7:229, USIC.

9. A copy of item 514 in green wrappers without a frontispiece is at UPB, a copy of item 514 in green wrappers with a frontispiece is at UU, and a copy of item 514 in yellow wrappers without frontispiece is at USIC.

10. The following sequences of states have been identified among copies examined in contemporary bindings (to avoid perfected copies). At UPB: 11111, 11112, 12321, 21111, 21112, 21221, 22321, 32321; at USIC: 12322, 22322, 32322, 42322; at CSMH: 21211, 42321.

11. European Mission Financial Records, 7:229–52, 255–56, 352, 455.

516 1. "Journal of E. Snow from Decr 27th 1847 Sketch Book No. 5th," 100, 104–8, 115–18, photocopy, UPB. "Erastus Snows Journal Continued from Sketch Book No. 5," 4, photocopy, UPB. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen* (Salt Lake City, 1988), 74–77. "Journal of George P. Dykes, 1849–1851," 10–11, typescript, USIC. Erastus Snow, *One Year in Scandinavia* (Liverpool, 1851), 6–7, 13. Erastus Snow, "A Summary of the Danish Mission," photocopy, UPB. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 3–10. "Autobiography of Erastus Snow," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 14 (1923): 161–63.

2. *Millennial Star* 14:118. "Autobiography of Erastus Snow," 163.

3. "Erastus Snows Journal Continued from Sketch Book No. 5," 5. "Journal of George P. Dykes," 6, 13, 16. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen*, 78. Snow, *One Year in Scandinavia*, 13. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 16.

4. An English translation of *En Sandheds-Røst* by Christopher K. McAfee is in the Brigham Young University Lee Library.

5. "Journal of George P. Dykes," 9–10, 12–12a, 18–19.

Under the date Tuesday, October 1, 1850, Dykes records in his journal: "When we came in today from our council we looked over some papers to have printed & among others

was an abridged account of our faith which I had written & taken to the Minister of State with my name signed as Presiding Elder of the branch here in Copenhagen but Brother Snow before my eyes erased my name & had it printed as his writing & over his name & this hurt my feelings a little but I went home & said nothing till the next day about it, when I told him how it hurt me. but I could bare it & he had a great laugh & so it passed off."

6. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen*, 78–79. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 16, 26, 34–35. "Manti Temple Records, Baptisms for the Dead, Book E," 114, microfilm 170384, UPB. "Journal History," 3 February 1884, 7. *Millennial Star* 46:123–24.

517 1. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 42–43. *Millennial Star* 12:268–70.

2. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 43.

3. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 42, 47, 57a, 58, 70, 125. *Millennial Star* 14:41. *Journal of Discourses* 1:20. 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), 29–30, 32, 34, 44–45.

4. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 67, 77.

5. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 90, 94, 96, 117, 122.

John Taylor baptized six new members into the Church in Paris in addition to the thirty-one baptized by Bolton. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 90.

Five days after he arrived in Paris, Bolton described his daily schedule in his diary:

"rise at 6—commence translating the Book of Mormon at 7—prayers at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 8 and singing. Then go to breakfast (7 sous a bowl of bread and milk) Then translate til three. Then dinner (a plate of vegetables and then a plate of meat and vegetables for 13 sous) Then translate til 8 P.M. Then walk in the Garden for an hour. Then bread and sugar water and cheese—then singing, prayers and bed." Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 43.

6. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 43–44.

7. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 52.

8. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 42–43.

9. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 37, 39–47, 53, 57a, 59–60, 68–70, 110. *Millennial Star* 11:264; 12:270; 13:376. 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), 55–56.

10. *Millennial Star* 12:235–37. The Brigham Young University Lee Library has an English translation of *Aux Amis* by Marie-Chantal Walker.

520 1. I am grateful to W. Randall Dixon for bringing this document to my attention.

2. The following unlocated pieces are discussed in Richard L. Saunders, *Printing in Deseret: Mormons, Economy, Politics & Utah's Incunabula, 1849–1851* (Salt Lake City, 2000): the November 4 "Bills for Parent School" (item 13); the January 16 "Blanks for \$5 stock in Seventies Hall" (item 25); the March 4 "Blanks for Bath Tickets" (item 35); the March 8 "Wolf Scalp Certificates" (item 33); the April 12 "Roundy Horse Bills" (item 37); the July 10 "Election Notice Blanks" (item 38); and the September 2 "Cleaver Store Bills" (item 40).

3. *Deseret News* 1:95. "Journal History," 26 August 1850; 3 November, 7 November 1851. "Journal of Elias Smith," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 21 (1953): 354–55. *Deseret News, Pioneer Jubilee Edition*, 24 July 1897, 28.

- 521–22** 1. *Millennial Star* 12:272, 298, 304.
 2. European Mission Financial Records, 7:236–303, 317, 329.
 3. *Millennial Star* 14:608. European Mission Financial Records, 8:305–6; 10:319.
 4. For a description of these wrappers see items 367–70, note 2.
- 523–25** 1. Woodville Woodman was born in Stone, Buckinghamshire, in 1806. Self educated, he was christened as an adult in the New Jerusalem Church in London in 1828 and ordained to the ministry ten years later (see item 391, note 2). In 1839 he moved to Kersley, where he served as the New Jerusalem Church minister until his death, November 15, 1872. He participated in many public debates during the course of his ministry and authored a number of books and pamphlets. 1851 British census, Kersley, Lancashire, 124. International Genealogical Index, UPB. Carl Theophilus Odhner, *Annals of the New Church* (Bryn Athyn, Pa., 1904), 422, 432, 436, 460, 537, 575. *The Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine* 20 (1873): 45–48. *New Jerusalem Messenger* 24 (1873): 121–23. I am grateful to Carroll Odhner and Howard Roth of the Swedenborg Library, Philadelphia, for supplying the last two sources.
 Kersley is about midway between Manchester and Bolton.
 2. This tract is undoubtedly the piece by Woodman entitled *Mormonism Versus the New Church: A Letter to Mr. W. Gibson*, listed among the New Jerusalem Church's publications for 1850. Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, 575.
 3. "William Gibson's Journal," No. 3. 178–81, USIC. "Journal of William Gibson Senr. in Great Britain Wrote for the Historians Office 1841–1851," 97–100, USIC. *Report of Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 1, 14, 30. *Millennial Star* 12:376–77.
 4. *Report of Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 32–33.
 5. *Report of Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 30. *Millennial Star* 12:376–77, 379–80; 13:9, 16.
 6. Pearl of Great Price (Liverpool, 1851), back wrapper. John Taylor, *Government of God* (Liverpool, 1852), back wrapper. *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). *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.
 7. A copy in the wrapper is at the LDS Church.
 8. All three states are at the Brigham Young University Lee Library.
 9. European Mission Financial Records, 7:328, 455, USIC.
- 526** 1. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," 4:109–11, USIC.
 2. "Diary of James H. Flanigan," 4:106–9.
- 527** 1. "Journal History," 13 October 1850; 31 December 1850, supplement, 11. "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1950), 11:395, 422, 438.
 2. *Deseret News* 1:150. This ad mistakenly gave the date of the concert as "Saturday evening the 7th November."
 3. "Account of Job Printing done in the News Office" [7 October 1850–24 September 1851], USIC.
 4. "Account of Job Printing done in the News Office." *Deseret News* 1:231.

528–29 1. “Journal History,” 2 October 1850. *Millennial Star* 12:330–31. *Constitution of the United States of America* . . . Also, “An Act to Establish a Territorial Government for Utah” (Salt Lake City, 1852), 36–37.

2. “Journal History,” 9 November 1850.

3. *Deseret News* 1:228. “Journal History,” 7 March, 22 March, 1 September 1851. *Millennial Star* 13:214. Brigham Young, *First Annual Message of the Governor, to the Legislative Assembly of Utah Territory, September 22, 1851* (Salt Lake City, 1851), 3.

The records of Bernhisel’s acquisitions are at USIC. These show that he continued to acquire books for the library into the mid-1850s.

4. In the second sentence, for example, the phrase “we all agree that education is the birth right of every American citizen” is changed in item 529 to “we all agree that Education is the birthright of every American”—reflecting the fact that many of the inhabitants of Utah Territory were not citizens of the U.S.

5. “Early Church Information File,” microfilm, UPB. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, 1991), 129–30. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1848), 9:467, 473. *Deseret Evening News*, 28 September 1881, 3. Gwynn W. Barrett, “Dr. John M. Bernhisel: Mormon Elder in Congress,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (1968): 143–67. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:723–24.

530 1. *Frontier Guardian*, 8 August 1851, 4. “Journal History,” 16 March (p. 3), 4 June (p. 2), 12 October (p. 2), 17 October, 31 December 1852 (supplement, 131).

531 1. “Journal History,” 17 February 1849. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:343. “First General Epistle of the First Presidency,” *Millennial Star* 11:228. *Historical Record* 6:340. Wilford Woodruff’s *Journal* 4:114. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 54, 111, 290. I am grateful to W. Randall Dixon for the use of his file on the bathhouse.

2. *Deseret News* 1:35, 232. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:376. “Journal History,” 27 November 1850. “Account of Job Printing done in the News Office.”

3. Journal of Jean Rio Griffiths Baker, *An Enduring Legacy* (Salt Lake City, 1987), 10:235.

Drusilla Dorris Hendricks, wife of the manager James Henricks, also described the bathhouse: “We built a log house first, then a large adobe, then the bathhouse which contained twelve rooms, six on each side and a large room in front. Then the warm water was to be brought about one-third of a mile in pipes and they had to be made of logs bored through the center lengthwise.” Stansbury too mentions the pipes, apparently constructed after the bathhouse’s opening. Reminiscences of Drusilla Dorris Hendricks, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1977), 20:267. Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia, 1852), 129.

4. “Journal History,” 1 January, 30 January, 9 July, 5 September, 12 December 1851; 20 October 1855; 17 July 1922 (p. 3); 17 October 1925 (p. 2). *Historical Record* 6:340. *Deseret News*, 28 May 1853, 3. *New Arrangements: United States Hotel, Great Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 2 May 1853).

532 1. “Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett’s File),” microfilm, UPB. *Autumn Leaves* 16:161–62. Ancestral File, UPB. Susan Easton Black, *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Provo, Utah, 1993), 3:584.

533 1. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 267, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 12:261, 298; 13:267, 334; 14:58, 171; 15:781; 16:187. "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. *Deseret Evening News*, 11 April 1874, 3. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:613–14. Frederick S. Buchanan, "Robert Lang Campbell: 'A Wise Scribe in Israel' and Schoolman to the Saints," *BYU Studies* 29 (summer 1989): 5–27.

534 1. *Deseret News* 1:172. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:384.
2. "Account of Job Printing done in the News Office."
3. Word of the passage of the bill creating Utah Territory reached Salt Lake City on October 15, 1850. Hosea Stout learned of it the next day, and the *Deseret News* reported it on October 19; the *News* of November 30 printed the full text of the bill. "Journal History," 15 October 1850. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:382. *Deseret News* 1:140–41, 161–64.

535 1. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:384. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 3:582. "Account of Job Printing done in the News Office." The copy of *Rules and Regulations* at the LDS Church bears Woodruff's name in his holograph at the top.
2. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:360.

536 1. "William Gibson's Journal," No. 3, 4–7. USIC. *Millennial Star* 13:24.
2. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)."
3. Hawthornthwaite was born in Yorkshire, December 25, 1825, and joined the Church in Manchester in February 1848. In October 1851 his priesthood authority was suspended, and ten months later he was excommunicated. He was rebaptized in April 1853 but withdrew from the Church in August 1856, and the following year, in Manchester, he published *Mr. Hawthornthwaite's Adventures Among the Mormons*. He died in Newcastle upon Tyne, March 5, 1878. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." *Mr. Hawthornthwaite's Adventures Among the Mormons*, 3–4, 83. *General Index: Deaths Registered in England and Wales in the Months of January, February, and March 1878* (London, 1878), 149. Death certificate of Samuel Hawthornthwaite, certified copy, UPB.

537 1. *Millennial Star* 13:24. "Diary of Crandall Dunn," 3:1–3, USIC.

538–39 1. European Mission Financial Records, 7:296, USIC.
2. *Millennial Star* 13:217.
3. European Mission Financial Records, 7:380, 383, 390, 410, 418, 424, 436, 510, 578, 652; 10:308, 542; 11:273

540 1. "Early Church Information File." "Journal History," 12 December 1851. *Deseret News* 11:120. *Frontier Guardian*, 26 June 1850, 2. *Millennial Star* 14:507–8. H. G. Whitney, "Dominico Ballo," *Contributor* 1 (1879): 31–35. John S. Lindsay, *The Mormons and the Theatre* (Salt Lake City, 1905), 12–13. Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music* (Urbana and Chicago, 1989), 62–63, 69.
2. Myrtle Stevens Hyde, *Orson Hyde: The Olive Branch of Israel* (Salt Lake City, 2000), 235, 246, 248, 277.

542 1. *Millennial Star* 1:165–66; 7:3; 9:230; 10:148; 11:27–28; 12:207.

2. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." *The Program of the London Conference Festival . . . June 2nd, 1851* (London, 1851), 1. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . December 6th & 7th, 1851* (London, 1851), 1. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . June 5th and 6th, 1852* (London, 1852), 8. *Report of the London Pastoral Conference . . . December 25th and 26th, 1852* (London, 1853), 16.

3. *Millennial Star* 13:15.

4. "Whetstone Branch Record of Members, 1852–1855," 255, and "Ordinations to the Holy Priesthood, in the Whetstone Branch," 445, microfilm 87038, UPB. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." *Millennial Star* 15:255. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . June 5th and 6th, 1852*, 2. J. B. Franklin, *The Horrors of Mormonism* (London, 1858?). J. B. Franklin, *The Mysteries and the Crimes of Mormonism; or, a Voice from the Utah Pandemonium* (London, 1860?). J. B. Franklin, *One Year at the Great Salt Lake City; or, a Voice from the Utah Pandemonium* (Manchester, England, n.d.). J. B. Franklin, *A Cheap Trip to the Great Salt Lake City* (Ipswich, England, 1864). J. B. Franklin, *Brigham Young, King of the Utah Pandemonium* (London, 1871).

Franklin claimed that he went to Salt Lake City in 1854 or 1855, depending on the version, and "getting tired and heart-sick of living amongst such wicked and blasphemous persons . . . left the Mormon city for Lower California; from thence across the mountains travelling by foot, along with sixteen others, to Winter Quarters," then to Nauvoo and to "many other places in America, of Mormon notoriety," returning to Salt Lake City in time to be called on a mission to California in December 1855 or 1856, again depending on the version—this full schedule allowing him time to manage the *Deseret News* print shop as well! In California, he wrote, he began lecturing against Mormonism, bringing about his public denunciation and excommunication by Brigham Young. In his tracts he quotes a speech of Young's of January 19 (or 29), 1857, citing the *Deseret News*. But there is no speech of Brigham Young's for either of these dates in the *News*, and the text Franklin quotes is actually a modification of a speech of Heber C. Kimball, January 11, 1857, in which Kimball condemns John Hyde Jr.—with the references to Hyde replaced in the tracts by references to Franklin. Most likely Franklin took Kimball's speech from Hyde's book, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs*. Franklin, *The Horrors of Mormonism*, 4. Franklin, *The Mysteries and the Crimes of Mormonism*, 16. Franklin, *One Year at the Great Salt Lake City*, 8–10. Franklin, *A Cheap Trip*, 4–5. *Deseret News* 6:364. *Journal of Discourses* 4:165. John Hyde Jr., *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York, 1857), 24–26.

543 1. European Mission Financial Records, 7:303, 330–658.

2. For a discussion of the doctrinal conflict between Brigham Young and Orson Pratt see 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.

3. See, e.g., *Deseret Evening News*, 22 June 1874, 1. *Deseret News* 23:611, 763; 24:11, 679.

544 1. "Glasgow Branch Record," 258, microfilm 104152, UPB. "Early Church Information File." Ancestral File. *Millennial Star* 13:334; 14:319, 666; 15:511, 761. "Utah Immigration Card Index." Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 1058. *Deseret Evening News*, 4 May 1897, 2. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records.

545 1. William Cook was born in Wiltshire, December 30, 1791, and baptized into the Church on February 19, 1850. He immigrated to Utah in 1853 and was ordained a High Priest at Salt Lake City on January 11, 1854, but returned to England and published the

following anti-Mormon tracts: *The Mormons: The Dream and the Reality* (London, 1857); *The "Fowler's Snare," as Craftily Laid to Catch Unwary Souls, Now Fully Unmasked and Exposed to View* (London, 1858); and *A Friendly Warning to the Latter-day Saints, or Mormons* (London, 1860). "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "Early Church Information File." Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. "Utah Immigration Card Index." Cook, *The "Fowler's Snare,"* i–ii. Cook, *A Friendly Warning,* 6–8, 53.

2. *Millennial Star* 13:33–37, 42, 112, 141–42, 208, 304. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . the 5th day of January, 1851,* 13. Eli B. Kelsey, *Circular to the Presidents of Branches, Priesthood, and Saints Generally of the London Conference* (London, 1851), 2. "Journal of Franklin D. Richards," 5 October 1851, typescript, USIC. European Mission Financial Records, 7:506–7.

3. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "Early Church Information File." *Millennial Star* 13:304. Kelsey, *Circular to the Presidents of Branches, Priesthood, and Saints Generally,* 2. "European Emigration Card Index." microfilm, UPB. Temple Index Bureau. *Deseret Evening News,* 29 November 1900, 8. Ancestral File.

546–48 1. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 13. "Early Church Information File." "Journal History," 15 May, 3 August 1835; 20 January 1848; 19 September, 16 October 1853. *History of the Church* 5:348, 394–95, 485; 6:339; 7:306, 482. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record* (Salt Lake City, 1983), 111, 155. Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (n.p., 1881), 122, 168, 176, 179, 184, 211, 272–73. "Journal of George P. Dykes, 1849–1851," typescript, USIC. *Millennial Star* 13:169–72, 346–48; 14:398. *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, Mo., 1967), 3:339, 343, 469; 4:588. *Deseret Evening News,* 26 May 1875, 3; 10 March 1888, 3. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia,* 2:762.

2. *Millennial Star* 12:27–28, 43, 202. *History of the Church* 5:394–95. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia,* 2:762. Keith A. Erekson and Lloyd D. Newell, "'A Gathering Place for the Scandinavian People': Conversion, Retention, and Gathering in Norway, Illinois (1842–1849)." *Mormon Historical Studies* 1 (spring 2000): 23–26.

3. *Millennial Star* 13:169–72.

4. "Journal of George P. Dykes," 35, 38, 41, 48–49. *Millennial Star* 13:171.

5. *Millennial Star* 13:171.

6. "Journal of George P. Dykes," 9–10, 12–12a, 18–19.

7. "Journal of George P. Dykes," 55, 57, 62–63.

8. "Journal of George P. Dykes," 53–54, 59.

9. "Journal of George P. Dykes," 64, 66–71.

10. The only located copy of Jenson's edition of the chronological table is in private hands. One might be tempted to conjecture that Carl Bech printed the first edition since he had also printed *Troes-Artikler* and that Andrew Jenson came across a copy of the first edition at Bech's print shop and had him strike off another edition.

549 1. The 0 in *July 20* in the title of the broadside is broken and may actually be a 9. Adding support to this possibility is the fact that July 20, 1850, fell on Saturday, while Elizabeth Crombie's obituary in the *Frontier Guardian* says she died on "Monday July 20th."

2. "Early Church Information File." 1850 Iowa census. Pottawattamie County, 75. *Frontier Guardian,* 7 August 1850, 2. "Journal History," 11 April 1848; 22 February (p. 7), 21 April 1857. Temple Index Bureau. Ancestral File.

550 1. Copies of Phelps's almanacs are located for the years 1851–55 and 1858–65. His correspondence shows that he had hoped to issue combined almanacs for 1856–57 and 1866–67 but apparently could not raise the funds to publish them. W. W. Phelps to Brigham Young, 9 September 1856; Phelps to Young, 29 March 1866; Phelps to Young, 22 October 1866; Phelps to George Q. Cannon, 11 April 1866; USIC. David J. Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," *BYU Studies* 29 (fall 1989): 89–113.

2. *Deseret News* 1:197, 204. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 4:8.

3. The *Deseret News* of July 26, 1851, corrected the time indicated in the almanac for an eclipse of the sun on July 28.

4. No mention of such a copyright appears in Roger W. Harris, "Copyright Entries Works by and about the Mormons, 1829–1870," photocopy, UPB.

551–53 1. European Mission Financial Records, 7:117, USIC.

2. Orson Pratt's pamphlets in these books are items 369, 375, 378, 382, 386, 394, 429, 437, 408, 521, and 543.

3. I am indebted to John Hajicek for bringing these two states to my attention. Both, for example, are at UPB and USIC.

4. *Millennial Star* 13:108; 14:32.

5. European Mission Financial Records, 7:370, 400, 428.

6. Andrew Jenson. *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 2 February 1851.

7. O. Pratt to B. Young, Washington, D.C., 30 January 1853, USIC. Two hundred books could be packed in a case 18 inches wide, 24 inches long, and 25 inches deep.

8. *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). See, e.g., *Deseret Evening News*, 22 June 1874, 1. *Deseret News* 23:611, 763; 24:11, 679.

9. European Mission Financial Records, 7:392–659.

557 1. LeBaron, *A Short Extract*. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 84. "Early Church Information File." *History of the Church* 6:337. *Millennial Star* 12:139–40. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," 7:37, 40–43, 45, 53–54, 73, 81, 85, 147–52, 156–57, 178. "Manuscript History of the British Mission—Missionary Lists, 1837–1900," 1850, microfilm, USIC. Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* (Rexburg, Idaho, 1978), 37. Payson Ward "Record of Members, 1855–1871," 8, microfilm 26401, UPB. "Journal History," 26 February 1850; 27 April, 14 August 1854; 5 September 1855; 2 April 1856. Salt Lake City Cemetery Records. Alonzo LeBaron, *An Address to Every Lover of Truth and Righteousness on the Present State of Affairs of Utah* (Council Bluffs, Iowa, 1863). Alonzo LeBaron Havington (pseud.), *The Leadership of the So-called Mormon Church* (Salt Lake City, 1872). Alonzo LeBaron Havington (pseud.), *Polygamy from a New Standpoint* (Salt Lake City, 1873). *Statement of Alonzo Le'Baron Havington, Complainant, at a Trial Before the High Council of the Church of Latter Day Saints, at Provo City, Utah Territory, Nov. 17th, 1860 Bishop Wm. Miller, Defendant* (Salt Lake City? 1880?). Dr. LeBaron Havington (pseud.), *The Pioneer Reformer of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1884). A. La Baron Havington (pseud.), *Rejected by the Sore and Tender-Footed Tribune and Chronicle!* (Salt Lake City, 1885). LeBaron Havington (pseud.), *A Strange Story* (Salt Lake City? 1886?). LeBaron Havington (pseud.), *Historical: "What the Records Say"* (Salt Lake City, 1886?). LeBaron Heaventon (pseud.), *Copy of a Brief Note to Elder Woodruff* (Salt Lake City, 1889).

2. Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques*, 37.

558–59 1. Lorenzo Snow, *Italian Mission* (London, 1851), 7, 11–13. *Millennial Star* 12:154, 218–19, 370–74. The *Italian Mission* says Snow arrived in England on April 19 and reached Genoa on June 25; the *Star* gives these dates as April 18 and June 23.

For a biographical sketch of Joseph Toronto, see Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1976), 19:467–70.

2. Snow, *Italian Mission*, 10–11, 13, 17–18. Lorenzo Snow to Orson Hyde, 9 November 1850, *Deseret News* 1:274. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Cambridge, Eng., 1911), 28:255–58. William Beattie, *The Waldenses, or Protestant Valleys of Piedmont and Dauphiny* (London, 1836). Michael W. Homer, “The Italian Mission,” *Sunstone* 7 (May–June 1982): 16–21. Michael W. Homer, “‘Like the Rose in the Wilderness’: The Mormon Mission in the Kingdom of Sardinia,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 1 (fall 2000): 25–62. Diane Stokoe, “The Mormon Waldensians” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985).

Orson Spencer makes a passing reference to “the suffering Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont” in his *Letters* (Liverpool, 1848), 195.

3. Snow, *Italian Mission*, 13–14, 18. *Millennial Star* 12:370.

Under the date December 9, 1850, the European Mission financial records have the entries: “To translating ‘The Voice of Joseph’ into French for Lorenzo Snow . . . 7.0.0.” “To postage to Piedmont . . . 0.19.7.” European Mission Financial Records, 7:294.

4. Snow, *Italian Mission*, 20. *Millennial Star* 12:370: 13:26. Snow to Hyde, 9 November 1850.

5. Snow, *Italian Mission*, 25. *Millennial Star* 13:88.

6. An English translation of *La Voix de Joseph* by Spenser Call is in the Brigham Young University Lee Library.

7. Cf., *History of the Church* 1:197–98.

8. Snow, *Italian Mission*, 13, 15–18, 23–6. *Millennial Star* 13:186, 252, 301–2. Snow to Hyde, 9 November 1850.

9. *Millennial Star* 13:186–87, 302, 352; 14:76–77, 364–65, 525; 15:57, 234–36, 470–71, 665–66; 16:32, 191–92, 350. *Half-Yearly Reports of the Southampton Conferences* (Portsmouth, 1851?), 6, 9. “Journal History,” 1 October 1854.

10. *Millennial Star* 13:301.

560 1. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 17. *Deseret Evening News*, 10 March 1877, 1. “Diary of Appleton M. Harmon,” vol. 1, typescript, UPB. Maybelle Harmon Anderson, ed., *The Journals of Appleton Milo Harmon* (Glendale, Calif., 1946). *Millennial Star* 12:298, 345; 13:334; 14:171, 604; 15:41, 105, 509, 748.

2. *Millennial Star* 12:345. “Diary of Appleton M. Harmon,” 1:87–91.

3. “Diary of Appleton M. Harmon,” 1:97–99.

561 1. European Mission Financial Records, 7:380.

2. *Millennial Star* 13:88, 188–91.

562 1. “Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register,” 61. “Early Church Information File.” *History of the Church* 7:79–80. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1947), 8:424. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *Journals of Forty-Niners: Salt Lake to Los Angeles* (Glendale, Calif., 1954), 141, 146, 150, 156, 169, 172, 176, 193, 201, 203, 215, 233, 238–39. Michael N. Landon, ed., *The Journals of George Q. Cannon* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 1:13, 30, 38, 42, 47, 60, 66–67, 139–43. *Millennial Star* 9:21–22, 46. *Deseret News* 1:134–35; 7:56. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:750–51.

2. "Early Church Information File." *History of the Church* 7:79–80. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 8:424. "Journal History," 24 December 1848 (p. 2); 24 February 1852; 3 December 1853; 23 December 1854; 27 June (p. 2), 2 August 1855; 4 July 1857 (p. 2); 9 February 1858; 6 January 1862; 3 January (p. 2), 19 February (p. 5), 26 May 1870 (p. 2). J. Kenneth Davies, *Mormon Gold: The Story of California's Mormon Argonauts* (Salt Lake City, 1984), 218, 220; appendices 15c, 24cc. 1856 Utah census, Grantsville, 821. J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah* (Baltimore, Md., 1981), 45. *Deseret News* 33:380, 384. Amos W. Bair, *The History of Richmond, Utah* (Richmond, Utah, 1976), 190–93. Mildred Allred Mercer, ed., *History of Tooele County* (Salt Lake City, 1961), 429–30.

3. *Deseret News* 1:149.

4. *Deseret News* 1:198, 214.

5. *Deseret News*, 10 July 1852, 3.

6. Anthony Bliss, of the Bancroft Library, has pointed out to me that the paper of the Bancroft copy had been folded before *Mormon Way-Bill* was printed on it.

7. J. Roderic Kornis, "West from Fort Bridger." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 19 (1951): 224–36.

8. *Deseret News* 1:135.

9. Hafen and Hafen, *Journals of Forty-Niners*, 67–69, 77–78, 93, 97–99, 114, 163, 224. Landon, *The Journals of George Q. Cannon*, 1:12, 21–22, 30, 57, 63, 139–43.

Blackwell's summary is reproduced in *The Journals of George Q. Cannon*, 1:139–43. Joseph Cain's journal of the trip has not been located.

Hiram H. Blackwell was born in Jefferson County, Tennessee, January 7, 1824, lived for about a year at Winter Quarters, and then came to Utah in 1848. In the fall of 1849 he was called to accompany Addison Pratt and James S. Brown—his traveling companions in Jefferson Hunt's company—to the Society Islands, but Pratt left him in California because he had lost confidence in him. The following year he joined the first group of missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands but left the Islands after two or three months. In San Bernardino in October 1854 he was called on a mission to Mississippi and Alabama, and seems to have been living in St. Louis in April 1857 when he was delegated to go to Tennessee and Georgia and gather up the scattered Saints there. *The Journals of George Q. Cannon* gives a death date of 1864 for him, but the source of this date has not been identified. "Early Church Information File." "Journal History," 24 June 1847 (p. 2); 23 January (p. 2), 14 March (p. 3), 28 March, 13–14 April 1848; 2 October 1849; 15 April (p. 4), 25 September (p. 2), 12 December 1850 (p. 3); 8 October 1854 (p. 11); 6 April 1856 (pp. 12, 15); 6 April 1857 (p. 13). Hafen and Hafen, *Journals of Forty-Niners*, 67–70, 77–78. R. Lanier Britsch, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Laie, Hawaii, 1998), 4–5, 16–17. Landon, *The Journals of George Q. Cannon*, 1:151–52.

Another "Emigrants Guide from G. S. L. City to Santa Clara, tributary of the Rio Virgen," was compiled by Robert L. Campbell, clerk of Parley P. Pratt's southern exploring company. See "Journal History," 28 March 1850.

10. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler*, 277–78, 282–83.

11. No mention of such a copyright appears in Roger W. Harris, "Copyright Entries Works by and about the Mormons, 1829–1870," photocopy, UPB.

563 1. *Millennial Star* 12:345; 13:207; 14:319, 666.

2. *Third Report of the Bradford Quarterly Conference . . . Nov. 8th and 9th, 1851* (Bradford, 1851?), 5.

3. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)," microfilm, UPB. "Early Church Information File." microfilm, UPB. *Millennial Star* 10:92, 213; 11:287; 13:15, 207; 14:171, 319; 15:58, 154. *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1862), 3; (1868), 5; (1869), 5. *Deseret Evening News*, 25 February 1899, 2. Kenneth E. Midgley, *The Midgleys: Utah Pioneers* (Kansas City, Mo., 1981), 41–44, 106–13. Keith N. Worthington, Sadie H. Greenhalgh, and Fred J. Chapman, *They Left a Record: A Comprehensive History of Nephi, Utah, 1851–1978* (Nephi, Utah, 1979).

565 1. "Erastus Snows Journal Continued from Sketch Book No. 5," 20, photocopy, UPB.

2. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 22–23. "Manuscript History of the Scandinavian Mission," 31 March 1851, microfilm, USIC. Jenson also claimed that the book contained the Articles of Faith, which seems not to have been the case.

3. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen* (Salt Lake City, 1988), 78, 85. *Millennial Star* 13:4–7. "Journal of E. Snow from Decr 27th 1847 Sketch Book No. 5th," 112, 117, photocopy, UPB. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 22–23.

4. Erastus Snow, "A Summary of the Danish Mission," photocopy, UPB.

566 1. Cleo H. Evans, comp., *Curtis Edwin Bolton: Pioneer Missionary* (Fairfax, Va., 1968), 52.

569–72 1. "Journal of George P. Dykes, 1849–1851," 64, 66–71, typescript, USIC. Schleswig, the capital city of Schleswig-Holstein, is about 180 miles south of Aalborg.

2. "Journal of George P. Dykes," 69–70.

3. I am grateful to Dr. Christian Gellinek for this assessment of *Glaubens-Artikel*.

Sarah Josephine Dinah Catherine Clausen was born near Schleswig, August 4, 1829, married Hans Peter Jensen in 1849, joined the Church with her husband in Aalborg in October 1850, and came to Utah with her family four years later, settling in Brigham City, where she lived until her death on December 25, 1919. Dykes praises her in his journal for "the integrity of her heart & the righteousness of her soul." "Sarah Josephine Clausen Jensen—Sketch of My Life's History," microfilm of typescript, USIC. "Utah Immigration Card Index," microfilm, UPB. *Deseret Evening News*, 27 December 1919, 8. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 17. Anthon H. Lund, et al., comp., *Scandinavian Jubilee Album* (Salt Lake City, 1900), 132. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:148–49. "Journal of George P. Dykes," 25, 68–69.

4. An English translation of *Mindeblad* by Christopher K. McAfee is in the Brigham Young University Lee Library.

5. Once he left Denmark, Christensen seems to have consistently used the name Herman Julius, perhaps because his son was named Julius Herman. Crossing the plains in Forsgren's company, he arrived in Salt Lake City on September 30, 1853, and immediately went to Manti, Utah, where Erastus Snow appointed him president of the Scandinavian community there. He lived the rest of his life in Sanpete County, becoming a prosperous stockman and banker, and died in Manti, June 26, 1897, at age seventy-six. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 71. "Scandinavian LDS Mission Index" [Juline Hermene Thorbald Christensen], microfiche, UPB. "European Emigration Card Index" [J. Herman Christensen], microfilm, UPB. "Journal History," 30 September 1853, 3–4. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1945), 6:1–31, 37. *Manti Messenger*, 3 July 1897, 1. Marjorie May Peterson, *Song of a Century* (Provo, Utah, 1991), 38–39. Ancestral File, UPB.

573 1. An English translation of *De Sande Vidners Liv og Lærdomme* by Christopher K. McAfee is in the Brigham Young University Lee Library.

2. Snow, "A Summary of the Danish Mission," 2.

574 1. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen*, 37, 41, 76–77, 81–83. *History of the Church* 7:425, 535, 554. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, 1991), 167–68, 237. "Journal of E. Snow from Decr 27th 1847 Sketch Book No. 5th," 100, 104, 106–8, 112. "Erastus Snows Journal Continued from Sketch Book No. 5," 5, 11, 14, 19. Erastus Snow, *One Year in Scandinavia* (Liverpool, 1851), 7, 12. *Millennial Star* 13:4–7.

Hansen asserts in his autobiography that Miss Mathiesen became involved in a dispute with Erastus Snow over her compensation for translating some of the Doctrine and Covenants, went to St. Louis, but was cut off from the Church by the Copenhagen branch before she arrived there. The journal of the John E. Forsgren emigrating company, under the date April 17, 1853, at St. Louis, reports: "Elder Forsgren said that a Miss Mathiesen wished to come back into the Church. . . . She then stood up and said that she wished to become a member again and asked forgiveness for what she had done . . . Elder Forsgren spoke again, and then it was unanimously voted that Miss Mathiesen had not made a true acknowledgment and could not be received into the Church without having the fruits of repentance." *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen*, 83. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 6:14.

2. Snow, "A Summary of the Danish Mission." "Manuscript History of the Scandinavian Mission," 30 October 1850. "Erastus Snows Journal Continued from Sketch Book No. 5," 7, 9, 11, 19, 21–22. Extract of a Letter from Erastus Snow, 16 January 1851, *Deseret News* 1:268. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen*, 83. Snow, *One Year in Scandinavia*, 11–12. *Millennial Star* 13:88, 201–2. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 25–26. European Mission Financial Records, 7:246, 532, USIC.

Elders Conard and Collinson pledged £50 and £20, respectively, toward the £200 owing the *Millennial Star* office.

3. John Taylor, *Government of God* (Liverpool, 1852), back wrapper. *Millennial Star* 16:303, 718. *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). *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.

4. *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen*, 83. "Manuscript History of the Scandinavian Mission," 22 May 1851, 4. The "Manuscript History" says it was Sister Malling who brought the error to Hansen's attention.

576 1. Cleo H. Evans, comp., *Curtis Edwin Bolton: Pioneer Missionary* (Fairfax, Va., 1968), 48. John Taylor to Orson Hyde, 13 March 1851, *Frontier Guardian*, 27 June 1851. 1. *Journal of Discourses* 1:24. *Millennial Star* 13:122–23.

Taylor was prompted to extend his mission by a line in the Fourth General Epistle: "the Apostles are expected to continue in their several appointments, according to previous instruction; extending their labors into other countries, as opportunity presents, and as they shall be directed by the Holy Spirit." *Millennial Star* 13:53.

2. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 56–57, 60.

3. Bolton moved into a room provided rent free at the residence of Robert Squires, who had been baptized with his wife and son on December 1, 1850, along with L. A.

Bertrand and J. B. Wilhelm; he moved back to 7, rue de Tournon when Squires changed his residence. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 43, 45–46, 53, 59, 83, 122.

4. *Journal of Discourses* 1:21.

5. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 52, 71–72, 84.

6. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 52, 60. *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris, 1948), 4:492–93. *Catalogue Général des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1924), 5:274–76.

7. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 44–46, 71, 74, 76. Louis A. Bertrand to Erastus Snow, 17 June 1855, *St. Louis Luminary*, 23 June 1855, 122–23. *Deseret Evening News*, 22 March 1875, 3. L. A. Bertrand, *Mémoires d'un Mormon* (Paris, 1862), 5–8, 229, 267–68. *Millennial Star* 15:296, 569. “Manuscript History of the French Mission,” 8 December 1850, USIC. Jenson. *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:334. *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, 6:278–79. Richard D. McClellan, “Not Your Average French Communist Mormon: A Short History of Louis A. Bertrand,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 1 (fall 2000): 3–24. 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), 41–42, 69, 96, 117–18.

8. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 73–76, 80.

9. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 60–61, 80–81, 84, 87, 98–100, 110, 122.

10. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 65–66, 84–87, 97, 116.

11. Evans, *Curtis Edwin Bolton*, 60, 79, 81.

12. For example, the Brigham Young University copy and one of the two copies at Princeton have a red 4 cen. stamp on nos. 5–9; the Huntington copy has this stamp on nos. 5–7; the Yale copy has it on nos. 7–9; one copy at the LDS Church has it on no. 5; and a second Church copy has it on no. 7. The other Princeton copy has the red stamp on nos. 6–9 and a black 5 cen. stamp on nos. 3–4.

In 1856 Thomas Liez wrote: “In France no person is allowed to sell, lend, or distribute any kind of pamphlet without having on it the *Estampille de la Prefecture*, that is, a certain stamp. Even a common circular cannot be circulated without being stamped. According to the law of the 27th July, 1849, article 6th—All distributors or hawkers of books, pamphlets, &c., must be provided with an authorization, which will be delivered to them by the *Prefet* of Police. . . . Any person acting contrary to the above, will be condemned by the tribunals, and imprisoned from one to six months, and fined from 25 to 500 francs. A copy of each work must be sent to *M. le Ministre de l'Interieur*, in order that a committee may examine them. An individual wishing to distribute pamphlets must be well known by the mayor of the town in which he resides, and he must have a certificate from the mayor before he can have an authorization from the *Prefet*.” *Millennial Star* 18:316.

578 1. Bell, *A Reply to the Bare-Faced Falsehoods*, 1. Theobald advertised *Mormonism Dissected* in his handbill *I John Theobald, Challenge Any Man in the Universe, to Public Discussion, to Discuss the Merits or Demerits of “Mormonism” and “Protestantism,”* dated at Ockbrook, Derbyshire, August 6, 1850, a copy of which is at USIC.

2. John Theobald was born in Wilne, Derbyshire, in 1811, and was a carpenter by trade. He issued a number of broadsides advertising his lectures and debates and at least five anti-Mormon tracts, three of which have survived: *The Overthrow of Infidel Mormonism* (two editions, London, 1850); *Mormonology; or, the Blasphemies of Latter-day Saints Exposed* (London, 1852?); and *Mormonism Harpooned; or the Blasphemies of Joseph Smith, the Prophet of the Latter-day Saints, Exposed* (London, 1852?). Bell, *A Reply to the Bare-Faced*

Falsehoods, 1–2. Theobald, *Mormonism Harpooned*, 28. *Millennial Star* 19:622. 1851 English census, Ockbrook Parish, Derbyshire, 368. International Genealogical Index, UPB.

3. The Truman Smith quotation was printed earlier in John Taylor's *Three Nights' Public Discussion*, 49 (items 514–15). John S. Reid's speech was delivered at the political convention in Nauvoo, May 17, 1844 (see item 208).

4. Bell cites Clarke's statement as appearing on the first page of a tract entitled "Mormonism weighed in the balances and found wanting." But the only located tract with this title is a reprint of Alexander Campbell's *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon*. The statement Bell quotes is very close, but not identical, to a line on the first page of R. Clarke's *Mormonism Unmasked: or, the Latter-day Saints in a Fix* (three editions: London, 1849? and 1850?).

5. *Millennial Star* 12:345, 380; 13:144. "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), 32, typescript, USIC.

579 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" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1961).

2. "Journal of Jacob Gates," vol. 4, 2 June 1851, microfilm, USIC. "Diary of Appleton M. Harmon," 1:124, typescript, UPB.

3. Both states are at UPB.

581 1. *Third Report of the Bradford Quarterly Conference . . . Nov. 8th and 9th, 1851* (Bradford, 1851?), 5.

2. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)," microfilm, UPB. "Bradford Branch Record," Book 75:7, microfilm 86984, UPB. Temple Index Bureau, microfilm, UPB. *Second Report of the Bradford Conference*, 6. *Deseret Evening News*, 27 June 1918, 2nd sec., 1. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:349–51. Ancestral File, UPB. *Rules for Conducting a Public Discussion! on Mormonism, between John Theobald, A.M.M., and William Burton, L.D.S.E.* (Knaresbrough, 1853).

582 1. The fifth report was a general statistical and financial report for the year 1854.

2. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 25, UPB. "Early Church Information File," microfilm, UPB. *History of the Church* 2:185, 203. *Millennial Star* 10:312; 11:32; 12:15, 345; 13:333–34; 14:72. *Deseret News* 13:240.

3. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)."

4. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." *Report of the Sheffield Conference . . . December 23d, 1849* (Sheffield, 1849), 2. *Report of the Sheffield Conference . . . Eighth Day of June, 1851*, 4. *Millennial Star* 13:334; 15:510–11, 781; 16:140. *Deseret News* 15:224. *Deseret Evening News*, 14 April 1869, 3. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* 6:462.

583 1. The town Snow and Woodard identify as "La Tour" is Torre Pellice; see items 558–59.

2. Snow, *Italian Mission*, 7, 12. *Millennial Star* 12:154, 370.

3. *Millennial Star* 13:88.

4. *Millennial Star* 13:107, 188. European Mission Financial Records, 7:425–658, USIC.

5. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference . . . December 6th & 7th, 1851* (London, 1851?), 11. European Mission Financial Records, 7:476, 519.

6. *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). *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, 1857), 2.

584 1. "Appleton Milo Harmon's Early History and Journal for His Travels through the United States, England and Scotland in 1850, 1851, and 1852." 185-87, photocopy, UPB. "Diary of Appleton M. Harmon." 1:129-30. typescript, UPB.

585 1. For a biographical sketch of James Linforth see items 70-71, note 7.

C. W. Lawrence received at B.A. from Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1827, an M.A. in 1830, and was ordained a deacon and a priest in the Church of England in 1828. He was chaplain of St. Luke's Church from 1831 until he became incumbent in 1846, a position he held until his death on November 20, 1861, at age fifty-seven. Linforth, *The Rev. C. W. Lawrence's Replied To and Refuted*, J. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (Nendeln/Licchtenstein, 1968), 3:824. *Crockford's Clerical Directory* (London, 1860), 370. *Gentleman's Magazine* 211 (December 1861): 691. *The Old Public School-Boy's Who's Who Series Eton* (London, 1933), 473-74.

2. *Millennial Star* 12:277-79, 289-92, 309-12, 331-33, 353-57.

3. European Mission Financial Records, vols. 7-8.

4. Both states are located at UPB.

586 1. "Diary of Appleton M. Harmon." 1:131-33, 221.

2. Jesse R. S. Budge. *The Life of William Budge* (Salt Lake City, 1915). *Deseret Evening News*, 19 March 1919, 4; 2nd sec., 4. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:451; 4:312, 511-12.

587 1. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margaret's File)." *Millennial Star* 8:140, 143.

588 1. "Account of Job Printing done in the News Office" [7 October 1850-24 September 1851], USIC. *Deseret News* 1:271, 295.

The "Journal History" for December 27, 1850, notes: "At sundown a concert and dramatic play commenced in the Bowery, G. S. L. City: the band played well and so did some of the actors. After dismissal, a grand display of fireworks was given opposite the Bowery which gave general satisfaction."

589 1. *Millennial Star* 13:217.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 7:444, 487.

591-92 1. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:751. *Deseret News* 1:308. "Diary of Samuel W. Richards." 2:108, 110. typescript, UPB.

James Bond, born in Lancashire, England, August 25, 1830, joined the Church in Manchester in 1845, left England for America in 1849, and that year crossed the plains to Utah, where he worked as a printer and wrote songs for public occasions. In 1853 he was called back to England as a missionary, served as president of the Leicestershire and Newcastle-upon-

Tyne conferences, and returned to Utah in 1859. He died in Ogden, June 11, 1877. "Membership Card Index (Minnie Margett's File)." "Early Church Information File." "Journal History," 24 February (p. 3), 5 July, 24 July 1852 (pp. 2, 7); 8 April 1853; 12 June 1859 (p. 4). *Millennial Star* 11:154–55, 233; 16:383; 17:777; 18:760. Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1949), 10:446. J. Kenneth Davies, *Deseret's Sons of Toil* (Salt Lake City, 1977), 55–57, 228. Ancestral File. Ogden City Cemetery Records.

593 1. Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* (Rexburg, Idaho, 1978), 30–43, 299. *Report of the Warwickshire Conference* (Leamington, 1850), 2, 10. *Millennial Star* 14:60–61. "Alfred Cordon's Journal," 7:150–52, USIC.

For a biographical sketch of Jaques, see items 70–71, note 7.

2. Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques*, 25–26. His poems during this period are in *Millennial Star* 11:320; 12:160, 215–16; his articles are in 11:197–98, 297–300, 378–79; 12:37–39, 205–6. His first poem, "Softly Beams the Sacred Dawning," is still included in the LDS hymnal, as is "Oh! Say, What Is Truth?"

3. These poems are in *Millennial Star* 12:240, 335–36; 13:159–60, the articles in 13:26–29, 39–41, 65–71, 142, 268–69; 14:36–41.

4. *Millennial Star* 10:352; 13:232. Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques*, 41. C. H. Wheelock and A. F. McDonald, *Invitation* (Liverpool, 1852), 4.

5. European Mission Financial Records, 7:447–658, USIC.

6. Copies of state 1 are located at CtY, UPB, USIC.

595 1. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," 40. *History of the Church* 5:321. *Millennial Star* 12:298, 346; 13:60, 207; 14:294–95, 634; 15:41, 105, 282; 23:10, 206, 267–68. *Deseret Evening News*, 5 January 1910, 5. "Journal History," 8 April 1869, 7 May 1870. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 1178. *Juvenile Instructor* 34:178–81. C. V. Spencer, "My Experience in England," *Labors in the Vineyard* (Salt Lake City, 1884), 9–28.

2. *Millennial Star* 11:134, 287; 12:207; 13:15, 207; 14:15, 319.

596–97 1. "Journal History," 15 October 1850. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:382. *Deseret News* 1:140–141, 161–64.

2. "Journal History," 3 February 1851. *Deseret News* 1:131, 164, 236–37, 293. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:384, 396–97. *Utah: Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting Information in Reference to the Condition of Affairs in the Territory of Utah*, 32d Cong., 1st sess., 9 January 1852, H. Ex. Doc. 25, 28–32.

3. "Account of Job Printing done in the News Office" [7 October 1850–24 September 1851], USIC. Horace K. Whitney, "Account Book of Work Done in the Printing Office," 10, photocopy, ULA.

4. "Journal History," 26 July 1851. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:402. *Proclamation by Brigham Young, Governor of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 18 September 1851).

599 1. "Journal of Franklin D. Richards," 28–29 March 1850, typescript, USIC. *Millennial Star* 12:139, 325.

2. F. D. Richards to Levi Richards, 1 February 1851, as quoted in Rodney Turner, "Franklin D. Richards and the Pearl of Great Price," *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: British Isles*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon (Provo, Utah, 1990), 177–91.

3. *Millennial Star* 13:216–17. The remark that it was “not designed, as a pioneer of the faith among unbelievers” is also included in the preface.

4. European Mission Financial Records, 7:457–667, USIC. It is likely that the credit to Richards on May 7, 1852, included reimbursement for prior sales.

5. Pearl of Great Price (Liverpool, 1851), back wrapper. John Taylor, *Government of God* (Liverpool, 1852), back wrapper. C. H. Wheelock and A. F. McDonald, *Invitation* (Liverpool, 1852), 4. *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). *Millennial Star* 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 and 1857), 1. European Mission Financial Records, 13:547–49.

6. For discussions of Joseph Smith’s revision of the Bible, see Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures* (Independence, Mo., 1969) and Robert J. Matthews, “A Plainer Translation”: *Joseph Smith’s Translation of the Bible; A History and Commentary* (Provo, Utah, 1975).

7. James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City, 1955), 28, 199–200. Turner, “Franklin D. Richards and the Pearl of Great Price,” 185–86.

8. European Mission Financial Records, 7:417.

9. These two revelations were added to the Doctrine and Covenants in 1876.

10. The principal omissions from the narrative are the texts of the revelations Joseph Smith received during this period and the account of the loss of the first 116 pages of the Book of Mormon manuscript.

600 1. “Erastus Snows Journal Continued from Sketch Book No. 5,” 21–22, 28–29, photocopy, UPB. *Millennial Star* 13:232.

2. European Mission Financial Records, 7:479, 509.

3. European Mission Financial Records, 7:457–658.

4. Wheelock and McDonald, *Invitation*, 4. Taylor, *Government of God*, back wrapper. *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.*

602 1. “Erastus Snows Journal Continued from Sketch Book No. 5,” 29–30. Andrew Jensen, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 30–31.

2. Erastus Snow, “A Summary of the Danish Mission,” photocopy, UPB. This reference to *Mærkværdige Syner* in Snow’s “Summary” undoubtedly refers to the first edition, since it is unlikely that a second edition would have been published within six months of the first.

604 1. “Journal of Franklin D. Richards,” 17 March, 2 April, 2 June, 18 August, 21 August, 24 August 1851. *Millennial Star* 14:210.

2. *Millennial Star* 13:144, 154, 249–50, 266.

3. Taylor, *Government of God*, back wrapper. Pearl of Great Price (Liverpool, 1851), back wrapper. *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.*

4. European Mission Financial Records, 7:559, 653, 659; 8:50. “Diary of Samuel W. Richards,” 2:144, typescript, UPB.