

THE CADRE FOR THE KINGDOM: THE ELECTIONEER MISSIONARIES OF
JOSEPH SMITH'S 1844 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

by

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ABSTRACT

The consequences of Joseph Smith's assassination, during his 1844 presidential campaign, shaped the rest of nineteenth-century Mormonism. Historians have documented Smith's murder, the subsequent succession crisis, and exodus to the Great Basin. Yet, no one has examined in detail the hundreds of men, and one woman, Smith dispatched throughout the nation to preach Mormonism and campaign for him. This study focuses on this cadre of over six hundred electioneer missionaries. Who were they before the campaign? What did they do during the campaign? How did electioneering influence their beliefs? What became of them religiously, politically, socially, and economically in the decades following Smith's assassination?

The cadre came from a variety of socioeconomic, religious, and political experiences, yet were united in building Smith's Zion of restorationist Christianity, economic cooperation, and theodemocratic government in preparation for the return of Christ. They campaigned for Smith and preached Mormonism at great sacrifice, encountering opposition, hardship, and sometimes surprising success. Smith's assassination terminated the campaign, but only further steeled this cadre to his goal of Zion. Brigham Young followed Smith's ideal of aristarchy by choosing loyal cadre men to oversee the evacuation of the faithful and the colonization of the American West.

Appointed to important leadership positions within the church, cadre members thus disproportionately became the religious, political, social, and economic leaders for decades in the Great Basin Mormon Kingdom, a theodemocratic Zion. They were

general, regional, and local clergy simultaneously occupying territorial, county, and municipal government offices. As leaders, cadre men entered plural marriage and took more wives than their counterparts. The consequential land wealth, coupled with unique economic opportunities from their religious and political stations, created them as an economic elite.

Continued resistance to the un-American nature of theodemocratic Zion from the federal government eventually crushed Mormonism's Zion and its leadership. However, the descendants of the cadre adapted and endured to remain, even up to the present time, the Mormon religious, political, social, and economic elite of the Great Basin. Their story is Mormonism's story and is directly linked to their heretofore understudied and undervalued campaign experience in 1844.

Dedicated to the memory of the men and one woman of Mormonism's cadre for the Kingdom of God, including my fourth great-grandfather, Nathaniel Ashby. Also dedicated to my wife, Meredith, who has sacrificed the most to allow this work to come to light.

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INTRODUCTION

The United States presidential election of 1844 had significant impact on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon/LDS). Its prophet-leader Joseph Smith ran a third party race for the presidency emphasizing national unity during a time of intense sectional and political partisanship. His decision to seek the presidency grew from past Mormon experience as well as a desire to establish the political Kingdom of God upon the earth as part of building up of “Zion.” Since its founding in upstate New York in 1830, the LDS Church and its members suffered persecution for their religious, social, economic, and political beliefs, which were often at odds with contemporary, pluralistic American society. The Latter-day Saints were driven from New York to Ohio, attacked in Missouri, and finally settled in Illinois. The Missouri expulsion, sanctioned and enforced by the state government, increased Smith’s urgency and determination to protect the church from further persecution.¹

Despite securing a favorable city charter from the state legislature, the situation in Illinois eventually followed the same pattern of persecution. Mormon economic success, a large militia, disagreement over Christian doctrine, as well as expedient bloc voting for friends and against enemies, fostered tension between the church and its new neighbors. Finding himself and his church in an untenable position, Smith wrote to the candidates for president in the 1844 election asking each his policy toward the Mormons. Unsatisfied with the candidates’ responses, the leading authorities of the church assembled on January 29, 1844 and determined to, “have an independent electoral

ticket... [with] Joseph Smith... [as] candidate for the next Presidency; and...[to] use all honorable means in our power to secure his election.”² Immediately, Smith, with the help of colleagues, wrote a political tract while simultaneously instructing the church’s Quorum of the Twelve Apostles to send a small company across the Mississippi River to find a refuge in the Rocky Mountains where, “we can remove after the temple is completed, and where we can build a city in a day, and have a government of our own.”³

On March 11, 1844, Smith convened the Council of Fifty to plan a political Kingdom of God in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ as well as to coordinate his presidential campaign and the search for a western refuge. This council included the members of the Quorum of the Twelve and other church leaders as well as several men not of the Mormon faith. The council worked under Smith’s vision of “theodemocracy,” “where God and the people hold the power to conduct the affairs of men in righteousness...for the benefit of ALL.”⁴ In short, Smith saw theodemocracy as a government of people who are willing to support leaders they believe are divinely-called and inspired. Separate from the church, the political Kingdom would protect the rights of all regardless of denomination or political belief as well as seek the establishment of virtuous government. Such a theodemocracy required a faithful aristarchy to govern it. Aristarchy, a concept that Smith championed, differs from aristocracy. It is governance by good men without regard to rank or wealth. As Smith declared, “Certainly if any person ought to interfere in political matters, it should be those whose minds and judgments are influenced by correct principles – religious as well as political.”⁵ The Council of Fifty viewed itself as the head of the aristarchy in the political Kingdom of God. By late spring, the Council of Fifty believed that Smith’s campaign was the best

option for the church and adjourned to join a cadre of over six hundred electioneer missionaries called to mobilize the electorate for Smith. If electoral victory did not seem certain, the bargaining power of a strong national third party did. A robust showing at the polls could throw the election into the House of Representatives as in John Quincy Adams' election in 1824. There, Smith's supporters could give their votes to the candidates most sympathetic to the Mormon plight. Protection of the Mormon community seemed within grasp.⁶

Meanwhile, excommunicated Mormon apostates joined with Smith's political enemies in Illinois and Missouri to publish the anti-Mormon newspaper, *The Nauvoo Expositor*. Smith as mayor of Nauvoo ordered the press destroyed. This decision set in motion a series of events that led to his incarceration in nearby Carthage jail, where he was assassinated on June 27, 1844. Smith's campaign for President of the United States had ended.

Smith's murder ignited important changes within the church concerning leadership succession, the western exodus, and future settlement of the Latter-day Saints. Furthermore, neither Whigs nor Democrats absorbed Smith's third party issues of national unity and theodemocracy or his religious movement. Thus rejected and fearing continued harassment, Mormon leaders sought refuge for their people west, outside the Union.

The cadre of campaign missionaries felt the impact of these events directly. These men, and one woman, had volunteered or were chosen by church leaders. Their selection was unmediated by considerations of wealth and power. They began their service in mid-April and continued through mid-July 1844. In assessing the critical nature of the

election for them, it is essential to understand that they left their families to fend for themselves while they served. Day-to-day campaigning and preaching steeled them in their effort and strengthened their loyalty to the church. The shock and bitterness provoked by the assassination of their prophet-leader hardened them into a dedicated and steadfast cadre committed to the ideals of Joseph Smith and the church he founded.⁷

Joseph Smith's eventual successor, Brigham Young, would find these campaigners a rock upon which to build the Mormon movement. In fact, a large majority transferred their fealty from Smith to Young, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Council of Fifty. They emerged under the direction of Young as the prophesied aristarchy of the Great Basin Mormon Empire. Demonstrating loyalty and commitment to the Kingdom in fulfilling their missions, they were trusted with increased responsibilities in the exodus west and the settling of the Great Basin. Franklin D. Richards*, a cadre member, best captured the connection between missionary service and increased trust and responsibility when during his electioneer mission, he privately penned, "I cannot do justice to the feelings of my heart but acknowledge the tender mercies increasing my lot in company with these brethren of the twelve on my way to perform this important mission the faithful and acceptable performance of which involves my future prosperity in Church life."⁸ This leadership cadre spearheaded the flight to the Great Basin and the creation of the Kingdom of God in the Great Basin.

Historians of the 1844 election are largely silent on the mechanics of Smith's candidacy, most likely because his murder ended the campaign prematurely. Those who deal with his effort mostly focus on Smith's motives. Traditional Mormon historians do not consider his candidacy as a serious attempt but rather a symbolic gesture with

pragmatic undertones. They argue that Smith sought to bring national attention to the plight of the Saints, lessen local political tensions, offer a candidate Mormons could support in good conscience, and create an opportunity to spread the gospel views of the Saints. In contrast, scholar Hyrum Andrus maintains that the campaign was a real attempt by the Council of Fifty to establish the political Kingdom of God on earth. Building on Andrus' argument, "New Mormon" scholars like Marvin Hill, Klaus Hansen, Bruce Flanders, and D. Michael Quinn contend that Smith's candidacy was a serious effort. Flanders' *Kingdom on the Mississippi* emphasizes that Smith's campaign was rooted in the political alienation of the Mormons and an effort to find a novel way to defend the Kingdom. Klaus Hansen's *Quest for Empire* sees Smith's candidacy as a desperate attempt to establish the political Kingdom. Marvin Hill's *Quest for Refuge* believes that the candidacy was politically unrealistic, yet describes the campaign as a sincere means of rejecting American pluralism. Two recent biographies of Joseph Smith also inform the historiography. Robert Remini supports the "traditional" interpretation. He considers Smith's political actions as pragmatic and designed to defend the Mormons, not win an election. Richard Bushman's *Rough Stone Rolling*, however, concedes that the candidacy may have been a symbolic gesture, but interprets the extensive missionary effort behind the campaign as a sign of Smith's clear goal to restore the ideal of a "patriot king" within a religious context as the true inheritance of the American Revolution.⁹

Despite the breadth of this historiography, Margaret Robertson's honors thesis at Brigham Young University titled "The Campaign and the Kingdom" is the only in-depth attempt to study the activities of the electioneer-missionary cadre. In her important work, Robertson analyzes some of the missionaries and comes to the standard interpretation

with a few twists. In Robertson's view, the campaign was about preaching the gospel, visiting family, eliminating apostasy, strengthening the church, and helping build loyalty for the Quorum of the Twelve that would succeed Smith. She finds no serious intent to elect Joseph Smith as president or establish the political Kingdom of God. According to Robertson, these missionaries were in no substantial way different from the legions of missionaries who served the church before and after the election.¹⁰

The contribution of this cadre of missionaries to Mormon and American Western history is clearly understudied and undervalued. Since a large majority of them helped establish the Mormon Kingdom west of the Mississippi following Smith's death, they are crucial to understanding Latter-day Saint and American Western history.

This work seeks to redress these shortcomings. It is a collective biography of the electioneer missionaries presenting data about their behavior and socio-economic, political, and church standing before, during, and after the 1844 election. Who were these men before, during, and after the election? What did they do during their electioneer missions and how did their missions wed them to Smith's theocratic ideals? Beyond that, it explores the broader context to understand the cadre's role in a pivotal moment in Mormon and Western American history. How does the critical event of the Smith campaign lay the groundwork for the distribution of wealth and power in Utah's Mormon Kingdom?

The work of the cadre must be understood in terms of the Latter-day Saints' efforts to create the religious, economic, social, and political aspects of a Zion society in preparation for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. In Chapter One, I briefly describe the rise of Mormonism from 1830 to 1844 within this context of Zion building. Chapter Two

analyzes the events and political ideas that led to Joseph Smith's decision to run for president in 1844. This chapter includes an in-depth description of the political ideals of Smith and the Council of Fifty, including theodemocracy and aristarchy. It also focuses on the selection of the missionaries and begins a collective biography that delineates the demographic identities of the cadre. The campaign experience of the missionaries is the focus of Chapter Three, including the impact that Smith's murder had on their self-defined personal and communal identities as well as their commitment to the Kingdom of God. Chapter Four outlines the disproportionately large role the missionaries played in the exodus west as well as their foundational place in the creation of the Great Basin Kingdom of Zion. The fifth chapter continues the cadre's collective biography from 1851-1869, focusing on factors such as church and political positions, plural marriage, occupation, and social mobility. The conclusion describes the legacy the Smith campaign and the missionary cadre had on Latter-day Saint history.¹¹

A wide variety of primary and secondary source material informs this research. The foundational primary sources are the diaries and journals of the electioneer-missionaries. These firsthand accounts open a window into the minds of the electioneers before, during, and after their missions. Susan Easton Black's, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1830-1848*, Frank Esshom's, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, Davis Bitton's *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies*, and the *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1830-1844* edited by Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon Cook, among many other sources, provide key primary source information on the cadre. Also helpful were newspaper articles published during the campaign, especially in the Mormon organ *The Prophet*. I

also examined the 1840 and 1842 Hancock County, Illinois Censuses, the Federal Censuses of 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880.

Endnotes

¹ For the Mormon concept of “Zion,” see Chapter One.

² Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration: A History of the LDS Church to 1846* (Provo: University of Brigham Young Press, 1973) 568-69, 571; The letters and their responses are found in Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church* 6:156, 187-188; President quote: *Ibid.*, 6:188.

³ *Ibid.*, 6:189; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 189. The political tract was called, *Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States*. For the full text of *Views* see *History of the Church* 6:197-209. Joseph Smith advocated reorganization of Congress into a smaller and more workable body; prison reform and the use of corrective measures instead of traditional methods of criminal punishment; the ‘retirement’ of slavery by Congressional action; freeing the slaves by purchasing them from their owners with the proceeds from the sale of federal lands; a decentralized, but national bank system; Presidential powers to suppress mobs and to intervene on behalf of civil liberties in internal affairs; and annexation of Oregon, Canada, Texas, and Mexico. G. Homer Durham, *Joseph Smith Prophet-Statesman: Readings in American Political Thought* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Bookcraft Company, 1944), 144-146. For the Quorum of the Twelve, see *History of the Church*, 6:222. Joseph Smith’s enemies were a mixture of Illinois political foes like Whig Thomas Sharp, Missourians who considered Smith a fugitive, and disaffected church leaders like William Law and Francis Higbee; Barrett, *Joseph Smith*, 568. The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was the second highest level of authority in the church, below only Smith and his counselors who comprised the First Presidency. This quorum of twelve men was selected by Smith and possessed authority deemed equal to that of the biblical Christian apostles.

⁴ *Times and Seasons*, April 15, 1844, 5:580. For a discussion of theodemocracy, see Hyrum L. Andrus, *Joseph Smith and World Government* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing, 1972), 5-15.

⁵ *Times and Seasons*, March 15, 1844; Smith, *HC* 5:470-471;

⁶ *Church History in the Fullness of Times* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989) 270. The word Kingdom is capitalized hereafter and refers to the political Kingdom of God. For contemporary definitions of aristarchy and aristocracy, see Webster’s 1828 Dictionary. For a discussion of Smith’s endorsement of aristarchy, see Durham, *Joseph Smith Prophet-Statesman*, 51-52. On the political Kingdom of God, see Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 186-87. For further information, see Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 125; Klaus Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974) chapters 3-4; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 292, 240, 279-281, 302. On the Council of Fifty’s campaign decision, see Hansen, *Quest for Empire*, 78. The council set out immediately to accomplish several goals. Looking west, it organized volunteers to search out the Rocky Mountains, California, and Oregon for a settlement site. Looking south, it sent emissaries to negotiate with Texas about moving some of the Saints there. Looking east, it prepared for Smith’s campaign and drafted a memorial to Congress seeking permission to raise a federal army of 100,000 men to protect westward immigration to Texas, California, and Oregon. It soon became obvious that Congress would reject the Mormon proposal. Meanwhile, letters from Orson Hyde, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve and Smith’s emissary to Congress, conveyed to the council the impracticability of settling in Texas. Therefore, the Council of Fifty put its weight behind the election.

⁷ For the calling of the missionaries, see Joseph Smith, *History of the Church* 6:325-340 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 2nd Edition, Seventh Printing, 1973).

⁸ Franklin D. Richards, Journal, May 24, 1844, Church History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. An asterisk (*) appears next to the name of every cadre member in the narrative so as to differentiate them from others.

⁹ Only one historian of the 1844 election includes Smith. Richard Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics of Antebellum America* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993) argues that evangelical Whigs fought against the Mormons in western Illinois because of their supposed allegiance to the Democratic Party. For examples of Smith's absence from histories of 1844 election, see David Saffell and Richard Remy, *The Encyclopedia of U.S. Presidential Elections* (New York: Franklin Watts, 2004); Gary C. Byrne and Paul Marx, *The Great American Convention: A Political History of Presidential Elections* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1976); Evan Cornog and Richard Whelan, *Hats in the Ring: an Illustrated History of American Presidential Campaigns* (New York: Random House, 2000); Arthur Schlesinger and Fred L. Israel, *History of Presidential Elections, 1789-1968* (New York: Chelsea House, 1971); William R. Brock, *Parties and Political Conscience: American Dilemmas, 1840-1850* (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1979); Leslie Southwick, *Presidential Also-rans and Running Mates, 1788-1996* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 1998); Paul Boller, *Presidential Campaigns* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Congressional Quarterly, *Presidential Elections since 1789* (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1987); Thomas Scott, *The Pursuit of the White House: A Handbook of Presidential Election Statistics and History* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987); James Havel, *U.S. Presidential Candidates and the Elections: a Biographical and Historical Guide* (NY: Macmillan Library Reference USA, 1996); William Shade, Ballard C. Campbell, and Craig R. Coenen, *American Presidential Campaigns and Elections* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2003); Steven J. Rosenstone, Roy L. Behr, and Edward H. Lazarus, *Third Parties in America: Citizen Response to Major Party Failure* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990); Quotes are from Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1945), 354, 356. Examples of traditional Mormon interpretations are Durham, *Joseph Smith*, 145-46; Barrett, *Joseph Smith*, 576-77; B.H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 11:208-209; B. H. Roberts, *The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1900), 254; Carter E. Grant, *The Kingdom of God Restored* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1955), 300; William Edwin Berrett, *The Restored Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1961), 178-179. On Hyrum L. Andrus' interpretation, see *Joseph Smith and World Government*. Robert Remini, *Joseph Smith* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2002). Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf Books, 2005).

¹⁰ Margaret Robertson, "The Campaign and the Kingdom: The Activities of the Electioneers in Joseph Smith's Presidential Campaign" Honors Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1998. Also published under the same title in *BYU Studies* 39, no.3 (2000), 147-180. While her work was seminal on finding the identity and activities of the electioneers, her small work captured about only half of the electioneers this work does. Furthermore, her interpretive lens is quite narrow and does not have room for interpretation outside of the traditional norm.

¹¹ I exclude the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles from my definition of the cadre. Members of the Quorum were already elite members in the religious and political arms of Mormonism's Zion. My primary interest is to study those who followed their call or volunteered to preach and electioneer for Joseph Smith. This is not to infer that the members of the Quorum were not part of the electioneering, far from it. They orchestrated and led the campaign. Their efforts and voices must and will be included in this work. The most obvious community elite to compare to the cadre is that of Jacksonville, Illinois, as found in Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1978). Jacksonville is less than one hundred miles from Nauvoo and Doyle's work covers roughly the same period of time. Another Illinois community study is John Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie*

(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). Other communities are Sublimity, Oregon and Middleton, Idaho as found in Dean May, *Three Frontiers: Family, Land, and Society in the American West, 1850-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

CHAPTER ONE

THE RISE OF MORMONISM'S ZION

“[S]hall we not go on in so great a cause? Go forward and not backward. Courage, brethren; and on, on to the victory!”¹— Joseph Smith

June 27, 1844 was the pivotal day for nineteenth-century Mormonism. In the late afternoon, Joseph Smith, President and Prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and his older brother Hyrum, Patriarch of the church, were assassinated at Carthage Jail in western Illinois. Their deaths shocked and splintered the Mormon community, centered in Nauvoo, Illinois, with members scattered throughout the United States and Great Britain. Eventually, most followed Brigham Young west. However, Young's ascendancy was not the only consequence of June 27, 1844. Equally important were the activities in which Young and over six hundred Mormon missionaries were engaged at the time of the assassination. They were spread throughout the United States campaigning for Joseph Smith for President of the United States. Their difficult and often mocked missions, at great personal sacrifice, strengthened their commitment to Smith and his restoration of the “Zion” ideal; an ideal at odds with pluralistic, individualistic, and democratic nineteenth-century America. This cadre of devoted missionaries moved the church west and created the Zion Kingdom of God in the Great Basin. Thus, the fallout from Smith's campaign and assassination cast a much longer and wider shadow than has hitherto been appreciated.

Beginnings

To contextualize Smith's Zion and his presidential campaign, it is important to understand the rise of Mormonism. Joseph Smith and his followers believed that they were restoring not just the "true" church of Jesus Christ, but the latter-day Zion Kingdom destined to govern in the Millennium. Mormonism's Zion made it unique among contemporary Christian sects. Where others offered strictly religious teachings, Mormonism advocated a kingdom on earth as well as heaven. Zion was to have economic, political, and social (marital) components, in addition to a "restorationist" religious view. The prayer, "thy kingdom come," meant much more to a nineteenth-century Mormon than to his or her contemporaries or even modern descendants.

Mormonism began with Joseph Smith, born in Sharon, Vermont December 23, 1805. His family moved several times, eventually settling near Palmyra, New York in the middle of the so-called "Burned-Over District" of the Second Great Awakening. So intense was the religious revivals in upstate New York that they engulfed every family, including the Smiths. Fourteen-year old Smith was perplexed about which church to join. After reading a scripture in the Bible, young Smith became convinced he must ask God directly. The result of his prayer came to be known in Mormonism as "The First Vision." Smith taught that God and Jesus Christ had appeared to him. They told Smith their church was not upon the earth and would eventually be restored through him. Three years later, Smith experienced another vision. An angel named Moroni visited him and announced, "...that God had a work for me [Smith] to do; and that my name should be had for good and evil among all nations, kindreds, and tongues..." Moroni further stated, "...there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former

inhabitants of this continent...[and] that the fullness of the everlasting Gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants.”² Smith obtained the plates on September 22, 1827. He published a translation of the plates entitled, *The Book of Mormon* on March 26, 1830.³

On April 6, 1830, Joseph Smith organized a church in Fayette, New York. Members of the fledgling faith consisted mostly of family and friends. During the events of the day, Smith dictated a revelation. He was to be “a seer, a translator, a prophet, and apostle of Jesus Christ, and elder of the church through the will of God the Father, and the grace of your Lord Jesus Christ.”⁴ Thus Mormonism was born with translated, ancient scripture as new revelation and with continuing revelation in the form of the Prophet Joseph Smith. Missionaries with copies of the *Book of Mormon* travelled throughout New York to spread the news of the “restoration” of the fullness of the gospel. Four, including Parley P. Pratt, went to the western border of Missouri during the winter of 1830-31. Along the way, they converted Pratt’s Campbellite congregation led by Sidney Rigdon near Kirtland, Ohio. The conversion of Rigdon’s flock more than doubled Mormonism’s membership, gave it a dynamic preacher in Rigdon, and within months, a new headquarters. Termed the “mission to the Lamanites,” the missionaries continued to the border of Missouri and into the Indian Territory. They preached Mormonism to the American Indians until federal agents forced them out. As part of this mission, Oliver Cowdery made a covenant to place a pillar on the spot for the temple of the New Jerusalem or Zion. Though such a pillar would wait until the following summer, the idea of building a New Jerusalem or city of Zion somewhere along the borders of the western United States came to consume Joseph Smith and Mormonism.⁵

“Zion”

A biblical name for Jerusalem and her righteous inhabitants, Zion became the motivation of early Mormonism. While similar to the seventeenth-century Puritans who proclaimed themselves the “New Israelites,” Mormonism’s Zion found its genesis in the *Book of Mormon* and prophetic revelation. The *Book of Mormon* referred to the coming forth of “Zion” in the time before the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. Other references prophesied the building of the “New Jerusalem” on the American continent with the assistance of the Lamanites, or American Indians. Early revelations of Joseph Smith in 1829 admonished his followers to “establish the cause of Zion.”⁶ On April 6, 1830, the day of the church’s organization, Smith dictated a revelation directing him to “move the cause of Zion in mighty power for good...”⁷ A revelation in September 1830 proclaimed the location of the Zion city to be in the “borders of the Lamanites.”⁸ Zion was to be a place of safety as God poured out the promised wars, plagues, and destructions preceding the Second Coming. The marriage of the cause of Zion to the concept of the New Jerusalem concretized in the minds of early Mormons; it was a location in the western United States “safe” from the world’s imminent destruction, as well as heaven’s great cause in preparing the faithful for the return of Jesus Christ.⁹

Further clarification about Zion came in December of 1830. Joseph Smith had commenced a “translation” of the Bible. In December, he translated what became known as Moses, chapter seven. Therein, details emerged of the anti-Deluvian prophet Enoch whose city, according to the Bible, was lifted up to heaven. Known as the City of Enoch, City of Holiness, or City of Zion, Enoch’s people were so righteous that, “in the process of time, [they were] taken up into heaven.” Zion was not just a place but a people: “And

the Lord called his people ZION...” In addition, the revelation clarified that Zion encompassed more than traditional religion: “And the Lord called his people ZION, because they were all of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them.”¹⁰ Zion was to have a social component “of one heart,” a political component of “one mind,” an economic component of “no poor among them,” as well as a religious component wherein they “dwelt in righteousness.”¹¹

Joseph Smith recorded a revelation on January 2, 1831 requiring the Saints to “gather” to Ohio. There God promised to give them His law and endow them with power. To emphasize the need for unity to create Zion, the revelation declared: “[B]e one; and if ye are not one, ye are not mine.”¹² Regarding the doctrine of gathering, Smith would later say:

What was the object of gathering ... the people of God in any age of the world? ... The main object was to build unto the Lord a house whereby He could reveal unto His people the ordinances of His house and the glories of His kingdom, and teach the people the way of salvation...¹³

Thus, Zion had an earthly locus where heaven and earth met and, as revealed later, where the Mormons would make covenants, individually and collectively, to establish each of Zion’s components. In a revelation of December 1830, Smith declared that Jesus Christ would “suddenly come to [his] temple.”¹⁴ A few months later in Kirtland, Ohio, Smith announced the promised revelation detailing, “The Law of the Lord.” The revelation spoke again of a temple and its purpose: “That my covenant people may be gathered in one in that day when I shall come to my temple. And this I do for the salvation of my people.”¹⁵

The Zion drama as outlined in the revelations and actions of Joseph Smith divided the world into two parts. The first was Zion, or the New Jerusalem, and her stakes. There

Saints gathered to build up the essential elements of a Zion society, religiously, economically, socially, and politically. It was to be the new world capital, where the righteous would flee impending destruction before the Second Coming. Members would receive knowledge and power in Zion's temple and go into the "mission field" to preach the restored gospel of Jesus Christ and make converts. These converts would, in turn, gather to Zion, help build it, and consequently go on missions themselves. World renewal would come from Zion.¹⁶

Thus, less than a year after its founding, the Church of Jesus Christ's primary aim was to gather converts and to find, create, and become Zion, prepared for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. By the end of 1831, Joseph Smith knew the church that he was restoring would contain "Zion" doctrines and practices different from contemporary Christianity. The First Vision, the *Book of Mormon*, and the call to gather converts separated Smith from his fellow religious leaders. Revelations in 1831 also laid the foundation for an economic system called the Law of Consecration. Members consecrated their properties and possessions to the church and received a "stewardship" of land and goods. Members managed their stewardships to provide for themselves and produce surplus wealth to give the church to create stewardships for others. Smith, in addition, claimed revelations outlining the patriarchal order of marriage, including the doctrine of eternal marriage and the principle of plural marriage. Lastly, he declared revelations regarding the establishment of the political Kingdom of God. Smith was focused on the establishment of this Zion community. It was so central to what he knew the restoration of Christianity to be, that when persecution required the use of secret names, Smith chose Enoch—the prophet-leader of the original Zion. As one historian

noted, “A resolve to build Zion clamped itself on [Smith’s] soul.”¹⁷

Zion in Ohio

The church’s experience in Ohio from 1830-1837 centered on the town of Kirtland. Here the Saints received revelations that solidified church governance and learned doctrines which shaped belief and practice. In 1834, volunteers in Ohio marched in what was called Zion’s Camp to try and return exiled Mormons to their homes in Jackson County, Missouri. Mormons later gloried in spiritual outpourings during the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. Economically the Saints gathered resources in the development bubble of the 1830s that eventually burst nationwide in 1837, leaving many in debt, some in apostasy, and most on the road to resettlement in Missouri.

A significant time in early Mormon history, Kirtland saw the foundation of the four components of Zion in doctrine and in practice. Among the most important was the priesthood organization responsible for directing the church. Differing from other Christian sects, Mormons believed that the priesthood of God, or the authority to act in God’s name, was available to the congregation of men, not just its leaders. Furthermore, this priesthood derived directly from heavenly messengers who had God’s authority. Mormons believe that while Joseph Smith and his scribe Oliver Cowdery translated the *Book of Mormon* in the summer of 1829, they were visited twice by angels. John the Baptist appeared on May 13 and restored the “lesser priesthood” of Aaron, the brother of Moses. Sometime later, the primitive Christian apostles Peter, James, and John restored the “higher priesthood” of Melchizedek.¹⁸ The Aaronic Priesthood was a “preparatory” priesthood dealing with the temporal matters of the church as well as the administration of the ordinances of baptism and the sacrament (communion). The Melchizedek

Priesthood held the power to give the gift of the Holy Ghost and direct the church by revelation. At the organization of the church, a revelation called Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdrey as the first and second elders of the church, offices in the Melchizedek Priesthood. Significant growth led to revelations creating a series of offices within the two priesthoods to govern the church.¹⁹

The bishop was the first new priesthood office announced in February 1831 and was to govern in temporal matters. In June, Joseph Smith ordained the first High Priests of the church. High Priests led the church and were considered higher in authority than elders in the Melchizedek Priesthood. In 1832, the First Presidency was created as the highest presiding council of the church, with Joseph Smith at its head. Several months later in February of 1834, the first high council was called, consisting of twelve high priests, the three senior of which constituted their presidency.²⁰

Church leadership continued to expand. In 1834, Joseph Smith ordained Oliver Cowdrey as assistant president of the church. In February of 1835, Smith invited the veterans of Zion's Camp to a special meeting. He told them: "God did not want you to fight [in Missouri]. He could not organize his kingdom with twelve men to open the gospel door to the nations of the earth, and with seventy men under their direction to follow in their tracks, unless he took them from a body of men who had offered their lives, and who had as great a sacrifice as did Abraham."²¹ In the following weeks, Smith organized two quorums of church leadership from the ranks of these men. First was the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Modeled after the same quorum of primitive Christianity, the Twelve were appointed as "special witnesses of the name of Christ" and served under the direction of the First Presidency to, "build up the church, and regulate

all the affairs of the same in all nations.” The second quorum was the Seventy, headed by seven presidents. The seventy members of this quorum were to be “especial witnesses” of the gospel to the world and to act under the direction of the Twelve. Each of these three presiding quorums—the First Presidency, Quorum of the Twelve, and Seventy—were “equal in authority,” but also hierarchal with the First Presidency at the head, followed by the Twelve, and then the Seventy. Thus, by early 1835, the organization of Zion was in place under both the Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthoods.²²

The impact of the priesthood on the church cannot be underestimated. This combination of sacral priesthood and church government, though foreign to other contemporary visionary religions, became a strength of Mormonism. Ordinary men were deemed worthy of power to “stand in the presence of God,” “move mountains,” and act with the authority of prophets of old. Men without worldly inheritance now had eternal inheritances of power to pass to their sons and family. Such power was entrusted without consideration of economic or intellectual capacity. Men qualified for priesthood office in recognition of their virtue, righteousness, and loyalty. Rather than power to be feared and constrained, the priesthood was a power to be exercised broadly. Another ironic strength of Mormonism’s priesthood was its combination of authoritarian and democratic elements. Democratic features included its openness to common men, the calling of heads of quorums “presidents,” and acceptance of the law of common consent which required all priesthood officers to be brought before church members for approval. These were not elections, however, but opportunities publicly to uphold the officers of the church. Those selected by revelation were subject to God, not the people.²³

Priesthood leadership governed the church and directed its growth. The “Law of

the Lord” that was revealed in February 1831 began with the urgency of missionary work, which was the responsibility of all worthy male adults. Joseph Smith stated their role as gatherers for Zion:²⁴

Brethren, as stars of the ensign which is now set up for the benefit of all nations, you are to enlighten the world, you are to prepare the way for the people to come up to Zion; you are to instruct men how to receive the fulness of the Gospel, and the everlasting covenants, even them that were from the beginning.²⁵

Zealous in building Zion, these missionaries baptized many despite the hostility they often confronted.²⁶

Other foundational doctrines of Mormonism developed during the Ohio period. The most important was, “The Vision.” Smith and Rigdon in 1832 recorded their visionary experience of the existence of three heavens or degrees of glory for God’s children. All but a few were destined to inherit a heaven of glory. Those loyal and obedient to God and his ordinances would receive the highest kingdom (Celestial) and become exalted like unto God. This and other revelations were published in 1835 as the *Doctrine and Covenants*.²⁷

The pinnacle of religious Zion in Ohio was the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. In December 1832, Joseph Smith announced a revelation to raise the much-anticipated building. Over the next four years, the Saints, despite their poverty, sacrificed time and means to build the edifice. Many gave all of their possessions; almost all gave time. The centrality of the temple to Mormon theology is best expressed by this sacrifice and the Mormons’ determination to build temples long before other religious buildings. As one historian noted “Beginning in Kirtland, temples became an obsession. For the rest of [Smith’s] life, no matter the cost of the temple to himself and his people, he made plans,

raised money, mobilized workers, and required sacrifice.”²⁸ From January to May 1836, the greatest era of spiritual manifestations in Mormon history occurred within the Kirtland Temple. Church leaders in January had saw visions of angels, prophets, and Christ himself. Joseph Smith viewed the Celestial Kingdom. At the dedication on March 27, 1836, many members reported visions of angels and prophets. The quorums of the priesthood were presented for approval in their order of authority, cementing the church hierarchy. Those attending the meeting that evening experienced a rush of wind and visions of fire, reminiscent of the Day of Pentecost in primitive Christianity. A week later, the most important and transcendent spiritual manifestation occurred. Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery prayed in an area of the temple made private by a canvas partition. Smith recorded that Jesus Christ appeared to them and accepted the temple. Next, Moses arrived to restore “the keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the earth, and the leading of the ten tribes from the land of the north.” A prophet named Elias appeared with “the gospel of Abraham.” Lastly, Elijah appeared returning the sealing keys to the earth, “to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children and the children to the fathers, lest the whole earth be smitten with a curse.” Elijah declared to Smith and Cowdery, “the keys of this dispensation are committed into your hands; and by this ye may know that the great and dreadful day of the Lord is near, even at the doors.”²⁹ These priesthood keys were instrumental in the unfolding of doctrines relating to salvational work for the dead, eternal sealing of families, and plural marriage. All of these doctrines and ordinances were meant for temples, the heart of Zion.³⁰

However, the Mormon experience in Ohio ended in religious schism, economic collapse, and a camp of refugees retracing the steps of Zion’s Camp to Missouri. 1837

saw a nationwide economic panic. Through the late summer and fall of 1837, while Joseph Smith was away on church business, apostates tried to wrest control of the church and its temple. One attempt led to the creation of a separate church headed by fifty prominent Mormons who were then summarily excommunicated. By the end of the year approximately 10-15% of church membership had withdrawn. Dissension even touched the leadership in Missouri. In the end, all three witnesses of the golden plates of the *Book of Mormon*, including Assistant President Oliver Cowdery, apostatized. Frederick G. Williams of the First Presidency, four apostles, and other church leaders also left or were excommunicated. Lawsuits and mobs hounded the remaining faithful leaders in Kirtland. Apostates forced Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Brigham Young, and others to flee in January of 1838. The faithful Saints in Kirtland soon followed their leaders west. Organized by Hyrum Smith and the Seven Presidents of the Seventy, the “Kirtland Camp,” as it was known, left July 6, 1838 for Missouri. They stumbled west, finally reaching the Saints in Caldwell County, Missouri on October 2, 1838.³¹

In early 1831, in the midst of hard times, Joseph Smith organized Zion economically. Two revelations in February 1831 created the office of bishop and introduced the Law of Consecration overseen by the bishop. He received members’ consecrations of property and possessions and then assigned “stewardships” of property and possessions for each family or individual. The size of the stewardships depended on the circumstances, wants, and needs of the family. Relative economic equality would bring unity, and unity would bring Zion. However, early experiences with consecration proved difficult. A formal organization called the United Firm (later called the United Order) combined the economic efforts of the Mormons in Ohio and Missouri. The

church and its members were to become “independent of every encumbrance beneath the celestial kingdom, by bonds and covenants of mutual friendship, and mutual love.”³² Using the principles of consecration and stewardship, the men behind the United Firm sought to achieve the church’s temporal mission. Smith used the Firm’s managers to help build Zion until higher levels of church leadership took over the assets of the Firm when it was disbanded by revelation in 1834. Three years later, Smith and others created the Kirtland Anti-Banking Safety Society to stimulate the local economy with circulation of currency. However, persecution, the national economic Panic of 1837, and poor management led to its collapse and with it the local economy. Many blamed Smith for their financial problems and accused him of being a false prophet.³³

As early as 1823, Joseph Smith understood that the restoration of Zion would include recreating the social order of the Biblical patriarchs. The Bible and Smith’s translation of the *Book of Moses* made clear that the ancient patriarchs Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were part of this system of organizing and governing families and nations. Each patriarch directed his family and extended family by virtue of the priesthood received from covenants made with God. Each was promised an endless posterity and the continuance of God’s covenant through his posterity. During the angel Moroni’s first visit in September of 1823, he quoted a prophecy to Smith from the Book of Malachi with a slight variation (italics):

Behold, I will reveal unto you the Priesthood, by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers [the patriarchs] and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers. If it were not so, *the whole earth would be utterly wasted at his coming.*³⁴

Smith understood Moroni’s instruction as the restoration of the patriarchal order of the

priesthood which would give Mormons the ability to make the same covenants and receive the same blessings as the patriarchs. Over time, Smith outlined how the priesthood allowed couples to be “sealed” together for eternity and have endless posterity.

A corollary to this doctrine was plural marriage as practiced by the ancient patriarchs. Smith’s life experience and culture knew only monogamy. He later recorded a revelation stating that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Solomon, Moses, and others had taken additional wives “and it was accounted unto [them] for righteousness, because they [the plural wives] were given unto [them], and [the Patriarchs] abode in my law.” Plural marriage would be part of the “restor[ation] of all things,” and that the necessary priesthood “keys” were being sent by heavenly messengers.³⁵ Smith kept these revelations secret, believing the membership of the church was not ready to hear, understand, and live them. He discussed them with only a few trusted associates.

Political Zion began outside the two-party system of American politics. The early revelations say nothing specifically about the United States; it is but one of many nations. As early as 1830, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and others talked about the establishment of the Kingdom of God upon the earth. Rigdon declared in 1844:

I recollect in the year 1830 I met the whole Church of Christ in a little old log-house about 20 feet square, near Waterloo, N.Y., and we began to talk about the kingdom of God as if we had the world at our command.
 ...The time has now come to tell why we held secret meetings. We were maturing plans fourteen years ago which we can now tell...
 ...When God sets up a system of salvation He sets up a system of government. When I speak of a government, I mean what I say. I mean a government that shall rule over temporal and spiritual affairs. Every man is a government of himself, and infringes upon no government.
 ...The law of God is far more righteous than the laws of the land. The kingdom of God does not interfere with the laws of the land, but keeps itself by its own laws.³⁶

It is evident from Rigdon's statement regarding the 1830 "secret meetings," that a future system of divine government was discussed. In fact, Rigdon was alluding to the very government of which he was then a member: the Council of Fifty. Still, political behavior of Mormons in Ohio was similar to other citizens. Most Mormons were Jacksonian Democrats despite the rise of the Whig party. A few ran for local office with mixed results. First Presidency member Frederick G. Williams published a secular, partisan newspaper called *The Northern Times* that advocated Jacksonian Democracy. For the time, the Saints were more citizens of Zion than the United States and still acted individually in politics.

When mobs drove the Saints in Jackson County from their homes in the winter of 1833-34, Joseph Smith and other church leaders turned to secular government for redress. At the outset of the troubles in the summer of 1833, Smith related a revelation encouraging the Saints to "befriend" the government. Another revelation in December directed: "...it is my will that [you] should continue to importune for redress, and redemption, by the hands of those who are placed as rulers and are in authority over you..."³⁷ The revelations implied that if appeal to government failed, the Saints might have to respond with force. Church leaders appealed to every branch of local, state, and federal government for protection without effect. The revelation authorizing an army was not far behind. On February 24, 1834, upon receiving messengers from Missouri explaining the severe plight of the refugee Saints, Joseph Smith determined to go to "Zion" and "redeem" it. The high council sanctioned his action and selected Smith as "commander-in-chief of the armies of Israel."³⁸ On the same day, Smith reported a revelation calling on him to recruit an army. It was to march to Missouri and "redeem

Zion,” or return the Mormon exiles to their lands. Known as Zion’s Camp, this group of men had an important impact on Mormonism’s future.³⁹

The story of Zion’s Camp was one of sacrifice, futility, and ultimately leadership opportunity. Joseph Smith organized the camp which at its greatest strength numbered over 200 men. The average age of the recruits was the same as Smith, twenty-nine years. Many left their families with little or no source of income. The camp left May 1, 1834 and marched and drilled similar to other armies and militias of the day. As the Mormons approached Missouri, news of their advance raised organized mobs in Jackson County, Missouri, which burned the remaining Mormon homes and prepared for military confrontation. Despite some dissension and much privation, the camp arrived near Richmond, Missouri on June 18th. Meanwhile, negotiations to restore the Mormons to their Jackson County lands proved fruitless. Smith dictated a revelation on June 22nd that chastised the Saints of Missouri for their disobedience and selfishness. More importantly, the revelation stated, “it is expedient in me [God] that mine elders should wait for a little season, for the redemption of Zion.”⁴⁰ Within days, Smith disbanded the camp.

The failure to restore the exiled Saints to their homes in Jackson County led a few members of the Camp to apostatize. However, the majority believed in the words of revelation regarding them: “I [God] have heard their prayers, and will accept their offering; and it is expedient in me that they should be brought thus far for a trial of their faith.”⁴¹ While Zion’s Camp failed in its primary objective, it did educate members in the meaning of leadership. The men who volunteered at the risk of death were judged to have passed a critical test of faith which qualified them for priesthood office. Most of the

Twelve Apostles and all of the Seventy were chosen from their ranks. The months spent on the trail gave men such as Brigham Young invaluable time with Joseph Smith in training for leadership in the coming Zion.

Zion in Missouri

Jackson County, Missouri was the intersecting space of heaven and earth, the location of the Mormon Zion in the early 1830s. Revelations declared the area the gathering place for the New Jerusalem of God’s Kingdom on the earth. Saints flocked to buy land, receive stewardship inheritances from the Law of Consecration, and become part of Zion. A revelation announced by Joseph Smith in June of 1831 called for the next conference of the church to meet in Missouri. There, God promised to make “known unto them the land of your inheritance.”⁴² The revelation continued:

If ye are faithful ye shall assemble yourselves together to rejoice upon the land of Missouri, which is the land of your inheritance, which is now the land of your enemies.

But, behold, I will hasten the city [New Jerusalem of Zion] in its time, and will crown the faithful with joy and with rejoicing.⁴³

Upon reaching western Missouri, Smith prayed on behalf of the church to know the location of Zion and her temple. The answer was, “Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward upon a lot which is not far from the courthouse.”⁴⁴ Before returning to Ohio, Smith oversaw the dedication of the land as a place of gathering and the specific site for the great temple. A promotional tract written by Sidney Rigdon extolled Jackson County’s beauty and called it the “center of the continent.”⁴⁵ Smith declared the area the site of the original Garden of Eden.

The social organizing doctrine of the patriarchal order was not part of the

Mormon Missouri experience as it was in Ohio. The one exception is a statement by W.W. Phelps* found in an 1861 letter to Brigham Young. Phelps* claimed that on July 17, 1831, when he and five others had gathered in Jackson County, Smith told them “It is my [God’s] will, that in time, ye should take unto you wives of the Lamanites and Nephites [Native Americans]...” Phelps* added that three years later he asked Smith privately, “[How] ‘we,’ that were mentioned in the revelation could take wives of the ‘natives’ as we were all married men?” Smith replied, “In the same manner that Abraham took Hagar and Keturah; and Jacob took Rachel, Bilhah and Zilpha, by Revelation.”⁴⁶

Within a year of Jackson County’s dedication as Zion, four hundred Latter-day Saints arrived. Bishop Edward Partridge immediately implemented the Law of Consecration. Joseph Smith visited the Missouri Saints the same summer to oversee the creation of the United Firm. The Mormons were industrious and quickly erected homes, farms, and schools. A church newspaper, the *Evening and Morning Star*, was begun. By the end of 1832, there were nearly nine hundred Saints in Missouri. In June of 1833, Smith sent the leaders in Missouri a plat for the “City of Zion.” The plat was one square mile divided into ten-acre blocks. At the center of the city was space for the construction of twenty-four temples. Though other utopian and visionary groups envisioned communitarian towns, Smith’s was different. There was no trace of civil government or commerce at Zion’s core. It was to be literally a holy city, where every building would display the words, “Holiness to the Lord.”⁴⁷ Though never implemented, the ideas behind the Plat of Zion were used later in northern Missouri, Illinois, and the Great Basin.

The Mormons growing numbers and their economic and latent political power made “old settlers” in Jackson County wary. Anxiety and jealousy soon turned to fear

and hate because of differences over slavery. There was also economic conflict. Mormon merchants successfully took a portion of the lucrative Santa Fe Trail trade. With the Law of Consecration in effect, the Saints traded almost exclusively among themselves, adding no specie to the local economy. Missourians feared the Mormons were determined to take their lands and businesses. Seeing the writing on the wall, many decided to sell out to the Mormons. However, the church did not have the necessary capital. This further aggravated the old settlers and they charged that the Mormons were an economic burden and financially irresponsible. The Mormons' increasing numbers, twelve hundred by July 1833, produced more concern. Religious apprehension also added to the tensions. Many saw the Saints as religious fanatics who "believed in and frequently experienced miracles, prophecy, healings, revelations, and speaking in tongues."⁴⁸ Protestant ministers in Missouri were jealous of the Saint's success. One preached, "The 'Mormons' are the common enemies of mankind and ought to be destroyed."⁴⁹ Further aggravating the situation was the Mormon belief that Native Americans were members of God's covenant people and had a prophetic destiny to help build the New Jerusalem in Missouri. Tensions increased when the Indian Removal Act placed more tribes along the borders of Missouri. Some Mormons boasted that thousands of converts were coming and that the old settlers, or "Gentiles," would be destroyed at the establishment of the millennial Zion. As one newspaper put it, "The citizens have been daily told that they are to be cut off, and their lands appropriated to the Mormons for inheritances; but they are not fully agreed among themselves as to the manner in which this shall be accomplished, whether by the destroying angel, the judgment of God, or the arm of power."⁵⁰

The impasse between the two groups intensified in the summer of 1833 and forced the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County that winter. The conflict climaxed over slavery. A misunderstanding regarding an article printed in the Mormon's *Times and Seasons* convinced the old settlers that Mormons were inviting free blacks to slave-state Missouri. A meeting convened on July 20, 1833 and leading citizens signed a manifesto denouncing the Mormons and demanding they leave the state. The meeting quickly became a mob which destroyed the Mormon press and tarred and feathered some of its leaders. Local church leaders were forced to sign an agreement to leave by the end of the year. To speed the process, the mobs turned to violence on October 31. The Battle of the Big Blue River lasted several days and saw casualties on both sides and heavy destruction of Mormon property. Local Missouri officials called out the militia and forced the Saints out at bayonet point. The Mormon refugees fled, crossing the Missouri River into Clay County during the height of winter.

The Saints sought redress for their expulsion from Jackson County, but to no avail. Petitions to local government officials and judges were ineffective because most were leaders of the mob itself. Missouri's governor Daniel Dunklin, although initially sympathetic, refused to help the Saints lest it lead to civil war. Petitions to the federal government and President Andrew Jackson were denied. To insure that the Mormons did not return, Missourians burned homes and properties.⁵¹

Zion Flees Missouri – 1838

1838 was a pivotal year in Mormonism's attempt to establish Zion. Driven from Ohio and Jackson County and after evacuating Clay County, the Saints attempted to plant stakes of Zion in Caldwell and Daviess counties, Missouri. Internal and external threats

made the attempt a short and futile one. Disaffected Mormon leaders joined with external enemies to drive them from the state. Religious, economic, and political differences stoked the gathering conflict which saw dozens of Mormons killed and the remainder made refugees once more, this time in Illinois.

Many Missouri church leaders became disaffected with Mormonism in 1838. The stake presidency of David Whitmer, William Wines Phelps*, and John Whitmer were excommunicated for profiting from land sales to gathering Mormons in Caldwell County. The high council also excommunicated *Book of Mormon* witness and Assistant President of the Church Oliver Cowdery as well as Apostle Lyman Johnson. Cowdery's response to his trial captured the intensity with which some members and leaders struggled to reconcile their personal beliefs within the Zion structure of social, economic, and political elements.

I will not be influenced, governed, or controlled, in my temporal interests by any ecclesiastical authority or pretended revelation whatever, contrary to my own judgment. ... You will, no doubt, say this is not correct; but the bare notice of these charges, over which you assume a right to decide, is, in my opinion, a direct attempt to make the secular power subservient to Church direction... I believe that principle never did fail to produce anarchy and confusion.⁵²

Several apostates brought lawsuits against church leaders and publicly condemned Joseph Smith. In June 1838, Sidney Rigdon, gave a fiery speech known as the "Salt Sermon," likening the apostates to salt that had lost its purity and was "good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under the feet of men."⁵³ A document appeared, signed by eighty-four church members ordering the apostates to leave Caldwell County or face serious consequences. Though not authorized by Smith, it had its intended effect. The dissenters quickly fled with their families.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, Joseph Smith announced important revelations regarding the renewal of Zion. He taught that Spring Hill in Daviess County, Missouri was the place where Adam and Eve lived after their expulsion from the Garden of Eden (Jackson County). Smith renamed it Adam-ondi-Ahman and created a stake Zion. This gave Mormonism a new sacred space. Another revelation in 1838 adjusted the economics of the church. Smith modified the economic law of Zion so that consecration gave way to a tithing of all property and future monetary increase. Tithing required sacrifice and was designed to eliminate the greed of the rich and the slothfulness of the poor. The forceful language of the revelation assured Mormons that if they wished to belong to Zion, they had to conform not just religiously, but economically. By the summer of 1838, Far West, Caldwell County was a bustling town of five thousand people, two hundred farms, “150 homes, four dry goods stores, three family grocery stores, several blacksmith shops, two hotels, a printing shop and a large schoolhouse that doubled as a church and courthouse.”⁵⁵

Mormon retreat brought only brief respite. On Independence Day 1838, Sidney Rigdon gave an emotional and ill-advised address. He warned that the Mormons must prepare to fight rather than suffer persecution. He boldly declared, “It shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them, till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us.”⁵⁶ Copies of the speech were proudly published and foolishly distributed. These harsh words, though spoken in self-defense, were inflammatory and were ironically foundational to the events that drove the Saints from Missouri. Mormon leaders feared the calm before the storm. Parley P. Pratt stated: “Those who had combined against the laws in the adjoining counties had long

watched our increasing power and prosperity with jealousy, and with greedy and avaricious eyes. It was a common boast that, as soon as we had completed our extensive improvements, and made a plentiful crop, they would drive us from the State and once more enrich themselves with the spoils.”⁵⁷ Adding to the tension between Mormons and Missourians, 1838 was an election year. When some Mormons on August 6 tried to vote in Gallatin, Daviess County, they were turned away. A candidate in the election, William Peniston incited the crowd: “The Mormon leaders are a set of horse thieves, liars, and counterfeiters, and you know they profess to heal the sick, and cast out devils, and you all know that it is a lie.”⁵⁸ A fight ensued and several on both sides were injured.⁵⁹

Conflict spread. Missourians from four counties placed the Mormons at DeWitt, Carroll County under siege, determined to begin “a war of extermination.”⁶⁰ Vastly outnumbered, Smith appealed to Governor Lilburn W. Boggs for assistance. On October 9, Smith reported the reply of the governor: “‘The quarrel was between the Mormons and the mob,’ and that ‘we might fight it out.’”⁶¹ The Mormons evacuated DeWitt on October 11. Emboldened, anti-Mormon forces headed toward Daviess County. Alarmed, non-Mormon militia generals Alexander Doniphan, David Atchison, and H.G. Parks authorized the Mormons to muster militia units to meet the threat. Since the anti-Mormon forces also represented militia units from other Missouri counties, an ironic Mormon versus anti-Mormon state militia conflict emerged.⁶²

Two events turned public opinion and the government of Missouri squarely against the Mormons. Disaffected with Joseph Smith, Apostles Orson Hyde and David B. Marsh swore out affidavits that Joseph Smith taught he was above the laws of Missouri and that the Mormons would destroy their enemies if not left alone. Shortly

thereafter, at the Battle of Crooked River on October 25, three Mormons, including Apostle David Patten, were killed. Several were wounded on both sides. Exaggerated stories reached Governor Boggs. General Atchison, in charge of the state militia and a friend of the Saints, urged the governor to come to Caldwell County. Instead, Boggs relieved Atchison of command, and appointed two anti-Mormons previously involved in the expulsion from Jackson County, Generals John Clark and Samuel Lucas.⁶³

Governor Boggs, believing the exaggerated reports coming from northern Missouri, issued the Extermination Order on October 27: “The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description.”⁶⁴ Even before word of the Extermination Order reached Caldwell County, the deadliest event of the “Mormon War” occurred. At Haun’s Mill, on October 28, a mob killed seventeen Mormons and seriously wounded thirteen others. Some, including a ten-year-old boy, were brutally murdered while defenseless. This massacre became forever burned in the psyche of Mormons as proof of bigotry and persecution.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, a siege of the Mormon town of Far West by the militia ended in the imprisonment of Mormon leaders and the expulsion of the entire group from Missouri. On October 31, Joseph Smith was arrested along with his brother Hyrum and other church officials on charges of treason against the state. They remained prisoners through the winter of 1838-39. As spring began and the government could not build a case, public opinion in Missouri turned against Governor Boggs. While being transferred in early April 1839, the prisoners were “allowed” to escape.⁶⁶

The men joined the expelled Mormon community that had fled to Illinois.

Mormons again lost their lands and most of their personal property. Several died from exposure and disease, and outright murder. After arriving in Illinois, Smith inspected prospective sites and settled on the little town of Commerce along a large bend in the Mississippi River. He changed the name of the town to Nauvoo. Smith counseled Mormons again to gather to a new stake of Zion, starting the next period in Mormon history.

Zion in Illinois

With a new beginning in Illinois, Joseph Smith became even more adamant in creating Zion. During the last five years of his life, Smith revealed the defining doctrines of Mormonism, built the second largest city in Illinois, began a temple, and oversaw the gathering of thousands of converts. His zeal for Zion was not diminished by his experience in Missouri. He was more motivated and focused than ever, believing his teachings and actions would soon lead to his death. With the fire of Zion in his heart he declared, “We ought to have the building up of Zion as our greatest object.”⁶⁷ Smith’s fear of his enemies convinced him to move at a quickened pace. He understood most of his people, let alone the citizens of the United States, were not ready for Zion, including some doctrines he shared sparingly. “I never have had opportunity to give them [the Saints] the plan that God has revealed to me,” Smith lamented. In Nauvoo, he pushed ahead and revealed doctrines and practices to trusted associates so that they might give them to the full church later. Smith realized that Zion within the borders of the United States needed official protection. This he vigorously sought from city, state, federal, and even international leaders. In the face of Mormon vulnerability, Smith would come to see a run for the presidency of the United States as his people’s temporal salvation and

Zion's only hope within the nation of its birth.⁶⁸

Just prior to the 1838 Mormon War in Missouri, Joseph Smith and other church leaders issued "The Political Motto of the Church of Latter-day Saints." It declared:

The Constitution of our country formed by the Fathers of liberty. Peace and good order in society. Love to God, and good will to man. *All good and wholesome laws, virtue and truth above all things, and aristarchy, live for ever!* But woe to tyrants, mobs, aristocracy, anarchy, and toryism... Exalt the standard of Democracy! Down with that of priestcraft, and let all the people say Amen!⁶⁹

The Saints stood for law and order, democratic process, and against mobs; all reflections of their experiences in Missouri. The only differentiation in the motto from contemporary political belief was aristarchy—an element of political Zion that Smith introduced a few years later. Aristarchy as defined in Smith's time was "A body of good men in power, or government by excellent men."⁷⁰ An earlier revelation of Smith reminded the Saints, "...Nevertheless, when the wicked rule the people mourn. Wherefore, honest men and wise men should be sought for diligently, and good men and wise men ye should observe to uphold; otherwise whatsoever is less than these cometh of evil."⁷¹ For Smith, the words "good," "excellent," "honest," and "wise" were personified in men who had proven their faithfulness to the cause of Zion. This was all according to the "ancient order of things," or the patriarchal order of governance.

Joseph Smith remained convinced that outside of Missouri good will existed toward his church and that the federal government would grant redress to the Mormons. He departed Washington D.C. with a few companions in late October 1839. In November, they met with President Martin Van Buren. The president was hostile to Smith's pleas. Any interference by him in the matter might offend political allies. "Gentlemen, your cause is just," Van Buren admitted, "but I can do nothing for you."⁷²

Interviews with influential Senators John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay were likewise unfruitful. Calhoun shook his head and declared “It’s a nice question—a critical question, but it will not do to agitate it.” Clay counseled, “You had better go to Oregon.”⁷³ Only the Illinois delegation was helpful. It introduced the Saints’ petition for redress along with nearly five hundred separate claims of loss of property and rights. Embarrassed, the members of the Missouri delegation collected affidavits from Missourians and disaffected Mormons. On March 4, 1840 a Congressional committee declared the matter beyond the purview of Congress and suggested the Saints seek redress in the courts, an avenue which was already a dead end. Smith was furious: “Is there no virtue in the body politic?”⁷⁴ Van Buren’s stand pushed Mormons politically into the arms of his opponents. Though overwhelmingly Jacksonian Democrats, in 1840, the Mormons voted as a bloc against Van Buren and for Whig William Harrison. Beginning to hold the balance of power in Illinois, the Mormons had to be reckoned with by both parties.⁷⁵

Building political Zion, Mormons in 1840 secured a charter from the state legislature creating the city of Nauvoo. The charter was similar to those granted to Chicago, Alton, Galena, Springfield, and Quincy. Provisions in the charter allowed for a university, a militia, and a structure of government that fit the Saints desire to rule themselves. The charter was an important lever for Mormon authority and protection. Joseph Smith used it as a wall of defense “to create and protect a city-state.”⁷⁶ The charter allowed the concentration of different branches of government, thus creating effective governmental control by elected church leaders. Furthermore, the Nauvoo Charter allowed for the city to have a militia controlled by church leaders as defensive hedge against mob actions. Called the Nauvoo Legion, it grew to become the largest

militia unit in the United States.⁷⁷ Smith saw these measures as necessary to protect the church from a repeat of the Missouri atrocities. He stated, “The City Charter of Nauvoo is of my own plan and device. I concocted it for the salvation of the church, and on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protective influence without distinction of sect or party.”⁷⁸ On February 1, 1841, influential convert John C. Bennett was elected mayor, while Joseph and Hyrum Smith and other church leaders were elected to the city council. The election results demonstrated how entwined church and state were. Half of the candidates received 100% of the vote and the others no less than 97%.⁷⁹

Thomas Sharp of nearby Warsaw was suspicious of the Saints, their religion, charter, and militia. Church leaders invited Sharp to the April 6, 1841 temple cornerstone ceremony as a sign of goodwill. Sharp an unsuccessful lawyer, Whig politician, and editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, was disturbed by what he saw and heard. Instead of a standard religious meeting, he witnessed the temple cornerstones encircled by the several thousand strong Nauvoo Legion and heard leaders speak of the future growth of Nauvoo and the kingdom of God. Correctly, he ascertained that Mormonism was not just another Christian sect. What Mormons declared as the restored Church of Jesus Christ and the establishment of the Latter-day Zion, Sharp viewed as a dangerous un-American political empire cloaked in the guise of religion. He began a campaign in the *Warsaw Signal* against Smith and to overturn the Nauvoo Charter and Legion. Two months later, Sharp was instrumental in forming the Anti-Mormon party in Hancock County and served as one of its leaders. Though dominated by Whigs, the Anti-Mormons were composed of individuals from both political parties. Initially, they succeeded in their intent to stifle the

Mormons. The Anti-Mormon slate of county candidates defeated the Mormons the next month in county elections. However, the continual pour of Mormon converts to the area soon reversed the numbers. Whiggery, meanwhile, developed an increasingly anti-Mormon taint.⁸⁰

Missionary activity accelerated the Mormon gathering to Zion in Nauvoo. The search for converts was especially vigorous in Great Britain, the eastern United States, and Canada. From 1839-1841, church missionaries labored diligently in Great Britain, leading thousands of converts to join the church and then emigrate to Nauvoo. Additionally, the missionaries experience brought a maturity and unity to the body of men who would soon lead the church, particularly among the Quorum of the Twelve. On January 15, 1841, the First Presidency issued a proclamation for all Mormons to gather to Nauvoo. The promise was that, “by a concentration of action, and unity of effort” Zion would be built.⁸¹ Four days later, Smith announced a lengthy revelation naming Nauvoo as a “cornerstone of Zion.”⁸²

Besides calling men to priesthood offices and creating Nauvoo as a stake of Zion, the 1841 revelation set forth priorities for the future of Zion. First was the construction of a temple, wherein the Lord promised to reveal many ancient ordinances necessary for exaltation, the highest level of salvation. Further, the church was to send a proclamation to the President of the United States, the governors of the states, and the kings and rulers of the earth to give notice that Zion was upon the earth. Nauvoo was to be an international religious capital.⁸³ Additionally, Smith made an administrative change in Nauvoo, the creation of ecclesiastical wards. Wards were geographic subdivisions of a stake, each presided over by a bishop. Ten wards were created in Nauvoo. The use of

the word “ward,” a contemporary term denoting a geographical political subdivision of a city, furthered the idea of Zion as a merger of church and state.⁸⁴

The economy of Zion in Nauvoo was similar to other growing towns of the West. Capital was scarce and most people farmed. The transition from “gentile” Commerce to Mormon Nauvoo saw an explosion of buildings, farms, and businesses. The influx of immigrants from around the United States, and especially Great Britain, accelerated Nauvoo’s growth. Soon, small shops and artisan associations abounded. Nauvoo bishop George Miller* stated that the city “was growing like a mushroom (as it were, by magic).”⁸⁵ By 1843, Nauvoo had a population of fifteen thousand with over thirty-five hundred buildings. Joseph Smith continued the law of tithing, but encouraged an economy directed by the principles of consecration and stewardship. Economics was not about profits, but being a steward in Zion, dedicated to its mission and growth. While the rest of Illinois lumbered through the economic depression in the wake of the Panic of 1837, Nauvoo prospered. This created resentment from communities close to Nauvoo which competed in the marketing of goods and services.⁸⁶

The relative peace in Nauvoo afforded Joseph Smith the opportunity, while fear of being killed gave him the motive, to teach doctrines and practices that he had not widely revealed regarding the patriarchal order of Zion. One of these Smith announced publicly: the doctrine of salvational work for the dead, beginning with baptism. Smith declared that the Saints could be baptized on behalf of deceased relatives who had not had the opportunity. He explained the doctrine’s importance: “They [the dead] without us cannot be made perfect—neither can we without our dead be made perfect.”⁸⁷ Smith saw this work as essential and as the outgrowth of the keys of authority he had been

given by Moses, Elias, and Elijah.⁸⁸

Joseph Smith taught some close associates before 1840 the principle of plural marriage. As part of the restoration of all things, Smith learned that he and the church were commanded to accept and practice plural marriage. He briefly practiced plural marriage in Ohio in the mid-1830s. Several sources record that Smith only renewed the practice after remarking that an angel appeared to him three times between 1834 and 1842 commanding him to obey or be slain.⁸⁹ The first officially recorded plural marriage of Smith was to Louisa Beaman on April 5, 1841. Until his death, Smith took as many as thirty-two additional wives. He privately taught the principle to the members of the Quorum of Twelve after they returned from their mission in England. Like Smith, they were emotionally torn attempting to reconcile their attitudes about monogamy with the principle of plural marriage. The acceptance and practice of plural marriage became an intense spiritual struggle and ultimately a test of loyalty to Smith as a prophet. However, each came to a conviction of the principle and it was practiced privately by those Smith selected.⁹⁰

In the spring of 1842, Joseph Smith began to tie theological salvation to political Zion in what he later termed “Theodemocracy.” Smith defined theodemocracy as “where God and the people hold the power to conduct the affairs of men in righteousness. And where liberty, free trade, and sailor’s rights, and the protection of all life and property shall be maintained inviolate, for the benefit of ALL.”⁹¹ On April 7, Smith recorded a revelation outlining the political Kingdom of God that would bring about this theodemocracy. This was to be the Kingdom or government spoken of by the Old Testament prophet Daniel which, “the God of heaven [would] set up...which should

never be destroyed...but...consume all...kingdoms,” and thus govern the earth during the Millennium: “They shall be priests [and kings] of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.”⁹² In August, Smith announced “I have the whole plan of the kingdom before me, and no other person has.”⁹³ When he formally organized the Kingdom in the spring of 1844, its minutes filled hundreds of pages. Smith’s revealed name for the organization was, “The Kingdom of God and His Laws, with Keys and power thereof, and judgment in the hands of his servants, Ahman Christ.”⁹⁴ He likely shared some of the details of the Kingdom with trusted colleagues before organizing it as he had with plural marriage.⁹⁵

Over a two-year period, Joseph Smith introduced temple ceremonies, in part to prepare the leadership of the church to rule in the Kingdom. Smith revealed the ceremony he called, “the endowment.” The Saints had been promised an endowment of power since late 1830 and had first experienced elements of it in the Kirtland temple. Though meant for the temple, Smith introduced the full sacred ritual to several trusted associates on May 4, 1842 on the upper floor of his red brick store. As part of the endowment, candidates were promised that if they were faithful to the covenants they made, they would receive the blessing of becoming, as the ancient Apostle John wrote, “Kings (Queens) and Priests (Priestesses) unto God.”⁹⁶ Until his death in June 1844, Smith introduced the endowment to nearly one hundred trusted associates, male and female. Concurrent with the endowment, Joseph Smith revealed two important principles regarding marriage. Declaring that he was exercising the sealing keys given him by Elijah, Smith, beginning May 26, 1843, sealed several couples into an eternal marriage covenant. Smith made clear that baptism for the dead, the endowment, and the sealing

covenant would be available to all worthy Saints upon completion of the temple. The doctrinal background for the eternal marriage covenant is recorded in two revelations. The first declares the Celestial heaven contains three levels or degrees, the highest of which is reserved for those who “enter into this order of the priesthood [meaning the new and everlasting covenant of marriage].”⁹⁷ The second taught that sealed, faithful couples would be exalted—deified, in the next life. On April 6, 1844, Joseph publicly taught the doctrine of deification declaring God was once like man and that man could become like God through faithfulness to the covenants associated with the temple ordinances of the priesthood. Through these ordinances, Joseph Smith created the groundwork for a theodemocracy governed by a theocratic aristarchy.⁹⁸

These important ordinances included women and Joseph Smith oversaw the establishment of the Female Relief Society to assist the poor, fundraise for the temple, and watch over the women of the church. The Society’s minutes record that Smith declared the Presidency of the Relief Society “like the First Presidency of the church” would “continue in office during good behavior, or so long as they shall continue to fill the office with dignity.”⁹⁹ Smith introduced the women to sacred doctrines related to future temple worship and told them that their society “should move according to the ancient Priesthood.”¹⁰⁰ Thus, the Relief Society functioned under the principle of aristarchy. Its officers were chosen by revelation for their goodness or excellence, which included loyalty to Smith and the church. Once nominated, they were then voted upon, a practice of common consent familiar to the church. They were to hold office “so long as they shall continue to fill the office with dignity.” Once found, good or excellent leaders were to remain as long as their righteousness, competence, and loyalty continued. Thus,

the Relief Society was a microcosm of theodemocracy. God chose by revelation those worthy to lead, and the people were given the opportunity to vote to be led by those whom God and his servants had appointed. Thus constituted, the Presidency governed by revelation. Smith included women in all the ordinances of the church, for the ultimate purpose of these ordinances was to seal disciples to God, husbands to wives, children to parents *ad infinitum* in the patriarchal order of Zion.

Joseph Smith took another step toward theodemocracy on May 25. At a meeting adjacent the temple site, Smith recorded that he “addressed them [citizens of Nauvoo] on the principles of government, at considerable length, showing that I did not intend to vote the Whig or Democratic ticket as such, but would go for those who would support good order, &c.” Then the “meeting nominated candidates for senators, representatives, and other officers.”¹⁰¹ Here was theodemocracy at work. Smith and others, at their most important religious space, “nominated” for political office those men they felt were faithful, competent, and loyal. Later, these men were officially announced and the Saints “consented” by voting. Several days later on June 1, Smith attended another political meeting near the temple to direct a similar nomination of county officers. As July began, Smith sent an open letter to the citizens of Hancock County in the Nauvoo newspaper the *Wasp*. Smith decried the Anti-Mormon Party and called on “independent” non-Mormons to work with him to create a slate of candidates to stand against it. The invitation to non-Mormons to be supported by the church did not run counter to Smith’s ideal of theodemocracy. In 1844 when he created the Council of Fifty, the genesis of the government of God on the earth, Smith included some non-Mormons as representatives of the “Gentiles” of the earth.¹⁰²

The afternoon before Independence Day in 1842, Joseph Smith preached to eight thousand Saints on the Book of Daniel “that in the last days the God of heaven would set up a kingdom.”¹⁰³ Two weeks later, Smith continued this theme as editor of the *Times and Seasons* in an article entitled “The Government of God.” Smith decried the eventual futility of nations and their governance. The United States was not exempt: “Our nation, which possesses greater resources than any other, is rent, from center to circumference, with party strife, political intrigues, and sectional interest; our counselors are panic stricken, our legislators are astonished...” Summarizing the distress of nations in history, Smith asked, “Have we increased in knowledge or intelligence? Where is there a man that can step forth and alter the destiny of nations and promote the happiness of the world? Or where is there a kingdom or nation that can promote the universal happiness of its own subjects, or even their general well being?” The answer was the Government of God.

It has been the design of Jehovah, from the commencement of the world, and is His purpose now, to regulate the affairs of the world in His own time, to stand as a head of the universe, and take the reins of government in His own hand. When that is done, judgment will be administered in righteousness; anarchy and confusion will be destroyed...

Smith reminded his readers that God’s government had existed at the time of the patriarchs, including Enoch, Abraham, and later Moses and Aaron. “Their government was a theocracy,” Smith wrote. “[T]hey had God to make their laws, and men chosen by Him to administer them... in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs; they were both one, there was no distinction; so will it be when the purposes of God shall be accomplished...” Smith placed such a government within the context of the restoration of the church and its Zion ideal. Speaking of this theocratic government he declared:

“This is the only thing that can bring about the ‘restitution of all things spoken of by all the holy Prophets since the world was.’” Mankind had failed for six thousand years, therefore, “the Lord will try the seventh thousand Himself...” God’s government was essential to fulfilling the destiny of Zion and ultimately the millennial reign of Christ. Preparing the church, Smith urged members to be “wise, and to seek to know the will of God, and then be willing to do it.” According to Smith, God, “must be our protector and safeguard, spiritually and temporally, or we fall.”¹⁰⁴

As he unfolded theodemocracy, Joseph Smith sensed the precariousness of Zion. On August 6, 1842 he predicted that the church was yet to experience a bitter persecution and that the members would be driven to the Rocky Mountains. There, finally, the Mormons would become a mighty people. Their strength, he believed, would be rooted in the theodemocracy he was outlining. This organizational structure, governed by righteous men and women, would secure the Zion ideal for the people who lived it. On August 29, Joseph Smith came out of hiding from extradition attempts to make a surprise appearance at a special conference of the church. Smith indicated the Saints would fight back not with violence but “with the sword of the spirit.” Three hundred and eighty missionaries volunteered to canvass the nation in defense of Mormonism and Joseph Smith. Soon convinced of its nationwide success in refuting claims against Mormonism, Smith would repeat this tactic during his presidential campaign a year and half later.

However, local pressure continued to mount on Joseph Smith and the coming Zion ideal. The Mormons became the central issue of the 1842 Illinois gubernatorial election. Whig candidate Joseph Duncan assailed the Nauvoo Charter and the Mormon

people. Democratic candidate Thomas Ford attacked only the charter. Seemingly the lesser of two evils, Ford received Mormon support which was vital to his election. Joseph Smith's younger brother William, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, ran on the Democratic ticket for state representative and defeated Whig candidate Thomas Sharp of *Warsaw Signal* fame. Sharp's personal defeat only sharpened his attacks on the Mormons.

While the Whigs were more decidedly anti-Mormon, both parties were convinced that the political future of Illinois could be read in changing demographics. Mormon immigration to Nauvoo was staggering with over forty-seven hundred English immigrants alone arriving between 1841 and 1845. The Mormons were a powerful voting bloc, acting out their unique vision of theodemocracy. Their support was fickle and even a liability. They fit neither party's calculus for political success.

As 1843 commenced, Joseph Smith divulged to his associates information regarding the coming government of God: "Christ and the resurrected Saints will reign over the earth during the thousand years. They will not probably dwell upon the earth, but will visit it when they please or when it is necessary to govern it. There will be wicked men on the earth during the thousand years."¹⁰⁵ Thus in the coming theodemocracy, while sovereignty resided in God, it would be consented to and run by mortals. Jesus Christ and others would visit the earth, but its daily governance would rest with a theodemocracy functioning under aristarchy. Who would lead the aristarchy? Smith publicly taught that the Kingdom of God, like the church, would be ruled by revelation.¹⁰⁶

Joseph Smith acknowledged that the full scope of what he intended to do might

lead to his death. He could not evade the political realities and consequences of his situation and choices. His adversaries were strong and not all came from outside the church. Benjamin L. Clapp* accused Joseph and Hyrum Smith of attempting, “to take away the rights of the citizens” at a political caucus for the 1843 Nauvoo city council election. Religion’s claim on political choice denied deep-seated feelings in the young American republic of political freedom, even among some Mormons. Early church leader Oliver Cowdery became disaffected in part for this reason. Current member of the First Presidency William Law was just months away from a similar decision. Yet, as Joseph Smith explained on Independence Day, church leaders had practical, as well as theological, reasons for increased political involvement.

With regard to elections, some say all the Latter-day Saints vote together, and vote as I say. But I never tell any man how to vote or whom to vote for. But I will show you how we have been situated by bringing a comparison. Should there be a Methodist society here and two candidates running for office, one says, ‘If you will vote for me and put me in governor, I will exterminate the Methodists, take away their charters,’ &c. The other candidate says, ‘If I am governor, I will give all an equal privilege.’ Which would the Methodists vote for? Of course they would vote en masse for the candidate that would give them their rights. Thus it has been with us.¹⁰⁷

In the end, most Mormons remained loyal to their prophet. After talking with Smith, Clapp* made a public apology and the meeting was “settled and mutual good feelings restored to all parties.”¹⁰⁸ In the ensuing election, Smith was reelected mayor of Nauvoo and “Orson Spencer, Daniel H. Wells, George A. Smith, and Stephen Markham* were elected aldermen. Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Sylvester Emmons, Heber C. Kimball, Benjamin Warrington, Daniel Spencer*, and Brigham Young were elected councilors.”¹⁰⁹ The “correct” people were nominated because of their perceived competence and loyalty to the prophet and then elected in obedience to

men viewed as living prophets.

In the spring of 1843, Joseph Smith further developed the principles of theodemocracy and the Kingdom of God. As February ended, Smith declared: “It is our duty to concentrate all our influence to make popular that which is sound and good, and unpopular that which is unsound. ‘Tis right, politically, for a man who has influence to use it...”¹¹⁰ Theodemocracy allowed for the “concentration” of Smith’s influence to advance Zion. Smith changed the name of the weekly Nauvoo newspaper from the *Wasp* to the friendlier *Nauvoo Neighbor*. Its motto, “The Saints’ Singularity is Union, Liberty, Charity” reinforced Smith’s vision of Zion with its coming Kingdom of God.¹¹¹ In April conference, Smith told his followers that Christ, “will not come in the clouds of heaven till I am eighty-five years old.”¹¹² Without the immediacy of the Second Coming, Smith and the Mormons could focus not just on creating Zion but enlarging its influence. In May, Smith addressed the members of the Nauvoo Legion, reminding them that those holding national power had ignored the Mormon’s petition for protection and redress. “When they give me power to protect the innocent,” he promised, “I will never say I can do nothing for their good; I will exercise that power so help me God.”¹¹³ It is interesting to note Smith declares “when” not “if.” The same month he emphasized aristarchy when he publicly taught, “The way to get along in any important matter is to gather unto yourselves wise men, experienced and aged men, to assist in council in all times of trouble.”¹¹⁴ Again, who mediated the meaning and application of “wise men, experienced and aged men?” The prophet Joseph Smith.

In August, Joseph Smith introduced the final priesthood ordinance that contained elements of theodemocracy and aristarchy. Smith called it, “the fullness of the

priesthood,” but it was also known as the second anointing. This ordinance was a “promise of kingly powers and of endless lives. It was a *confirmation* of promises that worthy men could become kings and priests and that women could become queens and priestesses in the eternal worlds.”¹¹⁵ Smith began administering the ordinance to selected members making them kings and priests “in and over” the church.¹¹⁶ Anointed leaders were necessary to rule in the Kingdom of God, so Smith surveyed his flock. Brigham Young alluded to this when he publicly taught in 1843:

For any person to have the fullness of that priesthood, he must be a king and a priest. A person may have a portion of that priesthood, the same as governor or judges in England have power from the king to transact business; but that does not make them kings of England. A person may be anointed king and priest long before he receives his kingdom.¹¹⁷

Either from Smith or through implication, Young and the other apostles understood the meaning of this ordinance in the wider scope of the coming Kingdom of God.

What Smith and the apostles knew privately, Smith taught publicly on August 27, 1843 without revealing the ordinance itself. “Those holding the fullness of the Melchizedek Priesthood are kings and priests of the Most High God, holding the keys of power and blessings. In fact, that priesthood is a perfect law of theocracy, and stands as God to give laws to the people, administering endless lives to the sons and daughters of Adam.”¹¹⁸ The fullness of priesthood, or second anointing, was a necessary prerequisite for creating the Kingdom of God. For those receiving this ordinance *were kings and priests* endowed with the fullness of priesthood power, “given...all that could be given to men on the earth,” and thus had the power of legitimate heavenly governance.¹¹⁹ According to Smith, government had apostatized just as religion from its original heavenly dispensation. Thus, with proper authority in ordained kings and priests or as

they are mentioned elsewhere “Ahman Christ” or “God Anointed Ones,” the Kingdom of God could be restored.¹²⁰

On September 28, upon the return of the apostles, Smith administered to them the second anointing. During the next five months, he conferred the ordinance on twenty men.¹²¹ In the same meeting that night, Smith created a “special council.” They became a proto-council for the future Council of Fifty. It consisted of twelve members, all church leaders. Joseph Smith was chosen president by “common consent.” Besides morning and evening sessions, Smith led the group in prayer, “that his days might be prolonged until his mission on the earth is accomplished, have dominion over his enemies, all their households be blessed, and all the Church and the world.”¹²²

In thirteen years, Mormonism grew from its meager beginnings to a community of approximately twenty thousand on two continents. Leader and prophet Joseph Smith revealed doctrines to create a Zion society which would prepare the world for the Second Coming. Zion had religious, economic, political, and social features that inflamed Christians. New scripture, revelations, and doctrines, coupled with gathering converts under priesthood authority seemed blasphemous and despotic to many Americans. Economic cooperation and prosperity challenged free market capitalism. The continued rumors of polygamy denied social values. Collective political power in the name of religion unfettered to political party loyalty was an anathema in this age of powerful party politics. Consequently, the Mormons were driven by force from New York, Ohio, Missouri, and eventually to Illinois. Smith’s attempt to create Zion in Nauvoo, Illinois had by autumn 1843 once again created fear and alienation. This time, however, the size of the church, its large militia, and substantial resource base made the stakes higher than

ever before. Sensing the coming conflict, Smith and his leaders sought a solution to bring peace and secure Zion. By 1844, Smith had decided to protect the Zion ideal by running for President of the United States. Mormons rallied to the cause. By early summer, over six hundred electioneer missionaries canvassed the nation for Smith. Thus were taken the next steps in the creation of political Zion and the rise of Mormon theodemocracy.

Endnotes

¹ *Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988), 127:22. Hereafter *D&C*. The *Doctrine and Covenants* was first published in 1835 and was a follow-up to the earlier *Book of Commandments*. It is a compilation of recorded revelations received by Joseph Smith and other prophets of the LDS Church.

² *Ibid.* 1:12.

³ Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District : The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950); For more on the Second Great Awakening see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 1989), Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1994) and David W. Kling, *A Field of Divine Wonders* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993; For the revivals of the Second Great Awakening vis-à-vis the Joseph Smith story, see D. Michael Quinn, "Joseph Smith's Experience of a Methodist 'Camp-Meeting in 1820,'" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Dialogue Paperless: E-Paper #3, July 12, 2006. *The Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988), Title page. *The Book of Mormon* was first printed in March 1830. For printing date, see *Wayne Sentinel*, Wayne New York, March 30, 1830.

⁴ *D&C* 21:1.

⁵ A fifth missionary joined in Ohio, a recent convert Frederick G. Williams, see *Church History in the Fullness of Times*, (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003), 82. Hereafter *CHFT*; Mormons referred to American Indians as Lamanites because they were seen as descendants of the *Book of Mormon* people; Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, edited by Parley P. Pratt Jr. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1985), 44. For information on Rigdon and his ties to Campbellites, see Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1994). A balance to Van Wagoner's work is David P. and Steven C. Harper, "Van Wagoner's Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Biographical Excess," *FARMS Review of Books*, 2002, v. 14, no.1, 261-274. For Cowdery's covenant see, Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 122.

⁶ *D&C* 6:6; 11:6; 12:6.

⁷ The Old Testament prophet Isaiah prophesied the return of Zion. See Isaiah 33:20, 52:1, 8.; *Book of Mormon*, 1 Nephi 14:37; 3 Nephi 20:22; 21:23-24; Ether 13:3-6, 10; *D&C*, 6:6; 11:6; 12:6, 14:6.

⁸ *D&C* 28:9.

⁹ For Zion in the *Book of Mormon*, see Ether 13:3-6, 10; 3 Nephi 21:23-24, 3 Nephi 20:22; Early Mormonism was Millenarian and fits the classic definition given by historian Norman Cohn: "Millenarian sects or movements always picture salvation as a. collective, in the sense that it is to be enjoyed by the faithful as a collectivity; b. terrestrial, in the sense that it is to be realized on this earth and not in some other worldly heaven; c. imminent, in the sense that it is to come both soon and suddenly; d. total, in the sense that it is utterly to transform life on earth, so that the new dispensation will be no mere improvement on the present, but perfection itself; e. miraculous, in the sense that it is to be accomplished by, or with the help of, super natural agencies." Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) 13. However, Mormonism Millenarianism was very different from its counterparts, see Bushman, 166 and Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993) 30-41.

¹⁰ *The Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981) Moses 7:18-20. Hereafter *POGP*.

¹¹ Joseph Smith began a study of the Holy Bible and received revelations, revisions, and corrections to it. For more on the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible see Matthews, Robert J. "A Plainer Translation," *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible: A History and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 25-26. Several non-Mormon scholars have commented on Mormonism's fusion of the physical and temporal. Jan Shipps wrote: "Any attempt to disentangle the dual spiritual and material appeal of Mormonism is bound to fail, however. Salvation was assured to souls whose physical energies were devoted to building a temporal kingdom where all Saints would prosper as they prepared for Christ's return to earth to rule over the Latter-day Saints in person. Meanwhile, the Mormon leaders were faced with temporal as well as theological responsibilities." Jan Shipps, "The Mormons in Politics: The First Hundred Years" (University of Colorado, Ph.D. dissertation, 1965; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1974), 36. Mormon historians James B. Allen and Glen Leonard in their summative work of Mormon history disagree. They state "Even though the Saints and their leaders were constantly involved in secular affairs, concern for these things was secondary to a quest for salvation in the restored Kingdom of God...Everything they did was in the hope of preparing people for the millennial reign of Christ." James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1976), ix-x. Most members joined the LDS Church because of its unique doctrines. However, the irony of Allen and Leonard's statement is that to prepare for the millennial reign, the Saints saw secular, or temporal work, as spiritual. Their own scripture states "Wherefore, verily I [God] say unto you all things unto me are spiritual, and not at any time have I given you a law which was temporal, for my commandments are spiritual." *D&C 39:34*. Early Mormons saw little or no distinction between things religious and secular. All things were spiritual.

¹² *D&C 38*: 31-32.

¹³ Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Hereafter *HC*), 7 vols., (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, News 1912), 423.

¹⁴ *D&C 36*:8. Partridge, a resident of Kirtland, Ohio and a recent convert, traveled to New York along with Sidney Rigdon to investigate Smith's claims of being a prophet.

¹⁵ *D&C 42*:36.

¹⁶ The term "stake," was taken from a passage in Isaiah about the expansion of Zion in the last days: "enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes." The revelation announced that Zion in Missouri was not the only gathering place for the Saints. Zion was to expand like a great tent, extending more curtains secured by stakes. Kirtland was to be a stake of Zion, making it an outpost of the holy city and an authorized place of gathering. See Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 176. In fact, an editorial in the Saints' *Morning and Evening Star* is the first mention that the Saints would become priests and kings, mixing religious and political. "That it [Zion] comes as the harbinger of peace and good will to them that serve the Lord with a determination to have part in the first resurrection, and finally become Kings and Priests to God the Father in the celestial kingdom, where God and Christ are, and where they will be for eternity." *HC 1:274*, *The Evening and Morning Star*, Independence, MO, June 1832 as quoted in 274. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 220.

¹⁷ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 167.

¹⁸ Melchizedek was a priest-king. Thus, this priesthood had clear church-state undertones, a theme which Joseph would fully develop in Nauvoo with the temple endowment and second anointing.

¹⁹ For example, of the 138 sections that became the *Doctrine and Covenants*, sixty-five were received in and around Kirtland, Ohio. For a more in-depth study of the development of Mormon priesthood see, Gregory A. Prince, *Power from On High: The Development of Mormon*

Priesthood (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), and Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*; D&C 13. Called the Aaronic Priesthood, it originally was held by adult men in the Church. In the late 1800s, this priesthood was placed upon the young men of the church. There is no direct evidence for the actual date of the restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood. Historians have differed on whether the event took place in the summer of 1829, 1830, or 1831. For these arguments see the works in this footnote as well as John Lawson, *A Study of the History of the Office of High Priest*, Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, July, 2006. For the official position of the LDS Church, see *CHFT*, 56 and Larry C. Porter, "The Restoration of the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthood," *Ensign*, Dec. 1996, 33. For the reason behind the name Melchizedek, see *D&C* 107:1-5. *D&C* 20:1-3.

²⁰ The office of bishop is an Aaronic Priesthood office above that of priest, teacher, and deacon. A bishop deals with the economic and temporal concerns of the church. The office belongs by right to descendants of Aaron, brother of Moses, but can be filled by a High Priest in the absence of such. Throughout the history of the LDS Church, the office has been held by High Priests. See *D&C* 68:19; For a discussion of the "High Priesthood," see Smith, *HC* 1:175 and F. Mark McKiernan and Roger D. Launius, eds. *An Early Latter Day Saint History: The Book of John Whitmer* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1980), 66. There is some disagreement among historians of Mormonism as to whether this "High Priesthood" refers to the office of High Priest or the Melchizedek Priesthood itself. For different interpretations, see references in fn 19; For the Presidency of the High Priesthood, see Smith, *HC* 1:267 and *D&C* 81:2; Joseph Smith's counselors were Sidney Rigdon and Jesse Gause. Gause soon fell away and Frederick G. Williams was called in his place, see *CHFT* 121; See *D&C* 102 for the creation of the high council. A "stake" of Zion refers to the allegory in Isaiah of Zion being a protective tent to God's people, see Isaiah 33:20 and 54:2. Thus LDS stakes are ecclesiastical units that are not the center place of Zion, the New Jerusalem. Starting in Nauvoo, Illinois, stakes would consist of multiple wards, each with its own bishop.

²¹ Young, Joseph, *History of the Organization of the Seventies* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1878), p. 14.

²² Smith, *HC* 2:176; *D&C* 107:23, 33.

²³ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 265, 267, 203, 263, 160, 175.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 152-153.

²⁵ *The Morning and Evening Star*, July 1832 as quoted in Smith, *HC* 1:280.

²⁶ *CHFT*, 124-125; Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 148, 150.

²⁷ On exaltation, see Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 201.

²⁸ *CHFT* 164. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 218.

²⁹ *D&C* 110:11-16. "This great day of visions and revelation occurred on Easter Sunday, 3 April 1836. What better day in the dispensation of the fullness of times to reconfirm the reality of the Resurrection? That weekend was also the Jewish Passover. For centuries Jewish families have left an empty chair at their Passover feasts, anticipating Elijah's return. Elijah has returned—not to a Passover feast, but to the Lord's temple in Kirtland." *CHFT* 167.

³⁰ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 313-316; *CHFT* 166-67.

³¹ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 339. This new church reverted back to the doctrines of 1830 and called itself by the original name of the church, "The Church of Christ." In 1837 the LDS church had become known as the "Church of Latter-day Saints." This was a direct allusion to the prophecies of the Book of Daniel concerning the Saints of God in the last days helping to create God's Kingdom on the earth; Milton V. Backman Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1983), 328. *CHFT* 177

³² Smith, *HC* 1:269.

³³ *D&C* 41 and 42. *D&C* 42 was known as the Law of the Lord and was the promised direction on the divine laws required to build up Zion. See *CHFT*, 96-97, 99 for a summary of how the law

of consecration functioned. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 154-155. *D&C* 72:8. Max H. Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm: The Growth and Decline of the Church's First Master Plan of Business and Finance, Ohio and Missouri, 1832-34," *BYU Studies*, Vol. 6, no. 3, 2007, 4-66. The revelation disbanding the United Firm is now known as *D&C* 104. For the entire discussion on banks, political parties, and the Saints, see Backman, *The Heavens Resound*, 315-323. For a concise history of Andrew Jackson's Specie Circular, its effects on the nation's economy, as well as the Saints economic situation see Shipps, 48. *CHFT* 171-72. Milton V. Backman Jr., *Establish a House of Prayer, a House of God: The Kirtland Temple* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1988), 221. For more on the fallout amongst the Mormons, see Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 331-332.

³⁴ *D&C* 2. Malachi 3:5-6.

³⁵ Quotes are from *D&C* 132:37, 45. This revelation was recorded in 1843, but historical records show that Smith understood the doctrines and principles since his translation of the Bible commenced in 1831.

³⁶ Smith, *HC* 6:292.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 101: 76-80.

³⁸ Smith, *HC* 2:59.

³⁹ *D&C* 101:55-58 is a parable requiring the young men of Zion to gather and go to Zion and redeem it. It foreshadows the call of Zion's Camp. *D&C* 98:23-48 give the Saints a law to opportune for peace multiple times from their enemies, after which the Lord promises to fight their battles for them. *D&C* 103.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 105:13.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 105:19.

⁴² *Ibid.* 52:5. An early revelation required the church to meet in quarterly conferences, not unlike contemporary Methodist conferences. Later the church moved to semi-annual conferences.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 52:42-43.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 57:3.

⁴⁵ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 168.

⁴⁶ Letter quoted in Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 3.

⁴⁷ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 220

⁴⁸ *CHFT*, 131.

⁴⁹ B.H. Roberts, *The Missouri Persecutions* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 73.

⁵⁰ *CHFT*, 131; *Jeffersonian Republican* (Jefferson, Missouri) August 17, 1833.

⁵¹ The following was the federal response. "Response from Washington. War Department, May 2, 1834.

Gentlemen:-The President has referred to this department the memorial and letter addressed to him by yourselves and other citizens of Missouri, requesting his interposition in order to protect your persons and property.

In answer, I am instructed to inform you, that the offenses of which you complain, are violations of the laws of the state of Missouri, and not of the laws of the United States. The powers of the President under the constitution and laws, to direct the employment of a military force, in cases where the ordinary civil authority is found insufficient, extend only to proceedings under the laws of the United States.

Where an insurrection in any state exists, against the government thereof, the President is required on the application of such state, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), to call forth such number of the militia, as he may judge sufficient to suppress such insurrection.

But this state of things does not exist in Missouri, or if it does, the fact is not shown in the mode pointed out by law. The President cannot call out a militia force to aid in the execution of the state laws, until the proper requisition is made upon him by the constituted authorities.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

Lewis Cass.

To Messrs. A. Gilbert, W. W. Phelps, Edward Partridge, and others, Liberty, Clay County, Missouri” as quoted in Smith, 1:493.

⁵² Letter from Oliver Cowdery to High Council at Far West April 12, 1838, as quoted in Smith, *HC* 3:18.

⁵³ Matthew 5:13.

⁵⁴ *CHFT* 184, 186-87, 191. The revelation is *D&C* 101:99 which came during the original crisis in Jackson County.

⁵⁵ Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 107. Also quoted in *CHFT*, 189.

⁵⁶ *Oration Delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon on the 4th of July 1838* (Far West: Journal Office, 1838), LDS Historical Department, Salt Lake City, 12. See also *CHFT* 192.

⁵⁷ Parley P. Pratt, ed., *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, Classics in Mormon Literature series (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 150. *CHFT* 188-89. *D&C* 120:1. Jeffrey N. Walker, “Mormon Land Rights in Caldwell and Daviess Counties and the Mormon Conflict of 1838: New Findings and New Understandings,” *BYU Studies* Vol. 47, no.1, 2008, 4-46. Mormons acquired most of their land in northern Missouri under laws allowing squatters first opportunity to buy land they settled and improved before government surveys. If they missed the deadline for the payment, other parties could buy the improved land at unimproved prices. Many members of the Missourian mobs who drove the Mormons from the state were motivated by greed to do precisely that. They cleverly orchestrated the timing of their persecutions. The Extermination Order and the siege of Far West happened at the time of the Mormons’ land payments. Thus as the Mormons’ preemptive rights lapsed, they were forcibly prevented from leaving Far West to make the payments. Many of the leading mob leaders then quickly purchased the most valuable and improved land. This research is vital to understanding that the expulsion of the Mormons was orchestrated for economic and political gain, as well as religious difference.

⁵⁸ Smith, *HC* 3:57

⁵⁹ *CHFT* 194; Smith, *HC* 3:60; Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 356-67.

⁶⁰ Leland Homer Gentry, “A History of the Latter-Day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836-1839,” *Ph.D. diss.*, Brigham Young University, 1965, 201. See also *CHFT* 197.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 3:157, see also *CHFT* 197. Boggs five years previous, as lieutenant governor living in Independence, did nothing while the Mormons were driven from Jackson County.

⁶² *CHFT* 195-196, 198. General Atchison appealed to Governor Boggs three times in October warning him that the anti-Mormon forces were determined to drive the Mormons from the state. Each letter was ignored.

⁶³ *CHFT* 199-201. See also footnote 89.

⁶⁴ Smith, *HC* 3:175.

⁶⁵ For more context and discussion on the expulsion, see Bushman, 365; *CHFT* 204.

⁶⁶ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 375-76; *CHFT* 202-208.

⁶⁷ Smith, *HC* 3:390–91, bracketed words in original. The discourse was given by Joseph Smith about July 1839 in Commerce, Illinois and reported by Willard Richards.

⁶⁸ On this point of time, see Ronald K Esplin, “The Significance of Nauvoo for Latter-day Saints,” in *the Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 19-38. Lyman Wight, a fellow prisoner in Liberty Jail, claimed after Smith’s death that Smith had expressed he did not expect to live to be forty, but not to divulge it until after his death. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff Journals* 2:432. Smith, *HC* 3:286.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 3:9, Italics added; see also *History and genealogy of Chapman Duncan*, 447, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter HDC). This history of Duncan states that the cadre in 1844 took this political motto with them. However, this is the only reference I could find of the motto being used during the campaign. Smith was not blindly a

Democrat. He saw to it that both political parties' philosophies and policies were evenly debated while in Far West. See Smith, *HC* 3:30-31, May 10, 1838.

⁷⁰ Aristarchy definition in *Noah Webster, First Edition of An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1828).

⁷¹ *D&C* 98:5-10.

⁷² Smith, *HC* 4:80. Smith stated that Van Buren told him he could do nothing because he would "lose Missouri" in the upcoming election.

⁷³ Smith, *HC* 5:393-94.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 4:108, also quoted in *CHFT*, 222.

⁷⁵ Van Buren, also known as the "little magician," while diminutive physically was a phenomenon politically. He was the architect of the Jacksonian Democratic Party. He was elected President in 1836 following two terms of orchestrating the election of Andrew Jackson. The Panic of 1837, however, placed his administration in the same malaise that was economically stultifying the nation. Desperate for reelection in 1840, his actions towards the Mormons must be viewed within this context. Van Buren would lose out to James K. Polk in the Democratic Convention in 1844 and lost another attempt at the White House in 1848 as the candidate of the Free Soil Party. Van Buren's rejection of Smith and the Mormons was particularly galling since so many of them had campaigned for him in Kirtland in 1836. See D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 182. Also interesting is that the Saints voted for all of Harrison's electors except Abraham Lincoln whose name they scratched from the list in order to include one Democrat. Lincoln's name was apparently chosen randomly.

⁷⁶ Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy*, 106. Other charters had similar provisions as Nauvoo, but they went unrealized.

⁷⁷ James Kimball Jr. "The Nauvoo Charter: A Reinterpretation," in *Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 40-47. Smith was commissioned a Lieutenant-General, the only such rank in the United States between George Washington and Ulysses S. Grant.

⁷⁸ Smith, *HC* 4: xxiii. Some historians argue that Bennett wrote part or all of the charter. See Kimball Jr., "The Nauvoo Charter," 40-47.

⁷⁹ Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy*, 107; Shipps, "First Hundred Years," 56-57: "Perhaps [in Liberty Jail] he realized that building Zion inside the boundaries of the United States required something more than an inexhaustible supply of converts to the church, and an internal means of directing them. Although apostasy was frequent, revelation served very well as a method of government within the church. The main problem in establishing a temporal kingdom of the Saints, it seemed, was defensive. Obviously irregular militia [like the Danites] would not serve. When the Mormons began at the beginning once again, Smith turned to politics in an effort to surround Zion with constitutional sanction. And the next time the Saints organized a militia, the process was legal as the legislature of the State of Illinois could make it"; *CHFT*, 243.

⁸⁰ *CHFT* 265. Most of the new Mormon arrivals were from the British Isles. Their citizenship was a thorn in the side of the largely Whig county of Hancock, as Whigs had fought nationally against the inclusion of immigrants as voting citizens. This continued to be an issue in the Whig party and eventually led to the Nativists and the American Native Party in the 1850s. The term anti-Mormon designates those opposed to Mormons. The term Anti-Mormon specifically refers to the political party in Hancock County; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy*, 108-09; "As the remedy lies with yourselves" Sharp wrote, "we entreat you all, if you regard the maintenance of your dearest rights, to assemble at the polls at this election--lay aside former party feelings and oppose, as independent freeman, political and military Mormonism." *Warsaw Signal* July 7, 1841. As Nauvoo grew, so did ties between the church and government. The Quorum of the Twelve returned from their mission to England in July of 1841. In October, the city council voted to increase its number by seven. Six of the apostles were elected. In January 1842, Smith received

all but three votes for the new office of vice-mayor. Joseph Smith's younger brother William was elected to the state legislature in August of 1842. Church leaders continued to win local and county offices with few exceptions. Smith sought protection for the church in other ways. For example, he believed that if he and other men of the church joined the Masonic fraternity, they would be shielded from persecution by the group's strong ties of allegiance. Smith joined in 1842, but only attended ceremonies three times. However, by 1845 almost every male member in Nauvoo had become a Mason in one of the city's three lodges. Inconsistencies in the lodges' minutes and procedures show that prominent Illinois Masons had offered Mormons Masonic memberships in such large numbers only for their own political advantages. Yet in the end, Freemasonry did not protect Smith or his people. See James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 160; Mervin Booth Hogan *The Vital Statistics of Nauvoo Lodge*, HDC, 2, 14-15, 20-21.

⁸¹ Smith, *HC* 4:271-272, also quoted in *CHFT*, 240.

⁸² *D&C* 124:2; for more context on the gathering to Nauvoo, see Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 68.

⁸³ *D&C* 115; One of the men who accompanied the apostles, Theodore Turley, could not resist the temptation to stop at the house of Isaac Russell, an apostate Mormon, to announce the revelation had been fulfilled; *CHFT* 226; Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 405, 415, 489.

⁸⁴ Smith, *HC* 5:119.

⁸⁵ George Miller, *Correspondence of Bishop George Miller With the Northern Islander, From His First Acquaintance With Mormonism Up to Near the Close of His Life*, (Burlington, Wisconsin: Wingfield Watson, 1916), 117.

⁸⁶ Flanders, *Nauvoo*, 59, gives English converts' economic perspective. *CHFT* 244-45; Smith, *HC* 6:9, 22, 37, 58; Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 501-504. Baker, Legrand L, *Murder of the Mormon Prophet: The Political Prelude to the Death of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake: Eborn Books, 2006), 2; *CHFT* 245. See also Allen and Leonard, *History of the Saints*, 155.

⁸⁷ *D&C* 128:15..

⁸⁸ Smith, *HC* 4:426

⁸⁹ The official academic term would be polygyny as the system allowed for a plurality of wives, not of husbands. *D&C* 132:45. Andrew Jensen, *The Historical Record* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News) Feb. 1875, 233; also quoted in *CHFT* p 256; Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997). For an excellent description of Smith, his wives and the difficulties of plural marriage, see also Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 437- 446, 490-499

⁹⁰ Kathryn Daynes, "Mormon Polygamy: Belief and Practice in Nauvoo," in *Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited*, 130-146; Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" (M. A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), 95-96. When viewed by those who practiced it, plural marriage was about salvation and loyalty to Smith, not about sex.

⁹¹ Joseph Smith in *Times and Seasons*, April 15, 1844; "In a traditional democracy, power is vested in the people and they hold participatory rights. The role of the people under a conventional theocracy, on the other hand, is being part of the kingdom rather than of its governmental process and procedure. The Lord's kingdom, unlike a conventional theocracy, allows the members to participate in its government. This unique combination in which all power is vested in the Lord (theocracy) with the participation of the people (democracy) has thus been called a theodemocracy, which is a form of government in which the decisions for the kingdom of the Lord are his decisions but his people have been given the opportunity to exercise their presence in that kingdom. Members of the Lord's kingdom exercise their democratic presence through the principle of common consent." Leon R. Hartshorn, Dennis A. Wright, and Craig J. Ostler, eds., *The Doctrine and Covenants, a Book of Answers: The 25th Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium*, 7.

⁹² Daniel 2:44; Revelation 20:6

⁹³ Smith, *HC* 5:139.

⁹⁴ “Council of Fifty Minutes, 10 April 1880,” typed copy, Special Collections and Manuscripts Department, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁹⁵ D. Michael Quinn, “The Council of Fifty and its Members, 1844-1945,” in *BYU Studies*, Vol 20:2, (Winter 1980), 1.

⁹⁶ Revelation, 1:6.

⁹⁷ *D&C* 131:3. Brackets are in the original. The second revelation was *D&C* 132.

⁹⁸ Smith, *HC* 6:305-06.

⁹⁹ Sarah Cleveland, “A Record of the Organization, and Proceedings of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo,” 1842-1844, holograph, HDC, March 17, 1842.

¹⁰⁰ Jill Mulvay Derr, “The Lion and the Lioness: Brigham Young and Eliza R. Snow,” in *BYU Studies*, Vol. 40:2, 2001.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 5:19.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 5:56.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 5:63-64. Italics added.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 5:231.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 5:257.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 5:490.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 5:264.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 5:265.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5:490.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5:305.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 5:337.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 5:384.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5: 389.

¹¹⁵ Glen Leonard, *Nauvoo: a Place of Peace, a People of Promise* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2002), 260-261. Italics added for emphasis.

¹¹⁶ Ehat, “Joseph Smith’s Introduction,” 74-75.

¹¹⁷ Smith, *HC* 5:527

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5:555. Smith also indicated that he had not yet given these ordinances. See Andrew F. Ehat, “It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth”: Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God,” *BYU Studies*, vol. 20:3 (Spring 1980), 3.

¹¹⁹ Heber C. Kimball Journal kept by William Clayton, 26 December 1845, HDC, as quoted in Ehat, “Heaven Began on Earth,” 3.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3-4; *D&C* 95:1; 116.

¹²¹ Ehat, “Heaven Began on Earth,” 3 and fn.16. The men were Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Newel K. Whitney, William Marks, John Taylor, John Smith, Reynolds Cahoon*, Alpheus Cutler*, Orson Spencer, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Levi Richards*, Cornelius P. Lott, William W. Phelps*, Isaac Morely, and Orson Pratt.

¹²² Smith, *HC* 6:39. “Meeting of a Special Council.

“Thursday, 28.-At half-past eleven, A.M., a council convened over the store, consisting of myself, my brother Hyrum, Uncle John Smith, Newel K. Whitney, George Miller, Willard Richards, John Taylor, Amasa Lyman, John M. Bernhisel, and Lucien Woodworth; and at seven in the evening we met in the front upper room of the Mansion, with William Law and William Marks. By the common consent and unanimous voice of the council, I was chosen president of the special council.”

CHAPTER TWO

GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH FOR PRESIDENT

“Who shall be our next President? [This is] a question of no small importance to the Latter-day Saints.” - Times and Seasons, October 1, 1843 ¹

On January 29, 1844, Mormon leaders nominated Joseph Smith for President of the United States. Without delay, Smith formulated his political views in a pamphlet titled: *General Joseph Smith’s Views on the Policies and Powers of the United States*. Smith had *Views* distributed throughout the country. Many local, regional, and national newspapers commented on it. In the ensuing months, church leaders organized a systematic campaign to elect Smith. On April 9, they gave political instruction to over a thousand male congregants and asked for volunteers to electioneer for Smith. Two hundred and forty-four immediately responded. At the height of the endeavor, over six hundred were engaged. Smith’s campaign was unlike any other in the history of the United States. The prophet-leader of a religion pursued the presidency with a cadre of supporters canvassing the nation for him. In the backdrop of the campaign was Smith’s evolving vision of theodemocracy, aristarchy, and the establishment of the Kingdom of God.

“Who Should Be Our Next President?”

On October 1, 1843 four days after Joseph Smith created his “special council,” Apostle John Taylor, a member of the council and editor of the Nauvoo newspaper *Times*

and Seasons, asked in print: “Who Shall be Our Next President?” The editorial was undoubtedly a distillation of the council’s meeting. Taylor declared that the election was “a question of no small importance to the Latter-day Saints.” He rehearsed the sufferings and injustices of the Mormons in Missouri and their inability to receive redress from any level or branch of government. The “special council,” led by Smith, had decided to enter national politics. “We make these remarks for the purpose of drawing the attention of our brethren to this subject, both at home and abroad,” Taylor wrote. Church leadership was set to “fix upon the man who will be the most likely to render us assistance in obtaining redress for our grievances; *and not only give our own votes, but use our influence to obtain others...*” Taylor concluded, “[W]e shall fix upon the man of our choice, and notify our friends duly.”² Two weeks later, Joseph Smith’s preaching became more political. “I am the greatest advocate of the Constitution of the United States there is on the earth,” he declared. “In my feelings I am always ready to die for the protection of the weak and the oppressed in their just rights.”³

Taylor’s *Times and Seasons* article produced a response within a month. In early November, Joseph Smith huddled with members of the “special council” to discuss a letter from John L. Heywood*, a Mormon in nearby Quincy, Illinois. A Colonel Frierson had offered Heywood to use his Democratic political connections to persuade Senator John Calhoun and Congressman Robert Barnwell Rhett, both of South Carolina, to present a Mormon memorial to Congress. In return, Democrats expected Mormon support for Calhoun’s anticipated run for the presidency. Heywood, in typical theodemocratic prose, ended the letter with a “prayer that wisdom from on high may direct you in your deliberations.”⁴

However, instead of exploring such a deal, Joseph Smith expanded his options by writing to each of the five major candidates for the presidency of the United States: Senator John C. Calhoun, General Lewis Cass, former Vice President Richard M. Johnson, Senator Henry Clay, and former President Martin Van Buren. He asked, “What will be your rule of action relative to us as a people, should fortune favor your ascension to the chief magistracy?”⁵ Lewis Cass, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun responded with letters that reached Nauvoo in late December. The others never replied. Calhoun wrote, “that if I should be elected, I would strive to administer the government according to the Constitution and the laws of the union; and that as they make no distinction between citizens of different religious creeds I should make none.” However, Calhoun continued, “as you refer to the case of Missouri, candor compels me to repeat what I said to you at Washington, that, according to my views, the case does not come within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, which is one of limited and specific powers.” Clay’s response also offered no assistance. The elder statesman of the Senate penned, “Should I be a candidate, I can enter into no engagements, make no promises, give no pledge to any particular portion of the people of the United States.”⁶

Just weeks previous, the kidnapping of Mormon Daniel Avery and his son by Missourians increased exponentially Smith’s desire for action to protect himself and all Mormons.⁷ Four days later, Smith held a “special council” meeting wherein it was decided to petition the federal government, “... to receive the City of Nauvoo under the protection of the United States Government, to acknowledge the Nauvoo Legion as U. S. troops, and to assist in fortifications and other purposes...”⁸ On December 11, a new city ordinance created a local police force of forty men to protect Nauvoo and Smith. As anti-

Mormon forces and threats grew, Smith publicly lamented, “Is liberty gone?”⁹ Church and city leaders signed and sent another Missouri expulsion memorial to Congress. Smith declared, “I prophesied, by virtue of the holy Priesthood vested in me, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that, if Congress will not hear our petition and grant us protection, they shall be broken up as a government.”¹⁰ Less than a week later, Smith sent his proposal to Congress to make Nauvoo a territory of the federal government. As 1844 dawned, Joseph Smith realized that the Saints were increasingly isolated politically, religiously, and economically. Illinois friends had become enemies who either feared or hated the Saints.¹¹

Joseph Smith for President

The question that the *Times and Seasons* asked in November 1843, “Who shall be our next president,” was answered on January 29, 1844. Joseph Smith met with the “Twelve Apostles...Brother Hyrum and John P. Greene...to take into consideration the proper course for this people to pursue in relation to the coming Presidential election.” The council decided it was, “morally impossible for this people, in justice to themselves, to vote for the re-election of President Van Buren.” Nor could they vote for Henry Clay, whose counsel to them was to leave the United States for Oregon. At this point, Willard Richards moved, “That we will have an independent electoral ticket, and that Joseph Smith be a candidate for the next Presidency; and that we use all honorable means in our power to secure his election.” The vote of the council was unanimously affirmative. Smith’s responded confidently:

If you attempt to accomplish this, you must send every man in the city who is able to speak in public throughout the land to electioneer and make stump speeches, advocate the "Mormon" religion, purity of elections, and

call upon the people to stand by the law and put down mobocracy. David Yearsly must go, -Parley P. Pratt to New York, Erastus Snow* to Vermont, and Sidney Rigdon to Pennsylvania. ...There is oratory enough in the Church to carry me into the presidential chair the first slide.*¹²

Smith intended to send hundreds of men throughout the nation both preaching Mormonism and electioneering. He was already contemplating specific geographical assignments for the individuals who would go. His presidential message would be one of national unity and protection of civil liberties. The April conference would launch a national campaign mobilizing Mormons to influence fellow Mormons and others to vote for Smith. There was no hiding of Smith's methods or goals.

Joseph Smith began dictating to William Wines Phelps* his political views for a pamphlet he titled: *Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States (Views)*.¹³ Smith began *Views* lamenting how the Constitution's promise of equal rights had been trampled by devious and immoral men and called for unity: "...*Unity is power*; and when I reflect on the importance of it to the stability of all governments, I am astounded at the silly moves of persons and parties to foment discord in order to ride into power on the current of popular excitement..."¹⁴ Smith referenced the early presidents of the country, praising their wisdom, a quality he believed had been lost. He pleaded, "Now, O people! People! Turn unto the Lord and live, and reform this nation. Frustrate the designs of wicked men."¹⁵ He proposed reducing the membership and pay of Congress and prison reform, no doubt stemming from his legal experiences in three states. Furthermore, Smith addressed the biggest obstacle facing the nation, slavery. According to Smith, Congress should abolish slavery by 1850 or earlier through financial redemption. The sale of federal land would be used to "pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves," and thus, "break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire him to

labor like other human beings.”¹⁶ Smith advocated a new national bank with branches in every state and territory. He also addressed the divided sovereignty of federalism and “states rights,” which hampered the Saints’ efforts to obtain redress. More than any proposal, Smith’s determination to give the federal government more power grew from the unredeemed sufferings of the Saints.

Give every man his constitutional freedom and the president full power to send an army to suppress mobs...The governor himself may be a mobber; and instead of being punished, as he should be, for murder or treason, he may destroy the very lives, rights, and property he should protect.¹⁷

Smith was a strong supporter of what came to be called Manifest Destiny. He declared that Oregon “belongs to this government honorably,” and called on the Union “to spread from east to the west sea.” Smith envisioned annexing not just Oregon, but Mexico and Canada so “union [may] be strengthened, and foreign speculation prevented...”¹⁸ He implored the people of the United States to rally to him and “cheerfully help to spread a plaster and bind up the *burnt, bleeding wounds*, of a sore but blessed country,” and restore, “phoenix-like,” America’s greatness and promise for, “We have had Democratic Presidents, Whig Presidents, a pseudo-Democratic-Whig President, and now it is time to have a *President of the United States...*”¹⁹

While many historians consider Smith’s *Views* as simply a political ploy to claim the policy middle ground, close examination shows more. Smith saw his candidacy simultaneously as unifying, restorative, and heaven-sent. He appealed to voters across the political spectrum by deploring demagoguery and factionalism. His central theme was unity, the underlining principle of Zion. Political parties fragmented and disenfranchised. His campaign was also restorative. According to one of his published revelations, God had sanctioned the American nation and her Constitution prepared by

“wise men,” “raised for this very purpose.” Smith viewed his candidacy as an opportunity to restore the nation from the political apostasy he believed had occurred since the days of the Founders. Finally, Smith understood his campaign as restorative according to a heavenly plan.

...[Y]ea, I would, as the universal friend of man, open the prisons, open the eyes, open the ears, and open the hearts of all people, to behold and enjoy freedom—unadulterated freedom; and God who once cleansed the violence of the earth with a flood, whose Son laid down His life for the salvation of all His Father gave him out of the world, and who has promised that He will come and purify the world again with fire in the last days, *should be supplicated by me for the good of all people.*²⁰

Heaven and earth joined as Smith chose words he used to also describe the Kingdom of God. “Make honor the standard with all men. Be sure that good is rendered for evil in all cases; and the whole nation, *like a kingdom of kings and priests, will rise up in righteousness, and be respected as wise and worthy on earth, and as just and holy for heaven, by Jehovah, the Author of perfection.*”²¹

As Joseph Smith’s campaign developed, so did his vision of theodemocracy. The second anointing ordinance provided Smith with a growing group of high priest-kings available for the religious and political elements of Zion. He privately taught that such men had the necessary heavenly authority to govern on earth and in heaven. On Sunday February 4, Smith declared to those who had received the second anointing that they were the first of the 144,000 special servants mentioned in the Bible’s Book of Revelation. An earlier revelation delineated the roles of these servants as, “...high priests, ordained unto the holy order of God, to administer the everlasting gospel; for they are they who are ordained out of every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, by the angels to whom is given power over the nations of the earth, to bring as many as will come to

the church of the Firstborn.”²² Fired with this new idea, the Quorum of the Twelve discussed on February 6, “the propriety of establishing a moot congress for the purpose of investigating and informing ourselves on the rules of national intercourse, domestic policy and political economy.” Smith advised against it for fear of “excit[ing] the jealousy of our enemies.”²³ A month later, Smith changed his mind and created not only a moot congress, but the genesis of the Kingdom of God: the Council of Fifty.²⁴

Through early February, Joseph Smith revised *Views* in consultation with his brother and assistant church president Hyrum, the Quorum of the Twelve, political advisor John M. Bernhisel*, and former partisan editor William Wines Phelps*. Church leaders held a political nomination meeting where Phelps read *Views* to an audience of thousands. Smith then declared “I would not have suffered my name to have been used by my friends on anywise as President of the United States, . . . if I and my friends could have had the privilege of enjoying our religious and civil rights as American citizens, even those rights which the Constitution guarantees unto all her citizens alike.” Since no governmental hand had assisted the Saints, Smith decided, “to obtain what influence and power I can, lawfully, in the United States, for the protection of injured innocence. . . .” He was even willing to die to defend his people’s liberties: “[I]f I lose my life in a good cause I am willing to be sacrificed on the altar of virtue, righteousness and truth, in maintaining the laws and Constitution of the United States, if need be, for the general good of mankind.”²⁵ The vote in support of his candidacy was again unanimous.

News of Joseph Smith’s presidential campaign disturbed many non-Mormon residents of Hancock County. The previously formed Anti-Mormon party assembled and planned a “wolf hunt” around Nauvoo on March 9, a direct threat to Smith. The wolf

hunt was to coincide with a county-wide day of fasting and prayer that Smith might be “humbled.” With scenes of Missouri ever in his mind, Smith’s response to the threat was immediate. He called the Quorum of the Twelve together and raised the subject of fleeing the United States entirely. Smith instructed the Twelve Apostles to send a delegation to California and Oregon to find a location, “where we can remove to after the temple is completed, and where we can build a city in a day, and have a government of our own...”²⁶ This was a drastically different option than gaining protective political power through election. Smith pragmatically began preparing the withdrawal of his people west to uninhabited lands outside of the United States, where they could establish a government; the theodemocratic Kingdom of God. However, Smith instructed that the planned exodus could occur only after the temple was completed and he had delivered its priesthood ordinances to the entire membership of the church. The next day, the Quorum of Twelve selected men for the exploring company. “Jonathan Dunham, Phineas H. Young*, David D. Yearsley*, and David Fullmer*, volunteered to go; and Alphonzo Young*, James Emmett*, George D. Watt*, and Daniel Spencer* were requested to go.”²⁷ Ironically, all but one in this original group instead soon became members of the campaign cadre. Two days later, Smith instructed that more be selected and that each be a “king and priest” so among the “savage nations” they would “have power to govern,” a direct allusion to men who had received the second anointing. Smith added, “If we don't get volunteers, wait till after the election.”²⁸ Within a week, twenty-four men volunteered to join the Western Exploring Expedition. Thus, Joseph Smith simultaneously prepared to rally his followers and other voters to elect him president of the United States as well as to create a refuge in the West. He was confident his plans

were inspired. Either of his options, the presidency or autonomy in the West, would provide the desired result: protective safety for Zion and her exalting priesthood ordinances.²⁹

However, as February ended, Smith's campaign plans took priority. Church leaders mailed many of the 1,500 newly printed copies of *Views* to the, "President and cabinet, supreme judges, senators, representatives, principal newspapers in the United States...and many postmasters and individuals."³⁰ The *Nauvoo Neighbor* for February 28 carried the headline "Joseph Smith for President." The article boldly announced Smith's candidacy and called for united action: "This is a thing that we, as Latter-day Saints, know; and it now devolves upon us as an imperative duty to make others acquainted with the same things, and to use all our influence at home and abroad for the accomplishment of this object."³¹ The cry, "Joseph Smith for President," now became the primary mission of the church, its leaders, and its members.

The Campaign and The Kingdom of God

Joseph Smith's campaign for the presidency gained momentum with the coming of spring. A meeting of church leaders nominated James Arlington Bennett* as Smith's vice presidential running mate. Bennett's recent baptism, political ambitions, and influence in New York City and with the *New York Herald* made him Smith's first choice. Writing to Bennett on behalf of Smith, Apostle Willard Richards revealed much about Smith's inner circle's thoughts regarding the campaign. Richards reported astonishment, "at the flood of influence that is rolling through the Western States in his [Joseph Smith's] favor, and in many instances where we might have least expected it." Smith's candidacy seemed only logical given his role as God's prophet. "General Smith

is the greatest statesman of the 19th century. Then why should not the nation secure to themselves his superior talents, that they may rise higher and higher in the estimation of the crowned heads of the nations and exalt themselves through his wisdom?" Richards was highly confident about Smith's chances. He told Bennett, "if glory, honor, force, and power in righteous principles are desired by you, now is your time. You are safe in following the counsel of that man who holds communion with heaven; and I assure you, if you act well your part, victory's the prize." Richards gave Bennett his campaign role. "Get up an electoral ticket-New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and any other state within your reach. Open your mouth wide, and God shall fill it. Cut your quill, and the ink shall flow freely." A special general conference would be held April 6 in Nauvoo and then "our Elders will go forth by hundreds or thousands and search the land, preaching religion and politics; and if God goes with them, who can withstand their influence?"³² With Bennett building momentum in the East working west, and missionaries laboring east from Nauvoo, the entire nation would be canvassed. Two days later, the *Nauvoo Neighbor* added Bennett's name under Smith's on its front page banner.

In Nauvoo, conversation centered on politics. On March 7, Joseph Smith, William Wines Phelps*, his chief political advisor, and Apostle John Taylor, his campaign manager, addressed construction workers at the temple. The topic quickly turned to governance. Smith announced, "We are republicans, and wish to have the people rule; but they must rule in righteousness. Some would complain with what God Himself would do."³³ The key for good rule was righteousness of both people and leaders, something Smith believed Mormonism would produce. The hundreds of assembled workers voted to support Smith for the presidency. Smith was confident

about his decision. “When I get hold of the Eastern papers, and see how popular I am, I am afraid myself that I shall be elected,” he proclaimed.³⁴

On March 11, Joseph Smith officially organized the Kingdom of God as a council. Twenty-three men were present, including eleven future cadre members. Smith organized the council for three immediate purposes: discuss the idea of colonizing within the Republic of Texas, “the best policy...to obtain their rights from the nation and insure protection for themselves and children,” and “secure a resting place in the mountains...where we can enjoy the liberty of conscience guaranteed to us by the Constitution.”³⁵ Informally called the Council of Fifty, the group added more members over the next few days. The official name of the council from Smith’s revelation was, “The Kingdom of God and His Law, with the Keys and power thereof, and judgment in the hands of his servants, Ahman Christ.”³⁶ Every person who Smith gave the second anointing, and was thus a legitimate king and a priest, was called into the Council of Fifty.³⁷

As revealed and led by Joseph Smith, the Council of Fifty had two purposes: to study and learn about governance and the role of the Kingdom of God on the earth, and make current, practical decisions to protect Zion. The clerk of the Council of Fifty, William Clayton reflected:

The organization of the Kingdom of God on 11 March...is an important event. ...In this Council was the plan arranged for supporting Pres. Jos. Smith as a candidate for the presidency of the U.S. ...In this Council was also devised the plan of establishing an emigration to Texas, and plans laid for the exaltation of a standard and ensign of truth for the nations of the earth [The Kingdom in the West of North America]³⁸

The council considered itself the genesis of the Kingdom of God on earth. Later member John D. Lee* recorded in his journal:

This council... is the municipal department of the Kingdom of God set up on the earth, from which all law emanates, for the rule, government[,] and control of all nations, kingdoms, and tongues and people under the whole heavens, but not to control the Priesthood, but to council, deliberate and plan for the general good and upbuilding of the Kingdom of God on the earth.³⁹

In fact council members viewed themselves as “the only true form of government on the earth.”⁴⁰ While the United States and its Constitution were inspired, their role was preparatory to the Kingdom of God. According to Apostle and council member John Taylor, the Constitution “was the entering wedge for the introduction of a new era, and in it were introduced principles for the birth and organization of a new world.”⁴¹ Orson Pratt explained the concept several years later to the church membership: “The nucleus of such a government [Kingdom of God] is formed, and its laws have emanated from the throne of God. It was for this purpose, then, that a republic [The United States] was organized upon this continent, to prepare the way for a kingdom which shall have dominion over all the earth to the ends thereof.”⁴² Joseph Smith himself preached, “I calculate to be one of the instruments of setting up the kingdom of Daniel by the word of the Lord, and I intend to lay a foundation that will revolutionize the whole world.”⁴³ The Kingdom of God was a natural outgrowth of the Zion ideal, a people one in heart and mind. Members of the Council of Fifty believed that they were striving to create a “restoration” of what the Founding Fathers had envisioned, “a stable and united government that excluded political parties from the affairs of government.”⁴⁴ While they did not know God’s ultimate timetable, they wished to be diligent and prepared. Council of Fifty members supported Joseph Smith’s lament in *Views* that government had gone into “apostasy” due to the self-interest of political parties. Similar to the Founders’ belief in a Republicanism based on selfless meritocracy and government of union,

Council of Fifty members determined that the Kingdom of God would be governed by an aristarchy that contained “no party politicians,” and would act “according to the order of union and oneness which prevails among the people of God”.⁴⁵ Smith and his followers saw the Founders’ ideals as their own and a necessary stepping stone to the Kingdom of God. Theodemocracy under the Kingdom of God would spread to every nation and bring order to a world in chaos previous to the Second Coming of Christ.

The Council of Fifty was to be an aristarchy. “Whenever we have good officers, strive to retain them, and to fill up vacancies with good men,” Brigham Young later counseled. Strictly opposed to term limits, Young even declared, “when we get a President that answers our wishes to occupy the executive chair,” he said, “there let him sit to the day of his death, and pray that he may live as long as Methuselah.”⁴⁶ Joseph Smith taught The Council of Fifty and others that the world would not completely convert to Mormonism even at the Second Coming of Christ.⁴⁷ Many religions and societies would continue in the first part of the Millennium. Smith’s Council of Fifty provided a way for theocratic government, the Kingdom of God, to govern a pluralistic society. Non-Mormons were to “be admitted to the right of representation...and have full and free opportunity of presenting their views, interests and principles, and enjoying all the freedom and rights of the Council.”⁴⁸ To this end, Smith included three non-Mormons in the council, Uriah Brown, Edward Bonney, and Merius G. Eaton. Certainly three of fifty members did not fully represent pluralistic “Gentile” participation; it was a token effort.⁴⁹

As March ended and the special April conference approached, Joseph Smith and the Council of Fifty were busy coordinating Smith’s presidential campaign, possible

resettlement of Zion to the West, negotiations with other countries by way of ambassadors, and learning the ways of the Kingdom of God that they might become effective “kings and priests.” Lurking in the background were political, religious, economic, and social enemies, plotting the destruction of Smith and his Zion. All of this created an electric atmosphere as the April conference began.⁵⁰

April Conference 1844

On April 6, the fourteenth anniversary of the church, the long awaited conference began. Sidney Rigdon made union of church and state his main theme. Rigdon had recently reconciled himself to Joseph Smith and other church leaders and subsequently was admitted to the Council of Fifty. With the formation of the Kingdom of God clearly in his thoughts, Rigdon recounted the beginning of the church and the plans of fourteen years previous: “When God sets up a system of salvation He sets up a system of government. When I speak of a government, I mean what I say. I mean a government that shall rule over temporal and spiritual affairs.”⁵¹ Rigdon was straightforward. Church and state were to become one.

The next morning, Joseph Smith addressed the conference. His talk, later known as the King Follett Discourse, was the theological crown of his teachings. Smith proclaimed:

God himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man, and sits enthroned in yonder heavens! ...and you have got to learn how to be gods yourselves, and to be kings and priests to God, the same as all gods have done before you, namely, by going from one small degree to another, and from a small capacity to a great one; from grace to grace, from exaltation to exaltation...⁵²

Smith continued the following day, alluding to a grander vision of Zion: “The whole of

America is Zion itself from north to south.”⁵³ The Nauvoo Temple was to be completed so that “men may receive their endowments and be made kings and priests unto the Most High God.”⁵⁴ Zion was to grow throughout the Americas, as endowed “kings and priests” built up churches and sent converts to Nauvoo for their endowments and then back to their stakes to build Zion. Thus, Smith enlarged the spatial concept of Zion to encompass North and South America, without losing the sacral temporality of a center location, a temple locus. This dovetailed with Smith’s campaign platform to annex Oregon, Mexico, and Canada.

On the last day of the conference, April 9, a special meeting was held for the priesthood of the church. Brigham Young, President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and Council of Fifty member, arose to address the congregation of approximately one thousand. Young challenged the gathered elders to go forth with zeal in building up the church and establishing Joseph Smith’s political views.

We are acquainted with the views of Gen. Smith, the Democrats and Whigs and all factions. It is now time to have a President of the United States. Elders will be sent to preach the Gospel and electioneer. The government belongs to God. No man can draw the dividing line between the government of God and the government of the children of men.⁵⁵

Next Hyrum Smith, representing the First Presidency, seconded Young, declaring that the church would, “engage in the election the same as in any other principle.” The missionaries were charged to, “[Not] fear man or devil; electioneer with all people, male and female, and exhort them to do the thing that is right [vote for Joseph Smith].” Hyrum Smith’s call to action was buttressed by the desire to create both religious and political union. “I wish all of you to do all the good you can,” he declared, “We will try and convert the nations into one solid union.” He, “despise[d] the principle that divides the

nation into party and faction.” Smith charged the electioneers: “Lift up your voices like thunder: there is power and influence enough among us to put in a President.”⁵⁶

Hyrum Smith’s bold words, counsel, and predictions were followed by another nomination vote of Joseph Smith for president. The motion passed unanimously. Then Apostle Heber C. Kimball addressed the group. Conferences would be set up in each of the states to electioneer for Smith and select electors for a national convention. Smith’s candidacy was so important that missionaries previously counseled not to leave on missions until their domestic affairs were arranged, were now asked to leave as soon as possible at great sacrifice.⁵⁷ Brigham Young then “requested all who were in favor of electing Joseph to the Presidency to raise both hands which they [did] say 1,100 Elders and commenced clapping their hand[s] and gave many loud cheers.”⁵⁸ Church leaders called for volunteers to go on missions to preach and electioneer. Two hundred and forty-four immediately volunteered to serve missions of three, six, or twelve months. It took an hour and a half to process their names and information. The conference was then adjourned for an hour. When the conference resumed, the names of the volunteers and their geographical assignments were announced. The nucleus of Smith’s electioneer missionaries was now prepared, called, and assigned. Joseph Smith concluded in his record that the April conference had “been the greatest, best, and most glorious five consecutive days ever enjoyed by this generation.”⁵⁹

The Call to Serve

The following nine days were filled with of activities of such importance to the Kingdom and Joseph Smith’s candidacy, that Council of Fifty clerk William Clayton wrote in his journal, “. . .much precious instructions were given, and it seems like heaven

began on earth and the power of God is with us.”⁶⁰ April 10 saw the Quorum of the Twelve organize nation-wide conferences for the electioneer missionaries. The Twelve continued to meet and plan for the next few days, fixing the list of missionaries, assignments, and scheduled conferences (see Appendix A).⁶¹

Between the call for volunteers on April 9 and the official publishing of names in the Nauvoo newspapers a week later, the number of missionaries grew from 224 to 336.⁶² In all, at least 611 missionaries were sent to all twenty-six states and the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa. A series of thirty-seven conferences were planned throughout the Union. These conferences, to be attended and conducted by the members of the Quorum of the Twelve, were to culminate in Washington D.C. on September 7-15, to select national electors for Smith’s campaign.⁶³

The cadre consisted of missionaries whose call to serve came in four distinct ways. The majority, 336 or 55%, volunteered or were selected during or just after the April conference. These men left from Nauvoo and were assigned to specific states. The Twelve appointed one or two missionaries as presidents in each state. These presidents were responsible for publishing Joseph Smith’s *Views* and holding conferences to organize missionary work, including assigning individual electioneering tasks. Some, if not all, of the missionaries in Nauvoo were assigned companions initially. English convert Alfred Cordon* was among the first group of electioneering missionaries. His diary offers a rare glimpse of events on the ground. He recorded, “The Conference was...then delivered into the Hands of the Twelve and after a few remarks, They called upon all the brethren that could go and leave their families to go on a Mission some for 3[,] 6 or 12 Months, I had a strong desire to go out in the Vineyard and labour, but I had

no means of leaving my family, no not for one month.” The next week on April 15, Cordon went down to the docks to greet arriving English converts. There Apostle Heber C. Kimball approached him: “Elder Kimball called to me, and told me, that the twelve had set me apart to go to the state of Vermont.” Surprised, Cordon replied he would go if that was their will. Arriving at home, he presented the matter to his wife. She replied, “[G]o and fulfill the work you are called unto.” Unable to collect debts owed him and finding no other way to get provisions, Cordon’s little family hunched over their table to eat the last of their food. He then wrote, “I laid my hands on my wife and Children and blessed them, committed them to the keeping of the Eternal God, and on the fourth of May I started on my Mission.”

The second set of missionaries volunteered or received their call after the initial group departed. It consisted of 138 men and represented 23% of the total. This group consisted of those working in and around Nauvoo in official campaign roles as well as some who chose or were appointed to more distant posts. Some had recently arrived in Nauvoo and were pressed into service. Such was the case with Robert T. Thomas* and his cousin John H. Thomas*. Benjamin Lynn Clapp* baptized the entire Thomas extended family in Mississippi on February 12, 1844. Initially Robert thought Mormonism was a fraud, declaring the Book of Mormon to be nothing more than a “novel.” Clapp took Robert into a forest to pray that he might have the gift of tongues. The effect of the prayer was so powerful on Robert that he chose to be baptized. Immediately following his baptism, Robert began to speak in tongues, which led to the conversion of some bystanders. Clapp saw Robert’s potential as a missionary and the two set out for Alabama for a month. While he was away, Robert’s family moved to

Nauvoo and he joined them in mid-April. Robert's reputation for possessing spiritual gifts preceded him. Four weeks after arriving in Nauvoo, Apostle Heber C. Kimball approached Robert Thomas and his cousin John and declared, "I want you two to go on a mission." The cousins were instructed to report to the Seventies Hall, be properly ordained and instructed, and then go to Kentucky and see Abraham Owen Smoot*, president of the electioneer work there. Robert and John left immediately, catching up to Smoot in Dresden, Kentucky on May 24.

The third group of electioneers were already away from Nauvoo serving missions in the United States and were instructed to shift their efforts to Joseph Smith's campaign. There were at least twenty-three such missionaries representing 4% of the cadre. One was Crandell Dunn*, serving in Michigan. On May 28, Dunn met up with cadre members Ezekiel Lee*, Ira S. Miles*, Samuel Bent*, and Graham Coltrin* in Kalamazoo. Three days later, Apostles George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff arrived. They privately meet with Dunn and gave him "instructions about Joseph Smith, [the] presidency and his claims." The next day, Dunn went electioneering.⁶⁴ On May 22, David Hollister*, a member of Smith's central committee and national delegate to the Baltimore Convention, found Irish convert and missionary James Henry Flanigan* in Wilmington, New Jersey. Together that night they gave a lecture on "Religion & Polliticks." Flanigan continued to preach "Polatics" throughout the Mid-Atlantic States.⁶⁵ Samuel Hollister Rogers*, Flanigan's original companion, prepared Flanigan for such a transition. Leaving Nauvoo together in April of 1843, they had separated by April 1844 working in different areas of the Mid-Atlantic States. On April 21, 1844, Rogers wrote to Flanigan to report his missionary labors and encourage his former

companion. “[L]et us fite [*sic*] manfully for king Emanuel,” Rogers wrote, “[and] let all that we do be for the establishment of Zion whether in word or deed may it be to the honor of the most High God.” Rogers counseled, “[T]herefore pray that the Kingdom of God may go fourth that the inhabitants of the Earth may receive it.” Rogers then turned to his new focus of Joseph Smith’s campaign. “[Let] us use our endeavors at the ensuing election to get general Joseph Smith the Presidential Chair of this nation,” wrote Rogers, “for he will fill the of[f]ice as the chief magistrate with dignity and with greatness [and] honor to the nation than any other man in the union...here after our Motto is General Joseph Smith for President.” Flanigan wrote back, “Be faithful, the cause is good...Vote for Joseph Smith as President. [T]he Brethren in the West have but sought him out for that office they neather [*sic*] vote for Van or Claiy [*sic*] but Joseph Smith.”⁶⁶

Jesse W. Crosby* and Benjamin Brown* had been preaching in Nova Scotia since early 1843. As they returned through the eastern states, they fell in and worked with other electioneers. The same occurred with brothers Pardon Knapp and Edward Milo Webb* in Michigan.⁶⁷ William Hyde*, preaching in New York for over a year, on May 5, received the April 15 edition of Nauvoo’s *Times and Seasons*. To his surprise, he read that he was appointed to fulfill an electioneer mission in Vermont with Erastus Snow*. He immediately left, arriving in Woodstock, Vermont nine days later and began electioneering.⁶⁸ Lewis Robbins* and Jacob Gates* had been laboring in Massachusetts for a year when they joined the electioneers in Boston in late June.⁶⁹

The final group of electioneers were Mormons scattered throughout the United States who either volunteered or were called by members of the cadre to campaign. One hundred and twelve or 18% of the cadre were part of this group. Most often, these men

were recruited at conferences held in the states by those responsible for the missionary work. On June 2 in Boston, James Harvey Glines* attended a “meeting of the Priesthood by invitation,” where, “Much instructions and council was given, and the spirit of the Lord was made manifest.” Glines was ordained an elder by Apostles Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde. Then Apostle Brigham Young appointed him to a mission in his native New Hampshire, “to preach the gospel, and electioneer for Joseph Smith to be the President of the United States of America.” Glines headed for Havervill, New Hampshire and made appointments to “speak in favor of the election of the Prophet, and of the powers and policy of the government of the United States.”⁷⁰ Milton Holmes* and his father, the branch president of the Georgetown, Massachusetts branch, had for several years chosen not to gather to Nauvoo, much to the chagrin of church leaders. Yet in June 1844, Milton worked with former missionary companion Apostle Wilford Woodruff, electioneering in Maine.⁷¹ Stephen D. Willard*, living in Michigan, appears to have attended the April conference in Nauvoo and been selected to serve as an electioneer in Michigan. Upon his return, he worked with his brother Edward Willard* and father Lemuel Willard* (president of the Kalamazoo branch).⁷²

Regardless of how they were called, many of the electioneers served with companions they knew. One hundred and thirteen or 19% worked with family members. Others companioned with close friends from Nauvoo or even former missionary companions. Erastus Snow* even took his mother to visit family in Rhode Island on the way to his assignment in Vermont.⁷³

Leaving

From April 10, when Lorenzo Snow* departed for Ohio until mid-June, hundreds of electioneers left Nauvoo. Many recorded a sense of excitement for their missions. Such was the case with Jacob Hamblin*. A lowly miner, Hamblin embraced Mormonism in 1842 and was ordained an elder. Hamblin wrote that during the April 1844 conference, “[T]he Quorum of the Twelve Apostles called on the seventies that could leave their families and go on a mission to different parts of the United States to hold forth the prophet Joseph Smith as candidate for the president of the United States.” Hamblin recorded, “I felt anxious to go on such a mission.” Lyman Stoddard*, who taught and baptized Hamblin, recommended him and Apostles George Albert Smith and Amasa Lyman* ordained Hamblin a seventy. Hamblin gave his name “and was appointed to the state of Maryland with Elder Stoddard.” Before leaving, Hamblin journeyed 350 miles, “to Wisconsin to see if I could convince my father’s folks of the gospel.” To his surprise, they had moved to a farm in Iowa, just 30 miles northwest from Nauvoo. Unsuccessful in his attempt, he returned to Nauvoo and, “After a few days I started on my mission in company with John Myers*, as Elder Stoddard* had been sent to another source.”⁷⁴ It was now May 24.

Levi Jackman* recorded that “[J]oseph [Smith] wanted a large number of Elders to go out on missions, and I concluded to go.”⁷⁵ He left June 5 with Enoch Burns*. Jacob Norton* also remembered the April conference. He wrote, “Br. Joseph [Smith] directed that all the Elders of Israel should go into the vineyard[.] [H]e had previously been nominated for President of the United States & part of the business of the Elders would be to set forth his Claims to the People.”⁷⁶ Norton left for Michigan on May 14 in a two-

horse carriage with Charles C. Rich*, David Fullmer*, and Moses Smith*. James Worthington Phippin* recorded that, “At the April conference 1844 a call was made for volunteers to go into every state of the union to preach and spread abroad the views of Joseph Smith relative to the policy of the government.”⁷⁷ He departed with Samuel P. Bacon* for New York on April 18. Franklin D. Richards* was selected to go with his brother Samuel W. Richards* and Amasa Lyman* to Indiana “to electioneer.”⁷⁸ Excited about his mission, on April 13, he went to hear “Elder Taylor lecture on Politics.” However, while preparing to leave, the Richards brothers’ uncle, Apostle Willard Richards, suggested that their mission be extended to England. Two days later, on May 5, Apostle Brigham Young formally called them to England. The night of the Illinois convention, Franklin D. Richards* and Joseph Albert Stratton* were ordained high priests. On May 21, the Richards siblings left with Apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Lyman Wight. They were true to their earlier electioneering mission, preaching and politicking through several states.

David Savage* wrote, “I was called to go and electioneer for the Prophet Joseph Smith as President of the United States.”⁷⁹ “I was counseled to go into the state of Ohio, into Lucas and Richland counties, amongst my friends to gain an influence among them in favor of President Joseph Smith being elected President of the United States,” remembered Ira N. Spaulding.⁸⁰ A crippled seventeen-year-old William Lampard Watkins* penned, “Shortly after a great many of the brethren were called and sent out to spread the word, and conference appointed in the several states that the Elders might go and canvas and extend the views of the Prophet in regard to present conditions as well as preach the Gospel.”⁸¹

Unlike the unmarried Watkins, most electioneers left behind families, often at great sacrifice. James Chauncey Snow* and Alfred Cordon* left their wives and children without even a pound of flour having, “eaten our last meal.” They departed only after their wives insisted that if their husbands did their duty, God would provide for their families.⁸² Some electioneers sold family heirlooms or other valuables to procure money to finance their missions.⁸³ Formerly wealthy, John Tanner* met with Joseph Smith before leaving and forgave Smith the \$2,000 note still owed him from Kirtland.⁸⁴ While away, Tanner’s one-year old daughter unexpectedly died. Several missionaries were widowers leaving children in the care of neighbors, friends, or simply each other. John Blanchard* left nine of his eleven children, aged three to twenty, to fulfill his mission. A widower for the second time just two months previous, Jacob Morris* left his two children behind. More than a dozen of the missionaries were newlyweds, including some who were married just weeks and even days before departing. Over seventy electioneers left wives who were either pregnant or had newborn children.

Thirteen cadre members took their wives with them and at least four gave birth on their husbands’ missions.⁸⁵ Jacob Gates*, Lewis Robbins*, and Crandell Dunn* had brought their wives on their earlier missions that now were electioneering efforts.⁸⁶ James Downing*, married to his wife Margaret Gheen a year earlier by Joseph Smith, took his bride with him to serve in their home state of Pennsylvania. Following James’ mission, Margaret gave birth to their first child Benjamin in Chester County, Pennsylvania. David Leonard Savage* chose to take his young wife Mary to help her deal with the recent loss of their first child, one-year-old John.⁸⁷ A missionary whose last name was Mitchell* campaigned in Georgetown, Kentucky accompanied by his wife.⁸⁸

The most intriguing couple to go was Moses* and Naomi Tracy* who took their four children ages two through ten. When her husband received his call, Naomi desired to go as well to assist Moses and let her parents and in-laws meet their grandchildren for the first and possibly only time. Moses counseled with Joseph Smith who not only sanctioned Naomi going but told Moses she would “prove a blessing to him” during his mission. Smith proved correct. Naomi, an educated school teacher and naturally more extroverted than her husband, helped teach the gospel and electioneer for Smith’s candidacy in New York.⁸⁹

The missionaries often expressed mixed emotions at saying goodbye to family and friends to head into an uncertain future. Franklin D. Richards* assignment, “caused [his] wife considerable sorrow of heart, and caused her to weep openly for a day or two.”⁹⁰ Several missionaries mentioned tender goodbyes at the waterfront of the Mississippi as they boarded steamboats.⁹¹ John D. Lee* perhaps best penned their feelings:

I took leave of our beautiful City on board of the steamer Osprey... The importance of my mission came rushing into my mind banishing grief and anguish!! by restoring peace and comfort as a friendly author of relief. I lifted up my voice in supplication to the author of all good, demanding protection at his hand in behalf of myself and family ... I touched fourth into the wide field of our labor perfectly calm and tranquil following my chief leader (Christ) and fearing no danger.⁹²

Only a handful of assigned missionaries never left Nauvoo. William Lampard Watkins* left alone when his unnamed companion would not join him. Joseph Lee Robinson*, assigned to his native New York, was preparing to leave in early June when the *Nauvoo Expositor* affair occurred, wherein Joseph Smith, as mayor, ordered the destruction of the press. On June 9 during Sunday services, “patriarch Hyrum Smith, came upon the stand

and said, he did not want any more elders to go out upon this electioneering mission, as there was a storm brewing and he wanted all that was here to stay at home.” Robinson remained in Nauvoo, though he reported, “There were two brethren...who went to Brother Hyrum and begged to go as they were preparing to take their wives with them to New York and were anxious to go. He told them to go if they wanted to, so they went but never came back again.”⁹³ Others who intended to leave in June never did because of the crisis created by the *Expositor*. At least ten did not go to their fields of assignment: Joseph Lee Robinson* (New York), Amos Davis* (Tennessee), David Evans* (Virginia), John S. Fullmer* (Tennessee), Jonathan Hale* (Maine), Levi Ward Hancock* (Vermont), Jesse Walker Johnston* (Ohio), William Wines Phelps* (Maryland National Convention), David Harvey Redfield* (New York), and Cyrus Hibbard Wheelock* (New York).

Cadre Profile

The average age of a cadre member at the time of the election was thirty-five years, just three years younger than Joseph Smith. Yet the extremes are interesting: Sixty-six year old Samuel Bent* was born just two years after the Declaration of Independence was signed. The youngest, sixteen-year-old Charles Henry Basset*, died in 1907, one hundred and thirty-one years after Bent was born. Seventy-five percent of cadre members were married. The average length of their church membership was six years. However, the average “field” missionary was only a member half that time. John Wesley Roberts* and Ezra Thayre* were baptized within six months of the church’s organization fourteen years previous. Field missionary Breed Searle* was baptized on May 3, 1844 in the middle of the campaign. Eighty-eight percent of the electioneers

were native-born Americans with two-thirds born in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio. This is not surprising since early Mormon missionary work centered in these states. Twelve percent of the cadre was immigrants, slightly higher than the national average of 9.7%.⁹⁴ The higher percentage can be explained by Mormon missionary successes in Canada and Great Britain coupled with the call for converts to gather to Nauvoo. Of the immigrant electioneers, nineteen missionaries were born in Canada, fifteen in Great Britain, five in Ireland, and four in Germany. Curiously, the Smith campaign had no hesitation in sending some missionaries to electioneer who could not yet exercise the franchise. One-third of the electioneers served in their birth state. Others were sent to states in which they had lived for a long period of time. Wisely, campaign leaders assigned missionaries where they could have the most influence. Thirty-six percent of the campaigners had served a previous mission for the church. That number, however, can be deceiving for missionary experience was not spread evenly. Amasa Lyman* and Erastus Snow* already had served eight missions each before the campaign. Many had never served. Those from the Nauvoo area served at a ratio of two-to-one compared to the field missionaries.⁹⁵

Many had preached in neighboring towns and others in distant states of the Union, in Canada, or even Great Britain. Some had phenomenal success like Benjamin Winchester* in Pennsylvania, who was responsible for hundreds of baptisms. William I Appleby* enjoyed similar success in the Mid-Atlantic States. Many cadre members' previous missions led to the conversion of other cadre members. At least seventy were taught and baptized by fellow cadre. Some had even served missions as companions. Other missionaries struggled initially, such as Joseph Curtis*. Stumbling through his first

sermon, the listeners coldly told Curtis to stop preaching and go home. Many experienced persecution. Benjamin Brown* and Jesse W. Crosby* were beaten and left for dead in Canada. On his first mission, Simeon A. Dunn* narrowly escaped death at the hands of a mob. Joel H. Johnson's* companion Joseph Brackenbury was poisoned and killed by enemies to their work, the first Mormon elder to die on a mission. Johnson defended his dead companion's body when a reward was offered to dig up and mutilate the corpse. Alfred D. Young*'s life was spared when Davy Crockett's nephew's gun did not discharge.

Cadre members had diverse experiences and backgrounds. Daniel Allen* was a descendant of Ethan Allen. Julius Guinard* was the grandson of a professor who was also the president of the College of New Orleans. William Gano Goforth*'s father was a renowned physician. Many had fathers and grandfathers who fought in the Revolutionary War or the War of 1812. A handful of cadre members themselves served in the latter conflict. The father of William R.R. Stowell* was a lawyer who appeared regularly before the Supreme Court. John M. Bernhisel* graduated with honors in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania and was politically connected with prominent national Whigs. Others came from more humble backgrounds. Enoch Burns* was abused and deserted as a child. Young William Lampard Watkins*, who was seventeen at the time of the campaign, had lived fifteen years with a crippled leg from a childhood accident. After his father died while immigrating to the United States, George Darling Watt* suffered from depression and had thoughts of suicide. These diverse backgrounds come together in the stories of Elijah Funk Sheets* and Edward Hunter*. Hunter, a wealthy liberal Quaker who lived in Chester County Pennsylvania built what he

called the West Nantmeal Seminary. It was a finely constructed building open to preaching by all denominations. To help work his five hundred acre farm, Hunter took in eight-year-old Sheets, an orphan at age six. Sheets lived with and worked for Hunter nine years before apprenticing to a local blacksmith in 1840. That same year, both Hunter and Sheets accepted Mormonism and immediately supported its missionary work, Sheets as a missionary and Hunter with his material means.

The cadre, though diverse, constituted a group of mature, mostly married men trusted to serve because of their loyalty to Joseph Smith and Mormonism. A third had already proven themselves as missionaries. They were specifically selected to serve in areas of the nation where they had knowledge, influence, and authenticity. By so doing, Smith and his leaders maximized the potential of the cadre to influence Mormons and the general electorate in favor of the Smith's campaign. Clearly, Smith was in this election to win.

Religious Zion and the Cadre

As shown in Table 2.1, the men who would preach and electioneer for Joseph Smith came from varied religious backgrounds. In fact, several were former ministers themselves. A significant minority of the men were former Methodists, the same denomination that Joseph Smith favored as a young teenager before his First Vision. Coincidentally, several cadre members, including Jesse W. Crosby*, Levi W. Hancock*, Joseph Holbrook*, Josiah Henry Perry*, and Lorenzo Dow Young*, had struggles similar to Smith in deciding which denomination to join, only to have an experience that convinced them to become Mormons.

Table 2.1, Previous Religious Affiliation⁹⁶

Methodist	28%	Anglican	5%
Baptist	17%	Presbyterian	5%
Non-Denominational	15%	Congregationalist	3%
Quaker	9%	Restorationist	3%
Radical Sects	6%	United Brethren	3%
Campbellite	5%	Universalist	2%

Several cadre members converted to Mormonism because of what they described as spiritual experiences and miracles. Samuel Bent* saw a vision after first reading the Book of Mormon. Benjamin Brown* reported both a vision and angelic administration in his conversion. In a dream, Jonathan O. Duke* witnessed his wife accept the restoration of primitive Christianity, which he had denied. Startled by the vision, Duke immediately embraced Mormonism. Alfred D. Young*, Joseph Curtis*, James Holt*, Zebedee Coltrin*, and Edward Hunter* also reported having visions. Others were led to Mormonism by voices or impressions. Lindsey Anderson Brady* heard a voice prompt him to go and listen to the Mormon elders preach. He and his wife were immediately baptized. On his way to South America in search of better health, Chapman Duncan* heard a voice telling him to go no further south than St. Louis or “you shall die.” Turning and seeing no one, Duncan continued to St. Louis. Once again he heard a voice instruct him to “go to the place of gathering of my people [and] thou shalt live.” Stranded on the wharf, Duncan introduced himself to a nearby passenger. The passenger, Philo Dibble, announced he was Mormon and was traveling to Independence, Missouri to gather with God’s people. Duncan followed and was soon baptized.⁹⁷ Lorenzo Snow*, a college-educated school teacher, joined the Mormons in June of 1836. Struggling with his decision, he went into a grove of trees to pray. He recorded, “I had no sooner opened my

lips in an effort to pray than I heard a sound just above my head like the rushing of silken robes; and immediately the Spirit of God descended upon me, completely enveloping my whole person, filling me from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, and oh, the joyful happiness I felt!”⁹⁸ Others were miraculously healed before or during baptism.

Jedediah M. Grant* was baptized soon after his mother was healed of rheumatism by two Mormon elders. After being an invalid for eight years, the mother of cadre brothers William Hamilton, Joseph Jeremiah, and Thomas Hamilton Woodbury* was cured during their family’s baptisms. Stephen Henry Perry*’s baptism healed him of thirty years of epilepsy. A doctor, Joseph Shamp* was unable to save his dying daughter. After a prayer by two Mormon elders, Shamp’s daughter was cured. He was immediately baptized. Cadre members were deeply religious men who were convinced that they belonged to the restored church of Jesus Christ upon the earth.

This also meant that cadre members embraced the Zion concept and were fiercely loyal to its founder. Their journals reveal strong personal reactions and fealty to Joseph Smith.⁹⁹ Israel Barlow* rode two hundred miles in 1832 to meet Smith and was convinced he was a prophet of God. John S. Fullmer* and Haden Church* made similar journeys and came to the same conclusion. Working as one of Smith clerks in Nauvoo, Howard Coray* recorded: “While thus engaged, I had many very precious opportunities-- great and small, almost every day, were calling on him, some for one thing, and some for another.” Through all these experiences, Coray wrote “he was equal to every occasion, that he had a ready answer for all questions.”¹⁰⁰ Contact was not necessary to fuel devotion. Alfred Cordon*, a convert in England, wrote Smith in 1842 opening his letter: “Dear Brother, Whom, having not seen, I love.”¹⁰¹ The first English convert to

Mormonism, George Darling Watt*, wrote that he believed in Joseph Smith when his pastor spoke of him a year before Mormon missionaries arrived. When they did arrive, he outran other potential converts to the water to be the first baptized. John Tanner*, baptized in 1833, named his newborn son Joseph Smith Tanner without ever having met Smith.

Others, despite a poor first impression, quickly became loyal followers of Joseph Smith. Edward Hunter* was not impressed with Smith when he heard him preach in 1839. Soon, however, he was taken with Smith and his missionaries. On a carriage ride, he told Smith, “How is it that I am attracted to those backwoods boys [Mormon missionaries]? I believe I would risk my life for them.”¹⁰² Seventeen-year-old Nathaniel Leavitt Jr.* recorded upon first meeting Smith: “I had long before supposed a Prophet would look different than other men, but I saw he was exactly like other men, only considerably above the average size, better looking, and more noble than any man I had ever seen before.”¹⁰³ Through a spiritual experience later that week, he became convinced Smith was a prophet. After hearing Joseph Smith preach, George Christian Riser* took his sick son to Smith who healed the boy. Afterwards, Riser overheard Smith joke with Apostle Orson Hyde. Initially bothered by Smith’s joviality, Riser wrote, “upon reflection I could not think of anything they had said but what was innocent and I felt that a prophet had a right to enjoy himself innocently as well as any other person.”¹⁰⁴ Convinced Smith was God’s messenger, Riser was baptized in the frigid December waters of the Mississippi. William R.R. Stowell*’s first conversation with Joseph Smith was regarding a business transaction. Stowell came away upset and unsure of Smith. The next day, the two met on the street. As they conversed, Stowell recorded

that he “was struck by the Holy Ghost” and believed Smith to be a prophet.¹⁰⁵

Cadre members held a priesthood office in their new-found faith prior to 1844. In Mormonism, every male considered worthy through obedience and loyalty to the church, its leaders, and teachings received a priesthood office. Table 2.2 outlines which priesthood offices cadre members held as they left for their 1844 missions. Over 70% of the cadre held at least a middle priesthood office. Predictably, missionaries from Nauvoo, where more priesthood opportunities existed, had larger numbers of positions in the higher categories. Field missionaries were overwhelming elders and priests. The church had dispatched those who had proven themselves in their ecclesiastical responsibilities. While priesthood offices were open to all men deemed worthy, leadership positions were finite and thus more select. Table 2.3 shows the positions cadre members held before the 1844 campaign.

The vast majority of cadre members did not hold leadership positions before the campaign. Those who did were predominately leaders at the local level. Importantly, 22% of field missionaries were also local presiding elders. Thus, Smith’s campaign was successful in engaging the participation of local leaders and their congregations in the effort. These were the men who knew conditions on the ground and were most likely to forge personal bonds with voters.

A very small minority of cadre members were not always steadfast in their loyal to Joseph Smith and Mormonism. At least thirty received some type of church discipline before the 1844 campaign. Ezra Thayre*, a member since the beginning, was disfellowshipped for disobeying the law of consecration in 1831, excommunicated in 1835 for apostasy, and in 1843 was seen as “spiritually dead.”¹⁰⁶

Table 2.2, Priesthood Office, Pre-1844 Campaign (298)

Priesthood Level	Priesthood Office	Percent of Cadre
Elite	Apostle (1)	0.3%
Upper	First Council of Seventy (5)	1.7%
	Patriarch (1)	0.3%
	Bishop (5)	1.7%
Lower Upper	High Priest (56)	18.5%
Middle	Seventy (61)	20.5%
	Elder (152)	51.0%
Lower	Priest (11)	3.7%
	Teacher (3)	1.0%
	Deacon (3)	1.0%

Table 2.3, Priesthood Leadership Positions, Pre-1844 Campaign (298)

Leadership Level	Leadership Position	Percent of Cadre
General Authority	First Presidency (1)	0.3%
	Quorum of the Twelve (0)	0.0%
	First Council of Seventy (5)	1.7%
	Presiding Bishopric (0)	0.0%
Regional	Stake President (3)	1.0%
	Conference/Mission President (2)	0.7%
	High Council (17)	5.7%
Local	Bishop (6)	2.0%
	Branch President (29)	9.7%
None	(235)	78.9%

Some, like James Carrol*, Milton Stow*, and Charles Blanchard Thompson*, taught incorrect doctrine. Lyman O. Littlefield* and Darwin Chase* were brought before the Nauvoo High Council for adultery. Following the difficult times in Kirtland, James M. Emmett*, John Gould*, John Patten*, Hiram Stratton*, and Osmon Duel* were disfellowshipped or excommunicated for apostasy in 1837. After signing an affidavit for the state of Missouri against Joseph Smith, William Wines Phelps* was excommunicated in 1838. Thomas Edwards* was excommunicated for assault and battery in 1841. Benjamin Winchester* had an uneven relationship with Smith and the Quorum of Twelve through the early 1840s. On April 13th 1844, just after his selection to electioneer in Pennsylvania, Jacob Shoemaker* was disfellowshipped by the Nauvoo High Council for stealing George Morris' axe and then beating him "violently." The high council withdrew fellowship "until he can make good."¹⁰⁷ However, all of these men reconciled themselves to Joseph Smith and Mormonism in time to electioneer. They had regained their places among the faithful and were deemed safe in the cause. Expediency may also figure into their call. Smith needed to man the political barricades with as many supporters as possible.

Lastly, cadre membership in the secret Council of Fifty was impressive. Nineteen of the fifty-two members were electioneer missionaries. Subtracting general authorities, the cadre represented exactly half of the remaining council. Since the council was in charge of Joseph Smith's campaign, it is no surprise that there existed such a representation. Not an official part of the church nor an elected secular position, membership was exclusive, straddling the sacred and profane; literally for its members, the government of heaven on earth.

Economic Zion and the Cadre

Joseph Smith's vision of Zion was a people with "no poor among them." This was to be accomplished through the Law of Consecration, wherein members consecrated all of their possessions to church leaders who in turn gave each family a stewardship equal to its needs and wants. Joseph Smith and church leaders struggled from 1831-1834 to establish the Law of Consecration in the two church headquarters of Ohio and Missouri. Among the wealthier, several followed this law to the fullest. Daniel Allen*, upon joining the church in 1834, sold his farm in Huntsburg, New York and gathered to Kirtland. There he gave the church the full \$600 from the sale. John Tanner* owned twenty-two hundred acres of farmland and a hotel in New York. Upon joining the church, he sold everything, moved to Kirtland, and began consecrating. He loaned what was left to Joseph Smith, who never was able to repay. Tanner's contributions included the purchase of the land upon which the Kirtland temple was built. Among the less economically fortunate, the same yearning for Zion was still felt. Joseph Buckley Bosworth* preached in 1834 about Zion declaring that "he had no property, but if necessary for her [Zion's] deliverance he would sell his clothes at auction, if he might have left him as good a garment as the Savior had in the manger."¹⁰⁸ Enoch Burns* gave his last five dollars to the church after being baptized. Dozens of the cadre held stock in Kirtland's Anti-Banking Safety Society to help the church economically. When the Society collapsed in the Panic of 1837, they lost everything. John Tanner* alone lost \$10,000 in real estate. Despite many who strove to live the Law of Consecration, it failed. By revelation in 1838, Joseph Smith replaced consecration with tithing. However, many cadre members yearning for Zion continued to live consecration's

principles. After being baptized in 1841, David Dutton Yearsley* sold all of his possessions and moved to Nauvoo. There he built the only three-story brick house in town and donated the rest to Smith or purchased stock in church projects. That same year, Edward Hunter* moved from Pennsylvania to Nauvoo following his conversion. He invested heavily in Nauvoo real estate, yet still gave Joseph Smith \$27,000. When he asked Smith if he should sell his last farm in Pennsylvania, he was told that he had done enough. In the spring of 1844, Joseph Smith was financially strapped and facing numerous lawsuits. Stephen Markham* sold his newly finished home, gave Smith the \$1,200, and moved his family into a tent until he could build a cabin.

Table 2.4 delineates the diverse economic background of cadre members by occupation. The largest occupational group in the cadre was “Business Professional.” One hundred and fifty landed farmers dominated this level, with most owning more than fifty acres of land. Some like Samuel Bent*, Hiram Dayton*, John Duncan*, Stephen Markham*, George Augustus Neal*, and Increase Van Duezen* counted their property in the hundreds or thousands of acres. In addition to farming, a range of occupations was represented. David Dutton Yearsley* owned two general stores, extensive farmland, and Nauvoo’s only three-story brick house. Amos Davis*, Frederick Merryweather*, Abraham Dodge Boynton*, Josiah Butterfield*, Nathaniel Henry Felt*, Joseph L. Heywood*, John Kelly*, Joseph Andrew Kelting*, Jonas Livingston*, Chilion Mack*,

Table 2.4, Occupations 1844 (489)¹⁰⁹

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Cadre</i>	<i>Jacksonville</i>
Business- Professional	45% (222)	24%
Skilled, Proprietor	18% (90)	18%
Skilled, Non-Proprietor	13% (63)	36%
Unskilled	23% (114)	22%

David Harvey Redfield*, Jacob Shoemaker*, Moses Smith*, Erastus Fairbanks Snow*, Daniel Spencer*, James M. Wait*, Edwin Dilworth Woodbury*, and Phineas W. Young* were all thriving merchants. Ebenezer Robinson* owned several rental properties and managed the Mansion House hotel, which he leased from Joseph Smith. Edson Whipple* was a wealthy landlord. Owning many Nauvoo city lots, Edward Hunter* dealt in real estate. Isaac Chase* operated one of the larger sawmills in Nauvoo. Other millers included Peter Haws*, Ezra Thompson*, Joseph Bates Noble*, and Jacob Myers*. George B. Wallace* ran an extensive lumber and contracting business in Boston. Two cadre members owned ships: Dan Jones* a steamboat on the Mississippi, and Selah Lane* a clipper in the Atlantic. Lucius N. Scovil* operated Nauvoo's largest bakery and confectionary. With a burgeoning population, several schools were organized in Nauvoo. The cadre included several educators: William I. Appleby*, David Candland*, Hayden Wells Church*, Joseph Mortimer Cole*, Howard Coray*, Chapman Duncan*, Julius Joseph Guinard*, William Dickson Pratt*, Quartus Strong Sparks*, Nancy Naomi Tracy*, Ekells Truly*, Charles Wesley Wandell*, George Darling Watt*, and William Hamilton Woodbury*. Doctors were well represented as well with John M. Bernhisel*, William Gano Goforth*, Levi Richards*, Alphonso Young*, John M. Patten*, Lloyd Robinson*, Joseph Champ*, and Dr. Shenask*. Bernhisel and Richards became Joseph Smith's personal physicians. John S. Reid* and Lemuel Willard* were the only lawyers among the electioneers. Henry Sherwood* was Nauvoo's marshal. Interestingly, Jedediah M. Grant* was the group's only stockman.

With Nauvoo quickly emerging as Illinois' second largest city, there was an urgent need for skilled craftsmen. Men who had such skills and their own property and

shops prospered. Several cadre members belonged to this occupational group. Howard Egan* was Nauvoo's premier rope maker. Daniel Allen* ran a tannery and shoe store. Other cobblers with shops included Nathaniel Ashby*, William Green*, Henry Herriman*, and Melvin Wilbur*. Jonathan Browning*, a nationally recognized gunsmith, produced rifles with the inscription "holiness to the Lord." Domincus Carter*, Osmon Duel*, John Myers*, and John Milton Powers* had blacksmith stores to serve the needs of Nauvoo. The constant building was a boon to a small army of proprietor carpenters: David Cluff*, Levi Jackman*, Ira Spaulding*, Jacob Norton*, John H. Thomas*, Calvin Reed*, William Snow*, George Miller*, Morris Phelps*, John Henderson Reed*, Michael B. Welton*, Hosea Stout*, Henry Hardy Wilson*, Nathan West*, and Franklin Dewey Richards*. This steady growth gave work to the cadre's stone and brick masons as well: Stephen Henry Perry*, Richard Demont Sprague*, Enoch Reese*, Jonathan O. Duke*, Joseph Sohn*, Samuel Heath*, and Lorenzo Dow Young*. Coopers in the cadre were Henry H. Dean*, Abel Lamb*, and James Chauncy Snow*. Four proprietor tailors existed: James Harvey Glines*, William Patterson McIntire*, Alexander McRae*, and George Watt*. Other proprietor craftsman included Levi Ward Hancock* (cabinetmaker), Elam Luddington* (shipbuilder), Joseph Lee Robinson* (chair maker), Amasa Lyman* (cutler), William G. Ware* (clerk), Charles Warner* (auctioneer), and Joseph Young* (painter).

Sixty-three cadre members were craftsman without the capital to own their own shops and businesses. Frederick Ott* and John Beauchamp Walker* used their cabinetmaker skills in the employ of others, while Enoch Burns* built chairs. Samuel W. Richards* worked as a carpenter for his older brother Franklin D. Richards*. Brothers

Edward Milo* and Pardon Knapp Webb* as well as Joseph West* and William R. R. Stowell* carpentered in the employ of others. Elijah Swackhammer*, George T. Leach*, Garrett T. Newell*, and Samuel Brannan* were printers who did not, however, own their newspapers. John Bottoms*, an English convert, worked as a cooper in Nauvoo. Samuel Shaw* was a steamboat engineer on Lake Michigan. Jesse W. Johnston* worked for a blacksmith in Quincy, Illinois to earn tuition money to attend medical school. Several of the cadre's immigrants fell into the skilled, nonproprietor category; bringing their skills to Nauvoo. For example, English converts James Burgess* and Alfred Cordon* worked as a carpenter and potter, respectively. German immigrant George Christian Riser* was a shoemaker. Other cadre members in this overall group included James Worthington Phippin* (harness maker), Stephen Post* (blacksmith), Joseph Rose* (shoemaker), Anson Sheffield* (broom maker), Moses Tracy* (merchant apprentice), and Stephen Willard* (mason).

The final group, unskilled laborers, made up almost a quarter of the cadre. Coming from a variety of backgrounds, they had one thing in common: no occupational skills. William Lampard Watkins*, a seventeen-year-old crippled immigrant from England, remembered upon arriving in Zion in 1843: "Nauvoo was flourishing, although the saints were generally poor. They were exerting themselves to the utmost to build the temple."¹¹⁰ Most unskilled laborers, while poor, found jobs working on the temple site and were paid meager wages from tithing dollars. While Nauvoo could absorb the high level of unskilled labor because of the temple project, the consistent lack of capital created an economic system based primarily on land wealth and limited opportunities for social mobility.

It is instructive to compare the cadre's occupational distribution with the nearby town of Jacksonville. The main difference between the two was Nauvoo had a higher percentage of Business Proprietors, while Jacksonville had a higher percentage of non-proprietor skilled workers. The major factor in this difference was the communitarian values of Mormon Zion Nauvoo. Land distribution was seen as the right of all who gathered. Joseph Smith and other church leaders tried to facilitate this as much as possible, leading to almost half being landed farmers. In contrast, in Jacksonville, as was typical along frontier communities, wealth tended to remain with a smaller group of large landowners who persisted over time. Transient skilled and unskilled labor, making up almost half of Jacksonville's population, was typical of frontier towns where young men were on the move looking for their next opportunity. As Mormons continued to gather to Nauvoo, the local economy struggled to keep up with occupational opportunities. A large number of immigrants were unskilled workers from Great Britain. However, with the massive building project of the temple, Nauvoo was able to absorb the large amount of unskilled labor without causing unemployment or widespread poverty. In contrast, with high proprietorship and few unskilled laborers, cadre field missionaries more closely mirrored Jacksonville citizens than their Nauvoo counterparts. However, there existed a glaring exception. Sixty-four percent of field cadre members were in the "Business-Professional" category, significantly greater than in Nauvoo and Jacksonville. This discrepancy can be explained by the nature of the men who were recruited in the "mission field" to electioneer for Smith. Many were local presiding officers of the church who were often called to these positions because of their wealth and local status. This enabled them not only to influence Mormonism's local growth, but their substantial

means allowed them to succor poorer members and traveling missionaries.

Social Zion and the Cadre

Like other church members, the cadre's overall participation in temple ordinances and practices designed to create eternal families was minimal. Before Joseph Smith's death, the temple endowment, sealing, and practice of plural marriage were shared only sparingly and usually among Smith's inner circle. Only seven cadre members, John Bernhisel*, Reynolds Cahoon*, Amasa M. Lyman*, George Miller*, William Wines Phelps*, and Levi Richards* had received the endowment. Reynolds Cahoon* and William Wines Phelps* were the only cadre members sealed to their wives. However, of the thirty men known to practice plural marriage before June 1844, eleven were cadre members: John D. Lee*, Joseph Noble Bates Jr.*, Edwin Dilworth Woolley*, Ezra T. Benson*, Reynolds Cahoon*, Dominicus Carter*, Thomas S. Edwards*, William Felshaw*, Amasa Lyman*, Erastus Fairbanks Snow*, and Lorenzo Dow Young*. They represented a majority of the non-general authorities involved in the practice. These were the men Smith trusted and they were intensely loyal to him and his Zion.¹¹¹

A few cadre members had other connections to the practice of plural marriage. Joseph Smith approached Joseph Bates Noble* in the spring of 1841 about marrying his wife's sister, Louisa Beaman. Smith instructed Noble how to perform the ceremony and stated, "In revealing this to you I have placed my life in your hands, therefore do not in an evil hour betray me to my enemies." On April 5, 1841, Noble married Smith and Beaman, the first official plural marriage in Nauvoo.¹¹² Gilbert Goldsmith's* widowed mother married Smith in 1842. Smith also married Nancy Winchester, the daughter of Stephen Winchester* and younger sister of Benjamin Winchester*. Sarah Smith,

daughter of Moses Smith*, was plurally married to Thomas Edwards* in 1844. Being trusted with the secret of plural marriage showed the high level of loyalty and commitment these cadre members had in their leader. Smith's assassination only strengthened those practicing plural marriage to continue to do so under Brigham Young and his extension of Zion Mormonism. Those whose involvement was indirect however had diverse reactions after Smith's death. While Gilbert Goldsmith* remained loyal, Benjamin Winchester* and Moses Smith* almost immediately left the church and supported the claims of others to succession as Mormonism's leader.

Political Zion and the cadre

Many cadre members had personally experienced persecution and suffering in Missouri. As property, liberty, and lives were lost, the Latter-day Saints looked to the federal government for help. Over three hundred cadre members signed the petition for redress that Joseph Smith took to Washington D.C. in 1839. In fact, the so-called "Mormon War" of 1838 erupted when John D. Lee*, Levi Stewart*, Harvey Olmstead* and several other Mormons attempted to vote at Gallatin, Missouri. A brawl ensued, intended to keep the Mormons from voting. In October, rivaling Mormon and non-Mormon militias engaged in the Battle of Crooked River. Dozens of future cadre members were involved and many subsequently were arrested after the surrender of Mormon forces at Far West. Samuel Bent* was whipped and arrested and his wife died from exposure. Charles Blanchard Thompson* also lost his wife. Hiram Dayton* and Jonathan Hampton* both lost daughters and Melvin Wilbur* lost two children. Missourians split open John Tanner*'s head and left him for dead. Others were present at the massacre of Haun's Mill. This small settlement was attacked by a mob-militia

numbering several hundred men. David Evans* stood in front of the mob in a vain effort to stop it. Ellis Eames* narrowly escaped the attack, watching friends killed around him. Also escaping was David Lewis*, who saw his brother shot and murdered. Franklin D. Richards* also lost a brother in the massacre. David Evans*, Jacob Myers*, and Joseph Young* gathered up the dead bodies and hastily buried them in the community well. The suffering of Missouri forever shadowed Mormonism. John Loveless* recalling the conflict wrote, “In this, I was an eyewitness to scenes, that, until this day, make my blood run cold and would almost make me fight a legion; women ravished, men murdered, houses burned, property destroyed, the Prophet and Patriarch, with many others, taken and cast into prison.”¹¹³ Jesse Johnston* recorded, “I would have willingly fought until the last drop of my blood had been spilt.”¹¹⁴ Just like their prophet, cadre members never forgot the sufferings and injustices in Missouri. Astonished, these sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of the American Revolution grew frustrated at the trampling of their constitutional rights. As no redress or assistance materialized, they become more disillusioned with government at all levels. Zion was what they longed for, and government and politics seemed increasingly hostile towards its fulfillment. These men were battle-tested and ready for political war even before Joseph Smith’s campaign called them to action.

Very few of the cadre members were involved in politics or held office before the campaign. Table 2.5 outlines the office-holding experiences of cadre members before 1844. Eighty-four percent had never served. While 10% filled minor positions, less than 5% had city, county, or state/territorial experience in government. Even fewer cadre members had previous experience electioneering. Those who did had strong feelings

Table, 2.5 Government Positions, Pre-1844 Campaign (568)¹¹⁵

State/Territorial	Legislature (1)	0.2%
	State Office (1)	0.2%
County	Probate Judge (0)	0.0%
	County Office (6)	1.1%
City	Mayor (0)	0.0%
	Justice of the Peace (10)	1.8%
	Alderman/Council (7)	1.2%
Minor	Postmaster (3)	0.5%
	Other (60)	10.6%
None	(480)	84.5%

regarding politics and the political parties they had supported. Like most early Mormons, John L. Heywood* and Edward Hunter* were staunch Jacksonian Democrats. When Hunter's father, an influential Federalist in the Pennsylvania legislature, died, Hunter was offered his candidacy and sure election. He declined because of his Democratic loyalties and opted to run for county commissioner instead, an office he handily won every time he ran. During Smith's campaign, Hunter represented Pennsylvania in the Illinois convention on May 17. Jonathan L. Heywood* was a well-connected Democrat in Quincy, Illinois who assisted the Mormon refugees fleeing Missouri in 1838-39. After the election of the first Whig president in 1840, Heywood was prepared to battle politically to return Illinois and the nation to Democracy in 1844. In 1841, still a year from being baptized Mormon, Heywood wrote his nephew counseling him to prepare for the next national election. "[I]t will be a contest between the masses on one side and the interest of Corporations on the other," declared Heywood. He continued, "The result may be doubtful, yet I still hope freedom will triumph over unlimited, irresponsible power." Heywood congratulated his nephew for marrying a "democrat" wife, "It takes a sensible woman to be a democrat because democracy is the result of thought, whereas the

opposite flows from interest or passion.”¹¹⁶ In the fall of 1843, Heywood used his Democratic connections to offer Joseph Smith a *quid pro quo* arrangement with South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun and others. During the campaign, Heywood electioneered with Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and other influential cadre members in Massachusetts.

On the opposite end of Quincy politics was Jonathan Browning*, famous gunsmith and ardent Whig. Elected as justice of the peace several times, he and his cousin Orville H. Browning were associates of and worked to elect young Abraham Lincoln to Congress as well as aid Henry Clay in his presidential aspirations. Both Jonathan and Orville assisted the Saints fleeing Missouri. Orville successfully represented Joseph Smith in an extradition case in 1841 and then ironically three years later represented, again with success, the accused murderers of Smith. Unlike Heywood, Jonathan Browning* was immediately convinced of Mormonism. His conversion was so unpopular among Quincy citizens who had elected him to office for several years that he moved his family and business to Nauvoo. Like Edward Hunter*, Jonathan Browning* worked as a delegate at Joseph Smith’s Illinois convention.

Valentine Merrill*, John M. Bernhisel*, and William I. Appleby* were also Whig activists who joined Mormonism. A successful potter and descendent of Puritan settlers, Merrill fought in the War of 1812 and worked in Connecticut politics to ensure religious freedom. Merrill joined Mormonism in 1842 and supported Smith’s candidacy two years later in Connecticut as an agent of the campaign newspaper *The Prophet*. John M. Bernhisel* was an honors graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and an accomplished doctor when he embraced Mormonism in the late 1830s. He served as a

bishop in New York City in 1841 before moving to Nauvoo in 1842 and becoming Joseph Smith's personal physician and confidant. Previous to joining Mormonism, Bernhisel was a strident Whig with connections in the Mid-Atlantic States and helped electioneer for William Harrison in 1840. Bernhisel was a personal friend and former classmate of Whig Simon Cameron, U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania. He was also friends with influential Pennsylvania Judge Kane and national Whig leader Thaddeus Stevens. Bernhisel acted as a personal advisor during Smith's campaign and helped to edit Smith's *Views*. At the Illinois convention, Bernhisel was a delegate representing New York. He also served on the important central committee of correspondence for Smith's campaign.

William I. Appleby* grew up in New Jersey and became a schoolteacher. At age twenty-seven, he was elected justice of the peace in Recklesstown and associate county judge of Burlington County, New Jersey. Two years later, he spearheaded the Whig campaign in Burlington County for William Harrison. He recorded "I was active in the strife, using my influence, and endeavours in behalf of Harrison's election attending Political meetings, Caucasses [*sic*], & c." In August 1840, an encounter with Mormon Alfred Wilson, who had just married Appleby's niece, changed his direction. "While in the height of my political zenith," wrote Appleby, "[Alfred Wilson] remarked to me, 'If you was only as zealous in the cause of God, as you are in Politics, you would make a first rate preacher.'" Wilson's words struck Appleby, a devout Methodist. "My Politics I laid by, and endeavored to seek after that which would be of more benefit," Appleby recorded after he was baptized by future cadre member Erastus Snow*. As to the national election a month and a half later, to which he had previously devoted his

energies, Appleby simply recorded: “I attended to my requisite duties, made out the returns & c., but took no part in Politics, scarcely inquiring who was elected or who was not.” When Joseph Smith’s campaign began, Appleby was serving a mission in the Mid-Atlantic States. As his niece’s husband Alfred Wilson had predicted, Appleby was a successful missionary and preacher. Traveling between Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, Appleby left dozens of converts in his wake. On May 5, he met up with John Wakefield* at the “Mormon Hollow” created by Edward Hunter*’s Nantmeal Seminary in West Chester, Pennsylvania. On hearing of Joseph Smith’s candidacy, he enthusiastically mixed his passions, religion and politics. That night, he and Wakefield “both lectured on the powers and policy of the Government & c.”¹¹⁷

Joseph Smith’s cadre also contained three former political newspaper editors, who spread his campaign message. William Gano Goforth* was a noted doctor from Belleville, Illinois who had fought under Andrew Jackson in the battle of New Orleans. In 1840, he led the Whig effort in Illinois to elect William Harrison president. In Belleville, Goforth edited a small newspaper titled *The Politician*. A prominent Free Mason, Goforth attended and spoke at the dedication of the Masonic Temple in Nauvoo on April 5, 1844. Staying to attend the Mormon general conference, Goforth listened with interest at the call for missionaries to electioneer. Due to his experience in the previous presidential election and friendship with Joseph Smith, Goforth was invited to attend Smith’s Illinois convention a month later. He participated intending to bring the Mormons into Henry Clay’s camp. Instead, he became a delegate representing Illinois and voted to sustain Joseph Smith for president. During the campaign, he split time between Nauvoo and Belleville, in the latter overseeing the publication of *The Politician*

in support of Smith's campaign. A year after Smith's death, Goforth was baptized by Brigham Young.¹¹⁸

Samuel Brannan* spent a considerable part of his early adulthood in the business of political newspapers. Born in Maine, he moved to Painesville, Ohio in 1833 with his sister and her husband. There they were baptized as Mormons and Brannan apprenticed as a printer. When he received his inheritance in 1837, he ambitiously bought out his apprenticeship and invested in land. The Panic of 1837 wiped out both his investments and his faith in Mormonism. Now eighteen, Brannan went to New York City and worked as an assistant printer. Restless, he sailed to New Orleans where another brother lived. The two pooled their resources to start a weekly paper that failed after Brannan's brother died of yellow fever. Brannan wandered through the South and was undoubtedly disturbed by the practice of slavery, for he next worked at an antislavery newspaper the *Indianapolis Gazette*, which he even briefly owned. Returning to Painesville, he moved in with his sister, retook his old job, and rejoined his former faith. Briefly a missionary in Ohio, Brannan contracted malaria and almost died. At the time of Smith's campaign, Brannan was convalescing in New York City. He took an active role in helping to publish and edit the church's newspaper in New York, *The Prophet*. By the fall of 1844, he was its owner and operator.¹¹⁹

The last, and perhaps most important, of the three editors was William Wines Phelps*. A founding member of the Anti-Masonic political party in 1827, Phelps edited two of the new party's papers: *Lake Light* and *Ontario Phoenix* in New York. Through the pages of these papers he argued vehemently against slavery, liquor, political elites, and particularly Martin Van Buren. Rumors of a "gold bible" peaked Phelps interest in

Mormonism in 1831. After reading the Book of Mormon, Phelps chose to walk away from politics and join Mormonism. A testament to his political effectiveness, his business partners attempted to sue him to retain his services. Upon joining the Mormon Church, Phelps moved to “Zion” in Missouri and by obedience to a revelation from Joseph Smith started a newspaper. Phelps’ paper *The Morning and Evening Star*, while tame and overtly religious, helped inflame Missourians against the Mormons and they destroyed his press. Later Phelps left the church, signing an affidavit against Joseph Smith. Repentant, Phelps rejoined the Saints in Nauvoo and became a trusted advisor again to Smith. Smith had Phelps write most of his political correspondence and relied on him to edit his pamphlet *Views*. Phelps influence in *Views* was unmistakable and reflected his Anti-Masonry and Whiggery political ideas, “including anti-slavery views, prison reform, anti-elitism, more federal power to protect minorities, promotion of trade and currency, and fiercely anti-Van Buren.”¹²⁰ A member of the Council of Fifty, Phelps was also prominent at the Illinois convention and was a member of the campaign’s central correspondence committee. Smith and the Nauvoo City Council added Phelps to its ranks when others council members left for their electioneering missions. Phelps became a major player in the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor* and later would preach Joseph Smith’s funeral sermon.¹²¹

The demographics of the cadre reveal a detailed picture individually and collectively of those who campaigned for Joseph Smith in 1844. They were religious men who believed that they belonged to the “only true and living church upon the face of the whole earth.”¹²² Despite varied religious backgrounds, they coalesced around Smith and his Zion ideal, willing to sacrifice to bring it about. Though scattered along the

spectrums of wealth and occupational status, cadre members were dedicated to building Zion. They willingly gave all they had to Smith and church leaders even as their property and settlements were stolen, burned, or abandoned. Like other members of the church, the cadre as a whole had not received temple ordinances nor practiced plural marriage. However, of those privileged to these ordinances and practices in 1844, a significant number were cadre members. A vast majority of the cadre had no experience either governing or electioneering. However, the few who had previously engaged in politicking brought significant experience to Smith's campaign.

Though they were called in different ways, and came from a variety of religious, economic, and political backgrounds, the men who electioneered in Joseph Smith's 1844 campaign had two things in common: a desire to build Zion and to see Smith elected to the presidency. At often great sacrifice, they tirelessly walked, preached, electioneered, and suffered for these causes. Their work began to create a national interest in Smith's campaign. More importantly, the cadre's experiences steeled them into a formidable group of men determined to bring about their prophet's cherished religious, economic, political, and social Zion.

Endnotes

¹ Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (hereafter *HC*), 7 vols., (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1912), 6:39.

² *Ibid.*, 6:39-41. Italics added.

³ *Ibid.*, 6:57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 6:62. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 512.

⁵ Smith, *HC* 6:64-65. As a post script to Van Buren, Smith added, “Also whether your views or feelings have changed since the subject matter of this communication was presented you in your then official capacity at Washington, in the year 1841, and by you treated with a coldness, indifference, and neglect, bordering on contempt.” In an Anointed Quorum meeting on 12 November 1843, Smith mentions the desire to petition Congress and James Arlington Bennett. On December 3 Smith read to the group his Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys and after all (including the women) had spoken about it, they dedicated it. Scott Faulring, *American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 429-30.

⁶ Smith, *HC* 6:155-56. Cass’ response was not recorded. Clay’s message was not made public until after his nomination as the Whig candidate in May 1844. Henry Clay to Joseph Smith, 15 November 1843, as found in *HC* 6:376

⁷ *Ibid.*, 6:100.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 6:107. John Taylor, Orson Spencer, and Orson Pratt were appointed a committee to draft the memorial.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6:115

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6:116.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 6:111; For Smith’s desire to reach out to the non-Mormon community for help see Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 227-230; Smith, *HC* 6:119-131.

¹² *Ibid.*, 6:187-189, Italics added. On March 4, Willard Richards wrote James Arlington Bennett: “I have recently mailed to you General Smith's ‘Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States,’ which were drawn forth in consequence of his friends selecting him as a candidate for the next Presidency, which he very reluctantly acquiesced in, and it seems would not, only to support a favorite maxim-‘The people must govern;’ but having once been prevailed upon to suffer his name to go abroad as a candidate, it is desirable to him of course, as to every patriot, that those who have brought him forward should use all honorable means to sustain him in the canvass; and if I had not felt disposed, I would not have been the first to nominate him.” *Ibid.*, 6:231-33.

¹³ The pamphlet was Smith’s, but primarily written by W. W. Phelps*, Smith’s political counselor and former political newspaper editor and candidate of the Anti-Masonic Party in upstate New York. John M. Bernhisel also seems to have added input. See *Ibid.*, 6:221.

¹⁴ Joseph Smith Jr., *Views on the Powers and Policy of the United States Government*, Church History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Hereafter CHL). Italics added.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* Italics added. Smith told a group of people when asked who he was that, “Noah came before the flood, I have come before the fire.” Lorenzo Snow, as reported in Abraham H. Cannon, *Abraham H. Cannon diaries, 1879-1895*, Vol. 16:30, CHL.

²¹Smith, *Views*. Italics added.

²²*Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988), 77:11.

²³Brigham Young, Brigham Young Manuscript History, February 6, 1844, CHL.

²⁴Smith, *HC* 6:196.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 6:211.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 6:222.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 6:223.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 6:224.

²⁹*Ibid.* Jonathan Dunham, Phineas H. Young*, David D. Yearsley*, David Fullmer*, Alphonzo Young*, James Emmett*, George D. Watt*, Daniel Spencer*, George D. Watt*, Samuel Bent*, Joseph A. Kelting*, David Fullmer*, James Emmett*, Daniel Spencer*, Samuel Rolfe, Daniel Avery, Samuel W. Richards*, Seth Palmer, Amos Fielding, Charles Shumway, John S. Fullmer*, Almon L. Fullmer, Hosea Stout*, Ira S. Miles*. Most were not “kings and priests.” Smith must have been planning to ensure they received the second anointing. *Ibid.*, 6:226 for the official name.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 6:225-26.

³¹*Ibid.*, 6:226-27. The March 1 edition of the *Times and Seasons*, also carried the banner “Joseph Smith for President.”

³²Letter from Willard Richards to James Arlington Bennett, 4 March 1844 as found in Smith, *HC* 6:236. Bennett is not to be confused with James Gordon Bennett the famous editor of the *New York Herald*. James Arlington Bennett had many articles published by James Gordon Bennett in the *Herald*.

³³*Ibid.*, 6:237.

³⁴Mormon historian B.H. Roberts argued that this statement was said in jest, but offers no evidence. A minor snag soon tripped the campaign. Smith’s choice for vice-president, James Arlington Bennett*, was an immigrant from Ireland, and thus not constitutionally eligible for the office. After some consultation it was decided to write Colonel Solomon Copeland of Tennessee to see if he would consent to run with Smith; Smith, *HC*, 6:244-45. Wilford Woodruff, David W. Patten, A.O. Smoot* and other early Mormon missionaries had stayed with Copeland during missions to Tennessee in the 1830s. Copeland was a Mormon and local politician. Phillip Winkler, “A Mormon in Tennessee: Presenting the Life of Colonel Solomon Copeland,” Presentation at Dyersburg State Community College.

³⁵Smith, *HC* 6:261. Original members were Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, George A. Smith, William W. Phelps*, John M. Bernhisel*, Lucien Woodworth*, George Miller*, Alexander Badlam*, Peter Haws*, Erastus Snow*, Reynolds Cahoon*, Amos Fielding*, Alpheus Cutler*, Levi Richards, Newel K. Whitney, Lorenzo D. Wasson*, and William Clayton. Without access to the council’s complete records, it is difficult to come to any firm conclusions. However, there is sufficient evidence in letters, journals, and histories to understand the council and its mission.

³⁶William Clayton Journal, 1 January 1845, as quoted in Ehat, “Heaven Began on Earth,” 2; Hyrum L. Andrus, *Joseph Smith and World Government* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1958), 4; “Minutes of Council of Fifty, Saturday April 10, 1880, meeting 10 am at Council House and 2 pm at City Hall,” typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter BYU); The council was also referred to by other names including, “Special Council,” “General Council,” “Grand Council of the Kingdom of God,” and “The Fifties”. However, it was generally known as the Council of Fifty.

³⁷The lone exception, Isaac Morely, entered the council the next year.

³⁸William Clayton Journal, 1 January 1845, as quoted in Ehat, “Heaven Began on Earth,” 12.

³⁹John D. Lee*, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, ed. by Juanita Brooks, (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1955), 1:80.

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- ⁴⁰ Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, Reported by G. D. Watt (Liverpool: F.D. Richards), 7:8.
- ⁴¹ John Taylor, as quoted in Andrus, *World Government*, 22.
- ⁴² Orson Pratt, *JD* 3:71-3
- ⁴³ Smith, *HC* 6:365
- ⁴⁴ Andrus, *World Government*, 23, 27-28.
- ⁴⁵ Orson Pratt, *The Deseret Evening News*, Vol. 8 (October 2, 1875), No. 265.
- ⁴⁶ Brigham Young, *JD* 7:11, 14.
- ⁴⁷ Brigham Young, *JD* 6:275.
- ⁴⁸ John Taylor, "Revelation Dated June 17, 1882," BYU.
- ⁴⁹ Ehat, "Heaven Began on Earth," 4.
- ⁵⁰ Bruce Van Orden, "William W. Phelps's Service in Nauvoo as Joseph Smith's Political Clerk," *BYU Studies* 31, no 1, (1992) sees the Council of Fifty primarily as "campaign advisors."; The multiple options being considered by Smith fit how he had sought revelation to guide the church, by first following the counsel in *D&C* 9 to "study it out in your mind." For a discussion on this see Andrus, *World Government*, 45-46.
- ⁵¹ Smith, *HC* 6:289-292.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 6:305.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 6:319.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 6:319.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 6:322.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 6:323-34.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6:335.
- ⁵⁸ Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 469.
- ⁵⁹ Smith, *HC* 6:326, 336; Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 469.
- ⁶⁰ Journal of William Clayton, April 18th, 1844 as quoted in Ehat, "Heaven Began on Earth," 13.
- ⁶¹ *D&C* 107:33-35 for missionary work; Smith, *HC* 6:331-340. This list was printed in the *Times and Seasons*, April 15, 1844 and the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, April 17, 1844; The climax of the Council of Fifty in Joseph Smith's life occurred on April 11. Smith's record of the day cryptically notes, "In general council in Masonic Hall, morning and afternoon. Had a very interesting time. The Spirit of the Lord was with us, and we closed the council with loud shouts of Hosanna!" What was so "interesting" to evoke loud shouts of hosanna? William Clayton, clerk of the council, provides the answer. "We had a glorious interview. Pres.[ident] J.[oseph Smith] was voted our P.[rophet] P.[riest] & K.[ing] with loud Hosannas." Though this office of "King" was an extension of the theological promises of the first and second anointings, it had overt political implications. He was to be the "King and Ruler over Israel." Smith's election did not give him additional power, he still remained the "chairman" of the Council of Fifty whose decisions had to be unanimous, but it did demonstrate his frame of mind. An outsider could easily see the irony of an anointed king of an earthly Kingdom of God based on theodemocracy running for president of a republic that a generation earlier had overthrown a divine-right king. Yet, Smith's ideal of a "patriot king" above party influence was for him and his inner core of leaders a restorative attempt at the Book of Mormon ideal of a righteous king and the political ideal of a virtuous, unifying leader followed by the first five presidents of the United States to some degree. Because he was also a "Prophet and Priest" Smith saw his role as a sacred kingship like ancient Melchizedek a "king and priest to the most high God," who blessed the people in every way under "a perfect law of Theocracy holding keys of power and blessings stood as God to give laws to the people, administering endless lives to the sons and daughters of Adam." Much of this paragraph relies heavily on Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 522-23. Council of Fifty Minutes, April 8, 1881 as quoted in Ehat, "Heaven Began on Earth," 5; Council of Fifty Minutes, October 12, 1880, as quoted in Ehat, "Heaven Began on Earth," 6.

- ⁶² Smith, *HC*, 6: 335-40. Margaret Robertson found 50 additional missionaries in her research bringing the number to 386. See Robertson, footnote 2. Margaret Robertson, "The Campaign and the Kingdom: The Activities of the Electioneers in Joseph Smith's Presidential Campaign" honors thesis, Brigham Young University, 1998. The author found 225 more, bringing the total to 611. Though the research to identify was comprehensive, it is not, nor ever could be, exhaustive. This study does not include the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of whom nine electioneered. It is a study of those called by the Quorum and the Council of Fifty.
- ⁶³ Smith, *HC*, 6:334-35, 340.
- ⁶⁴ Crandall Dunn, *History and Travels of Elder Crandell Dunn*, CHL, 41.
- ⁶⁵ James Henry Flanigan, *Diaries 1842-1851*, CHL, 108-09
- ⁶⁶ Samuel Hollister Rogers, Letter, Harford County, Maryland to Daniel Page, Newport, New Jersey April 24, 1844, CHL.
- ⁶⁷ Dunn, *Journals*, 42 and Charles C. Rich, *Journal of CC Rich May the 14th 1844 – 28 July 1844*, CHL.
- ⁶⁸ William Hyde, *Journal* [ca. 1868-1873], CHL, 58-59.
- ⁶⁹ "Autobiography of Lewis Robbins," *Seventies Record, 2nd Quorum* [1845]., Biographies, CHL, 21-23
- ⁷⁰ James Harvey Glines, *Reminiscences and Diary 1845 Mar. -1899 Dec.*, CHL, 39-40.
- ⁷¹ Smith, *HC* 2:286; Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of L. D. S.: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals*, ed. by Matthias F. Cowley. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909) 2:488.
- ⁷² Joseph Curtis, *Reminiscences and diary*, 1839 Oct -1881 Mar, CHL, 68; Rich, *Journal*.
- ⁷³ Erastus Snow, *Journal 1835-1851*, CHL, 49.
- ⁷⁴ Jacob Hamblin, *Record of the life of Jacob Hamblin as recorded by himself*, [1854], Typescript, CHL.
- ⁷⁵ Levi Jackman, "A Short Sketch of the Life of Levi Jackman," *Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries*, v. 16, BYU, 21.
- ⁷⁶ Norton Jacob, *Reminiscence and Journal 1844 May - 1852 Jan*, CHL, 5
- ⁷⁷ James W. Phippen, "Autobiography of James W. Phippen," *Seventies Record, 12th Quorum* [1858], CHL, 5-6.
- ⁷⁸ Franklin D. Richards, *Journal Aug 1842-May 21 1844*, Typescript, CHL, 28.
- ⁷⁹ Earl Max Sudweeks, *Biography of David and Mary Savage*, [1991], CHL, 4.
- ⁸⁰ Ira N. Spaulding, "Autobiography of Ira N. Spaulding," *Seventies Record, 2nd Quorum* [1846], CHL, 199.
- ⁸¹ William Lampard Watkins, *A brief history of the life of William Lampard Watkins from his birth until his arrival in Utah on September 12, 1852*, Typescript, CHL, 1.
- ⁸² Andrew Jenson, *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901), 1:794; Alfred Cordon, *Journal and Travels in the Ministry of the Gospel, 1844*, CHL, 183.
- ⁸³ Jacob E. Terry, *Journal 1844 May-July*, CHL, May 6.
- ⁸⁴ George S. Tanner, *John Tanner and His Family: A History-Biography of John Tanner of Lake George, New York* (Salt Lake City, Utah: John Tanner Family Association, 1974), CHL, 103.
- ⁸⁵ The four were Lebbeus T. Coons*, John Cooper*, Uriel Nickerson*, and Stephen Post*.
- ⁸⁶ Crandell Dunn, "History and Travels," 22; Gates and Robbins took not only their wives, but their entire families. See, Robbins, "Autobiography," 21-23.
- ⁸⁷ Sudweeks, *David and Mary Savage*, 4.
- ⁸⁸ John D. Lee, *Journal 1844 May - 1846 Nov.*, CHL, 27.
- ⁸⁹ Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy, *Reminiscences and Diary 1896 May - 1899 July*, CHL, 27-29.
- ⁹⁰ Richards, *Journal*, Aug 1842-May 21 1844, 29.

⁹¹ For example see, Lee, Journal 1844, 1, and Abraham Owen Smoot, A.O. Smoot's Day Book or Journal, Beginning Tuesday, the 7th of May, A.D., 1844, Through the State of Tennessee, Diaries, 1837-1845, Typescript, CHL, 1; Erastus Snow, Journal 1835-1851, 47.

⁹² Lee, Journal 1844, 1.

⁹³ Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 489; Joseph Lee Robinson, Journal, CHL, 93-95.

⁹⁴ *Encyclopedia of the US Census* edited by Margo J. Anderson (Washington DC: CQ Press, 2000), 228.

⁹⁵ A mission here is defined as a period of one month or more preaching away from one's home town.

⁹⁶ Evidence exists for only 65 of the missionaries regarding previous religious affiliation. Representing only 11% of the cadre, these numerical conclusions represent only a cross-section of the missionaries.

⁹⁷ Chapman Duncan "Biography of Chapman Duncan," in *Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries*, BYU, 2-3.

⁹⁸ Andrew Jenson, "Lorenzo Snow," *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1920).

⁹⁹ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 190.

¹⁰⁰ Howard Coray, Autobiographical Sketches, CHL, 2.

¹⁰¹ Alfred Cordon, Letter Alfred Cordon, Hanley, Stafford, England to Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, Illinois, 17 Feb 1842; *Times and Seasons*, Nauvoo, Illinois 3 (16 May 1842): 795-96; Smith, *HC*, 4:515-16.

¹⁰² International Society of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Infobases, 1996), 6:319.

¹⁰³ Thomas R. Austad, *The Life of Nathaniel Leavitt (son of Nathaniel Leavitt and Deborah Delano)*, CHL.

¹⁰⁴ George Christian Riser, Reminiscences and diary entries, [n.d.] and 1864-69, Typescript, CHL, 6-7.

¹⁰⁵ James Amasa Little, *Biography of William Rufus Rogers Stowell, 1893*, CHL, 14.

¹⁰⁶ Jonathan Crosby, Journal, CHL.

¹⁰⁷ Nauvoo Stake high council minutes, April 13, 1844, CHL.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, *HC*, 2:53

¹⁰⁹ Occupational categories are adapted from Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community, Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-70* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 261. Categories are as follows: "Business Professional" includes property-owning farmers and stock-raisers; hotel, grocery, and mill proprietors; excludes clerks. The professions of law, medicine, clergy, and college professors are combined with semi-professional occupations (i.e. teachers, journalists, government officials). "Skilled Labor" includes all with specialized skills in building, metal-wood-leather; mechanics; apprentices; clerks (Proprietor =>\$500). "Unskilled Labor" includes general laborers.

¹¹⁰ William Lampard Watkins, A brief history of the life of William Lampard Watkins from his birth until his arrival in Utah on September 12, 1852, Typescript, CHL, 1.

¹¹¹ David John Buerger, " 'The Fulness of the Priesthood': The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (1), Table 1, 23; Howard Coray* mentioned that Hyrum Smith sealed he and his wife in 1843, however, this was not counted as an official ordinance. They were officially sealed in the Nauvoo Temple in January of 1846. Howard Coray, Autobiographical Sketches, CHL, June 22, 1843; George D. Smith, "Nauvoo Roots of Mormon Polygamy, 1841-46: A Preliminary Demographic Report". *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (Spring/Summer 2001); Gary James Bergera, "Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists, 1841-44," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, no. 3 (Fall 2005).

¹¹² Affidavit of Joseph Bates Noble, June 26, 1869, as published in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Independence, MO: Press of Zion's Printing and Publishing Co, 1905), 75.

¹¹³ John Loveless, Autobiography of John Loveless, Typescript, CHL, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 12:221-226.

¹¹⁴ Jesse Walker Johnstun, *The Journal of Jesse Walker Johnstun: With Additions by His Brother William James Johnstun*, Typescript, CHL.

¹¹⁵ "Other" includes paymaster, assessor, militia leader, policeman, Indian agent, and other minor government positions.

¹¹⁶ Joseph Leland Heywood, "Letter to Nephew July 28 1841," Letters, 1841-1847, CHL.

¹¹⁷ William I. Appleby, Autobiography and journal, Typescript, 1848-1856, CHL, 34-35, 117, 120.

¹¹⁸ *History of Cincinnati, Ohio: with illustrations and biographical sketches*, compiled by Henry A. Ford and Kate B. Ford (Cleveland, Ohio: L.A. Williams & Co., 1881), 60; Smith, *HC*, 6:280-290, 438, 7:394; William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen ed., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 14.

¹¹⁹ Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, vol. 3, chapter 71, "The Latter-Day Saint Exodus from the Eastern States-Voyage of the Brooklyn."

¹²⁰ Bruce Van Orden, "William W. Phelps's Service in Nauvoo as Joseph Smith's Political Clerk," *BYU Studies* 31, no 1, (1992), 89-90.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *D&C* 1:30

CHAPTER THREE

THE CAMPAIGN AND ASSASSINATION OF JOSEPH SMITH

*“All things are going on gloriously at Nauvoo. We shall make a great wake in the nation. Joseph for President. ... We have already received several hundred volunteers to go out electioneering and preaching and more offering. We go for storming the nation.”*¹
Letter, Brigham Young and Willard Richards to Reuben Hedlock, May 3, 1844.

*“Instead of electing your leader the chief Magistrate of this Nation they have Martyr[e]d him.”*² In journal of John D. Lee, July 8, 1844.

As the electioneers departed Nauvoo in the spring and summer of 1844, they carried with them a wide variety of religious, economic, social, and political experiences. Yet, they had one focus: building Zion through preaching Mormonism and electioneering for Joseph Smith. There was an unusual sense of optimism and hope as they departed, even a palpable excitement. George Miller* recorded that, “at no period since the organization of the church had together been half so many elders in the vineyard, in proportion to the number of members in the church.”³ Miller never knew how correct he was. The LDS Church would not have another missionary force of over six hundred until the twentieth-century, and never one as proportionately large as the 1844 cadre. On April 10, the day following the organizing meeting, Lorenzo Snow* departed by riverboat for Ohio as the first electioneer. Over the next three months, hundreds left Nauvoo. The campaign grew in crescendo as electioneers* advocated for Smith in every state of the Union, raising public support and opposition. The cadre stumped for an independent

candidate in what was perhaps the most partisan political environment in American history. Additionally, they not only broached, but fully advocated the third rail of American politics: religion. This mixture of church and state, coupled with the missionaries sacrifices, forged a bond between electioneers, their prophet, and the cause of Zion. The assassination of Joseph Smith on July 27, 1844 brought the campaign to a surprise ending. Shocked, electioneers returned to Nauvoo uncertain about the future, but still zealously loyal to the departed Smith and his Zion ideal.

Two Campaign Centers

Joseph Smith's political campaign had two headquarters: Nauvoo, Illinois in the West and New York City in the East. Each center had apostolic leaders who edited newspapers advocating Smith for president. Apostle John Taylor, Smith's campaign manager, edited *The Times and Seasons* and *Nauvoo Neighbor* in Nauvoo. In New York City, William Smith, Apostle and younger brother of Joseph Smith, became the editor of *The Prophet*. Through these newspapers, church leaders promoted Smith's candidacy and directed the campaign. They were key factors in a communication network that not only provided vital information but bolstered morale.

Nauvoo

On April 15, John Taylor published the names and assignments of the electioneers in the *Times and Seasons*. In that same issue, Joseph Smith described his campaign:

I go emphatically, virtuously, and humanely, for a THEODEMOCRACY, where God and the people hold the power to conduct the affairs of men in righteousness. And where liberty, free trade, and sailor's rights, and the protection of life and property shall be maintained inviolate, for the benefit of ALL...

Following the formal announcement of missionary appointments, Nauvoo became a beehive of political activity. For nearly two months, electioneers departed almost daily. Joseph Smith and the Council of Fifty continued to orchestrate the campaign as well as possible resettlement in Texas, California, or Oregon. Apostles and council members Wilford Woodruff and Brigham Young went to the nearby Mormon town of Lima to recruit more missionaries. Twenty-six volunteered. Church leaders held a public meeting in Nauvoo on April 23, “for the purpose of consulting upon measures for the furtherance of our designs in the next Presidential election.” Several men addressed the gathering, “in a very spirited manner” and it was determined that Smith’s campaign could “bring, independent of any party, from two to five hundred thousand voters, into the field.” The convention assigned Council of Fifty member David Sprague Hollister*, “to attend to the Baltimore Convention [of the Democratic Party], to make overtures to that body.” Just what specific “overtures” Hollister was to present are unknown, but later national speculation included arrangements to provide the Mormon vote in exchange for protection, redress, or even the vice-presidency for Smith. As the meeting concluded, “It was resolved, that a State convention be held in the City of Nauvoo, on the second day of May next.”⁴ The date would subsequently be changed to May 17. Hollister left immediately for the Democratic convention. Following his business there, he was to assist Apostles Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt, already in Washington D.C., to organize Smith’s national convention set for July 13 in Baltimore.

At the same time, Smith’s enemies plotted to destroy him. Having obtained a printing press from Illinois Whig Central Committee member Abraham Jonas, Mormon apostates William and Wilson Law, David B. Foster, and others printed a prospectus for a

weekly paper to be named the *Nauvoo Expositor*. True to its name, the leaflet claimed the forthcoming paper would expose Joseph Smith as a fallen prophet and corrupt leader. The following Sunday, Smith responded from the pulpit that he was still a prophet and “never felt closer to his God” and that his enemies were the false prophets. Tension between the two sides mounted with rumors, threats, and counter threats.

On May 17, the state convention convened in Nauvoo. The convention appointed Uriah Brown*, a non-Mormon and a senior member of the Council of Fifty, to be president. Brown introduced William Gano Goforth* and other prominent visitors. Next, William Wines Phelps* read Henry Clay’s letter to Joseph Smith and the convention applauded with three cheers when Phelps* read aloud Smith’s rejoinder castigating Clay for his reluctance to help the Mormons. Then the convention created a committee to draft resolutions. Included on the committee of five were Dr. William Gano Goforth*(non-Mormon), Apostles John Taylor and William Smith, William Wines Phelps*, and Lucian R. Foster*. Next the convention assigned Apostle Willard Richards, Dr. John M. Bernhisel*, William Wines Phelps*, and Lucian Foster*, some of the few political veterans Smith had, as the Central Committee of Correspondence. Seventy delegates, representing each of the United States and almost every county of Illinois, voted that “General Joseph Smith, of Illinois, be the choice of this convention for President of the United States.” The Committee on Resolutions then presented its work. The delegates used words rich with Smith’s concepts of Zion, aristarchy, and the Kingdom of God, declaring it was, “highly necessary that a virtuous people should arise” and “with one heart and one mind” correct government by “electing wise and honorable men to fill the various offices of Government.” The electioneers who had already left

were “to take charge of our political interests, [and] be requested to use every exertion to appoint electors in the several electoral districts of the States which they represent.” The electors were to give “stump speeches” in their districts and then attend Smith’s national convention in Baltimore on July 13. After several other speeches, Uriah Brown* adjourned the convention.

New York City

Mormon electioneers stormed New York more than any other state. Table 3.1 shows 131 missionaries, a full 21% of the total cadre, labored in the Empire State. The next state, Illinois, received only half as many missionaries. New York, the birthplace of Mormonism was the key state in the election of 1844 for Mormons and non-Mormons alike. A group in New York City created by Apostle William Smith and printer George T. Leach* on April 2, 1844, calling itself the Society for the Diffusion of Truth, promoted Joseph Smith in New York. Soon after its organization, William Smith left for Nauvoo assigning Leach to raise funds and begin publishing a newspaper. The first edition of the society’s weekly, named *The Prophet*, was printed on May 18, 1844. Leach edited the paper with the assistance of Samuel Brannan* (after the second number) until William Smith returned in June.

The main editorial of the first issue announced that, “We this week have hoisted the banner and placed before the world as a candidate for the Chief Magistracy of this Republic the Prophet of the last days, General Joseph Smith of Nauvoo, Ill, and pledge ourselves to use our utmost endeavor to assure his election, being satisfied that he will administer the laws of his country without reference to party, sect or local prejudice.”

Table 3.1, Missionary Assignments by State (611)

New York	130	21.3%	Louisiana	8	1.3%
Illinois	66	10.8%	Missouri	8	1.3%
Ohio	54	8.8%	North Carolina	8	1.3%
Michigan	48	7.9%	Alabama	7	1.1%
Indiana	36	5.9%	Georgia	6	1.0%
Tennessee	30	4.9%	Arkansas	6	1.0%
Pennsylvania	27	4.4%	South Carolina	6	1.0%
Massachusetts	24	3.9%	Connecticut	5	0.8%
Kentucky	20	3.3%	Mississippi	5	0.8%
Vermont	19	3.1%	Rhode Island	4	0.7%
Virginia	18	2.9%	Free (Roaming)	4	0.7%
New Hampshire	16	2.6%	Iowa Territory	2	0.3%
New Jersey	11	1.8%	Upper Canada	2	0.3%
Maine	9	1.5%	District of Columbia	1	0.2%
Maryland	9	1.5%	Wisconsin Territory	1	0.2%
Delaware	8	1.3%			

Leach reported that his office had received “communications from various parts of the country, hailing his [Smith’s] nomination with joy, and we feel confident that if the intelligence of the American people prevail over their prejudice, he will be elected by a large majority.” Dwelling in the politically partisan hotbed of New York City, Leach declared, “We have counted the cost of ‘opposing the popular errors of the day,’ and can say with continued patronage of the liberal and philanthropic portion of our community, that we will...eventually... make way for the glorious reign of the Son of Peace.”⁵

Missionary Activities

As Table 3.2 demonstrates, most cadre members in 1844 recorded that their missions were either electioneering or a preaching/electioneering hybrid.

Preaching

The electioneers taught the gospel of Jesus Christ and Mormonism as restored “primitive” Christianity. They made appointments to preach, usually at a schoolhouse, courthouse, or dwelling of a friend or family member. Often they preached to individuals and families. Several sermonized at large meetings. Samuel Hollister Rogers*, U. Clark*, William A. Moore*, James Henry Flanigan*, and William I. Appleby* held a two-day camp meeting, “preaching and testifying,” to hundreds.⁶ At the other extreme, Amasa Lyman* disappointedly recorded that one of his meetings was attended “to my su[r]prise [by] no ladies and some half dozen men and two pigs...”⁷ Cadre members preached the basic principles of Mormonism: the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, restored priesthood authority, faith in Jesus Christ, repentance, baptism, and reception of

Table 3.2, Activities of Electioneer Missionaries (312)⁸

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Total</i>
Exclusively Preached (10)	3%
Exclusively Electioneered (106)	34%
Both (175)	56%
Neither Mentioned (21)	7%

the Holy Ghost. In fact the Twelve Apostles, while attending the different state conferences, “strictly charged [the missionaries] to keep within the limits of the first principles of the Gospel and let mysteries alone.”⁹

Wherever they went, the cadre baptized and strengthened the numbers and faith of outlying branches of Mormonism. Dozens of journals and other documents record hundreds of baptisms and faith-building experiences. Often such events occurred during the pre-arranged one or two day conferences of the church held throughout the United States. Cadre missionaries, local church members, and interested observers gathered to conduct church business, be instructed in the gospel, and hear Joseph Smith’s political platform. One or more members of the Quorum of the Twelve attended many of the conferences. A conference in Jefferson County, New York held May 24 and 25 alone produced 150 baptisms.¹⁰ Lorenzo Snow* labored hard organizing the work in Ohio and was involved in several baptisms.¹¹ David Savage* recorded that he, “baptized a number upon this mission, the Lord working some mighty cures under my hands.”¹² Levi Jackman* much to his satisfaction, returned to southern Illinois where nine years previous he created a branch of the church. He reported that the local congregants “manifested much joy in seeing us.”¹³

Though many electioneers traveled by steamboat on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, almost every journal mentioned the exhaustion of what seemed endless (actually

numbered in many journals) miles of walking, often in extreme weather.¹⁴ Traveling without “purse or scrip,” they were often denied sustenance and shelter and regularly slept outdoors. Henry Boyle* penned, “We lay out under a pine tree because no one would keep us over night.”¹⁵ Though determined to fulfill their missions, cadre members were often lonely and missed family, home, and even native countries. Franklin D. Richards* wrote his wife an eloquent love letter. James Burgess* reminisced about his native England as he walked through upstate New York.¹⁶

Many electioneers were sent to their home states and visited family members, some of whom they baptized.¹⁷ James Holt* and his companion Jackson Smith* arrived at Holt’s father’s residence in Wilson County, Tennessee. Holt introduced Smith to his father, “but he [Holt’s father] refused to shake hands with him.” Even though Jackson Smith* was not a relative of Joseph Smith, Holt’s father, “said he had heard enough about the Smiths, and he did not want to see any of them.” Holt retorted, “[I]f he could not entertain my fellow-traveler and treat him as a gentleman,” they would seek accommodations elsewhere. Holt recorded his father’s response: “This cut my father to the quick, and with tears in his eyes, he said, ‘James, take your friend in and make yourselves welcome.’” Holt enjoyed the time with his family, spending several days visiting with them and “teaching them the principles of the Gospel when they gave me an opportunity.”¹⁸ His older brother, a Baptist minister, even gave them the privilege to preach in his church.

Daniel Durham Hunt* and his companion Lindsey Anderson Brady* visited Hunt’s family in Kentucky. While preaching there, the people paid “good attention,” and nineteen were baptized, including twelve members of Hunt’s extended family.¹⁹ Guy

Messias Keyser* visited and baptized his mother in upstate New York. David Pettigrew* mentioned preaching “the truth to thousands of people” and visiting his “relations in Vermont and New Hampshire.”²⁰ German-immigrant brothers George Christian* and John Jacob Riser* returned to the German-speaking areas of Ohio they knew as youths to preach and electioneer. They used their father’s house as their headquarters.²¹ Seabert Shelton*, one of the presidents of the campaign in Virginia, focused his work near several enclaves of relatives.²² William R. R. Stowell* arrived in New York to find many of his relatives receptive to baptism. Stowell’s companion William Knapp Parshall* stayed with him and the two led a group of converts to Nauvoo in 1845.²³ Edson Whipple* also visited and baptized family in Pennsylvania and New York.²⁴ Moses Tracy* and his wife Nancy* took their little family to visit relatives in New York. Nancy recorded, “We ended our visit for this time with my relatives, not forgetting to preach to them the Gospel and give them Joseph’s views on the policy of the government.”²⁵ None joined.

During their preaching, the electioneers debated with ministers of other faiths, often priding themselves on their performances. Barney Edson’s* debate in Chicago with a Presbyterian minister went, “in [his] favor.”²⁶ Levi Jackman*’s audience listened to him intently during a debate, leaving when the opposing minister spoke, only to return when Jackman recommenced.²⁷ William Hyde converted and baptized a minister, as did several others.²⁸ At least forty cadre members were ordained to higher priesthood offices either in preparation for or because of added responsibilities while on their missions. Most of them were made Seventies during or immediately following the April general conference. A handful, Pleasant Ewell*, George Parker Dykes*, Franklin D. Richards*,

Crandall Dunn*, Joseph A. Stratton*, and George Wallace*, were made high priests. James Harvey Glines*, a recent convert and merely a deacon, attended a conference in Boston and was ordained an elder.

The cadre preached the gospel of restored Mormonism, understanding it to be a vital part of their assignments. With preaching came some acceptance, converts, and strengthening of local branches. The constant preaching also solidified their belief in Mormonism. As they sacrificed for Zion, their desire to bring it to fruition deepened. Friendships and even marriages were formed. The opportunity of working with and hearing the testimonies of members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, strengthened the cadre as well as outlying Mormons' loyalties to these leaders; an important connection when Joseph Smith's death led to diverse succession claims.

Electioneering

While some missionaries focused on preaching, others like Charles C. Rich* made electioneering a priority.²⁹ The cadre undertook its assignment with great fervor. Joseph Holbrook* put forth Joseph Smith's *Views* "almost daily."³⁰ Jonathan O. Duke* spent his time in Delaware promoting "Joseph Smith's nomination for President of the United States."³¹ David Fullmer addressed large assemblies in Michigan on "politicks [*sic*]."³² Franklin D. Richards* in New York on June 18 "spoke on the subject of politics, "it being the first political speech I ever delivered." The next morning, Richards recorded that he, "called the Elders together, and told them what I had learned during the night upon the subject relative to the course to be pursued in lecturing from Gen. Smith's *Views* on politics. It seemed to have a salutary effect."³³ David Savage*'s wife Mary, who accompanied him on the mission, recorded that Savage worked "with great zeal."³⁴

Most cadre members understood their call was to preach politics as well as religion. George Riser* and his brother John* distributed political and religious pamphlets throughout Ohio.³⁵ Crandall Dunn's* day to day account of his work in Michigan is replete with references to "preaching" and "politics."³⁶ Often companions team-taught, the first preaching the gospel and the second lecturing on politics.³⁷

The travels and activities of Alfred Cordon* and fellow English convert James Burgess* reveal the cadre's dual assignment. They began their journey under several days of torrential rain with little shelter. They were often "tormented with Muschetoes [*sic*]," illness, and fatigue. Walking an average of 20 miles a day, the elders stopped to preach and electioneer to anyone who would listen. As they stumped for Joseph Smith through Illinois, they encountered sharp resistance. Often they heard "Joe Smith," denounced as "a false prophet," or endured threats to harm Smith or themselves. Arriving in Chicago, Cordon and Burgess were unable to find work to pay for steamboat passage to Buffalo. They remained in Chicago for a conference over which Cordon presided. The day following, the companions continued to Vermont on foot, walking through Indiana, Michigan, and New York. As they traveled, they stayed with families and would "converse with them on the subject of Relig[i]on [and] explained to them the principles of the Doctrine of Christ stayed with them for the night [and then] read to them General Smiths views on the power and policy of the government of the united states." On June 27, Cordon and Burgess reached Niagara Falls amidst a downpour. On July 5, they stopped at the Hill Cumorah, where Joseph Smith reported he retrieved the golden plates. They continued on to Syracuse, New York preaching there several days. The two companions finally reached Vermont on July 20 and remained there preaching until the

spring of 1845, finishing their one-year mission. Burgess married a local Mormon and the three returned to Nauvoo.³⁸

Sectional Electioneering

Those appointed to be presidents of the cadre in the different states concentrated their work, and that of their men, on Joseph Smith's campaign. A study of presidents and other cadre members who kept journals shows focused, organized, and deliberate electioneering.

Illinois

Following the May 17 state convention in Nauvoo, approximately one hundred of the missionaries left Nauvoo on the steamboat *Osprey*. The topic of conversation among the passengers turned to Joseph Smith's candidacy. The noncadre passengers chose to have a mock vote. The results were: Joseph Smith 64, Henry Clay 46, and Martin Van Buren 24.³⁹ In fact, several in eastern Illinois, upon hearing Smith's political ideas, declared that they "were the best [they] ever heard."⁴⁰ On June 17 at the Ottawa, Illinois conference, Apostle George A. Smith and some cadre members addressed a meeting of five hundred using Joseph Smith's *Views*. George A. Smith recorded that the people, "applauded the sentiment very highly and seemed much pleased..."⁴¹

In Chicago, cadre leaders held a meeting to rally support for the campaign. James Burgess* and Alfred Cordon* "placarded the city with written hand bills, notifying the people we should hold a general conference," inviting all to attend and hear Joseph Smith's *Views*. The gathering of about a dozen electioneers, Mormons of the Chicago branch, and several dozen interested people, elected Cordon president of the

proceedings.⁴² Cadre members reported to the *Times and Seasons*, “Joseph [Smith]’s views and measures are liked very much, though many are opposed to the man.”⁴³ Jacob E. Terry* subsequently placed an order in Chicago for one thousand copies of *Views*. Trying to sell them on the streets and door to door, Terry had little success interacting with “all manner of men” and was constantly “ordered away from peoples doors.” For the next two weeks, he alternately worked for money, purchased more copies of *Views*, and attempted to sell them; in the end he often gave them away. Leaving Chicago on June 14, Terry continued to sell and distribute *Views* daily at homes, religious camp meetings, and public debates throughout Illinois and Indiana.⁴⁴

The Midwest

Amasa Lyman* and George P. Dykes* led Joseph Smith’s campaign in Indiana. A member of the Council of Fifty, Lyman knew well the extent of the plans for the campaign. Due to council and personal business, Lyman and Dykes did not leave Nauvoo until June 4, two days after electioneers held the first conference in Indiana.⁴⁵ Separated, the two presidents did not organize the work before the campaign collapsed. However, in addition to the planned conferences, cadre members labored diligently throughout Indiana. William R. R. Stowell* and his companion William H. Parshall* had breakfast at the home of a family, when Stowell began reading *Views* to the elderly grandfather of the home. “The gentleman seemed very much interested and inquired earnestly, ‘Who is this Joseph Smith?’” wrote Stowell. After explaining that Smith, “was the prophet and the leader of the Mormon Church, and that the pamphlet he was reading contained his views on the principles of government, [t]he gentleman said he had served under Washington in the Revolutionary War and that what he had heard sounded very

much like Washington's views."⁴⁶

In neighboring Ohio, Lorenzo Snow* and Lester Brooks* were the campaign's presidents. In 1844, Brooks was already in Kirtland, Ohio serving as the stake president. Snow, a college-educated teacher, closed his school when called, "by the Twelve on a Political Mission to Ohio...to form a political organization throughout the state...for the promotion of Joseph [Smith] for the presidency." Snow left April 10, the day after the conference meeting in Nauvoo held to recruit and organize the electioneers. He gave "on the steamer Osprey the first political lecture that was ever delivered to the world in favor of Joseph for the Presidency." On June 7, near Kirtland, Ohio, "Lawyers and Doctors...called to talk of and obtain Gen. Smith's views" from Apostle Brigham Young and Franklin Dewey Richards* who were on their way to New York.⁴⁷ On June 23, Lorenzo Snow* and Lester Brooks* presided over a "large Convention in the Temple in Kirtland." During the conference, they assigned their missionaries by Ohio's congressional districts. Furthermore, they decided to print a large number of Joseph Smith's *Views*. Snow wrote, "I then procured a horse and buggy, and traveled through the most populous portions of the country, lecturing, canvassing, and distributing pamphlets." He recorded, "Many people, both Saints and Gentiles, thought this a bold stroke of policy [and], our own people generally, whom I met, were quite willing to use their influence and devote their time and energies to the promotion of the object in view." The reaction to Smith's campaign was mixed: "To many persons who knew nothing of Joseph, but through the ludicrous reports in circulation, the movement seemed a species of insanity, while others, with no less astonishment, hailed it as a beacon of prosperity to our national destiny."⁴⁸

Presidents Charles C. Rich* and Harvey Green* created a strong political structure in Michigan. Rich, a major general in the Nauvoo Legion and member of the Council of Fifty, departed Nauvoo on May 15 in company with David Fulmer*, Norton Jacobs*, and Moses Smith*. On their way to Michigan, they delivered “Political Lecture[s]” in private homes and public forums. Within days, Rich was traveling and electioneering with Apostles and fellow Council of Fifty members Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith. In Kalamazoo, Michigan on May 30, the trio spoke at a “political meeting.” They then convened a two day conference at nearby Comstock, in the spacious barn of local branch president Ezekiel Lee*. “A large and respected audience was assembled...composed of many of the most respectable citizens of the county.” Apostles Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith along with Zebedee Coltrin*, David Fullmer*, Samuel Bent*, and Charles C. Rich* spoke to an “audience who sat in silence manifest[ing] great interest and attention.” At the close of the meeting, “that warmth of friendship and feeling of kindness that marks the noble and generous good was manifested by many of the assembly among whom was Gen. Comstock and Dr. Hoods.”⁴⁹ The large congregation of Mormons and non-Mormons accepted Smith’s *Views* with “good satisfaction.”⁵⁰ On the second day, Rich and Green assigned cadre members to electioneer in the different counties of Michigan.⁵¹

The two presidents then returned to Kalamazoo and to preside over “a political meeting in the courthouse.” Over the next fortnight, Rich and Green, accompanied at times by other electioneers, preached and politicked throughout Michigan. After a political meeting in Troy Grove, Michigan in which Rich*, David Fullmer*, and Norton Jacobs* read *Views* and gave lectures on politics, “the people appeared well satisfied.”⁵²

On June 14, they attended another political meeting in Franklin, Michigan ahead of the scheduled two-day conference there. The day following the meetings, Rich and Green held a public “Political Discussion” before moving on to Detroit. Returning to Franklin, Rich delivered another “political lecture” during a public debate. On July 2, he and Green returned to Pontiac and took delivery of their printing order for five thousand copies of Smith’s *Views*. They proceeded to Jackson, Michigan where on July 6th they held a state convention in the city courthouse. The convention nominated electors to represent Michigan at the national convention and cadre members returned to their assigned counties to distribute *Views*.⁵³

The South

John D. Lee*, member of the Council of Fifty and president of Kentucky, presided over a conference on June 13 in Lebanon County, Kentucky, to “organize the efforts” of the missionaries.⁵⁴ One of those electioneers was George Miller*, a fellow member of the Council of Fifty. Miller* labored in Kentucky where he “preached and electioneered alternately.” While attending a large political barbeque, Miller stood “on the outskirts of the immense crowd reading to a few of my old acquaintances Joseph Smith’s views of the powers and policy of government.” After a while, a larger crowd surrounded Miller than the candidate speaking. Miller later recorded:

I got on a large stump, and commenced reading aloud Joseph’s views on the powers and policy of government, and backed it up with a short speech, at the end of which I was loudly and repeatedly cheered, and a crowd bore me off about two miles to a Mr. Smith’s tavern, where they had a late dinner prepared for my benefit, all declaring that I should not partake of the barbecue prepared for the candidate who addressed the log cabin meeting; that I was worthy of better respect.⁵⁵

William Lampard Watkins* found a good reception for Smith’s *Views* even in slave state

Kentucky. He wrote, "I found my friends willing to listen and conversed on the political situation although I was in a slave state. The question of slavery as advocated in the views of the document I carried found great favor."⁵⁶ Joseph Holbrook* and John Outhouse traveled through Livingstone, Caldwell, and Frigg Counties. They "continued to preach and put forth Joseph Smith's views which the people generally liked well," although they did not approve of a "Mormon prophet for president of the United States."⁵⁷

In neighboring Tennessee, Abraham O. Smoot* and Alphonso Young* handled Joseph Smith's campaign. They led a conference in Dresden, Weakley, Tennessee on May 25 and 26 to organize the work and make assignments. The two meet stiff resistance on the first day in the county courthouse that ended in a chaotic, bloody affair. Held in a private home the next day, the conference arranged not just geographic electioneering assignments but specific duties to print and distribute Joseph Smith's *Views*. Smoot and Young presided over a second conference in Eagle Creek, Benton County in early June.⁵⁸ Later, Young along with several electioneers preached and politicked at the conference in Dryer County, Tennessee June 9-11. Young preached and "called their attention to the murders and robberies committed on our people, in this once happy land, merely on account of the religion." Warning them "against tolerating such cruel deeds," Young laid "General Smith's claims before them." Moved by Young's words, six people were baptized and many more committed to Smith's campaign.⁵⁹ One of Young's men, William Womack Riley* wrote in his journal that he, "Delivered a political [*sic*] ad[d]ress to the entire Satisfaction of the hereers [*sic*]."⁶⁰ Following the initial conference, Abraham Owen Smoot contracted in nearby Paris for the printing of three

thousand copies *Views* for \$1,000. When he returned to pick up the copies, a lawyer named Fitzgerald intercepted him. He threatened to prosecute Smoot for allegedly violating an 1835 Tennessee law that forbade “any publications to be made in this state or circulated there in that was calculated to excite discontent, insur[r]ection or rebellion amongst the slaves or free p[e]rsons of col[o]r.” Though confident he was not violating the statute, Smoot chose to desist from printing until, “I could get word from headquarters.” Meanwhile, he and his men attended another conference in Benton County to a large and attentive audience without incident. Smoot later returned and paid the printer in Paris for the run of three thousand he never received.⁶¹

Seabert Shelton* was one of three presidents for Virginia. His appointment must have been made very early as he had already arrived in Virginia and was organizing the work in April.⁶² However, there is little evidence of campaign success in the Deep South. Several factors may account for this. Very few electioneers were assigned to Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Given Joseph Smith’s proposal that the federal government purchase freedom for slaves, it is not likely his message would have been embraced in slavery’s stronghold. Further, no electioneers assigned to the Deep South kept a journal of their mission. All evidence of political activity comes from second hand sources or inference. It does seem that some cadre members had limited religious success in Mississippi and Alabama, including cousins John* and Robert Thomas* originally assigned to Kentucky but who carried their work to Mississippi.⁶³

New England

Erastus Snow* preached and electioneered in Woodstock, Vermont, “were I was to preside over the conferences which had been appointed by the councils of the church in Nauvoo.” He organized the work in Vermont and did, “those duties that had been particularly imposed upon me.”⁶⁴ Snow and other electioneers held a “Jeffersonian Meeting” in the Masonic Hall of Petersborough New Hampshire on June 11. “[A] mass meeting of the citizens...without distinction of sect or party, assembled ...to express their views and feelings touching the political condition of the nation.” A “free expression of feelings” from speakers of various views unfolded with Erastus Fairbanks Snow*, Jonas Livingston*, and J. C. Little* drafting “resolutions expressive of the views of the meeting.” The next day, the assembly met at the “Town House” to hear the resolutions, which included using “all lawful ways and means to endeavor to reform the abuses of trust and power in...government” by selecting “independent candidates.” Furthermore, it was resolved that Joseph Smith and his *Views*, rendered “him worthy [of] the suffrages of all free and enlightened people.” After two evenings of “spirited and interesting discussion,” all but five attending the meeting agreed to the resolutions.⁶⁵

Daniel Spencer*, whom Joseph Smith called the “wisest man in Nauvoo,” was president of the cadre in his native Massachusetts.⁶⁶ Despite the presence of Apostles Brigham Young, Orson Pratt, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Heber C. Kimball, and Wilford Woodruff, Spencer chaired the conference held in Franklin Hall, Boston on July 2 to organize the campaign. During the meeting, Spencer and the others planned smaller conferences in each of the state’s ten congressional districts.⁶⁷ After the political speeches at this Boston conference, James Glines* stated that, “considerable excitement

prevailed throughout the city; very many people were favorably inclined to vote for our candidate for president.”⁶⁸

Mid-Atlantic

In Pennsylvania, David Dutton Yearsley* and Edson Whipple* led the campaign. They left Nauvoo together and “canvass[ed] that State and present[ed] to the people Joseph Smith's views on government, and also...advocate[d] his candidacy for the presidency of the United States.”⁶⁹ Edward Hunter’s* Nantmeal Seminary in “Mormon Hollow” north of Philadelphia became a headquarters for cadre members.

Ezra T. Benson*, campaign president for New Jersey, left Nauvoo with John Pack*.

Along the way and throughout New Jersey, they, “preach[ed] the Gospel and present[ed] Bro. Joseph [Smith] as being the most suitable man for President.” On June 18 in Salem County, New Jersey, Benson held “a meeting of the friends of Gen. Smith of Nauvoo, Ill. as a candidate for President.” “[T]he friends of Gen. Smith [were] requested to organize in every part of the state immediately and send delegates to the convention at Trenton.”

Benson concluded the conference with a “very spirited address.”⁷⁰ One of the electioneers, John Horner*, had brought one thousand copies of *Views* from Nauvoo and immediately began distributing the pamphlets throughout the state.

David Sprague Hollister* preached and politicked on the steamboat *Valley Forge* as he made his way to Baltimore, Maryland to attend the Democrat National Convention and prepare for Joseph Smith’s convention. He found the passengers very interested in “national matters” and together they spent much of the journey reading and discussing Smith’s *Views*. Hollister became “a lion among the passengers,” and on disembarkment received several offers of a coach ride to Baltimore. Arriving between the Whig and

Democratic conventions, Hollister, a founding member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, preached to all he could, “for the promotion of the good cause...”⁷¹

Charles Wandell* was the senior campaign president of New York. Records from other missionaries and the newspaper *The Prophet* show Wandell busy traversing New York, attending conferences, and organizing the work. Initially arriving in New York City, he attended a “Jeffersonian Meeting...of the friends of General Joseph Smith [that] convened in the Military Hall [on] June 11, 1844. They resolved to have a conference in, “Utica, Oneida County, N.Y., on the 23rd of August.” Wandell instructed, “all the friends of GEN. SMITH...to organize in every part of the State immediately and send delegates to the Convention in Utica.” “Electors favorable to the election of GEN. SMITH to the Presidency” were, “to be selected by his friends in each Electoral district of the State and submit the same to the Utica Convention.” In an open letter in *The Prophet*, Wandell wrote that he and Marcellus Bates* had arrived to preside and instructed missionaries to report their work through the newspaper. Wandell and Bates crisscrossed the state, attending conferences in Cambria June 28-29, Genessee July 6, and Portage July 14-15. At each he lectured, “on the degraded state of our country, and the importance of the Saints making every effort to usher in the reign of righteousness,” with the election of Joseph Smith.⁷²

On June 13, church leaders held a “Jefferson” political meeting in Military Hall in New York City. Apostles, local church members, and other New Yorkers (including journalists) attended. George T. Leach*, editor of the *Prophet*, was chair. Although beginning with only twenty-seven participants, by the end of the meeting, the building was full. Apostolic brothers Parley and Orson Pratt, along with cadre member J.B.

Meynell*, forcefully decried Martin Van Buren and Henry Clay while setting forth Joseph Smith's *Views* to thunderous applause.⁷³ Parley P. Pratt delivered the most stinging, and subsequently reported, talk of the evening.

[F]or some years past we have had no Government...[because] white men have been shot and hung, and negroes burned without trial, judge or jury; abolitionists have been mobbed and shot; Catholic churches, dwellings and convents burned, and fifteen thousand American citizens [Mormons] robbed of millions, and driven from a State, and many of them murdered, and this by executive and legislative authority, without shadow of law or justice, and still there is no redress or protection, though years have past since the perpetration of these horrid crimes: who then shall dare to say there is a Government?

Pratt declared the time had come for drastic change: “except this nation speedily reform and hurl down such men, and put in men who will execute the laws for the just and equal protection of all,” the nation would be destroyed. As a persecuted minority, the Mormons “have no fault to find with the laws or the Constitution of the country. Our complaint is that we cannot enjoy the benefit of them...” The time had come to stand up for equal rights of all citizens, for, “The Catholics may be the sufferers to-day, the Mormons to-morrow, the Abolitionists next day, and next the Methodists and Presbyterians. Where is safety if a popular mob must rule, and the unpopular must suffer.” For Pratt, liberty was dying and drastic action was needed:

“We must--We will revolutionize, this corrupt and degraded country, so as to restore the laws and rights of its citizens, or we must and will perish in the attempt. And it matters not whether with many or with few, had I but ten patriots to associate with me I would either restore the country to its rights or leave it and live with the heathens, or sleep with the dead.”

As one of Joseph Smith's strongest electioneers he advocated Smith as, “an independent man with American principles, and he has both [the] knowledge and disposition, to govern for the benefit and protection of ALL...HE DARE DO IT, EVEN IN THIS

AGE...” Pratt’s strong words, though derided in the papers, were a clear signal to the gathered audience, which included several cadre members, that the candidacy of Joseph Smith was serious. The gloves were off.⁷⁴

Persecution

However, some citizens and groups figuratively and literally punched back at Joseph Smith’s *Views*, candidacy, and cadre. Kentuckians told John D. Lee* he was not even human but a “different being...one of the Fish kind”.⁷⁵ Many often accused the electioneers of being beggars and deceivers.⁷⁶ People denied shelter to cadre members because they advocated Smith. Alfred Cordon* recorded a typical response by a tavern keeper to a plea for a bed: “the answer was No, No, Joe Smith is a Devil!”⁷⁷ Lorenzo Hill Hatch* was one of several who become ill from constant nocturnal exposure.⁷⁸ Jacob Hamblin* was so desperate to sleep indoors he evened offered what little clothing he had for payment, to no avail.⁷⁹

Animosity toward Joseph Smith was strongest in western Illinois where his influence was the greatest. One man told James Burgess* and Alfred Cordon* that “if he had power in the country he would not let Smith have one vote and farther said if Joe Smith should get elected president, he would go to Africa.” Another declared that if “Joe Smith got elected he knew a man that would shoot him...[and] it would be doing good to shoot him for he was a d--n rascal.” Another presciently stated, “he would not mind shooting Joe Smith and that if there was any chance of him being elected that there was a mob far off that would shoot him.”⁸⁰ William Lampard Watkins* took a wagon ride near Warsaw with a man who flatly stated, “Joe Smith will never occupy the presidential seat, before he gains the election he will be killed.”⁸¹

For some of the electioneers, reactions to their message often turned dangerous. A group of men tarred and feathered Eli McGinn*.⁸² A drunken crowd stoned and injured Levi Jackman* and Enoch Burns*.⁸³ Another mob beat Benjamin Brown* and his companion Jesse W. Crosby*. Brown remembered that, “[s]ome of them held me while the rest beat me about the head with their fists; but not being able to bruise me sufficiently in this manner, one of them took off one of my boots, and belabored me about the head with the heel of it, until I was covered with blood, which ran down onto my clothes and the ground.” They then jumped on him with their knees breaking several of his ribs. Brown decided his only option was to feign death. His attackers then scampered away. Finding Crosby, he and Brown attempted to escape to a nearby house, only to be attacked again. The mob threatened to “get possession of both of us, after which they purposed to cut off Elder Crosby's ears, tar and feather us, carry us out into the middle of St. Johns River, and, after tying stones to our feet, sink us both.” Three times that night Brown and Crosby held the door against the mob attack.⁸⁴

While electioneering in Marion County, Illinois, David Lewis* faced a member of the mob who had tried to kill him and had succeeded in killing his brother at Haun's Mill, Missouri six years previous. Lewis recorded that the former Missourian boasted of his participation at Haun's Mill and “seemed for awhile to think as I was alone that he would frighten me.” He “talked very saucy about his being wounded” to which Lewis responded that “I wished it was his neck instead of his leg...” With thoughts of his murdered brother and his own narrow escape, Lewis wrote that he “forg[o]t that I was a preacher, for I felt more like fighting than preaching.” However, a crowd had now assembled to hear Lewis preach. Obviously, the “subject of our persecution was

uppermost in my mind,” Lewis wrote. “I spoke largely on this subject and pointed my finger at... [the Missourian] and said, ‘th[e]re is one of the actors in this cruelty persecution and murder, ever eye was turned to him with scorn and he arose from the congregation and left the room.’”⁸⁵

While Joseph Young* was preaching in Ohio, a man yelled, “[I]f I hear one say [the] Prophet Joseph Smith, Damn the Mormon elders” and threatened to “stain his hands with their blood.” Young pragmatically recorded, “This gave me the understanding that I must be cautious.”⁸⁶ Another antagonist threatened George Miller* in Kentucky: “If you do not leave this country and put a stop to preaching your religious views and political Mormonism, the negroes are employed to hang you to an apple tree.”⁸⁷ A Missourian accosted David Sprague Hollister* on a steamboat when he discovered Hollister was a Mormon. The man drew a bowie knife and a struggle ensued until passengers broke up the fight.⁸⁸ Jacob E. Terry* and his companion Theophilus Nixon* electioneered on the wharf in Chicago handing out copies of Smith’s *Views*. Terry recorded that a mob lead by a former mayor of Chicago, “abased us shamefully throw[e]d old tobacco Chews and other Filth in our Faces Railed out against the Mormons and against Joseph Smith.” The mob taunted Terry to read Smith’s *Views*. As Terry “commenced Reading they tore the Document to Pieces.” Terry called for the city marshal but only received “more abuse.”⁸⁹

Abraham O. Smoot*, president of the work in Tennessee, quickly learned he and his men would meet serious opposition. On May 18, Smoot preached at the courthouse in Dresden. Soon after he began, someone fired a pistol through one window and “brickbats” crashed through another. Frightened, much of the congregation exited while Smoot assured them if they stayed they would be protected. He continued to preach as

William Camp* guarded the door. Smoot wrote that many stayed while he, “dispen[s]ed the words of eternal life unto them, which I did in as plane [*sic*] and conspicious [*sic*] a manner as pos[sible] for the space of one hour.” A week later, Smoot and twelve other electioneers held a conference in the packed courthouse. Again the meeting was interrupted. A lawyer sat at the front of the congregation and heaped abuse and continually interrupted the proceedings. As the conference ended, around 150 men forced their way into the courthouse and blocked the exits. The leader of the mob, county sheriff M. D. Cardwell, then stood on a bench and exclaimed, “fello[w] citizens, you see that these men [electioneers] are come amongst us to raise insurrection and pas[s]ing [abolition] principles amon[g]st our slaves.” Smoot asked Caldwell what he wanted, to which Caldwell responded “blood” for “you have come here to incite the slaves to kill [their] masters.” When some proceeded to lay their hands on Smoot, the six foot, two hundred pound wife of William Camp* pulled up her sleeves and declared, “Mr. Caldwell you dare to touch one of them Elders and I will see your heart blood.” One of the mob yelled to “knock her down”, to which the sheriff responded, “No[,] Mrs. Camp they shan’t hurt you.” With Mrs. Camp in the lead, the missionaries exited the building single file, each with a heavy hickory walking stick in his hand. After the cadre members left, the mob turned on the sheriff who fled. Caldwell sent a communication the next day to Smoot that he could hold meetings in the court house again; however, Smoot chose to hold the second day of the conference at a local home.

On July 1, following a two-day church conference, a state convention for Joseph Smith’s “Jeffersonian Democracy” commenced in Boston. Held in the famous Melodeon concert hall, the convention nominated “General Joseph Smith for President [and] Sidney

Rigdon for Vice President.” Seven of the church’s Quorum of Twelve Apostles were present. Throughout the day, the convention “was addressed with much animation and zeal...” During the evening session, “a large number of rowdies...felt disposed to make [a] disturbance.” One young man stood “and commenced a series of rowdy remarks [being] encouraged by some mob companions until confusion became general in the gallery.” The police were called and while attempting to arrest the trouble makers, “they were assaulted and beaten badly by a set of young desperadoes.” After a prolonged fight, the police cleared the gallery, but the meeting broke up in confusion.⁹⁰ A participant at the convention gave a detailed account to *The Prophet*. The reporter, who went by the pseudonym Architectonic, wrote that the instigators were “‘Whig young gentlemen’ of this pious puritanical city.” “[T]he well dressed rowdies of Boston assembled en masse to ‘rout the Mormon humbugs,’” out of “nativist” feelings. By this time, rising Protestant nativists centered in large Northeastern and Mid-Atlantic cities were associated with the Whig party. Conversely, Mormons and Catholics, both of whom included large numbers of immigrants, joined with the Democrats. Whig influence and nativism were common threads in Bible riots in Philadelphia and the Melodeon riot (both in the summer of 1844).

Architectonic demanded:

“Must we for ever [*sic*] have to hold up the damning effects of bygone persecutions, Roman Catholic persecutions... Must we rake up the ashes of the Convent [burned a month previous in Philadelphia] to shake on the heads of the ‘Natives,’...[or remember the] Mormons who have been robbed, whip[p]ed, tarred and feathered, hunted and shot down like mad dogs, for daring to worship God after the dictates of their conscience, in this enlightened age, in this land of Liberty[?]”⁹¹

If these events had dispirited the cadre, they were soon to be dealt a stunning blow. On July 27, 1844, an organized mob attacked and murdered prophet and presidential

candidate Joseph Smith not far from his Nauvoo base. Joseph Smith thus became the first presidential candidate in U.S. history to be assassinated. The consequences of his death were felt by all Mormons, but were particularly poignant to the cadre of electioneers spread throughout the nation campaigning for his cause.

Cadre Reaction to the Assassination

Several of the electioneers were working in and around Nauvoo at the time of Joseph Smith's assassination. On the day following the murders, the Smith brothers' bodies were brought to Nauvoo, Edward Hunter* recorded: "We formed two lines to receive them; I was placed at the extreme right, to wheel in after the bodies, and march to the Mansion." A massive "crowd of mourners [was] there, lamenting the great loss of our Prophet and Patriarch." Hunter recalled "The scene was enough to almost melt the soul of man."⁹² Hunter helped carry Smith's body into the Mansion House. Joseph and Hyrum Smith were cleaned and "dressed and laid in state at the mansion house, where thousands of people, bathed in tears, passed in procession, two abreast, to view their mangled remains." Lyman O. Littlefield* recorded that he and his wife, "had the mournful privilege of looking one sad and brief adieu upon the noble forms of those men of God." He later wrote: "[A]lthough forty-four years have since passed away, the powers of memory seldom go back and review the scene--though in gleams of momentary fleetness--without sensations of pain."⁹³ After nearly ten thousand people viewed the bodies, Levi Ward Hancock* took his ten-year-old son Mosiah back to the mansion. Hancock instructed his son "to place one hand on Joseph's breast and to raise my other arm and swear with hand uplifted that I would never make a compromise with any of the sons of Hell." Mosiah recorded that he "took [the vow] with a determination

to fulfill to the very letter...⁹⁴ Christiana Riser, the wife of George Christian Riser* who was electioneering in Ohio, “looked upon the faces of Joseph and Hyrum in death, [and] she...vowed that if she had another son she would name him after the prophet and his brother.” Two years later, she gave birth to Joseph Hyrum Riser, one of over two hundred children of cadre members named after Joseph or Hyrum Smith.⁹⁵

The next day, June 29, the Nauvoo Saints gathered for the funeral of their fallen Prophet and Patriarch. William W. Phelps*, Joseph Smith’s long-time friend and political advisor, a senior member of the Council of Fifty, and Nauvoo city councilman, gave the funeral sermon. Addressing a gathered audience of ten thousand, Phelps stated, “Two of the greatest and best men, who have lived on the earth, since...the Savior, have fallen victims to the popular will of mobocracy in this boasted ‘Asylum of the oppressed.’” While their prophet was dead, the priesthood restored to him, “remains unharmed,” and other leaders would step into the “‘shoes’ of the ‘prophet, priest and king’ of Israel: and then with the same power, the same God, and the same spirit that caused Joseph to move the cause of Zion with mighty power.” Concluding his sermon, Phelps declared, “what shall I say of Joseph the seer, whose innocent blood stains the land of freedom, stains the halls of legislation; stains the judges’ bench; stains the priests’ pulpit; and stains the nation’s panoply—yet, what shall I say of this patriot of purity? I will say he was all he was—the agent of Jehovah...”⁹⁶ The sermon finished, the sad assembly followed the coffins to burial. Hunter remembered, “Their death was hard to bear. Our hope was almost gone...”⁹⁷ A few days later on July 2, Jedediah Morgan Grant* was married to his sweetheart Caroline Van Dyke. By evening, he had left Nauvoo on a mission to call the apostles and his fellow electioneers home to Nauvoo.

Milo Andrus* and John Loveless* were the only known missionaries away from Nauvoo at the time of the assassination who returned in time to attend the funeral. Loveless recorded that, “when we heard of the assassination of the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum...[w]e went home... quickly...” Like other electioneers after him, Loveless went to Carthage Jail, “where they were murdered, and saw the floor stained with the best blood of the present generation.” He then, “called at Hamilton’s Hotel to see Elder Taylor, who was wounded in the jail.”⁹⁸ Upon returning to Nauvoo, several other electioneers made the pilgrimage to Carthage to pay homage to the man they loved and honored as a prophet. Joseph Curtis* went in the fall of 1844 and recorded his solemn feelings at seeing blood stains on the walls.⁹⁹ In February of 1845, Charles C. Rich, “visited the jail at Carthage to see the Jail and plac[e] where the Prophet and Patriarch was mart[y]red.”¹⁰⁰

Most electioneers heard of Joseph Smith’s assassination in newspaper accounts, which they often initially discounted. Jacob Norton* and most of the Michigan electioneering corps were “attend[ing] a State convention in Jackson for the purpose of nominating Presidential Electors.” July 5, the last day of the convention, newspaper articles reporting Smith’s death appeared, but Norton recorded, “we did not believe the story and proceeded to nominate our Electors.” While heading to his next assignment with Zebedee Coltrin*, Norton received a letter from Charles C. Rich* confirming the assassination. He soon met Moses Smith* who was “completely discomfited by the news of the Prophet’s death & he would preach very little afterwards...”¹⁰¹ William I. Appleby* saw a report on July 10 in Delaware of the assassination “by a Mob.” “I could not credit the Report of their deaths at first,” Appleby wrote, “indeed I did not want to

believe it, and almost hoped against hope.” The next day, Appleby fell in with Apostles Heber C. Kimball and Lyman Wight, Joseph Albert Stratton*, Elijah F. Sheets*, and others. Stratton was the first to learn the news on July 7 at the train station in Wilmington, Delaware. He recorded, “I did not credit the report although it created a very singular sensation it seemed to run through me like an Electric Shock.” His current companion, David Sprague Hollister*, had left for Baltimore to “make some arrangements for the [National] Convention.” The next day Stratton, “Got the papers from Phila[delphia] which State that Joseph & Hiram [*sic*] Smith were boath [*sic*] shot on the 27 of June in the prison at Carthage...” Stratton encountered Elijah F. Sheets* on the 10th and “our me[e]ting was quite refreshing to Boath [*sic*] in this time of excitement.” They found three other electioneers including Appleby. As they discussed the news, “some believed the report was true others did not.” The next day, Apostles Heber C. Kimball and Lyman Wight arrived in Wilmington on their way to the National Convention. Wight preached and “all seemed to have some hopes that our Brothern [*sic*] was yet alive.” The apostles and several other electioneers departed the next morning, July 12, for Baltimore to attend the National Convention. Stratton read the morning paper which contained a letter from Governor Ford of Illinois, “which convinces us all that the Prophet & Patriarch are dead[,] my feelings at this intel[l]igence can as easily be imagined as described[,] it seemed so with others for they sat down and wept like children.” The next day, Wight, Kimball, and the others returned from the Convention in Baltimore where “nothing [was] don[e].” The apostles continued on to Philadelphia, “very mutch [*sic*] effected.” Stratton journeyed to Philadelphia the next week, where Jedediah Morgan Grant* gave the gathered Mormons “all the perticulars [*sic*],” regarding

the Smith's assassination.¹⁰²

In late July, cousins John* and William Thomas* heard of Smith's death while electioneering in Nocksuble County, Mississippi. The news arrived during a meeting; "Some beli[e]ved it, and others did not." "The Sa[i]nts held a meeting and prayed to the lord asking him if it was true," recorded John Thomas*. One present "spoke in tong[ue]s, another Elder interpret[ed] it, and said 'Joseph and Hyrum Smith is not dead.'" Most did not believe the interpretation. After the meeting, John Thomas* and the other elders went into the woods "to Pray to [k]now whether the interpretation was true or not." They felt impressed that "it was of the devil." The following day, John Thomas* traveled alone to another branch of the church. Along the way he, "went aside from the road in to a heavey [*sic*] thick forest, and asked the Lord if Joseph and Hyrum was still alive to revive the gloom that is in my mind and to give releff [*sic*], but if they was dead" to let him know. For a few days, Thomas recorded, "I refused to talk but very little... [and] prefered [*sic*] to be alone. Then the Nauvoo newspapers arrived "dressed in mourning [and] confermed [*sic*] the report."¹⁰³

Approaching their assignment in Vermont, James Burgess* and Alfred Cordon* read in the Syracuse, New York papers of, "much excitement...about the Mormons at Nauvoo [and] the[y] say that Joseph and Hyrum Smith have been shot by a mob." Arriving in Dover, Vermont nine days later on July 20, they continued preaching and electioneering. Burgess wrote on the 24 that they had "expect[ed] to have had some...news with the reports of the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith but did not get any particulars." Two days later, they received a copy of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*. "[I]t gave an account of them bringing their dead bodies into the City of Nauvoo and the scene which

took place which would be melting for the heart of any human being having read it through,” recorded Burgess. “There must be some truth in the matter,” he continued, “it weighed our spirits down with grief to think that two men of God as such [should] so soon fall by the hands of wicked men we little thought of it when we left Nauvoo.” The idea that the Smiths were dead, “pained our very souls but we have an [*sic*] hope the time is not far distant when we shall meet them again.”¹⁰⁴

Around June 25, Apostle Parley P. Pratt felt “constrained by the Spirit to start prematurely for home, without knowing why or wherefore...” That afternoon, his brother, William Pratt* “providentially” took passage on the same canal boat near Utica, New York. Parley later recorded, “As we conversed together on the deck, a strange and solemn awe came over me, as if the powers of hell were let loose.” He felt “so overwhelmed with sorrow I could hardly speak.” “[A]fter pacing the deck for some time in silence,” Parley turned to his brother exclaiming, “Brother William, this is a dark hour; the powers of darkness seem to triumph, and the spirit of murder is abroad in the land; and it controls the hearts of the American people, and a vast majority of them sanction the killing of the innocent. My brother, let us keep silence and not open our mouths.” William bid his brother Parley farewell in western New York to attend an electioneer conference in Battavia. Parley continued to Buffalo and then on a steamer to Chicago. At the last landing in Wisconsin before proceeding to Chicago, the steamer took on new passengers who “brought the news of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.” Parley wrote that “Great excitement prevailed on board, there being a general spirit of exultation and triumph at this glorious news, as it was called, much the same as generally shown on the first receipt of the news of a great national victory in time of war.”

Passengers “taunted” Pratt about the demise of Mormonism.¹⁰⁵ Parley P. Pratt arrived in Nauvoo a few days later, the first apostle to return.

A small number of electioneers received comfort in the form of what they viewed as revelatory dreams. George Miller* recorded a dream in the early morning of June 28, just half a day removed from the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Miller later remembered that as he lay on his bed, “suddenly Joseph Smith appeared to me, saying, God bless you, Brother Miller.” Smith told Miller that he and his brother Hyrum had been killed by a mob at Carthage, after being “delivered up by the brethren as a lamb for the slaughter.” “You out not to have left me,” Smith declared, “If you had stayed with me I should not have been given up.” Miller countered, “but you sent me.” Smith replied, “I know I did, but you ought not to have gone...” and then approaching Miller as if to embrace him said, “God bless you forever and ever...” As the dream ended, Miller found himself standing in the middle of the floor hands extended as if returning an embrace. Miller’s companion Thomas Edwards*, now awakened, called out, “what’s the matter?” Miller and Edwards left for their regular morning walk. While they strolled, Miller told Edwards of his vision and declared he was sure it was true, that his mission was now over, and that he had to return to Nauvoo. Edwards responded that Miller “preached too much, and [his] mind was somewhat deranged,” and that they should first fulfill their teaching appointments. Miller agreed, but on the day of their last appointment headed home. Passing a tavern, they read in a newspaper of Smith’s murder. “Brother Edwards being an excitable man, was wholly unmanned, and insisted on an immediate separation, as we traveled together might endanger our lives, and broke off from me as one distracted, and I did not see any more of him until I saw him in

Nauvoo, four weeks afterwards.”¹⁰⁶

John D. Lee*, also a member of the Council of Fifty in Kentucky, recorded a similar experience. Lee heard of Joseph Smith’s death on July 5 from newspaper accounts. A few days later, he recorded a dream-vision. A “heavenly messenger” appeared to him, whom he followed into “the midst of a green pasture” where for “nearly 3 hours...the visions of the Almighty God were opened to my view.” Lee recorded seeing “the Martyrdom of the prophet & patriarch.” An angelic “Personage” then stood before Lee and “bid my fears depart” for his “labors [were] accepted.” The angel explained that the original Apostles and Seventy of Jesus Christ had felt all was lost “when their leader was taken and crucif[i]ed inste[a]d of being crown[ed] King of that Nation, as they fondly expected.” “Just so it is with you,” the messenger explained, “Instead of electing your leader the chief Magistrate of this Nation they have Martyr[e]d him in prison which has hasten his exaltation to the ex[ec]utive chair over this generation.” Lee was instructed to “return home in peace and there wait your endowment from on high as did the di[s]ciples at Jerusalem.”¹⁰⁷

William R. R. Stowell* recorded a dream about Joseph Smith just days after returning to Nauvoo in early September 1844. “To me, it was very plain and distinct,” Stowell wrote. He walked up to Joseph Smith’s mansion, now “larger and more grand and beautiful.” A doorman ushered Stowell inside “the most beautiful” building he ever saw. Joseph Smith lay on a bed in a room “of the purest white.” Stowell approached his prophet, shook his hand, and kissed his forehead. He then noticed “[on] one side of the pit of his [Smith’s] stomach...a bullet hole where he had been shot...” and from it ran a “strip of fresh blood about as wide as a man's finger.” Smith arose and together they

went outside and took a ride in a horse and buggy. They traveled to Stowell's home where they conversed with Stowell's family. Smith then wished to return home, but Stowell pleaded for a blessing first. Smith consented, laid his hands on Stowell, and "pronounced many choice blessings... [and] declared that the blessings of God should be upon my efforts in rolling the Latter-day work on." The blessing ended with an emphatic, "AND YOU SHALL BE BLESSED." When Stowell awoke, he told his mother, "Be of good cheer, mother, Joseph is alive and all is well." For Stowell, the dream swept away "[t]he darkness and despondency that had brooded over him," and with "his mind...at rest, and with his usual courage and energy, he began to labor to provide for the family and to make their home more pleasant."¹⁰⁸

In the end, perhaps John D. Lee* best captured the poignant feelings of the cadre regarding the loss of Joseph Smith: "a friend more dear to us than all the riches and honors that could be conferred on us by a thousand such worlds as we now inhabit".¹⁰⁹ Several electioneers desired to advance the work of Zion with increased vigor. William Stowell* recorded, "While I felt to mourn deeply the loss of our noble leader, my faith was not in the least shaken in the doctrines and principles that the prophet had planted in the earth." "The Spirit of gathering with the Saints and sharing their fortunes, whatever they might be," Stowell continued, "was still upon me as I continued to labor diligently in preparing for the journey to Nauvoo." Stowell led a small group of Saints across the country in a wagon that proudly advertised "Nauvoo" on both sides of its cover. In mid-July 1844, after hearing of Smith's demise, William I Appleby* expressed "a desire to humble myself, more than ever, with renewed zeal, and determination, to advance the Work, or my diligence, before the Lord, and also to renew my Covenant..." In a

symbolic act of his devotion, Appleby had his companion Joseph B. Stratton* rebaptize and reconfirm him. Appleby later penned, “Although the Prophet & Patriarch had been slain, I was determined by the aid of Heavens King, to persevere and sound the Gospel drum, and if possible, with more energy.”¹¹⁰

Some cadre members responded to Joseph Smith’s assassination with anger. John Loveless* was returning to Nauvoo on June 28 when,

About one hundred and fifty miles below [Nauvoo] we met our boat coming down that gave us the news of the Prophet's death. A loud shout was sent up by the devils incarnate on our boat, who were on their way to Nauvoo to fight the Mormons. Had I possessed the strength of Sampson, I would, like him, have sunk the whole mass in one gulf of oblivion and sent them to their congenial spirits, the howling devils of the infernal region.¹¹¹

Many electioneers, both immediately and over time, saw the murders as the rejection of Joseph Smith and Mormonism by a wicked nation. William I. Appleby ponderously penned: “Perhaps it was all right. I was necessary for them to seal their Mission with their own blood like the Redeemer Sealed his; and by Wicked men too. But if they have killed the Prophet and Patriarch, they cannot kill Mormonism or the Church. Its course is onward, Our God will avenge that blood and the wrongs of his Saints!”¹¹² Jacob Norton* remembered, “I felt to proclaim with loud voice to Priest & People that the blood of the Prophets they had slain should most assuredly be visited upon this generation.”¹¹³ Amasa Lyman*, Council of Fifty member and a counselor to Joseph Smith in the First Presidency, observed a Fourth of July celebration in Cincinnati, just a day after hearing of the murders. He wrote that the people made a “great preparation...to celebrate [the] birth of american liberty which might be[t]ter have been turned into its funeral.”¹¹⁴ On July 11 in Rochester, New York, Franklin D. Richards* contemplated the murders of Joseph and

Hyrum Smith in relation to the concurrent second wave of Philadelphia Bible Riots: “A civil war in very deed, in which many lives were lost and many more were wounded.” “While the world exults in the supposed death of the Prophet,” Richards wrote, “they might better bemoan their own impending fate and that of our happy country, in fulfillment of his predictions.”¹¹⁵ William Hyde* was furious that the nation had denied Smith and Mormonism. “They have stained the earth with the blood of the man, or men, through whom God has organized his Kingdom on the Earth which Kingdom he has decreed shall stand forever...And for that Blood the Nation will be obliged to atone.”¹¹⁶ Lyman O. Littlefield* published *The Martyrs* in 1888 to tell the story of the murders to a new generation of Mormons. Littlefield had been in Nauvoo when the murders occurred. He was also privy to information from eyewitnesses to the murders as well as the testimonies produced at the 1845 trial for the accused murders. Reflecting back forty-four years, Littlefield revealed a politically-motivated conspiracy. There existed “powerful influences and jealousies in the circle of some of the leading men at the capital of the nation,” because of the “presidential canvass that was in progress during the early part of the summer of 1844.” Smith’s candidacy “was considered a bold step, but the political exigencies of the times [for the Mormons] seemed to require it.” Littlefield wrote “that there were good grounds for the belief that an understanding was had between them [national political figures] and the Governors of Missouri and Illinois, and from them down through some of the State and County officers, that Joseph was getting too much power and influence, and his career must come to a close before the end of the campaign.”¹¹⁷

Few would disagree with the conclusions of Lorenzo Snow* the first electioneer to leave Nauvoo, president of the work in Ohio, and future president of the church.

Writing in July 1844, Snow concluded that, “The details of that horrid transaction are sufficient to show that no protection can be expected by LD Saints from the Government.” Snow lamented that Governor Ford had not protected the Smiths despite his promises, nor had the assassins been brought to justice. The residents of western Illinois were now demanding that the Mormons leave the state. Snow furiously penned:

Are we to be forever mob[b]ed and murdered because we have a religion different from other people? ...Does not the blood of Liberty flow thro’ my veins! and the spirit of Freedom burn in my bosom! Yes! Yes! All this[.] Then I ask this Mobocratic Government if it expects my hand, my heart, and my tongue are going to be hushed in silence by their damnable and worse than savage deeds? I say no no! for I have sworn before the Almighty God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth that so long as the life pulses in this heart of mine, every power and faculty of my soul shall be employed in defending the cause of the Oppressed the people of God the Latter Day Saints. ... God shall curse this Nation that allows such murderous scenes.¹¹⁸

Though dismayed, hurt, and stunned, the vast majority of the cadre remained faithful to Joseph Smith as the prophet of God. Their campaign had generated both enthusiastic support and vehement opposition. Newspapers throughout the nation commented on Smith, his *Views*, and his electioneers’ activities. Missionaries baptized hundreds into the Mormon faith. At the same time, political and religious opponents had challenged and persecuted cadre members. Some sought to silence the Mormon campaign by disrupting meetings, threatening lawsuits, destroying property, and even inflicting bodily harm. In the end, Joseph Smith’s religious, economic, and political enemies plotted and executed him to destroy not just a man, but a presidential campaign and a new faith. However, they did not deter Smith’s cadre of electioneers. Many

continued preaching in their assigned locations, some until late 1845. Others strengthened and reassured outlying branches of Mormonism, giving hope to shocked and beleaguered congregants.

Returning to Nauvoo, cadre members reunited with family and friends to mourn the loss of their leader; but there was work to do. The temple needed completion. The Latter-day Saints had to be gathered from the four corners of the earth. With expulsion a growing danger, haven had to be found in the West. Who would lead the Mormon faithful into the Great Basin to create Zion? The cadre were uniquely positioned and qualified for leadership. They began their missions with high hopes of converting a nation religiously and politically. Sacrificing all, they overcame privation, abuse, loneliness, and persecution to preach Mormonism and advocate Joseph Smith for president. As they did, their hearts and minds were fixed on creating Smith's Zion; a commitment that not even his death diminished. For the cadre, the work of Zion had to continue. How that would occur, and who would lead them was still unknown, but they would surely do their part. As William I. Appleby* wrote: "The blood of the Saints, have flowed to test [Zion], and it must continue to roll on, until the Kingdom of this world becomes the Kingdom of our Lord and his Christ."¹¹⁹

Endnotes

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⁴ *Nauvoo Neighbor*, April 24, 1844, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 25, 1844, 2.

⁶ Samuel Hollister Rogers, Journal of Samuel H. Rogers, *CHL*, 49.

⁷ Amasa Lyman, Journal June 4 1844 -March 16 1845, Amasa Lyman Collection, *CHL*, 6:8-9.

⁸ Evidence exists for 312 (approximately half) missionaries regarding their activities.

⁹ George A. Smith, History of George A Smith, *CHL*, 5.

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¹² Earl Max Sudweeks, *Biography of David and Mary Savage*, 1991, *CHL*, 4.

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¹⁵ Henry G. Boyle, Diary of Henry G. Boyle, *BYU*, 10.

¹⁶ Franklin D. Richards, "Journal No 2, May 1844 - July 27 1844," Typescript, Richards Family Collection, *CHL*, June 31, 1844; Burgess, Journals, May 30, 1844.

¹⁷ Edson Whipple, Record Books [ca. 1836-1936], *CHL*, 1.

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¹⁹ Daniel Durham Hunt, Journal of D.D. Hunt & LA Brady, 1844 May – 1845 Jan, *CHL*.

²⁰ David Pettegrew, A History of David-Pettegrew – Journal 1791-1861, *CHL*, 190.

²¹ Riser, Reminiscence, 9-10.

²² Boyle, Autobiography, 5-6.

²³ James Amasa Little, *Biography of William Rufus Rogers Stowell*, 1893, *CHL*, 22-23.

²⁴ Whipple, Record Books, 1.

²⁵ Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy, Reminiscences and Diary 1896 May – 1899, Typescript, *CHL* 27.

²⁶ Edson Barney, "Biographical Sketch of Edson Barney [1893]," *Mormon Biographical Sketches Collection*, *CHL*.

²⁷ Jackman, Short Sketch, 23.

²⁸ William Hyde, Journal [ca. 1868-1873], *CHL*, June 29-30, 1844.

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³⁰ Joseph Holbrook, The Life of Joseph Holbrook 1806-1871, *BYU*, 60.

³¹ Jonathan Oldham Duke, Reminiscences and Diary, 1850 Jun - 1857 Jul, Typescript, *CHL*, 2.

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- ⁴⁵ Lyman, Journal, 1-11.
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- ⁴⁸ Lorenzo Snow, Journal and Letterbook 1836-1845, CHL, 48-50.
- ⁴⁹ Smith, George A., History, 8.
- ⁵⁰ Duke, Reminiscences and Diary, 42.
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- ⁵⁴ Lee, Journal 1844, 13.
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- ⁷⁵ Lee, Journal, 12.

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- ⁸⁵ David Lewis, Autobiography 1854, CHL, 30.
- ⁸⁶ Joseph Young, Diaries 1844-1881, CHL, 4-5.
- ⁸⁷ George Miller, *Correspondence of Bishop George Miller with the Northern Islander* (Burlington, Wisconsin, 1916), 20-21.
- ⁸⁸ Hollister, Letter May 9th, 1844.
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- ⁹¹ *The Prophet*, July 13, 1844, 2.
- ⁹² "Bishop Edward Hunter," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1963), 6:319-326.
- ⁹³ Lyman Omer Littlefield, Autobiography (1819-1848), CHL; Lyman Omer Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints* (Logan, Utah: The Utah Journal Co., 1888), chapter 11.
- ⁹⁴ Mosiah Lyman Hancock, Autobiography of Mosiah Lyman Hancock, CHL, 30.
- ⁹⁵ Riser, Reminiscences, 11.
- ⁹⁶ William Wines Phelps, Funeral Sermon of Joseph Smith, CHL.
- ⁹⁷ *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 6:319-26; However, unbeknownst to the gathered congregation, the coffins were filled with sand bags in a diversionary tactic to protect the bodies of the Smiths. At midnight, Edward Hunter*, Gilbert Goldsmith*, and two others secretly carried the real coffins from the Nauvoo Mansion to the basement of the unfinished Nauvoo House Hotel and clandestinely buried them.
- ⁹⁸ Milo Andrus, Autobiography, CHL, 6.
- ⁹⁹ Joseph Curtis, Reminiscences and diary, 1839 Oct -1881 Mar, CHL, 63.
- ¹⁰⁰ Charles C. Rich, "C. C. Rich's Journal for 1845", Vol. 7 Jan 1845-11 September 1845, CHL.
- ¹⁰¹ Jacob, Reminiscence, 7.
- ¹⁰² Joseph Albert Stratton, A Journal of the Travels and Ministry of Elder Joseph A. Stratton 1844 May -1846, CHL, 5-8.
- ¹⁰³ Thomas, Historical Sketch, 37-39.
- ¹⁰⁴ Burgess, Journal 1841-1848, July 10-26, 1844.
- ¹⁰⁵ Richards, Journal No 2, 12; William Wines Phelps* poem set to Scottish folk music became one of Mormonism's most enduring and endearing hymns. As placed in the 1845 LDS hymnal, two verses and the chorus captured the post-murder feelings of cadre members for their fallen prophet:
- "Praise to his mem'ry, he died as a martyr;
Honored and blest is his ever great name;
Long shall his blood, which was shed by assassins,
Stain Illinois, while the earth lauds his fame.

CHORUS

“Hail to the Prophet, ascended to heaven,
 Traitors and tyrants now fight him in vain,
 Mingling with God’s he can plan for his brethren,
 Death cannot conquer the hero again.

“Sacrifice brings forth the blessings of heaven;
 Earth must atone for the blood of that man!
 Wake up the world for the conflict of justice,
 Millions shall know ‘brother Joseph’ again.”

A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1845, CHL.
 The poem originally appeared in *Times and Seasons* August 1, 1844 under the title “Joseph Smith.”

¹⁰⁶ George Miller, “Correspondence,” August 30, 1855. Some of the verbiage conflates his memory with later statements and experience.

¹⁰⁷ Lee, Journal, 30.

¹⁰⁸ Little, Biography, 23-26.

¹⁰⁹ Lee, Journal, 29.

¹¹⁰ Appleby, Autobiography, 126-27, 130.

¹¹¹ John Loveless, Autobiography of John Loveless, Typescript, CHL; *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 12:221-226.

¹¹² Appleby, Autobiography and journal, 126-27.

¹¹³ Jacob, Reminiscence, 7.

¹¹⁴ Lyman, Journal June 4 1844, 6:10.

¹¹⁵ Richards, Journal No 2, July 11-12, 1844.

¹¹⁶ Hyde, Journal, 59-60.

¹¹⁷ Lyman O. Littlefield, *The Martyrs: A Sketch of the Lives and a Full Account of the Martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith*, (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1882), 50-52.

¹¹⁸ Lorenzo Snow, Journal and Letterbook.

¹¹⁹ Appleby, Autobiography and journal, 92.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EMERGING MORMON ARISTARCHY: CADRE INVOLVMENT IN THE SUCCESSION, EXODUS, AND STATE OF DESERET, 1844-1850

“I prophesied that the Saints would...be driven to the Rocky Mountains. Many would apostatize; others would...lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease; and some would live to go and assist in making settlements and building cities, and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.”¹ – Joseph Smith, Aug. 6 1842

In the aftermath of Joseph Smith’s death, most local, regional, and national commentators predicted the end of Mormonism. With their charismatic leader gone, his “deceived” followers would flounder looking for a new prophet, become scattered, and eventually leave Illinois. While some did wander, and there was no shortage of claims of prophetic succession, Mormonism did not die. After struggling through a succession crisis, most Mormons followed Brigham Young, president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Young and other church leaders finished building the temple, administered its sacred ordinances, and organized a mass migration to the West. Despite difficulty, tragedy, and even death, Mormonism not only survived but strengthened as it pushed its way to the Great Basin. There, Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty established the State of Deseret, an independent, theodemocratic government to secure and protect the new Zion. From the first weeks following Smith’s assassination to the creation of

Deseret, Brigham Young and church leaders placed cadre members in leadership roles in every aspect of organizing, moving, and establishing Zion. In their service, they emerged as the aristarchy upon whom Young, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Council of Fifty placed responsibility to build and lead Zion in the Mormon Great Basin Kingdom.

Succession

Brigham Young

The electioneers who returned in July and early August 1844 found Nauvoo a city in mourning and confusion. Abraham O. Smoot* recorded:

These are days long to be remembered by me, for there seemed to be tem[p]tations...on every hand by espiering [*sic*] spirits and otherwise. As it was after the days of crucifixion [*sic*] of the Savior that meny [*sic*] of the saints was returning to th[e]ir former occupations in life, supposing...all th[e]ir works had been in vain. So it seemed to be with some of the saints in Nauvoo.²

No clear successor to Joseph Smith immediately emerged. Rival factions coalesced around potential heirs to Smith's work. Others, losing faith upon Smith's murder, simply left Mormonism. On August 8, a critical meeting in Nauvoo led to Brigham Young becoming Smith's successor. During the course of the day, Smith's former counselor Sidney Rigdon and Brigham Young addressed the Nauvoo Saints. Rigdon, a gifted orator, spoke for several hours until his voice gave out. He declared himself the church's "Guardian" by an angelic revelation and through his decade-long role as Smith's counselor. Young spoke briefly, asserting that the "keys of the kingdom" were with the Twelve and that no one could come between the apostles and Smith. While Young spoke, many, including some cadre members, heard or saw Joseph Smith's face or voice. Their experience convinced them to follow Young. James H. Glines* recorded:

...President Brigham Young stood up and commenced speaking and all eyes were turned upon him, for he seemed to have the voice of the prophet Joseph, as many testified at the time, for he spoke with great power and authority, to the convincing of the saints that the mantle had fallen from Joseph to Brigham.³

William Hyde* remembered: “On this day it was plainly manifest that the mantle of Joseph had rested upon President Young. The voice of the same spirit by which Joseph spake was this day sounded in our ears so much so that I once unthoughtedly [*sic*] raised my head to see if it was not actually Joseph addressing the assembly.”⁴ Jacob Hamblin* wrote, “The voice and gestures of the man were those of the Prophet Joseph.” Surveying the crowd, Hamblin believed, “The people, with few exceptions, visibly saw that the mantle of the Prophet Joseph had fallen upon Brigham Young. To some, it seemed as though Joseph again stood before them.” Rising to his feet, Hamblin declared to the man sitting beside him, “That is the voice of the true shepherd - the chief of the Apostles.”⁵ Nathan T. Porter* had a similar experience. As Young arose, “to speak to the People he was transfigured into Joseph[']s likeness in looks appearance & the sounding of his voice so that a low whisper ran through the vast Assembly – that[']s Joseph- that[']s Joseph.”⁶ Also in the crowd was young Robert S. Duke, son of Jonathan O. Duke*. When Young arose to speak, Robert sensed the speaker was Joseph Smith, a frequent visitor in their home. Robert turned to his father, “Look, papa, the Prophet is not dead.” Jonathon responded, “Hush, son, and remember this.”⁷

In a vote, the gathered congregation chose to follow Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles. In the August 15, 1844 *Times and Seasons*, Young declared, “You are now without a prophet...but you are not without Apostles who hold the keys of power...to preside over all the affairs of the church in all the world; being under direction

of the same God...” Regarding Joseph Smith’s presidential campaign, Young declared, “As rulers and people have taken counsel together against... [Joseph Smith], and have murdered him who would have reformed and saved the nation, it is not wisdom for the saints to have anything to do with politics, voting, or president-making, at present.” The campaign was officially over.

A large number of cadre members transferred their fealty to Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve. Eighty-three percent remained loyal through the January 1846 evacuation of Nauvoo. Three-quarters continued on to gather at Winter Quarters. Seventy-one percent remained with Young into the Great Basin, much higher than the general Mormon population of approximately one-half. In the end, 64% of the cadre were loyal until their death. Besides the miraculous manifestation which several cadre members experienced, other factors lead to their decision to follow Young. Young and his quorum had electioneered vigorously throughout the nation for Joseph Smith. Cadre members saw Young and the other apostles as fellow electioneers and missionaries, firmly committed to fulfilling Joseph Smith’s Zion dream. As other aspiring successors to Smith emerged, they found some converts, but overall the cadre stayed firm with Young.

Sustained by the Nauvoo Mormons, Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve moved quickly to consolidate control of the church to prevent further schism. In the October 1844 general conference, Young and the Apostles reorganized the priesthood leadership of the church, most significantly adding dozens of seventies quorums with over four hundred newly ordained members, half of whom were cadre members. Young acted on Joseph Smith’s pronouncement that Zion encompassed all of North and South

America. The apostles chose eighty-five of their most trusted high priests to relocate, each to one of the congressional districts of the United States. Their assignment was to build up the church, return with converts to receive their endowments when the temple was finished, and then go and build up a stake of Zion. Forty-four of the 85 (52%) chosen were cadre members, just recently returned from months of electioneering. The cadre was overrepresented in this group, considering that when they left on their missions, they represented approximately 15% of potential Mormon priesthood holders. For Young, using cadre members made sense. They were experienced missionaries who had just organized political and religious work throughout the United States. However, Young's plan did not come to fruition. Persecution drove the Mormons from the United States before most of the high priests could begin their missions.⁸

If Brigham Young and the apostles were firmly in control of the church as an organization, only half of the all Mormons followed them to the Great Basin. Shocked at the sudden loss of their prophet, many simply left the church or chose to let the church leave them. Table 4.1 delineates the affiliation of cadre members who chose not to follow Brigham Young. For a myriad of reasons, some looked to other aspirants to Joseph Smith's mantle, such as Sidney Rigdon, James J. Strang, William Smith, Lyman Wight, James Emmett*, James Brewster, and Charles B. Thompson*.

Just over half left organized Mormonism. The remnant followed an alternate form. Many did not wish to relocate or feared trekking into the unknown West. Others felt that appropriate authority lay with individuals other than the apostles. Some longed for the simpler Mormonism of the early 1830s, unencumbered by Zion's new religious, economic, social, and political demands. Undoubtedly, many decided on a variant path

Table 4.1, Cadre Apostates by Affiliation (1844-1850) (160)⁹

James J. Strang (41)	26%
Sidney Rigdon (16)	10%
Others (15)	9%
None (88)	55%

for a combination of these reasons. Each nonapostolic aspirant had initial success, followed by ultimate failure. Like those who eschewed organized Mormonism following Joseph Smith's death, many later chose to join the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the 1860s and 1870s.

Sidney Rigdon, though spurned by the apostles and most of Nauvoo, decided to organize his own church. Returning to Pittsburgh, Rigdon and some followers toured the eastern branches of Mormonism scouring for adherents. Many notable disaffected Mormon leaders initially joined Rigdon's ranks, including John C. Bennett, William Law, and William E. McClellin. On April 6, 1845 in Pittsburgh, Rigdon organized the "Church of Christ," the original name of Mormonism. Rigdon's church mirrored Joseph Smith's Zion ideal except for plural marriage, an omission that no doubt attracted some. Because of their devotion to Joseph Smith, disaffected cadre members were prominent in Rigdon's movement.¹⁰

In contrast, James J. Strang was the strongest rival to Brigham Young's leadership in the late 1840s and early 1850s. In the spring of 1844, Strang visited Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. Smith baptized Strang who then returned to Wisconsin eager to build up Mormonism. Shortly after Smith's murder, Strang produced a letter that he claimed was sent by the Prophet. The letter, dated nine days before Smith's death, instructed Strang to gather the church to a new central stake of Zion in Voree, Wisconsin and appointed

Strang the president of the church. Additionally, Strang claimed an angel appeared to him at the exact moment of Smith's death to announce Strang's ascension. Strang soon declared he had metal plates from ancient prophets to translate, just as Smith had. Intelligent, confident, and charismatic, Strang's claim to succession impressed those missing the "revelatory" and charismatic nature of Joseph Smith's leadership. Strang eventually led his followers to gather on Beaver Island, Michigan, where he attempted to create a Zion kingdom. Several cadre members followed and strongly advocated James J. Strang as Joseph Smith's successor.¹¹

James J. Strang's missionary force almost rivaled the group assembled by Brigham Young. Strangite missionaries canvassed the Midwest and Eastern states and even penetrated Young's strongholds in Nauvoo, Winter Quarters, and England. Not surprisingly, the most effective were former cadre members. Jehiel Savage* and Moses Smith*, excommunicated by Brigham Young for advocating Strang, became effective missionaries in Illinois, Michigan, and Canada. Indeed, Savage was so valuable and committed that Strang made him one of his apostles in 1849, a position that he held until Strang's murder. Strangite missionaries canvassed Mormon congregations in the eastern states as well. George T. Leach*, after leaving Sidney Rigdon's flailing group, served missions for Strang in New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Not wishing to move west and disturbed by reports of plural marriage, Stephen Post* joined Strang in 1846 after reading a news article about him. Post labored in Pennsylvania as a missionary before moving his family to Beaver Island. Like other cadre members who followed any of Joseph Smith's successors, Post was "looking for the consolation of Israel & long for the time to come when Zion shall arise & put on her beautiful garments

& become the joy of the whole earth.”¹²

James J. Strang brazenly sent to Nauvoo former cadre members as emissaries to declare he was Joseph Smith’s heir and to counsel the Nauvoo Mormons to flee to Voree. Serious confrontations occurred in January and February of 1846, just at the Mormons following Brigham Young prepared to leave Nauvoo. Despite being excommunicated by Young, the Strangite missionaries did not leave Nauvoo empty handed. Their preaching netted around one hundred converts, including excommunicated apostles William Smith (last surviving brother of Joseph Smith) and Hiram E. Page. Strangism reached as far as England, a fertile ground of Mormon converts for almost a decade, as well as Winter Quarters, the exodus headquarters of Brigham Young. The missionaries in England encountered stiff resistance and had no success; surprisingly, the missionaries sent to Winter Quarters fared better. From 1847-1851, Strangite emissaries took one hundred converts from Winter Quarters to Voree or Beaver Island.¹³

Wherever Strangite missionaries went, conflict occurred between rival cadre members split by loyalties to Smith’s successors. In fact, cadre members fought for and against Strangism from its inception. James J. Strang first publicly declared his revelation to succeed Joseph Smith at a conference in Florence, Michigan on August 5, 1844. Strang’s strategy was to proselyte at church conferences in the Midwest, away from Nauvoo. However, the Florence conference did not go as Strang hoped. Led by Crandell Dunn*, Jacob Norton*, Harvey Green*, Moses Smith*, and several other cadre members, the conference denied Strang’s claim of succession. Jacob Norton* reported that Strang’s revelation “carried upon its face the marks of a base forgery...dishonorable to the name of Joseph Smith whose signature it bore in a hand he never wrote.” Crandell

Dunn*, president of the conference, directed Strang not to talk of the revelation and to go to the Twelve in Nauvoo for verification. Strang and his associate Aaron Smith after initially agreeing, “absolutely refused & so they passed on East seeking Proselytes [*sic*] ...”¹⁴ The conference excommunicated Strang and Smith.¹⁵ Dunn assigned Jacob Norton* and Moses Smith*, a relative of both Aaron Smith and Strang, to take a copy of Strang’s revelation to the Twelve at Nauvoo. The two met with the apostles on August 25th and Strang’s revelation was denounced as a fraud. Brigham Young warned Moses Smith* to follow the Twelve on the matter, but he soon left Nauvoo to join James Emmett* and later his brother Aaron and nephew-in-law Strang. Similar confrontations occurred from Winter Quarters to England.¹⁶

Although initially a haven for Mormons against plural marriage and political Zion, strong cadre involvement helped move Strangism toward Nauvoo Mormonism. Strang’s decision to embrace politics and polygamy, however, angered and alienated many of his followers, including some cadre members. Stephen Post* secretly confided to his brother, “I have not as strong [of] confidence in Br. Strang as I had in his predecessor Joseph.”¹⁷ Support for James J. Strang ebbed, until he was shot and killed by disgruntled followers. Just as in Kirtland, Far West, and Nauvoo, neighboring non-Mormons forced the remaining Mormon Strangites off Beaver Island confiscating all of their possessions. Strang’s movement all but disappeared. George Miller*, faithful to the end, stayed by Strang’s bedside until he died. Now an orphan of three different Mormon movements, Miller, the former Nauvoo bishop and Council of Fifty member, solemnly chose to go to California. He died before arriving.¹⁸

A handful of other aspirants claimed leadership of the Mormon Church. Apostle

William Smith quickly became disaffected with the other members of the Twelve. He initially joined the Strangites with most of the Smith family, but in 1849 formed a church with a small band of followers, including Joseph Younger*, Selah Lane*, and Omar Olney*. However, Smith's church quickly collapsed. Another contender was Apostle Lyman Wight, who along with fellow Council of Fifty member George Miller* had permission from the council to establish a Mormon colony in Texas. Fourth in seniority, Wight believed the Council of Fifty held precedence over the Quorum of the Twelve, where Brigham Young was only a junior member. Wight left for Texas and began a small colony, refusing to follow the leadership of Young. Miller* initially followed Young to Winter Quarters then after a confrontation, followed Wight to Texas. Cadre members Jeremiah Curtis*, Samuel Heath*, Lorenzo Moore*, and Ira T. Miles* also accepted Wight. Wight briefly supported William Smith's claim, before choosing in 1849 to declare that succession fell to Joseph Smith's sons. He erratically led his small colony until his death in 1858. Other short-lived contenders for Joseph Smith's legacy included cadre members James Emmett* and Charles B. Thompson*. Both attempted to create, without success, Zion communities in Iowa. All who initially attempted to succeed Joseph Smith used elements of the Zion ideal to attract members. Notably, the key leaders in each schismatic group were cadre members. Their devotion to Smith's Zion endured regardless of which successor they followed.

Yet, a slight majority of cadre members who did not follow Brigham Young simply left Mormonism. Josiah Butterfield*, of the Presidency of the Seventy, was excommunicated at the October 1844 general conference for "neglect of duty." He was replaced by fellow cadre member Jedidah M. Grant*. Butterfield returned to be ordained

a high priest and endowed in the Nauvoo temple, but did not accompany his wife west. Years later, he visited his nephew in Utah, still claiming his belief was as strong as ever. Darwin J. Chase* apostatized while on the church's official gold mission in California. He joined the U.S. army and was killed in the Battle of the Bear River by Native Americans and buried, ironically, in Farmington, Utah among his former friends.¹⁹ Merchant Amos Davis* did not follow the church west, but did go looking for gold in 1850. He returned and lived out his life near Nauvoo. Shaken by the death of his wife while away electioneering, Sylvester Stoddard* left Nauvoo, briefly flirted with the Rigdonites, and returned to Kirtland, Ohio. There he and several others armed themselves and took possession of the former temple and church farm. Martin H. Tanner* refused to follow his father John Tanner* and brother Nathan Tanner* west. He moved to New York and decades later fought as a Union soldier in the Civil War.²⁰

Exodus

Nauvoo Temple Endowment

The cadre members who followed Brigham Young made the completion of the Nauvoo Temple their highest priority. They intended to receive the endowment and sealing ordinances before enemies could force them away. Between December 11, 1845 and February 6, 1846, over five thousand Latter-day Saint men and women received the endowment in the Nauvoo Temple. In addition, Young and other church leaders sealed over four hundred couples, giving the second anointing to 172 of them. Working day and night, sleeping and living in the temple, Young and others diligently performed as many ordinances as possible before fleeing Nauvoo. Brigham Young called upon cadre members to assist in administering the work of the temple covenants. In fact, of the

nonapostolic men who administered the initiatory rites of washing and anointing, half were cadre individuals. Furthermore, cadre members represented 79% of nonapostolic individuals performing the endowment ceremony for candidates. Given their much smaller representation among available Mormon priesthood members (13% of total male endowment participants), such numbers are evidence of the trust cadre members had earned. Fittingly, their strong representation in Mormonism's most sacred ordinances foreshadowed their rise as the aristarchy of the future Great Basin Kingdom. Of the 509 cadre members loyal to Brigham Young in January 1846, 343 received their endowments in Nauvoo. As Table 4.2 demonstrates, cadre members held higher priesthood office than their counterparts. In fact, the percentage of cadre members who were high priests almost doubled that of the general priesthood. Most had received some priesthood advancement in preparation for, during, or after their electioneering service. Thus, their decision to volunteer and serve in Joseph Smith's campaign had a direct effect on their priesthood advancement vis-à-vis other Mormon priesthood holders. Another way to measure the influence of the cadre is to note in which month they received their endowment. When the endowments began in the Nauvoo Temple on December 11, 1845, Brigham Young and other church leaders recommended members who they deemed worthy to receive the ordinance. Time was a factor since the endowment

Table 4.2, Priesthood Offices of Endowed Males in Nauvoo²¹

	Total Males (2599)	Cadre members (344)
Apostle*	0%	0%
High Priest	19% (504)	35% (121)
Seventy	65% (1677)	59% (203)
Elder	6% (155)	2% (6)
Not Recorded	10% (261)	4% (13)

ceremony lasted between three and eight hours, depending on the size of the company, and thousands of eligible and desiring Mormons wished to attend. Thus, the order of endowments demonstrated status.

Table 4.3 records the months when both the total number of endowed males and endowed cadre members received the endowment. General, regional, and local authorities were the first to receive the endowment in December of 1845. Church officers then selected those whom they deemed most worthy to receive the ordinance based on loyalty, service to the church, and familial ties. It is significant that during December, only 20% of total endowed males received the endowment and yet 43% of cadre members did.

The spiritual impact of the endowment on the cadre was significant. Erastus Snow* remembered, “The Spirit, Power and wisdom of God reigned continually in the Temple and all felt satisfied during the two months we occupied it in the endowments of the Saints, we were amply paid for all our labor in building it.”²² Franklin D. Richards* also recorded, “For the privilege of assisting in this part of the endowment I know not how to be so thankful[,] as I desire & I pray that the knowledge which I have here obtained of the laws of the kingdom of God may prove an eternal blessing unto me and redound to my salvation Redemption...”²³

Jacob Norton* wrote, “It was the most interesting scene of all my life and one that afforded the most peace and joy that [I] had ever experienced...”²⁴

Table 4.3, Month Endowment Received ²⁵

	Total Males (2399)	Cadre Members (343)
December 1845	20% (531)	43% (147)
January 1846	54% (1401)	45% (156)
February 1846	26% (667)	12% (40)

Marriage Sealings, Plural Marriage, and Second Anointings

In the Nauvoo Temple, Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles exercised their sealing keys, uniting couples eternally. They sealed 740 couples, of which 175 of the husbands were cadre members. Again, this number is larger than their statistical footprint in Mormonism. Under the direction of Brigham Young, plural marriages increased dramatically. Though not yet an officially announced doctrine, the number of plural marriages increased awareness of the practice among the membership. By 1850, one-hundred and three cadre members had married additional wives, almost a quarter of surviving loyal cadre members. Because plural marriage required the invitation of church authorities, the cadre's disproportionate participation is indicative of their growing status. Another strong indicator of their increasing influence was the bestowal of the second anointing in the Nauvoo Temple. Reserved for a select few, handpicked by Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve, this ordinance in addition to its religious significance, qualified one as a "king and priest" capable of ruling in the Kingdom of God. Only 0.06% of males endowed in the Nauvoo Temple received this honor. Yet, 2% of cadre members did, more than three-fold the general population. In fact, 38% of all second anointings were given to cadre members despite representing only 13% of the endowed male population. The long awaited temple ordinances prepared cadre members spiritually for the journey of hardship before them. The high level of participation in giving and receiving the temple ordinances marked the cadre as a trusted, loyal, and dedicated group of true believers in Zion's earthly mission. Brigham Young, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the Council of Fifty in turn used the cadre to evacuate the Saints from the United States and attempt to build Zion in the West.²⁶

Expulsion

Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles committed themselves to completing “Joseph’s measures” regarding building and protecting Zion. In early 1845, Brigham Young reconvened the Council of Fifty, the Kingdom of God. The council sustained him as the standing chairman and later, like Joseph Smith, it ordained him King, Priest, and Ruler over Israel on Earth. Young dropped unfaithful council members and admitted new ones. Of the twenty-eight men who joined between 1845 and 1850, half were cadre members. Before Joseph Smith’s death, the Council of Fifty studied three options to fulfill their immediate role to protect Zion: the election of Joseph Smith, migration to Texas, or exile in the West. With Smith dead in large part due to his campaign and Texas now a state of the Union and saber-rattling with Mexico, the Council of Fifty met regularly to discuss where and how to move the church into the West. These meetings of Zion’s “living constitution”²⁷ demonstrated that the Kingdom was still very much alive after Smith’s demise.²⁸

Brigham Young’s decision to continue Joseph Smith’s Zion ideals led to renewed friction with “gentiles” in Illinois. “[I]t appeared that because ‘Mormonism’ did not die out with the death of the Prophet and Patriarch as was anticipated and seeing too that our people were one in political matters all voting one way that hatred grew in the breasts of people against us to such a pitch that every kind of falsehood that was calculated to prejudice the mind of the public was resorted to...” remembered Henry Bigler*.²⁹ Anti-Mormon leader Thomas Sharp continued to lead the attack. Mobs burned outlying settlements, while Nauvoo lost its charter and Legion in the state legislature. The writing was on the wall: the Mormons faced forcible removal again.

Brigham Young, the Twelve Apostles, and the Council of Fifty worked feverishly

to finish the temple, give the necessary ordinances, and prepare for a mass exodus west. In secret, the Council of Fifty planned to settle in the Great Basin, using maps of explorer John C. Fremont acquired in Washington D.C. during the presidential campaign. The council set departure for the spring of 1846. However, Young's adversaries, including Illinois Governor Thomas Ford, planted a rumor that a federal army would intercept them. This forced Young's hand. The first wagons crossed the frozen Mississippi in early February. Benjamin Brown* sold his house and six thousand tree nursery, valued at \$3,000, for only \$250. Others like Jonathon Browning* locked their homes and shops and simply fled. Joseph Holbrook* penned:

The city of Nauvoo now presented a scene of desolation. Broken down fences, with covered wagons. Every man making every effort in his power to leave his home and a great many of the saints were obliged to go without realizing one cent for their dwellings. Thus the hand of persecution had prevailed over the honest industry of our beloved and prosperous city.³⁰

Cadre members, like most Mormons, lamented the loss of another Zion city, yet they moved forward with faith in their new leaders. Henry Bigler*, who crossed the frozen Mississippi River on February 9, 1846, later recorded, "To tell the truth I knew not where we were going neither did I care much only that it might be where I and my people could have the liberty to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of our own conscience without being mob[b]ed for it for I knew of no law that I or my brethren had broken that we should be exiled [*sic*] from our homes or renounce our religion."³¹ "I left Nauvoo," Howard Coray* remembered, "in company with the main body of the Saints, for a new location, some where [*sic*] west, but how far, I had not the remotest idea; neither had the Saints generally..."³²

Brigham Young left trusted cadre members behind to liquidate remaining church

property and direct the remaining evacuation. He appointed his brother Joseph Young* to preside over the remaining Nauvoo Saints, with the responsibility to dedicate the temple upon its completion. John M. Bernhisel*, David Cowan*, John S. Fullmer*, and John L. Heywood* acted as trustees to sell church and individual properties. In 1846, anti-Mormons, upset that impoverished Mormons had not yet left Nauvoo, attacked the city in what was known as the Battle of Nauvoo. William Cutler* and Alexander McRae* led the ragged Mormons in a desperate defense, fighting the attackers to a standstill. Jonathan O. Duke* and his wife were bed ridden during the fighting, yet Duke managed to use steamboat parts to fashion a cannon to help repel the attack. John S. Fullmer* later signed a treaty with the attackers that gave the last Mormons time to evacuate.³³

Throughout 1846, Mormons were scattered across Iowa Territory, struggling through poor weather, near impossible road conditions, disease, and hunger to reach the Missouri River. Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty originally intended to go to the Great Basin that year, but the camp's slow pace forced a decision to winter along the east and west banks of the Missouri River, Council Bluffs and Winter Quarters, respectively. The Mormons built towns of log cabins surrounded by thousands of wagons, in what Young named "The Camp of Israel." Death followed the cadre even before they headed into the western wilderness. During the period from the presidential campaign until the end of 1850, fifty-eight cadre members died. The first, Jesse Berry* passed away on August 6, 1844 in Nauvoo. Peter Melling* died in September still on his mission in Indiana. Cholera claimed John Jones Sr.* and John Jones Jr.* in the same month. Several succumbed during the exodus from Nauvoo or while living in the Winter

Quarter's area. Samuel Bent* died presiding at Garden Grove, a Mormon way station in Iowa. Perhaps the saddest tale was the death of Clark Hallet*, his wife, and all of their children at Mt. Pisgah, another temporary Mormon community in Iowa.³⁴

Winter Quarters

In and around Winter Quarters, cadre members helped build a temporary Zion community. Church leadership chose a high council for Winter Quarters called a “municipal high council” to:

[P]reside in all matters spiritual and temporal at Council Bluffs viz: Isaac Morely, George Y. Harris, James Allred, Thomas Grover, Phineas Richards, Herman Hyde, Andrew H. Perkins*, William G. Peck, Jonathan H. Hale*, Henry W. Miller, Daniel Spencer*, John Murdock.”

This council was a reflection of the Zion ideal. Religiously and politically it was to, “oversee and guard the conduct of the Saints and counsel them, that the laws of God and good order are not infringed upon, nor trampled underfoot.” Furthermore, the members were “to establish schools for the education of children.” Economically, they were to work with the Saints and “use all means in your power to have all the poor Saints brought from Nauvoo” and “assist and counsel the Bishops, who are appointed to take charge of the families of those who are gone as volunteers in the service of the United States.”³⁵

Three of the councilors were cadre members. Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty gave other important leadership positions to cadre members. They called fifteen as bishops in Winter Quarters. Samuel Bent* presided at Garden Grove and Lorenzo Snow* at Mt. Pisgah, the largest Mormon ways stations in Iowa. William Cutler* was the main scout for the camp and the Council of Fifty appointed him to watch over the camp's cattle in Winter Quarters. The council commissioned Howard Egan* and Nathan Tanner* to trade and buy corn in neighboring Missouri for the Saints. They placed Levi

Stewart* in charge of mail exchange within Iowa and in negotiating with Indian agents for use of land in Iowa and Nebraska.³⁶

The Mormon Battalion

On July 1, 1846, Colonel James Allen of the United States Army rode into one of the Iowan Mormon camps. He carried orders from President James K. Polk to enlist a battalion of five hundred Mormon men to fight in the Mexican War. As Allen moved west to Winter Quarters, he met resentment and resistance. Arriving at Winter Quarters on June 30, he braced for more opposition. George Miller* remembered Allen stating that Polk's request was a test of loyalty and that if the Mormons, "failed to comply there was a plan to call out the military from Kentucky Mo. [*sic*] and other places to Cut us off and put a stop to our people going into the wilderness."³⁷ Henry Bigler* recorded his disgust, "Here we were with our wives and children in an Indian country surrounded by savages without a house and a scanty supply of provision and to leave them thus to go at the call of our country."³⁸ Others were likewise outraged. William Hyde* wrote:

The Government of the United States...not being satisfied with...driving and plundering thousands of defenseless men women and children...from their pleasant and lawful homes and of actually murdering or through suffering causing the deaths of hundreds They must now send to our camps...and call upon us for five hundred young and middle aged men, the strength of our camp, to go and assist them in fighting their battles. When this news came I looked upon my family and then upon my aged parents and upon the situation of the camps in the midst of an uncultivated, wild Indian Country and my soul revolted.³⁹

What William Hyde* and most Saints did not know was that Brigham Young had sent Jesse C. Little* to Washington D.C. to ask for just such an opportunity to raise needed cash for the western exodus. Little partnered with Mormon sympathizer Thomas L. Kane to meet with President Polk, offering to build forts along the Oregon Trail. After some

discussion, Polk agreed to raise five hundred Mormons to assist in the nascent war, but as soldiers. Polk wrote in his journal that he authorized the action, “with a view to conciliate them, attach them to our country, and prevent them from taking part against us.”⁴⁰ Kane and Little hurriedly traveled west to meet with church leaders informing them of the origin of the request. Brigham Young and others went camp to camp encouraging men to enlist until over five hundred had done so. In return for their service, the Mormon Church received uniform and service pay, plus rights to settle temporarily on American Indian lands in Iowa and Nebraska. In the end, the Mormon Battalion earned over \$30,000 for the struggling church.

Cadre members in the Mormon Battalion responded to Young’s call, despite the hardships it created. William Hyde*, whose soul “revolted” at the government’s request, recorded, “When our beloved President came to call upon the saints to know who among all the people were ready to be offered for the cause, I said, Here am I take me.” “The thoughts of leaving my family at this critical time are indescribable,” he continued. “Far from the land which we had once called civilization with no dwelling save a wagon with the scorching midsummer sun to beat upon them, with the prospect of the cold December blasts finding them in the same place.”⁴¹ Yet, of the 540 members of the battalion, only 41, or 7%, were cadre members; less than half of their representation in the general population of adult men. This was intentional on the part of Mormon leaders. For example, when Jonathan Browning* stood in line to enlist, Brigham Young hurriedly pulled him out. Firmly grabbing him by the arm, Young stated, “Brother Jonathan we need you here.”⁴² Young and other church leaders desired cadre men to remain behind to support the scattered church and plan for the emigration the next spring. Many of the

cadre members who did go with the Battalion were invited by church leadership. For example, on July 6, Brigham Young asked James Pace*, “to Join [*sic*] the Mormon Battalion.”⁴³ Under conditions of the battalion’s muster agreement, Young had the unique authority to choose the battalion’s officers. Of the seventy-five officers, sixteen were cadre members. Thus while comprising only 7% of the battalion; they represented 21% of the leadership. Brigham Young had a direct interest in using seasoned cadre members to guide the battalion. David Pettigrew* wrote that he “received word from President Young wishing me to join the Battalion...” Pettigrew informed Young, “that my son, James Phineas, had enlisted, and it was impossible for both of us to go.” Young responded, “If you both can't go, I wish you to go by all means, as a kind of helmsman.” Pettigrew immediately enlisted.⁴⁴

As the battalion departed Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, its sympathetic non-Mormon leader Lt. Colonel James Allen died. Jefferson Hunt* became acting commander until Captain Andrew Jackson Smith arrived and took command. The battalion despised Captain Smith because of his relentless treatment of them. Hunt*, Daniel Tyler*, and Levi W. Hancock* preached to the men of the need for faith and solidarity in the face of such trials. At Santa Fe, New Mexico, Lt. Colonel Cooke took command, leading the men to southern California where they arrived in January of 1847. The 1900 mile trip, longest in United States military history, tested the resolve of the men and was central to the United States seizing and holding Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, and California. The march was also a time for introspection for many, including Henry G. Boyle*. While on guard duty on the night of December 8, 1846, Boyle heard wolves and watched a grizzly bear walk past the camp. He recorded, that his “mind wandered back

over the years gone by & of the Strange events that had brought me to the present time and place.”

Three years ago I was living with my parents in... Virginia... with no other desire but to live & die among my kindred & in the land that gave me birth... But how changed are my feelings & desires now, I have heard the sound of the everlasting Gospel, have been convinced of its truth, have been driven from parental roof for obeying it. & here I am in the service of the Government that has driven the Saints from its borders & we are as a people wanders in a strange land. But all is well, all is right, I love the people I am associated with & the principles of the Gospel better than all else.

Later Boyle penned, “None but our Selves will ever know how much we Suffer.”⁴⁵

California Gold

Upon discharge, several members of the Mormon Battalion found work at New Helvetia or “Sutter’s Fort,” with Captain John Sutter. While thus engaged, the group discovered gold in the American River. Henry Bigler* made the historic entry in his diary, “Monday, January 24 (1848). This day some kind of metal was found in the tail race that looks like gold...” Within a week Bigler*, Samuel Rogers*, Guy Keyser* and a handful of other battalion members along with others had harvested, “more than a hundred dollars worth,” of gold.⁴⁶ These cadre members eventually brought \$17,000 in gold to Salt Lake. As the word spread to the nation and world of gold in California, Brigham Young sent several cadre members on church-sanctioned gold missions. Their missions included procuring gold and receiving tithing receipts from the California Saints. Howard Egan* and Jefferson Hunt* made careers of guiding gold-seeking “49ers” and others to California. In general however, church leaders strongly counseled against prospecting and for gathering in the Great Basin to build Zion. Yet, as Joseph Holbrook* wrote, “Many of our brethren left the valley to dig gold, contrary to the

council of the servants of God for they would be far more blessed of God and prepared as for what the Lord wanted to gather here for was to build up His Kingdom and not to go and hunt for gold.”⁴⁷ At least four cadre members went against the counsel and set out for California. Joseph Mount* left his family in the Salt Lake Valley for the gold mines. His efforts there proved fruitless. When his wife and children would not come to California, he angrily asked for a divorce, a decision he lamented the rest of his life. George W. Hickerson* also left his family in search of gold in California. Barely alive after a debilitating illness and without means, Hickerson returned to Salt Lake and his family. Seabert Shelton* and George G. Snyder* operated very successful hotels for prospectors and both became wealthy. Shelton and his family remained in California, never rejoining the Mormon faith. Snyder returned to Utah after four years and became a noted economic, religious, and political leader.⁴⁸

Pioneer Companies

Back at Winter Quarters, Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty selected those who would lead emigration parties to the Great Basin in 1847. Young himself led the vanguard company. Twenty-two of the 143 members of Young’s company were cadre members. The camp left Winter Quarters in April, with three difficult months of travel ahead. Group members felt a sense of excitement. On July 4 Norton Jacob* recorded in his journal, “This is Uncle Sam’s day of Independence. Well we are independent of all the powers of the gentiles, and that’s enough for us.”⁴⁹ The camp left the Oregon Trail following “Hastings Cutoff” where the Donner Party had trod the year previous. Erastus Snow* along with Orson Pratt were the first of the party to enter the Valley of the Great Salt Lake on July 21, 1847. Snow recorded, “When we arrived on Red Butte near the

mouth of Emigration Canyon, which gave us the first glimpse of the blue waters of the Great Salt Lake, we simultaneously swung our hats and shouted ‘Hosanna,’ for the spirit witnessed that here the saints should find rest.”⁵⁰ Brigham Young had previously reported that he experienced a vision during which Joseph Smith showed him the valley where the new Zion would be built. Upon reaching what became Emigration Canyon on July 24, Mormon lore recalls Brigham Young as seeing the scene of his previous vision and declaring the valley “the right place.” Howard Egan* recorded, “my heart felt truly glad and I rejoiced at having the privilege of beholding this extensive and beautiful valley that may yet become a home for the saints.”⁵¹ Despite the euphoria at finding a new home for Zion, Levi Jackman’s* account gave a stark and more realistic account of their situation:

I presume that a colony was never settled under so many disadvantages as this. The appearance of the country was truly forbidding. The face of the earth had the appearance of a barren desert. No grass only on the streams or on the low land, nothing green on the remainder. The mountaineers said that grain would not grow here for they had tried it and every appearance went to prove the fact. All we had was in our wagon...out of the reach of commerce and one thousand miles from any settlement on the east rendered the hope of assistance out of the question... We must depend on God and do the best we could, feeling however, that the mob would not be likely to disturb us for a few years at least. So we took courage and went to work.⁵²

Between 1847 and 1850, forty-six wagon companies crossed from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley. Impressively, twenty-four, or 52%, were led by cadre members. Of the seven pioneer companies in 1847 that followed Brigham Young’s, six were captained by cadre members. During the years that followed, cadre members were integral and indispensable to the Mormon migration to the Great Basin. Ezra T. Benson* alone captained six companies over a decade.⁵³

Simultaneous to the Mormon evacuation of Illinois, Samuel Brannan* led a group of over two hundred Mormons by water from the East Coast to California on the chartered clipper *Brooklyn*. Cadre members John M. Horner*, Elijah Ward Pell*, and Quartus S. Sparks* joined him. Apostle Parley P. Pratt, responsible for the church in the eastern United States, wrote an open letter in late 1845 to the Saints outside of Nauvoo, declaring that, “We do not want one saint to be left in the United States...Let every branch in the east, west, north and south be determined to flee out of ‘Babylon,’ either by land or sea...”⁵⁴ Ironically, the *Brooklyn* left New York Harbor on February 4, 1846, the very day that the Mormon exodus began from Nauvoo. The *Brooklyn* arrived in San Francisco on July 31, 1846 just days after a United States naval armada had defeated the small Mexican contingent there. In an ironic twist, the *Brooklyn* Mormons found at their destination the very nation that they were trying to flee. Under Brannan’s direction, the group quickly purchased land and began farming. Brannan brought the printing press that had been used to print the *Prophet* in New York during the 1844 presidential campaign. He printed the first newspaper in California, aptly named the *California Star*.⁵⁵

The State of Deseret

Beginnings

On July 26, 1847, just days after arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young with other Apostles and Erastus Snow* climbed a domed precipice just north of their encampment. It was the same peak that Young declared Joseph Smith had shown him in a vision. The gathered men viewed the valley and Young declared that in part they were fulfilling the Old Testament prophecies of Isaiah that in the end of days God would “lift

up an ensign [banner or standard] to the nations.” Zion would be built and gather out the righteous of the world to prepare for the return of Jesus Christ. In their poverty, the only ensign they could wave was a dirty, yellow handkerchief tied to the end of a walking stick. A handful of men on the top of a hill, in a barren valley, a thousand miles from civilization, lifted God’s standard to the nations, the literal Zion of the scriptures. Brigham Young and his vanguard company arrived in the Salt Lake Valley as exiles. Driven from New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, the Mormons looked to the mountains of the Great Basin, then technically Mexican territory, to build Zion with a “government of their own.”⁵⁶ Before evacuating Nauvoo, Brigham Young declared that the Mormons “owed the United States nothing, not a farthing, not one sermon.” “They have rejected our testimony, killed our prophets; our skirts are clear from their blood,” Young continued. “We will go out from them...”⁵⁷ And so they did. Cadre missionaries still serving in the United States shared similar sentiments. Norton Jacob* mocked the “republican Spirit of the People,” who had driven them out. “God deliver me from such a government!!”⁵⁸ In April of 1847, William I. Appleby* penned that, “The American nation is yet at war with Mexico...and...several bloody battles have already been fought--the American arms thus far proving victorious.” But, “the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong’,” Appleby wrote, leaving some hope for an outcome that would leave the nascent Zion beyond American boundaries. “But may our Heavenly Father’s will be done,” Appleby concluded.⁵⁹ Yet the following year, Appleby saw in the American victory and the widespread revolutions in Europe God’s hand in “rending to pieces” the “kingdoms of the Gentiles” so that American “Republicanism” could spread and “prepare the way...that the Gospel may be proclaimed...by the Servants of God,”

that the “honest in heart” could receive it and gather to Zion and “not perish with the wicked and ungodly of the Gentile Kingdoms...”⁶⁰ This collective feeling of respect for American institutions, but disdain for those in power and their treatment of the Saints, strongly influenced how Brigham Young chose to proceed in the Great Basin.

The pioneer company quickly went to work building the new Zion, with Brigham Young declaring that the Saints would, “never have any commerce with any nation, but be independent of all.”⁶¹ Cadre members were heavily involved. Apostle Orson Pratt and professional surveyor Henry G. Sherwood* laid out the new city in the grid-design of Joseph Smith’s original Zion plat. Others built a fort for protection and plowed the ground for planting. The soil was so rocky in areas that Levi W. Kendall* broke his plow. They built a dam on a creek to provide irrigation. Young sent others on expeditions north, south, and west to examine the surrounding land. Joseph Mount* and Jedediah M. Grant* along with a few others explored the Great Salt Lake, amazed at its buoyancy. Lorenzo Dow Young* planted the first flowers and vegetables in the valley. The company’s leaders gave Isaac Chase* and John D. Chase* permission to build mills on area creeks. In September, Osman Duel* built the first log home in the valley, while Levi W. Hancock* harvested the first crop of wheat from California seed. George W. Langley* built the area’s first adobe home. Miles Goodyear’s ranch in neighboring Weber Valley was the only other American landowner in the Great Basin. Young sent cadre members Henry G. Sherwood* Jesse C. Little*, and Daniel Spencer* to buy out Goodyear, which they were able to do with money brought into the valley by discharged Mormon Battalion members.⁶²

Brigham Young along with several others of the vanguard company, returned to

Winter Quarters on August 26. Before leaving, they created a municipal high council, mirroring the one operating in Winter Quarters. The Quorum of the Twelve, as presiding members of the Council of Fifty, was purposely planting theodemocracy in the valley. Young declared, “It is the right of the Twelve to nominate the officers, and the people to receive them.”⁶³ They chose John Smith, Joseph Smith’s uncle who was coming in a subsequent pioneer company, to preside over the council. Writing the elder Smith a letter, Young nominated Charles C. Rich* and John Young* as Smith’s counselors. Seven of the twelve members of the high council were likewise cadre. Like the municipal high council in Winter Quarters, Brigham Young gave the Salt Lake High Council religious, political, and economic authority to, “observe those principles which have been instituted in the Stakes of Zion for the government of the Church, and to pass such laws and ordinances as shall be necessary for the peace and prosperity of the city for the time being.”⁶⁴

As winter set in, the sustainability of the small Mormon colony in the Salt Lake Valley became fragile. One cadre member’s wife wrote, “We had to subsist on anything to sustain life.” “Even the hides of oxen were used,” she continued, “[for] when an oxen was killed every bit of the carcass was eaten and we used weeds and thistles, roots, anything we could find that was edible.”⁶⁵ The municipal high council acting under its mandate to protect the “peace, welfare and good order of [the] community,” enacted laws, “for the government and regulation of the inhabitants of this...valley...”⁶⁶ The first ordinances targeted idleness, disorderly persons, sexual misconduct, stealing, drunkenness, and cursing. Zion’s prerequisite of righteousness had not changed. The council acted as a unified legislative, judicial, and executive unit, similar to the Winter

Quarters Municipal High Council, and a shadow of Nauvoo's combined government under Joseph Smith. It adjudicated all issues including a cadre skiff over flour between Isaac Chase* and Ira S. Miles* in October. Meanwhile in Winter Quarters, the gathered Quorum of the Twelve reorganized the First Presidency on December 27, 1847, with Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards. When Mormon leaders returned the following summer to the Salt Lake Valley with other pioneers companies, they found that the valley Saints were barely alive. With fresh supplies, the colony moved forward.⁶⁷

Theodemocracy Firmly Planted

Throughout 1848, Mormon leaders debated which course to pursue to obtain the political autonomy necessary to protect their new Zion. Their options included a petition to become a federal territory, a new state in the Union, or seek independence. They relied on Mormon Apostles George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson*, then on a fundraising mission in the United States, for information. Their letters to Young give insight into the thoughts of church leaders. In a June letter, they recounted that since the Mexican Congress had not ratified a treaty, it was impossible to determine which nation will “have jurisdiction over the basin...but as we are in the possession of the soil our destiny would be independence should Mexico maintain her old lines.” While a decision to join the United States “would give us facilities for doing business by agents in the U.S. and thus save great expense and loss; but we go in, for once in all our life, if possible, to enjoy a breath of sweet liberty and independence...”⁶⁸ What Smith and Benson did not know was that the Mexican and American Congresses had already ratified the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo a few weeks earlier, which ceded the Great Basin to the United States along with

the future states of Idaho, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California. Smith and Benson sent a second letter to Brigham Young in October relating the news of the treaty and discouraging a petition for territorial status because the Saints might fall victim to “starved office seekers...to be governor, judges and big men, irrespective of the feelings and rights of the hardy emigrants who had opened the country, made the roads, killed the snakes, etc.” as had happened in Oregon. Smith and Benson’s counsel echoed that of Mormon friend and advocate Thomas L. Kane who had early facilitated the creating of the Mormon Battalion and the temporary residency of the Mormons on American Indian lands. Upon Brigham Young’s request, Kane met with President James K. Polk and other government officials in late 1848 to support territorial status for the Mormons. He quickly found that there was no sympathy for the Mormon’s request and so withdrew it. Meeting the next year with Apostle Wilford Woodruff and John M. Bernhisel*, Kane advised, “You are better without any government from the hands of Congress than with a Territorial government [as] the political intrigues of government officers will be against you.” Kane continued, “You can govern yourselves better than they can govern you...you do not want corrupt political men from Washington strutting around you...” Kane believed that the Mormons were in a position of strength to negotiate statehood. “You have a government now, which is firm and powerful,” Kane wrote, “and you are under no obligation to the United States.”⁶⁹

Kane referred to the government that Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty had created and were administrating. On December 9, 1848, after achieving the numbers to establish a quorum, the Council of Fifty convened in Heber C. Kimball’s home in Salt Lake. John D. Lee*, wrote exuberantly that the council was the “Municipal department

of the Kingdom of God...from which all law emanates, for the rule, government, and control of all nations, kingdoms, and tongues and people under the whole heavens.”⁷⁰

Desiring to maintain as much autonomy as possible, the council decided to petition for territorial status with the understanding that it would be free to choose all governing officers. The members of the council discussed boundaries and a name for the new territory. They chose the Book of Mormon word “Deseret,” meaning “honey bee,” reflecting their collective effort to build Zion.

In a petition to the United States, Deseret ambitiously claimed all of modern day Utah and Nevada, as well as western Colorado and New Mexico, most of Arizona, and southern California. Since they were the only organized Americans in the region, such a reach of territory seemed possible. Furthermore, a seaport in San Diego would provide access to trade and immigration. The council nominated Brigham Young for governor, his counselors in the First Presidency Willard Richards and Heber C. Kimball for secretary and chief justice, respectively, Presiding Bishop Newel K. Whitney and Apostle Parley P. Pratt as associate judges, and John M. Bernhisel* marshal. On January 6, 1849, the council delegated John M. Bernhisel* to deliver the petition for a “Territory or Country” to Washington. Then it was resolved that “the High Council be relieved from municipal duties.” The Council of Fifty officially resumed the functions of government in the Great Basin.

Throughout the winter and spring, the council governed temporal affairs through regular meetings and committees selected from among its members. It made decisions about all aspects of the growing colony: where to store cattle, who should build bridges and where, how to circulate specie, how to deal with food scarcity of food, inflation of

prices, taxation, crime, destruction of predatory animals, location for a cemetery, and the reconstituting of the Nauvoo Legion. Many historians have commented that Brigham Young and his associates made these decisions simply to fill the vacuum of governance. Instead, his intent, and the mission of the Council of Fifty, was to create a government based on Joseph Smith's theodemocratic principles as a shield for the new Zion. On February 1, a public document gave notice of a convention scheduled for March 5, in Salt Lake "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a Territorial or State government."⁷¹ The convention was timed to coincide with the day General Zachary Taylor replaced James K. Polk as president of the United States, perhaps in hope of greater cooperation with a new chief executive.⁷²

Brigham Young and church leaders then turned to reorganizing the priesthood structure, to which they would align the coming theodemocracy. In early February, they reorganized the high council into a formal stake of Zion, with a stake presidency and high council. Daniel Spencer* was president with David Fullmer* and Willard Snow* as counselors of the Great Salt Lake Valley Stake of Zion. Importantly, the entire stake presidency and a third of the high council consisted of cadre members. On February 12, 1849 in the home of George Wallace*, the Quorum of the Twelve called four new Apostles to fill the vacancies created by the reorganization of the First Presidency and the excommunication of Lyman Wight. All four were cadre members: Charles C. Rich*, Franklin D. Richards*, Erastus Snow*, and Lorenzo Snow*. They joined fellow cadre member Ezra T. Benson*, called to the Apostleship in 1846. Not coincidentally, since Joseph Smith's murder, all five men who were made apostles were cadre veterans. Two days later, Brigham Young divided the city and stake into nineteen wards. Of the

nineteen bishops called to direct the wards, seven were cadre members. Young made each bishop the justice of the peace for his ward, thus creating theodemocratic ward units, presided over by bishops with theocratic authority. This initial attempt at theodemocracy in the Salt Lake Valley governed Mormons and Gentiles alike. As gold seekers stopped in Salt Lake in 1849, they had their grievances small and large heard before Daniel Spencer* and his high council. Some cases involved tens of thousands of dollars. With no other government in the area, gentiles had little choice. Yet if they held misgivings, they did not record them. In the coming years, however, as the number of outsiders increased, Mormon dominance would lead to conflict as it had in Nauvoo.⁷³

On March 4, just a day before the constitutional convention, the Council of Fifty announced an election on March 12, 1849, “for the purpose of electing and appointing officers for the government of the people in the valley.”⁷⁴ Later that day, “the subject of nominating officers for election for a provisional government was presented” before the council and it was “voted that the names already approved [on December 9, 1848] be brought before the people for ratification.” The council next “voted that the names of Bishops be placed on the list, as magistrates for their respective wards in the city and vicinity.”⁷⁵ It chose Daniel Spencer*, David Fuller*, and Willard Snow*, the newly called Salt Lake Stake Presidency to be election judges. Finally, the council created a committee consisting of William W. Phelps*, Amasa M. Lyman*, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, and Jedediah M. Grant* to “fill out the ticket for the ensuing election.” The next day the convention opened. Daniel Spencer* presided, creating a committee of ten to draft a constitution “under which the inhabitants of said Territory may organize and govern themselves...”⁷⁶ All of the individuals on the committee were original members

of the Council of Fifty. Of the ten selected, seven were cadre members. The fact that the constitution was prepared in less than forty-eight hours strongly suggests that the council crafted it sometime previous. The final product was a hybrid of the “the constitution of the Kingdom” and the U.S. Constitution, loosely based on the format of the recently created constitution of Iowa. The convention debated and adopted the constitution on Saturday March 10th. The Council of Fifty also meet that day and the council’s committee on elections, “presented the election ticket.”⁷⁷ On Monday, March 12th, Hosea Stout* recorded, “Today was our first political election... A large assemblage of men convened when many subjects were discussed... There was 655 votes polled for the following offices: Brigham Young for Governor, Willard Richards for Secretary, H.C. Kimball Chief Justice, N.K Whitney and John Taylor associate judges, H.S. Eldredge*, Marshal, D.H. Wells, Aterney [*sic*] -General, N.K. Whitney Treasurer, A. Carrington assessor and collector, Jos. L. Heywood* Supervisor roads.”⁷⁸ In addition, the populace elected all nineteen bishops as justices of the peace for their wards. In early May, with the pioneer trail reopened, John M. Bernhisel* headed for Washington with copies of the petition, constitution, and officers of Deseret.

The process of religious leaders crafting a state constitution, nominating candidates based on principles of aristarchy, and elections ratified in a unanimous vote was and is foreign to the American political experience. Joseph Smith’s idea of aristarchic theodemocracy was radical and outside accepted notions of American governance. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the Council of Fifty held the election on March 12, the fifth anniversary almost to the day when Joseph Smith organized the council. If the United States accepted Deseret, Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty

would have what they wanted: the theodemocratic Kingdom of God would be an official government entity, independently created, but protected under the wing of the American Eagle. Zion would finally be secure. On July 24, the second anniversary of the Saints entering the Salt Lake Valley, Parley P. Pratt published: “Deseret, youngest sister of the Republic. May she be a solace, strength, and comfort to the Old Lady in her declining years.”⁷⁹

The creation of the state of Deseret was exclusively the domain of the Council of Fifty. It called the convention, assigned its members to the drafting committee, and approved the document before ratification. That the convention adopted verbatim the constitution reveals the authority of the Council of Fifty in the Deseret theodemocracy. Mormons looked to their leaders as prophets inspired by heaven, and routinely voted to sustain them as their ecclesiastical leaders. The Council of Fifty was the appendage of the priesthood tasked to operate political Zion and contained all the leaders of the church. It made the decisions which the rest of the population voted to accept. The result was unity, which was what Mormons valued above all else, even freedom. For them, the United States had corrupted the inspired government God had given the Founders, a corruption evidenced in Mormonism’s continued, unshielded persecution. Yet, while Mormons celebrated theodemocracy, the rest of the United States viewed them with much suspicion. For many Americans, Deseret was a despotic, theocratic kingdom of religious zealots led by conspiring, perhaps unpatriotic men duping uneducated commoners and foreigners. What Mormons believed was humble obedience to modern-day prophets determined to build up God’s Kingdom on earth, other Americans saw as an autocratic, potentially dangerous growing empire, in the midst of a nation that now

spread across the continent. The state of Deseret represented a potential outpost of treason in a nation committed to the separation of church and state and freedom of expression. Adding polygamy to the equation, Mormons appeared not only undemocratic but immoral. When federal authorities reacted, Mormons huddled more closely under their leaders and repeated the strong feeling of persecution that had forced them into the wilderness. This created forty years of conflict between Mormon theodemocracy and the United States government for political control of the Intermountain West: the “Mormon Question.”

One searches antebellum American history in vain to find similarities to Mormon theodemocracy. The two-party system dominated politics as both the Democrats and Whigs gathered adherents from diverse religions. The Catholics were the exception. Like Mormons, many Catholics were recent immigrants. They too were accused of following religious authority, in this case the Pope, over political authority. In fact, the Philadelphia Bible Riots and the rise of American Nativism was a Protestant led refutation of Catholicism. The Catholic response, however, was to assimilate into the Democratic Party where they found protection and power to protect their interests. This was much different than the Mormons forming their own government to create a Kingdom on earth prepared for the return of Jesus Christ. Ironically, the mechanics of Mormon theodemocracy mirrored party politics in one important aspect. Both groups had elites that governed the process. They nominated the candidates, whom the faithful then voted for. Yet with the political parties, there was a choice for the electorate between two different candidates. In Mormon theodemocracy, there was only one choice.

For two years, the provisional state of Deseret governed the Great Basin. It was no coincidence that its “elected” officers were mainly members of the Council of Fifty, cadre members, or both. The General Assembly convened on July 2 for its first session despite no elections having taken place for the House and Senate. Ostensibly, the Council of Fifty’s committee of elections chose the candidates between the March constitutional convention and July. Where did sovereignty lie? In Deseret, it rested with God and was interpreted and exercised by Mormon leaders. Mormons willingly acquiesced in their decisions. Not surprisingly, cadre members filled Deseret’s House of Representatives and Senate.⁸⁰

The General Assembly passed no legislation in its first session. There was no need. The Council of Fifty had run the temporal affairs of the Kingdom in the Great Basin since January, and as the “living constitution,” continued to direct those affairs without legislation. In fact, “the establishment of the State of Deseret was little more than a *de jure* confirmation of a *de facto* situation.”⁸¹ Its purpose seemed more to secure statehood for the Mormons than to govern. The machinery of state fronted the religious elite to placate American public opinion.

In ensuing sessions, the General Assembly of Deseret passed legislation to direct the affairs of state. The state of Deseret gave the Council of Fifty the means and personnel to extend its perceived mission to even the most remote Mormon colony. The General Assembly passed laws that were already under force under the Council of Fifty. Perhaps the most important piece of legislation for the future of the Mormon Great Basin Kingdom was the creation of probate courts. The governor and legislature appointed probate judges and since Council of Fifty members filled the executive and legislative

branches of Deseret, these judges became in essence the tools of the council to administer theodemocracy at the local level throughout the Great Basin. Probate judges had extensive influence in Deseret county government. They chose the first officers in the county government and exerted authority comparable to county commissioners. Since many of their decisions were judicial and autonomous, the “living constitution” nature of governance continued. In 1851, the probate judges were disproportionately cadre members.

Meanwhile, Almon W. Babbitt, in company with Apostle Orson Hyde, arrived in Washington D.C. Together with John M. Bernhisel*, they had orders to obtain “admission as a sovereign and Independent state in the Union upon an equal footing with the original states.”⁸² Negative feelings in Congress and events trumped this effort. The Compromise of 1850 created a Utah territory significantly stripped in size. Bernhisel lobbied President Fillmore to fill the territorial offices with Mormons. However, fearing that the Senate would not accept an all-Mormon slate, Fillmore split the offices between Mormons and “gentiles.”

On February 3, 1851, when Brigham Young learned he had been appointed governor and was responsible for taking a census and creating legislative districts, he immediately had Chief Justice Daniel H. Wells of the State of Deseret administer the oath of office. On March 26th, the General Assembly of Deseret voted to dissolve itself. Governor Young administered a census and new elections were held, all before the gentile officers arrived. Questionable in its legality, the preemptive strike demonstrated Young’s desire to create the territory as much in the image of Deseret as possible before outsiders interfered. The new legislature elected John B. Bernhisel* as the territory’s

delegate to Congress. Most laws enacted by the State of Deseret were made territorial law. Though Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty governed Deseret for only two years, they had created institutions that would allow for some autonomy for the Great Basin Mormon Kingdom for decades to come.

Cadre Religious Involvement

Ordinations

The call of five new apostles, all cadre members, was only the beginning of cadre advancement in priesthood offices. The figures show that between 1844 and 1850 Mormon leaders rewarded cadre faithfulness, work, and loyalty with priesthood advancement. The cadre saw sizeable increases in the offices of seventy (248%), high priest (143%), and bishop (530%) as well as an increase in those called as apostles (667%). The increase in seventies is understandable because most elders under thirty-five became seventies during the October 1844 Nauvoo conference. However, the tremendous increase in apostles, high priests, and bishops demonstrated strong confidence in cadre member leadership.

Perhaps the real mark of the cadre's role is not the percentage of those who held leadership positions, but how many of the available leadership positions cadre members held. In 1850, all five new apostles were cadre members. Daniel Spencer* presided over the church's only stake of Zion, the Salt Lake Stake. By the end of 1850, thirty-one wards or branches existed in the Great Basin. Cadre members led eleven, more than a third of the total. The cadre was fast becoming the foundation upon which Brigham Young was building the religious structure of Zion.

Missionary Work

During this time of crisis and relocation, Brigham Young never lost focus on spreading Mormonism throughout the world. With his cadre members, he had a ready pool of prospective missionaries. Those who served in the United States concentrated on gathering scattered branches of Mormonism west to the Great Basin and raising money for their exodus. Libbeus T. Coons* spent 1848 touring the eastern states fundraising, including writing letters to each state's governor. In one letter, he pleaded: "Oh! Ye Clergymen, ye lawyers, and doctors, and merchants, and all ye patriotic gentlemen and ladies...all people are dependent one upon another, and it is a duty which we owe one to another to alleviate each other's wants in time of need."⁸³ Again in 1848, Mormon leaders appealed to the citizens of the United States for financial aid and sent cadre members Ezra T. Benson*, Amasa M. Lyman*, Erastus Snow*, and William I. Appleby* to raise funds. Chapman Duncan* proselyted in his native Virginia and found a wife along the way. Edson Whipple* labored with Apostle Wilford Woodruff in the eastern states urging members to emigrate to the west.

During the late 1840s, many cadre members participated in the fruitful harvest of Mormon converts in the British Isles. Two of the missionaries died, James H. Flanigan* and William Burton*. In addition to work in England, cadre member, now Apostle Erastus Snow*, and Danish companion George Parker Dykes*, labored in Scandinavia and then Germany. In these countries, they published the Book of Mormon and gospel tracts. Apostle Lorenzo Snow* went to Italy where he found a small group of Protestants who converted to Mormonism.⁸⁴

Cadre missionaries in Europe had a three-fold purpose. They comforted the foreign Saints regarding Joseph Smith's death. Crandell Dunn* recorded, "I spoke at

some length on the History of the church and the persecutions that the Prophet Joseph Smith had met with and the death of him & his brother Hyrum”⁸⁵ Elijah F. Sheets wrote that on September 22, 1844 at a church conference, “I told them concerning the murder of Bro Joseph & Hyrum & the Big[g]er part of the congr[eg]ation was baith [*sic*] in tears Boath [*sic*] saints & sin[n]ers”⁸⁶ They also proselytized. Between 1845 and 1850, more than thirty thousand converts joined Mormonism in Great Britain alone. Lastly, the missionaries emphasized the need to gather to the new Zion in the Great Basin. Many of these missionaries had seen the new gathering place and urged the converts onward. Before leaving England for Italy, Lorenzo Snow* spoke to a large conference of gathered converts. William L. Cutler* recorded Snow’s message: “Bro. Snow delivered a Lecture in the Chapel upon the journaings [*sic*] of the Saints in the Wilderness, their settling in the Valley of the great Salt Lake, to their present & future prospects, both Spiritual & Temporal the audience was very attentive to all appeared to partake of the spirit of the speakers & he spoke by the Spirit of the living God...”⁸⁷ The message was clear: the Zion effort was still alive, come and build it in the Great Basin of North America.

Cadre Political Involvement in Desert

Because the Council of Fifty was the main governing body, it is instructive to analyze cadre involvement. At the time of Joseph Smith’s campaign, seventeen (31%) of the fifty-four member council were cadre members. Subtracting pre-1844 general authorities, the number jumps to seventeen (45%) of thirty-eight. From 1845 until 1850, twenty-seven individuals were added to the council to replace deaths and excommunications. Of the twenty-seven, twelve (45%) were cadre members, well above their approximately 10-13% representation in the Mormon priesthood. In 1850, the

Council of Fifty included fifty-six individuals, twelve of whom were general authorities in 1844, and twenty-two were cadre members. Thus, the cadre constituted 39% of the council and exactly half of the non-1844 general authority members.⁸⁸

Furthermore, since the Council of Fifty selected the first members of the government of Deseret, cadre involvement should be manifest. In the “election” of 1849, the Deseret House of Representatives included twenty-six members. Twelve or 46% were cadre, much higher than their 10% of Mormon priesthood holders in 1850. Further, the members elected Willard Snow* as the Speaker of the House. In the Senate, half, seven of fourteen, were cadre members. Thus in 1850, cadre members made up approximately half the members of the Council of Fifty and of the General Assembly of Deseret.⁸⁹

Cadre Social (Plural Marriage) Involvement in Deseret

Though not a publicly announced doctrine until 1852, many cadre members practiced plural marriage. Twenty-seven percent of cadre members had plural wives, a number higher than the general male population. While the vast majority of those who entered plural marriage had only two wives, cadre members who participated averaged 2.7 with a median of three. The five cadre members, made apostles and political leaders, had between three and six wives. John D. Lee*, Council of Fifty member and adopted son of Brigham Young, led cadre members with eleven wives.⁹⁰

Cadre Economic Involvement in Deseret

For cadre members loyal to Brigham Young and the broader Mormon community, the period 1847-1850 witnessed great poverty and suffering. They endured poor weather, crop failure, and legions of locusts. However, through strong leadership and cooperation,

the Mormon colony in Salt Lake grew and new ones were begun. It was the vision of Brigham Young to colonize every habitable region in the Great Basin. Two needs steered this decision. Young and other church leaders believed that ongoing missionary work and the establishment of the Perpetual Emigration Fund would bring tens perhaps hundreds of thousands of converts to the Great Basin. New colonies would provide homes for them. Also, if every desirable location contained a Mormon colony, “gentile” settlement in the Great Basin would be kept to a minimum. In all, Mormons settled fifty-two separate areas during these four years, as far north as Ogden, south as Manti and Parowan, west as Tooele, and east as Parley’s Park. Cadre members were part of twenty-two of these early settlements; just under half. However, since the cadre, due to death and disaffection, represented only approximately 10% of available priesthood men, their relative contribution was impressive. The average cadre member settled 1.2 colonies during 1847-1850. This still left most in Salt Lake as the Council of Fifty utilized them to build up a strong capital city. Yet some were colonizing experts by 1850. Aaron F. Freeman* had settled Salt Lake in 1847, Big Cottonwood in 1848, and Irontown in 1850. Joseph Lee Robinson* settled Bountiful in 1848, Farmington in 1849, and Irontown in 1850. Robert T. Thomas* was in Salt Lake and Bountiful in 1847 and Provo in 1849. Council of Fifty member and recently called Apostle Charles C. Rich* settled Salt Lake, Big Cottonwood, and Provo by 1850. Likewise, Joel H. Johnson* called Millcreek home in 1849, and then later moved to Big Cottonwood and Provo in 1850.⁹¹

Beginning with the colonization of Salt Lake in 1847, church leaders incorporated Zion principles of stewardship and inheritances in distributing land. Individual lots were given as “inheritances” and distributed by lottery. “No man can ever buy land here,”

Brigham Young told immigrants in 1848, “for no one has any land to sell...but every man shall have his land measured unto him, which he must cultivate in order to keep it.”⁹² Speculation and division of inheritances were prohibited, “for the Lord has given it to us without price.”⁹³ Land was distributed equally “according to circumstances wants and needs,” as had been revealed under the Law of Consecration. The leader of the community, generally the bishop, counseled with immigrants to determine how much land they needed according to their family size and occupation. Land recipients paid a small fee to the recorder and surveyor and the land was theirs to develop. Two caveats in the process had great significance for the economic mobility of the cadre. Single men could not receive an inheritance, while those with plural wives were entitled to separate lots for each family.⁹⁴

Table 4.4 demonstrates that cadre members in Utah had roughly twice as much wealth as their neighbors. Cadre members who practiced plural marriage had more than three times that of fellow Mormons. Loyalty to Joseph Smith and Zion led to plural marriage and land. The wealthiest cadre member in Utah in 1850 was John D. Lee* with a reported estate of \$5,500. Lee, a farmer, member of the Council of Fifty, and trusted associate of Brigham Young had eleven wives. The second wealthiest was Ezra T. Benson* with \$3,500. Benson became an apostle and member of the Council of Fifty in 1846, married five wives, and was a senator in the State of Deseret. The median cadre member was Alfred D. Young* with \$250. Young, an accomplished missionary in Tennessee, immigrated to Utah in 1848 and farmed in Salt Lake. By 1850, he was a president of a quorum of seventy and renowned for his spiritual gifts.⁹⁵ He was monogamous.

Occupations

Table 4.5 indicates how cadre members became an economic elite in Utah by 1850. Their increased ecclesiastical and political responsibilities allowed them to become landed farmers and businessmen. For example in Salt Lake City, cadre members who practiced plural marriage were almost twice as likely to own land as their contemporaries. Salt Lake mirrored most contemporary towns and cities in the United States where home and land ownership was generally lower than 40%. Yet in comparison, cadre members were evolving into a landed economic elite.⁹⁶

Conclusion

Thus, their role as church and political leaders and their ability and willingness to practice plural marriage translated into cadre economic power. Following Joseph Smith's death, their decision to follow Brigham Young gave the church a dedicated core of tested and loyal leaders. Further, their zeal in establishing Zion as a unified religious-political-social-economic kingdom made them ideal instruments to accomplish "Joseph's measures" in the American West. From the ashes of Smith's presidential campaign arose a leadership cadre to help Zion arise in the barren soil of the Great Basin. Throughout 1844-1850, the LDS hierarchy bestowed abundant responsibility for building and administering Zion on the shoulders of cadre members. Whether they administered temple ordinances, led pioneer companies to the valley, colonized new towns, or guided Mormons as bishops and legislators, cadre members became the aristarchy of Mormon theodemocracy. In just a few years, the electioneering missionaries had become Zion's economic, political, religious, and social elite. The cadre had proven their abilities and loyalty. Over the next two decades, their influence would only grow.

Table 4.4, 1850 Utah Cadre Wealth Comparison⁹⁷

	Median Wealth	Average Wealth
Cadre (176)	\$250	\$417
Cadre with Plural Marriages (59)	\$400	\$641
Salt Lake City Residents	\$150	\$252
Utah Territory Residents	NA	\$201

Table 4.5, Occupational Comparison 1850⁹⁸

Occupation	Cadre (176)	Cadre w/ Plural Marriage (59)	Salt Lake
*Business- Professional	59% (104)	73% (43)	40%
Skilled	26% (46)	22% (13)	29%
Unskilled	15% (26)	5% (3)	31%

*Includes landed farmers.

Endnotes

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- ¹ Joseph Smith, *History of the Church* (hereafter *HC*) (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 2nd Edition, Seventh Printing, 1973) 5:85.
- ² Abraham Owen Smoot, "A.O. Smoot's Day Book or Journal, Beginning Tuesday, the 7th of May, A.D., 1844, Through the State of Tennessee," Diaries, 1837-1845, Typescript, Church History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter CHL), 10-11.
- ³ James Harvey Glines "Reminiscences and Diary 1845 Mar. -1899 Dec.," CHL.
- ⁴ William Hyde, "Journal [ca. 1868-1873]," CHL, 65.
- ⁵ James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, Missionary, to the Indians and Explorer* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909), 17.
- ⁶ Nathan Tanner Porter, "Reminiscences [ca. 1879]," CHL, 132-33.
- ⁷ Duke Family Organization, *Jonathan Oldham Duke Journal*, (Salt Lake: Duke Family Organization, 1970), addendum 5, 53.
- ⁸ Church leaders ordained two hundred and three cadre members to be seventies. Smith, *HC*, 6:305-06.
- ⁹ Evidence can track 160 of the 195 of the missionaries disloyal to Brigham Young.
- ¹⁰ Joseph M. Cole* nominated Rigdon to be the president of the new church. Rigdon created a First Presidency with son-in-law Ebenezer Robinson* as a counselor. Robinson, the first editor of the Nauvoo *Times and Seasons*, began publishing the *Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* to promulgate Rigdon's views. Rigdon called a Quorum of Twelve Apostles, five of whom were cadre members: Hugh Herringshaw*, Jeremiah Hatch*, Benjamin Winchester*, Elijah W. Swackhammer*, and Joseph M. Cole*. The seven presidents of Rigdon's Seventy included Frederick Merryweather*, former *Prophet* editor George T. Leach*, and James M. Greig*. Rigdon also formed a "grand council" of seventy-three men patterned after Smith's Council of Fifty. He made each man a "king and priest," including all the aforementioned cadre members, plus George W. Crouse*, James Twiss*, John Duncan*, Joseph B. Bosworth*, and John Hardy*. At "Adventure Farm" near Greencastle, Pennsylvania, Rigdon resurrected the law of consecration in a communitarian setting. However, in less than two years, the entire movement collapsed due to Rigdon's erratic behavior and leadership. See *The Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, Pittsburgh, vol. 1, p. 168 (This newspaper is not to be confused with the original *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* published in Kirtland, Ohio in the 1830's); Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess*, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994).
- ¹¹ Hiram P. Brown* was one of the first to view Strang's "Voree Plates." Excommunicated in February of 1844 by Joseph and Hyrum for publicly teaching polygamy, Brown nonetheless went on to serve faithfully as an electioneer. However, in 1846 Brown became one of Strang's earliest converts and leaders. He eventually became a Strangite Apostle in 1850 before leaving the movement the next year. James Grieg*, one of Rigdon's Seventy, switched allegiances and helped lead the Strangites in Pittsburgh. Phillip H. Buzzard* moved to Voree for a year to follow Strang, before changing his mind and heading to Utah and eventually California. As more Mormons poured into Voree, Strang announced the building of a temple, just as Joseph Smith had done at each gathering place. Samuel P. Bacon* one of Strang's Apostles declared, "with regard to Voree...the saints are in the 'unity of spirit, in the bond of peace' of one heart and one mind in the purposes of God, to work with all their might in the great work of the last days..." See, Susan Easton Black, "Hiram Brown," *Latter-day Saint Vital Records II*, Database; Robin Scott Jensen, "Gleaning the Harvest: Strangite Missionary Work, 1846-1850," Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2005, 78; ; Polk County 1880 Saylor Township Biographies, Polk County, Iowa, <http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/ia/polkbios/plktpbio9.txt>, 6/22/07; *Voree Gospel*

Herald, Voree, Wisconsin, Nov. 29, 1849 as quoted in Vickie Cleverley Speek, *“God Has Made Us a Kingdom.” James Strang and the Midwest Mormons* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 2006) 95.

¹² Stephen Post, “Diary 1839 Jul - 1848 Dec.,” Stephen Post Papers 1835-1921, CHL, June 19, 1846. Others included Samuel Shaw*, son-in-law of campaign leader W. W. Phelps*, was the branch president of Chicago during the campaign. Soon after Joseph Smith’s death, Shaw wrote to Brigham Young: “[I]t ought [*sic*] to be well known to every member of the church that in case of the Deceased of Brother Joseph whoever he gives the keys to they are the ones to act in his and there place in all things... governing the church and the church should stand by them...I will as[s]ure you and the Brethren in general that I am one that will Stand By the twelve in all there [*sic*] Labours...” However, Shaw soon became convinced of Strang’s claim to succession. Strang quickly ordained him a high priest and sent Shaw to proselyte in Nauvoo. Shaw latter served on Voree’s high council and became Strang’s “agent of temporal affairs.” He moved to Beaver Island and while on a mission in 1851 was imprisoned for several weeks. After the death of Strang, Shaw returned to Illinois and became a Baptist preacher. Increase Van Duzen* was another effective Strangite missionary. He labored in Illinois, Michigan, and Canada. He and his wife published a pamphlet “exposing” the Mormon’s endowment ceremony of which they had been a part in Nauvoo. After following Sidney Rigdon, Frederick Merryweather* joined Strang who made him a high priest and assigned him to lead the movement in Cincinnati. Zenos H. Gurley* labored extensively in Wisconsin and Illinois. He baptized fifty-two converts in two months alone. He also created the branch at Yellowstone, Wisconsin that a decade later would become the nucleus of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. See, Samuel Shaw, Letter, Chicago Oct 1, 1844 to Brigham Young, Brigham Young Office Files, Box 20, FD 8, CHL; Speek, *“God Has Made Us a Kingdom,”* 82; Black, “Zenos Hurley,” *Vital Records II*. Milton Holmes*, a former companion of Apostle Wilford Woodruff, led Strangite efforts in Maine. Samuel P. Bacon* was one of the “three witnesses” to the plates from which Strang allegedly translated the “Book of the Law” in 1851. He labored throughout the eastern states, particularly in Pennsylvania and upstate New York. David Rogers*, after delivering the Mormon vote in New York to the Democrats in 1844, became Strang’s leader in New York City. See, Wilford Woodruff, *Journals of Wilford Woodruff*, CHL, 3:151-152; *Voree Gospel Herald*, Nov. 29, 1849, as quoted in Speek, *“God Has Made Us a Kingdom,”* 148; David Rogers, “Letter Aug 17, 1844 to Brigham Young,” *Brigham Young Office Files 1832-1878*, Box 20 FD 8; Rogers action to convince Mormons in New York to vote Democratic rather than sit out the election may have helped James K. Polk in his razor-thin upset of Henry Clay in New York and thus in the election.

¹³ Strangite missionaries had some success in Nauvoo, Hiram S. Stratton* in particular. His quorum president, Jehiel Savage*, excommunicated him for apostasy. Ironically, the same quorum excommunicated Savage three weeks later because he followed Stratton into the Strangites. To settle the matter between the rival factions, Brigham Young invited Moses Smith*, relative of Strang, Strangite Apostle, and leader of the Strangite missionaries in Nauvoo, to present his case in the temple. Observers recorded the event as an intense and highly attended confrontation. Moses Smith*, joined by Hiram S. Stratton*, William Savage*, Samuel Shaw* and others, forcefully declared to those assembled that James J. Strang had been appointed by heaven and Joseph Smith to lead the church. Moses Smith* laid before them “the doctrine and claims of James J. Strang.” He ended by warning those assembled to flee to Voree and follow Strang. Brigham Young then arose and said he would make no comment on what was said, “but simply ask the people if they had heard the voice of the Good Shepherd in what had been advanced.” After a resounding “No,” Young and church leaders publicly excommunicated Moses Smith*, the other Strangite missionaries, and Strang himself (Strang’s second excommunication). Uriel Nickerson*, counselor in the Strangite Voree stake presidency, returned to Nauvoo in 1847, a year after the Mormon exodus. Acting on behalf of Strang, Nickerson visited Emma and Lucy

Mack Smith, Joseph Smith's widow and widowed mother, respectively. Nickerson invited them to follow Strang and to gather to Voree. While tacitly agreeing to Strang's claim of succession, neither chose to openly embrace his movement and neither left Nauvoo. See, "Record of the 30th Quorum of Seventies," Nauvoo, Ill, 1844, HDC, p. 82; Richard Bennett, "Has the Lord turned bankrupt?" The attempted sale of the Nauvoo Temple, 1846-1850," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Autumn 2002, 38-39; *Zion's Reveille*, Voree, Wisconsin, February 25, 1847. *Voree Gospel Herald*, June 14, 1849. Strang sent three of his best missionaries to England to persuade Mormons there to follow him and gather at Voree, Lester Brooks*, former stake president of Kirtland and now Strangite Apostle, Moses Smith*, powerful orator and uncle-in-law to Strang, and Book of Mormon Witness Martin Harris. See, James J. Strang, "Brethren and Sisters," *Chronicles of Voree*, August 14, 1846, 102, emphasis in original. Uriel Nickerson* was the first to venture to Winter Quarters. Early in 1847, he received a letter that his father and fellow electioneer Freeman Nickerson* had died of exposure and illness at Winter Quarters. Uriel arrived in the late spring to retrieve his widowed and destitute mother. In the midst of Brigham Young's suffering camp, Nickerson testified that he knew by revelation that James J. Strang was the "Lord's anointed." He declared the afflictions of those following Brigham Young were signs of the curse of God. He counseled everyone in Winter Quarters to follow him back to Voree, but only a handful followed. Nickerson preached the same message at Mormon encampments throughout Iowa gaining some converts. Interestingly, Mother Nickerson eventually chose to go to Utah where she died in 1860. However, the decision to send missionaries in force to Winter Quarters began after John W. Grierson*, who had abandoned Mormonism and Winter Quarters, was converted to Strangism in Washington D.C. in November 1849. Regular missions to Winter Quarters by Strangite missionaries continued for over two years. George Miller* and Samuel P. Bacon* led the final mission to Winter Quarters in 1851. They returned to Beaver Island with over forty converts. See, *Zion's Reveille*, February 25, 1847.; *Gospel Herald*, Voree, Wisconsin, 4 (29 November 1849): 795; Doyle C. Fitzpatrick, *The King Strang Story: A Vindication of James J. Strang, the Beaver Island Mormon King* (National Heritage, 1970), 191.

¹⁴ Norton Jacob, "Reminiscence and Journal 1844 May - 1852 Jan," CHL, 8.

¹⁵ Crandell Dunn, "History and Travels of Elder Crandell Dunn," CHL, 53-54.

¹⁶ Jacob, "Reminiscence and Journal," 14. William I. Appleby* almost single-handedly fought against Strangism in the eastern states. As president of the Eastern States Mission, Appleby battled Strangite influence particularly in the large Mormon congregations in Philadelphia and New York City. He warned fellow cadre members and local leaders David Rogers* in New York and David S. Hollister* in Philadelphia that they were leaning toward apostasy. In the end, Appleby excommunicated not just his former cadre members Rogers and Hollister, but over fifty Mormons who chose Strang. Strangite missionaries Lester Brooks*, Moses Smith*, and Book of Mormon witness Martin Harris, sparred with cadre members on missions in England for Brigham Young. Cyrus H. Wheelock* recorded their public debate which he and his companions won so decisively, that Martin Harris switched sides by the end. Defeated and unable to gain a Strangite foothold in England, Brooks and Smith returned to the United States. See, William I. Appleby, "Autobiography and journal, Typescript, 1848-1856," CHL 165-66; Cyrus H. Wheelock, "Diary," CHL, Oct 25, 1846. When Strang introduced plural marriage and crowned himself king, Post and his family left, eventually becoming the successor to Sidney Rigdon's faltering movement. Samuel P. Bacon*, president of the Strangite Apostles, while repairing Strang's house, stumbled upon "fragments of those plates which Strang made the Book of the Law from." Bacon immediately lost faith in Strang and left Beaver Island in secrecy with his family out of fear for his life. William Savage* was one of the first families to join Strang's economic "order of Enoch" on Beaver Island. When Savage and a few others discovered financial mismanagement by Strang, they too fled the island with their families. George Miller*, acting in his role of sheriff, went to return Savage and the others to "jury duty," leading to a shootout between former

cadre members on Lake Michigan. At a conference in New York, Increase Van Duezen* and Lorenzo Dow Hickey had a disagreement with James J. Strang regarding the performance of their missions. Van Duezen and Hickey spread rumors about Strang and others practicing polygamy. When the two men were denounced at the conference, Hickey launched into a tirade claiming he had letters from his wife on Beaver Island that proved Strang was involved in polygamy and was thus a false prophet. Van Duezen began yelling “You are guilty! You are guilty!” while shoving Strang in the chest. The conference quickly disfellowshipped Hickey and excommunicated Van Duezen. Ironically, throughout the conference, Elvira Fields, Strang’s first plural wife disguised as “Charley Douglass,” watched. Richard D. Lanius and Linda Thatcher eds., *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1994), 184; Speek, *God Has Made Us a Kingdom*, 54, 56, 63-85, 150, 175-77.

¹⁸ Council of Fifty members Lucien Foster* and George Miller* defected to Strang, Foster in 1846 and Miller in 1850. Miller had followed Brigham Young then Lyman Wight before settling on Strang. Foster and Miller shared their knowledge of the Council of Fifty with Strang, including Joseph Smith’s coronation. Strang later ran successfully for the Michigan state house, created his own “Kingdom” in Beaver Island, and was publicly crowned as its king. Meanwhile, Foster became one of Strang’s strongest missionaries and helped lead the Strangites in New York. Miller became the sheriff of Beaver Island and a prominent church and Kingdom figure. Miller, with his two wives, as well as other former Nauvoo Mormons, introduced plural marriage to Strang. In fact, Strang’s first plural marriage was to the daughter of cadre member Rueben Field*. Field, an electioneer in Ohio and early church member, chose to follow Strang to Voree and then to Beaver Island. His nineteen-year-old daughter Elvira secretly married Strang as a plural wife. She accompanied Strang on a tour of the eastern states impersonating a male cousin. The Fields had no idea where their daughter went until she mysteriously returned to Beaver Island at the same time as Strang. See, Speek, *God Has Made Us a Kingdom*, 68, 73-75, 171, 222-25.

¹⁹ “The Fight with the Indians,” *Deseret News*, February 4, 1863; Black, “Darwin J. Chase,” *Vital Records II*.

²⁰ Black, “Josiah Butterfield,” *Vital Records II*. Ibid., “Amos Davis.” Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, *Joseph Smith’s Quorum of the Anointed 1842-45: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books; A Smith-Pettit Foundation Book, 2005), 158; George S. Tanner, *John Tanner and His Family: A History-Biography of John Tanner of Lake George, New York* (Salt Lake City, Utah: John Tanner Family Association, 1974), 112. James Downing* simply chose to stay in Nauvoo. The Twelve Apostles excommunicated Henry Elliot* for irregularities in his teachings in Cincinnati. Elliot never joined any Mormon group thereafter. Arteus Geer* left the church in 1845 after his wife died. Despite being ordained a high priest and working to complete the Nauvoo temple, Stephen Litz* did not follow the Saints west, choosing instead to move to Missouri. Hiram Neyman* simply walked away from Nauvoo and returned to his native Pennsylvania. Ezra Thayre* and his son* did not support the Twelve and were dismissed from the church and Ezra from the Council of Fifty. Father Thayre moved to Michigan and lived out his life. Peter Van Every* stayed in Michigan where he remained an important economic and political citizen. George Watt* left Nauvoo for nearby Adams County and became a prosperous miller. As rumors of Brigham Young’s endorsement of plural marriage grew in Nauvoo, Joseph J. Woodbury* and his brother Thomas H. Woodbury* decided to leave Mormonism. Joseph returned to his native Massachusetts living out his life as a Methodist preacher, while Thomas moved to southern Illinois and became a wealthy businessman and physician. Ira Wilkes* and Edward Willard* counseled fellow Michigan Mormons to gather to Nauvoo and then to the west, but chose to not make the journey to the Great Basin.

²¹ Raw data from, Lisle G. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: A Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances 1841-1846* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006).

- ²² Erastus Snow diary, as quoted in Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, ed. *The Nauvoo Endowment Companies 1845-1846: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City, Signature Books, Smith -Pettit Foundation Book, 2005), 472.
- ²³ Franklin D. Richards diary, as quoted in Anderson and Bergera, *The Nauvoo Endowment Companies*, 412.
- ²⁴ Jacob, "Reminiscence and Journal," 24.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings*.
- ²⁷ Amasa Lyman, "Journal June 4 1844 -March 16 1845," Amasa Lyman Collection, see February 12 and 18, 1845.
- ²⁸ D. Michael Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844-1945," *BYU Studies*, no. 2 (1980), 20. The cadre members were: Ezra T. Benson*, Horace S. Eldredge*, Lucien R. Foster*, David Fullmer*, John S. Fullmer*, Joseph L. Heywood*, John Pack*, Franklin D. Richards*, Lorenzo Snow*, Willard Snow*, Daniel Spencer*, Joseph Young*, and Phineas Young*.
- ²⁹ Henry Bigler, *Diary of a Mormon in California*, CHL, 4-5.
- ³⁰ Joseph Holbrook, "The Life of Joseph Holbrook 1806-1871," Typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter BYU), 76.
- ³¹ Bigler, "Diary of a Mormon in California," 5.
- ³² Howard Coray, "Autobiographical Sketches," CHL, 16.
- ³³ "The Nauvoo War," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, Ancestry.com Database, 6/12/08; Jonathan Oldham Duke, "Reminiscences and Diary, 1850 Jun - 1857 Jul," Typescript, CHL, 2-3.
- ³⁴ Archibald Bates*, Patrick Norris*, John Hampton*, and Harmon Akes* (and all his children) also died in 1844. Frederick Ott*, Alonzo Whitney*, John S. Twiss*, Robert Hamilton*, and Almon Bathrick* all died in 1845. Dozens died in Iowa and Nebraska including: George Brandon*, Alfred Brown*, Jacob Burnham*, Samuel Carpenter*, William W. Dryer*, William Duncan* (and his wife), Daniel Fisher*, Thomas E. Fuller*, Gilbert D. Goldsmith*, Jonathan H. Hale*, Zachariah Hardy*, Richard Kinnamon*, John Lawrence*, John Moon*, Freeman Nickerson*, Samuel Parker*, John Wesley Roberts*, Amos Rogers*, Jacob Shoemaker*, David D. Yearsley*, Joseph West*, Samuel Gully*, Eldridge Tufts*, John Spicer* (and wife), Joseph West*, and Alva West*. Mephibosheth Sistine* proselyted for five consecutive years before dying on a riverboat on the Ohio River. Fellow travelers took his body to Winter Quarters where he was buried with great honor. Amos Hodges* was murdered in 1845 inside Nauvoo and Amos Condit* two years later in Winter Quarters. Four cadre members died in the Great Basin during this time period, William Coray*, John Tanner*, James Stratton*, and George W. Langley*. Langley was the first person buried in the Salt Lake Cemetery. Cadre members not moving west with Brigham Young also encountered death during this period. William Gano Goforth* passed away in 1847 and his family subsequently moved west. Moses Smith* died in 1849 as an ardent Strangite. James Sanderson* died in 1845 in St. Louis where he went to find work. His wife returned his body to Nauvoo for burial. John A. Casper* died the following year in St. Louis as well as Alfred Hall* in Indiana. Ananias McAllister* died a firm Mormon in late 1844 in Boston.
- ³⁵ *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (hereafter JH), CHL, July 21, 1846.
- ³⁶ The three councilors were Daniel Spencer*, Jonathan H. Hale*, and Andrew H. Perkins*. The bishops were Jonathan H. Hale*, Ellis M. Sanders*, Levi W. Hancock*, Edson Whipple*, Jacob Myers*, William G. Perkins*, Andrew H. Perkins*, Thomas Guyman*, John Tanner*, Daniel Spencer*, Jonathan C. Wright*, Abraham O. Smoot*, Isaac Houston*, Jesse C. Little*, and John Vance*. William Clayton, "Journal," CHL, 120.
- ³⁷ George Miller, "Letters to the Northern Islander," *Northern Islander*, St. James, Beaver Island, Lake Michigan, Sept. 13, 1855.
- ³⁸ Bigler, *Diary*, 7.
- ³⁹ Hyde, *Journal*, CHL, 73.

⁴⁰ James K. Polk, *James K. Polk: The Diary of a President 1845-1849*, ed. Allan Nevins, (Reprint Service Corp, 1929), 109.

⁴¹ Hyde, Journal, 73-74.

⁴² “Jonathan Browning, Mormon Gunsmith,” *Famous Americans*, Ancestry.com, 5/5/2007.

⁴³ James Pace, A Biographical Sketch of the life of James Pace, [ca. 1861], CHL, 5.

⁴⁴ Officers included: Jefferson Hunt*, James Harvey Glines*, Elam Luddington*, William Coray* (who also brought his newlywed wife), William Hyde*, David P. Rainey*, Thomas Dunn*, John D. Chase* (and wife), Daniel Tyler*, Richard D. Sprague*, George P. Dykes*, Nathaniel V. Jones*, James Pace*, Samuel Gully*, and Levi W. Hancock*. David Pettegrew, “A History of David-Pettegrew – Journal 1791-1861,” BYU, 185-232.

⁴⁵ Henry G. Boyle, Autobiography and Diary of Henry G. Boyle 1832-1855, CHL, 26-28. See also William Coray, Journal 1846 Aug. -1847 Aug., Typescript, CHL, 7.

⁴⁶ Bigler, Diary.

⁴⁷ Holbrook, The Life of Joseph Holbrook, 128.

⁴⁸ Official “gold missionaries” included Howard Egan*, Jefferson Hunt*, Bradford W. Elliott*, Darwin J. Chase*, Peter M. Fife*, Charles C. Rich* and Amasa Lyman*. George Washington Hickerson, Autobiographical Sketch [1866], Typescript, CHL; Tom Gregory, *History of Sonoma County, California: with biographical sketches of the leading men and women of the county, who have been identified with its growth and development from the early days to the present time*. (Los Angeles, Calif.: Historic Record Co., 1911), 794.

⁴⁹ Jacob, Reminiscence and Journal, July 4, 1847.

⁵⁰ Erastus Snow, Autobiography 1875, Typescript, CHL, 8-9.

⁵¹ Howard Egan, *Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878: Major Howard Egan's Diary*, ed. William Monroe Egan, (Richmond, UT: Howard R. Egan Estate, 1917), 104.

⁵² Levi Jackman, A Short Sketch of the Life of Levi Jackman, *Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries*, v. 16, BYU, 41-42.

⁵³ Edward Hunter*, Abraham O. Smoot*, Daniel Spencer*, Jedediah M. Grant*, Charles C. Rich* and Levi W. Hancock*/Jefferson Hunt*/James Pace*, “Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847-1868,” <http://lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneercompanysearch>, Database, 2005-2011. Samuel Gully* lost his life leading his company.

⁵⁴ B.H. Roberts, “The Voyage of the Brooklyn,” *Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830 - 1930*, Volume 3, Chapter 71.

⁵⁵ The next spring, Brannan set out east to rendezvous with Brigham Young and guide him to Brannan's colony in California, which he felt was the best location for the new Zion. He met Young's vanguard company on June 30 on the Green River in modern-day Wyoming. Brannan gave a glowing report of California and urged Young to continue on to San Francisco, noting that the Mormon Battalion also held San Diego. California was there for the taking. Young instead urged Brannan to come with them to the comparatively barren Salt Lake Valley. Stunned, Brannan headed back to California telling returning battalion members that Young was foolish and would come to California the next year. Instead, the following year it was Brannan's *California Star* that announced to the world the discovery of gold on the American River, commencing the worldwide gold rush. Thus, the same printing press and editor that so forcefully declared Joseph Smith for President of the United States in New York also announced to the world the California gold rush. Many California Mormons chafed under Brannan's self-aggrandizing leadership and set out for the Salt Lake Valley, while others remained in California but refused to be led by Brannan.

⁵⁶ Smith, *HC*, 6:222.

⁵⁷ Jesse Wentworth Crosby, Autobiography (1820-1869), Typescript, BYU, October 6, 1845.

⁵⁸ Jacob, Reminiscence, 17.

⁵⁹ Appleby, Autobiography and journal, 166.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 220-21.

- ⁶¹ Thomas Bullock, Journal, CHL, July 27, 1847.
- ⁶² “Salt Lake’s Original Nineteen LDS Wards,” *An Enduring Legacy*, Ancestry.com Database, 9/18/07. Kate Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West. Vol. I-XII*, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), 12:208.
- ⁶³ Egan, *Pioneering the West*, 127.
- ⁶⁴ JH, September 9, 1847. Henry G. Sherwood*, Thomas Grover, Levi Jackman*, John Murdock, Daniel Spencer*, Stephen Abbott, Ira Eldredge, Edson Whipple*, Shadrach Roundy, John Vance*, Willard Snow*, and Abraham O. Smoot* composed the high council.
- ⁶⁵ Earl Max Sudweeks, *Biography of David and Mary Savage*, 1991, CHL.
- ⁶⁶ JH, December 27, 1847.
- ⁶⁷ “Pioneer Forts of the West: High Council Meetings,” *Utah, Our Pioneer Heritage* [database on-line] Ancestry.com, Provo, UT, USA: The Generations Network, Inc., 1998, accessed 8/2/07. The incident occurred on October 11, 1847.
- ⁶⁸ JH, June 28, 1848.
- ⁶⁹ As quoted in Dale Morgan, *The State of Deseret* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1987), 69-70.
- ⁷⁰ John D. Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle, The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876*, Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks eds., (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1955), 80.
- ⁷¹ Constitution of the State of Deseret, CHL, 1.
- ⁷² Hyrum L. Andrus, *Joseph Smith and World Government*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958), 90-109.
- ⁷³ JH, February 6, 1849. Members of the high council were: Isaac Morley, Phineas Richards, Shadrach Roundy, Henry G. Sherwood*, Titus Billings, Eleazer Miller, John Vance*, Levi Jackman*, Ira Eldredge, Elisha H. Groves*, William Major, and Edwin D. Woolley. Cadre bishops were John Lowry*, Benjamin Brown*, William G. Perkins*, David Pettigrew*, Edward Hunter*, Abraham O. Smoot*, and Joseph L. Heywood*; *Ibid.*, February 14, 1849; “Daniel Spencer,” Ancestry.com, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 1997): Original Data: Jenson, Andrew. *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City, UT, USA: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901.
- ⁷⁴ JH, March 4, 1849.
- ⁷⁵ Lee, *Mormon Chronicle*, 98-110. The council replaced John M. Bernhisel* with Horace C. Eldredge* as Marshal because Bernhisel would be leaving for Washington.
- ⁷⁶ JH, March 5, 1849. The committee consisted of Albert Carrington, Joseph L. Heywood*, William W. Phelps*, John Taylor, Charles C. Rich*, David Fullmer*, John S. Fullmer*, Erastus Snow*, John M. Bernhisel*, and Parley P. Pratt
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1849.
- ⁷⁸ Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout 1844-1861*, Juanita Brooks, ed., (University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:348.
- ⁷⁹ Parley P. Pratt, *Latter Day Saints Millennial Star*, (Liverpool, 1849), 358, as quoted in Jan Shippo, *The Mormons in Politics: The First Hundred Years* (Boulder, University of Colorado: 1965), 157; Dale, *The State of Deseret*, 34-35. I believe the Council of Fifty deliberately held the election to mark the anniversary of its own creation. It did not hold the election on the 11th because it was the Sabbath day.
- ⁸⁰ The representatives were Willard Snow*, David Fullmer*, Phillip B. Lewis, Parley P. Pratt, John S. Fullmer*, Charles Shumway, John Taylor, John Pack*, Joel H. Johnson*, Lorenzo Snow*, Simeon Andrews, John Murdock, Ira Eldridge, John Van Cott, Joseph A. Stratton*, George B. Wallace*, Daniel H. Wells, Jediah M. Grant*, Jefferson Hunt*, Daniel C. Davis, Franklin D. Richards*, Isaac Higbee, Isaac Haight, Willaim Hickenlooper, Seth Taft, and Hosea Stout*. The state council included: Isaac Morely, Reynolds Cahoon*, Newel K. Whitney, John

Smith, Phineas Richards, Shadrach Roundy, William W. Phelps*, John Young*, Daniel Spencer*, Joseph Fielding, Cornelius P. Lott, David Pettigrew*, Abraham O. Smoot*, and Charles C. Rich*.

⁸¹ J. Klaus, Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 131.

⁸² "Letter from Brigham Young to Orson Hyde," JH, July 19, 1849.

⁸³ Coonville Branch [Iowa], Record 1848-1851, CHL, 9.

⁸⁴ Among others there were Lorenzo D. Butler*, David Candland*, Simeon Carter*, Hayden Church*, Alfred Young*, William Culter*, Crandall Dunn*, Cyrus H. Wheelock*, George D. Watt*, Alphonso LeBaron*, Milton Holmes*, Henry B. Jacobs*, James H. Flanigan, Lyman O. Littlefield*, John Myers*, Lewis Robbins*, Jacob Gates*, Elijah F. Sheets*, Joseph A. Stratton*, J.B. Maynell*, George Wallace*, William Burton*, Dan Jones*, Samuel W. Richards*, and newly called Apostle Franklin D. Richards*.

⁸⁵ Dunn, History and Travels, 165.

⁸⁶ Elijah Funk Sheets, Journal 1844, Journals 1843-1904, CHL, October 27, 1844.

⁸⁷ William L. Cutler, Diary, 1849 Jan - 1850 Dec., 1850, CHL.

⁸⁸ Quinn, "Council of Fifty," 22-26.

⁸⁹ Morgan, *State of Deseret*, 35-36.

⁹⁰ "Plural Marriage," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: MacMillan Reference Books, 1992).

⁹¹ List is from Dale F. Beecher, "Colonizer of the West," in Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter eds., *The Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life and Service of Brigham Young*, (Salt Lake City, Deseret Book Company, 1995), 173-207.

⁹² As quoted in Beecher, "Colonizers of the West," 173.

⁹³ Jacobs, Reminiscence and Journal, July 25, 1847.

⁹⁴ For an example, see cadre member Elisha Groves* who served as bishop and legislative representative for Parowan established in 1851. JH May 16, 1851.

⁹⁵ Many non-loyal cadre members held considerable wealth. John Duncan*, a follower of Sidney Rigdon, owned \$30,000 worth of land in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Other wealthy non-loyal cadre members included Amos Davis* a merchant just outside of Nauvoo, Illinois with \$3,000, and George Pew* a plantation overseer in Jefferson County, Louisiana and John Swackhammer a carpenter in New York City. Both recorded wealth of \$2,500.

⁹⁶ Marilyn Reed Travis, "Social Stratification and the Dissolution of the City of Zion in Salt Lake City," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utah, 1994, 153-54; Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community, Jacksonville Illinois 1825-70* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 261. In Doyle's work, skilled workers are divided into subcategories of proprietor and non-proprietor. I have combined them to make align with Travis' work on Salt Lake.

⁹⁷ Non-cadre figures are from Travis, "Zion," 74.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ARISTARCHY OF THE MORMON GREAT BASIN KINGDOM, 1851-1869

“If the people of the United States will let us alone for ten years, we will ask no odds of them.” - Brigham Young, July 24, 1847.¹

The cadre’s growing role in the Mormon Great Basin Kingdom from 1851 to 1868 occurred against the background of significant religious, political, social, and economic events and trends. Cadre members simultaneously shaped and were shaped by this context. They endured as a significant force in building and strengthening Zion, even as events threatened its existence. With thousands of Mormon immigrants arriving each summer, established towns grew in population even as church leaders created new settlements. This intensified the need to create governments and fill important roles in the theodemocracy directing the expanding Zion. The cadre provided an aristarchy of prepared religious, political, social, and economic leaders who not only passionately felt and understood Joseph Smith’s theodemocratic Zion, but in Brigham Young’s Zion accrued the practical experience of making it work. The church hierarchy ensured that cadre members led settlements, counties, and even the nascent Utah Territory in all aspects of Mormon life.

In 1860, the midpoint of this time period, the average Mormon male in the Great Basin was nineteen years old, of British parents, and had many siblings. He labored in

construction or agriculture and was a priest or elder in the church.² Comparatively, the average cadre member was fifty years old, with American-born parents, and multiple wives. He was a prosperous, landed farmer and a high priest with local or territorial political, religious, and economic responsibilities. Cadre members' economic and political work enabled church leaders to continue plans for theodemocracy in Utah. Until the arrival of the transcontinental railroad and its increased "gentile" influence, the cadre were the standard bearers of Joseph Smith's vision of Zion.

Cadre Religious Involvement

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, Brigham Young and church leaders orchestrated the Zion drama at a rapid pace. Driven by intense religious motivation, Mormon leaders worked to establish a Zion where converts could gather, a temple could be raised where Mormons would receive ordinances of salvation, and missionaries could be dispatched to preach and gather more converts. With Salt Lake (the new center stake of Zion) now secure under the wings of a church-dominated territorial government, Young increased the urgency of the gathering effort.

Young made four important decisions that allowed so many to gather to Zion and receive the temple ordinances. He ordered the evacuation of the rest of the faithful, mostly poor Saints still camped along the banks of the Missouri River. Next, Young increased the number of missionaries and expanded their fields of labor around the world. These missionaries, together with church leaders, strongly encouraged converts to gather to Zion, even providing financial assistance for immigration to the Great Basin. Finally, Young expanded the number of colonizing missions in the Great Basin to create space for new arrivals and to claim land to protect Zion from "gentile" settlement. In these

decisions, Young and other leaders turned to cadre members, tried, tested, and dedicated.

Evacuation of Western Iowa

In 1849, church leadership created the Perpetual Emigration Fund (PEF), wherein Mormons donated money to “promote, facilitate, and accomplish the emigration of the poor.” When these immigrants arrived in Utah, they were expected to pay back their loans so the program could continue in perpetuity. The first real test of the PEF occurred two years later. Brigham Young placed fund officers and cadre members Ezra T. Benson* and Jedediah M. Grant* in charge of evacuating the Mormons stranded in western Iowa. In a general epistle to the church, Young declared that Benson and Grant were “sent expressly to push the Saints to the Valley.”³ And push they did. Benson and Grant told the Mormons in Iowa “not to be afraid of the Plains, but to encounter them with any kind of conveyance that they can procure, with their handcarts, their wheelbarrows, and come on foot, pack and animal, if they have one, and no other way to come...”⁴ In 1851, twenty-five hundred Mormons reached the Salt Lake Valley. The following year, over six thousand pioneers made the trek; the largest flow of the two-decade pioneer emigration. When Benson and Grant returned to Salt Lake on August 11, 1852, they left Iowa, “almost entirely vacated by the Saints.”⁵

With most Mormons in North America gathered to the Great Basin, Brigham Young commenced construction of the Salt Lake Temple. On April 6, 1853, the twenty-third anniversary of the church, Saints from throughout the Great Basin gathered at Temple Square to witness the priesthood dedicate the four cornerstones of the temple. Of the eight officiators, four were cadre members, a very high honor indeed. Brigham Young, his counselors, and Patriarch John Smith laid and dedicated the southeast stone.

Next, presiding bishop of the church Edward Hunter* laid the southwest stone. Hunter declared, “I have acted in the Priesthood and the part allotted me, with the love and fear of God before my eyes, by the aid of His Spirit to the best of my ability, and I hope acceptably in the sight of God and those who preside over me in this Latter-day work.”⁶ His counselor, Alfred Cordon* offered the stone’s dedicatory prayer. John Young* gave the oration at the placing of the northwest cornerstone, followed by a dedicatory prayer from George B. Wallace*. Apostles Parley P. Pratt and Orson Hyde finished the ceremony with the northeast stone. The solemnity of the moment captured the hearts of many. Joseph Curtis*, who had made the fifty-mile trip from Payson, recorded, “O Lord may I never forget.”⁷

Expanded Missionary Work

With the vast majority of North American Mormons gathered, Brigham Young increased the scope of missionary efforts. Although the United States was a minor field, several cadre members served missions in the Midwest, on the East Coast, and even in the Deep South during the 1850s. However, the church’s public announcement of plural marriage in 1852 made Mormons pariahs and limited success. The Utah War of 1857 and the Civil War of 1861-65 further disrupted U.S. missionary labors. George W. Hickerson* serving in Mississippi in 1854 wrote to his wife, “I have again resumed my labours... all traveling and no preaching it is verry [*sic*] seldom I get the opportunity to preach as a general thing the people that have heard don’t want to hear any more & those that have not heard do not wish to here [*sic*] for the name of a Mormon is enough for them.”⁸ Charles H. Bassett* received the same reception in Ohio in 1854, as did Hayden Church* in the South. They along with a handful of others labored with little success.⁹

Meanwhile, Aaron F. Farr* and Alfred Lambson's* Mormon identity often barred them from public preaching in the West Indies. Farr recorded that while traveling between islands some passengers, "came out to see how we looked and how long our ears & horns were and how many wives we had. But we had been looked at before so often we looked them out of face."¹⁰

In August 1852 at a "special Conference of the Elders" in Salt Lake City, 110 missionaries were called to proselyte on every inhabited continent, with the largest contingent destined for Europe. This missionary force was the largest since Joseph Smith's 1844 campaign. Cadre members figured predominately. Twenty-four served, more than double their percentage of Mormon priesthood holders.¹¹ Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, cadre members served as missionaries, most often as presiding officers. The largest segment of missionaries, including cadre members, served in Europe. European Mormons felt "more highly favoured" to hear from a cadre missionary "of the old stock" because such individuals "had a knowledge of Joseph, the prophet, and an acquaintance with him."¹² Great Britain continued to be fertile ground for Mormon converts. For two decades, several cadre found proselytes there.¹³ Dan Jones*, the last cadre member to see Joseph Smith alive, continued to fulfill Smith's prophesy that he would preach in Wales with great success. His mission during the 1850s was his second as the presiding authority of the Welsh Mission. Under his leadership, thousands converted and immigrated to Utah.¹⁴ Chauncey Walker West* presided over the European Mission during the Civil War, stopping in Washington to meet and shake hands with Abraham Lincoln on his way to England.¹⁵ In fact, during the 1850s and 1860s, cadre members, particularly Apostles Amasa Lyman*, Charles C. Rich*, Lorenzo

Snow*, and Franklin D. Richards* presided over the European Mission. Cadre individuals also introduced Mormonism to other European nations. George P. Dykes* assisted Apostle John Taylor in translating the Book of Mormon into German and publishing a church newspaper entitled *Zion's Panier*.¹⁶ Following Dykes and Taylor, George C. Riser* worked with such zeal and success as the German Mission president that the authorities imprisoned him.¹⁷ In France, Andrew Lamoreaux* presided, fulfilling a prophecy Joseph Smith made in 1839. In tears, Smith told Lamoreaux that when he completed this future mission he would die and not return to his family. At the conclusion of his mission, while assisting converts immigrating to Utah, Lamoreaux died of cholera in St. Louis.¹⁸ Elsewhere in Europe, Nathan T. Porter* worked tirelessly, yet fruitlessly, in Gibraltar.¹⁹ Willard Snow* labored in Scotland before embarking to Denmark. Daniel Tyler* presided over the Swiss, Italian, French, and German missions after 1854 with few conversions despite continuous travel and labor.

In October of 1852, fifty-two of the 110 missionaries left for San Francisco to find passage to their mission calls in Asia, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific. Arriving in San Francisco, they learned that the combined one-way total for their voyages was more than \$6,000. They dispersed to find work and raised the money needed, leaving between January and April of 1853. Curiously, wealthy but disaffected California cadre members John S. Horner* and Samuel Brannan* financed several of the missionaries. Being the most ambitious of Brigham Young's missionary efforts, Young assigned cadre veterans to lead the Asia mission. Nathaniel V. Jones* opened India to missionary work and served as mission president for three years.²⁰ Elam Luddington* and Chauncey W. West*, assigned to Siam, worked with two other missionaries in

Calcutta, India, and then Bangkok. Luddington* later wrote that the group traveled thirty thousand miles on three different ships, baptizing sixteen converts.²¹ Chapman Duncan* and Hosea Stout* landed in Hong Kong in April, 1853. They were led to believe from reports in San Francisco that they would find conditions ripe for proselyting. However, upon arrival the men found, “the situation and conditions in that country entirely the reverse from what we expected.”²² Unable to speak Chinese, the missionaries approached the small European population, all of whom rejected the impoverished messengers of Mormonism, even spreading lies about the missionaries’ true intentions. Soon, no native or European would take literature or listen to them. With money and welcome running out, the men returned to California and wrote a letter to the First Presidency reporting their efforts.

The work in the Pacific Islands was no less ambitious. In 1850, several missionaries arrived in the Society Islands to continue the work of Addison Pratt begun in the mid-1840s. The conditions were so difficult that all but three returned home. Not coincidentally, the three who remained were dedicated cadre members: Sidney Alvarus Hanks*, Jonathan Crosby*, and Simeon A. Dunn*.²³ They built boats and traveled the islands, converting hundreds and building meeting houses. The men continued their labors until 1853 when, after a change in government, they were banished, leaving local Mormons to face persecution alone.²⁴ Hanks* remained behind, as his release letter was sent to the wrong island. Refusing to leave without an honorable release, Hanks* continued for eight years until he was accidentally rediscovered by missionaries assigned to the Sandwich Islands (Hawai’i). They communicated his situation to Brigham Young who promptly released him.²⁵ Nathan Tanner* and William McBride* along with several

others served in the Sandwich Islands in the early 1850s converting sizeable congregations. In 1864, cadre Apostles Lorenzo Snow* and Ezra Taft Benson* embarked on a special mission to the Sandwich Islands. They were accompanied by Hyrum Smith's son Joseph F. Smith and cadre sons William W. Cluff and Alma L. Smith, all of whom had served there previously.²⁶ A cadre missionary also introduced the church to Australia. Charles W. Wandell* arrived in Sydney in 1851. When he returned home in 1853, August A. Farnham* presided and, along with Josiah W. Fleming*, continued the church's growth on the continent.²⁷

Missionary work took its toll on cadre missionaries and their families. A few perished during their efforts. Levi Nickerson* called to Great Britain, arrived in Iowa from Utah, having suffered in extreme weather. He lingered there for a year before being found dead in a tent, orphaning six children in Utah. In tragic irony, he died only miles from where his father had perished seven years earlier.²⁸ Three other cadre missionaries died in 1852 while serving. Stephen Taylor* passed away after in the eastern United States and William Burton* died in England.²⁹ Willard T. Snow* a territorial legislator and member of the First Quorum of the Seventy, became violently ill while advancing Mormonism in Denmark.³⁰ Two companions boarded him on a ship for England where he hoped to recover. Snow* died in route. Finally, in 1863, Thomas Atkinson* and his companion Hiram S. Kimball were killed when their steamer *Ada Hancock* exploded in San Pedro harbor.³¹

The long missions were difficult on family life. Upon arriving home from Australia, Augustus A. Farnham* met a small boy playing on the grass near his house. He called, "Hello, sonny, what's your name?" The child answered, "Gussy Farnham."

“Is that so—that’s my name, too,” Augustus responded. When he entered the house, he found his wife packed and ready to leave for the East the following day. No amount of persuasion could prevail on her to remain. The child was his own son, born after he had departed for his mission. The mother also took their daughter, a tragic end to his five-year mission.³² Israel Barlow’s* experience also illustrates the challenges of missionary life on cadre families. Upon his call to Great Britain, Barlow’s wife requested that he stop in Nauvoo. She wished him to rebury their infant son James, hastily buried at their former farm. Barlow left Salt Lake City with other missionaries accompanying the Utah Territory’s stone for the Washington Monument. To his delight, Barlow found his brother and mother in Kaneshville, Nebraska and spent a few days with them. Upon reaching Nauvoo, Barlow struggled to find his son’s grave, as the farm’s layout had changed. He eventually found the coffin and remains scattered and all but destroyed. He quickly and brokenheartedly reburied what remained. As he turned to leave, he recorded that a voice plead, “[D]ady [*sic*] do not Leave me hear [*sic*].”³³ Remembering the promise to his wife to properly rebury their son, Barlow turned around. He carefully removed the remains to Nauvoo’s public cemetery. He wrote his wife that the decision brought, “a very peculiar [*sic*] Calm and Peace of mind whitch [*sic*] before I did not feel.” Barlow placed the remains in a new coffin and buried it in the cemetery with a small “rude stone” to mark the grave. Pondering over the new grave of his firstborn son, Barlow “Felt a desire to dedicate my Self” to the work of Zion so that he might have his son again in the resurrection. Melancholy, he wrote his wife that he had fulfilled her request, adding grape and apple seeds from their former farm in the envelope. He concluded his letter, “If I have desire to glory in any thing, it is in aiding to Bild [*sic*] up

that Kingdom and I do most Candidly Confess that I do feel to glory in the cause I am engaged [*sic*] in for it seems all glorious to me at times.”³⁴ While in England, Israel’s family suffered. Two sons died and another came perilously close. Local priesthood leaders, including Barlow’s cadre companion David Candland*, did what they could to administer to the family’s needs.³⁵

Immigration

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, cadre missionaries assisted converts to gather to the Great Basin Zion.³⁶ In the midst of the successful PEF evacuation of Iowa in 1851-52, Brigham Young sent cadre veterans Abraham O. Smoot*, Willard Snow*, and Samuel W. Richards* to England. They were to report on the progress of European missionary efforts and coordinate with the European mission presidency the use of the PEF for gathering Saints. They fulfilled their mission and the leadership in England chose Smoot to captain the first PEF emigration company to Utah. The relative smoothness of the operation opened the floodgates for European Mormons to immigrate.³⁷ Over the next decade and a half, several cadre members led European Saints to Zion, including Milo Andrus*, John S. Fullmer*, Israel Barlow*, Lorenzo Hatch*, Joseph France*, Cyrus Wheelock*, Jonathan O. Angus*, and the Richards brothers, Samuel* and Franklin*. Cadre men worked as missionaries, leaders, and immigration company captains.

When the European mission presidency of Franklin D. Richards*, Cyrus Wheelock*, and Daniel Spencer* was succeeded by Orson Pratt, Ezra T. Benson* and James A Little* in 1856, Brigham Young confidently declared, “that notwithstanding the great annual emigration from Britain’s shores, it does not keep pace with the annual

increase and onward progress of the work in those lands.”³⁸ Samuel W. Richards*, while presiding over the work in England, testified before the British House of Commons on the Mormon emigration. While he and his cadre brother Franklin presided over Mormonism in England, more than fourteen thousand Saints immigrated to Utah.³⁹ When PEF funds ran low in 1856, church leaders decided to have Mormons temporarily use handcarts to cross the plains. Fittingly, Brigham Young called Edmund Ellsworth* to captain the first company. Cadre missionaries helped converts emigrate from other nations as well, most notably from Australia. In 1856, Augustus A. Farnham* and Joseph Fleming* sailed from Sydney with a company of Saints bound for Zion. Joseph A. Kelting* led another group the following year.⁴⁰

Church leaders in St. Louis were the linchpins in this intercontinental mass Mormon migration. It became the major way station for European Mormons as they traveled from Liverpool to New Orleans and then up the Mississippi River. In St. Louis, they temporarily rested, while PEF agents managed funds to provide wagons, oxen, and supplies for the final leg across the Plains. Throughout the 1850s, Brigham Young placed trusted cadre members in St. Louis to preside over the Saints and be agents for the PEF. Starting in 1852, Horace S. Eldredge* served for two years.⁴¹ It was not an easy assignment. Cholera plagued immigrants and Eldredge himself caught the disease. Yet, he worked tirelessly to comfort and arrange the affairs of thousands of converts, including providing temporary housing and purchasing their equipment. During a trip in 1853 to procure supplies, Eldredge passed through Nauvoo. As he “took a stroll through the City,” he “had the most peculiar feelings that ever I had...”

I reflected upon gone days when every thing was ripe to the gaiety [*sic*] and pleasure and the Marks of industry and perseverance were seen

throughout the Whole city by a once happy people and a prophets voice was herd [*sic*] to encourage and Cheer the hearts of the Saints and teach them Principals of eternal truth.⁴²

While Eldredge met with resistance from old acquaintances in Nauvoo, he found happiness with those he assisted in St. Louis. Hundreds contributed to purchase a gold ring for him, a token of their gratitude for his service.⁴³ Brigham Young chose Aaron F. Farr* to replace Eldredge. Farr also presided for two years,⁴⁴ followed by Milo Andrus*.⁴⁵ Cadre Apostle Erastus Snow* next oversaw a two-year period, expanding and strengthening St. Louis as a Mormon outpost. He organized a stake of Zion, published the *St. Louis Luminary*, and established a new outfitting post near Fort Leavenworth.⁴⁶

Colonizing Missions

Building upon an exploratory mission of the Great Basin in 1849, Brigham Young and church leaders sent a colonizing mission south in search of iron ore to smelt. This decision was part of Young's goal to be free from the "gentiles" through economic self-sufficiency. Church leaders selected several cadre members for the expedition.⁴⁷ Dubbed the Iron Mission, 167 men, women, and children set out on December 7, 1850 arriving at their destination January 10, 1851. Apostles George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson* led the group.⁴⁸ Under direction of the leaders, including bishop Elisha Groves*, Nathaniel Felt* surveyed the land. By summer, a town existed with school, mills, and stores, with surrounding farms.⁴⁹ Edson Whipple*'s journal details the roles he played. Called in person by Brigham Young to be a part of the colony, local leaders appointed Whipple as associate justice of the nascent county. They also selected him as a captain in the militia. Of all the plans presented to lay out the fort, and consequently the settlement,

Whipple proudly wrote, “mine was accepted and adopted, and Parowan was built up according to my plan.” Whipple worked to plant and thresh the first crops. Local church leaders nominated Whipple and he was subsequently elected to the Parowan City Council.⁵⁰

Mormons also colonized San Bernardino, California and again, cadre members were in the lead. In 1851, Brigham Young selected cadre apostles and California veterans Amasa Lyman* and Charles C. Rich* to lead a company of over four hundred Mormons. Favorable reports regarding settlements in Lower California led to Young’s decision to establish “a stronghold for the gathering of the Saints in California.” The group was divided into companies, and the 467 persons, 558 oxen, 336 cows, 21 calves, 52 mules, and 107 horses headed south. Arriving in California, they purchased a large ranch near San Bernardino. Young desired that the colony become the main way station for converts through San Diego and up the “Mormon Corridor” of settlements to Salt Lake. Young, Lyman, and Rich recruited families for the mission, including many cadre members.⁵¹

Among the cadre members selected, the stories of two illustrate the difficulties, successes, and ultimately the failure of the venture. Jefferson Hunt*, former commanding officer of the Mormon Battalion and veteran of the California trails, was an obvious choice. Despite being elected the Iron County representative to the territorial legislature, Hunt followed Lyman and Rich to San Bernardino, acting as the group’s scout. Using his numerous contacts in California, Hunt negotiated the purchase of the San Bernardino Ranch for the church, personally guarding the \$25,000 in gold coins. Hunt labored in San Bernardino and used his impeccable reputation among other

Californians to win important concessions for the Mormons. He was so highly regarded that California Governor John Bigler appointed Hunt a Brigadier General and Commander in Chief of the California Militia. Hunt was the Mormons' choice for election to the California legislature and also served as an assemblyman in San Bernardino County. Concurrently, church leaders placed him in the high council in the colony. Hunt bought half interest in the colony's sawmill and held the mail contract between San Bernardino and Salt Lake City. He continued to serve in these capacities until church leaders abandoned San Bernardino in 1857 because of the Utah War. He sold his interest in the sawmill, valued at \$25,000, for one tenth this amount and moved back to Parowan.⁵²

Henry G. Boyle* "reluctantly" moved his young family to San Bernardino when Amasa Lyman* and Charles C. Rich* recruited him at Weber Fort. Boyle, also a Mormon Battalion veteran, did not wish to return to the land of his previous suffering. Yet, Boyle's grief was just beginning. A year after arriving and starting his farm, Boyle's young wife died. "She has been a faithful good Mormon," he wrote, "...and I feel the loss to be very great." A widower with young children, Boyle bought an interest in a mill that failed. He later served several missions in California, including a gold mission. However, continued missions away from his small family destroyed his peace. So, too, did seeing former friends excommunicated for dissent. He wrote, "It is a painful thing to be a witness of...it makes my blood chill in its veins. God grant that I may never depart from the truth."⁵³ Still, Boyle struggled to get out of debt, a task made more difficult by his constant calling as a missionary throughout California. Upon returning to San Bernardino in 1857, he found everyone evacuating due to the Mormon War and

growing anti-Mormon sentiment in California. “I think I shall feel like I have been released from Hell when I shall have got away from here,” Boyle penned. He left San Bernardino never to return.⁵⁴

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Utah could no longer procure cotton from the South. Church leaders decided to create a colony in southern Utah to produce cotton and other amenities. Aptly called the “Cotton Mission,” it settled present day St. George in 1862 with several hundred families. Cadre Apostle Erastus Snow* led the expedition with Apostle Orson Pratt and over the years numerous cadre members participated.⁵⁵ Snow declared to those of the mission:

I feel to go body and spirit, with my heart and soul, and I sincerely hope that my brethren will endeavor to do the same; for so long as we strive to promote the interests of Zion at home and abroad we shall be happy and prosperous; and what seems to be a temporary leaving and losing of present comforts that we have gathered around us, will be like bread cast upon the waters, which after many days shall be gathered like seed that brings forth much fruit...To you that think you cannot bring your feelings to go upon this mission like men, so far as I am concerned I will vote to release you.⁵⁶

Lysander Dayton* built the first home in St. George and served on the high council.

Lewis Robbins* served as Washington County’s representative to the territorial legislature, until he tragically died in an accident at the temple site.⁵⁷ In the end, “Utah’s Dixie” produced very little cotton, certainly not enough for the Basin’s needs.

Difficulties often outweighed success in these and other colonies in the Great Basin Mormon Kingdom. Grand projects for Mormon self-sufficiency proved futile. The Iron Mission created very little iron. Utah’s “Dixie” failed to produce cotton. Mormonism’s hope for a stronghold in California disappeared with the abandonment of San Bernardino. Even smaller colonies were not immune from the troubles of building

Zion. Planting Mormonism, particularly theodemocratic Mormonism, sometimes led to disagreements, discord, and even dissension. James Pace* and other cadre members who settled Payson, Utah illustrate the difficulties. Pace led several Mormons to southern Utah Valley in 1850 to settle an area named Peteetneet by Native Americans. Brigham Young named Pace branch president and called the settlement Payson in his honor. Pace recorded, “During the remainder [*sic*] of the Season nothing of importance transpired excepting the ordinary ro[*u*]tine of trials, confusions, and difficulties at tending [*sic*] the building up of a new settlement with all classes of men to do it with, including all their peculiarities [*sic*], and notions of right and wrong.”⁵⁸ The “trials, confusions, and difficulties,” came to a head in late 1851. Pace excommunicated James McClellan and then refused to go to the high council in Provo to explain his action. The high council promptly removed Pace from his presidency and in his stead placed McClellan who was reinstated on appeal to Brigham Young. Fellow cadre member and Paysonite Joseph Curtis* recorded that the series of events created “quite a sensation throughout the branch.”⁵⁹ When Pace turned to Curtis to petition Young, Curtis declined to get involved. “Unpleasant feelings,” persisted among the members of the small branch, threatening unity and progress. Young intervened and sent Pace on a three-year mission to England. Pace set out with fellow cadre member Calvin Reed*, not to return until late 1855. While Pace was gone, Curtis looked after his family, threshing wheat, administering priesthood blessings, and otherwise shepherding them.

Peace prevailed for a year in the settlement. Payson, now a full-sized Mormon ward, was presided over by a bishop named Blackburn. In June 1853, Curtis wrote that a Charles Shumway was, “disfellowshipped for unchristian conduct and saying the

authorities might kiss his ass.” The next day, a penitent Shumway asked forgiveness and Blackburn restored him to fellowship. However, less than a month later, a letter from James Pace* accused Blackburn of trying to steal his wife, presumably as a plural addition, while he was away on his mission. Blackburn denied the charge. Two weeks later, an American Indian shot and killed a settler. The outside threat dampened the internal dissension and the settlement literally closed ranks. In December of 1855, the First Presidency stopped in Payson while traveling to central Utah. They held a conference at the home of Pace, who had just returned from England, to settle the issues dividing the community. The next day, the residents submitted to rebaptism to demonstrate their commitment to begin anew in obedience to the gospel and the appointed leaders.⁶⁰

Yet colonizing itself steeled cadre members to the cause of Zion. Cadre members overcame obstacles and accomplished remarkable feats in settling hundreds of towns in the Great Basin during these years. As ecclesiastical and political leaders, cadre members directed many of the colonies. Since church leadership carefully selected those who led each new outpost of Zion, it is no coincidence that they so often chose cadre men. Many cadre members assisted in building multiple settlements. Daniel Allen* settled seven towns while plying his trade as a shoemaker: Salt Lake, West Jordan, Pleasant Grove, Provo, Parowan, Manti, and St. George. John Darwin Chase* helped build Salt Lake; Manti; Moroni; Humbolt River, Nevada; Kaysville; and Nephi. Chase served as mayor of Moroni, bishop in Manti, and on the Juab and Carson Valley high councils; with a mission to England as well. Chapman Duncan* colonized Big Cottonwood and Parowan before leaving on a mission to China in 1852. Upon his return,

he settled Carson Valley, Nevada before becoming the county recorder and probate judge in St. George. He later went on his own to found Duncan's Retreat in northern Washington County. David Savage*, a gifted carpenter, utilized his skills in Salt Lake, American Fork, Fillmore, Newton, Lehi, Cedar City, Holden, Springville, and finally Cedar Fort, Idaho. George C. Snyder* assisted in settling El Dorado, California; Las Vegas, Nevada; Salt Lake; Wanship; Snyder's Ranch; West Jordan; Bountiful; Ogden; Wellsville; and Farmington. During that time, Snyder also served a mission to England and was a bishop and probate judge. These and many other cadre members responded to calls from church leadership to build the Zion they longed for, community by community. Their experience and leadership were invaluable to Brigham Young and other church authorities. Without the cadre, success would have been impossible.

Mormon Reformation

Yet a decade of living in the wilderness took its toll on the spirituality of the Mormons. To counter what he saw as "backsliding," in 1855, Brigham Young instigated a "home missionary program" to help reform the Great Basin Saints. "Many are stupid, careless, and unconcerned..." Young declared, "They are off their watch, neglect their prayers, forget their covenants and forsake their God, and the devil has power over them."⁶¹ One reason for Young's harsh correction was the decimation of that year's crops by grasshoppers. With their Puritan background, many church leaders saw natural disasters as evidence of the chastening hand of God. Severe canyon fires in 1856 and the harsh winter of 1856-57, which killed almost all the church's livestock, reinforced the sentiment. It was the biggest crisis of the Great Basin Mormon Kingdom since its inception a decade earlier. Zion seemed to be collapsing.

Young turned to the rod of repentance. On September 7, 1856, he publicly lamented that “so much of my time [is taken] attending to temporal matters.” He wished he could take a few other church leaders and “make a great wake by going through this Territory & preaching the gospel to the people.”⁶² Reminiscing several years later, Young recorded, “One day I told a number of the brethren how I felt, as well, as I could, and br. Jedediah Grant* partook of the Spirit that was in me and walked out like a man—like a giant—and like an angel—and he scattered the fire of the Almighty among the people.” Grant, a cadre leader and current nonapostolic counselor in the First Presidency, left on assignment to a four-day conference in Kaysville, north of Salt Lake. His thunderous message of repentance was powerful and unforgiving. “The Church needs trimming up,” Grant boomed, “. . . certain branches . . . had better be cut off.” “The kingdom would progress much faster, and so will you individually, than it will with those branches on, for they are only dead weights to the great wheel.” He continued:

First get the families united, then get the wards, the towns, the cities, and the counties regulated, and you will have every part of the Territory right. . . I would like to see the work of reformation commence, and continue until every man had to walk to the line, then we should have something like union; . . . People must be right in their works, and be brought to know and practise [*sic*] their duties. You have got doctrine enough and revelation enough, and perhaps one difficulty is that you are too full of them. One doctrine which you need is to make your families, your streets, and every thing about you clean. . . Purify yourselves, your houses, lots, farms, and every thing around you on the right and on the left, then the Spirit of the Lord can dwell with you.⁶³

Grant created a catechism for the ward teachers that included twenty-seven spiritual and temporal questions. Throughout October, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Jedediah Grant* kept up the pressure, rebuking the Saints for “lying, stealing, swearing [*sic*], committing Adultery, quarelling [*sic*] with Husbands wives &

Children & many other evils.”⁶⁴ Apostle Wilford Woodruff reported, “I never heard as strong & powerful sermons ever delivered by the presidency of the Church...”⁶⁵ As part of the Reformation, congregations were rebaptized to demonstrate their renewed commitment. In November, Young made the drastic decision to withdraw the sacrament (communion) from the membership. God’s mercy would only be restored if the people repented. Grant continued thundering his message of reformation from settlement to settlement until dying suddenly from rheumatic fever in early December. After his funeral, Young and Kimball decided to retire from public interaction. Woodruff preached that upon the death of Grant, “the First Presidency...have retired from out of the midst because the people will not do as they are told...”⁶⁶ For two months, Mormons nervously wondered if they would ever be worthy to see their leaders and take the sacrament again. Trying to recommit themselves, some even chose rebaptism in waters covered by six inches of ice.⁶⁷ On February 1 when Alfred Cordon*, then an assistant presiding bishop, addressed a congregation in the old Tabernacle, Young and Kimball stunned everyone by walking onto the stand. Cordon hurriedly finished his address and the two members of the First Presidency spoke for over an hour. Young reinstated the sacrament two months later, to a much-relieved Mormonism.

What was the effect of the Reformation on the cadre and the church as a whole? One result was the death of its thunderous spokesperson Jedediah Grant*. There was a spike in religious devotion, including the practice of the principle of plural marriage. Cadre members’ involvement and reaction to the Reformation was mixed. Certainly the Reformation was widespread as it reached to England. On February 4, cadre Apostle Ezra T. Benson*, Phineas Young*, and other leaders in England held a Reformation

meeting. “We then took into consideration the President’s [Brigham Young] letter on reformation,” Phineas wrote, “and unitedly agreed to reform our lives, repent of our sins and do better than we had ever done, and fast the next day.”⁶⁸ That evening, they renewed their covenants through rebaptism, an act repeated throughout England’s Mormonism.

Cadre leaders in the Great Basin were just as anxious to follow their leaders’ instructions. Provo stake president Jonathan O. Duke* recorded that throughout December of 1856 he and his counselors had been, “catechising [*sic*] the Saints of the first ward by the [questions of the] catechisms got up by the First Presidency of the Church which the Lord has graciously been pleased to pour out His Spirit on the Saints in these valleys and a great reformation is taken place in settlements.”⁶⁹ Fellow cadre member and Apostle Lorenzo Snow* preached to a packed house that night in Provo. Joseph Holbrook* remembered Jedediah Grant* visiting his ward for a two-day conference early in the Reformation. Grant required every male to “go home wash themselves all over and [to] ...continue to do it at least once a week.” Each family was to pray twice daily and there was to “be a thorough reformation throughout the church.” After rebaptizing one another, Grant emphasized that “every brother and sister be careful to sin no more for fear a more terrible scourge should wait them as they could not comit [*sic*] iniquity with the same degree of allowance as they could before they received their covenants in the waters of baptism.” Holbrook stated that after rebaptism they were all “catechized as what we had been guilty of in our every act so that we might now begin anew to possess eternal life.”⁷⁰ Like so many others, Holbrook promptly married a plural wife to show his devotion. Overall, most cadre members reactions were similar to that of

James Pace*. He wrote, "I participated in the Reformation, then prevalent among our People, though not to the extent of wild enthusiasm that some manifested."⁷¹

Dissidents

During the years of 1851-1868, some cadre members chose to follow Brigham Young no longer. Others who had previously dissented continued their lives outside of Mormonism, or watched their offshoots of Mormonism crumble. For many in each of these categories, they finally found a religious home in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (RLDS).⁷²

The RLDS Church, begun in 1853, solidified in 1860 when Joseph Smith's son, Joseph Smith III, assumed leadership. Ironically, disaffected cadre members were at the center of its genesis. Zenos Hovey Gurley* Sr., was a cadre missionary assigned to Illinois during the 1844 election. After Smith's assassination, Gurley followed James J. Strang, becoming an effective missionary for the Strangites. He was particularly successful in his hometown of LaHarp, Illinois and in nearby Yellowstone, Wisconsin. The members of the Yellowstone branch later formed the nucleus of the Reorganization. In 1851, they and Gurley denounced the teachings of Strang when he began practicing plural marriage. Gurley and Jason Briggs, brother of cadre member Silas H. Briggs*, claimed to have received a revelation to reorganize the church under the leadership of Joseph Smith's son Joseph Smith III. They gathered Mormons in small, scattered branches in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. They held an organizational meeting on April 8, 1853. Those gathered gave temporary leadership to Briggs who in turn called Gurley as a church apostle. The "New Organization" numbered less than three hundred members but boldly announced its claim to Joseph Smith's authority and

called upon his son to lead. He refused then and again three years later in 1856.⁷³ Finally, the younger Smith conceded four years later.⁷⁴ At a conference held in Plano, Illinois on April 6, 1860, exactly thirty years since the organization of the church, Joseph Smith III assumed leadership of the now titled Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He was set apart as president of the church by none other than Zenos Gurley*.

Though never a serious numerical competitor to the church led by Brigham Young, Gurley and Brigg's "Reorganization" outlasted all other alternative sects of Mormonism. The "Reorganites" dismissed plural marriage, temple ordinances, and political Mormonism as products of Brigham Young. They proclaimed a Mormonism similar to that practiced and preached in the early 1830s. Many midwestern and eastern Mormons who chose not to follow Brigham Young west, or were remnants of the failed offshoots of Mormonism, joined the RLDS. Over time, they also claimed some converts from Young's fold, including a few cadre members. These men were weary of Young's heavy hand, the demands of colonization, or rejected plural marriage.⁷⁵

Cadre converts to the RLDS Church were valuable to the new group. Almost immediately, they received high priesthood offices and callings. They often worked as missionaries to convert more of the "Brighamites" as they referred to the Utah community. Perhaps the RLDS's most significant conversion was legendary missionary George P. Dykes* in 1863. Dykes, a long-time Utah resident, used his contacts to create inroads for the RLDS in the territory. He soon led a congregation of three hundred people. In a letter to a friend who "expressed surprise" at his conversion, Dykes laid out his case. Connecting several scriptures from the *Doctrine and Covenants*, he declared

that only the “posterity” of Joseph Smith could lead the church and “that young Joseph is the lawful head of the Church on this continent is positively evident from many scriptures.” Dykes was grateful that with “Divine assistance I am turning scores from darkness to light & from the power of satan [*sic*] to God, who are once more rejoicing in the ful[l]ness of the Everlasting gospel.”⁷⁶ Dykes also spoke powerfully against polygamy. Yet only two years later, Dykes left the RLDS. Another cadre convert was John A. McIntosh*, a successful missionary for the early church in the South. McIntosh parted with Mormonism over polygamy after Joseph Smith’s death. He joined the RLDS in 1857 and became a tireless missionary. A county record described McIntosh’s influence in Iowa: “He has figured very prominently in the political history of the county, having held the offices of county supervisor and justice of the peace for eight or ten years; he also served on the school board, and has filled other minor offices. He has always been a staunch Democrat.”⁷⁷

Other former cadre members found more solitary routes to fill the void left from their former affiliation with Mormonism. Increase Van Duzen* initially followed James Strang, When Van Duzen* found evidence that Strang was misleading his people regarding polygamy, he left for New York City. He returned to Kirtland, Ohio in 1860. That same year, Van Duzen* interrupted a meeting in the temple. He walked across the tops of the pews and then leaped up on the pulpit. There, he turned and faced the alarmed audience and stripped off his coat, tore it in shreds, stamped and hissed and swung the remnant of his torn coat shouting repeatedly, “Now is come the time of your trial!” Several frightened women fled the temple and all experienced a very memorable meeting.⁷⁸ Stephen Post* continued to believe in the mission of Sidney Rigdon and

served as his spokesman, single handedly keeping the struggling movement alive.⁷⁹

David Judah* became an apostle in the small Mormon “Hedrickite” movement centered in Independence, Missouri. They bought, and possess to the present day, the famed temple site. Judah led their only known proselyting effort, an unsuccessful mission to Native Indian tribes.⁸⁰

A small number of cadre simply left Mormonism. William D. Lyman* returned to his Methodist roots.⁸¹ Phillip H. Buzzard* originally followed Strang after Joseph Smith’s death. However, in 1850, he became disaffected and left for California before settling down in Iowa. Characterized as a good man and citizen, Buzzard created a freight company between Iowa and Utah. Buzzard remained nominally a Mormon, until one visit to Utah. Ordered to pay tithing because of his wealth, he vehemently objected and eschewed Mormonism permanently. He later moved to Spokane, Washington.⁸² Benjamin Clapp* resided in Ephraim, Sanpete County, where he and fellow cadre member Bishop Warren S. Snow* opposed one another. After investigation, leaders dropped Clapp from his position in the high council. At the general conference held in Salt Lake City on April 7, 1859, he was excommunicated. He died in California a year later. Joseph M. Cole* remained in the Midwest and in 1856 fought alongside his nephew at the Battle of Hickory Point in “Bleeding” Kansas.⁸³ Daniel Gardner* left Utah and Mormonism for the Washington Territory in 1854. He later became a community leader, justice of the peace, school teacher, and minister for the United Brethren Church.⁸⁴ Morgan Gardner*, no relation, left Utah in the early 1850s and settled in Iowa.⁸⁵ Alvin M. Hardy* left Mormonism for Oregon, becoming a wealthy millwright.⁸⁶ Nathan A. West* remained in Pottawattamie, Iowa living plural marriage until 1857. He

never joined the Saints in the Great Basin. Dustin Amy* also remained in Iowa and was likewise religiously unaffiliated.⁸⁷ Lewis Zeigler* lived in Maryland, perishing in the Civil War. William Green*, no longer believing in Mormonism's tenets, resided in St. Louis.⁸⁸ Omar Olney* returned to his native New York becoming a very successful lawyer and author. Perhaps seeking to explain his past, he wrote a scorching expose of Mormonism.⁸⁹ Lester Brooks* followed Strang after Smith's death but by 1854 had become a leader of the national movement of Spiritualists.⁹⁰ Elijah Swackhammer*, after following Rigdon, left Mormonism altogether. The most radical and eccentric of the apostates, he joined a group centered in Utica, New York called "the Reformers." They advocated free love, social communities, and declared that evil did not exist in and of itself. Swackhammer continued to give lectures on the Reformers philosophy for more than a decade and became an associate of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison.⁹¹ A later census shows listed him as a "reverend" in New York.

Some cadre members, like Bushrod Wilson*, felt persecuted within Brigham Young's theodemocratic Zion. Wilson chafed under the leadership of the small Mormon village of Palmyra in Utah County: "I left Palmyra getting nothing for my farm and houses. I have been mobbed by the gentiles for being a Mormon and at last I have been mobbed by the Mormons because I was not willing to do all that they told me to do, so I left for California."⁹² Arriving in San Bernardino, Wilson saw firsthand the struggle for political leadership in the Mormon colony. On April 20, 1854, he wrote that "Br. J Grewend and Frederic Van Louven and Ruben Herren was disfellowshipt [*sic*] or cut off from the church for opposing the council of the church in pollitics[.] My faith in such dooings [*sic*] is weak I hate usurpation [*sic*] and tyr[r]any."⁹³ Wilson remained in San

Bernardino after the Mormons evacuated three years later.

At least two dissident cadre members rejoined the flock during these decades. John Duncan*, a veteran of the famous 1834 Zion's Camp, initially joined Sidney Rigdon's church after Joseph Smith's death. He moved to Pittsburgh, where he remained even after Rigdon's movement collapsed. Following the Civil War, Duncan's son Homer, who had gone west with the Mormons, went to Pittsburgh to search for his father. Finding him, Homer Duncan brought John back to Iron City.⁹⁴ In 1868, John Duncan* attended his first Zion's Camp reunion held in the Social Hall in Salt Lake City. Only twenty-nine veterans remained. At eighty-nine years of age, he was the oldest living member of the camp. He enjoyed his reunion with former colleagues who amicably called him "Father Duncan."⁹⁵ James Burgess* was the other returning prodigal cadre member. In Vermont electioneering when Joseph Smith was killed, the recent English convert Burgess continued his mission there for another year. He returned to Nauvoo after marrying Lydia Stiles. He worked on the Nauvoo temple, was endowed, and later sealed to Lydia. Upon the evacuation of Nauvoo, Burgess and his campaign companion and fellow Englishman Alfred Cordon* returned to Burlington, Vermont in search of work. Later they moved their families to Vermont. While Cordon* eventually went west with the Saints, Burgess remained in Vermont working as a carpenter throughout the 1850s. In 1863, now living in Iowa, Burgess joined the RLDS. He was an effective missionary for the Reorganites in the Midwest for over a decade. In 1872, Burgess moved to Utah and returned to the LDS Church, living until 1904. Fitting capstones of his life were the two sons he named Joseph. The first was born in 1847 in Vermont where Burgess had electioneered for Smith. The second Joseph, born in Smithfield,

Utah, was born to Burgess' third and only plural wife fifty-three years later in 1900.

Ecclesiastical Leadership

Table 5.1 outlines the change in priesthood office of surviving cadre members from 1851-1869. Continued movement from elder and seventy to high priest seems a natural event with the increasing age of the cadre and unlimited opportunities to hold that office. However, what is remarkable is the increase in the "high" category, particularly in the office of bishop. While the growth of Zion required more bishops, the total numbers were still small. The large increase in the bishop category is evidence of the calling of cadre members as local religious leaders, selected because of their belief and experience in preaching and living Zion and theodemocracy. In Mormon settlements, the bishop presided over the religious, social, political, and economic activities of his ward. Bishops were the major workhorses for Zion and theodemocracy; and a disproportionate number of them were cadre.

The trust of Brigham Young and other church leaders in the cadre is further evidenced in Table 5.2. The number of cadre members chosen as local, regional, and general authorities increased. Most impressive was the rise in leadership positions at the regional level and bishops at the local level: stake president (340%), conference/mission president (1300%), and bishop (82%). These positions were central to religious governance for they supervised the basic ecclesiastical units of Zion. Furthermore, these assignments usually carried political office in the Great Basin theodemocracy. The heavy and disproportionate use of cadre members in these positions speaks to their value in raising Zion.

Table 5.1, Percentage of Cadre Holding Specific Priesthood Offices from 1850-1868

<u>Priesthood Level</u>	<u>Priesthood Office</u>	<u>1850 (n218)</u>	<i>Highest Office</i> <u>1851-68 (n273)</u>	<u>Change</u>
Elite	Apostle	2.3% (5)	2.6% (7)	13%
High	1 st Council of Seventy	1.4% (3)	1.5% (4)	7%
	Patriarch	0.0%	0.7% (2)	N/A
	Bishop	11.1% (24)	17.0% (46)	53%
Middle	High Priest	24.9% (54)	31.5% (85)	27%
Low	Seventy	57.6% (125)	44.8% (121)	-22%
	Elder	3.2% (7)	3.0% (8)	-6%

Table 5.2, Percentage of Cadre Holding Specific Priesthood Leadership Positions 1850-1868

<u>Leadership Level</u>	<u>Leadership Position</u>	<u>1850 (n218)</u>	<u>1851-1868 (n273)</u>	<u>Change</u>
General Authority	First Presidency	0.0%	0.4% (1)	N/A
	Quorum of the Twelve	2.3% (5)	2.2% (6)	-4%
	1 st Council of Seventy	1.4% (3)	1.5% (4)	7%
	Presiding Bishopric	0.0%	0.4% (1)	N/A%
<i>General Authority Total</i>		3.7% (8)	4.5% (12)	21%
Regional Authority	Stake President	0.5% (1)	2.2% (6)	340%
	Conf./Mission Pres.	0.5% (1)	7.0% (19)	1300%
	High Council	3.2% (7)	3.7% (10)	16%
<i>Regional Authority Total</i>		4.2% (9)	12.9% (35)	207%
Local Authority	Bishop	8.7% (19)	15.8% (43)	82%
	Branch President	0.5% (1)	0.7% (2)	-40%
	Seventy Quorum Pres.	9.6% (21)	7.4% (20)	-23%
<i>Local Authority Total</i>		18.8% (41)	23.2% (65)	23%
None		73.4% (160)	59.2% (161)	-19%
<i>None Total</i>		73.4% (160)	59.6% (161)	-19%

As Table 5.3 demonstrates, the cadre, despite their small numbers among total priesthood holders, represented a significant percentage of the regional and local leadership of the LDS Church. In 1850, despite representing less than 10% of the priesthood population, they accounted for 35% of all bishop and 100% of all stake president positions. Such numbers reveal the cadre as the backbone of the aristarchy. Over time, as cadre members died and Mormonism's growth produced more leaders and leadership positions, the cadre's influence slowly diminished. Yet, even in 1865 when they represented only 2% of the priesthood population, they still accounted for six times that many bishops and fifteen times that many stake presidents.

In missionary work, gathering to, colonizing, and leading the Great Basin Kingdom, Brigham Young and other church leaders made the cadre of electioneers the aristarchy for building Zion. While their apex of influence was in the late 1840s and early 1850s, they continued to significantly build, shape, and lead religious Mormonism through the 1860s.

Cadre Political Involvement

Inherent in theodemocracy was the joining of religious and political governance. The creation of the Territory of Utah gave the church hierarchy legally sanctioned governance to protect and guide the growth of Zion. To ensure greatest success, Brigham

Table 5.3, Percentage of Cadre as Regional and Local Leadership

<i>Year</i>	<i>Cadre as Percentage of Total Priesthood⁹⁶</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Bishops</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Stake Presidents</i>
1850	8.5%	35.5% (11/31)	100% (1/1)
1855	4.9%	28.1% (18/64)	40% (2/5)
1860	3.3%	20.0% (19/95)	50% (2/4)
1865	2.1%	12.8% (19/149)	33% (1/3)

Young and his associates determined that their general, regional, and local ecclesiastical leaders would be nominated and elected to political offices.

Governing the Mormon Great Basin Theodemocratic Kingdom

In 1850, the United States Congress created the Territory of Utah with a mix of Mormon and “gentile” appointed officials. When Brigham Young, then governor of the “State of Deseret,” received early news of his appointment, he immediately had himself sworn in as Utah’s first governor. He, and other Mormon appointees already in Utah, held elections and conducted a census. When federal officers arrived in the spring and summer of 1851, they were indignant that the Mormons had taken on territorial duties. They refused to give Young the territorial seal or hand over the \$2,400 set aside to run the territory. Tensions mounted between the officials and the Mormon leaders and people. In an attempt at reconciliation, Young allowed one of them to speak at a church conference in August. In his speech, the federal officer condemned the Mormons for their plural marriage practices, sedition, and joining of church and state. He forcefully instructed them to desist from polygamy and divide into political parties. The Mormons were appalled. Verbal conflict continued until the “runaway officials” fled in September for Washington D.C. to report the Mormons in rebellion. Brigham Young countered with two cadre members who understood national politics and Mormon theodemocracy and could help mend the rift. Immediately, Young dispatched Jedediah M. Grant* to meet with John M. Bernhisel*, already in Washington as Deseret’s, and now Utah’s representative to Congress. The two cadre men, along with Mormon supporter Thomas L. Kane, presented the Mormon side. Secretary of State Daniel Webster ordered the federal appointees to return or resign. They resigned and new officers soon arrived in

Utah who were more conciliatory toward the Mormons.

The territorial election of 1851 showed continuing cadre dominance in the aristarchy of the Mormon Great Basin Kingdom. Table 5.4 shows the percentage of elected territorial offices that cadre held compared to Mormon men. As was practice under the theodemocratic state of Deseret, church leaders nominated men to legislative and other government positions and the overwhelming Mormon population voted them into office. The Territorial Council consisted of thirteen men, four of whom were cadre. The Territorial House of Representatives had twenty-five members, twelve were cadre. In 1851, the cadre held 30% of the seats on the Territorial Council, well above their numbers in the general male population by more than three to one. In 1855 however, the percentage dropped precipitously to just less than 8% and a ratio of less than two to one. Rebounding in 1860 to 15% and a ratio of five to one, the numbers reached an astounding 46% and a ratio of twenty-three to one in 1865. Why the volatility? Looking closely at the names, the 1855 decline can be explained by men having been “reassigned” to election in the House or called to proselyting or colonizing missions. Why then the incredible rebound in 1860 and particularly in 1865? The answer is the Civil War. Brigham Young and other church leaders saw the Civil War as a likely fulfillment of Joseph’s Smith’s prophecy on war. Considering the possibility that the United States

Table 5.4, Percentage of Cadre as Elected Utah Territorial Legislators

<i>Year</i>	<i>Cadre as Percentage of Total Priesthood⁹⁷</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Council Members</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Members of the House of Representatives</i>
1851	8.50%	30.7% (4/13)	48.0% (12/25)
1855	4.90%	7.7% (1/13)	53.8% (15/26)
1860	3.30%	15.4% (2/13)	20.0% (5/25)
1865	2.10%	46.1% (6/13)	23.0% (6/26)

would fail, Young wanted the Kingdom ready to govern the Great Basin as Deseret. Hence, higher church leadership cadre members were “reassigned” from other roles into the Council, so by the end of the war, they comprised almost half of the Council’s number. In fact, of the thirteen Council positions, ten were held by apostles, five of which were the cadre apostles. Of the three nonapostolic members, two were cadre. One was Daniel Spencer*, who was president of the 1844 mission in Massachusetts, mayor of both Nauvoo and Salt Lake for a time, as well as the president of the Salt Lake Stake. The other, Aaron Johnson*, was a former Territorial Speaker of the House with much political and governing experience. Preparing for a government that might begin to expand beyond the Great Basin, Young assigned his best to the Council. The Territorial House continued to have a high percentage of cadre members throughout this period, particularly relative to their percentage in the overall population.

Local elections in two Mormon towns further illustrate both the depth of theodemocracy and the involvement of cadre. Parowan was the center of the Iron County Mission and one of the first towns in the Great Basin. On Thursday, January 16, 1851, the mission’s leaders called for an election the next day to organize Iron County as part of the State of Deseret. Apostle, Chief Justice of Deseret, and Iron County Mission President George A. Smith led the nomination process. The following ticket was announced: Representative to the State of Deseret, Jefferson Hunt*; Associate Judges Edson Whipple* and Elisha H. Groves*; Sheriff James A. Little; Recorder James Lewis; Supervisor of Roads Almon L. Fullmer; Assessor Joseph Horne; Magistrates Anson Call, Tarlton Lewis, Aaron Farr* and John D. Lee*; Constables Zachariah B. Decker, Charles Hall, Samuel A. Woolley and Charles Dalton; and Weights and Measures Philip B.

Lewis.⁹⁸ The next day, the men of the Iron Mission, in theodemocratic style, unanimously elected all of the nominees. Cadre members claimed five of the sixteen positions, including the three most prominent and powerful.

The very next month, news reached the Great Basin that the Territory of Utah had been created and Brigham Young appointed governor. Anxious to secure church control over the territory before new “gentile” appointees arrived, Young had himself sworn in, the legislature of Deseret dissolved, and a new census and elections held. Young toured the Basin leading the nomination process for territorial, county, and locally elected officers. On Friday May 16, 1851, Young met with the men of Parowan and counseled on nominations, reversing most of the results of the previous election. They nominated John M. Bernhisel* as delegate to Congress, George A. Smith to the Territorial Council, and Elisha Groves* to the Territorial House for the upcoming August elections. The council then turned to nominating and electing local government officials. A mayor, four alderman, and nine councilors were chosen, including John D. Lee* as an alderman and Joel Johnson* and Elijah Newman* as councilors. With selection and the election completed, Brigham Young addressed the group regarding government. The President of the LDS Church, standing chairman of the Council of Fifty, and Governor of the Territory of Utah entitled his remarks, “Union is Power;” a phrase from Joseph Smith’s 1844 platform pamphlet *Views*. Those who heard the speech penned it as “excellent.” The territorial elections occurred on August 4. Iron County elected John M. Bernhisel*, George A. Smith, and Elisha H. Groves* unanimously. Theodemocracy ruled the territory. General, regional, and local church leaders counseled together on whom to nominate for government office, nominated those men, and then Mormon men voted

unanimously in favor. This pattern continued without significant interruption in the 1860s.

Only in San Bernardino did theodemocracy struggle before 1869. Initially, the colony accepted theodemocratic governance under their leaders, cadre Apostles Amasa A. Lyman* and Charles C. Rich*. After nearly three years, the first election of city officers occurred on June 5, 1854. Nominated and then elected as mayor was Amasa M. Lyman*. Also winning office were Charles C. Rich* and Quartus S. Sparks* among the five council members. These officers, sensing some backsliding among the Saints, immediately passed ordinances to restrict drinking and gambling in the Zion colony.⁹⁹ Political unity and peace, however, lasted only a year. Trouble began with elderly cadre member Henry G. Sherwood*. Born in 1785 in New York, Sherwood embraced Mormonism in 1832. Brought back from the brink of death by Joseph Smith in 1839, Sherwood played an instrumental role during the next twenty years of Mormon history. A surveyor by trade, Sherwood used his skills to survey Nauvoo, Salt Lake City, and San Bernardino.¹⁰⁰ He also was a major landowner in each city. Smith and other church leaders took advantage of Sherwood's maturity and wisdom placing him on high councils in Kirtland and Nauvoo. Sherwood was elected as marshal in Nauvoo and served as a delegate at Smith's campaign headquarters in Nauvoo during the 1844 election.

Arriving in the first pioneer company, Sherwood spent the next six years surveying settlements in the Basin. Called to help settle and survey San Bernardino in 1853, Sherwood's words and actions irritated Amasa Lyman* and Charles C. Rich*, the Apostle leaders of the mission. Lyman and Rich wrote to Brigham Young asking if there was anywhere in the, "wide range of Zion's domains," where the seventy-year-old

Sherwood could be, “rendered useful.” The two leaders, forty-one and forty-three respectively, described Sherwood as “too conceited to be taught, too old to be managed by men so much his junior” and it would be a “blessing” to have him out of San Bernardino.¹⁰¹ Upset because he believed the church owed him money, Sherwood came to Salt Lake in 1854 to seek payment, only to return to San Bernardino the following year with another group of settlers. Sherwood and this group refused to buy land from the church’s ranch, knowing that nearby government land would soon be available at far lower prices. Contention and dissension followed.

In fact, by 1855, San Bernardino became the “gathering” place for those who wished to remain nominally Mormon, but were dissatisfied by the reality of theodemocracy. California gave them physical and, they hoped, political distance. Conflicts erupted between Sherwood and others like him over land and other policies put in place by Lyman and Rich. Several rose in opposition in subsequent elections and were dealt with sternly. Henry G. Boyle*, viewed the scene as three men were excommunicated for failing to submit politically. He recorded:

It is a painful thing to be a witness to the transactions of today; to see men stubborn and unwilling to do right, to see them act against their own interest, to see them deliberately lay down the principles of life and salvation, everything that is worth living for on this earth, and without which there is no life nor joy, nor assurance, nor contentment...it makes the blood chill in my veins. God grant that I may never depart from the truth.¹⁰²

Rich reported to Young in May 1856 that Sherwood, “Now stands at the head of the ‘anti-Mormon’ movement in this place, he makes speeches and uses his influence against the church.”¹⁰³ Sherwood called Rich and Lyman “sycophants” of Young and threatened to disclose alleged secrets about them and Young. While opposition to Rich and Lyman

grew, it never gained sufficient power to change San Bernardino's theodemocracy. Yet, conflict continued to occur and was met with church discipline, legal action, and even violence. Before evacuating San Bernardino in 1857, some of the apostates reconciled with the church. They included Sherwood who was quietly restored to full fellowship and even paid the money owed him.¹⁰⁴ In the end, Brigham Young's vision of theodemocracy continued to thrive in every Mormon settlement other than San Bernardino. After the "Utah War" subsided, Young chose not to reestablish the community.¹⁰⁵

Utah War

Cadre members played instrumental roles in the Utah War of 1857. President James Buchanan, believing exaggerated reports about an alleged Mormon rebellion, decided to move against the Mormons. Buchanan replaced Brigham Young as governor of Utah with Alfred Cumming who headed a 2,500 man army ordered to suppress the supposed Mormon rebellion. On July 1, 1857, Salt Lake City mayor and cadre member Abraham O. Smoot* learned in Independence, Missouri that a large contingent of soldiers was headed for Utah to replace Young. Smoot and his companions raced west at full speed, reaching Salt Lake on July 23. Brigham Young and most of the valley Saints were in Big Cottonwood Canyon preparing to celebrate the next day, the tenth anniversary of the arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. Smoot found Young on the twenty-fourth and relayed the news. Young allowed the festivities to continue until nightfall. He then announced the government's intentions and instructed everyone to return to the valley the following day.

Immediately, Brigham Young readied the territory for invasion. He activated the territorial militia, including cadre officers Horace S. Eldredge*, Joseph Holbrook*, Jesse C. Little*, Robert Burton*, Willard Snow*, David Evans*, Howard Egan*, Jonathan O. Duke*, and Chauncey W. West*. Placing the territory under martial law, Young forbade the selling of grain or other foodstuffs to passing immigrants in order to conserve. Messages were sent to missionaries around the world as well as distant colonies, such as San Bernardino, to return and help defend Zion. Young then sent Samuel W. Richards* to England to call home all missionaries, particularly Apostles Ezra T. Benson* and Parley P. Pratt. Richards was also to deliver two letters. The first was to President James Buchanan informing him that the army should not enter Utah until a peace commission settled the matter. The second was for Mormon supporter Thomas L. Kane asking him to come to the aid of the Saints once again. Richards delivered the letters and before leaving for England was interviewed by the *New York Times*. His story established the Saint's point of view in the national media and denied that the Mormons were in rebellion.

Church leaders avoided direct confrontation with the approaching army and hoped for negotiations. They fortified Echo Canyon, leading from Wyoming into the Wasatch Mountains, as a defensible choke point. Militia leaders created raiding parties that harassed the approaching army, burning supplies and scattering livestock. Several cadre members participated in these raids, including Enoch Burns*, Lindsey A. Brady*, Jonathan O. Duke*, Howard Egan*, Robert T. Thomas*, Robert T. Burton*, Chauncey W. Walker*, Hosea Stout*, and William R.R. Stowell*. Stowell's experience proved particularly important. During a raid on October 15, U.S. soldiers captured Stowell. He

tried to dispose of his journal and orders because they revealed the Mormons' strategies. While trying to do so, he twice remembered hearing a voice: "Keep them for they will do more good than bad." During interrogation, army personnel found and read his papers. Stowell boldly declared that the plans in place were not only true but would succeed. With supplies running low, winter setting in, and Stowell's intimidating intelligence, the army chose to winter in Wyoming. Stowell was charged with treason, escaped, was recaptured, and eventually given immunity.¹⁰⁶

While Mormon raiders continued to harass the army, Thomas L. Kane persuaded Alfred Cumming to come to Salt Lake and negotiate. Brigham Young would make way for Governor Cumming in exchange for immunity for the Mormons and the stationing of the army forty miles distant from Salt Lake City at what was later named Camp Floyd. His mission complete, Howard Egan* escorted the ill Kane back to Washington with details of the settlement.

While direct confrontation with the U.S. Army was avoided, the Mountain Meadows Massacre ensured the Utah War was not bloodless. On September 11, 1857 in Southern Utah, Mormons in league with Native Americans butchered 120 Arkansas immigrants. The immigrants, unable to resupply because of Brigham Young's martial law edict, grew increasingly irritated with the Mormons. Emotions boiled over in Cedar City, with threats and insults from both sides. After the immigrants left Cedar City, a group of Mormons conspired to raid the wagon train with their Paiute Indian allies and then blame them for the incident.

Directing the massacre was cadre leader John D. Lee*. Lee lived in nearby Fort Harmony and served as an alderman, militia commander, and representative to the

Territorial House from Iron County. After accepting Mormonism in 1837, he moved to Far West, Missouri just in time for the Mormon War. He was part of the voting scuffle that initiated the conflict. As a member of the official Caldwell County militia and Mormon vigilante “Danite” group, he fought at the Battle of Crooked River. Strong loyalty toward both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young gave Lee unprecedented status for someone whose ecclesiastical position never rose above the office of a Seventy. Before Smith’s campaign, Lee entered plural marriage and was selected for the Council of Fifty. He directed the 1844 campaign efforts in Kentucky. After Smith’s murder, Lee returned to Nauvoo and named his newborn son Joseph Hyrum Lee, after the two martyrs. Lee’s unflinching fealty passed to Brigham Young, becoming the new prophet’s “lifeguard” by “sword and pistle [*sic*].”¹⁰⁷ The loyalty ran so deep that Young had Lee, and his wives, sealed to him as his “adopted” sons and daughters. Lee continued to serve Young and the church as a member of the Council of Fifty during the exodus west and in the council’s governing years of Deseret. In 1850, Lee had the most wives and the most land wealth of any cadre members, including those who had become apostles. The 1860 census reported Lee’s assets as an astounding \$40,000 in land and \$10,000 in personal wealth. In 1876, he was convicted and then executed at Mountain Meadows for his role in the massacre.

Cadre member Jacob Hamblin* was one of the primary actors in the massacre’s immediate aftermath. Baptized in 1842, Hamblin electioneered for Joseph Smith in the Mid-Atlantic States, primarily in Maryland. After Smith’s assassination, Hamblin “felt more like weeping than preaching,” and returned to Nauvoo.¹⁰⁸ He was endowed with his wife in the Nauvoo Temple in 1846 only to have her abandon him in Winter Quarters in 1848, taking all four of their children. Hamblin came west in 1850 with a new wife

and settled in Tooele. While there, he exhibited extraordinary talent in communicating and negotiating with Native Americans. Brigham Young sent him to Santa Clara in southern Utah as an “apostle to the Lamanites.” Hamblin quickly gained respect from the tribes of central and southern Utah, teaching them to build houses, plant crops, and live in peace. He also preached Mormonism, converting many.

In 1856, Hamblin built a ranch at the north end of the Mountain Meadows valley. In compliance with Reformation calls to enter plural marriage, Hamblin rode to Salt Lake in August 1857 to be sealed to a second wife. In company with him were ten chiefs who came to confer with Brigham Young about the advancing federal army. His company met the doomed Arkansas emigrant company on August 23 at Kanosh in central Utah. Frustrated that the Mormons would not sell them grain or feed, the emigrants asked where a good site would be to rest and feed their animals before crossing the desert to California. Hamblin suggested Mountain Meadows near his ranch where feed and water were plentiful. Ironically, on September 11, while Hamblin was being sealed to his plural wife, John D. Lee* was leading Mormon militiamen to Mountain Meadows.

On the trail home, Hamblin heard about the massacre. In Fillmore, Hamblin met Lee, and the two cadre members talked. Hamblin later reported that Lee told him that he had been compelled by the Paiutes to attack the emigrants. As Lee emotionally rambled on, he disclosed Mormon involvement. Upon returning to his homestead, Hamblin visited the site of the carnage, writing, “Oh! Horrible indeed was the sight.”¹⁰⁹ He counted and buried 120 corpses. Hamblin also found his wife caring for one of the spared young children. He accounted for all seventeen children, and the following spring, gave them to a federal agent who returned them to kin in Arkansas.¹¹⁰

Meanwhile in Salt Lake, with the persecutions of Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois in mind, Brigham Young ordered Mormons to evacuate northern Utah. David Evans*, Domincus Carter*, and other Utah Valley Mormon leaders prepared for the influx of the evacuation exodus. The experience of Simeon A. Dunn* was typical of cadre members and others forced to leave their homes and most possessions behind. Recently widowed, Dunn loaded a few provisions and his children into his covered wagon and left Brigham City early in April, 1858. At Kay's Creek (Kaysville), his three-month-old son Henry became ill and died. Leaving his family as comfortable as possible, Dunn returned the little body to the Brigham City cemetery. He thought of spending the night in his own home, but it was so quiet and lonely that he could not bear it. Instead he went to the stable and slept beside his oxen. Returning to Kay's Creek, he found his family and continued on to Payson. The Dunns bivouacked there for several months until ordered to return home.¹¹¹ Thirty-thousand Mormons made the journey south with only a few remaining behind prepared to torch the settlements if the army tried to occupy them. After the army built Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley during the summer, the Saints made their way back to their towns.

On June 6 in Provo, Joseph Curtis* heard Brigham Young state that "all hell could not drive us from these mountains."¹¹² Curtis noted the irony of the army coming to suppress a rebellion only to find the people in a state of peace. Had they figured it out sooner, he wrote sarcastically, "a vast expence [*sic*] might have been saved."¹¹³ In fact, "Buchanan's Blunder" became an economic windfall for the Saints. Camp Floyd provided a market for Mormon goods and services. Three years later, the army abandoned the camp due to the Civil War. A fire sale of \$4,000,000 of surplus

equipment went to the Saints. However, Mormon “victory” in the Utah War was pyrrhic. While the army provided a new market, it brought alcohol, gambling, and prostitution. More importantly, the federal government had proven that while it was distant, it was ultimately in charge. Mormon theodemocracy would always be contested. In fact, the Saints were not to be left alone again.

Civil War

When telegrams in April 1861 declared the fall of Fort Sumter, Brigham Young assured President Abraham Lincoln that Utah stood with the Union. However, he and other Mormons also remembered Joseph Smith’s revelation of thirty years previous prophesying the rebellion of South Carolina and the coming of an all-consuming war. Mormonism wavered between support of the Union and hope of apocalyptic destruction paving the way for self-governance and an independent Zion kingdom.

The war engulfed some cadre members directly. William H. Miles* was serving as the Eastern States mission president when hostilities commenced. He received a letter from twenty Mormons in the Grand Army of the Potomac to come and minister to them; a request he was unable to fulfill, being recalled to Salt Lake. Miles returned after the war, resuming his role as mission president.¹¹⁴ Lucius Scovil* was a missionary in New York when the war erupted. He immediately mailed copies of Joseph Smith’s 1832 prophecy to several of his non-LDS relatives. His diary records that President Lincoln’s urgent call for troops upset many easterners. “War! War and blood! is the cry,” he wrote. Elder Scovil* advised eastern Saints, “to wind up their business and leave Babylon” that spring.¹¹⁵

In a conflict often described as fratricidal, the cadre brotherhood included

members and sons who fought and even died on both sides of the conflict. While most of these men had long separated from Mormonism, it is nonetheless ironic that they found themselves fighting one another in a war that they had campaigned to prevent. John D. Chase*'s son James McHenry Chase perished in 1862 as a member of the Iowa Volunteers.¹¹⁶ George W. Hickerson*'s son left his father and family in 1861 to fight for the Union.¹¹⁷ David J. Kershner*, long disaffected from Mormonism, served as a carpenter and quartermaster for the Union.¹¹⁸ Martin H. Tanner* had served his 1844 cadre mission in his native New York alongside his father and brother. However, after Joseph Smith's death, Tanner became alienated from his family and disaffected from his church and never crossed the Mississippi. His family never heard from him again. Sources show that he moved to New York City where he married in a Christian church. He later fought for the Union and was still alive in 1900 in New Jersey.¹¹⁹ William D. Lyman*, after his mission to South Carolina, watched his parents and most of his siblings die at Winter Quarters. Disenchanted he left, taking his remaining brother and sister with him to Tennessee, presumably to be close to the family of his wife Maria. The 1850 census shows him as a blacksmith without wealth. In April 1862, he was incarcerated in the rebel prison at Madison, Georgia, because of his outspoken northern sentiments. Yet after his release, he enlisted in the Tennessee cavalry fighting in several battles through the end of the war. He later moved to Missouri living out his life as a Methodist.¹²⁰

Lorenzo Moore* of Illinois served his cadre mission in Louisiana. In the wake of Joseph Smith's murder, Moore returned to Nauvoo to participate in temple rites. He then followed Lyman Wight's group to Texas, where he remained after Wight's movement collapsed. In 1860, he was a prosperous farmer in Hays, Texas, as well as county

commissioner. During the Civil War, he fought in General John Bell Hood's Texas Brigade. Following the war, he returned to Hays.¹²¹ John W. Grierson*, originally from Maryland, campaigned for Joseph Smith in Tennessee, remaining behind when others returned to Nauvoo after Smith's death. Grierson eventually returned himself and even received temple ordinances. However, in 1849, he converted to James J. Strang's movement while living in Washington D.C. Grierson traveled to Iowa as a successful missionary for Strang before disappearing yet again. In 1860, he was living in Charleston, South Carolina and a letter to his daughter Mary in 1864 identifies him fighting for the Confederacy in Mississippi. More than a decade after the war, while residing in Jackson County, Mississippi, Grierson encountered RLDS missionaries. He accepted their message and became the presiding elder for that church in Mississippi, later being made a Seventy.¹²² Theophilus Nixon* of Ireland labored in Illinois during Smith's campaign before being excommunicated for teaching false doctrine. He disappears until the 1860 census where he is listed as a wealthy farmer in Virginia. The following year, he enlisted in the Confederate Army.¹²³

Perhaps the most intriguing story of Civil War Saints was the family of William E. Higginbotham*. He labored in his native Virginia for Joseph Smith's 1844 campaign. Converts in 1842 of Jedediah M. Grant*, William and his wife Louisa sold their extensive farm and possessions (including a slave) and moved to Nauvoo. At the time, Higginbotham was also justice of the peace for Tazewell County. After Smith's death, William and his wife participated in temple ceremonies. At Winter Quarters, they learned that Louisa's father had died and left her a considerable inheritance in Virginia. They decided to go and settle the inheritance, hoping the money would bless their

children and the church. The settlement of the estate was prolonged and in the meantime their daughter Nancy married local merchant David Perry. Perry was bitterly opposed to Mormonism and refused to let his wife gather to Utah, so William and Louisa chose to stay. By 1860, Higginbothom was again a very wealthy farmer, now owning two slaves. When the Civil War began, their son Simon and son-in-law David Perry enlisted in the Confederate Army.

In 1862, Simon and David returned from the battlefield wounded and stricken with typhoid fever. Though they would live, the disease killed William, Nancy, and all but one of her children, as well as Perry's parents. David Perry, now a widower, took the counsel of his mother-in-law to study Mormonism. After reading the Book of Mormon and other Mormon literature, Perry was convinced that Mormonism was true, clinging to the doctrine of eternal marriage. A local elder baptized him in the winter of 1863, the snow a foot thick on the ground. Later that year, Louisa Higginbothom and her daughter Eliza fled Virginia with \$2,000 in gold coins, crossing federal lines with the help of a Confederate officer. After rendezvousing in Union-occupied Kentucky with her son and son-in-law, who had deserted the Confederate Army, the group immigrated to Utah arriving in 1864. Perry then remarried to Eliza and became a prominent business leader.¹²⁴

Throughout the war, Utah remained with the Union, under the watchful eye of General Patrick Connor of the California Volunteers assigned to protect the overland mail and telegraph routes. In truth, Connor was there to watch the Mormons. He quickly came to dislike Mormon theodemocracy. Discovering gold and silver in the mountains, Connor encouraged immigration of "gentile" miners to undermine Mormon economics

and politics. Church leadership, believing that the Civil War might destroy all nations and governments, prepared the Kingdom of God to fill the void. In 1862, a constitutional convention recreated the state of Deseret and applied to Congress for admission. Denied, the legislature of Deseret instead met after each territorial session, enacting identical legislation.

Cadre Social (Plural Marriage) Involvement

Plural Marriage

In 1852, Orson Pratt, on behalf of Brigham Young, publicly announced the doctrine of plural marriage. By now an open secret, plural marriage already existed throughout the Mormon Great Basin Kingdom. With its public announcement and endorsement, the Saints were required to accept the doctrine, if not practice it.¹²⁵ Plural marriage quickly became the preferred and most honored institution of marriage. Public pronouncements seemed to indicate that exaltation was more likely for those in plural relationships than in monogamous ones.¹²⁶ Church leaders were more likely to practice plural marriage than their congregants. Young and other general authorities strongly counseled regional and local leaders to model the practice. Since those of higher church rank were seen as more likely to attain eternal exaltation, they become more attractive to women seeking the same blessing. In fact, studies demonstrate that church office or rank was more important than wealth in predicting plural marriage. A man was much more likely to enter plural marriage in the five years following a rise in church rank than in the five years previous. Practicing plural marriage was not a prerequisite to church advancement but did become a responsibility upon receiving it.¹²⁷

Two-thirds of cadre members practiced plural marriage between 1851 and

1869.¹²⁸ Apostle Franklin D. Richards* with fourteen wives topped the list. His first wife Jane Snyder was courageous and humble in approaching plural marriage. Jane cared for Richards* first plural wife, Elizabeth McFate, in 1846-47 while he was away on a mission. However, McFate succumbed to disease in Winter Quarters, as did Franklin and Jane's firstborn son, four-year-old Wealthy. Now completely alone and ill herself, she later penned, "I only lived because I could not die."¹²⁹ Even with such an inauspicious beginning to their family's plural marriage, Jane continued to accept the practice. During the Reformation, Richards added seven plural wives to the four he already had, while marrying three more in later years. Some cadre members needed prompting from their leaders to practice plural marriage. Prominent leader Samuel W. Richards*, brother of Franklin, did not enter plural marriage until specifically instructed by Brigham Young.¹³⁰ Charles Wesley Hubbard* did not marry even when advised to do so by church authorities. However, with the consent of his wife, he married again the next year 1855.¹³¹

The median number of marriages for the cadre at this time was three with the average mean closer to four. As Table 5.5 demonstrates, cadre members generally married more wives than others who practiced plural marriage. Their religious and political rank encouraged multiple plural marriages due to these men's susceptibility to church leaders' instruction and the availability of willing women.

The Reformation of 1856-57 spiked plural marriages. To demonstrate their loyalty to the church, men clamored to take more wives. The result was a wave of marriages leading Apostle Wilford Woodruff to write, partly in jest, that, "nearly all are trying to get wives, until there is hardly a girl 14 years old in Utah, but what is married,

Table 5.5, Percentage of Polygamous Men in Relation to their Number of Wives¹³²

<i>Number of Wives</i>	<i>Cadre(200)</i>	<i>Manti</i>	<i>Great Basin</i>
2	32% (63)	66%	66%
3	32% (63)	21%	21%
4	12% (24)	8%	7%
5+	25% (50)	5%	6%

or just going to be.”¹³³ A comprehensive study of plural marriage noted that during the years 1856-1857 65% more plural marriages occurred than at any other two-year period in Mormonism.¹³⁴ The cadre’s experience was no different.

In 1856, forty-six cadre members married sixty-four women and in 1857 fifty-five married eighty-seven wives. Ten of the cadre members married plurally in both years. The increase in demand for plural wives continued into the 1880s, even among surviving cadre members. The result across the Basin was a scarcity of marriageable women, dropping the age of marriage below the norm in nineteenth-century America.¹³⁵

Many cadre members and their wives found plural marriage difficult, adding friction to relationships already stretched by Mormonism’s demands and history of persecution. Israel Barlow’s third wife doubted the principle until receiving a definitive sign during prayer.¹³⁶ Dominicus Carter*, a prominent church and political leader in Provo, struggled at times with two of his six wives. One Mormon pioneer remembered being asked to give a priesthood blessing to one of Carter’s wives who was ill. “I found hardness existing between her & her husband and some others of his wives. I refused to lay on hands untill [*sic*] all Difficulty was Settled. I laid hands on her the Same Evening all Difficultys [*sic*] being Settled She got well.”¹³⁷ Later, Carter’s second wife Sylvia took her two small children and left him, saying she could not live in polygamy.¹³⁸ Norton Jacob*’s first wife objected to him taking a second wife in 1851. Jacob*’s

journal shows that while his first wife finally relented, it produced a domestic life of discord.¹³⁹

The 1862 Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act was the first of several laws aimed at eliminating plural marriages. The second of the twin evils of the Republican Party platform in 1860, polygamy took a back seat only to slavery. As the Civil War raged, Brigham Young sent an emissary to Abraham Lincoln to ascertain the latter's plans regarding the Mormons. The president responded, "You go back and tell Brigham Young that if he will let me alone, I will let him alone."¹⁴⁰ True to his word, Lincoln did not lift a finger to enforce the new law. Besides, enforcement would prove difficult. Mormons, including several cadre members, were local probate judges and, according to territorial law, were courts of first jurisdiction in such matters.

Cadre Economic Involvement

Wealth

Table 5.6 shows the wealth of cadre members, polygamous and monogamous, relative to the 1860 heads of household in Salt Lake City. Interestingly, monogamous cadre members were more likely to have "below average" wealth than fellow Mormons who lived in Salt Lake City. This was likely due to monogamous cadre members living in settlements across the Great Basin where economic opportunity was significantly less than Salt Lake City. In the smaller towns, land was a significant measure of wealth. Since land allotment was determined by family size, monogamous men were at a disadvantage economically. This was true even of cadre members. An astounding 44% of polygamous cadre members, however, were elite-wealth holders, two and half times greater than other Mormon men. Certainly this is directly correlated to the Mormon land

Table 5.6, Cadre Wealth in 1860

<i>Wealth</i>	<i>Polygamous Cadre(181)</i>	<i>Monogamous Cadre (52)</i>	<i>Salt Lake City</i> ¹⁴¹
Elite (\$2,000 +)	44% (80)	17% (9)	18%
Average (\$200-1,999)	51% (93)	58% (30)	68%
Below Average (\$200 >)	4% (8)	25% (13)	14%

distribution model. Yet there is more to their wealth. As many cadre members were local or regional political and religious leaders, they often were assigned, or assigned themselves, to water, logging, and other resource rights. Furthermore, they would be better connected to local, regional, and Basin-wide leaders and thus at an advantage regarding economic opportunity and development.

The cadre's economic advantage is also illustrated in Table 5.7 which compares the cadre to 1860 male heads of household and church leaders in Manti. In these groups, polygamous men held approximately three times more wealth than their monogamous neighbors. Cadre members, regardless of the type of marriage, held more wealth than their Manti contemporaries. What is interesting and yet further evidence of the cadre's status is that the mean polygamous cadre member held almost the same amount of wealth as Manti's local and regional church leadership. Such a conclusion reinforces their leadership prominence. With two-thirds of cadre members practicing financially advantageous plural marriage, these men stood not only as a religious and political aristarchy, but an economic one as well.

The wealthiest cadre member in 1860 was John D. Lee*. He had \$49,500 in total wealth, almost double that of the next cadre member, Levi Stewart*. Ironically, Lee and

Table 5.7, Cadre v. Manti Wealth in 1860

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Polygamous (181)</i>	<i>Monogamous (52)</i>	<i>Church Leaders</i>
Cadre	\$2,697	\$3,119	\$1,095	N/A
Manti ¹⁴²	\$1,135	\$2,029	\$720	\$3,292

Stewart were childhood friends in Illinois. Their stories demonstrate the cadre's rise to economic prominence due to previous service and loyalty to Joseph Smith's Zion. In 1837, now adults with families, neighbors Lee and Stewart both entertained Mormon missionaries. Stewart joined Mormonism after traveling to Missouri to meet Joseph Smith. Coincidentally, future cadre member Jefferson Hunt* baptized him. Inspired by Smith, Stewart named his first-born son Joseph the following year. Stewart shared his experience with Lee who also converted. They sold their farms and moved to Far West, Missouri. After being involved in the election-day brawl in Gallatin and the Mormon War, Lee and Stewart relocated to Nauvoo in 1838. The following year, they served a mission together, proselyting and baptizing in Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In 1844, Lee headed the electioneer mission in Kentucky and Stewart labored in Illinois. Lee's rise to wealth has already been discussed. His loyalty and connection to both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, solidified by his cadre service, opened the door to plural marriage and economic opportunities in Utah.

Stewart's economic success in Utah also began with his cadre mission. Shortly after his return from electioneering, he was called as a high priest. In the Nauvoo temple, Stewart and his wife were part of the less than 1% of Mormons who received the "second anointing." Like many other cadre members, he was instructed to enter plural marriage

before 1850. When he arrived in Utah in 1848, Stewart's loyalty, priesthood advancement, and plural marriage status contributed to the extensive plots of land given him in Salt Lake. Stewart leveraged these assets to become one of the leading merchants in Salt Lake and an officer of the Brigham Young Express Co. In 1865, Brigham Young instructed Stewart to sell his assets and move to Big Cottonwood to establish a paper mill, which he obediently did. Three years later, Stewart won a contract to grade a portion of the Union Pacific Railroad through Echo Canyon, a contract arranged by Young. Comfortable and wealthy, Stewart heard from Young again two years later. Young had decided to restart the remote settlement of Kanab which had recently been abandoned. Young chose Stewart to lead this second attempt. Fifty-eight year old Stewart sold his possessions and moved with his wives yet again. Made bishop of Kanab, Stewart immediately supervised the planting of crops, assignment of land, and the building of a sawmill. While his wealth measured in dollars dropped significantly from his time in Salt Lake, he was by far the wealthiest man in the area throughout the early 1870s, with ownership of land, cattle, the mill, and the regional ZCMI mercantile store. In 1874, he once again divested his wealth as he presided over the town's attempt at consecration and the United Order. When the order collapsed three years later, his property was so devalued, he had to begin financially anew once more. Deciding to open a new mercantile store, Stewart and his son left for Salt Lake the following year to procure supplies. Stewart died of a stroke before arriving in Salt Lake.¹⁴³

The median cadre member in wealth was Jonathan Oldham Duke*. In 1860, he was a stonemason in Provo with three wives and \$1,300 in wealth. Duke was born in England, raised a Methodist, and was a mason's apprentice. He immigrated to the United

States in 1829, the same year that the Book of Mormon was published. In 1837 while living in mid-state New York, Duke's wife converted while visiting Mormon relatives in Brooklyn. Despite some reservations, Duke followed suit in 1839 and served a mission to Massachusetts. By 1840, he moved his family to Nauvoo where he continued to work as a mason. Duke served his 1844 electioneer mission in Delaware. So significant was the death of Joseph Smith to Duke that exactly twenty years later, he named twin boys, Joseph and Hyrum. He and his family arrived in Utah in 1850, almost immediately settling in what became Provo in Utah Valley. However, Duke chose to work in Salt Lake on the church's public works project. He wished to hear the preaching of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball whom he first met on his Massachusetts mission eleven years before. Church leaders organized the town of Provo the following year. They selected Duke as the bishop and nominated and elected him a town councilman. Duke remained central to Provo politics and religion until his death in 1868.¹⁴⁴

Occupations

As Table 5.8 demonstrates, by 1860, over three-fourths of cadre members were landed farmers or involved in white-collar professions. This was a 30% increase from 1850. An astonishing 85% of cadre members in plural marriage were in this category. In contrast, the same occupational category for all Salt Lake City men declined slightly.

Table 5.8, Cadre Occupations 1860

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Cadre(236)</i>	<i>Monogamous Cadre (56)</i>	<i>Plural Marriage Cadre (180)</i>	<i>Salt Lake City¹⁴⁵</i>
Business & Professional*	77% (183)	54% (30)	85% (153)	34%
Skilled	15% (35)	30% (17)	10% (18)	36%
Unskilled	8% (18)	16% (9)	5% (9)	30%

*Includes landed farmers

Salt Lake's decline was due to two factors. Large-scale immigration to the Great Basin continued during this time period, bringing mostly working class English and Scandinavian converts. In addition, the "gentile" population of Salt Lake took root, with some merchants, but mostly unskilled laborers. Even monogamous cadre members continued to reach higher occupation levels than other male residents.

Cadre men had distinct advantages over fellow Mormons and others in their upward occupational mobility. A cadre member, because of his previous service and proven loyalty, was more likely to have immigrated to the Great Basin early, to be placed in religious and political positions of authority, and to enter into plural marriage. Individually these factors increased mobility. Combined, they boosted the overwhelming number of cadre men to the highest strata of occupational status.

Chauncey Walker West* is an excellent example of upward occupational mobility. Born in Pennsylvania, West's family moved to upstate New York in his childhood. His father and fellow electioneer, Alva West*, was a small farmer. Sometime in 1842, the West family converted to Mormonism. Missionaries ordained Alva an elder and made him the president of the local branch. In a very rare move, fifteen-year-old Chauncey was ordained a priest. 1844 saw Charles Wandell*, president of the campaign in New York, call the young convert as a traveling electioneer for his "neighborhood."¹⁴⁶ At seventeen, West was the second youngest electioneer missionary involved in Joseph Smith's campaign. His diligence, energy, and loyalty, beginning with the 1844 campaign led to priesthood advancement and religious and political responsibilities. A church leader in Nauvoo described him as, "a man of untiring energy and industry," whose "boundless hope...led him into enterprises from which other men would shrink."¹⁴⁷

Following Smith's murder, West moved to Nauvoo with his parents. Within a few months, still seventeen, church leaders ordained him a Seventy, one of the youngest ever appointed. He also married his first wife, seventeen-year-old Mary Hoagland. After the expulsion of the Mormons from Nauvoo, the West family settled in Winter Quarters. Young Chauncey's father, mother, and brother perished that winter. Undaunted, in 1847 West led the rest of his father's family to the Salt Lake Valley. In 1852, Brigham Young called West and thirty-six other men to serve missions in East Asia. After working in the California mines to secure money for the voyage, West and his companions sailed to Asia. West worked tirelessly in Bombay and Ceylon promoting Mormonism and trying to raise money to go to Siam, his original assignment. His mission was a series of persecutions, privations, and frustrations. Never able to reach Siam, West and a few others sailed back to San Francisco and arrived in Utah in July, 1855. Despite hardships, West always remained positive. He wrote, "I now report myself on hand for duty wherever the servants of God call, for the Priesthood is my law."¹⁴⁸

The call was to Ogden. Church leaders also directed West to enter plural marriage. Obedient, he married a second wife immediately and seven more in the next twelve years. In 1856, the leadership appointed him bishop of the Ogden First Ward, presiding bishop of Weber County, and nominated him to the Territorial House and the Ogden City Council. He was, of course, elected. West served in these roles until his death. These positions, combined with land allotments to accommodate his plural wives, gave West access to real estate and local and regional business connections. With his tireless work ethic and business ability, he leveraged these opportunities to build and

maintain a cattle ranch, several timber mills, a tannery, stable, blacksmith shop, meat market, mercantile shop, flour mill, hotel, and freight company. He became the largest employer in Ogden.

After a short stint as European Mission President, West returned to develop his economic interests throughout Weber County. In 1868, Brigham Young decided to have the church contract the local work on the transcontinental railroad. Young signed the contract for the Union Pacific, but asked Weber County leaders Ezra T. Benson*, Lorin Farr, and Chauncey West* to carry the Central Pacific contract. As the youngest of the three, West assumed much of the work and was rewarded as one of the dignitaries at the “Golden Spike” ceremony the following year.¹⁴⁹ West’s rise was dramatic. Had he remained in upstate New York, he would have worked for his father until he could afford a small farm of his own. In becoming part of the Mormon aristarchy of the Great Basin, he became a proprietor of multiple businesses, employed hundreds, traveled the world, and tasted much economic success.

Conclusion

The rise and success of the Mormon movement in the Great Basin was in large measure due to the leadership of the men who had been Joseph Smith’s electioneering missionaries in 1844. Most came from humble beginnings, but accomplished much in devotion to their prophet’s Zion. They made theodemocracy a reality. As one historian noted:

[T]he spirit within the Church...turned the commonplace into greatness...The Church did not attract great men. It produced great men...It gave them an opportunity for growth. It heaped upon them responsibilities which forced them to grow or die.¹⁵⁰

Brigham Young and other church leaders capitalized on cadre dedication, promoting

these men to important religious offices and assignments for decades. Cadre members led missionary work around the globe. They directed the mass immigration of converts out of Babylon to their new Zion in the American West. Assigned by church leadership, cadre men directed colonizing missions. As stake presidents, bishops, and presiding elders they bore the burden of regional and local religious governance.

Truly, governance it was. With religious aristarchy came political power. Theodemocratic values seamlessly united ecclesiastical and civil responsibilities. Thus, a cadre apostle was also a territorial Councilor. A cadre stake president or bishop was a territorial legislator, mayor, or probate judge. Often, cadre members held multiple political commissions. The people followed the prophet and nomination meant election. As the *Deseret News* declared in 1868, “[W]e have enjoyed such an exemption of strife and contention at elections since our settlement of these valleys...Our citizens being united upon religion and other questions, have thought that, to be consistent, they should be united in political matters.”¹⁵¹

Leadership in the Mormon Great Basin also meant practicing plural marriage. Leaders at every level were expected to set an example by taking multiple wives. A large majority of cadre members accepted the principle. All cadre in leadership positions did. Zion consecration values meant that land was distributed in relation to family size. Thus, polygamous men, as the cadre were, held a distinct economic advantage. Furthermore, as theodemocratic leaders, they held influence over regional and local economic policies and procedures. They directed and benefited from the commercial characteristics of Zion. As professionals, businessmen, and landed farmers, cadre members oversaw the blossoming of economic activity and opportunity within their geographical spheres.

From 1851-1869, the men who campaigned for Joseph Smith in 1844 were the religious, political, social, and economic aristarchy of the Mormon Great Basin Kingdom. As the governing elite, they implemented Smith's Zion as directed by Brigham Young. In building community from the desert, they struggled with their charges' self-interest, the fractious nature of plural marriage, and limited economic options. Their success is apparent as they fashioned a Zion, "of one heart and one mind, [which] dwelt in righteousness; [with]...no poor among them."¹⁵²

Endnotes

¹ Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, Reported by G. D. Watt (Liverpool: F.D. Richards), 5:226. Given on September 13, 1857. Hereafter *JD*

² Wayne L. Wahlquist, "Population Growth in the Mormon Core Areas: 1847-90," in *The Mormon Role in the Resettlement of the West*, ed. Richard H. Jackson (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 107-34.

³ First Presidency, "Sixth General Epistle of the Presidency 1851 September 22," *Deseret News*, November 15, 1851, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* The epistle itself directed Benson and Grant to say these words to the Mormons in Iowa.

⁵ First Presidency, "Eighth General Epistle of the Presidency 1852 October 13," *Deseret News*, October, 16, 1852, 2.

⁶ Andrew Jenson, "Edward Hunter," *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1920).

⁷ Joseph Curtis, Reminiscences and diary, 1839 Oct -1881 Mar, Church History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter CHL), 93.

⁸ Ancestry.com. "Letters of a Missionary, George Hickerson," *Utah, Our Pioneer Heritage* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 1998. Accessed December 20, 2007. Original data International Society, Daughters of Utah Pioneers. *Our Pioneer Heritage*. Salt Lake City, UT, USA: Infobases, Inc., 1996.

⁹ Susan Easton Black, "Charles H. Bassett," *Latter-day Saint Vital Records II*, Database (Hereafter *LDSVR*); "Haden W. Church," Ancestry.com, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 1997): Original Data: Jenson, Andrew. *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City, UT, USA: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901. Other cadre members serving missions during the time period in the United States include: David Brinton* worked in the Eastern States in 1857-1858, Harvey Green* 1853 New Jersey, George Augustus Neal* 1853 and 1858, and Joel H. Johnson* Iowa and Nebraska 1857-60 (called to gather disaffected Mormons and counter inroads by RLDS). None of these men reported much success in gaining converts. William A. Martindale* did bring to Utah the remaining faithful Mormons in Nebraska. James C. Sly* 1853-54 served in Canada.

¹⁰ Aaron F. Farr, "Journal," *Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries*, v. 16, L. Tom Perry Special Collection, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter BYU), 19-20.

¹¹ Some of those called were already on their missions. Cadre members sent to Europe: England: Daniel Spencer*, Millen Atwood*, Benjamin Brown*, Osmyn M. Duel*, James Pace*, Levi Nickerson*, John S. Fullmer*, and Daniel D. McArthur*; Wales: Dan Jones*; France: Andrew L. Lamoreaux*; Germany: George C. Riser*; Gibraltar: Nathan T. Porter*; Asia: Hindustan: Nathaniel V. Jones*; Siam: Chauncey W. West*; China: Hosea Stout* and Chapman Duncan*; West Indies: Alfred B. Lambson* and Aaron Farr* Other: St. Louis: Horace S. Eldridge*; Australia: Augustus Farnham*, Josiah W. Fleming,* and William Hyde*; Sandwich Isles: William McBride* and Nathan Tanner*.

¹² "Short History of John S Fullmer," Ancestry.com, accessed November 11, 2007.

¹³ Cadre members who served in Europe between 1851 and 1868 but not called in 1852 included: Nathaniel H. Felt*, Samuel W. Richards*, Jonathon Crosby*, Jacob Gates*, Henry J. Doremus*, Abraham O. Smoot*, George Snyder*, Franklin D. Richards*, and Chauncey West*.

¹⁴ Black, "Dan Jones," *LDSVR*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, "Chauncey Walker West."

¹⁶ "Historical Markers, The German Mission, No. 39," *Utah, Our Pioneer Heritage*, Ancestry.com, accessed September 29, 2007.

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- ¹⁷ Ibid., “George C. Riser.”
- ¹⁸ Ibid., “Andrew Lamoreaux.”
- ¹⁹ Ibid., “Nathan T. Porter.”
- ²⁰ Ibid., “Nathaniel V. Jones.”
- ²¹ Elam Luddington, “An Autobiographical Statement of Elam Luddington,” Ancestry.com, accessed July 10, 2007.
- ²² Hosea Stout, “Letter, 1853 August 27,” San Francisco, California. *Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, 1839-1877*, HDC.
- ²³ “Society Islands Mission,” *Utah, Our Pioneer Heritage*, Ancestry.com, accessed September 26, 2007.
- ²⁴ “Society Islands Mission,” *An Enduring Legacy* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 1998. Original data: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *An Enduring Legacy*, Vol I-XII, (Salt Lake City, UT: Utah Printing Company, 1978).
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ “Ezra T. Benson,” *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, Ancestry.com, accessed June 4, 2007.
- ²⁷ Black, “Augustus A. Farnham,” *LDSVR*; “Augustus A. Farnham,” *Utah, Our Pioneer Heritage*, Ancestry.com, accessed October 17, 2007.
- ²⁸ Black, “Levi Nickerson,” *LDSVR*.
- ²⁹ Ibid., “Stephen Taylor.”; Ibid., “Appleton Milo Harmon.” Harmon wrote a poem about Burton’s death.
- ³⁰ Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, *Joseph Smith’s Quorum of the Anointed 1842-45: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, A Smith-Pettit Foundation Book), 144.
- ³¹ Black, “Thomas Atkinson,” *LDSVR*.
- ³² “Augustus A. Farnham,” *Utah, Our Pioneer Heritage*, Ancestry.com, accessed October 17, 2007.
- ³³ Israel Barlow, “Letter, September 12, 1853,” *Barlow family collection, 1816-1969: Israel and Elizabeth Haven Barlow correspondence, 1853-55*, CHL.
- ³⁴ Ibid., “Letter, October 1853.”
- ³⁵ Ibid., “Letter, November 30, 1854.”
- ³⁶ Others helped in different ways. For example, Howard Egan* donated one hundred gold coins from his California trips.
- ³⁷ “Samuel W. Richards,” *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, Ancestry.com, accessed December 7, 2007.
- ³⁸ First Presidency, “Thirteenth general epistle of the Presidency,” *Deseret News*, October 31, 1855.
- ³⁹ Gustive O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest, A Chapter in American Cooperative Experience*, (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Company, 1947), 133.
- ⁴⁰ “Ships Sailing From the Islands,” *Utah, Our Pioneer Heritage*, Ancestry.com, accessed February 12, 2007.
- ⁴¹ Black, “Horace S. Eldredge,” *LDSVR*.
- ⁴² Horace S. Eldredge, *Journal Sept 1852 - Apr 1854*, HDC.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Aaron F. Farr, “Journal,” *Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries*, BYU.
- ⁴⁵ Milo Andrus, *Autobiography*, MS 4451, HDC.
- ⁴⁶ Erastus Snow, *Autobiography 1875*, Typescript, HDC.
- ⁴⁷ Cadre members included, Ezra T. Benson*, Chapman Duncan*, Aaron Freeman*, Nathaniel Felt*, Elisha Groves*, John D. Lee*, Elijah Newman*, Elijah Funk Sheets*, William Perkins Vance*, Edson Whipple*, James Harmison*, Joseph Lee Robinson*, and Jefferson Hunt*. Other cadre members joined the colony later.
- ⁴⁸ Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom*, 172.

- ⁴⁹ Dean L. May, *Utah: a peoples history*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987.), 72; Chapman Duncan, "Biography of Chapman Duncan," *Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries*, v. 15, BYU.
- ⁵⁰ "Edson Whipple," *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, Ancestry.com, accessed September 14, 2006.
- ⁵¹ Henry G. Boyle*, Ellis Eames*, Jefferson Hunt*, Harley Mowrey*, Justus Morse*, Calvin Reed*, Henry Sherwood*, Nathan Tanner*, and William Hyde*.
- ⁵² Norma L. Elliott, *A Biographical Sketch of Jefferson Hunt, circa 1952* HDC, 12-14.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ Henry G. Boyle, *Reminiscences and Diaries, 1846-1888*, Typescript, HDC, 42-43; Boyle, *Autobiography and Diary of Henry G. Boyle 1832-1855*, 1, 14-15, 22-23, 102, 143, 146.
- ⁵⁵ Including Daniel Allen*, Hayden Church*, Hiram Dayton*, Chapman Duncan*, Horace Eldredge*, Henry Herriman*, William McIntyre*, David Moss*, James Pace*, William Perkins*, Lewis Robbins*, Jacob Gates*, William Snow*, Ellis Mendenhall*, Hosea Stout*, Lysander Dayton*, Jonathan W. Crosby*, Thomas H. Woodbury*, Erastus Snow*, Joseph L. Heywood*, Edson Barney*, Chapman Duncan*, David Moss*, Thomas H. Woodbury*, James Holt*, Henry Herriman*, Hosea Stout*, James Pace*, William P. McIntire*, Ellis M. Sanders*, William Snow*, Daniel Allen*, Hayden Church*, Lysander Dayton*, Horace S. Eldredge*, William G. Perkins*, Lewis Robbins*, Jacob Gates*, and Chandler Holbrook*.
- ⁵⁶ Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom*, 185-186.
- ⁵⁷ Ben Wilkerson, *Lewis Robbins a Biography*, Ancestry.com, accessed October 29, 2007.
- ⁵⁸ James Pace, *A biographical sketch of the life of James Pace, undated*, Typescript, HDC, 10.
- ⁵⁹ Joseph Curtis, *Reminiscences and diary, 1839 Oct -1881 Mar*, 92.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 91-109.
- ⁶¹ Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:115-118.
- ⁶² Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, Typescript, ed. Scott Kenney, (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984), 4:448.
- ⁶³ Jedediah Grant, *JD*, 3:60-61. Given July 15, 1855.
- ⁶⁴ Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 4:448.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 4:456.
- ⁶⁶ Recorded in Richard Ballantyne, *Richard Ballantyne Journal*, 28 December 1856, HDC.
- ⁶⁷ "Charles Ramsden Bailey," *Utah, Our Pioneer Heritage*, Ancestry.com, accessed September 4, 2007. Baptized by cadre leader Alfred Cordon*.
- ⁶⁸ Phineas Young, *Diary, 1856-57*, Transcript, HDC, Feb 4 1857.
- ⁶⁹ Jonathan Oldham Duke, *Reminiscences and Diary, 1850 Jun - 1857 Jul*, Typescript, HDC.
- ⁷⁰ Joseph Holbrook, *The Life of Joseph Holbrook 1806-1871*, Typescript, BYU, 134-36.
- ⁷¹ Pace, *A Biographical Sketch*, 11.
- ⁷² Now called the Community of Christ.
- ⁷³ Vickie Cleverley Speek, "*God Has Made Us a Kingdom: James Strang and the Midwest Mormons*," (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 2006), 282.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 320.
- ⁷⁵ Cadre members that joined the RLDS were Lorin W. Babbitt*, James Burgess*, David Jones*, William Jordan*, Josiah Butterfield*, John Cooper*, Thomas Dobson*, George P. Dykes*, Ellis Eames*, Jackson Goodale*, Harvey Green*, John A. McIntosh*, Bethuel Miller*, William A. Moore*, James Newberry*, Harvey Olmstead Sr*, Uriel Nickerson*, Alphonso Young*, Joseph Younger*, John Outhouse*, Jehiel Savage*, Reuben Strong*, Ezra Thayre*, John H. Thomas*, Allen Wait*, Hugh Herringshaw, William Van Ausdall*, Roland Cobb*, Thomas Martin*, Ebenezer Robinson*, and Silas H. Briggs*. Almost all these men had previously left Mormonism as lead by Brigham Young.
- ⁷⁶ George Parker Dykes, "Letter, 1864 Aug 8," HDC.

⁹³ Ibid.,

⁹⁴ Eldon P. Morrell and Irene V. Deeben, *Ancestry and Descendants of Chapman Duncan*, June 1991, HDC, 8.

⁹⁵ *Deseret News*, October 14, 1868, 4.

⁹⁶ There are no definitive numbers of total priesthood holders during these years. I have used a formula to derive an approximate number of Mormon priesthood-age men in Utah Territory using census and LDS almanac numbers.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ "Iron County," v.3, *Treasures of Pioneer History* [database on-line], Provo, UT, Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 1998. Original data: Kate Carter, *Treasures of Pioneer History*, Vol. I-VI, (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952).

⁹⁹ "The Mormons in San Bernardino," v. 4, *Utah, Our Pioneer Heritage*, Ancestry.com. Accessed October 25, 2007. } } } } } }

¹⁰⁰ In Salt Lake, Sherwood drew on sheepskin because there was nothing else available.

¹⁰¹ Edward L. Lyman, *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community*, (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1996), 316.

¹⁰² Boyle, *Autobiography and Diary*, 14.

¹⁰³ Lyman, *San Bernardino*, 316.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., "By the end of 1855 Sherwood, angry because he believed church authorities had interfered in his marriage, reportedly threatened to expose Mormonism in general and the current authorities in particular. The specific items he intended to divulge included the extent of polygamy at San Bernardino and Young's alleged assassinations, including one Sherwood claimed he was ordered to commit, supposedly to rob a man of some \$1,500 while in Nauvoo, Illinois. Rich informed Young that Sherwood had commenced to 'blow his horn' and that his days in the church were numbered, although to that point, Rich stated, leaders had 'done nothing but extend kindness to him.' It was reported that Sherwood's marriage to a woman some twenty years younger had dissolved, and Rich held some hope of guiding her back into full church fellowship."

¹⁰⁵ Sherwood's intransigence may have started as soon as the vanguard pioneer company of 1847, where Brigham labeled him the "chief grumbler"; Elliott, *Biographical Sketch*, 12-14. Jefferson Hunt described himself as "a Democrat in politics," when he was elected to the California Legislature. The year following the Utah War and the evacuation of San Bernardino, Hunt allowed his name to be on the "Liberal" ticket in Salt Lake City. He received some votes, but not being the church's official nomination he lost. Five years later in 1863, Hunt was the official candidate for the territorial legislature representing Weber County and was overwhelmingly elected.

¹⁰⁶ James Amasa Little, *Biography of William Rufus Rogers Stowell, 1893*, HDC, 42-57.

¹⁰⁷ John D. Lee, *Journal 1844 May - 1846 Nov.*, HDC, 56.

¹⁰⁸ James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, Missionary, to the Indians and Explorer*, (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909), 18.

¹⁰⁹ As quoted in, Black, "Jacob Hamblin," *LDSVR*.

¹¹⁰ Hamblin subsequently informed Brigham Young and George A. Smith what Lee had told him regarding the massacre. He would later testify against Lee in Lee's federal trial which ended with his conviction and execution.

¹¹¹ "The Move South: Box Elder County," *Heart Throbs of the West*, v.10, [database on-line], (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 1998). Original data: Kate Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, Vol. I-XII, (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947).

¹¹² Curtis, *Reminiscences and diary*, 126.

¹¹³ Ibid.,

- ¹¹⁴ “An Introduction to the Mormon Participation in the Civil War,” <http://www.juvenileinstructor.org/an-introduction-to-the-mormon-participation-in-the-civil-war/>, accessed April 6, 2007.
- ¹¹⁵ Lucius Scovil, *Diary of Lucius Scovil*, HDC, 27 April 1861.
- ¹¹⁶ <http://freepages.military.rootsweb.com/~wirockbios/CivWar/CWVets-1297.html>, accessed August 9, 2007.
- ¹¹⁷ George Washington Hickerson, *Autobiographical Sketch* [1866], Typescript, HDC, 6.
- ¹¹⁸ *Veterans Schedules, 1890*, Ancestry.com.]}}}}}}}
- ¹¹⁹ “Gary L. McLellen,” <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/m/c/l/Gary-L-McLellen/FAMO1-0001/d267.html>, accessed March 8, 2007.
- ¹²⁰ Holcombe, “Campbell Township.”
- ¹²¹ *Hays County, Texas Confederate Pension Applications, 1899-1975*. Ancestry.com. ???????? Accessed October 3, 2007.
- ¹²² “John W. Grierson,” genforum.genealogy.com/cudaback/messages/1.html, accessed November 24, 2007; History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, ch. 13, 22, <http://www.centerplace.org/history/ch/v4ch13.html>, accessed November 24, 2007.
- ¹²³ “Theophilus W. Nixon,” *U.S. Civil War Soldiers, 1861-1865*, [database on-line], (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2007). National Park Service, *Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System*.
- ¹²⁴ “The commerce of the north,” *Edward Tullidge’s histories. : containing the history of all the northern, eastern and western counties of Utah, also the counties of* [database on-line], (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2005), 2:210-14; Original data: *Edward W. Tullidge’s histories. : containing the history of all the northern, eastern and western counties of Utah, also the counties of southern Idaho: with a biographical appendix of representative men and founders of the cities and counties: also a commercial supplement, historical*, (Salt Lake City: E.W. Tullidge, 1889).
- Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, (Salt Lake City, UT: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1904), 4:270-71.
- ¹²⁵ Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910*, (University of Illinois, 2001), 73.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 71
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 128. “In her study of men from the 1821—30 birth cohort residing in Utah in 1851, Linda Mealy found that wealth was more important when the men were seeking their first wives but that church rank was more influential at the time they remarried or entered polygyny. That is, church rank was more important than wealth in predicting a plural marriage. Mealy also found that a man was significantly more likely to remarry or enter plural marriage in the five years subsequent to his increase in church rank than in the five years preceding it. This is not surprising because many men entered plural marriage after a church official had asked them to do so. Apparently a man’s entering plural marriage was not a prerequisite for advancement in church rank but was a responsibility accompanying the increase in rank, although some never took on the additional responsibility of plural wives.”
- ¹²⁸ 201 of 305 cadre members practiced plural marriage.
- ¹²⁹ Black, “Jane Snyder Richards,” *LDSVR*.
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, “Samuel W. Richards.”
- ¹³¹ *A biography of Charles Wesley Hubbard*, [1956], HDC, 9.
- ¹³² Maynes, *More Wives than One*, 129. Maynes uses and references Stanley Ivins’ 1956 study to provide the Great Basin statistics.
- ¹³³ *Journal history of the Church, 1896-2001: 1850-1859*, 1857 January-April, HDC, April 1, 1857.
- ¹³⁴ Stanley S. Ivins, a prominent student of polygamy, noted that during this two-year period, 65% more polygamous marriages were contracted than at any other two-year period in Mormon

history. As quoted in, Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 2nd edition, (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1989), 92.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 110.

¹³⁶ *Barlow-Tolman Family Book of Remembrance*, compiled by Leondias Devon Mecham, 1953, (Third Edition - 1982 with corrections), HDC, 306.

¹³⁷ “Journal and Diary of William Mardsen,” *Heart Throbs of the West*, v.12.

Ancestry.com}}}}}}}} Accessed July 25, 2007.

¹³⁸ Black, “Dominicus Carter,” *LDSVR*.

¹³⁹ Ibid., “Norton Jacob.”

¹⁴⁰ In Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young: The Man and His Work* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1936), 369.

¹⁴¹ The Salt Lake City numbers come from Marilyn Reed Travis, “Social Stratification and the Dissolution of the City of Zion in Salt Lake City, 1847-1880,” Dissertation, University of Utah, 138.

¹⁴² The Manti numbers come from Maynes, *More Wife than One*, 129-131. They are particularly instructive because the number of cadre and Manti households is similar, and Manti could be described as a middling settlement between Salt Lake and small nascent ones.

¹⁴³ Black, “Levi Stewart,” *LDSVR*.

¹⁴⁴ Duke, *Reminiscences and Diary, 1850 Jun - 1857 Jul*.

¹⁴⁵ Salt Lake City numbers from Travis, “Zion.”

¹⁴⁶ “Minutes of a Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints assembled in Portage, Allegheny County, N.Y [July, 13-14, 1844],” reported in *The Prophet*, Vol 1 no. xii, August 3, 1844.

¹⁴⁷ Letter from George Q. Cannon to Joseph Alma as found in “George Q. Cannon,” *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*. Ancestry.com. }}}}}}}} Accessed March 4, 2009.

¹⁴⁸ Chauncey W. West, *Deseret News*, October 24, 1855. Another in a series of six articles written by Chauncey for the newspaper.

¹⁴⁹ However, Central Pacific reneged on previous promises and paid West less than half of the over \$2,000,000 contracted. West exhausted all of his personal finances to pay off as many subcontractors as possible, including divesting himself of all properties and businesses. Under enormous stress, he made several trips to California to procure the remainder of promised monies, but to no avail. Just eight months following the railroad’s completion, while on one of these trips, West physically collapsed, dying three days later at the age of forty-three. His family would soon have more to mourn. His nine widows and dozens of children were not only penniless, but subject to vexing lawsuits from unpaid bills. Chauncey Walker West’s life and death are a fitting microcosm of the success of the cadre and a foreshadow of its demise. His life and opportunities are a testament to what cadre members could achieve because of their service in the campaign, loyalty, steeled resolve, and willingness to join the sacred with the secular in theodemocracy. West’s death, however, foreshadowed the demise of theodemocracy itself. It is ironic that West’s work with the transcontinental railroad lead to his early death. The “martyr of the transcontinental railroad,” died at the hands of greedy railroad barons, who epitomized the capitalist industry of America. Their railroads would bring a flood of “gentiles” and connect the Great Basin to the people, ideas, goods, and markets of the rest of the United States. All of these influences within two decades destroyed the Zion the cadre had worked for. By 1890, there was no unity in elections, no more authorized plural marriages, and no more cooperative, stewardship-based economics. Theodemocracy in its original form lived for only forty-six years, three more than West. Gone was the framework that protected Joseph Smith’s version of Zion. Just like West’s large family was left to pick up the pieces and straddled with debt, so too was the entire Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Fatefully, it would be the biggest success story of the cadre who would dig them out, Lorenzo Snow*.

¹⁵⁰ William Edwin Berrett, *The Restored Church*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1961), 146.

¹⁵¹ *Deseret News*, July 18, 1868.

¹⁵² Moses 7:18, *Pearl of Great Price*, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [1981 ed.].

CONCLUSION

The consequences of Joseph Smith's 1844 presidential campaign directly shaped Mormonism for half a century. Smith's assassination resulted from his political activity. His death demanded new leadership for the fledgling church. Sparking renewed anti-Mormon sentiment around Nauvoo, the assassination forced yet another geographical move for the Latter-day Saints, this time outside the United States. So, too, did the campaign and its consequences have impact on the cadre of over six hundred electioneer missionaries who canvassed the nation for Joseph Smith. Their service, at great sacrifice and steeled by persecution, insured the success of Smith's unique political philosophy of theodemocracy and the future of the Zion kingdom.

After news of Smith's murder reached cadre members, their shock and dismay turned to increased dedication to their religion. As Brigham Young, The Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and Council of Fifty looked to an uncertain future, they called upon the tested cadre members to lead. They were Mormonism's true believers; their values running counter to prevailing American beliefs and norms regarding religion, politics, family, and economics.

Despite widespread belief that Mormonism would die along with its prophet, Smith's movement thrived under Young's leadership as it settled in the American West. For over two decades, Young established and built the Great Basin Mormon Kingdom with only limited outside interference. Escaping secular time and space for a season,

Young and other church leaders had the opportunity to, in essence, “begin the world anew.” They took full advantage of time and resources, the most important of which was the missionary cadre. These reliable men were fitted to the task of regionally and locally directing theodemocratic Zion. Regardless of their previous social, economic, religious, political, or educational statuses, it was the cadre’s dedication, determination, and most of all, loyalty that qualified them as the shepherds of Zion.

The call to church service came immediately. Brigham Young and church authorities advanced cadre men to higher offices in the faith’s priesthood. As a whole, they received preferential treatment in participating in temple endowment rites and were far more likely than their fellow Mormons to be sealed to their spouses, enter the still discreet practice of plural marriage, be sealed to high-ranking authorities, and receive the second anointing. When Young chose to reconvene the Council of Fifty, new members were predominately chosen from among the cadre. The success of the Mormon exodus to the Great Basin, the cadre’s first crucial post-campaign challenge, validated Young’s decision to employ the former electioneers. Whether as bishops in Winter Quarters, officers in the Mormon Battalion, pioneer company leaders, or members of the two municipal high councils at each end of the trail, cadre men were essential to the Mormon migration. With more Mormons in England than America, Young continued to utilize cadre members, placing them at every stage of the “gathering to Zion,” the very lifeblood of Mormonism. They presided in England, guided immigration companies to the United States, managed the major way station of St. Louis, and fitted out and led pioneer companies to Salt Lake City. Once there, Mormon rank and file’s relationship with the cadre was just beginning.

In the west, the Mormon hierarchy disproportionately utilized the cadre in leadership positions, in effect making them the aristarchy of the Mormon Kingdom. Cadre men were more likely to hold higher priesthood offices of apostle, bishop, and high priest. The same was true of ecclesiastical leadership appointments. When Brigham Young filled vacancies in the Quorum of the Twelve, all went to cadre members. They also filled openings in the First Council of Seventy and Presiding Bishopric. However, their greatest impact in numbers came as stake presidents and bishops. As Mormon settlements dotted the Great Basin, cadre members were appointed as regional and local leaders. Provo, Ogden, Logan, St. George, San Bernardino, and hundreds of other communities were under cadre charge. In essence, they comprised, the church's organization from top to bottom.

Furthermore, since theodemocratic Zion combined church and state, priesthood offices also meant political power, most often at the same geographical tier. Brigham Young was prophet and governor, Charles C. Rich* was apostle and territorial legislator, William Miller* was stake president and county probate judge, and Andrew H. Scott* was bishop and mayor. This pattern repeated throughout the Mormon kingdom and was unabated for decades. With Mormon homogeneity and hegemony in Utah, the election of religious leaders to political posts was a foregone conclusion. Higher religious authorities nominated cadre men and Mormons voted for them unanimously. Had these cadre members remained east of the Mississippi, such opportunities for political office would have been extremely unlikely. This was an elite without rival in the rest of the United States. This was theodemocracy. It allowed Brigham Young to lead, instruct, regulate, and protect Mormonism in the Great Basin without serious competition for

decades.

Ecclesiastical and political leadership within the Mormon Zion created economic privilege even among a people who sought economic equality. Plural marriage was a key factor. Many Mormon leaders, including cadre, entered plural marriage secretly. After public pronouncement of the practice, church leaders were expected to set an example for the wider Mormon community. Obedient and loyal, cadre leaders did just that. Their rates of plural marriage and number of wives they wed were much higher than for other Mormon males. The result was heightened status. Land distribution in each Mormon settlement was based on principles of the Law of Consecration and connected to family size. While single men received no land and monogamous men one plot, polygamous men received a parcel for each wife. In a rural agrarian economy, marriage in Utah brought economic opportunity and plural marriage brought a measure of wealth. Additionally, religious and temporal leadership increased economic opportunity in two ways. Leaders of the settlements usually held rights to manage the region's natural resources, particularly water and lumber. Their governing status tied them to other local, regional, and territorial leaders who held similar resource management responsibilities. Thus, when a community initiated an economic enterprise, it was directed by its leader who often received a pecuniary interest.

From Joseph Smith's death in 1844 until 1869, this cadre defined, established, and directed the building of Smith's Zion. As religious, political, social, and economic leaders, they labored in a theodemocratic system which enhanced their status in ways unavailable to them before. Yet technology and time were not on the side of such a theodemocracy. On May 10, 1869 workers completed the transcontinental railroad.

What might be termed the first media event in American history was, for Mormon theodemocracy, a portent of difficult times ahead. Brigham Young understood that the completion of the railroad would bring a massive influx of “gentiles,” their goods, and values to Zion. In defense, Young had already begun retrenchment and prepared for change. Of course, he relied on the cadre to protect the Zion experiment.

In January 1867, he reconvened and reconstituted the Council of Fifty including adding cadre members Robert T. Burton*, Edward Hunter*, Abraham Owen Smoot*, and Hosea Stout*.¹ The council created Schools of the Prophets throughout the territory. Constituted with the leading high priests in each settlement, these mini-Councils of Fifty were presided over by the First Presidency and other Council of Fifty general authorities. They discussed, “theology, church government [and] problems of the church and community...and [had] appropriate action taken.”² Until the schools were dissolved in the mid-1870s, cadre members, as leaders in their communities, took a leading role in these schools. They acted to secure their communities economically. They signed railroad contracts. Following the example of cadre apostle Lorenzo Snow* of Brigham City, they created economic cooperatives to limit financial interaction with outsiders. They controlled the flow of merchandise to Utah by creating Zion’s Cooperative Merchandise Institutions. For almost a decade, the schools functioned successfully as a new level of theodemocracy.

After the national Panic of 1873, Brigham Young restructured many of the cooperatives and created new communal economic efforts called “United Orders.” Within a year, one hundred and fifty existed throughout the territory. After Young’s death in 1877, John Taylor replaced the failing United Orders with “Zion’s Boards of

Trade.” Similar to the Schools of the Prophets, the boards were governed by the religious, political, and economic leaders of each stake or valley in the Great Basin. At each semi-annual church conference, Taylor and other church leaders instructed the boards how to improve the economic situation of the Saints, while ZCMIs throughout the territory continued to facilitate the flow of goods. By 1884, these boards had succeeded in increasing production and employment with regulated competition. Integrating industry, crafts, and agriculture, Mormonism was closer to its goal of economic independence than at any time in its fifty-year history.³ Whether as a cooperative, a ZCMI, a United Order, or Zion’s Board of Trade, cadre men formed the leadership of these economic initiatives.

All of this would end in ruin as the U.S. government launched an offensive against the Mormon Church. This federal effort sought to curb polygamy, disfranchise its practitioner, and support political and economic institutions consistent with American practices. The war waged for two decades with over 1,000 polygamists convicted and jailed and many leaders, including cadre men, forced into hiding. Federal action and time took their toll on the Mormon Church and its cadre members. Federal authorities dissolved the church as a corporate body and divested it of property; disbanded the PEF; and created a test oath that prohibited polygamists from voting, holding elected office, or serving on juries. Economic community faded with the loss of political authority in towns and cities across the Great Basin. The price of living the “principle” was now too disruptive on families. Church leaders bowed in 1890 and announced “The Manifesto,” ending plural marriage. With statehood in 1896, theodemocratic Zion was officially over. Living cadre members like Nancy Naomi Tracy*⁴ struggled with the loss of the

dream. In 1896, she tellingly asked, “We are told to be united, for in union is strength. Are we united? What does it all mean?”⁵

Federal suppression, the church’s decline and the passage of time had disrupted and weakened cadre authority. Yet, if the original members of the cadre were dead, retired, or dismissed, a new hierarchy was rising to take their place. Sons replaced fathers in a world contoured to match, in innovative ways, the one that had just passed. The old cadre left a legacy through family connection that would prove a valuable asset to claim membership in the Mormon elect.

This “new” cadre practiced a Mormonism that was both similar and different than their fathers’. The sons and later grandsons were monogamous. They focused on the Word of Wisdom, tithing, and temple work. They politicked as Republicans and Democrats and championed capitalism and self-sufficiency. While Mormon definitions of Zion changed over generations, those who held power changed very little. The family names of cadre missionaries (many hidden through matriarchal lines) remain a who’s who of Utah religious, political, social, and economic leadership a century after Mormonism’s surrender. The families Grant, Tanner, Smoot, Benson, Rich, and Lee are only a few of those that trace their line from the cadre to the current elite.

One example may suffice. John Tanner* was a wealthy businessman who spent his fortune assisting Joseph Smith in building Zion in Kirtland and Nauvoo. Two of his sons, Nathan Tanner* and Martin Henry Tanner* joined him in electioneering in New York. While Martin never came west, Nathan, eight other sons, and his only daughter joined him in the Great Basin. Nathan Tanner* “was the ancestor of Hugh B. Brown, apostle and counselor to President David O. McKay; of Fern Tanner Lee, wife of

President Harold B. Lee; of President Nathan Eldon Tanner, counselor in four First Presidencies; and of Victor L. Brown, Presiding Bishop of the Church.”⁶ John Tanner*’s only daughter Louisa Maria Tanner married cadre apostle Amasa Lyman*. Their son Francis M. Lyman and grandson Richard L. Lyman became apostles. Former member of the Presidency of the Seventy Marion D. Hanks is also a descendant. John Tanner*’s son Myron Tanner served for twenty years on the Provo City Council and twenty-three years as bishop of the Provo 3rd Ward. He donated his thriving businesses to Abraham O. Smoot* to support the Provo Cooperative. Myron’s son Joseph M. Tanner was the first Mormon graduate of Harvard University, the second Commissioner of Church Education, and president of Utah State College. Joseph’s son Obert C. Tanner became a successful businessman, professor of philosophy, and noted philanthropist. Joseph Smith Tanner, son of John Tanner*, was mayor of Payson and its bishop for twenty years. If capitulation insured survival, Americanization left power in the hands of those who had always held it.

The significance of Joseph Smith’s campaign for president has been severely undervalued in understanding Mormon history. Just as tragic, the hundreds of men and one woman who campaigned for him have themselves been undervalued, their contributions to Mormonism cast as simple faithfulness or simply unknown. The story of Joseph Smith’s cadre of electioneers *is* Mormonism’s story. This work has labored to honor these men and woman, detail their efforts, and offer a new perspective about the Mormon past, present, and future.

Endnotes

¹ D. Michael Quinn, “The Council of Fifty and its Members, 1844-1945,” in *BYU Studies*, Vol 20:2, (Winter 1980), 22-26; Jedidiah S. Rogers, *The Council of Fifty: A Documentary History* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 2014), 247-255; Seventeen new members were admitted. Eleven of the six were sons of pre-1844 apostles. Of the six others, four were cadre.

² Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 245.

³ *Ibid.*, 349; Martin Ridge, “Mormon ‘Deliverance’ and the Closing of the Frontier,” in *The American West: The Reader*, ed. Walter Nugent and Martin Ridge (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 142.

⁴ Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy, *Reminiscences and Diary 1896 May – 1899 July*, Church History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2; When Moses Tracy received an appointment to electioneer in New York, his wife Nancy convinced him to ask Joseph Smith if she too could go. Not only was the answer yes, but knowing of Nancy’s education and oratorical gifts (which surpassed her husband’s), Smith told Moses that Naomi “would prove a blessing to him.” The small family of four made their way to Sackett’s Harbor, New York, arriving in three weeks. They visited their families and former friends, teaching them the gospel and pushing Joseph Smith for president using Smith’s *Views*. They then went to Ellisburg, the location of Moses’ electioneer responsibilities. It was there that they heard of Smith’s death. “Horror stricken,” and in disbelief Moses sobbed aloud to Nancy, “Is it true? Can it be true, when so short a time ago he set us apart to fill this mission and was alright?”⁴ The couple finished the one-year mission, now only preaching the gospel; fittingly, Nancy Naomi Tracy* died on March 11, 1902, the fifty-eighth anniversary of the Council of Fifty’s organization.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 52-53.

⁶ Leonard J. Arrington, “The John Tanner Family,” *Ensign*, March, 1979 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints).

APPENDIX

LIST OF ELECTIONEERS

Adams, Charles Augustus	Barnes, H. W.
*Adams, Elder D	Barney, Edson
*Akes, Harmon Jackson	Barrows (Barrus), Ethan
*Alexander, Randolph	Bartlett, Milton F.
Allen, Daniel	Barton, Isaac (Burton)
*Allen, John	*Bassett, Charles Henry
Allen, Orville Morgan	Bates, Archibald
*Amy, Dustin	Bates, Marcellus L.
Anderson, Miles	Bathrick, Almon
*Andrews, Benjamin	Batson (Badson), William
Andrus, Milo	*Beach, Orson Gillet
Angus, John Orson	*Beckwith, John D.
*Appleby, William Ivins	Beebe, Isaac
*Arnold, Elder	*Beebe, William A.
Ashby, Nathaniel	Bell, Alfred
*Atkinson, Thomas	Bennett, Hiram Bell
*Atwood, Millen	*Bennett, James Arlington
Babbitt, Lorin Whiting	Benson, Ezra T.
Bacon, Samuel P.	*Benson, Martin Luther
*Ball, Joseph T.	*Bent, Samuel
Barlow, Israel	Bentley, Gregory

*Bernhisel, John M.
*Berry (Burry), Jesse
*Berry, Wilson.
*Bevan, James
*Bigler, Henry William
*Bills, Samuel
Blanchard, John Reed Sr.
*Bois, Elder
Bosworth, Joseph Buckley
*Bottoms, John
*Bowen, Peter C.
*Boyle, Henry Green
Boynton, Abraham Dodge
*Brady, Lindsey Anderson
Brandon, George Washington
Brandon, Thomas Jefferson
*Brannan, Samuel
Briggs, Silas Hugh
*Brinton, David
*Brooks, Charles
Brooks, Lester
Brothers, William
Brown, Alfred
*Brown, Benjamin
*Brown, Francis A.
*Brown, Hiram J. or P.
*Brown, Samuel
*Brown, Uriah
*Browning, Jonathan
Burgess, James
Burnham, James (Jacob) L.
*Burns, Enoch
Burton, Isaac
*Burton, Robert Taylor
*Burton, William
Butler, Lorenzo Dow
Butterfield, Josiah
Buys, Hyrum DeBaun
Buzzard, Phillip Hammond
*Cahoon, Reynolds
*Calkins, Edwin Ruthuen
*Camp, Williams
Candland, David
*Card, David
Carlin, Edward
Carpenter, Samuel E.
Carroll, James
Carter, Dominicus
Carter, Simeon Dagget
Casper, John Austin
Casteel (Castell), Jacob Israel
Chamberlain, George
Chase, Darwin J.
Chase, Isaac
Chase, John Darwin
Childs, Nathaniel

*Church, Hayden Wells Sr.
 *Clair, Mr.
 Clapp, Benjamin Lynn
 *Clark, Calvin R.
 *Clark, Israel Justus
 Clark, William Ogelby
 *Clark, U.
 Cluff, David Sr.
 *Coates, Ralph J.
 *Cobb, Roland
 Cole, Joseph Mortimer
 Coltrin, Graham
 *Coltrin, M.J.
 Coltrin, Zebedee
 Condit, Amos W.
 Cook, Henry Lyman
 Cooley, Alvin
 Coons, Libbeus T.
 Cooper, John Andrew
 Coray, Howard
 Coray, William
 Cordon, Alfred
 Cornish, Denman (Demmon)
 *Cowan, (David B.)
 *Cram, John
 *Crosby, Jesse Wentworth
 Crouse, George W.
 Curtis, Jeremiah
 Curtis, Joseph
 *Curtis, Theodore
 *Cutler, William Lathrop
 Davis, Amos
 Davis, Edward Horace
 *Davis, Elisha
 Dayton, Hiram
 Dayton, Lysander
 Dean (Deam), Henry H.
 * Divoo (Devoo) L.
 Dobson, Thomas
 *Doremus, Henry J.
 * Dorland, William
 * Dougherty, Edward S.
 Downing, James
 Dryer, William Wakely
 Duel, Osmon M.
 Duke, Jonathan Oldham
 Duncan, Chapman
 Duncan, John
 Duncan, William A. H.
 *Dunn, Crandell
 Dunn, Simeon Adams
 Dunn, Thomas James
 *Dyer, John W.
 Dykes, George Parker
 Eames, Ellis
 Edwards, Francis M.

Edwards, Thomas S.	Fowler, George W.
Egan, Howard	*France, Joseph
Eldredge, Horace Sunderlin	Frost, Samuel Buchanan
Elliott, Bradford White	Fuller, Thomas Eldridge
Elliott, Henry G.	*Fullmer, David
Ellsworth, Benjamin C.	Fullmer, John Solomon
*Ellsworth, Cyrus	Gardner, Daniel White
Ellsworth, Edmund	Gardner, Morgan Lewis
Emmett, James	*Gates, Jacob
*Ensign L.L.	*Geer, Aretus
Evans, David	Gillett, Truman
Ewell, John Martin	*Gillibrand, Robert
Ewell, Pleasant	Glaeske, Andrew Jackson
Farlin, Orrin Day	*Glines, James Harvey
Farnham, August Alvin	*Godfrey, Riley
Farr, Aaron Freeman	*Goforth, ?
Felshaw, William	*Goforth, William Gano
*Felt, Nathaniel Henry	Goldsmith, Gilbert Davis
*Field, Reuben	*Goodale, Jackson
Fife, Peter Muir	Gould, John
Fisher, Daniel	Graham, James
*Flanigan, James Henry	*Grant, Jedediah Morgan
*Fleming, Josiah Wolcott	Green, Harvey
Folsom, William Harrison	*Green, William Jr.
Foote, Timothy Bradley	*Grierson, John William
Foster, Joseph Hollis	*Greig, James M.
*Foster, Lucian Rose	Gribble, William
Foster, Solon	*Griffith, Richard

Groves, Elisha Hurd
 *Guard, David
 *Guinard, Julius Joseph
 *Gully, Samuel L.
 Gurley, Zenos Hovey
 Guymon, Thomas
 Haight, William
 Hale, Jonathan Harriman
 *Hall, Alfred
 *Hall, Allen
 Hall, Lyman
 *Hallet, Clark Thatcher Sr.
 Hamblin, Jacob Vernon
 Hamilton, Robert
 Hammond, John
 Hampton, Jonathan Victor
 Hancock, Levi Ward
 *Hanks, Sidney Alvarus
 Harding, Alvin Milton
 *Hardy, John G.
 Hardy, Zachariah
 *Harman (Harmon), J.
 *Harrison (Harmison), James
 *Haskins, Nathan
 Hatch, Jeremiah
 *Hatch, Lorenzo
 *Hathaway, Captain
 *Haws, J.
 *Haws, Peter
 *Heath, Samuel
 *Henderson, William
 Herriman, Henry
 *Herringshaw, Hugh
 Hess, Thomas
 *Heywood, Joseph Leland
 Hickerson, George Washington
 Higginbothom, William Elliot
 Hodges, Amos
 *Hodges, Curtis Jr.
 Holbrook, Chandler
 Holbrook, Joseph
 *Hollister, David Sprague
 *Holman, Joshua Sawyer
 *Holmes, Milton
 Holt, James
 Holt, John
 Hopkins, Charles A.
 *Horner, John Meirs
 Houston, Isaac
 Houston, John
 Hovey, Orlando Dana
 *Howe, Frederick Wakefield
 Hoyt, Homer Collins
 Hoyt, Samuel Pierce
 Hoyt (Hoit), Timothy Sabin
 Hubbard, Charles Wesley

Hunt, Daniel Durham
Hunt, Jefferson
*Hunt, Mr.
*Hunter, Edward
*Hurd, W.
Hutchings, Shepherd Pierce
Hyde, William L.
*Idle, W.B.
* Ivie, Richard Anderson
Jackman, Levi
Jacobs, Henry Bailey
Jacob, Norton
*James, Nathaniel B.
*Jennings, Henry
*Johnson, Aaron
*Johnson, Hunting
*Johnson, Joel Hill
Johnston, Jesse Walker
*Jones, Captain Dan
Jones, David
Jones, John Sr.
Jones, John Jr.
*Jones, Nathaniel V.
*Jones, P.
Jordan, William Harrison
Judah, David
Kelly, John
Kelting, Joseph Andrew
Kendall, Levi Newell
*Kerr, Archibald
Kershner, David J.
*Keyser, Guy Messias
King, Joseph
*King, Thomas Jefferson
*Kinnamon, Richard H
Lamb, Abel
Lambson, Alfred Boaz
Lamoreaux, Andrew Losey
*Lane, Leeler
*Lane, Selah
Langley, George Washington
Laurence, (Lawrence), George
*Leach (Leech), George T.
*Leach, John
*Leaver, Samuel
Leavitt, Nathaniel Jr.
LeBaron, Alonzo Harrington
*Lee, Ezekiel
Lee, John Doyle
Lemmon, Washington
Lewis, Clark
Lewis, David
*Lewis, Lemuel
*Little, James (Jesse) C.
Littlefield, Lyman Omer
*Litz, Stephen

*Livingston, Jonas
Lloyd, George
*Long T.
*Losee, Isaac H
Loveland, Daniel
Loveless (Lovelace, John)
Lowry, John
*Luddington, Elam
Lyman, Amasa
Lyman, William Davis
Mack, Chilion
Mackley (Mackey), John
*Mallory, Lemuel
* Manchester, Asa
Markham, Stephen
*Martin, Thomas
Martindale, William Addington
*Mason, Lincoln
*McAllister, Ananias
McArthur, Duncan
*McBride, William
*McCauslin, Younger
*McGinn, Eli
McIntosh, John A.
McIntire, William Patterson
McKeown, Marcellus
McRae, Alexander
McTaggart, Thomas
*Melling, Peter
*Merrill, Valentine
*Merryweather, Frederick
*Meynell, J.B.
Mikesell, Garrett Wells
Mikesell, Hiram Washington
*Mikesell, John Aylor
*Miles, Ira Simonds
*Miles, William Hart
*Milford, Norman
Miller, Bethuel
*Miller, George
*Miller, William
*Mitchell, Bro.
Moffett, Armstead
Moon, John
Moore, Lorenzo
*Moore, William A.
Mowrey (Morey), Harley
Morris, Jacob
Morse, Justice
*Moss, David
Mott, Hiram
Mower (Mouer), Henry
Mount, Joseph
Mulliner, Samuel
*Munroe (Monroe), James M.
*Myers, Jacob

*Myers, John
*Myers, William. H.
*Neal, George Augustus
*Nelson, Elder
Nelson, James
Nelson, William
Newberry, James
*Newell, Garret T.
Newland, William
Newman, Elijah
*Newton, Joseph H.
Neyman, Hiram
Nichols, John
Nickerson, Uriel C.
Nickerson, Freeman
Nickerson, Levi Stillman
*Nixon, Theophilus
Noble, Joseph Bates Sr.
Norris, Patrick
Olmstead, Harvey Sr.
*Olney, Omar
Ott, Frederick
*Outhouse, John
Owens, Horace Burr
*Pace, James
Pack, John
Palmer, Abraham
Park, James Pollock
*Parker, Joshua
Parker, Samuel
Parshall, William Knapp
*Patten, John M.
*Pell, Elijah Ward
Penn, George
Perkins, Andrew Huston
*Perkins, William Gant
Perry, Josiah Henry
*Perry, Stephen Henry
Pettigrew, David
Petts, John F
Pew (Pugh), George
Phelps, Joshua R.G.
Phelps, Morris
*Phelps, William J.
*Phelps, William Wines
Phippin, James Worthington
*Peirson (Pierson) Edwin D.
Porter, Jared
Porter, Nathan Tanner
Post, Stephen
Powers, John Milton
Pratt, William Dickson
Rainey, David Pickney
*Ray, John E.
Razor, Aaron
Redfield, David Harvey

Reed, Calvin	Sasnett, John Gosney
Reed, Elijah	Savage, David Leonard
*Reese, Enoch	*Savage, Jehiel
*Reheey, Robert	Savage, William
Reed (Reid), John Henderson	*Scott, Andrew Hunter
*Reid, John S.	*Scovil, Lucius Nelson
Rich, Charles Coulson	Seabury, William 1st
Richards, Franklin Dewey	*Searle, Breed B.
*Richards, Levi	*Shamp, Joseph
Richards, Samuel Whitney	*Shaw, Samuel
*Richardson, William A.	Shearer, Daniel
Riley, William Wommack	*Sheets, Elijah Funk
Riser, George Christian	*Sheffield, Anson
Riser, John Jacob	Shelton, Seabert
*Robbins, Lewis	*Shenask, Dr.
Roberts, John Wesley	*Sherwood, Henry Garlie
*Robinson, Ebenezer	Shoemaker, Jacob
*Robinson Jesse	*Sirrime, Mephibosheth
*Robinson Joseph Lee	*Sly, James Calvin
*Robinson, Lloyd	Smith, Jackson Osborne
*Rogers, Amos Philemon	Smith, John Glover
Rogers, David Daniel H.	*Smith, Moses
*Rogers, David	*Smith, P.R. (K?)
*Rogers, Samuel	Smith, Warren
Rose, Joseph	Smith, William
Rule, William Griffin	Smoot, Abraham Owen
*Sanders, Ellis Mendenhall	*Snyder, George Gideon
Sanderson, James	Snow, Charles

Snow, Erastus Fairbanks	*Swackhammer, John
Snow, James Chauncey	*Swanner, Samuel
Snow, Lorenzo 1st	*Tadlock, Alexander
Snow, Warren Stone	*Taney, William
Snow, Warren	Tanner, John
Snow, Willard Trowbridge	Tanner, Martin Henry
Snow, William	Tanner, Nathan
*Sohn, Joseph	*Taylor, Stephen
Sparks, Quartus Strong	*Terry, Jacob Err
*Spaulding, Ira	*Thayer, Ezra
*Spavei, L.	*Thayer, (Son of Ezra)
Spencer, Daniel Jr.	*Thomas, John H
*Spicer, John	*Thomas, Robert T
Sprague, Richard Demont	Thompson, Charles Blanchard
Spry, Charles	*Thompson, Ezra
*Steele, Elder	*Thompson, George Vaughn
Stewart, Levi	*Thompson, Hiram
Stewart, Urban Van	*Thompson, Jared
Stoddard, Lyman	Timmons, Andrew A.
Stoddard, Sylvester B.	Titus, Martin
*Stout, Hosea	*Tracy, Moses M.
Stow, Nahum Milton	*Tracy, Nancy Naomi,
Stowell, William Rufus Rogers	Truly, Ekells
*Stratton, Joseph Albert	Tufts, Elbridge
*Stratton, Hiram	Tulley (Talley), Allen
Strong, Ezra Jr	*Turner, Ephraim
Strong, Reuben William	Twiss, John Saunderson
Swackhammer, Elijah	Tyler, Daniel

*Van Ausdall, William	*West, Chauncey Walker
*Van Duezen, Increase	*West, Joseph
*Van Every, Peter	West, Nathan Ayres
Van Natta, James Henry	*Willard, Lemuel
*Van Nostrand, James Madison	Willard, Stephen D (C).
Vance, John	*Williams, Abraham
Vance, William Perkins	*Wilkes, Ira
Vincent, Ezra	Wilson, Bushrod Washington
Wait, Allen	Wheelock, Cyrus Hibbard
*Wait, James W.	Whipple, Edson 2nd
*Wakefield, John Fleming	*White, Charles
Walker, John Beauchamp	White, Samuel Dennis
*Wallace, George B.	Whitney, Alonzo Wells
Wandell, Charles Wesley	*Wight, Lewis
*Ware, William G.	Wilbur (Wilber), Melvin
Warner, Charles	*Willard, Edward
Warner, Salmon	*Wright, ?
*Watkins, G.	*Wright, Abraham Reister
Watkins, William Lampard	*Wright, Jonathan Caulkin
Watt, George	*Wyckoff, Mr.
Watt, George Darling	Yearsley, David Dutton
*Weaver, Peter	Young, Alfred Douglas
*Webb, Edward Milo	Young, Alphonso
*Webb, Pardon Knapp	*Young, John M. Jr.
*Wells, Elder	*Young, Joseph
Welton, Michael (Micah) B.	Young, Lorenzo Dow
*West, Aaron	Young, Phineas Howe
*West, Alva	Younger, Joseph W.

*Zeigler, Lewis

Zundel, Jacob

* Designates electioneers discovered in my research

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