

# Journal of Thomas Bullock

## (1816–1885)

31 August 1845 to 5 July 1846

**Sunday 31 August 1845.** Anointed Charley<sup>1</sup> who was blind from an inflammation in the eyes. Went to brother P. Maughn<sup>2</sup> who was sick in bed with his wife. Took them a piece of beef. Got him some milk pursley. Then went on to my quorum. Spoke considerably to the brethren and closed the meeting with benediction then went to the stand<sup>3</sup> took minutes of P. P. Pratt<sup>4</sup> and G. A. Smith's discourses. Then went home. Fine day.

**Monday 1st Sept.** At office writing Camp Journey to Zion, Joseph's return from Missouri etc.<sup>5</sup> Night very heavy thunder and vivid lightning. Not much rain. Hot day.

**Tuesday 2nd** Office finished Zion's Camp Journey, also filling in addendas. I was very ill with cold in my head, tooth ache and flux. Asked Dr. R[ichards].<sup>6</sup> to lay on hands and rebuke it, which he did. He made me a doze of gin and raw flour to stop the flux. Went home. Lightning at night. Very hot day.

**Wednesday 3** At office regulating papers all a.m. then recording certificates of the saints &c. Dr. told us to give over at 1/2 past 5.<sup>7</sup> A storm coming on, I ran great part of the way home. As I closed the gate the first stones dropt. I lay down tired out, when the most terrific hail storm I ever

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Richard Bullock (1840–1923), Thomas's second son, was born at Ardee, Ireland.

<sup>2</sup>Peter Maughan (1811–1871), baptized in 1838, was born at Alston, England. He immigrated to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1841 and moved to Nauvoo shortly after. He assisted in building the temple and in 1846 removed from Nauvoo, crossing the plains with the main body of the Saints.

<sup>3</sup>The "Stand" was the platform used at outdoor meetings. The leaders would sit on this platform while the audience sat on the grass or on split-log benches. The stand was located in the West Grove, just west of the temple (Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861*, 2 vols. [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964], 1:63, n. 27).

<sup>4</sup>On Tuesday, 26 August 1845, Parley Pratt had returned from New York City, where he had been presiding over all of the Eastern and Middle State Branches (P. P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1980], 337–40).

<sup>5</sup>The revising of the Zion's Camp history, in which Bullock was engaged, commenced on Friday, 22 August. The history of Zion's Camp was actually included in an addendum because Book A, in which the account should have occurred was already complete (Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11 [Summer 1971]: 439–73).

<sup>6</sup>Willard Richards rarely used his medical training but was respectfully referred to as "Doctor." He was appointed Church Historian in December 1842 and also served as city recorder and clerk of the municipal court. Throughout the journal, Bullock refers to Richards as the "Dr."

<sup>7</sup>*Give over* is a British idiom for finish or stop (James L. Kimball, Church Historical Department).



Thomas Bullock  
1816-1885



saw came on. Thunder awful, lightning tremendous. The hail fell, and lumps of ice two inches in circumference smashed 26 panes in my house, cut the corn into ribbons, leveled every thing else in the garden. It came from the N. West and lasted about 3 quarters of an hour. The rain continued about half an hour longer. On looking out at the door I saw a large tree, a flash of lightning passed, and in a second or two after it fell gracefully to the ground.<sup>8</sup> Very hot day.

**Thursday 4** This morning I saw nearly every house fronting the north has its windows smashed. The Dr. has only one whole pane in his six windows fronting north. Many houses not one whole pane left. Spoke [to] the Bishop for glass. Looking up records of baptisms for the dead. Arranging some according to date. At about 2 p.m. B. Young, H. C. Kimball, W. Richards, G. A. Smith, P. P. Pratt, A. Lyman, J. Taylor, Bish. Whitney<sup>9</sup> and Miller,<sup>10</sup> Fa[ther]. Morley,<sup>11</sup> Joseph Young,<sup>12</sup> O. Spencer<sup>13</sup> and 2 brethren who owned considerable land in Texas. The two last left about 4 when the rest went into council. I and F. D. R[ichards].<sup>14</sup> going to gather the fragments of glass and bury it. Went to Temple Store, and on Mullholland St. saw my old “Bos” cow as I supposed, followed it down to L. N. Scovil’s<sup>15</sup> where a sister sd. she had reared it. It had all the same marks I had except my initials not being on the root of the whole horn. God knows whether it is mine or not. I hope I may yet find them both. El[der]. Morris<sup>16</sup> then went

<sup>8</sup>Of this same storm, Willard Richards wrote: “A storm of wind . . . commenced from the north. hail commenced & beat in every pane of glass in the north end of my house except 1.—the hail stones were 3/4 of an inch diameter some of them— & were driven in to the corners of the lots, about stumps [of] trees &c so as to look like snow that had been driven by the wind. —the hail abated about dusk. the rain continued in the eve. the hail continued about 3/4 of an hour. (hail stones are reported to have fell in the city 1 1/4 & 1 1/2 inches long—of spheroid, flatened form.)” (Willard Richards Diary, 3 September 1845, cited in Dean C. Jessee, “The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal,” *BYU Studies* 23 [Summer 1983]: 87, n. 270).

<sup>9</sup>Newel Kimball Whitney (1795–1850), born at Marlborough, Vermont, joined the Church in 1830 and was ordained bishop of Kirtland in 1831. He served as bishop of the Nauvoo middle ward and was called to be the Presiding Bishop of the Church in 1844.

<sup>10</sup>George Miller (1794–1856), born in Orange County, Virginia, in 1844 became the second bishop in the Church behind Newel K. Whitney. He was a colonel in the Nauvoo Legion, a member of the Nauvoo House Association and of the Nauvoo City Council, and president of the Nauvoo high priests.

<sup>11</sup>Isaac Morley (1786–1865), born in Montague, Massachusetts, was baptized in 1830. After being expelled from Missouri, Morley settled near Lima, Illinois, where he served as stake president and branch president. He moved to Nauvoo in 1845 (Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* [Provo, Utah: Seventy’s Mission Bookstore, 1981], 79–80).

<sup>12</sup>Joseph Young (1797–1881), older brother of Brigham Young, was born in Hopkinton, Massachusetts. He joined the Church in 1832. He lived through the Haun’s Mill Massacre in 1838 and became a member of the Council of Fifty and one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy.

<sup>13</sup>Orson Spencer (1802–1855), one of the most educated members of the early Church, was born at West Stockbridge, Massachusetts. He converted to the Church in 1841 and held positions in the city and the university, including mayor and chancellor of the university.

<sup>14</sup>Franklin Dewey Richards (1821–1899), born at Richmond, Massachusetts, was baptized in June 1838. He was a good friend of Bullock and worked with Bullock in the Church Historian’s Office, where he kept a journal that helps to fill in gaps in Bullock’s journal relating to the writing of Church history. The journal has entries from 1 August 1845 to 13 January 1846 (Historian’s Office Journal, vol. 3, Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City [hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives]; see Franklin L. West, *Life of Franklin D. Richards* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1924], especially 49–59).

<sup>15</sup>Lucius N. Scovil (1806–1889) of Middlebury, Connecticut, was baptized in 1836. He owned a bakery and confectionery store in Nauvoo.

<sup>16</sup>Thomas Morris (1799–1884), a fellow member of Bullock’s Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, was born in Glamorganshire, South Wales. In 1834, he immigrated to America, where he lived in Connecticut until his baptism in 1844 when he moved to Nauvoo (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, Seventies Quorum Records, LDS Church Archives, 18).



with me to bro. Benson<sup>17</sup> who was sick and we laid on our hands in the name of the Lord to rebuke the disease of Bro. and Sis. Benson. We then went home at dark. G. Colemere<sup>18</sup> &c. cut corn in my lot this p.m. Children have bad eyes. Rather cooler to day.

**Friday 5** So weak that I could scarce walk to the office. Mp 8 to mp 9<sup>19</sup> assisting to get a piece of meat out of the well. F. D. R[ichards]. went down. Then regulating baptisms for the dead and calculating amount of paper required. At 12 I was taken very ill with the chills and fever, lay down. About 6 p.m. Dr. returned and at sundown drove me to Lyons'<sup>20</sup> to get 12 grains of quinine,<sup>21</sup> then drove me home, laid hands on me. He told me to enter in my journal that he had spent a very pleasant day at the Big Field;<sup>22</sup> that 616 dined there, besides children. pleasant day. From this day to Friday 19 I was so very sick, and unable to use my pen to keep up my journal. I had the chills and fever continually. On Sat. 13 I thought I was so much better that I cod. walk to the Temple to see after provisions &c. I returned in about 3 hours very tired, with a piece of meat, and the consequence was I was worse ill than before. Took to my bed, and continued till Friday 19, when I had a shakes. F. D. Richards called on Thursday 11. Ann Fox<sup>23</sup> called on Thursday 19[18th]. I have had frequent

<sup>17</sup>Wilmer Benjamin Benson, one of Bullock's dearest friends, was born in 1814 in London, England. Although information on Benson is scarce, he did keep two office journals in the Church Historian's Office dated 14 July 1845 to 30 August 1845 and 13 October 1845 to 2 February 1846. Much of what Benson wrote corroborates Bullock's records (Historian's Office Journal, vols. 5 and 7, LDS Church Archives).

<sup>18</sup>George Colemere appears to be a Latter-day Saint neighbor and friend of Bullock who at one point visited the Bullock residence frequently with his wife. On one occasion he even gave Bullock a priesthood blessing. The two families seem to have had some conflict later which ruptured their relationship. (See Historian's Office Journal, vols. 1, 2, and 3, 1 December 1844, 9 February 1845, 8 April 1845, LDS Church Archives; and Journal entries on 8 October 1845 and 29 June 1846.)

<sup>19</sup>Bullock wrote "mp" before a time to indicate A.M.; he wrote "ep" before a time to signify P.M.

<sup>20</sup>Windsor Lyon's drug and variety store was located on Hotchkiss Street between Main and Hyde streets. Windsor P. Lyon, born in 1809 at Orwell, Vermont, was baptized in 1832. Within a year of his arrival in Nauvoo, Lyon had opened his store, which sold "Dry Goods, Groceries, Crockery, Glass, and Hardwares. Books and Stationery [sic], Drugs and Medicines, Paints and Dye stuffs, Boots, Shoes, Military Goods; and a thousand other articles too numerous to mention" (Richard N. Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo, 1839–1846: Historic Photographs and Guide* [Provo, Utah: Grandin Book Co., 1990], 111–12).

<sup>21</sup>Quinine, a fever suppressant derived from the bark of the South American quinchona tree, was just beginning to become popular in the 1840s. Besides its being widely distrusted, it was also scarce and expensive, a single ounce costing as much as \$7.50—the price of a good cow (George W. Givens, *In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Joseph* [Salt Lake: Deseret Book Co., 1990], 116). In the contemporary measuring system, sixty grains were equivalent to a teaspoonful (John C. Gunn, *Gunn's Newest Family Physician; or, Home-Book of Health: An Approved Household Guide* [1830; Springfield, Ill.: Wm. H. Moore & Co., 1878], 784).

<sup>22</sup>The Big Field was an agricultural association which farmed a 3,840 acre plot of land six miles southeast of the city. On this occasion, the association had just celebrated a bountiful harvest of 60,000 bushels of wheat and corn. John Taylor wrote, "This public demonstration of the bounty of providence, goes to show that the people of that section are willing to make others happy as well as themselves. . . . It is also worthy of remark that this band of brethren . . . spent the day most happily, without 'strong drink,' or swearing, or gambling; feasting, as all honest people ought to, to be healthy, upon the simple luxuries that sustain life, with pure water, peace and union, praying and praising God" (Jessee, "Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 87; Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1960], 7:437–38 [hereafter cited as *History of the Church*]; see also *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3 [10 September 1845]: 3).

<sup>23</sup>Little is known about Ann Fox except that she was born in 1815 at Stanley, England, and on 24 January 1846 became a plural wife of Willard Richards.



visits from Bro and Sis Pixton<sup>24</sup> who have shown great kindness. While I was sick in bed Emma found my [page 2] “Bos” at Wellington Wilsons.<sup>25</sup> My wife next saw it, and knew it. The man said “if the cow is yours, you must have it.” It was next identified by Frederick and Jane Rushton<sup>26</sup> then George Wardle<sup>27</sup> and then by Edwin Rushton.<sup>28</sup> I also saw her and knew her again which was one cause of my going to the Temple on Saturday 13th and brought on my relapse. The weather has generally been very pleasant in the day, and cool at night, sometimes frosty. The mob have been burning out the brethren near Lima, Carthage, Appanoose. Three or four of the mob have been shot. One Capt. Smith who welcomed the mob at Carthage jail on 27th June, and also the man /Franklin A. Worrell/ who first went ~~up~~ /to the/ stairs, and had the knife /in his hand/ to cut off Joseph’s head.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Robert Pixton (1819–1881), a native of Manchester, England, married Elizabeth Cooper (born in 1820 at Chesterfield, England) in 1839. They immigrated to America in 1841, where they met some members of the Latter-day Saint Church. The Pixtons moved to Nauvoo in 1842 and were baptized shortly thereafter. Robert was a seventy. (See Robert Pixton, *Autobiography*, LDS Church Archives; Susan Easton Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 35:80–84; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. [Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1904], 4:216; and Frank Eschom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* [Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1966], 1107.)

<sup>25</sup>Wellington P. Wilson (1814–1896), born in Burlington, Vermont, was baptized in 1836. He was a schoolteacher, joiner, cabinet maker and a wagon maker (Effel Riggs, *History of Hatch, Utah, and Associated Towns Asay and Hillsdale* [Beaver, Utah: Beaver Printing Co., 1978], 357–58).

<sup>26</sup>Brother and sister-in-law to Thomas Bullock (see n. 37).

<sup>27</sup>George Wardle (1820–1901), born in Leek, England, was baptized in 1839. In 1842, he married Fanny Rushton (see n. 37) thereby becoming Bullock’s brother-in-law. That same year he immigrated to Nauvoo. He was a wheelwright by trade and a talented musician (William E. Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton Sr. and Family* [Alhambra, Calif.: Greenwood Press, 1977], 27).

<sup>28</sup>Edwin Rushton (1824–1904) was born in Leek, England, and was the youngest brother of Bullock’s wife, Henrietta. He was a good friend to Joseph Smith and a lieutenant in the Nauvoo Legion. He was instructed to remain in Nauvoo after the main exodus to help the sick and elderly make the trip to the West. He, along with his mother and brother Frederick, went first to St. Louis, going to Salt Lake in 1851 (Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton*, 31, 68–73).

<sup>29</sup>In actuality, Robert F. Smith, captain of the Carthage Greys left to guard the Smiths at Carthage Jail on 27 June 1844, did not die in these September scuffles. But Franklin A. Worrell, also on guard duty 27 June 1844, was killed. The shooting took place as Sheriff J. B. Backenstos was traveling from Warsaw to Carthage and was subsequently pursued by an armed body of men. He wrote, “The chase lasted for a distance of about two miles, when I fortunately overtook three men with teams. I immediately informed them that armed men were pursuing me, evidently to take my life. I summoned them as a posse to aid me in resisting them. I dismounted and took my position in the road, with pistol in hand. I commanded them (the mobbers) to stop, when one of them held his musket in a shooting attitude, whereupon one of my posse fired, and, it is believed, took effect on one of the lawless banditti” (see J. B. Backenstos, *Proclamation II*, in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. [Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965], 1:491–93). Orrin Porter Rockwell, one of three deputized by Backenstos to assist him in Hancock County, was the one who killed Worrell. For a more detailed account of this incident, see Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), 136–47.

The *Warsaw Signal*, known for its anti-Mormon bias, reported the following on 17 September 1845: “It has become our painful duty to announce the death of one of our most estimable citizens, by the hands of assassins. Franklin W Worrel, of Carthage is no more. While riding across the prairie, in company with some friends, yesterday, about 11 o’clock, some Mormons concealed in the hazel rough, . . . fired upon him. . . . Poor Frank, he was one of the noblest spirits in our county, and his death has kindled and will kindle a flame that can never be quenched until every Mormon has left the vicinity.”

As for the attempts of Worrell to cut off Joseph’s head, little is known except that by this time the story of the Carthage murders had been embellished with fallacious details and accounts of miraculous intervention that are recognized as unreliable. The William Daniel’s account of the Martyrdom, published earlier in 1845, attributes the attempts to decapitate Joseph Smith to a “bare-foot and bare-headed ruffian” rather than to Worrell. Because emotions were still high over the Martyrdom, the vehemently anti-Mormon Worrell, known to have aided the mob at the jail, would be an obvious target for this ignominious role. Whether it was Worrell or not is unknown (Dean C. Jessee, “Return to Carthage: Writing the History of Joseph Smith’s Martyrdom,” *Journal of Mormon History* 8 [1981]: 3–19).



**Friday 19** Frederick came in about 11 and reports that the brethren have taken four prisoners, and brought them into the city. Emma called with some dinner for us, and told us that a man was shot thro' carelessness near the Temple this morning.<sup>30</sup> I went into the garden two or three times and as often laid down on bed. I am some little better, Wife, Thos.[Thomas] Henry, Pamela and Willard all sick.<sup>31</sup> Fine day.

**Saturday 20** At sunrise I sent for Brs. Pixton and Burgess<sup>32</sup> to come and administer to my Wife, Willard, and Pamela. They attended to the ordinances and Sis Pixton attended to the duties of the house until mp 11 and came again ep 5 to sundown. My wife and children in parlor bed and I was on the bed upstairs. I had a terrible pain in my belly and very weak. Soldiers disbanded this evening. Mob promising not to molest us. Hot morning, windy p.m. and night.

**Sunday 21** I am some better but very weak, Wife very ill, Willard passed a bad night, children rather better. Sis. Pixton came about mp 9 and staid till mp 11. F. D. Richards called. Brought a piece of beef from the Dr. We conversed about California,<sup>33</sup> mob etc. About 1 my wife took Boneset Tea and Lobelia.<sup>34</sup> Sick seven or eight times, very bad. Sis Pixton came to get our dinner and Emma to nurse. Fine day.

---

<sup>30</sup>On this day, nearly 600 men had gathered at the temple ground in full arms to protect the Saints from threatened violence. During the drilling and practicing, Isaac C. Phippen was accidentally shot, the ball passing "through his right hand and entering his abdomen a little to the right above the navel." He died the same day (Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 19 September 1845 [hereafter cited as Journal History]; microfilm copy in the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah [hereafter cited as HBL]). Phippen was born in 1827 in Chautauqua, New York (Black, Membership, 34:843).

<sup>31</sup>Henrietta Rushton Bullock (1817–1897), born at Leek, England, married Bullock in 1838. She joined the Church with her family in 1840—a full year before Thomas joined. She would eventually bear Bullock nine children. The oldest, mentioned here, was Thomas Henry Bullock (1839–1906), who was born at Leek. Charles Richard (see n. 1) was the second. Pamela (1842–1921) was the third child and was also born at Leek. The fourth child was Willard Richards, named after Thomas's most revered Apostle. Willard, born in 1845 in Nauvoo, would die at Winter Quarters in 1847. The remaining children were born in Salt Lake. They are 5. Mary Elizabeth (1848–1930), 6. Brigham Moroni (1850–1851), 7. Henrietta Rushton (1852–1922), 8. Francis Alonzo (1855–1900), and 9. David Parley (1859–1860). Henrietta was described as having an aristocratic bearing and was called by some the "Grand Dame." She could be elegant, dignified, and even a little proud. She was also thrifty, energetic, and ambitious. She continued to live in the large Salt Lake home that Thomas had built even after he had moved to Summit County with his third wife Betsy (Kate B. Carter, ed., "Thomas Bullock—Pioneer," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. [Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1965], 8:284–87 [hereafter cited as *Our Pioneer Heritage*]). Bullock frequently refers to Henrietta as H.

<sup>32</sup>Either William Burgess, Sr. (1794–1880) or his son William, Jr. (1822–1904).

<sup>33</sup>On 28 August, Brigham Young and other Church leaders had decided that 3,000 men and their families should be selected to journey to Upper California in the spring (Journal History, 28 August 1845).

<sup>34</sup>Boneset was considered a panacea at this time. Dr. Gunn called it a "valuable plant" which "can not be too highly praised as a medicine." It was thought to be an "excellent remedy in all cases of Intermittent and Bilious Fevers, in Fever and Ague, as well as in Affections of the Liver, Lungs, and in Dyspepsia." The tea, derived from boiling its leaves, was claimed to induce perspiration and vomiting (Gunn's *Newest Family Physician*, 815). Actually, the plant has no medical value (Claire Kowalchik and William H. Hylton, eds., *Rodale's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Herbs* [Emmaus, Pa.: Rodale Press, 1987], 51). Much the same, lobelia inflata was thought to be useful in treating asthma, cough, and epilepsy. However, modern researchers have found that the plant is actually quite poisonous; not only does it induce vomiting, but it also has powerful effects on the central nervous system (*Rodale's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Herbs*, 364).



**Monday 22** Stephen Nixon<sup>35</sup> came and laid hands on my wife, who was very bad, and when he sent, Sarah Ann came down to nurse. She staid till about noon when she felt her chills coming on. Went home and I went to the brook with her. I returned home tired out, laid down in bed, when Harriett Nixon came and attended to my wife &c. Went about ep 3. At sunset Sis Pixton called again. Willard and Pamela very ill. Cold day.

**Tuesday 23** Wife some better, also Willard, Pamela and myself, having had some sleep this last night. Sis Pixton came about 9 to regulate things. Windy morning. At dusk Sis. Harriet Nixon and Fanny Nixon<sup>36</sup> came and made some gruel for Henrietta. Dull day.

**Wednesday 24** Mother in law Rushton<sup>37</sup> came to nurse Willard, I was some better also wife and children. I destroyed a many of Dr. Chadwick's bills, and "returned letters", I was obliged to lie down several times to day. Fine day.

**Thursday 25** Wife had a severe chill, I was obliged to nurse Willard, which gave me a most violent head ache. Willard very cross, Pamela some better. Sis Pixton came in evening and regulated the house. Rain nearly all night. Fine day.

**Friday 26** Wife escaped a chill today, but my head was so very bad I was obliged to lie in bed all day. Willard was cross. He was with his mother all day which made her worse again. At night it lightened. Sis. Pixton came at dark to attend to Henrietta. Fine day.

**Saturday 27** Wife had a very bad shake at noon. Gave her quinine, put her feet in hot pepper lace, also gave her some sage tea.<sup>38</sup> My head very bad. Obligated to lie down nearly all day. Mother in law came to nurse Henrietta and Willard. Mp 8 sent some flour to Mrs. Allen to bake. When Miss Toole

---

<sup>35</sup>Stephen Nixon (1807–1893), born on the Island of Malta, grew up in Leek, England, alongside Bullock. In addition, Nixon married Harriet Rushton, mentioned below, who was a first cousin of Bullock's wife, Henrietta. Sarah Ann, also mentioned below, was their third child and was born at Leek in 1834. The Nixons were baptized in 1840 and later immigrated to Nauvoo, where Stephen became a seventy (Stephen Nixon, Harriet Rushton, Family Group Sheets, Family Ancestral File, Family History Library, Salt Lake City; and Black, Membership 32:721–23).

<sup>36</sup>Frances Hart Nixon (1818–1886) married George Nixon, Stephen Nixon's younger brother, in Leek in 1839 (Black, Membership 32:707; and George Nixon, Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File).

<sup>37</sup>Lettice Johnson Rushton (1784–1846), blind since 1837, was widowed when her husband Richard (b. 1780) died in October 1843. Richard and Lettice had ten children: Frederick James (1806–1871), Horatio (1808–1809), Leonora (1809–1814), Pamela (1811–1839), Richard, Jr. (1814–1884), Emma (March 1816–April 1816), Henrietta (1817–1897), Mary Olivia (1820–1871), Fanny (1821–1881), and Edwin (1824–1904). Richard, Sr., Lettice, and all the children were born in Leek, England. The entire family was baptized in 1840. Richard, Jr., and his wife Eliza Bromley Rushton (b. 1816) immigrated to Nauvoo in 1841 after their wedding. Mary Olivia immigrated in early 1842. Fanny, who married George Wardle on 24 January 1842, and Edwin, who married Mary Ann Fowell (b. 1823) one week later, immigrated to Nauvoo with Richard, Sr., arriving 12 April 1842. One year later, Lettice; Frederick and his wife, Jane Wood Rushton (md. 1832); and Thomas and Henrietta Rushton Bullock and family arrived in Nauvoo 31 May 1843 (Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton*, 6–26).

<sup>38</sup>Sage was (and still is) highly regarded for its medical and culinary value. It was claimed to stop perspiration and soothe sore throats. As Gunn put it, "Every family should keep a good supply of sage in the house" (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 903–4; *Rodale's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Herbs*, 439).



refused to do it, old Mrs. Allen said she would do it herself. Nothing done at ep 3. No bread in the house. Miss Toole never did us a kind act yet. At ep 4 I went to Stephen Nixon's and to Jane Rushton to get some bread baked. Returned at sunset with great pain. Miss Toole followed me in with a herb for [the] Mrs.

**Sunday 28** Last night heavy rain, thunder and lightning nearly all night. Mrs. B[ullock] had a good rest and [is] some easier this morning. Willard some better, also I some better. Mother in law [page 3] slept all night. Continued raining, thunder etc throughout all day. G. Wardle called at dark and heavy lightning &c when he was here.

**Monday 29** I am some better and at mp 11 I went to Dr. Richards. Was in Council Chamber with the 12, bishops &c respecting California. After Council I spoke to Bishop Whitney about my lost cow, when he counselled me to take my witnesses and some men and take her home. At ep 4 I went to the temple, and returned home ep 5. My wife missed her chills this day. Children better. I was tired out and weary. Fine day.

**Tuesday 30** Henrietta got up about mp 9. Better. Jane [Rushton] came to wash. Richard [Rushton] to bring wife 2 apples. Children better. I managed to chop some wood which made my head very bad again. Henrietta sat up till dark. Miss Toole came to see my wife. A report of Gov. Ford<sup>39</sup> coming to Nauvoo with 200 troops. Very windy.

**Wednesday 1 October [1845]** Henrietta got up and continued till ep 1 when she went to bed again, tired out. My head continues very bad and was obliged to lie down several times. Sis Pixton baked us some bread and came with it at night. Mrs. ironed a few things in the evening. At night thunder, lightning, rain and wind. Drum beating in Doyle's Wood, supposed Govrs. troops at night (400).<sup>40</sup>

**Thursday 2** Mrs. ironing this a.m. I was seized with a sensation of fainting and had to lie down. Jacob Wilsey<sup>41</sup> called to talk about California. Staid an hour. P.M. saw G. Colemere about dividing corn and produce. Lightning &c at night. Fine day.

**Friday 3** Mrs. better. Willard and Pamela ill. Mp 11 I went to the temple. Talked with bishops. Went to Dr. who told me he was going to leave this

<sup>39</sup>Governor Thomas Ford had been elected as the Democratic nominee in 1842. Apparently capturing the Mormon vote, Ford received 1,748 votes in Hancock County compared to 711 for his Whig opponent, ex-Governor Joseph Duncan. But following the tragedy at Carthage in June 1844, most Latter-day Saints began to believe that Ford was just another appendage of the anti-Mormon factions in Illinois. A more acceptable analysis of Ford reveals a man who was trying to avoid civil war in a state that was not only bankrupt but also characterized by lawlessness (Keith Huntress, "Governor Thomas Ford and the Murderers of Joseph Smith," *Dialogue* 4 [Summer 1969]: 41–52; and John Clayton, *The Illinois Fact Book and Historical Almanac, 1673–1968* [Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1970], 102).

<sup>40</sup>Throughout his journals, Bullock is meticulous about numbers. To record how many people were present at a particular meeting or gathering, Bullock placed the number inside parentheses.

<sup>41</sup>Jacob Wilsey, born in 1821 at Oneida, New York, was a seventy.



place and asked me to go with him. I said I would. He told me the Twelve would have a company, "Co. No. 1", and I was told to sell my house, lot,<sup>42</sup> &c for what I could get &c &c. Ep 3 I went homewards, called on Mary Ann [Rushton]. Gave her a piece of beef. Then to Stephen Nixon's. Told him I was bound for California. He is for going too. Fine day, rainy night.

**Saturday 4** Mrs. better. Sarah Ann better, came home again this morning. Children some better. Raining all morning. About ep 3 went to Temple for some flour. Called at Dr.'s. At sunset returned home. A flock of 33 geese flying south. Fine p.m.

**Sunday 5** Severe frost in night. Leaves of trees turning yellow &c. Called at bro. Mead's<sup>43</sup> on way to quorum but there was no meeting. Went into Temple. Pres. B. Young opened by prayer, followed by Pat. John Smith,<sup>44</sup> P. P. Pratt and Dr. Richards respecting taking care of the sick. John Taylor preached (see my minutes) principally on removing to anor.[another] place, and Dr. Richards and Fat[her]. Bent<sup>45</sup> called out names of Cos. 1, 2 and 3 who were called to remove and adjd.[adjourned] at 1. I went with Dr. to dinner and returned to Temple about 2 when No. 1 Co. was called out by Dr. Richards and were addressed by Pres. Young. No. 2, 3, and 4 Cos. were also called out and sat on front seats when Pres. Young again addressed them. Dismissed at past 5 by Amasa Lyman. I went home, cut wood at night, very tired. My name is "No. 1 Co." "No. 11 on list". Mild day.

**Monday 6** All had a good night's sleep, so some better. At 10 went to Temple and wrote down the business of the conference.<sup>46</sup> All the authorities of the Church were accepted, except Wm. Smith as one of the 12 and Patriarch,<sup>47</sup> and Roger Orton as one of the 7 Presidents of the 70s

---

<sup>42</sup>Bullock had purchased this lot in the early spring of 1845. It was located off Durphy Street on the north half of Lot 3, Block 121. On 1 May, Joseph Knight had begun to dig in this lot. Bullock presumably had plans to build a new home closer in to town when he bought it (Bullock Journal, 27 March, 1 May 1845, LDS Church Archives).

<sup>43</sup>Cyrus A. Mead (b. 1804), originally from South Salem, New York, married Jemima Forbes (1815–1873) in 1832, a native of Mt. Pleasant, New York. They moved to Connecticut in 1833, where he was active in politics and in his work until his first contact with Latter-day Saint elders in 1841. His wife was baptized in April 1842 and he in January 1843. They moved to Nauvoo during the fall of 1843, and Mead was ordained a seventy the following spring. In June 1845, he had been ordained as one of the presidents to the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies. He was later "cut off from the Church, for his wickedness" (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 10; and Black, Membership 30:481).

<sup>44</sup>John Smith (1781–1854), the father of George A. Smith, was born in Derryfield, New Hampshire, and baptized in 1832. He was appointed patriarch in the Ramus Branch early in 1844, later moving to Nauvoo, where he became the stake president. He was also a member of the Council of Fifty (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 208).

<sup>45</sup>Samuel Bent (1778–1846), a native of Barre, Massachusetts, was a member of the Nauvoo High Council, the Nauvoo Legion, and the Council of Fifty. In 1846 he presided over the Church in Garden Grove, Iowa.

<sup>46</sup>Because Bullock acted as the clerk at this conference, which went through Tuesday (see *Times and Seasons* 6 [1 November 1845]: 1016), the official history of the Church relies almost wholly on his detailed minutes (see the entry for Wednesday 15 October in this issue of *BYU Studies*, 26).

<sup>47</sup>William Smith (1811–1893), born in Royalton, Vermont, was baptized in 1830 and ordained an Apostle in 1835. He was charged with having a rebellious spirit in October 1835, and in 1839, he was disfellowshipped but later restored. After serving several missions, he was ordained the Presiding Patriarch of the Church in May 1845. In this capacity, he gave some 290 blessings, many of them copied by Thomas Bullock (see entries for 15, 16, 17 December). At this conference, William Smith was dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve, and one week later he was excommunicated for apostasy. He became a



who were unanimously rejected. A. W. Babbitt<sup>48</sup> objected to Lyman Wight,<sup>49</sup> but H. C. Kimball had his case laid over. Adj. from 12 to 2. Dined with Dr. In p.m. P. P. Pratt preached on the subject of leaving this place and going beyond the Rocky Mountains, followed by G. A. Smith. A motion was made to use all the wood this winter belonging to the brethren and No. 5 Co. was called out. Adj. to 10 tomorrow morning. Went to Drs. Staid an hour. Rode with Wm. Ray to bro. Beech's<sup>50</sup> and then walked home. After supper revised conference minutes. Dull day. [page 4]

**Tuesday 7** Went to conference to report. H. C. Kimball and Amasa Lyman preached. Capt. Roundy's<sup>51</sup> Co. No. 5 was called. Went to Dr. Richards and at 2 [while] going to the Temple, an alarm was given of the Governor's Troops being at hand, which put an end to our conference for this a.m. Returned to Drs. when I met two companies of them. They had apprehended a man by the name of Smith for stealing goods, below Warsaw, also Thomas King, Gardner, and Watson Barlow for stealing cows.<sup>52</sup> At ep 4 I got a lift on my way home. Wife some better, Pamela and Willard not well. Fine day.

**Wednesday 8** Wife pain in her head, Pamela had a chill, Willard looks very ill, I am some better. Went to Temple to report. Brigham spoke on the subject of thieves and warned the brethren not to receive any stolen goods into their house after which mother Smith<sup>53</sup> spoke a long time on the rise

---

bitter enemy of the Church (Irene M. Bates, "William Smith, 1811–93: Problematic Patriarch," *Dialogue* 16 [Summer 1983]: 11–35; Paul M. Edwards, "William B. Smith: The Persistent 'Pretender,'" *Dialogue* 18 [Summer 1985]: 128–39; and Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 276–77).

<sup>48</sup>Almon W. Babbitt (1813–1856), originally from Cheshire, Massachusetts, was baptized in 1833. He served as the president of the Kirtland Stake in 1841. In 1845 he was appointed to the committee in charge of selling the Church's property in Nauvoo. At this time, he served as legal counsel for the Church. In addition, he was a member of the Council of Fifty and postmaster of Nauvoo (Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989], 1:472).

<sup>49</sup>Due to his disapproval of Brigham Young's leadership after Joseph Smith's death, Lyman Wight was losing his support in the Quorum of the Twelve. Wight, along with George Miller, would eventually leave the Church in support of J. J. Strang (see D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 [Winter 1976]: 187–233).

<sup>50</sup>Rufus Beach (1795–1850), a native of Roxburgh, Connecticut, lived for more than twenty years in Michigan, where he was baptized in 1839. In 1841 he moved to La Harpe and two years later to Nauvoo. He was ordained president of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of the Seventies in June 1845 (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, 8; and Black, Membership 4:383–85).

<sup>51</sup>Shadrack Roundy (1814–1872), born in Rockingham, Vermont, was baptized in 1831. He was appointed to the bishopric under Vinson Knight in 1841. In addition, he was the Captain of the Nauvoo policemen, an officer in Nauvoo Legion, a member of the Council of Fifty, and bodyguard to Joseph Smith. On this occasion, Brigham Young had asked Roundy to organize a company of one hundred which was to locate in California territory (D&C124:141).

<sup>52</sup>On Friday, 3 October 1845, the house of Harrison Crawford, longtime resident of Hancock County, was robbed. On 7 October, General Hardin and some of his men apprehended Thomas King as he attempted to drive some stolen cattle towards Nauvoo. King then pointed the posse to the house of Daniel Smith, where it discovered Crawford's stolen items. The posse was then led to the residence of Thomas Gardner, where it found the rest of the stolen items. Two other men were arrested as they attempted to flee from Gardner's house (*Quincy Whig*, 15 October 1845, 2).

<sup>53</sup>Lucy Mack Smith (1776–1855) was the mother of Joseph Smith. By late in 1844, Lucy was not only a widow but had lost six of her seven sons. At this general conference, she reviewed some of the experiences through which her son and the Church had passed, exhorted parents to properly care for their children, and requested that her body be buried in Nauvoo with her husband. "She wished to know of the congregation whether they considered her a mother in Israel (upon which President Brigham Young said:



of the church. Went to Drs. Dined and returned to the Temple, when John Taylor spoke on discontinuing the Papers.<sup>54</sup> Committees were appointed for a number of places to sell the lands of the brethren and a great variety of business was transacted.<sup>55</sup> Returned to Drs. and from there to Edwin Rushton's and then home. Colemere's took their share of potatoes, corn and pumpkins from my field. They made hay while the sun shines. I was away. May they be rewarded according to their [blank]. Fine day.

**Thursday 9** Wife some better. I went to Temple office, to Dr. Richards comparing my minutes and staid till meeting was over. Went home in evening. Dr. was much better in health. Cold day.

**Friday 10** Pamela had a chill, rest some better. I was carrying the potatoes into my cellar all morning. Afternoon putting away my seeds in bottles. Cold day.

**Saturday 11** Morning at home. At 11 went to Temple office for provisions. Returned ep 1. Then at home. Wife had head ache, got her some blister ointment<sup>56</sup> for her temples. Children not well. I recovering in strength. An alarm of "Govr's. Troops" proved false this p.m. Beautiful day.

**Sunday 12** At mp 10 went to Dr. Richards. Revised Sunday's "minutes". At 2 p.m. I was sent to Temple to take minutes of meeting of the brethren in regard to organizing. H. C. Kimball and P. P. Pratt were the speakers. 25 captains of companies were appointed and 8 companies (to No. 9) were called out.<sup>57</sup> Dismissed by P. P. Pratt. Pamela had a chill. Wife put blisters on her temples. Beautiful day.

**Monday 13** I was at office putting same in decent order all morning. In afternoon examining book B. to page 693 with brother Benson.<sup>58</sup> Dr. in bed

all who consider Mother Smith as a mother in Israel, signify it by saying yes! —One universal 'yes' rang throughout)" (*History of the Church* 7:470–72).

<sup>54</sup>John Taylor was the editor of both the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, which ran its first issue 3 May 1843, and the *Times and Seasons*, which had been published since 1839. Pursuant to Taylor's request, the last issue of the *Neighbor* was published 31 October, but the *Times and Seasons* continued to run until 15 February 1846 (*History of the Church* 7:453–54; and Givens, *In Old Nauvoo*, 263–73).

<sup>55</sup>The members of the committees appointed to sell lands in the various Latter-day Saint communities are listed in *History of the Church* 7:474. For other business transacted at this conference, see the account of the conference in *History of the Church* 7:456–77.

<sup>56</sup>The use of blisters, wrappings which contained irritant chemicals, or blister ointments that caused local irritation was widespread in the nineteenth century. They were supposed to draw the fluid of diseased organs to the skin. They were also employed as a counterirritant (Carl J. Pfeiffer, *The Art and Practice of Western Medicine in the Nineteenth Century* [London: McFarland & Co., 1985], 180–84).

<sup>57</sup>For a list of these captains, see *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 1 October 1845, or *History of the Church* 7:481–82.

<sup>58</sup>The manuscript history of the Church up to August 1844 consists of six "books." These were labeled "A–1" through "F–1."

| Book | Dates Covered                       | Pages Contained |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| A–1  | 1805 to 30 August 1834              | 1–553           |
| B–1  | 1 September 1834 to 2 November 1838 | 553–849         |
| C–1  | 2 November 1838 to 31 July 1842     | 850–1362        |
| D–1  | 1 August 1842 to 1 July 1843        | 1362–1636       |
| E–1  | 1 July 1843 to 30 April 1844        | 1637–2028       |
| F–1  | 1 May 1844 to 8 August 1844         | 1–304           |



sick. Wife's blisters rose about noon. She was no better. Children easier. Leaves falling off the trees having been a frosty night. Fine day.

**Tuesday 14** I was ordered to John Taylor's with my minutes of conference. Met bro. Clayton.<sup>59</sup> Revising same all morning. In p.m. he sent Curtis E. Bolton<sup>60</sup> who wrote what I read to him until we could see no longer. The Twelve met in morning and went to prayer. Major Warren<sup>61</sup> and some troops came into the city. He saw the Twelve at brother Taylor's. Went home by moonlight with bro. Bolton. Wife's head no better. Pamela had chills. Charles was seized with the croup very bad indeed. I gave him a little nitre, sugar and warm water every ten minutes, which cured him. Beautiful day.

**Wednesday 15** A very severe frost last night. Leaves fell off trees fast. Trees get variegated.<sup>62</sup> Examined book B. to 695 3/4 then copying affidavits till about 11 when Curtis E. Bolton came and I read the conference minutes while he wrote them. A letter has been received from William Smith abusing President B. Young. When I got home had very severe pains in my right breast, stomach. Took cayenne pepper.<sup>63</sup> Henrietta says she is worse today. Children linger on. Fine day.

**Thursday 16** Copying letters to Wm. Richards and Wm. Pierson,<sup>64</sup> affidavits of burning of property &c. The Dr. better. Went out of doors. At

---

Source: Howard C. Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830–1858" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1979), 227; and Jessee, "Joseph Smith's History," 441.

<sup>59</sup>William Clayton (1814–1879), one of the earliest British converts, was born in Penwortham, England. After immigrating to Nauvoo, he succeeded Willard Richards as the clerk to Joseph Smith in 1842. In addition, he was the clerk and recorder of the Nauvoo Temple, clerk of the city council, and the official clerk of the Council of Fifty. Working side by side with Bullock, Clayton became a trusted and endeared friend to Thomas and remained so until Clayton's death (James B. Allen, *The Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987], 81 and *passim*; and Quinn, "Council of Fifty," 193).

<sup>60</sup>Curtis E. Bolton (1812–1890), born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was baptized in 1842 and moved to Nauvoo in 1845, where he served as carpenter on the temple and as a clerk for the temple committee. In the fall, he began working in the Historian's Office (Curtis Edwin Bolton Journal, LDS Church Archives, 3–6).

<sup>61</sup>William Barton Warren (1802–1865) was born in Georgetown, Kentucky. After graduating from Transylvania University, he began practicing law in Georgetown. In 1833, he moved his family to Jacksonville, Illinois, where he was active in politics. In 1845 he became a clerk of the Supreme Court of Illinois. He was also a major in the state militia. It was in this capacity that he was involved in the disturbances that took place in Nauvoo from 1844–46. At this time, Warren was leading a body of between 50–100 volunteer militia. During the winter, this number would drop to 50, and by May, Warren would have only 10 men at his command to keep the peace (Erwin J. Urch, "The Public Career of William Barton Warren," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 21 [1928–29]: 93–111).

<sup>62</sup>Diversified in colors or external appearance (*Noah Webster's First Edition of An American Dictionary of the English Language*, reprint of 1828 ed., 2d ed. [San Francisco: Foundation for American Christian Education, 1980]).

<sup>63</sup>Cayenne pepper was believed to be an effective cure for heartburn and indigestion (Madge E. Pickard and R. Carlyle Buley, *The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures, and Doctors* [Crawfordsville, Ind.: R. E. Banta, 1945], 40; and *Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 824–26). Cayenne pepper pods could also be applied in poultices to stimulate chilled skin (for example, see entry on 29 October 1845).

<sup>64</sup>As a clerk, Bullock's tasks were varied and in this case included writing personal letters for Church leaders. Both William Pierson and William Richards were relatives of Willard Richards. Pierson (1793–1862), a native of Richmond, Massachusetts, married Willard's older sister Nancy (1792–1852). William Richards (1801–1884) was Willard's older brother. Apparently, neither ever joined the Church and were at this time living in the East.



night I took a regular raking because I had brought home neither beef, flour, &c. Fine day. [page 5]

**Friday 17** Writing affidavits of burning of property, letter to James Arlington Bennet<sup>65</sup> and part copying same. Severe pain in my neck and head. Willard teething pains. Pamela parted with two large worms. Esq. Wells<sup>66</sup> called to see my bookcase &c. Cold.

**Saturday 18** Went to Squire Wells house. He was gone to Augusta. Saw his wife and an elderly lady. Staid half an hour, then went to Dr. Bernhisel<sup>67</sup> for some medicine for Henrietta. Not in. Thence to Dr. Richards. Finished the letter to Arlington Bennet. Staid till about 2. Then to Temple. Back to Bernhisel, who let me have 25 of medicine on tithing, after much talk. Then walked thro' the wood home and attended to Henrietta [who was] in bed. Beautiful day.

**Sunday 19** At home attending on Henrietta, in bed, till 4. G. Wardle drove me and Edwin to the Temple (No. 1 Co. meeting). Took minutes, and returned at dusk. We are to parch 5 bushel of corn and dry a quantity of pumpkins, and make bags for clothing for our journey. Dull heavy day.

**Monday 20** At home all day (upstairs cleaning and straightning). Henrietta some easier. Fine day.

**Tuesday 21** At home till about 10 then went to Temple and immediately returned empty[-handed]. Taking corn out of shocks. Henrietta up a little today. Cold day.

**Wednesday 22** At home all day shocking corn out in ear. Henrietta better. Cold day.

**Thursday 23** At office finished copying 64 affidavits, endorsed some

---

<sup>65</sup>James Arlington Bennet, born in 1788, is best remembered as Joseph Smith's first choice as running mate in the 1844 presidential election. Baptized in 1843, Bennet's short affair with the Church seems to have been based on his desires to be general of the Nauvoo Legion and the successor to Smith. Bennet arrived in Nauvoo from his home in Long Island, New York, on 20 October hoping to help settle the difficulties between the Mormons and anti-Mormons. After arriving, he urged the Saints to stay behind and fight for their lands. His involvement with the Saints, particularly with Emma Smith, caused more trouble than anything else. He soon returned to New York, where he continued infrequent contact with the Saints (*History of the Church* 7:483–84, 528; Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* [New York: Doubleday & Co., 1984], 221–26; and *Warsaw Signal*, 29 October 1845, 2; and 5 November 1845, 2).

<sup>66</sup>Daniel H. Wells (1814–1891), a nonmember originally from Trenton, New York, had moved to Commerce in 1826. He sympathized with the Latter-day Saint people, even giving them large tracts of land—including the temple lot—at low prices. Although he did not join the Church until 1846, he was a close associate of Joseph Smith and a prominent man in civic affairs, serving both in the city council and as brigadier-general in the Nauvoo Legion (Bryant S. Hinckley, *Daniel Hanmer Wells and Events of His Time* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1942], 19–49).

<sup>67</sup>John M. Bernhisel (1799–1881), born in Tyrone, Pennsylvania, was a medical doctor who served as the bishop of New York Branch from 1841 until his move to Nauvoo in 1843, where he was a member of the Council of Fifty (Quinn, "Council of Fifty," 193; and Gwynn William Barrett, "John M. Bernhisel: Mormon Elder in Congress" [Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1968], 1–44).



letters, then copying baptisms for the dead. A posse of the Governor in town (13).<sup>68</sup> Henrietta better. Fine day.

**Friday 24** At office copying baptisms for the dead all day. The Legion was out at 7 this morning on account of the mob burning about 7 houses in Morley Settlement. They went out by fours on the prairie. At 5 in the evening a man came to say that a brother had shot one of the Governor's troops.<sup>69</sup> I was sent to G. A. Smith and H. C. Kimball's. C. C. Rich<sup>70</sup> called on same account. It is also reported that Gen. Arlington Bennet was hissed out of Carthage yesterday. He put for Quincy. [I] went to Davis Store<sup>71</sup> for some tea and then to brother Martin's.<sup>72</sup> Cold day.

**Saturday 25** Copying Baptisms for the dead nearly all day. Doing errands the remainder. The little mean fellow, [Windsor] Lyons, refused to trust Dr. Willard Richards five cents on my buying some quinine saying "I will not trust Dr. Willard Richards or any one else &c." when the poor simpleton will have to sacrifice his all at the Drs. feet in a few months. Such is the effect of a grasping avaricious disposition, which proves "it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven". Geo. Wardle came to live at my house. Fine day.

**Sunday 26** At home all day preparing for California. Wife not well. Fine day.

**Monday 27** At home all day assisting G. Wardle to fix them. do.<sup>73</sup> Demanded my cow from Wellington Wilson who threatened me. Fine day.

<sup>68</sup>Of this posse, the 29 October issue of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* humorously reported: "On Thursday morning last, (for the ninety-ninth time) notice was given that the Governor's troops, or Spanishly speaking, Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, and a few Viajantes . . . were out in search of adventures. About 1 P.M. they arrived in the city, and attacked not a windmill, but a dwelling house."

<sup>69</sup>Naham Bigelow, afraid of mob intentions to burn down his home, called on Major Warren for protection. Warren declined to help, claiming that he was short on men, but after Capt. James Morgan consulted with the state attorney, Lt. Chs. W. Everett of the Quincy Riflemen and three others were dispatched to protect Bigelow and his neighbors. Not knowing his way, Everett did not arrive at Bigelow's home, which was about four miles from La Harpe, until after dark. Upon Everett's knock, a gun protruded from the door, and Everett was blasted once in the chest and once in the hip. After the initial shots, Everett called out, "Do not shoot me to pieces, we are not a mob—but have come to protect you." At this, Bigelow exclaimed, "In God's name, why did you not tell me so before." Everett recovered from his wounds (*Quincy Whig*, 29 October 1845, 3).

<sup>70</sup>Charles Coulson Rich (1809–1883), born in Kentucky, was baptized in 1832. He was a member of the Council of Fifty, a brigadier-general and later major general of the Nauvoo Legion, a regent for the University of Nauvoo, a counselor in Nauvoo stake presidency, a member of the Nauvoo City Council, and an active Mason (Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich, Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* [Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1974]).

<sup>71</sup>The Amos Davis store was located near the southeast corner of Mulholland and Wells streets. In addition to selling hardware and grocery items, the store also functioned as a small inn. Davis (1813–1872), born at Hopkington, New Hampshire, was residing in Nauvoo by 1837, where he became the postmaster in 1839. He was baptized in 1840. He did not migrate west with the Saints in 1846 (Holtzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo*, 40–41; and Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 256).

<sup>72</sup>Edward Martin (1818–1882), born in Preston, England, was baptized in 1830. He was a member of the Third Ward and a seventy in the Twenty-Fourth Quorum of Seventies. He was also a painter on the Nauvoo Temple. He is perhaps best known as the captain of the ill-fated Martin Handcart Company (Black, Membership 29:503–6; and Kate B. Carter, ed., *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 6 vols. [Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1956], 5:261–62).

<sup>73</sup>Bullock used this "do.," meaning ditto, directly beneath a previous piece of information if he wished to repeat what had been written before. In this case it refers to "Wife not well."



**Tuesday 28** Copying baptisms for the dead. Filling up El. Kimballs journal and writing down minutes of a meeting. Present B. Young, H. C. Kimball, John Taylor, G. A. Smith, A. Lyman, Mr. Backenstos,<sup>74</sup> Phineas Young,<sup>75</sup> Major Warren, Captains Turner and Morgan<sup>76</sup> from 3 to 5 p.m. then went to Temple office and home by brother Martin's. When I got home, found Henrietta again sick in bed with the chills and fever. Gave in memorial to Bishop Whitney to obtain my cow from W. Wilson. Fine day.

**Wednesday 29** Morning at home attending to wife and cutting up a pumpkin to dry. Sarah Ann [Nixon] got 33 peppers to put H's feet in. At 12 started for office. Writing baptisms for the dead [page 6] and examining book B. with brother Benson. At [blank] this morning my niece Pamela Rushton<sup>77</sup> died. George Wardle made the coffin and [she] was buried about 3 p.m. At dusk I rode out with brother [William] and sister [Ruth] Clayton, sister Moon,<sup>78</sup> and brother Benson to his lodgings and they drove me to the foot of Parley Street. When I got home found Henrietta in bed sick with chills and fever and very bad indeed. Dull day.

**Thursday 30** Morning dull. Commenced raining about 10. High wind about noon, then cleared up. Examining Book B. with brother Benson. Went home with head ache and pain in my back. Henrietta sick in bed. Spoke of Edwin's debt and got a "flare up" for it. Cold day.

**Friday 31** Took about three pints of strong Boneset tea, did not vomit me much. Then took half a tea spoonful of powdered mandrake root<sup>79</sup> which operated the other way strongly. I was in bed nearly all day. Henrietta in bed all day sick. Lightning, slight thunder and rain at night. Fine day.

**Saturday November 1. 1845** I was up in the night several times. Morning at home. P.M. went to Temple with George Wardle. Got nothing but half

<sup>74</sup>Possibly William Backenstos, brother of Sheriff Jacob B. Backenstos (n. 105); William married a niece of Joseph Smith (Roger D. Launius, "Anti-Mormonism in Illinois: Thomas Sharp's Unfinished History of the Mormon War, 1845," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 [1989]: 41, n. 24).

<sup>75</sup>Phineas Young (1799–1879), the older brother of Brigham Young, was born at Hopkinton, Massachusetts. He was baptized in 1832 and was active in Church and civic affairs in Nauvoo.

<sup>76</sup>Captain James D. Morgan (1810–1896), originally from Boston, Massachusetts, moved to Quincy, Illinois, in 1834 where he engaged in the mercantile business. At this time he was leading a company of Quincy Grays riflemen (Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* [Chicago: Munsell Publishing Co., 1900], 384; and Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier* 1:100, n. 2). Capt. Turner was probably Vantrump Turner.

<sup>77</sup>Pamela Rushton, daughter of Edwin and Mary Ann Rushton, was born 9 February 1843 (Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton*, 25, 32).

<sup>78</sup>William Clayton married Ruth Moon (1817–1894) in 1836 when she was nineteen years old. After the introduction of plural marriage, William married Ruth's younger sister Margaret (1820–1870) in 1843. Both of these women had grown up with Clayton in Penwortham, England, and had been baptized in 1837. Because Margaret had been living at the Clayton residence with her mother and other family members, it probably did not seem strange for William to be seen in public with her; however, because polygamy was still not publicly practiced or openly admitted to, Margaret no doubt was still called Sister Moon by those outside the Clayton family (Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 188–95; and Family Group Sheets, Family Ancestral File).

<sup>79</sup>Dried and then ground into a powder, the root of the mandrake or mayapple plant was in common use as a laxative, sedative, and painkiller (Gunn's *Newest Family Physician*, 879–81; and Rodale's *Encyclopedia of Herbs*, 380–81).



bushel of meal. Returned home singing hymns this evening. Lightning at night. Fine day.

**Sunday 2** Mp 9 went down to Dr. Richards who was up. At 10 went to Temple. Reported the discourses of Elders Hyde, Taylor and Kimball who spoke respecting thieving and wicked characters, going over the mountains &c. After meeting was dismissed, the 1st Co. was called for organizing. The Captains came to the front and the list was given them to choose their men. Went again to Dr. R's and then went home. I am much easier to day. Henrietta also up. Evening Sis Pixton came and I soon went to bed. Fine day.

**Monday 3** A sharp frost in the night. Cut wood &c as usual. Went to office. Writing baptisms for the dead. Pres. Young and Kimball in office about 3 p.m. Fine day.

**Tuesday 4** At office writing baptisms for the dead till 2 then went with Curtis E. Bolton up the Tower of the Temple to the top windows. Went in the rooms for endowment and on the roof of the Temple. Met with the 1st Company in the Temple, and adjourned to the Grove when it was reorganized. Br. Clayton told me I was in the 1st Co. of 16 commanded by Capt. Brigham Young. Went to the Temple office and then home. Fine day.

**Wednesday 5** Mp 9 went to Squire Wells to try and sell my bookcase &c. Returned home about mp 10. Afternoon at home destroying letters &c of no use. Willard bad, teething. Fine day.

**Thursday 6** At office copying baptisms for the dead. At ep 2 took in my silver cup to the Temple office for a sacramental cup. I also settled up my labor tithing to the 12 Oct. 1845 and obtained a certificate entitling me to the use of the Baptismal Font. Thanks be to God that I am at last settled with my tithing and can go boldly forward for my blessings. At ep 4 a council was held in the office. I went again to the Temple office and with br Bolton. Called at br. Martin's. Lucy<sup>80</sup> had sprained her ancle on Sunday, but is now better. I called at Edwin's to notify him to attend on Saturday morn: 9 oclock. Dull day.

---

<sup>80</sup>Lucy Caroline Clayton (1820–1879), the sister of William Clayton, was born at Farrington, England. She was baptized in 1837 and immigrated with her family to Nauvoo in 1842. She would become Thomas Bullock's second wife on 23 January 1846. Although there is some disagreement about the time of their marriage—some accounts placing it as early as 1838—in light of Bullock's record along with other more reliable sources, January 1846 appears to be more feasible. In September 1846, she, with Thomas, was driven out of Nauvoo and headed west, arriving in the Great Salt Lake Valley 22 September 1848, where she eventually bore six children: 1. Mary Ann (died the same day as born, 3 March 1851); 2. Joseph Hyrum (1852–1924); 3. Sarah Jane (1853–1937); 4. Flora Eve (1856–1938); 5. Lucy Caroline (1859–1930); and 6. Heber John (1861–1914). She made her home in South Cottonwood, where she served as a midwife and a counselor in the ward Relief Society. She died at age fifty-nine (C. Ward Despain, "Thomas Bullock: Early Mormon Pioneer" [Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1950], 128; Family Group Sheets in possession of the author; and Black, Membership 10:284–85). Bullock often refers to Lucy as L. or L. C.



**Friday 7** At office writing history of the dead. At 5 the council met in office. Went home at dusk.

**Saturday 8** Went to Edwin Rushton, who promised to follow me in a few minutes to Bishop Miller's (with Jane). I went on and met the bishop, who went with me to his office where I waited until 25 min. to 11. W[ellington]. Wilson came and plead for an adjournment of trial till this day [next] week. Bishop Miller said there was no need of any trial as br. Bullock and his witnesses could swear to the cow, that Wilson must give up the cow, and I and my [page 7] witnesses go before Judge Higbee<sup>81</sup> and make oath that the cow is mine, and that Wilson had had to give it up. Then that Wilson must proceed against Irvine (the man he said he bought her from) for his amount. I was asked "br. Bullock where are your witnesses?" I had to reply "not come Sir." Wilson said Irvine had the cow from Barnes the noted Mormon House Burner, Cow Stealer &c. I was galled at being served so dirtily by my own debtors and professed relatives. And on my return I called at Edwin Rushton's to "return my humble and sincere thanks for the kindness and strict attendance at the court whereby I had lost my cow and I wish you good bye". When I got home and told them of my scurvy treatment, his mother got in a rage at his conduct and went away to scold him and Jane for their abominable conduct. At night Edwin came to my house to balance accounts. Found 11.40 due to me, which thro' an insult I dashed out of the book. He has now belonging to me 3 pistols, 2 dishes, 2 sheets, 2 spurs, 60 rails which he must hand over to me, also 2 spades. Fine day.

**Sunday 9** At mp 9 called at Bro. Martin's on my way to the Temple. As the lower floor was taken up, there was no public meeting, but the brethren assembled on the upper floor where Pres. Young addressed them on the subject of Emigration.<sup>82</sup> At 12 the captains of Cos were called together. I went home to dinner and returned at ep 2 to the Grove where the 1st Co. was assembled. Nothing done as 77 were absent. Not organized. At 4 went home. Had a visit from Sis. Lucy Clayton who staid [for] tea. In evening I accompanied her home. Pleasant evening.

**Monday 10** Wife sick. Staid at home all day. She has very violent pains and she requested me to go to Dr. Richards for him to pray for her. 3 p.m. saw Dr. Then went to Temple office and got a white faced cow. Brown body. 11 dollars. Took her home. Pleased my family. Fine day.

<sup>81</sup>Isaac Higbee (1797–1874), originally from Gallaway, New Jersey, was baptized in 1832 and ordained a high priest in 1835. In Nauvoo, he served as the justice of the peace and bishop of the Nauvoo Second Ward (Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. [Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901–36], 1:480–81; and Black, Membership 22:706–12).

<sup>82</sup>Brigham Young also censured those who liked to talk of the mysteries of the gospel. He said: "u hearken to this counsel [and] cease teaching things u dont know—El. Hyde told of the Ch[urch] going into the wilderness &c I heard of it at night—I told him I did not care whe[the]r it was true doctrine or false. . . . There is not the man before me who knows anything about it—when I understand the first principles, I understand more than all in this room—they must be endowed with revelations from on high [and] no man has a right to teach, unless he is wrapt in the visions of eternity" (Bullock Minutes, Typescript, 9 November 1845, 15–16).



**Tuesday 11** At home. Wife had very bad night. Evening got her a little honey, burnt some cork, also gave her a little alum and camphor<sup>83</sup> which eased her a little. do. [Fine day].

**Wednesday 12** At home. Wife had a worse night, parted with much corruption. Suffers a great deal. Got some brandy and burnt a cork by it, and gave her to drink. In p.m. her mother and Eliza [Rushton] came down and said nothing could save her but an injection, which was given. She was easier afterwards. Br. Bolton called and requested me to be at the office tomorrow if possible. Staid an hour. Had considerable conversation. Cold and rain.

**Thursday 13** Wife had a easy night. I went to office and sent off the baptisms for the dead to be bound. Wrote a letter for H. C. Kimball. Copied part of an article on the Priesthood &c. On returning home the moon was eclipsed. Saw it a many times until its total obscuration. My head ached. Wife has had a easy day. Cold and rain.

**Friday 14** Copying an article on the Priesthood. Regulating books and papers &c. Went to Clark's and Judah's Stores. Called at Bro. Martin's. Staid a short time then went [on] a short walk with L. C. and went home. Milked cow as usual &c. This evening I found out that Edwin Rushton has been trying to give me a bad character saying I was "a Lazy Idle Scoundrel," "did not get food for my family," "would not work," and "did not care a shit about them" &c &c. May the Lord reward him according to his mean lies, and expose this youth's ingratitude to his benefactor. There is not now one of the Rushton family but what has wronged and injured me.

**Saturday 15** At office wrote an Epistle to the Saints to be read at tomorrow's meeting. Regulating letters, paper &c. Copying names of Saints who were recommended in Record Book. Went home. I sent Sarah Ann to Edwin's for my rails. He did not give an answer, but Jane said "Mr. Bullock must have them when he can get them." This from a proved thief is too bad, especially when her husband owes me between 50 and 100 dollars.

**Sunday 16** Called at bro. Martin's on my way to the Temple. Went with him. Reported the discourses of El. O. Hyde, H. C. Kimball, and B. Young. Returned home for dinner. Went again to the Grove to meet with the 1st Co. Pres. Young addressed them (raining all the time). The third 100 was handed over to Jededia M. Grant<sup>84</sup> for organization and dismissed till next

<sup>83</sup> Alum, a fine, white, salt-like powder, was used as an astringent to stop diarrhea, as symptomatic relief for the croup, and as an ingredient in certain poultices (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 548, 635, 778). Camphor, a yellow oil derived from the sap of the camphor tree, was known for its "strong, invigorating smell, and hot, acrid taste." It was claimed to have sedative, diaphoretic, anodyne, and antispasmodic effects (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 819–20).

<sup>84</sup> Jedediah M. Grant (1816–1856), born in Windsor, New York, was baptized in 1833. He was ordained to the First Seven Presidents of the Seventy in 1845 and was a member of the Council of Fifty. He was the captain of the fourteenth emigrating company (Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982], 3–69).



Sunday at 2 oclock. Afterwards met with second 100 according to request. Went home and for 3rd time this [page 8] day a cow with part white face was in my garden having leapt over a 8 high rail fence. Tried to give her three duck shot and a little small shot to make her smart. Nixon's cow pushed fence down. Took her up and milked her. Wm. Nixon standing by. He said he wod. not fasten her up. So my property, Fat. Allen's and Geo. Wardle's is to be destroyed by two /bad/ cattle and no remedy for us.

**Monday 17** At office recording certificates of members, filing books and papers as they were brought in by the brethren. Afternoon examining Book B with brother Benson. At dusk went home by Mullholland Street. Received a letter from Wm. Gillespie.<sup>85</sup> Read it to Wardle and Fanny and Henrietta. Dull day, dark night.

**Tuesday 18** At office examining Book B to the end, then Book A as far as page 333. Afterwards copying baptisms for the dead. Went to Temple Store and br. Martin's. Sis. Lucy Clayton had stewed down some sugar pumpkins. Went home with me. Left the pumpkin and I returned part way home. May God bless her for her gift and be remembered kindly on the Rocky Mountains. I spread all on plates for drying. Wife had a severe chill. Fine day.

**Wednesday 19** At home carrying water for washing. Also gathering my fodder for the winter and attending to drying my pumpkins. Fine day.

**Thursday 20** At office making minute papers and filing dates of correspondence on same. L. came to say she was going home for 3 weeks as desired by Wm.[William Clayton] and Pres. Young. May God protect her during her absence. Ice on water this morning. Fine day.

**Friday 21** Went to Sister Jane Hall<sup>86</sup> to tell her she was wanted at the Drs. Returned to office about 10. She came at 12. In the morning I was filling in the correspondence on the minute papers. In the afternoon I copied the baptisms for the dead. Cold.

**Saturday 22** I cut wood, fetched water, and milked the cow as usual. Went to office [and] filled up the Drs. Journal. Then copying Baptisms for the dead &c. At night Edwin Rushton came, and I was obliged to order him out of my house. Had a row.<sup>87</sup> I bid good bye to all of them now. Very windy and cold.

---

<sup>85</sup>William Gillespie, born in 1818, was a nonmember who married Mary Olivia, Henrietta Rushton Bullock's younger sister, after her emigration from England to New Orleans (see n. 37). Mary apparently never moved to Nauvoo but lived in Kentucky. Gillespie was drafted into the Confederate Army and died in an Illinois prisoner-of-war camp in 1863. Mary Olivia later married a Mr. Cooke and died in 1871 in Chicago (Perkes, *History of Richard Rushton*, 64–65).

<sup>86</sup>Jane Hall would soon become a plural wife of Willard Richards (see n. 123).

<sup>87</sup>A slang or colloquial word, of obscure origin, meaning a violent disturbance or commotion; a noisy dispute or quarrel (*The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., 20 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989], 14:177).



**Sunday 23** At home till 2. Then went for company meeting No. 1, but did not find it and returned home. G. Wardle took 2 pigs home from Jo. Knight.<sup>88</sup> Edwin came and made some better friends. Very cold, thick ice.

**Monday 24** At office writing letters, which were dictated by the Dr. and afterwards recopying same. Also copying baptisms for the dead. Evening called at Temple office and afterwards at bro. Martin's. I found that Edwin's statements were lies. Sis. Martin<sup>89</sup> confirming what I had been previously told by L. Cold and dull.

**Tuesday 25** At office writing in book D all morning and baptisms for the dead in the evening. On my return home saw Wellington Wilson, who has my cow. Asked him when Ellison was coming as it was two weeks and three days since he was to come to give testimony. He said he had promised to come "some time." This proceeding is very unsatisfactory to me. Cold day.

**Wednesday 26** Chopped wood, milked cow, fetched water from creek having to break the ice for it &c. Then went to office copying baptisms for the dead. In evening I called at the Temple office and at brother Martin's. Talked much on the Priesthood &c. I took home some sugar pumpkins. It was snowing and blowing very hard. Very cold.

**Thursday 27** Morning at home. At mp 12 took the pail back to Sis. Martin's. Called at the Temple Store on my way to the office and wrote history in book D. This day and night was very severe frost and ice was running in the River. Severe frost.

**Friday 28** In office reading history to G. A. Smith and W. Richards in the a.m. and in p.m. I examined history in book C with F. D. Richards. The frost continued very severe. So much so that the River was frozen over at the Upper Landing, altho' this is only the second days frost. [page 9]

**Saturday 29** In office reading history in book C with F. D. Richards. Severe frost all day. My wife and Willard Richards very sick, in much pain. Severe frost.

---

<sup>88</sup>Bullock's reference here is probably to Joseph Knight, Sr. (1772–1847), rather than to his son Joseph Knight, Jr. (1808–1866). On 19 January 1840, the Nauvoo High Council donated a house and a lot to Joseph, Sr., and he was living in Nauvoo at this time (*History of the Church* 4:76). The movements of Joseph, Jr., are harder to trace. He lived at La Harpe, where he milled until 1844. In the spring of 1845 he was in Nauvoo working in Bullock's lot. After a month away from Nauvoo, he apparently was offered a milling job by his brother Newel. In January 1846, he was ordained a high priest. It is possible that at the time of this reference, both Joseph Sr. and Jr. were living in the same house. That Bullock and Joseph, Jr., were friends is also well established; not only did Joseph, Jr., help Bullock in his lot on several occasions, but later Bullock would help Joseph, Jr., compile his autobiography—which incidentally is in Bullock's handwriting with Joseph Knight's signature at the end of the manuscript (Joseph Knight, Jr., "Autobiographical Sketch," LDS Church Archives; and William G. Hartley, "They Are My Friends": A History of the Joseph Knight Family, 1825–1850 [Provo: Grandin Book Co., 1986], 156–65).

<sup>89</sup>Alice Clayton Martin (1816–1859), younger sister of William and older sister of Lucy, was born at Lancashire, England. She married Edward Martin while still in England and was baptized in 1840. Alice and her husband were good friends of the Bullocks. Also, Lucy was living at the Martin home, which gave further impetus to Thomas to visit them (Black, Membership 10:273).



**Sunday 30** I was at home all day shelling corn, drying Pennyroyal<sup>90</sup> and stewing Squash for California, having no other days to prepare for my journey. It was also very cold all day. Wife and Willard about the same.

### December 1845

**Monday 1** I was in office comparing book C with F. D. Richards till 3 when I was taken very ill, being chilly, and also feeling my rheumatic pains. Had two doses of composition,<sup>91</sup> one of pepper tea, &c, yet they did not warm me. Br. Benson went up the hill with me. Wife better. Willard worse. More mild.

**Tuesday 2** I was at home ill with rheumatism, being short of flannel to make me a singlet. Sat by the stove and in bed. Willard very ill indeed, not knowing whether he would live or die during the night. Mild day.

**Wednesday 3** I was some better and went to the office about mp 11. I had a bowl of composition etc which did me much good. Comparing book C till 12 with bro. Campbell<sup>92</sup> to the end. Windy and cold.

**Thursday 4** Broke the ice in the creek for water, cut wood, fed and milked the cow, made fire &c. Then went to the office and examined book C with F. D. Richards all day. Frosty.

**Friday 5** At the office all day comparing book C with F. D. R. He gave me some honey to my bread which was very sweet. Received much instruction. Went to Temple Office got some flour. Went home. Wife and children rejoiced. A good day to me. Willard had a easy day today, slept some. Cold and dull.

**Saturday 6** In the morning examining Book C with F. D. Richards till noon. In afternoon comparing Wm. Smith's blessings and afterwards indorsing the Drs. private letters and papers. Willard no better. Thawing.

**Sunday 7** At home all day. Prepared a little for my journey. In afternoon we thought Willard was dying. Administered a little brandy and water, when he revived. He was very bad all day and night. Thawing.

---

<sup>90</sup>A relative of the mint family, pennyroyal was thought to counter diseases of the urinary organs and suppress menses and colds (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 890). It is now considered unsafe to use (*Rodale's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Herbs*, 412–13).

<sup>91</sup>The original Thomsonian composition powder was made by combining and pulverizing 1 pound of bayberry, 1/2 pound ginger, and one ounce each of cayenne and cloves. This mixture was made into tea by putting a large tablespoon of the powder into a pint of boiling water. The composition powder was "valuable in Colds, and where you wish to produce Perspiration" (*Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 1138).

<sup>92</sup>Robert L. Campbell (1825–1874), born in western Scotland, was baptized in 1842. After a long and difficult mission in Scotland, he left for Nauvoo, arriving there in March 1845. In May, Campbell began writing for Patriarch John Smith; between June and September he clerked for William Smith. In November, he began working in the Historian's Office under Willard Richards. He and Bullock worked together on reading and revising the history of Joseph Smith (Frederick S. Buchanan, "Robert Lang Campbell: 'A Wise Scribe in Israel' and Schoolman to the Saints," *BYU Studies* 29 [Summer 1989]: 5–27; and Jessee, "Joseph Smith's History," 460).



**Monday 8** At home carrying water for washing all day. Also preparing seeds for journey. Willard a little easier. Cold day.

**Tuesday 9** Office all day comparing blessings. At 4 Rev. Mr. Hamilton from Springfield and Rev. Mr. Tucker [of] the Catholic Delegation met with the Council.<sup>93</sup> I staid and wrote down the minutes of the meeting. Went home at 6. Willard was very ill. Cold day.

**Wednesday 10** Copying baptisms for the dead. This day commenced the giving of endowments in the House of the Lord. Dr. went at 10 returned at 7. I was sent for down stairs at ep 4 when to my surprise and joy L was come back well. Went home, had tea. Found Henrietta had had a dreadful day. She was very ill indeed, so was Willard. In evening took a walk to Sis. Martin's. /She was ill./ Beautiful evening, fine day.

**Thursday 11** Copying baptisms for the dead. Had some conversation in evening with Dr. Called at Temple office for some meal, then home. W[illard]. very ill. Cold day.

**Friday 12** Finished copying baptisms for the dead at 11. Then commenced copying Wm. Smith's blessings. Also wrote a letter to bro. Wiley which Dr. dictated. When I arrived at home found Henrietta had been nearly as bad as on Wednesday. Not quite so much vomiting. Willard remains very ill, in great pain. Sis. Martin much better than on Wednesday. Mild day.

**Saturday 13** Henrietta is better again this morning. Willard has had a better night but the little creature is very ill. May the Lord grant a favorable turn to both of them that they may again be restored to health. Copying Wm. Smith's blessings all day. A snow storm in the afternoon. [page 10]

## December 1845

**Sunday 14** At home writing letters to Wm. Gillespie and Mrs. Wassell. Sister Williams called on a visit. She had been ill all the time since she left my house.<sup>94</sup> At sunset I went to the 27 Quorum at Bro. Beachs.<sup>95</sup> Present:

<sup>93</sup>Tucker and Hamilton were sent to Nauvoo by the bishop of Chicago to inquire about the possibilities of the Catholic church buying land in and around Nauvoo. Due to the pressures of land speculators hoping to obtain the Church's land in Nauvoo for very little money, Brigham Young on this occasion had propositions drawn up for the advertisement and sale of certain Nauvoo properties to the Catholic delegation. The temple would be leased out under a separate condition that the leaser finish the structure. Although Father Tucker appeared positive about the prospects of the Catholic church's being able to raise the money for the purchases, Tucker later wrote and informed the council that the Catholic bishop had been unable to raise the money but would be willing to rent a building (*History of the Church* 7:539-41; 565).

<sup>94</sup>Nothing is known about Esther Williams except that she had come to live in the Bullock home on 16 March 1845 for \$24 per year. She was baptized by Thomas on 25 June 1845 in the Mississippi River. Whether this was Esther's second baptism is unclear. However, on this same day, Bullock also baptized his wife Henrietta; this was her second baptism. There is no indication of when Esther Williams left the Bullock home (*Historian's Office Journal*, vol. 1, 25 June 1845).

<sup>95</sup>The Twenty-Seventh Quorum had been organized 1 June 1845. The eventual presidency would include Rufus Beach, Stephen Goddard, Thomas Bullock, Eli Chase, George W. Oman, Allen Weeks, and William Glover (*Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies*, 60-61, 64).

Pres. Beach, Chase,<sup>96</sup> Mead, Weeks<sup>97</sup> and Bullock and 26 members. I took down their genealogies. I and Pres. Beech and Chase spoke to the brethren on different subjects. Elected bro to fill the place of Hamilton deceased.<sup>98</sup> Made a collection for paying for 26 Gal. of wine &c. Returned ep 7. Henrietta missed her chill, Willard no better. Fine day, thaw.

**Monday 15** Snow fell in the night. At 8 a.m. went to have seen Pres. B. Young but he was in the Temple. Returned home, did the errands about the house and went to the office at 12. Copying Wm. Smith's blessings. Eve. milked Drs. cow &c. Went home in the dark. Very bad travelling. Thawing.

**Tuesday 16** Got up two hours before day break. Fetched water, cut wood, fed and milked cow, got my breakfast &c as usual then went to office. Correcting book D for copying. Writing Wm. Smith's blessings &c &c. Dull and heavy.

**Wednesday 17** At office copying Wm. Smith's blessings. Called at bro. Martin's. Cold night.

**Thursday 18** A very severe frost, and wind froze everything. Chopped bread, cut milk with a knife. In fetching water and milking I was near frozen to death. Sawed wood in the house. When sitting by the fire (backs were chilly) in warming my back I set fire to my best pantaloons. This is the most tremendous day and night I ever knew.

**Friday 19** Still continued severe, but a little more moderate. At 12 went to the office. Comparing history &c. About 4 p.m. bro. Benson notified me to appear at the Temple with my Wife on tomorrow morning at 8 oclock to attend to the ordinances of Washing and Anointing. Afterwards went to the Temple. Saw Pres. Young and received further instructions. Then went to bro. Martin's. L not come yet. Henrietta better as well as Willard. Cold evening.

**Saturday 20** At sunrise I and Henrietta started to the Temple. We received the ordinances of Washing and Anointing &c &c. Pres. Joseph Young anointed me to be K[ing] and P[riest] and he was in very good spirits and much pleased to see me as was also El. H. C. Kimball. /Prompter [was]

---

<sup>96</sup>Eli Chase (1808–1851), a native of Ellsburgh, New York, had moved to Fulton County, Illinois, in 1820 with his family. He was baptized in 1831; he moved to Missouri, where he was shot in the leg during the Battle of Crooked River. From Missouri he moved to Quincy, Illinois, and was ordained to the First Quorum of the Seventy in 1839. In 1840 he married Olive Hill. After a two-year mission to Canada and New York, Chase was placed in the Third Quorum and eventually became a president in the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, 11; and Black, Membership 9:376–78).

<sup>97</sup>Allen Weeks (1813–1884), originally from Beatherford County, North Carolina, moved with his family to Alabama in 1815 or 1816 and then to Illinois in 1839. Weeks was baptized in 1839 and moved to Nauvoo in 1840. Weeks accepted a call to serve a mission as a full-time laborer at the temple. He was made a seventy in the Ninth Quorum in 1844 and became a president of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies in June 1845 (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, 13; and Early Church Information File, Family History Library [hereafter cited as E.C.I.F.]).

<sup>98</sup>Robert Hamilton, born in 1813, died of "Bilious Fever" (typhoid) in September 1845 (*Nauvoo Neighbor* 3 [1 October 1845]: 3, Sexton's Report; and Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 31).



Hosea Stout.<sup>99</sup> Received by Charles C. Rich./ After we had passed thro, we saw Pres. Young who took us into his private room and there we laid before him our Statement and received his approval &c. I never was really happier than when I was in his room and hearkened to his council. My wife was really happy too. May the Eternal Father give us of his Spirit that we may ever bear in mind the truths that we this day learned, and ever keep them in sacred remembrance. We also feel glad and happy in the prospects that lie before us. We then went down to Dr. Richards. Partook of bread and wine. Staid till 4 then went to bro. Martin's. L. C. not yet come. A great disappointment to us. Beautiful day.

**Sunday 21** At mp 11 went to bro. Martins. L not having come at 12 I wrote her a short note. Went to Dr. Richards where I sealed the letter. Had some further conversation with him. Then took the note to W. C. [William Clayton] for he to send it to his sister. We conversed about the robes etc.<sup>100</sup> And there being a meeting in the Temple at 2 without garments. I returned there, heard some excellent instructions which causes my heart to rejoice much. At 5 went home. Beautiful day.

**Monday 22** At office all day comparing history &c. Went to Temple on an errand 9 a.m. Evening called at bro. Martin's, again disappointed. May God grant that alls well. W[illiam Clayton] told me those folks would come on Wednesday without sending the letter. Cold day.

**Tuesday 23** Birthday. Age 29. At 12 went to bro. Stows for two gallons of soap. Called at Martins. No news for me. Went to the Temple office and returned home. Willard began to be very wrangling during the day. He is much worse. Albern Allen<sup>101</sup> called in evening. Fine day.

**Wednesday 24** At office all day. A report in Town that the Governors troops came in yesterday about 2 p.m. Sent to the Temple for Pres. Young when bro. Miller<sup>102</sup> went in the Pres's Carriage to the mansion when he was immediately arrested on a writ for treason sworn out by Wm. Smith. At sunset they took him off for Carthage and did not discover their mistake until they arrived near Carthage when they cursed and swore they [page 11] would have Brigham before morning.<sup>103</sup> A man came to give warning of their approach. Saw a little lamb. The first I have seen this season. Fine day.

<sup>99</sup>Hosea Stout (1810–1889), born in Danville, Kentucky, was baptized in 1838. Stout eventually was a colonel in the Nauvoo Legion, captain of the Nauvoo Police, and senior president of the Eleventh Quorum of the Seventies (Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 1:1–117, and *passim*). The prompter is a helper in the endowment ceremony.

<sup>100</sup>Ceremonial robes for the endowment.

<sup>101</sup>Albern Allen (1802–1867), born in Cornwall, Connecticut, was baptized in 1835. He was a military man, serving first in the Nauvoo Legion and later in the Mormon Battalion. Albern married a Marcia (1804–1866) in 1826 (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 3:580–81; and Marcia Allen, Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File).

<sup>102</sup>William Miller (1814–1875), originally from Avon, New York, was baptized in 1833. He married in 1834 (Whitney, *History of Utah* 4:153–56).

<sup>103</sup>This episode, sometimes called the “bogus Brigham” incident, would be a humorous memory to the Saints for years to come. The *Warsaw Signal* laughed at the incident. It reported, “The best joke of



**Thursday 25** Christmas day. At 2 p.m. went to Temple office. On my return called at bro. Martin's. Sister Alice worse. I staid till 4 then went home. Sister Lucy not come yet. On going to bed I was seized with severe pain in my back. Willard very bad. Fine day.

**Friday 26** At home all day. Sickly /dear/ Wife and Willard unwell. Cold day.

**Saturday 27** Morning had a very severe pain in my bowels. Drank pepper tea and cayenne. Went to bed. Had a hot brick put to my feet, but continued chilly. At 3 p.m. being much better went to the Temple office, and afterwards called at Sis Martin's. L. C. not yet returned. Went home disappointed. cold day. Report. That two men went to search the Temple for Pres. Young. They were met by David Candland<sup>104</sup> who told them that they must take off their shoes and hats before they could enter the room. They did so, searched, and went out again.

**Sunday 28** At home all day. I was some better. Willard very bad. I took five pills. They worked me. I never swallowed [more than] three pills in my life before today. Dear wife much better. Thawing.

**Monday 29** Went to office compared book C. with F. D. Richards and afterwards comparing Wm. Smith's blessings. Called at Martin's, disappointed. Thawing.

**Tuesday 30** At office examing Patriarchal blessings. Night called at Martins. Thawing.

**Wednesday 31** Carrying water for washing, &c all day. At night went to Sis Martin's. L. C. not come thus did the old year end in disappointment, and what can be the cause I know not. I have done all that I was told to on the 11th and why this delay? May Almighty God grant that all may be well with her and that she may return in good health. Thawing.

---

the season was played off, last week, by the Saints, on the United States deputy Marshall for Illinois. It appears that Brigham Young and other Saints, were indicted at the late Term of the United States Circuit Court at Springfield, for Bogus making [counterfeiting]. On Tuesday of last week, the Deputy Marshall accompanied by eight of the Hancock Guard, and Mr. Benson of Augusta, (who went along to point out Brigham) started from Carthage for the Holy City. On arriving they went to the Temple, where the Saints were assembled, and soon Mr. Benson pointed out Brigham, accompanied by some ladies, in the act of getting into a carriage. The Marshall immediately walked up and arrested him. The Saints learning what had been done assembled around the prisoner and swore that he should not be taken out of town. The Marshall and his *posse* were however, determined and notwithstanding the threats of the crowd held on to their prisoner, and declared if any effort was made to rescue him they would shoot Brigham the first man. . . . The Saints now began to show long faces and seemed very much affected. . . . As the officer and his *posse* left with their charge they [the Saints] broke out in such strains as these; "Farewell Brother Brigham." "We hope you will soon return". . . . On arriving at Carthage, G. W. Thatcher, Esq. went in to see him. Soon he returnee [sic] with a very knowing look, and affirmed that there was no Brigham Young there, and the Prisoner [William Miller] was an entirely different personage. . . . The Marshall on learning he had been hoaxed released the prisoner" (29 December 1845, 2).

<sup>104</sup>David Candland (1819–1902), a native of Highgate, England, was baptized in 1841. In 1844 he married Mary Ann Barton and began working as a clerk in the Temple Office in 1845. After being sealed to Heber C. Kimball on 25 January, Candland left for England as a missionary on 30 January. He would return to Winter Quarters by August 1847 (David Candland, *Reminiscences and Diary*, 1–13, Archives and Manuscripts, HBLL; and Black, Membership 8:535–40).



## 1846

**Thursday January 1. 1846** Opened with a thaw, and the roads so very muddy that I could not walk to the office and keep my shoes on my feet. So I staid at home parching corn for my journey to the Rocky Mountains this Spring. And may our heavenly Father cause all things so to work that I may be prepared when the time is to go. L. C. not yet come causes the year to open with disappointment. Thawing.

**Friday 2** At office copying patriarchal blessings and writing history which Dr. Richards dictated. Night went to the Temple and F. D. Richards lent me robes in order to cut the patterns for my holy robes. Called at Martins. Again disappointed. Went home cut my robes. Thawing.

**Saturday 3** At office writing history which the Dr. dictated. At 4 p.m. Sheriff Backenstos<sup>105</sup> called. I wrote a letter and sent it by him to Catharge. He promised to send it on Monday and I do now hope that my desires will be realized. Called at Martin's and home. Thawing.

**Sunday 4** Morning at home. Cutting out green silk leaves. At 3 Henrietta and I walked to see Sister Martin who still continued very bad. Staid till dark. Mrs. Clayton<sup>106</sup> and John [Clayton] came to see Alice. Lucy did not come. I heard she has been frolicking and now she will have to stay another week. This is too bad, as it drives me late in parching my corn, making bags, robes etc and preparing for California. Day thawing, night frosty.

**Monday 5** Morning at home cutting out green leaves. Went to Martins and Temple office. Borrowed Joseph [L. Heywood]'s garment. Went home, cut out mine, returned his at 5 and went to the Presidents meeting. Pres. Beech and I paid 8.57 1/2 for oil for anointing. Took Dr. Sangars receipt. Returned home and wrote in the Quorum book.<sup>107</sup> Dirty, frost in night.

**Tuesday 6** At office writing history which Dr. dictated. Also in book D. Evening went into the Temple sat about two hours. I esteemed my great

---

<sup>105</sup>Jacob B. Backenstos, the non-Mormon sheriff of Hancock County, owed his position to the Latter-day Saint vote. He had long been friendly to the Saints and was presently trying to defend them from mob attacks (Launius, "Anti-Mormonism in Illinois," 41, n. 24). The 24 September 1845 *Nauvoo Neighbor* lauded Backenstos, saying, "We feel it our duty to say that Sheriff Backenstos is entitled to the highest encomium of every American patriot, for the prompt and energetic measures, and his unceasing vigilance, which so successfully put to flight the blood thirsty, pestilential, and property wasting mob of Hancock County, and vicinity" (3:3).

<sup>106</sup>Mother Clayton, or Ann Critchley Clayton (1793–1848), was born at Lancashire, England. She had fourteen children, of which at least six had frequent contact with the Bullock family. Of course there was William, the oldest; Alice, who had married Edward Martin (see n. 89); and Lucy, the fourth child, soon to become Bullock's first plural wife (see n. 80). But in addition, Ellen (1822–1888), the fifth child; James (1824–1847), the sixth child; and John (1826–1847), the seventh child, were all well acquainted with Bullock. They were all natives of Lancashire, England, and had emigrated to America soon after receiving the gospel. These latter three are all mentioned periodically throughout this journal and appear to have been living in Carthage with their parents. The Claytons later moved into Nauvoo (Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File).



Sunday 28. At home all day. I was some better. Willard very bad. Took five pills. - they worked me. I never swallowed three pills in my life before today. - dear wife much better. - Thawing

Monday 29. went to office compared book C. with J. D. Richards and afterwards comparing Thawing

Tuesday 30. at office examining Sabina's book findings - night asleep at machine. - Thawing

Wednesday 31. carrying water for washing, the all day - at night went to J. D. Martin's - J. D. not come thus did the old year end in disappointment, and what can be the cause. - I know not. - Thawing

Thawing some all that I was told to, on the 11<sup>th</sup> and why this delay? may almighty God grant that all may be well with her - and that she may return in good health. Thawing

1846

Thursday January 1. 1846 opened with a blow, and the roads so very muddy, that I could not walk to the office and keep my shoes on my feet. - so I staid at home - parching corn for my journey to the rocky mountains this spring. and may our heavenly Father cause all things so to work that I may be prepared when the time is so. - J. D. not yet come causes the year to then with disappointment. - Thawing

Friday 2. at office copying Sabina's book findings and writing history which J. D. Richards dictated night went to the Temple and J. D. Richards sent me notes in order to cut the patterns for my baby robes - called at machine - again disappointed. - went home cut my robes. - Thawing.

Saturday 3. at office writing history which he dictated - at 4 P.M. Sheriff Backenator called - wrote a letter and sent it by him to Larkins - he promised to send it on Monday and I no longer hope that my desires will be realized - called at machine - in home Thawing

Sunday 4 morning at home - cutting out green silk leaves - at 3 P.M. and I walked to see Sister Martin who still continued very bad. - staid till dark. - Mr. Clayton to join come to see Alice. - Lucy did not come. - I heard she has been picking - and now she will have to stay another week. - this is too bad, as it drives me late in parching my corn, making bags, robes and preparing for California. - any Thawing night frosty

Monday 5 morning at home cutting out green leaves went to machine and Temple office, ordered Joseph's garment sent home, but our mine, returned him, at 5 and went to the President's meeting - (see Beech to I said 8.57 1/2 for oil for morning, with J. D. Langston's receipt. returned home to write in the museum book. -

A section of p. 11 of the original 1845-1846 Bullock journal.



privilege. Shook hands with B. Young, H. C. Kimball, O. Hyde, P. P. Pratt, O. Pratt, and many others. Felt very happy and I returned home and wrote. Frosty night.

**Wednesday 7** Having done my chores, went to office. Writing history in book D. Mp 10 assisted the Dr. to the Temple office. I went on with Sister Amelia<sup>108</sup> to Uncle Phinehas',<sup>109</sup> returned, assisted the Dr. up stairs in Temple. Then again to the office. Compared Wm. Smith's blessings with bro. Benson to No. 182. Wooded,<sup>110</sup> then went home. Found Willard some better. Thomas Henry also better. Tried on my robes &c. Dull and dry. [page 12]

**Thursday 8 January 1846** At office writing history while Dr. dictated till 3. He then went out and I continued in book D till sunset. On my way home called at Martin's. Cold day, frosty night.

**Friday 9** At home all day receiving corn for parching, cutting wood. P.M. cutting out green silk leaves &c &c. Cold day, frosty night.

**Saturday 10** When I arrived at office bro G. D. Watt<sup>111</sup> said I want you to record in your journal that yesterday I agreed to be the Drs. son and he agreed to be my father. I gave him my hand as my younger brother. In the course of the day the Dr. asked I, Watt and Benson "if we would pray every day that he may be able to live and complete the History." We all replied "we will." He then said "if you do this you shall become grey headed old men, and you shall become heads of great and mighty kingdoms" to which we all responded "Amen." He gave us a great deal of useful instruction. He felt very well indeed so we all did. He told us to record this in our journals in order that in a many years to come, we may refer back and see what we were doing on this day. Sisters Rhoda<sup>112</sup> and Amelia went to the Temple with the Dr. and attended to the first ordinances. P.M. Dr. dictated history,

<sup>107</sup>Secretary McIntosh's official record of this Twenty-Seventh Quorum presidency meeting is as follows: "Meeting of the Presidents of the Seventies in the Concert Hall, in order to make report of collections for Oil to be used for anointing the saints in the house of the Lord. President Beach and Bullock attended and paid Eight-Dollars 57 1/2 cents, collected from the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, and took receipt from Dr. Sangar, who was going to Chicago for some oil tomorrow morning" (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 69).

<sup>108</sup>Amelia Elizabeth Pierson was soon to become a plural wife of Willard Richards (see n. 123).

<sup>109</sup>Phineas Richards (1788–1874), father of Franklin D. Richards and older brother of Willard Richards, was born at Hopkinton, Massachusetts. He was on the Nauvoo City Council and the Nauvoo High Council (Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 1130).

<sup>110</sup>To supply or get supplies of wood (*Noah Webster's American Dictionary*).

<sup>111</sup>George D. Watt (1815–1881), born in Manchester, England, was one of the first to accept Mormonism in England. Late in 1842, Watt immigrated with his family to Nauvoo, where he began lecturing on the newly devised art of phonography or shorthand. By early 1845, he was teaching classes on shorthand. Bullock attended Watt's classes along with Brigham Young, Willard Richards, and several other Church leaders. As indicated here by Bullock, Watt also worked in the Historian's Office (Ronald G. Watt, "Sailing 'The Old Ship Zion': The Life of George D. Watt," *BYU Studies* 18 [Fall 1977]: 48–65; and Bullock Journal, 3 and 5 June 1845 and throughout June, LDS Church Archives).

<sup>112</sup>Rhoda Richards (1784–1879), older sister of Willard Richards, was born at Farmingham, Massachusetts. She joined the Church in 1838 and later became a wife of Joseph Smith, Jr. (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 120; and Black, *Membership* 36:677–78).



21 Feb/43 relating to Dr. Foster's mammoth bones.<sup>113</sup> My dear Wife completed making my sacred robes this day. Fine day.

**Sunday 11** I am happy to record that dear little Willard is much better. He has evinced better symptoms for two or three days past. Wife is better. I thank my heavenly Father for these mercies. I went to the Temple where they were completely crowded out. As I could not gain admittance (crowds being round the door) I went to the Seventies meeting in Concert Hall. I reported discourses.<sup>114</sup> Called at brother Charles Lambert's<sup>115</sup> on my road home. Staid at home all p.m. with wife reading Bible &c. Fine day.

**Monday 12** Office all day. On my return home called on Sis. Alice, but Sis. Lucy was not come, neither is there any tidings of her. Bro. Martin went part way home with me. He was much disappointed and could not account for her nonarrival. At 9 went to bro. Wandall's<sup>116</sup> staid till midnight. Cloudy.

**Tuesday 13** Staid in office till near 7. Dr. dictating history to me. Returned home. Very fine.

**Wednesday 14** In office. About 10 Dr. came in and said "Thomas, here is Sis. Bullock wants you." I went out and amongst others saw Sis. Lucy who was returned from Carthage last night. We had much conversation. Wrote church History &c till 7. Walked home with L. C. Henrietta very glad. Willard very cross all night. Beautiful day.

**Thursday 15** At office all day writing history which Dr. dictated &c. At night Sis Lucy came to settle her acct. with the Dr. I searched his journals for dates. Dr. said there was one objection yet, and that was that Lucy had not been adopted as his daughter. She agreed to be his daughter. After some conversation when we left, Dr. blessed me, and also she was blessed. She came to live at my house and assist Henrietta. Henrietta, Lucy, I and

---

<sup>113</sup>Robert D. Foster, born in 1811 at Braunston, England, was a licensed physician. Although he had frequent problems with Church authorities, he did serve as a regent of the University of Nauvoo and as surgeon-in-chief and brevet brigadier-general of the Nauvoo Legion. In April 1844, Foster was excommunicated for adultery and apostasy, after which he joined the schismatic group headed by William Law and was apparently involved in the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 257; and *History of the Church* 7:146). The remark about the mammoth bones can be found in a speech made in February 1843 by Joseph Smith in which he chastised those not wholeheartedly involved in building the temple and the Nauvoo House. He denounced those like Foster who, "instead of building the Nauvoo House, build a great many skeletons . . . all for personal interest and aggrandizement. . . . See the bones of the elephant yonder . . . the crocodiles and man-eaters all about the city, such as grog shops, and card shops, and counterfeit shops, &c., got up for their own aggrandizement, and all for speculation, while the Nauvoo House is neglected" (*History of the Church* 5:284–85, 287).

<sup>114</sup>Minutes from this meeting can be found in the Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, 69–70.

<sup>115</sup>Charles Lambert (1816–1892), originally from Kirk Deighton, Yorkshire, England, was baptized in 1843. After immigrating to Nauvoo in early 1844, he worked as a stonecutter on the Nauvoo Temple. He was a member of the Nauvoo Legion, a seventy in the Eleventh Quorum of Seventies, and in 1845, he became the president of the Twenty-Third Quorum of Seventies (Charles Lambert, *Reminiscences and Diaries, 1844–1881*, LDS Church Archives).

<sup>116</sup>This is probably Charles W. Wandell (see n. 163).



several others supped with the Dr. and returned home calling at Sis. Martin's, who was much better. Beautiful day.

**Friday 16** At home all day. Packed up bag "T.B." with clothing etc for California. Fine day.

**Saturday 17** At home all day packing up china etc. do. [Fine day.]

**Sunday 18** - - do. - - - do. - - - do. - - - do. - - Willard was very ill at night. We expected he would die every [any] minute. In great agony. do.

**Monday 19** ~~A snow storm commenced this morning and continued all day.~~<sup>117</sup> At 11 W[ilmer] Benson came for me to go to the office. I went with him and examined the Patriarchal blessings by Wm. Smith, also History book C. Evening called at Sis Martin's but she was gone to the concert. Griffiths<sup>118</sup> chopping wood for me. Snowing.

**Tuesday 20** A snow storm commenced at day light and continued all day. Office all day compiling papers and packing same and books away in boxes. Carried a bushel of meal home since I have been at the office. A council in the Temple.

**Wednesday 21** Morning at home. Afternoon at office. Finished copying and examining Patriarchal blessings, and commenced copying in book D. Willard some better to day. Snow drifts 3 or 4 feet high. Thawing, freezing at night.

**Thursday 22** At nine oclock a.m. I went to the Temple with L. C. C. who went thro' the ordinances of washing and anointing. Received into the Cel[estial]. Room by Levi Hancock.<sup>119</sup> I saw Pres. B. Young who shook me by the hand very cordially. He told me to take my wife and L. C. tomorrow evening at dusk to receive their second anointings and sealing.<sup>120</sup> His words were as the Lord whispering peace to my Soul. I feel very happy for the blessings and privileges that I am receiving at the hands of the Lord. May I ever have the same Spirit within me, and then I shall always feel well. Staid in the Celestial Room until about 3 when I called at the Temple

<sup>117</sup>That this phrase was deleted by Bullock is significant because he wrote a similar phrase in the next day's entry. This observation suggests that Bullock might not have been writing in his journal every day, although the majority of the entries appear to be entered on a daily basis.

<sup>118</sup>Possibly Ethan Griffiths (b. 1803) from Warrington Township, Pennsylvania (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 19).

<sup>119</sup>Levi Ward Hancock (1803–1882), born in Old Springfield, Massachusetts, was baptized in 1830 by Parley P. Pratt. He served as president of the First Quorum of the Seventy from about 1835 until his death. He was a member of the Nauvoo Legion and probably a member of the Council of Fifty (Dennis A. Clegg, "Levi Ward Hancock: Pioneer, Soldier, Political and Religious Leader of Early Utah" [Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966]).

<sup>120</sup>This practice was established by the Prophet Joseph Smith late in 1843. However, only a handful of Saints received the fulness of the priesthood blessings under his hand. With the dedication of the temple in December 1845 and the subsequent dedication of a special altar for sealing ordinances on 7 January 1846, these ordinances were again performed (Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" [Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1981]).



office. Then to bro. Wm. Clayton's. Staid about an hour. Alls well. Then went home. L. rejoicing at the intelligence she has received this day. Willard was very ill all night. We all thought he was dying but revived a little at 10 when I went to office.

**Friday 23** Morning at office. At 2 went to bro W. Clayton's for robe &c. Went home. Prepared for the Temple. At dusk I, Henrietta and Lucy went to the Temple, dressed, sat in the Cel. Room, and shook hands [page 13] with B. Young, H. C. Kimball, O. Hyde, P. P. Pratt, A. Lyman. Went into the President's room when I and [the] two others were sealed up to eternal life, thro' time to come forth in the morn of the resurrection, and thro' all eternity. Were sealed up . . . by A. Lyman. I praise the Lord for this great manifestation of his love and mercy towards me and grant that the happiness which I now enjoy may last for all eternity. And may my whole soul continually praise his holy name. Amen. Afterwards we staid till midnight rejoicing to the sound of music with songs of praise. Pres. Young addressed the assembly and H. C. Kimball offered up prayer to our Heavenly Father—especially for those who had made covenants that night. Returned home happy. Willard revived a little. Took the breast which caused us all to rejoice. Thawing, muddy.

**Saturday 24** At home till noon doing chores then went to office. Writing history in book D till night when I called at Temple office, Davis Store, Slater's Store, and Brother Martin's on my way home. Willard continues to get better. Praise the Lord. Thawing, very muddy.

**Sunday 25** Prepared for the Temple at 10. I, Henrietta and Lucy went. Called at bro Wm. Clayton's and on to the Temple. Dressed and at a little after 3 we were adopted into the family of Dr. Willard Richards who was anointed K[ing] of K[ing] and a K[ing] and P[riest] to the most high God.<sup>121</sup> Whomsoever he blesses shall be blessed and whom he curses shall be cursed. It was a solemn time. A many were sealed up. Brigham kissed all his children. At 4 we went to Father's to drink a bowl of Wine. Supped on a roast goose. When he [Willard Richards] came in I was the first that he kissed and received his blessing. Henrietta and I sung "Here's the lover she

---

<sup>121</sup>As early as 1840, Joseph Smith had taught that families were to be eternal units, linked inseparably in one long chain back to Adam. After announcing in 1842 that the tie was baptism, Joseph Smith may also have initiated certain trusted leaders into a new order based on adoption. By 1845 the practice was more widespread. Typically, younger Latter-day Saint families were sealed to a prominent older man, most often an Apostle, as in the case of Bullock. Some adopted Saints, Bullock included, even took their new father's surname. Thus G. D. Watt became G. D. Watt Richards and Peter Muir Fife became Peter Muir Fife Richards (see above, same entry). Notice also Bullock's next entry (26 January 1846). (See Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830–1900," *BYU Studies* 14 [Spring 1974]: 291–314.) There is ample evidence that suggests that Bullock had been adopted prior to this occasion. A patriarchal blessing given to Bullock on 22 January 1845 calls Thomas an adopted son of Willard and Jennetta Richards (Thomas Bullock Patriarchal Blessing, Thomas Bullock Papers, LDS Church Archives). Furthermore, in a journal entry dated 6 March 1845, Bullock indicates that he had previously been adopted by Richards. Those involved might have felt the need to perform the adoption officially in the temple, or since Bullock was taking Lucy as a plural wife, perhaps Apostle Richards decided to seal the entire family to him. Whatever the case, this sealing in the temple seems to mark the adoption officially in the minds of the Bullock family.

loved so much” when he said “I never was keener touched with any song than that.” Had a happy time of it. At dusk we returned home (with G. D. Watt Richard[s] and Wife, and Peter Muir Fife Richards).<sup>122</sup> Thawing made the roads dreadful muddy.

**Monday 26** I Thomas Bullock Richards staid at home all day with my family carrying water for washing. Thawing, muddy.

**Tuesday 27** Went to the office. The Patriarch was blessing Jane Hall, Sarah Longstroth, Nanny Longstroth and Amelia Elizabeth Pierson<sup>123</sup> which I copied from G. D. Watt’s transcribing. Father and Mother Clayton brought a pig. Thawing, muddy.

**Wednesday 28** At office copying three Patriarchal blessings and writing history in book D. At dusk went to Concert Hall, but no one there. Then went to Pres. Beech. Saw him and then went home. Raining all the journey. Afterwards sorrowful.

**Thursday 29** Staid at home all day on account of heavy rain and dreadful muddy walking. Packed up my box of seeds for the West. We were all singing like nightingales.

**Friday 30** At office writing history in book D. Went to Father [John] Smith’s with the blessings. To Temple office &c then again writing history. Night we were singing “Come go with me.” The Ice broke up in the River this night. Closed since November 28.

**Saturday 31** At office writing history in book D. By myself did chores. Went home at dark. As I left the office the Dr. blessed me and mine. Went to bed and sung an hour as merry as a cricket. Fine day.

**Sunday Feb 1 [1846]** I was at home all day with my happy family. I nursed my little Willard who is getting much better. Henrietta read the Bible; Lucy read Book of Mormon; Sarah Ann and the rest playing. Had a very agreeable domestic day. Very muddy.

**Monday 2** At office all day writing history and doing chores. Fine but muddy.

**Tuesday 3** At 10, as I had not finished my chores, I was sent for to the

<sup>122</sup>Peter Muir Fife (1806–1873), born in Costerston, Scotland, joined the Church in 1840. He was a seventy (Black, Membership 16:261–63).

<sup>123</sup>Three of these women had just been sealed to Willard Richards: Amelia and Sarah on 22 January 1846 and Nanny (Nancy) on 24 January 1846. The fourth, Jane Hall, would be sealed to Richards 6 February 1846. Nanny Longstroth (1828–1911), born at Yorkshire, England, was baptized in 1838. She bore Richards three children and later (1857) became the eighth wife of Franklin D. Richards. Her sister Sarah Longstroth (1826–1858), also born at Yorkshire, bore Richards four children. Amelia Elizabeth Pierson (1825–1851), born at Richmond, Massachusetts, bore no children. Jane Hall was born in 1826 at Chatburn, England, and also bore no children (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 233–34; Black, Membership 28:394–98; 34:954–58; 36:613; and E.C.I.F.).



office. Writing history, racking papers in their proper place preparatory to Drs. journey to the West. Jennetta's coffin was opened when she appeared but very little decayed. It was filled up, an inscription placed over, and then the land leveled over it.<sup>124</sup> S. W. of House about 20 feet. Fine day.

**Wednesday 4** Called for bro Martin who was not at home. Then to the Temple. [Went] round the rooms. To the store then to the Drs. packing up big box with papers &c.<sup>125</sup> Fine day. [page 14]

**Thursday 5 Febry** At office all day packed up small box with papers and books which was sealed down and at noon had to unpack the large box, and repack same, which was completed about 3, and again repacked, screwed down, reputtied and finished off. Also assisting in packing clothing. Staid till near 10. Cold day.

**Friday 6** Called upon Judge Higbee and took him to the Drs. who took the acknowledgment of the Drs. to a letter of attorney to Babbit, Heywood<sup>126</sup> and Fulmer to lease his property. Assisting all day packing away clothing &c. Fine day.

**Saturday 7** Assisting Dr. all day packing boxes and in evening weighing same. The Brethren were very busy crossing with their Teams to the other side of the River. Fine day.

**Sunday 8** A severe frost again. Ice running in great quantities. Loaded two waggons with corn, seeds, boxes &c and at 8 p.m. sent them off to Pres. B. Young's for safe keeping. Frosty.

**Monday 9** The Governors troops came into the City to search for some thieves. At about half past 3 p.m. the roof of the Temple was discovered to be on fire. An alarm was immediately given when the brethren marched steadily to its rescue. Dr. Richards called on the brethren to search every house for buckets and bring them filled with water. A line was immediately formed and the buckets passed up in quick succession. The fire raged about half an hour. Axes were set to work and tore up the roof. The water [was] thrown on the burning parts which soon got extinguished. It appears that

---

<sup>124</sup>Jennetta Richards (1817–1845), born at Walkerfold, England, was baptized in 1837. She became Willard Richards's first wife on 24 September 1838. She passed away on 9 July 1845. Willard had ordered two grey stones for the grave: one to lie under the casket and one to lie on it. Each had an inscription which gave her birth date and place, marriage date, and death date (Holzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo*, 75–76; and Claire Noall, *Intimate Disciple: A Portrait of Willard Richards* [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1957], 482).

<sup>125</sup>Bullock's reference to "papers &c" is actually to various Church records, including the manuscript history of the Church which he had been working on for more than a year (Jerald F. Simon, "Thomas Bullock: A Man Doing His Duty" [Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988], published as "Thomas Bullock as an Early Mormon Historian," *BYU Studies* 30 [Winter 1990]: 77).

<sup>126</sup>Joseph Leland Heywood (1815–1910), a native of Grafton, Massachusetts, moved to Illinois in 1838. In 1842, he was baptized by Orson Hyde and in October 1844 he was ordained a high priest and a bishop in the Quincy Branch. Later in 1846, he, along with Babbitt and Fulmer, was appointed as a trustee for the Church in Nauvoo to oversee the sale of property in Nauvoo (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:646).

Thursday 5 Febry at office all day packed up small box with papers & books which was sealed down and at noon had to unpack the large box, and repack same, which was completed about 3. and again repacked, secured down, repacked & finished off - also assisting in packing clothing - some with men 10- with day

Friday 6 called upon Judge Feible, and with him to the D<sup>r</sup> who took the acknowledgment of the D<sup>r</sup> to a letter of attorney to Bullock, Heywood & Turner to lease his property - assisting all day packing away clothing etc. fine day

Saturday 7. Assisting D<sup>r</sup> all day packing boxes and in evening weighing same - the Brethren were very busy crossing with their Teams to the other side of the River fine day

Sunday 8 a severe frost again - Ice running in great quantities - loaded two waggons with corn, seeds, brocks etc and at 8 P. M. sent them off to Pres. B. Young's for safe keeping - frosty

Monday 9 the Governor's troops came into the city to search for some thieves. at about half past 3 P.M. the roof of the Temple was discovered to be on fire - an alarm was immediately given when the Brethren ~~sent~~ marched steadily to ~~the~~ <sup>its</sup> rescue - D<sup>r</sup> Richards called on the Brethren to search every house for buckets & bring them filled with water, a line was immediately formed and the buckets passed up in quick succession - the fire raged about half an hour - axes were set to work & bore up the roof - the water thrown on the burning parts which soon got extinguished - it appears that the clothing in the Temple was being washed - & dried in the upper Room - the stove got over heated - the wood work caught fire - & burned from the railing to the ridge about 16 feet north and south and about 10 feet east and west - the shingles on the north side were broken through in many places - the damage to that part is about 100 dollars but other damage was also done in the anxiety to put out the fire - when it was completely extinguished the Saints gave glory to God and shouted Hallelujah which made the air rejoice - during the fire some of the Troops tried to force their passage into the Temple but were prevented by the Brethren who stood in the door way - when the fire was out Pres. B. Young sent word for the Brethren to disperse to their homes - and take care that their houses were not set fire as the city was full of devils - at the same time that the Temple was on fire a man and two boys were crossing the River in a small ship, thro the unskillfulness of the man, his boat was in a sinking condition, they leaved to a flat boat on which 20 or 30 of the Brethren were crossing - who veered round to help them the wind being high the boat began to fill - they succeeded in rescuing the man and two boys - as quick as they were on board, a wicked man squinted some tobacco juice into the eyes of an ox which kicked and plunged in the River, dragging with him another Ox, who, as he went over the side, knocked a plank off the side of the boat - when the water began to flow in - they heaved for the side & as they reached it - Hoses had leaved off - the boat went to the bottom with its cargo - several of the Brethren were picked up in an exhausted condition - all were rescued - a yoke of oxen attached to Bro. Thomas Grover's waggon went to the bottom and were drowned - after some time they & the waggon were got out - a few things were lost -

This evening I received an order from D<sup>r</sup> Willard Richards for 270 days pay at 150 per day - he said he had consulted with Pres. Young about it, that I was deserving it, & it was my right & I should have it - he has also given me a strong recommend to the new Trustees as follows

Naumoo February 7. 1846

To Almon W. Bullock the Trustees

You will please receive into your office and employ, my long tried, and confidential clerk, Thomas Bullock, help him to make sale of his property and forward him and family to me as speedily as possible unless public business should crowd upon you, so that you should specially need his services.

By Council of President Brigham Young  
and oblige your servant

Willard Richards

Sharp Post

An entire page (p. 15) from Thomas Bullock's journal.  
These entries cover the period of 5-9 February 1846.



the clothing in the Temple was being washed and dried in the upper room. The stove got over heated. The wood work caught fire and burned from the railing to the ridge about 16 feet North and South and about 10 feet East and West. The shingles on the north side were broken through in many places. The damage to that part is about 100 dollars but other damage was also done in the anxiety to put out the fire. When it was completely extinguished the Saints gave glory to God and shouted Hallelujah which made the air rejoice. During the fire some of the Troops tried to force their passage into the Temple but were prevented by the Brethren who stood in the door way. When the fire was out Pres. B. Young sent word for the brethren to disperse to their homes and take care that their houses were not set fire as the city was full of devils. At the same time that the Temple was on fire a man and two boys were crossing the River in small skiff. Thro' the unskilfulness of the man, his boat was in a sinking condition. They hailed to a flat boat on which 20 or 30 of the brethren were crossing who veered round to help them. The wind being high the boat began to fill. They succeeded in rescuing the man and two boys. As quick as they were on board, a wicked man squirted some tobacco juice into the eyes of an ox which kicked and plunged in the River, dragging with him another ox, who, as he went over the side, knocked a plank off the side of the boat when the water began to flow in. They steered for the side and as they reached it, Hosea Stout leaped off. The boat went to the bottom with its cargo. Several of the brethren were picked up in an exhausted condition. All were rescued. A yoke of oxen attached to a bro. Thomas Grover's<sup>127</sup> waggon went to the bottom and were drowned. After some time they and the waggon were got out. A few things were lost.<sup>128</sup> This evening I received an order from Dr. Willard Richards for 270 days pay at 1.50 per day. He said he had counselled with Pres. Young about it, that I was deserving it, and it was my right and I should have it. He has also given me a strong recommend to the new Trustees as follows:

Nauvoo February 7, 1846

To Almon W. Babbit and Trustees

You will please receive into your office and employ, my long tried, and confidential clerk, Thomas Bullock. Help him to make sale of his property and forward him and family to me as speedily as possible unless public business should crown upon you so that you should specially need his services.

By Council [*sic*] of President Brigham Young and oblige your servant,

Willard Richards

Sharp frost. [page 15]

---

<sup>127</sup>Thomas Grover (1807–1886), born at Whitehall, New York, was baptized in 1834. He became a member of the Nauvoo High Council in 1839 and the Nauvoo Legion in 1841 (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 259).

<sup>128</sup>Understandably, Bullock's account of this complicated incident is a little confused. Hosea Stout was on a boat that was unable to turn around to help the sinking skiff. Another ferry with about twenty



**Tuesday 10** A steam boat went down the River this a.m. I was assisting Dr. in continuing his packing up. At 3 PM went on the Temple. Saw the place where the fire was yesterday. Had a view all round—a most delightful view. I am heartily glad that the fire was put out with so little damage; That it the Temple yet stands as a monument of God's mercy; That thousands can yet go on the top and see the vast extent of Country. At night I heard a comfortable chat with Dr., bro Rogers<sup>129</sup> from Sandwich Islands, Wm. Kay<sup>130</sup> and others. Bro Rogers told of the attempt on the Prophet's Life by Wm. Law and some dozen others 3 or 4 years ago<sup>131</sup> and of the manners and customs of the Sandwich People.<sup>132</sup> My cow having been badly worried last week by a dog, calved this day two beautiful calves, which were unfortunately dead. This is the effect of bad dogs and bad boys. Light rain at night, frost in morning.

**Wednesday 11** Went to office. Sent to Orson Hydes house twice, to Pres. Joseph Young's once for a letter that was sealed and I delivered to J. Young. He called in the office, and among other things, the Dr. told him to use his influence in my favor to be in the Temple office, that I was the oldest clerk, was fully competent, and that it was my place and right and that whenever he wanted me for the Spiritual affairs to use me. I received orders to attend the Temple at dusk every night to pray and take minutes of the proceedings. Very cold wind blowing NW. Staid in office till 5 p.m. then went to the Temple, prayed, and took minutes. Came out about 7 then went to Music Hall to my Quorum. Spoke a few minutes urging the necessity of prayer and to stand firm to their faith. I gave a toast "Heres a health to every man of the 27th Quorum who will follow their Leaders come Life come Death" and after enjoying ourselves, separated. I went home with brother and sister Mead.

---

people on board saw the situation of those in the skiff and saved them. It was aboard this ferry that the oxen went overboard. The ferry which Stout was on also began to sink and barely reached land (Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 1:113–14, 117).

<sup>129</sup>Noah Rogers (1797–1846), born in Bethlehem, Connecticut, presided over the Society Islands Mission 1844–1845. Rogers was instrumental in establishing the work on Tahiti, Huahine, and Tooboui. He returned to Nauvoo on 29 December 1845 in time for the general exodus of the Saints (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 4:377; and *Times and Seasons* 6 [15 February 1845]: 812–14; 6 [1 January 1846]: 1085–87).

<sup>130</sup>William Kay, Jr. (1811–1875), born in Lancashire, England, was baptized in 1837, served as a missionary in England, and finally immigrated to America in 1844 (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 4:549).

<sup>131</sup>William Law (1809–1892) experienced a remarkable rise to power in the Church followed by an equally remarkable fall. From 1841–1844 he was second counselor to Joseph Smith. Toward the end of 1843, he began to show signs of apostasy, associating himself with the enemies of the Church. He was excommunicated on 18 April 1844 (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:53). The incident referred to here occurred not "3 or 4 years ago" but rather at the time of Law's excommunication, when he is reported to have said, "I put pistols in my pockets one night, and went to Joseph Smith's house, determined to blow his infernal brains out, but I could not get the opportunity to shoot him then, but . . . I will shoot him the first opportunity" (*History of the Church* 7:227; see also Lyndon W. Cook, "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," *BYU Studies* 22 [Winter 1982]: 47–72).

<sup>132</sup>Bullock's referral here to the Sandwich Islands appears to be inaccurate. Whether he remembered it wrong or whether Rogers incorrectly referred to the region of his mission (Society Islands in the South Pacific) as the Sandwich Islands is not clear. It might be that Rogers had spent some time in the Hawaiian Islands and was simply relating his experiences there. The Latter-day Saint mission to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) was not founded until the late 1850s (see Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1986], 3–20).



**Thursday 12** At office until 5 assisting Dr. when I went to the Temple to pray. 13 met and Pres. Joseph Young prayed<sup>133</sup> after which 15 bottles of oil were consecrated. fine day. I was this day informed that Green Wilson was the rascal who set the dog to worry my cow. This has been a bad name for my neighbor's. One /Barlow/ Wilson allowed his cattle to destroy my corn twice or thrice and lied in the bargain and then abused me and my family. Another Wilson (Wellington) has got my strayed cow and threatened my life if I took my own property home. And now Green Wilson sets his dog [which] worries my cow causing it a premature delivery of two pretty heifer calves, both dead, and my old cow itself is near dead not having eaten any thing since. May the Lord deliver me from such neighbors in a new country.

**Friday 13** Henrietta was very sick in bed this day. Vomiting much in the morning. My cow very ill. And washing day so I staid at home to attend to my family and carry water for Lucy. Jane Rushton sent word she should not come because I did not treat her well the cause of complaint being because I would not give her and Frederick my /\$450./ house and lot. She is as ungrateful as a person can be. She thinks nothing of the scores of dollars that I have paid for her and her family, the months that I have kept them, nor of the nails that she has stolen from me, &c &c. She is also mad because I will not pay for their expenses to the West. I remember "that a burnt child dreads the fire." At past 11 the Dr. sent for me dead or alive. I went and took an account of the goods that was packed in the last Waggon and went with it down to the River. Saw it ferried on the Mississippi then returned to the Drs. house. Staid till dusk then went to the Temple to pray. 27 met. Trueman O. Angel<sup>134</sup> prayed. I was unwell. They prayed for me and wife. Fine day.

**Saturday 14** I was unwell. In bed much of the day. At 5 I went to the Temple to pray. 21 met. Snow storm commenced in the night. Snowed /nearly/ all day. Ground covered a considerable depth.

**Sunday 15** At home until 5 when I went up to the Temple to pray. We assembled in the Upper Room at 6. 29 assembled for prayer and Benjamin L. Clapp<sup>135</sup> was leader. L went to see her sister and brother off. Dr. R. crossed the River this p.m. Frosty night.

**Monday 16** At home until about 3 p.m. when I went to the Temple office. Cast up my account. Entered 405 dollars to my credit, leaving about 180

---

<sup>133</sup>Subsequent entries seem to indicate that these prayer meetings were in the form of prayer circles (see n. 172).

<sup>134</sup>Truman O. Angell (1810–1887), brother-in-law to Brigham Young, was born at Providence, Rhode Island, and baptized in 1833. He was a carpenter, joiner, and architect and had been recently appointed Church Architect after the departure of William Weeks. In this capacity, he oversaw the final stages of the temple construction (Paul L. Anderson, "Truman O. Angell: Architect and Saint," in *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker [Provo: Religious Study Center, 1985], 133–73).

dollars due to me. At dusk went to the Temple to pray. 27 assembled. After meeting was over, we all agreed to assemble at sunset for the future. Heard<sup>136</sup> that the Trustees had sold 25,000 worth of property, 10,000 in cash 15,000 in goods; that the agent is in town and the purchasers were gone to Kentucky after the means; that the brethren were to go by steam boats to the Council Bluffs that were not provided with teams. Frosty night. [page 16]

## Feb. 1846

**Tuesday 17** At home writing &c till about 4 when I went to the Temple office. Saw F. D. Richards, conversed with him in the office. Brother J. Whitehead<sup>137</sup> brought out a jug of Wine for I [myself] and L. Staid till sunset, then went up to the Temple to pray. [blank] assembled. Abel Lamb<sup>138</sup> prayed in No. 1 Room. After prayer I called at brother Martin's house. Lucy was there. Mr. Clayton said that a letter had been received from Hoge (the Senator)<sup>139</sup> saying that Congress allowed that the "Mormons" had a right to remove out of the United States if they pleased and that the U.S. would not hinder them. This is the first time that the U.S. have graciously given leave for the Saints to go where they pleased. Mem[o]: because they could not help themselves.

The burnt part of the roof of the Temple was this day relaid and covered over with lead. The plastering is not yet put on. Many persons came to see the Temple and go to the top of the tower. J. B. Backenstos is in town and says, that the Governors and authorities will not molest the Saints in their removal from Nauvoo. It would be a strange act to burn out, drive and shoot the Saints, and try to exterminate them, and because the Saints are driven from their own firesides into the wilderness and then attempt to stop them from going. Frosty night.

**Wednesday 18** Went with Lucy to assist William [Clayton] to pack up his goods. Went with James [Clayton] to fetch another waggon. They not going to day. I called at the Temple office on my way home. At sunset I went to the Temple to pray. [blank] present. 1/4 to 7 called at Wm. Clayton's for Henrietta, Lucy and J. B. Backenstos. Went to the Masonic Hall where the 27 Quorum met. Transacted the business, then recreation,

<sup>135</sup>Benjamin L. Clapp (1814–1860), born in Alabama, was baptized in 1835 and was one of the presidents of the Eighth Quorum of Seventies before being set apart as one of the First Seven Presidents of the Seventy in 1845 (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:195; and Black, Membership 9:725–26).

<sup>136</sup>Underlined in the original.

<sup>137</sup>James Whitehead (1813–1898), a native of Fulwood, England, had been an assistant to William Clayton in the recorder's office since June 1842. He was a high priest (Black, Membership 45:764).

<sup>138</sup>Abel Lamb (1801–1874), baptized in 1833, was born at Rowe, Massachusetts. A high priest, he was appointed stake president over the Mount Hope Stake in 1840. In 1844, he was appointed to preach in Illinois as a missionary. In October 1844, he was called to preside over a branch of the Church (Black, Membership 27:201–5; and *History of the Church* 4:233, 6:340, 7:305).

<sup>139</sup>Joseph P. Hoge (1810–1891) was born in Ohio and in 1836 moved to Galena, Illinois, where he gained prominence as a lawyer. In 1842, he had been elected to Congress supposedly with the help of the Latter-day Saint vote and was currently serving his one and only term in office (Clayton, *Illinois Fact Book*, 103).



dancing, and singing. We left 1/4 to 1 in the morning. Pleasant walk home. Fine day.

**Thursday 19** Snow storm in the early part of the morning and continued all day. I was unwell and in bed great part of the day. Did not go to meeting this night.

**Friday 20** Snow drifted a considerable height, sharp frost. Ice running in the river again. H. C. Kimball and B. Young came over the river to day. I went to the Temple at 12. Got some flour, returned home, and at 5 went to the Temple to pray 13/9/ met. F. D. Richards prayed. He prayed for the recovery of my health and family and for peace. After prayer went home much refreshed. Pres. B. Young, H. C. Kimball, and O. Hyde in the Temple. Deep snow.

**Saturday 21** About 11 I went to the Temple office and there saw Pres. Young and Kimball. Shook hands. They were very lively. It does me good to see them again. 1/2 past 12 returned home. At 4 went to the Temple office. Staid till sunset then went to the Temple to pray. 12 met. Wm. Felshaw prayed.<sup>140</sup> In the Temple saw that the roof is not yet plastered where burnt. Snow deep. Ice running in the River. Returned home met Stephen Nixon who had been at my house relating a dream.

**Sunday 22** At 10 I went to the Temple with Henrietta, Lucy, and Fanny. O. Hyde was to preach. When the meeting was opened and bro Clapp was praying, the floor settled down to the tressels about one inch which caused much fright and confusion. Some jumped up to the windows and began to smash them. One fellow, Uriel Chittenden Nickerson,<sup>141</sup> smashed thro' the east window, jumped thro' and hurt his arm. He is a Strangite.<sup>142</sup> Several other windows were smashed and persons jumped out. Great alarm was created altho' there was not the least danger. In the midst of the uproar Pres. B. Young called out for the Saints to adjourn to the Grove. All went. When meeting was again called to order B. Clapp prayed, O. Hyde preached and B. Young followed (see my minutes). We then went to Wm. Clayton's. Staid an hour when James drove us up home in the carriage. At 5 I went to the Temple. Went to the top and round the tower twice, then descended to the architects room. 25 met. Wandle Mace<sup>143</sup> prayed. Returned home

<sup>140</sup>William Felshaw (1800–1867), born in Granville, New York, was baptized in 1832. A member of the Fourth Ward, he was also a seventy in the Seventieth Quorum of the Seventies. Felshaw married Mary Harriet Gilbert. As a contractor and builder, he helped in the construction of the Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake Temples (Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 869; and Black, Membership 16:117–21).

<sup>141</sup>Uriel Chittendon Hatch Nickerson (1810–1888), baptized in 1833, was born at Cavendish, Vermont. He married Mary Ann Richardson in April 1834. Nickerson actually broke his arm because of his fall (Black, Membership 32:653–64; and *History of the Church* 7:594).

<sup>142</sup>A follower of James J. Strang (see n. 154).

<sup>143</sup>Wandle Mace (1809–1890), from Johnstown, New York, was baptized in 1837 after the miraculous healing of his son by P. P. Pratt. A skilled wheelwright, Mace settled in Quincy, Illinois, in 1838, moving to Nauvoo in 1842. Here he designed all of the wooden framing used in the construction of the Nauvoo Temple, the Nauvoo House, and the Arsenal. He was also a member of the Nauvoo Legion (*Biography of Wandle Mace as Told to Rebecca E. H. Mace, His Second Wife* [Salt Lake City: William M. Mace, 1961], Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University).

with bro. F. D. Richards. Received much good instruction this day which causes me to rejoice. Pres. Young and Kimball crossed the river this evening to Camp. Ice running. Sharp frost.

**Monday 23** At 12 I went to bro Wm. Clayton's. Copied some songs. At 4 went to Levi Richards.<sup>144</sup> Staid [page 17] till 5. I then met bro. A. W. Babbitt who ordered me to the Trustees office. I went. Bish. Heywood told me that a person was wanted to go and get subscribers for the Nauvoo Newspaper<sup>145</sup> and asked me if I would do it. I told him I was willing to do any thing. At sundown I went to the Temple to pray. 28 present. F. D. Richards prayed. I went part way home with him and had agreeable conversation. Went home. I supped alone, H and L being gone out visiting to S. Nixon's. This day at 3 the river closed up at the Upper Steam Mill for the second time this winter.

**Tuesday 24** At 12 I went to the Temple office. Staid there all p.m. Heard that the Pioneers started this day with about 50 waggons. The camp will move away tomorrow. At sundown went to the Temple to pray. 26 met.

**Wednesday 25** At home till about 2 then I, H and L went to Mother Rushton's. Had supper. Then went to Temple. 32 met. After prayer ret'd. to Mother Rushton's. Sang awhile. Then went home.

**Report.** Chester Loveland<sup>146</sup> came from Carthage and said Major Warren had recd. a lte [letter] from Sugar Creek signed by W. Richards by order of Pres. Young sayg. they had left the States and wou. return when they pleased and the Govr. cou. not help himself &c.

**Thursday 26** [blank]

**Friday 27** About 9 went down to Wms., but he had started for the Camp. Then called on Sis Ann Fox who with Lucy crossed on the ice over the River with me. Saw Wms. Company which left Montrose. Then we returned with Father Clayton. Went to his house. Staid till about 3. Went to the Temple office. Saw Babbitt who wanted me to get subscribers to the newspaper the Eagle.<sup>147</sup> Went to the Temple to pray. Then took with

<sup>144</sup>Levi Richards (1799–1876), older brother of Willard, was born in Hopkinton, Massachusetts. He became a skillful physician while in New York and after joining the Church nursed Joseph Smith back to health in early 1837. After a three-year mission to England, Levi became a member of the Nauvoo City Council and surgeon-general of the Nauvoo Legion. He was also in the Council of Fifty (Whitney, *History of Utah* 4:445–48; and Quinn, "Council of Fifty," 195).

<sup>145</sup>This newspaper would actually be called the *Hancock Eagle* (see n. 147).

<sup>146</sup>Chester Loveland (1817–1866) was born in Madison, Ohio, and baptized in 1837 (Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 2:236).

<sup>147</sup>In March, attempts were made to begin a new "gentile" paper in Nauvoo. The *Hancock Eagle*, as it was called, appears to have been an attempt by "Jack-Mormons" (originally a nonmember sympathizer) to create sympathy for the Latter-day Saints and entice them to remain in Nauvoo. The first issue appeared 3 April 1846, and the paper continued until the death of its manager, Dr. William E. Matlack, around the end of August. Although the paper claimed to be a "Democratic" sheet, it became embroiled in the political turmoil of the frontier and actually resulted in further harm to the remaining Latter-day Saints (Thomas Gregg, *History of Hancock County, Illinois* [Chicago: Chase C. Chapman & Co., 1880], 347).



faintness, sweating, chilling &c same as I was about 9 years ago. The brethren laid hands on me, anointed me, and rebuked it in the name of the Lord. Got better. Went to Mr. Clayton's. Staid by the fire till about 9 then went home. This day I can say I have walked over the greatest River in N America, even the Father of Waters. Wrote and sent a letter to Father Richards by Lyman Whitney.<sup>148</sup>

**Saturday 28** I was in bed all day sick. John and Ellen Clayton called for Lucy to go to Carthage. They left about 2 without her. This p.m. Cottam shot a Mr. Gardiner. He had first ran away with his b's wife, and when Gardiner went for his Wife, Cottam shot him thro' the bladder. They all lived in the north part of the City.<sup>149</sup>

**Sunday March 1 [1846]** Dreamed about new Temple, the dead, sealing, kingdom &c &c, driving a big restive grey mare and anor.[another] mare. At 1/4 after 9 a.m. F. D. Richards called on me to go over to the camp with him. After we partook of breakfast we started on our journey. Again walked on the Mississippi River. Got to camp about 1/2 past 12. Saw Pres. Young, Dr. Richards &c. Asked Dr. about letter to Major Warren. No letter ever written from the camp to him. Gave him Wm. Smith's letter, taking a copy of it for Lewis Robbins<sup>150</sup> in the tent. Dr. gave me orders not to have any thing to do with the newspaper and if new Trustees woud. not take me into the office, for me to hang about, collect history and record it, [and] to come as quick as I could to him. He gave me directions about making my tent. Wanted me to go with him if I could, but as I could not leave my family, he pressed on me to prepare and follow him quickly. Left at 3. Report. John E. Page<sup>151</sup> turned Strangite. Preached a Strang Sermon and O. Hyde whipt him on every argument he had brought forward. Joseph Young read the letter from the 12,<sup>152</sup> after which J. E. Page was disfellowshipped. Returning crossed the Mississippi as the sun was setting. I prayed that as all the brethren had now crossed the River in safety,

<sup>148</sup>Possibly Clark Lyman Whitney (Black, Membership 45:932).

<sup>149</sup>Although the details of this incident are unclear, the *Warsaw Signal* reported the following: "We learn that on Saturday last a man by the name of Gardner, was shot, in Nauvoo by a Mormon named Cotton and instantly killed. The cause of the difficulty was this: —Gardner, who is not a Mormon, has a wife belonging to the Church. She wished to emigrate with the Saints, but her husband would not go along. She, therefore left him and took up with Cotton. —This led to the quarrel which terminated in the death of Gardner" (4 March 1846).

<sup>150</sup>Lewis Robbins (1811–1864), from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, was baptized in 1832. He was a seventy in the Nauvoo Third Ward. He married Frances Smith (Black, Membership 37:31–34).

<sup>151</sup>John E. Page (1799–1867), originally from Trenton Township, New York, was baptized in 1833. He was ordained an Apostle in 1838. Becoming disillusioned with the Church leadership under Brigham Young, Page by early 1846 began flirting with "Strangism" and on 9 February 1846 was informally disfellowshipped in a letter issued by the Twelve Apostles (see n. 152). Page was excommunicated in late June 1846 (John Quist, "John E. Page: An Apostle of Uncertainty," *Journal of Mormon History* 12 [1985]: 53–68).

<sup>152</sup>This letter, dated 9 February 1846, said in part, "Dear Brethren and Sisters— We take this opportunity to say to you, that we have no fellowship with Elder John E. Page, in consequence of his murmuring [*sic*] disposition, and choosing to absent himself from our Councils. . . . Now, beloved brethren, you are not bound to look to him as one of the Twelve apostles, for he hath yielded himself up to temptation, and he cannot resist the spirit of apostacy which inspires him to find fault with the organization of the Church" (Elden J. Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846–1847* [Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1971], 31).



that the ice might go away and the River be opened for the steam boats /this week/. Arrived at home very tired about 7. A beautiful day.

**Monday 2** At home till mp 11. Went to Temple office. Saw A W. Babbit and told him the Drs. orders. He said there had been no order to take me in the office &c. I told him I had delivered to Bishop Heywood Dr. Richards written order signed by council [*sic*] of B. Young. He replied that he took no notice of any order from Dr. R. or any one else except Pres. Young and the old Trustees. So it appears the greatest must stoop to the lower. In the evening at home carrying water &c for washing. At sunset went to Temple to pray. Gave the copy of Wm. Smith's letter to Lewis Robbins. do.

**Tuesday 3** H. and Lucy left home while I was milking my cow and went to her mothers. At 1/2 past 12 I went to the Temple office. At 1 John E. Page having given out that a revelation would be read about going to California. I went and took minutes of his and Savage<sup>153</sup> discourse. When El. O. Hyde got up and knocked every one of their agruments in the head and ordered Savage to go to Voorhee and tell them [followers of Strang] they wod. be damd and then go to the West (see my minutes). At 1/2 past 4 closed. Then went to Temple to pray. do. [page 18]

### March 1846

**Wednesday 4** I was at home all day putting in order my Secretaire etc. Staid till sundown when I went to the Temple to pray. [*blank*] prayed. I procured a copy of J. J. Strang's<sup>154</sup> anathemas on the Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ, Pres. Joseph Young having brought it to the Temple. L. at bro. Whiteheads. Beautiful day.

**Thursday 5** At 11 this morning I was visited at my house by G. D. Watt, Henry Royle,<sup>155</sup> Matilda Royle,<sup>156</sup> and Sister Green. They staid about an hour. I copied Strang's anathemas. Compared Hyde and Page's discourse. At 5 went to the Temple office and saw the last piece out of 1621 [pounds of?] pork all gone. None for me as usual. I trust that at the next Stake of Zion there will be more equality, and that I shall have my portion.

<sup>153</sup>Jehiel Savage (1808–1868), born in Upper Canada, was a seventy in the Church. He later joined the Reorganized Church (Black, Membership 38:325–26).

<sup>154</sup>James J. Strang (1813–1856), originally from Scipio, New York, moved to Wisconsin, where he heard of the Latter-day Saints and their city of Nauvoo. He was baptized by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo shortly before the latter's death. After the Martyrdom, Strang claimed that Joseph had promised him the keys to the kingdom. The Apostles quickly denounced Strang as an imposter, and he was excommunicated 26 August 1844. In April 1846, Strang officially organized his church and was building up his kingdom on Mackinac Island in Lake Michigan. His followers were made up mostly of disaffected Latter-day Saints like George Miller, John C. Bennett, George J. Adams, and William McLellin. Strang later had himself crowned king but by the mid-1850s, apostasy and dissension threatened to break up his kingdom. In 1856, Strang was assassinated by some of his disillusioned followers (Lawrence Foster, "James J. Strang: The Prophet Who Failed," *Church History* 50 [June 1981]: 182–92; and Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang* [Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988]).

<sup>155</sup>Henry Royle (1813–1852), a native of Cheshire, England, was baptized in 1839. After immigrating to Nauvoo, he moved into a house in Bullock's neighborhood (Black, Membership 37:905–6; and James L. Kimball, Jr., Church Historical Department).

<sup>156</sup>Matilda Braddock Royle, originally from Bedford, England, was one of Henry's wives, probably his first. She was born in 1828 (Black, Membership 6:489).



The snow nearly all gone and the river nearly open. Went to the Temple to pray. [blank] prayed. Came back with brother Mead. Staid at the end of his house talking very agreeably [for] sometime. do.

**Friday 6** I dreamed of taking a mission to Africa and Asia and of travelling round the world. I regulated my corn both up stairs and down. At 5 went to the Temple to pray. [blank] prayed. Ice running in the river. After prayer went to Mr. Clayton's, staid till 9 when Lucy returned home with me. do.

**Saturday 7** I copied three Songs for Wm. Standing.<sup>157</sup> Went with them to Mr. Clayton's. Gave them to him. Mr. Clayton came with me as far as G. A. Smith's old house. Ice running in the river. And in the evening there were three Steam Boats opposite Nauvoo, puffing off their Steam. This answers prayer of last Sunday. Pigeons flying north in great numbers. do.

**Reports:** John Taylor going to preach his last Mormon Sermon tomorrow being on his way to Nauvoo for that purpose; that Hosea Stout has shot Pres. B. Young and was fastened to a tree, B. Young being dead and great excitement in the Camp. Many of the police left the Camp.

**Sunday 8** At 10 I went to the Stand when O. Hyde read a letter from B. Young Pres. W. Richards Clerk. 53 miles from Nauvoo on Indian Creek. All well and in good spirits, which upsets all the lying reports of the 6 and 7th. After which O. Hyde preached (see my minutes) on the organization of the Church.<sup>158</sup> Had much power upon him. Then introduced Luke Johnson<sup>159</sup> to the congregation, who made confession, wished to be, and go with the Saints to the West. A vote was taken when all hands were held up on favor of his return at which he was so affected that he wept in concert with many, many others. At 5 he was again baptized by O. Hyde in the Mississippi River with 3 others and confirmed in the Attic Story of the House of the Lord at 7 p.m. in the presence of several. And an exhortation was given by El. Hyde. At Sunset I went up to the Temple to pray. We again met in No. 1 Room of the Attic Story, where the Spirit of God rested down upon us. El. Hyde came in to our midst after confirming Luke Johnson. We partook of Sacrament according to the Ancient Pattern, and I thank my heavenly Father for this great privilege,

<sup>157</sup>William Standing was born in 1821 at Lancaster, England. In 1821 he moved with his family to Preston, where his entire family was baptized in 1838. In February 1841 he sailed for Nauvoo aboard the *Sheffield*. He stopped in St. Louis, where he got married. In 1845 he finally moved to Nauvoo, where in June he was ordained to the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies. He was later excommunicated after he "became rich and dropt [sic] Mormonism" (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 7, 36; and Black, Membership 41:184).

<sup>158</sup>More specifically, Hyde's sermon was an impassioned denunciation of Strangism. He picked apart Strang's revelations and compared them to the revelations in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. He remarked, "I tell you Strangism has no grounds it is blown to the 4 winds. . . . Mr. Strang says that J. Smith is the Shepherd c [and] Stone of Israel—the Doc [and] Covt. says Jesus is? Which will ye have the old book or the new one—the old)—[said by congregation]" (Bullock Minutes, Typescript, 17–18).

<sup>159</sup>Luke Johnson (1807–1861), born in Pomfret, Vermont, was baptized in 1831 by Joseph Smith. Ordained an Apostle in 1835, Johnson by 1837 had become alienated from the Prophet and was finally excommunicated in December 1838. After teaching school in Virginia and practicing medicine in Kirtland, Johnson came to Nauvoo and was rebaptized on this occasion by his brother-in-law, Orson Hyde (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 110–11).



prayer - went to Mr. Clayton's, staid till 9 when Lucy returned home with me  
 day 7 I copied three songs for Wm. Standing, went with them to Mr. Clayton's, gave them to him - Mr. Clayton  
 came with me as far as G. A. Smith's old house - ice running in the river - and in the evening there  
 were three steam boats opposite Nauvoo, puffing off their steam - this answers prayer of last Sunday -  
 Pigeons flying north in great numbers  
 Reports John Taylor going to preach his last sermon tomorrow, being on his way to Nauvoo for that  
 purpose - that Hiram Hunt has shot Pres. 13 young, and was fastened to a tree - 13 young being dead,  
 and great excitement in the camp - many of the Police left the camp -  
 day 8 at 10 I went to the stand when O. Hyde read a letter from 18 young Pres. W. Richards Cash.  
 53 miles from Nauvoo, on Indian Creek - all well, and in good spirits, which upsets all the lying  
 reports of the b. c. after which O. Hyde preached (see my minutes) on the organization of the Church -  
 had much power upon him - then introduced Luke Johnson to the congregation, who made  
 confession, united to be, & go with the Saints to the West - a vote was taken when all hands were  
 held up in favor of his return, at which he was so affected that he wept, in concert with many  
 among others - at 5 he was again baptized, by O. Hyde in the Mississippi River with 3 others,  
 and confirmed in the Anni story of the House of the Lord at 7 P. M. in the presence of several, &  
 an exhortation was given by O. Hyde - at sunset I went up to the temple to pray - we again met  
 in the 1st room of the Anni story, where the Spirit of God rested down upon us - O. Hyde came in  
 to our midst after confirming Luke Johnson - we partook of sacrament according to the ancient  
 pattern, and I thank my heavenly Father for this great privilege, and the instruction I received - (14)  
 Pigeons flying in great numbers to the north - at 2 P. M. William Smith landed in Nauvoo  
 with a parcel of drunken rowdies who commenced firing guns in the air, and creating a  
 disturbance and alarm - as he was passing along the Street he saw Sister Phelps standing in  
 her garden, he went up to her and said how do you do Sister Phelps, offering his hand to her - she replied  
 hastily, don't Sister Phelps me! it is divine that not a single person took any notice of him -  
 this P. M. John E. Page after preaching a begging sermon, opposite David Avery's house, W. L. S. Nicholson  
 sitting with a large bundle of books before him on a table - sent the last round for a collection, which was  
 returned with a few coppery buttons, chips & bits of stick. Being so much for the effects of apostasy -  
 also reported that Nephus beach since President of 27 Livornum had come out last night in a prayer  
 meeting for saving the deceiver -  
 day 9 Pigeons still flying in large numbers to the north - this morning George Wadde left Nauvoo  
 having lived here since 25 Oct last without panics ...

Two entries from p. 18 of Thomas Bullock's journal. The 8 March 1846 entry reports on a letter from Brigham Young to the Saints still in Nauvoo and on the return of Luke Johnson to the Church.



and the instruction I received.(14) Pigeons flying in great numbers to the North. At 2 p.m. William Smith landed in Nauvoo with a parcel of drunken rowdies who commenced firing guns in the air and creating a disturbance and alarm. As he was passing along the Street he saw Sister Phelps standing in her garden. He went up to her and said how do you do Sister Phelps, offering his hand to her. She replied sharply, dont Sister Phelps me! It is said that not a single person took any notice of him. This p.m. John E. Page after preaching a begging Sermon opposite Daniel Avery's house, and U. C. Nickerson sitting with a large bundle of books before him on a table, sent the hat round for a collection, which was returned with a few coppers, buttons, chips and bits of stick being so much for the effects of apostacy. Also reported that Rufus Beach Senior President of 27 Quorum had come out last night in a prayer meeting for Strang the deceiver. do.

**Monday 9** Pigeons still flying in large numbers to the north. This morning George Wardle left my house having lived here since 25 Oct. last, without paying any rent. When he came he promised to find fodder for my cow &c., but he has not done it. His 3 cattle have eaten up my fodder and now all is gone and my cow very poor. He having also told things out of my house and caused me much uneasiness [which] drove me to order him out of my house. He has behaved bad to me, being a liar. And I am now thankful I am rid of him. After he went I set to work to clean out my upper room which was very dirty. At 5 I went to the Temple to pray. 11 prayed. I and C. A. Mead then called on Secretary Mackintosh<sup>160</sup> to notify him not to give up the Record Book to Beech which he promised to do. Then went home. do.

**Tuesday 10** I wrote three notices calling the 27 Quorum together on Sunday morning next. Gave one to C. A. Mead, posted one on Temple office, another on the Guard house. When at the office Bishop Heywood gave me an [page 19] order on Trueman O. Angel for my four boxes and tent poles. While going to the Temple 9 of the Troops passed, having guarded the great Francis M. Higbee<sup>161</sup> into the City. To such a degraded pitch are the United States militia reduced. After prayer meeting /(12)/ in the Temple, I went to Mr. Clayton's. Walked with Lucy sometime. J. B. Backenstos called at Mr. Clayton's this evening. rainy day.

**Report:** John E. Page, William Smith, and Hiram Stratton<sup>162</sup> held a council in J. E. P[age]'s house this p.m.

<sup>160</sup>Daniel McIntosh (1800–1860), a native of Galvine, Scotland, was trained in the “Grocery, Tea, Wine, & spirit trade.” He later moved to Edinburgh, where in 1841 he was baptized. On 2 February 1845, McIntosh married Elisabeth Hogg and two weeks later they sailed for America. They arrived in Nauvoo in May, and in June McIntosh was ordained to the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies and became the quorum secretary (Record of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum, 15; and E.C.I.F.).

<sup>161</sup>Francis M. Higbee (b. 1820), baptized in 1832, was a member of the Nauvoo Second Ward when he was excommunicated for apostasy. He was one of the disaffected editors of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, which was destroyed by the Nauvoo Legion in June 1844 after the City Council had declared the anti-Mormon press a nuisance. Sheriff Backenstos and Willard Richards both identified Higbee as one of the assassins (*History of the Church* 7:130; and Black, Membership 22:700).

<sup>162</sup>Stratton, another “Strangite,” was born in 1812 at Windham Co., Vermont. He was ordained to the First Quorum of the Seventy. He, like so many others, had become disaffected from Brigham Young and the Twelve. Nothing is known of his later life (E.C.I.F.; and *History of the Church* 2:204).



**Wednesday 11** At home till 2 then went to Daniel McIntosh about some goods and the records. Went from there with some flour in very heavy rain. Waded thro' a pool of water to Mrs. Clayton's. Staid till sundown. Then went to the Temple to pray. 8. Returned at 7 to Mrs. Clayton's. Staid till after 9 when Lucy walked about home with me in good spirits. When in the Temple the brethren prayed for me and my family that I might be able to govern and put all things in order, which I feel will be so. Dull day, heavy rain.

**Thursday 12** At home all day putting my fence in good order. Staid till sundown, then went to Temple. Returned thanks that last nights prayer was answered on my head. /9 present. I president./ Heard that C. W. Wandell<sup>163</sup> had written the supposed record of Chardolemas which John E. Page preached about on Sunday last and supposed to be translated by J. J. Strang.<sup>164</sup> So easily can men be deceived when they have lost the light of God. Returned to Mrs. Claytons. Staid till 8 when Lucy returned home with me rejoicing. Wet day.

**Friday 13** Clearing up my brush pile in the morning. At 2 p.m. bro. Benson called at my house. Staid an hour then went with me to Brothers Hall, Mead, and Wandell. I then went to Temple office. At 4 with C. E. Bolton in the Blacksmith Shop<sup>165</sup> until sundown. We then went up into the Temple to pray. 14 prayed. Heard that Lawyer Edmonds<sup>166</sup> would allow William Smith to study Law under him if Smith would drop all his Gospel, but not without. Weather cleared up.

**Saturday 14** Last night while lying in my bed, comfortable, I saw a vast range of mountains. A river had been crossed and I saw the waggon pass up round a mountain into the hollow of a hill, and again come round the other side of the defile and ascend the road up the other side of the mountain. The waggon appeared to me to be about 8 or 10 rods in advance of each other and /the cavalcade/ must have been several miles in length. The tops of the mountains appeared to reach the clouds, almost perpendicularly, while beneath the road was an immense precipice. The

<sup>163</sup>Charles W. Wandell (1819–1875), baptized in 1837, was born in Courtland, New York. In 1844, he presided over the missionary work in New York. After the Martyrdom, Wandell engaged in river trade as a steamboat officer in St. Louis. He began working with Bullock in the Church Historian's Office 12 March 1845. Wandell also kept an office journal with entries from 9 April 1845 to 26 July 1845. Although it lacks detail, it does corroborate some of Bullock's records (Historian's Office Journal, vols. 1, 2, and 4, 12 March 1845; and Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 3:551–52).

<sup>164</sup>Bullock is probably referring to the record that Strang had recently translated concerning ancient Americans. The "translation" was part of Strang's attempt to prove that he was the lawful successor to Joseph Smith (see Charles K. Backus, *The King of Beaver Island* [Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1882], 22–28, and *passim*).

<sup>165</sup>This would have been the Edwin Webb Blacksmith Shop located on the north side of Parley Street between Granger and Bain streets. Webb was born in 1813 at Hanover, New York, and baptized in 1834. At this time, the blacksmith shop was a key spot in the city. From 1845–1846, Edwin and his brother Chauncey built hundreds of wagons to assist the Saints in their trek west (Holzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo*, 129–30).

<sup>166</sup>George Edmunds was born in New York in 1822. He was an attorney working in an office along with Almon W. Babbitt (1850 Illinois Census).



road appeared scarce wide enough for the waggon to pass, being very narrow. The waggon covers appeared a deal darker, as if they were dirty with use. I involuntarily rose up in my bed and discovered it was a vision and not real. At 9 I went to the office for some turnips, corn and potatoes with Edwin Rushton and ox team and returned home about 12. At sundown while going to the Temple I saw C. W. Wandall who gave me the original (from which a copy was sent to Jehiel Savage) supposed manuscript and his letter to Savage. Went to the Temple to pray. 9 prayed. A letter was received from H. C. Kimball in the camp. Fine day

**Sunday 15** I went with bro Mead to the Temple. Elder Orson Hyde preached on the south side on the organization of the Church and read a Revelation which was given him this morning by the Spirit and distributed them to the congregation (see my minutes).<sup>167</sup> He also stated that as he passed John E. Page this morning, Page told him that he had “had a revelation which makes me ashamed of myself and ashamed of my God.” (This alluded to the revelation which he preached about last Sunday, and C. W. Wandell having been to him this morning and confessed his authorship). How forcibly this explains the scriptures when a man falls from the light, how great is the darkness. After meeting I, Mead, and four others met South of the Stand, and [also] Rufus Beech, having been to Pres. J. Young and confessed his error of Strangism. We were counselled to let his case stand over, to see if Beech will act according to counsel. Then went to Mrs. Claytons where all my family was, dined, and at a 1/4 past 1 went to the 70s Hall. Joseph Young and B. L. Clapp spoke (reported minutes). Returned at 4. At sundown went to the Temple. 14 partook of the Sacrament after which we had a most glorious time. Some of the brethren spoke in tongues. Bro Z. Coltrin<sup>168</sup> and Brown held a talk in tongues which was afterwards interpreted and confirmed. Some prophesied. Bro. Anderson<sup>169</sup> related a vision. And all of us rejoiced with exceeding great gladness. A light was seen flickering over bro. Anderson’s head while relating his vision, Phinehas Richards face shone with great brightness. Two men arrayed all in priestly garments were seen in the n. e. corner of the room. The power of the Holy Ghost rested down upon us. I arose full of the Spirit and spoke with great animation, which was very cheerfully responded to by all, and prophesied of things to come. A brother testified that our meeting was accepted of God. And we continued our meeting until after midnight, which was the most profitable, happy, and glorious

<sup>167</sup> Although I have been unable to locate the full text of this revelation, Bullock’s minutes contain its main points. The revelation, meant as a direct attack on Strangism, authoritatively assured the Saints that God still supported the “priesthood”: “I have made my Church as upon a hill. The Priesthood holds the power and all have been ordained or ought to be. It is necessary that all be ordained. It is necessary that it should rest upon all, not upon men only but upon women also that ye may be all one. Fear not little flock, it is the Father’s good pleasure to give you the Kingdom. It is given to you and power to overcome all things.” The major thrust of Hyde’s discourse was to dispute Strangism and the evils of not following the brethren (Bullock Minutes, 15 March 1846, 1/2 past 10 A.M., 21–24).

<sup>168</sup> Zebedee Coltrin (1804–1887), born in Ovid, New York, was baptized early in 1831. He was ordained a president of the First Quorum of the Seventy in 1835, and in 1841 he became a counselor in the Kirtland Stake Presidency. Moving to Nauvoo in 1842, he later actively campaigned for Joseph Smith as president of the United States (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 75–76).

<sup>169</sup> Probably William Anderson (see n. 203).



meeting I had ever attended in my life, and may the remembrance be deeply rooted in my soul for ever and ever. Beautiful day. [page 20]

### March 1846

**Monday 16** Copied C. W. Wandell's manuscript and letter and about 12 gave him the copy. Went to the Temple office. Returned home and at Sundown went to the Temple to pray. While there heard that last night Chester Loveland was called out of bed by his mother in Law stating that the Temple was again on fire. He dressed as quick as lightning and ran out of doors and saw the Temple all in a blaze. He studied a few seconds, and as it did not appear to consume any, and as there was no others running, he was satisfied it was the glory of God, and again went to bed. Another brother saw the belfry all on a fire at a 1/4 to 10. He ran as hard as he could, but when he came to the Temple he found all dark and secure. About the same time Sister Almira Lamb<sup>170</sup> while in her own room saw a vision of her dead child. It appeared to her in great glory and filled the room with light. She was afraid. It went away and after she was calmed down, her child appeared again to her and told the mother to remove her bones from where they were buried among the Gentiles, and bury them among the Saints, and again disappeared. H dreamed that while walking, two persons came to her and asked H. to allow them to be sealed to me. And L dreamed that I was in a very large bed where 5 were lying with me and another just going to get into bed when L got up to give me some beautiful peaches and wine. Thus was the Spirit, power and glory to God manifest, not only at the Temple while we were there but also in our families for which my soul rejoices exceedingly. After prayer five of us went to lay our hands on Sister Harding who was sick nigh unto death and returned home. Exhorting my family to union and humility that the blessings of God might be manifest unto us. Beautiful day.

**Tuesday 17** Dreamed that some people were building a tower, which they wanted to excel in height the Temple. When I prophesied that when any want to have a building to excel, in height or beauty, the Temple of the Lord it should surely fall and come to naught. It being St. Patrick's day I remembered my pledge to Charles Young Ferguson.<sup>171</sup> Talked of old Ireland and of days gone by. Felt very well. Staid at home till sunset, my family out visiting. Brother Allen brought me a load of fodder. At sunset went to the Temple to pray and heard that Uriel C. Nickerson (a Strangite) said that on Sunday night last the Temple was illuminated from the top of the Belfry to the ground and swore that he saw men passing back and forwards having candles in their hands and wanted to make the people believe that there was a visitation by angels, but they were the Mormons

<sup>170</sup> Almira Merrill Lamb (1807–1865), born at Hartford, Connecticut, was baptized in 1833. She married Abel Lamb (see n. 138) in 1826 and by 1843 had borne him eleven children (Almira Merrill Lamb, Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File; and E.C.I.F.).

<sup>171</sup> Although Bullock spent over two years in Ireland, no record of his life there is presently known. His reference here of a pledge made to Charles Young Ferguson is nebulous at best. The only other mention of Ferguson is in 1844 when Bullock recorded the following: "We remember with kindness our old friend C. Y. Ferguson" (Historian's Office Journal, vol. 1, 21 April 1844).



themselves. Thus has a Strangite born strong testimony of the glory of last Sabbath. Returning home heard frogs singing. Rain at 7, rest fine.

**Wednesday 18** At 10 I went to Mrs. Clayton with milk and butter. From thence to the Temple office. Bishop Heywood promised me that I should go in a company that will start on 1st May and that I should overtake the first company on Bear River where they will stay to rest a while. I also saw Trueman O. Angel who told me that A. W. Babbit had been in his office and had taken away Bishop Heywood's order for my four boxes and set of tent poles. Thus is every obstacle thrown in the way of my following my Father [Willard Richards] and the Twelve. I then went to the Lodge when L. N. Scovil gave me up Albern Allen's note. Then returned home and carried water for my people who were washing. Willard cut another tooth this day (5). At sundown went to the Temple to pray. I was appointed mouth.<sup>172</sup> The Spirit was upon me and we all had a most glorious meeting. The glory of God again resting on the Temple in great power. This day myriads of knats [gnats] made their appearance in columns &c. [Found] the body of Bostwich, who was drowned opposite Fort Madison last Feb. 7. His body was but little decayed, but went fast after being brought out into the open air. Some lightning, frosty night.

**Thursday 19** A thin ice on the water this morning. At 11 I went to the office. Saw Fullmer who was better in answer to prayer. I received a letter from Father in Camp ordering me to be fitted out immediately and to follow the Camp. An order also came from the Council to the Trustees on the same subject. Went to Mr. Clayton's and returned home at 2. At Sundown went to the Temple to pray. A variance of opinions caused a vote to be taken to put an end to a man expressing his opinion. Some unpleasant words passed which were at last settled by begging pardon and shaking hands. Returned home at ep 9. Muddy.

**Friday 20** I went to S. Lippot<sup>173</sup> and ask her to go as an Asst. to California. She sd. she wou. consider and let me know. Then to the Temple. Saw W[ilmer] B[enjamin] Benson. Went with him up to the top of the Tower, on the roof, down to the ground. Saw the baptismal font. Went up one side, down the other. A most beautiful structure when I wished to be baptized for all my dead relatives. From thence to the Temple office and brother Levi's [Richards]. Went with Levi to Susannah's. [page 21]

### Description of my Cattle

**White face** A light brown cow with white face. Belly, feet, hoofs, and end of tail white. About 7 rings on her horns. Right horn small hole bored in

<sup>172</sup>It appears that these nightly prayer sessions were in the form of prayer circles. At these prayer meetings, a "mouth" and a "president" were appointed. The "mouth" uttered the words of the prayer to be repeated by those joining in the circle, and the "president" was the presiding officiator in charge of the ceremony (see D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 [Fall 1978], 79–105).

<sup>173</sup>Susannah Lippot (b. 1806) had been sealed to Willard Richards 6 February 1846. Her husband had passed away in 1844 (Family Group Sheet, Family Ancestral File; and E.C.I.F.).



it underneath. Left ear cropt. Right ear cropt and a piece cut out. Nose speckled with black.

**Cherry** A small red cow. Streak of white under her belly. Blackish hoofs. Left ear slit. Tail cut short. Seven rings on her horns.

**Star** A small red cow. White star on her forehead. Belly white. Small teats. Under part and end of tail white. Inside of both hind knees white. Reddish hoofs. Tips of her horns black. Small horns with three rings. Both ears cropt and left crop slit in it.

**Tom** A black ox with white head and black ears and nose and hoofs. His back, dulap, belly and tail white. Both ears a piece cut out on the underside. About 9 years old. Horns tipt with black.

**Jerry** A red ox with small white star on the left side of his forehead. White streak under his belly. End of back and tail white. White hind feet. Light hoofs. Both ears a piece cut out on the under side. Both horns bored. About 9 years old. Horns tipt with black.

**Black** A black ox with a black spotted belly. Two small white spots inside his hind knees. Some white hairs underneath and in end of his tail. Both ears the ends cut off. About 6 years old. Horns tipt black.

**Bright** A red ox with a white star in his forehead. Belly and legs white. End of tail white and some white on his body. Right ear cropt. Left ear 2 slits. About 6 years old. Horns tipt with black.<sup>174</sup> [page 22]

## 1846

**Monday June 1** Took Black and Bright into the wood and hauled a log to Spencers Shop to make a wagon tongue. This is my first attempt to drive oxen and I succeeded to my satisfaction. At 1 p.m. went with Allen's Wagon for corn for oxen. Returned home and took oxen into the woods to pasture for the evening. Morng. rainy, evening fine. Br. Whitehead told me they might perhaps kill a beef and asked me if I wanted a piece. I told him I did. In the night a great storm of wind.

**Tuesday 2** After breakfast I went to the mill for meal. At 11 went with Mr. Clayton to the Big Field to hunt his sheep. Found them at n. e. corner. Returned home at ep 6. Very tired having seen a country desolate, houses empty, and inhabitants gone. Prairies deserted of cattle and people. Such is the blasting effect of mob misrule. Terrific wind in the night which rocked my house. It was really awful. Fine day.

<sup>174</sup>"Black" and "Bright" would later pull Bullock's wagon and family into the Salt Lake Valley (Bullock Journal, 1843-49, 20 September 1848).



**Wednesday 3** At 5 went into the wood to pasture oxen. Staid till 10 then went to the Temple office. Staid till 1. Got 5.00. Went and bought a wagon cover, nails, tongue bolt &c &c. Returned home at 2. Went into the wood with oxen. Got wood for ox bows and carried it home. Sundown drove cattle home. Fine day.

**Thurs 4** Cut out new wagon cover and assisting Lucy to make same. Attending the oxen in the wood all day also in the evening assisting Albern Allen to make the ox bows. Harder work than Ive been used to. Beautiful day.

**Fri 5** At 10 went to Temple office. Br Anderson wanted me to exchange my big oxen for poorer ones, telling me that I could not drive them to the camp &c &c. I told him I should take them and deliver them up to Dr. Richards according to my first orders. I was also told that the Trustees would not let me have any more oxen, altho' they had promised me two more yokes a week ago. I immediately went to the Trustees who would not let me have any more oxen. They told me to have 200 lbs. of flour which was at br. Whiteheads and promised me money to buy the remainder in a few days. Bishop Heywood said I was "a Chiel among em takin notes and faith ye'll [*undecipherable word*] it,"<sup>175</sup> then why not attend to the orders of the Twelve. I found that the ox was killed this week but I had no beef as usual. I have to live on meal and milk while others can live on the best the land affords. I wish I was in the midst of equal justice. Beautiful day.

**Satur 6** Took oxen to wood and assisted Albern Allen to load up his wagon. At 11 went to Temple office, Whitehead's, Clayton's Workshops Stores &c and returned home. About 2 bro. Clift called. Wanted to drive my team, but he had too much of a load for me. Went to hunt my cattle. Brought them home about 5. Then fixing hinges to boxes, making wooden rivets. Fed cattle, milked &c &c. G. Wardle brought 2nd wagon home about 8 p.m. Fine day.

**Sun 7** Went to Temple with Lucy. Took minutes of discourse of bro Snow (see them). Returned home and at 3 went again to Temple. Partook of Sacrament. Zebedee Coltrin Pres. Erastus Snow<sup>176</sup> mouth. [*blank*] present. Had a good time. Returned home at sunset with Henrietta. Lucy churned<sup>177</sup> twice this day. Lynching commenced at Macedonia this day.<sup>178</sup> Beautiful day.

<sup>175</sup>A *chiel* is a "familiar term for man, esp. young man, lad; 'fellow,' 'chap'" (*Oxford Dictionary*, 3:111). It is obvious that Bullock was trying to write down Heywood's exact wording; however, the exact meaning of this phrase is unclear.

<sup>176</sup>Erastus Snow (1818–1880), originally from St. Johnsbury, Vermont, was baptized in February 1833. He served many missions for the Church, campaigned for Joseph Smith in Vermont, was a member of the Council of Fifty, and was an active Mason (Andrew Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church* [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971]).

<sup>177</sup>To shake or agitate with violence or continued motion (*Noah Webster's American Dictionary*).

<sup>178</sup>*Hancock Eagle*, 12 June 1846, 2.



**Mon 8** Having heard that there was a piece of beef put by for me yesterday I went very early but found out it was gone as usual. Br Whitehead sd. he gave orders that I must have that piece (22 lbs) and no one else yet I was disappointed. I have not had any meat since April 9 yet others can live on the best of every thing. This is the 2nd beef killed this week. Br Whitehead told me the flour that I was having from his house he bought for himself, having borrowed the money to pay for it. Is not this a pretty treatment, both of Whitehead and me. W[hitehead]. sd. if it had not been for him I shod. not have had one single thing. Babbitt taking almost every thing to his own private office. The reason I am not fit out or cannot get on is because I am an Englishman. Babbitt has been against me since I received the Drs. council at Sugar Creek not to have any thing to do with the Eagle Newspaper. May the time soon come that he may be taught obedience to his Superiors and deal justly, instead of assisting his favorites. After some hunting I got a piece of beef, bloody and bony. Br. Whitehead reproving John [S. Fullmer] for his conduct. I retd. home and fixed my wooden rivets. Then put on my wagon cover and attending to my cattle. Sunset I went to the Temple. J[udge]. Higbee Pres. Z. Coltrin mouth. [blank] present. There is quite a revival in attendance. Fine day.

**Report.** A delegation came into the city from the mob camp which caused great excitement. A many of the brethren packed up and crossed the River. A meeting was called in the Temple to defend it.

**Tues 9** I drove cattle into the wood. G. Wardle came at 10. We yoked up Tom and Jerry and fetched the barrel of flour from bro. Whiteheads and some things for him. Returned about 1. I regulated my medicine chest. Then gathered some sage and dried it. In the evening I bought an ox yoke and assisted G. Wardle to fix ox bows and wagon box and then fetched the cattle home. Albern Allen and John Rushton<sup>179</sup> called in the evening. Henrietta at Agnes Smith's<sup>180</sup> all day. Rainbow in the evening. The Saints were rushing to the River nearly panic struck. P.M. new citizens met at 70s hall.<sup>181</sup>

**Wednes 10** Packing up my goods in order for speedy removal in case of attack. A man came to offer me some fever and ague pills for my house and lot and sd. that the mob was whipping and driving the Mormons 4 miles off; That all the houses that had been sold to the new citizens were to have a sign up. I replied "I suppose like the custom of the Jews, to sprinkle the

<sup>179</sup>John Rushton, brother of Harriet Rushton Nixon (see n. 35), was born in 1821 at Yorkshire, England. Endowed 3 February 1846, John died several years later in St. Louis (Black, Membership 37:966–67).

<sup>180</sup>Agnes Coolbrith Smith, widow of Don Carlos Smith (who died in 1841) was born in 1811 at Scarsborough, Maine. She married Don Carlos in 1835 and had three children by him (Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 274–75; and Black, Membership 11:444–45).

<sup>181</sup>*New citizen* was the term given to a person moving into Nauvoo and buying the Saints' lands and properties. Because the new citizens wanted to protect their newly acquired properties, they looked unfavorably upon the mob actions and were unwilling to join forces with them in driving out the Mormons. For this reason they were seen as Mormon sympathizers and were also harshly treated. Many were driven out of Nauvoo.



lintels and door posts with blood in order that the Destroying Angel might pass over all in that house, well sir, mine is a maiden at present." He sd. "I suppose so" and smiled. [page 23] At 4 I went to the Temple office to enquire if it was right to run or fight. I found out more scare than actual danger. Returned home to continue my preparations fixing locks to boxes and wagon cover. Warm day.

**Reports.** Two new citizens who refused to join the mob severely whipped. The brethren rushing to the ferry in order to cross the River. A woman whipped "until the blood run off her heels" by the mob. A brother compelled to sell 500 worth of property for 100 by the mob.<sup>182</sup>

**Thurs 11.** Preparing to leave. At 11 Father Clayton called and I went with him to the Temple office. I asked for chains, ox yokes and bows when Bishop Fulmer said "we can do nothing for you." "We want you to stay here and fight." I told him I understood I was wanted in the Camp to write. I find they will not assist me in any thing. Went with Mr. Clayton to look after his wagons. /Bought a pen knife .40./ Returned home about 4. After supper I, Henrietta and Lucy robed ourselves, prayed, and had sacrament. I gave them much instruction in regard to their duty. Fine day.

**Reports.** The People are panic struck. 4 boats have started to cross at Nashville in addition to the regular ferries but they are not half enough. One man offered a barrel of flour to cross, but the ferryman (Blakeslee) referd. up to the Trustees for an order for the amount and to request them to stop the panic. Heywood replied to Blakeslee "we are better without such men than with them." Old Mother Sandford driven into the city by the mob. The mob threaten to come in tomorrow. The merchants have packed up their goods and are removing as fast as they can. The mob is encamped at Golden's Point and are driving all who wont join them.

**Friday 12** I carried tongue of my wagon to the blacksmiths to get a pull back put on. Waited while it was done and carried it back. Then went to the Temple office to get some meal but could not. Returned home about 7 and was told Black and Bright had strayed away. I immediately started in pursuit, as also Lucy, taking different routes. Both returned home after dark unsuccessful. This is the effect of my not having yokes. I have often asked for them but cannot get any. If they are lost it is entirely on account of not being yoked together. Hot day.

**Reports.** The citizens were called together this p.m. in order to organize for the defense of the place and a committee sent off to negotiate with the mob.

**Satur 13.** I was up by sunrise and started for Caspers Creek and the English Settlement where I had heard they [the lost cows] were but again returned home disappointed. While at home the other cattle ran away after a cow

---

<sup>182</sup>*Hancock Eagle*, 12 June 1846, 2.



that wanted a bull. I had a race after them thro the fields and wood until I had not one dry thread on me. Brought them back about 8 and again started in pursuit of the lost ones, and after beating the woods well up to the Le Harp Road we found them with a cow. Such is the effect of being without yokes and the Trustees will not let me have means to get them. After much trouble got them home also. Having overexerted myself, I was taken sick and had to lay down. I took 3 bowls of thorowort<sup>183</sup> which made me ill. The hives plague very bad. Mother Rushton came and staid all day. Lucy baking Gingerbread &c all day. Henrietta sewing and assisting Lucy. This last week has been the happiest week I have had, being united in love and harmony. Peace has reigned entirely this week. Very hot day.

**Reports.** Bro. Richardson sd. the mob at Golden's Point had agreed to let the Mormons remain another week, and then they were to come in and do what they please. The Sheriff having returned from Galena, called the citizens together this p.m. 4 oclock, and swore in 300 Deputy Sheriff's in order to maintain law and order before Justice Wells, and Higbee and Robinson. The mob are now 400 strong at Golden's Point and have one cannon to storm the Temple.

**Sunday 14** Went to the Temple with my musket and pistols to defend it /(altho I was so weak as scarce to walk there)/ an attack being expected this day. I saw the brethren under arms who had met on the Green at the ringing of the Temple Bell. Sheriff Backenstos was Commander in Chief, Capt. Clifford<sup>184</sup> commanded the Cavalry and Stephen Markham<sup>185</sup> /and Capt. Pickett<sup>186</sup>/ commanded the Infantry. After parading some time, the whole marched off in double file to the Mansion where they all discharged their fire arms in the air. [This was heard across the River and the brethren thinking the mob had attacked the City, bro. John Bair<sup>187</sup> determined to cross and assist, but no one would ferry him, being against Council. When he replied, the Council of Jesus Christ was, he that would not lay down his life for his brethren had not the love of God in him. He then bought a skiff for 200 and ferried himself across, being fully armed and equipped. C. W. Patten<sup>188</sup> also hearing it. His father sd. the mob was

<sup>183</sup> Another name for boneset. Comfrey is one common variety of boneset.

<sup>184</sup> Benjamin Clifford was a new citizen from Quincy who was sympathetic toward the Saints and served in the militia for their protection. A native of Rhode Island, he was born in 1801 and married a Sophia in the mid-1820s. He had four children and by 1850 would be living in Quincy, Illinois, working as a merchant (1850 Illinois Census).

<sup>185</sup> Stephen Markham (1800–1878), originally from Avon, New York, was baptized in 1837. He was a carpenter by trade but became a colonel of the Nauvoo Legion in 1843 and a bodyguard to Joseph Smith. Although Markham left Nauvoo in February with the main group of Saints, he had been sent back to transact some business. He would be in Nauvoo throughout June and July (Mervin L. Gifford, "Stephen Markham: Man of Valour" [Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973]; Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 3:676; and Black, *Membership* 29:351–57).

<sup>186</sup> William Pickett was also a new citizen and a friend of the Mormons. He was originally from Alabama (*Hancock Eagle*, 3 August 1846, 2).

<sup>187</sup> John Bair, born in 1810, was married in 1829 and baptized in 1834. This daring attempt to aid the "brethren" was not his first one. In July 1843, he had been involved in the *Maid of Iowa* expedition to rescue Joseph Smith (see *History of the Church* 5:482–84; and Black, *Membership* 3:234–37).

<sup>188</sup> Charles W. Patten was born in 1811 in Herkimer County, New York. He was ordained a high priest in 1844 and at this time served on the committee to aid the destitute in Nauvoo (Donald Q. Cannon



fighting in the city. He remembering a prophecy given in No. 1 Room, replied there was not, but any how would come and see for himself.]<sup>189</sup> They then remarched to the green. A hollow square was formed, when the Sheriff sd. he should dismiss them until the ringing of the Bell. Col Markham returned thanks for his appointment, and their obedience to the word of command and sd. that he had come and should stay here until mob rule was put down and law and order again [*continued in next entry*][page 24]

**June 14. 1846** established in Hancock Co. Capt. Clifford next addressed them and returned thanks for the promptness and alacrity that they had all met. Capt. Pickett in a neat speech sd. that we were come up here to be perfected and sd. he hoped that the damd mob would stand that we might be tried together in order to prove our acquaintance. He was afraid they would not stand but hoped they would. He then proposed 3 cheers for the Sheriff, and 3 for Capt. Clifford, 3 for Gen. Markham, and 3 for the ladies in general and sd. no man ought to have a sweetheart who would not turn out this time. Sheriff Backenstos then proposed 3 cheers for Capt. Pickett and 3 for law and order, which were all most heartily responded to. At 2 p.m. they again met and the committee reported that when they went to the mob camp they had only left their committee, who were told that they could only be treated as a mob from this time and for ever. When the brethren were all dismissed until further call.

**Report** that when the Committee went to the mob camp last evening and told them fully what they must expect, about 100 fled for home when old Macauley<sup>190</sup> sat down and cried. He sd. “that he had been trying for the last three years to raise a Company to drive the Mormons out of Hancock Co. and now in this last struggle you are all going to leave me.” After dismissal S. Markham marched the troops into the Temple and preached to them while I was in the Watch Tower I counted them as they past. 488 foot, 68 horsemen, 17 wagons with about 102 in them and about 50 at the Temple making about 700 under arms. Went to the top of the Tower and round the outside. At six oclock went to the Sacrament. John S. Fulmer was Pres. F. D. Richards mouth. [*blank*] present. Had a very good night of it. Hot day.

**Report.** The swiftest race ever run in Hancock Co. was between Golden Point and Carthage by the mob.

**Monday 15** Breakfast. Past 10 went to the wood with the oxen and returned about 2. Wrote a long letter to the Dr. At sundown went to the Temple to pray. Tarleton Lewis Pres. Wm. Burton<sup>191</sup> Mouth. 8 Present.

---

and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983], 280; and *History of the Church* 7:158).

<sup>189</sup>Brackets are in the original.

<sup>190</sup>John McAuley (1799–1874), originally of Ireland, immigrated to New York and later moved to Pontoosic Township, Illinois, in 1832. He was an ardent anti-Mormon and had fought desperately since 1844 to expel the Saints from Illinois. Some accounts implicate him in the burning of the Nauvoo Temple in 1848 (Biographical Information on John McAuley, n.d., LDS Church Archives).

<sup>191</sup>William Burton (1809–1851), born at Garthorp, Lincolnshire, England, served many missions for the Church. He was a seventy. Burton’s diary indicates that he attended these nightly prayer meetings



Stephen Markham related things of the Camp. Frogs and crickets make a terrible din. Cherry with a young bull all night.

**Report.** When mob had fled to Carthage they heard that the Sheriff was going against them with 900 men when they fled in every direction. The wicked flee when no man pursueth. New citizens issue a circular confessing themselves anti mormons.<sup>192</sup> Warm.

**Tuesday 16** But little sleep on acct. of Bugs and Mosquitoes. John Rushton visited me. Fixed a bell on Black. Drove the oxen to the wood. Returned about 2. A man came and offered me 150. for my lot which I of course refused. At sundown went to the Temple to pray. S. Markham was Pres. Z. Coltrin mouth (8). We had a very comfortable meeting. Heard much about the Camp which made us rejoice. Markham was requested to preach to the people and disabuse their minds on the reports from the Camp. Warm day.

**Wednesday 17** In the woods with the oxen and at home all day. Went to the Temple to pray. W. Burton Pres. C. E. Bolton mouth (8). Then returned home. The new citizens began to replace their goods. Groceries continued increasing. Warm.

**Thursday 18** At 6 went with G. Wardle to buy ox bows and yoke. Then to Temple. Borrowed 1.00 from Lewis Robins which Whitehead promised should be repaid to him. Went to Music Hall and thence with F. D. Richards to his old house. Staid till 11 then went home for breakfast. Again with him to Music Hall. Ret. home. At 1 took a chair to swap for bows. Pd. for a yoke and another pair of bows. Met with Mr. Clayton. Measured off Edward Martin's lot. Then to the office, drank a cup of wine. On way home called at Bensons where we dined. At 7 went with Benson and Father Clayton to Neibaur's.<sup>193</sup> Mended a net and then went a fishing. I wheeled the net to Laws Mill where we netted until after midnight. We got home again about 2 a.m. Fine day and night.

**Friday 19** Assisted Lucy being washing day, carrying water, laying out clothes to dry, all morning. At 12 went to Bensons for my ox bows, and at 2 assisted G. Wardle to fix his waggonbox. At 4 we went to bathe in the Mississippi. Returned home about 6. At 7 went to Temple to pray. I was chosen President and [I] appointed Wandel Mace mouth (9). A sick man

---

but provides no further insight. He did attend the dedication of the temple on 30 April and 1 May, an event that Bullock does not record (William Burton Diary, LDS Church Archives; and Black, Membership 7:714–17).

<sup>192</sup>In actuality, the circular was not an anti-Mormon statement but rather one of anti-violence. It pleaded with the mobs not to attack the fleeing Saints as such restraint would enable them to leave sooner (*Hancock Eagle*, 3 July 1846, 2).

<sup>193</sup>Alexander Neibaur (1808–1883), born at Ehrenbreitsen, France. He was baptized in England in 1838 and immigrated to Nauvoo in 1841. In Nauvoo he practiced dentistry and made matches. He was in the Nauvoo Legion. Neibaur also recorded one of the first accounts of Joseph Smith's first vision. On 26 May 1845, Neibaur had pulled one of Bullock's teeth and presumably this visit was in connection with a tooth problem (Theda Lucille Bassett, *Grandpa Neibaur Was a Pioneer* [Salt Lake City: Artistic Printing Co., 1988]; and Historian's Office Journal, vol. 1, 26 May 1845).



came to be anointed and healed of his infirmity. I feel that he will get better. Warm day.

**Saturday 20** Mr. Clayton came to my house. I wrote a letter to Dr. Willard Richards and went to Mr. C. Spencer<sup>194</sup> who promised to deliver it. We went to the Temple, Waggon Shop and down to the River. Saw one waggon start across. Took a walk by the River. Saw a Circus near Joseph's old store.<sup>195</sup> Had some talk with Amos Fielding<sup>196</sup> and ret. home at 2. About 6 went to the Temple to pray. Tarleton Lewis<sup>197</sup> Pres. Isaac Higbee mouth (10). Fine.

**Sunday 21** With Henrietta to the Temple. A. W. Babbit and Joseph Young spoke. I reported same (see my minutes). Returned home. At 3 went to Temple again. Curtis E. Bolton Pres. Erastus Snow mouth (14). Joseph L. Heywood and John McEwan<sup>198</sup> came to be administered to. Had the Sacrament and adjourned before 7. Then took a walk with Lucy by the River and thro the Wood home. Willard can walk by the side of chairs, boxes &c. A cool day.

**Monday 22** At 10 I went down to Mr. Clayton's, he being notified to leave his house, the purchaser being come. I then [page 25] hunted for a house for them to go into and at length found O. M. Duel's.<sup>199</sup> Took Mrs. Clayton to see it and [she] was satisfied. Returned about 5 when I wrote a long letter for G. Wardle to go to England which took till after sundown. Fanny here for Tea with him. Milked, attended to my cattle. Warm.

**Tuesday 23** At 10 Lucy and I went down to her Father's to assist them to remove. Staid there till sundown when I went up to the Temple to pray. I was chosen President. I nominated William Burton mouth (8). Had a good time. Returned to Mr. Clayton's and walked home with Lucy at dark. Hot.

**Wednesday 24** Went with Lucy to the Trustees office to get some dry goods. Then to Mr. Clayton's and back to the Trustees. Waited a long time when Babbitt and Heywood came in. In talking of fitting me out they told

<sup>194</sup>Possibly Claudius Victor Spencer (1824–1910) (Black, Membership 40:847–52).

<sup>195</sup>On 5 January 1842, Joseph Smith's red brick store opened for business. The first story of the store was primarily used for business while the second story became a meeting place for several organizations and committees, including the Relief Society, Temple Committee, Nauvoo House Committee, Nauvoo City Council, and Nauvoo Legion. It was located on the south side of Water Street near Granger Street (Holzapfel and Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo*, 144–47).

<sup>196</sup>Amos Fielding, an Englishman, had arrived in Nauvoo on 26 March 1845 (Historian's Office Journal, vol. 2, 26 March 1845).

<sup>197</sup>Tarlton Lewis (1805–1890), born in the Pendleton District of South Carolina, was baptized in 1836. He was injured in the Haun's Mill massacre in 1838 and afterwards moved to Quincy and then to Nauvoo in October 1839. He spent nine months cutting timber on the Black River for the temple and later oversaw the cranes for hoisting materials used in the temple's construction. He was ordained a high priest in 1839 and acted as bishop of the Nauvoo Fourth Ward from 1839 until 1846 when he departed for the West (Black, Membership 28:118–28).

<sup>198</sup>John P. McEwan (1824–1878), born in Garvahy, Ireland, was baptized in 1840 and later became president of the Twenty-Second Quorum of Seventies (Black, Membership 30:173–76).

<sup>199</sup>Osman M. Duel (1802–1855), originally from Galway, New York, joined the Church in the early 1830s. He was a member of the Nauvoo Third Ward and served a mission to New York in 1844. He had apparently left for the West and abandoned his home (Black, Membership 14:539–40; and *History of the Church* 6:336).



me I must give up the waggon and oxen to the Church. I told them I understood I was to give them up to Dr. Richards. They replied “no, the Dr. has already overdrawn his account and I must give them up to the Church.” They also told Mr. Clayton that William had overdrawn his account by 2 or 300 dollars. But they promised to assist him in about 3 weeks. They told me that if I would wait a little they would fit me out with what I wanted but to try and sell my house if I could. They let me have some goods. We returned home by the River. Went to look after oxen as usual and at sundown went to the Temple to pray. Graham Coltrin<sup>200</sup> President. I mouth (7). Some thunder and rain this day.

**Thursday 25** Lucy and I went to assist her mother to remove to O. M. Duel’s house all day. In the afternoon there was some heavy rain, thunder and lightning. At sundown went to the Temple to pray. Tarlton Lewis President. Graham Coltrin Mouth (6). Returned to Mrs. C’s when Lucy returned home with me. I overstrained myself this day. W. Phelps<sup>201</sup> left on the Steam Boat. Hot.

**Friday 26** The thunder shook my house pretty severe in the night, much lightning and rain and heavy wind which ript one of the covers off my waggon. I was at home all day in consequence of the overstraining yesterday and was obliged to take a regular cleansing by vomit, purge, sweat, and hot bathing. And afterwards my body was wished with Spirit. I kept very quiet and was much relieved. Warm.

**Saturday 27** Attending to oxen until about 4 p.m. Then to Store to get some meal. At 7 went to Temple to pray. [blank] Prest. I was mouth. Felt much of the Spirit upon me. Warm.

It is now two years this day since Joseph and Hyrum were martyrd, and what a tremendous alteration has taken place in Nauvoo. Surely it has fallen, is fallen. Wherever you now look Taverns, Grogeries, Bowling Alleys, Ten pin Alleys, Whorehouses. Lawyers and Doctors salute your eyes and ears. The reeling drunkard, the boisterous laugh, the giddy dance, confusion and riot rule supreme. Hundreds, I might say thousands, of houses empty where once happy Saints dwelt, sung and prayed. Fences nearly all down, gardens laid waste, fruit trees destroyed by cattle, and all again running to destruction and its late wildness. In the last few years has

<sup>200</sup>Graham Coltrin (1796–1851), older brother of Zebedee Coltrin, was born at Franklin, Massachusetts, and joined the Church in 1831. A carpenter by trade, he was a member of the Nauvoo First Ward (Black, Membership 11:185–88, 193–94).

<sup>201</sup>William Wines Phelps (1792–1872), native to Hanover, New Jersey, was baptized in 1831. He was a prominent Church leader from 1831 until his excommunication in 1838. After living in Ohio for several years, he contacted Church leaders and was active again in the Kirtland Area. In 1841, Phelps moved to Nauvoo, where he was the mayor’s clerk, a fire warden, and a clerk, scribe, and confidant to the Prophet till the latter’s death. From Bullock’s minutes, it is clear that Phelps was in Nauvoo at this time and he was this day probably departing for the West; he resided at Winter Quarters until 1849 (Walter Dean Bowen, “The Versatile W. W. Phelps: Mormon Writer, Educator, and Pioneer” [Master’s Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958]; Cook, *Revelations of Joseph Smith*, 87; and Bullock Minutes, 3 May 1846, 10 A.M., 26; 10 May 1846, 10 A.M., 44; 17 May 1846, 10 A.M., 52 and 57).



this spot been translated from a wilderness to a garden and the most delightful spot on the River and now again running to its native wildness and desolation.

**Sunday 28** Went to the Temple and reported the discourses of Markham, Lytle,<sup>202</sup> and Snow (see them) and returned home. At 3 went again to the Temple to pray. F. D. Richards President, William Anderson<sup>203</sup> mouth (12). Partook of the Sacrament, then went to Mr. Clayton's at 7 p.m. and took a walk down on the flats and so home. Henry J. Young gave me the Hancock Eagle. He is the man who supplies me with papers and extras for history. Warm day, showery p.m.

**Monday 29** The oxen having strayed away again I went after them and took them to Doyles Wood. I had not been in many minutes before Pat Doyle came and ordered me to drive them out of the Wood. I asked if he would allow me to have them in the near part of the Wood, if I watched them, but he still ordered me to drive them out. He has joined the mob party and may the Lord soon reward him for his unkindness. W[ilmer] B[enson]. his fence is down in five places being open to the common land. Remember also George Colemere's Wife's blackguardism this day. Attended the oxen in the open fields till about 3 then writing letters to Mr. Wassell (England) Mr. Reuben Bullock, and Mr. William Mums. Being alone all p.m. Lucy being sent for to attend her sick mother and Henrietta being gone to her mother's. At Sundown went to the Temple to pray. Wandle Mace President. William Burton mouth (8). After meeting we had much agreeable conversation. Returned home at 10 and then had to milk all my cows. Finished about 11. A vast number of gnats. Hot day.

**Tuesday 30** With oxen from 9 till 3 in the open fields. At 5 went to the Temple office for some corn and pork. Got two bushels of corn and 151 lb. Pork for my journey. Called at Mrs. Clayton's, who was very sick. Staid till sundown then went up to the Temple to pray. William Burton Pres. I was mouth (10). Afterwards conversed till after 9 then went to Mrs. Clayton's. Returned home. Lucy drank some cold water while in a great perspiration which made her very ill indeed. Her breath ceased several times but in 2 or 3 hours I succeeded in getting her into a sweat and she fell asleep. Hot day.

**Wednesday 1 July [1846]** Lucy was some better today. Henrietta sick also. 10 tending cattle till 2 p.m. Then writing &c. At home all p.m. Sundown to Temple. I was chosen President and I appointed Isaac Higbee

---

<sup>202</sup>John Lytle (1803–1892), born at Turbotville, Pennsylvania, was baptized in 1836. In Nauvoo, he served as a policeman and a seventy. He was one of the men arrested in connection with the destruction of the Expositor press in 1844. He would later become a bishop in the Salt Lake Eleventh Ward (Black, Membership 28:919–23; and E.C.I.F.).

<sup>203</sup>William Anderson (1809–1846), born in Lewiston, Maine, was baptized in 1841. From 1842–1844, he served a mission to Chicago and other parts of Illinois. He was killed in the battle of Nauvoo on 12 September (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 2:585–86). Curtis E. Bolton called him “One of God’s noblest Spirits” (Curtis Edward Bolton Journal, 6).



mouth (7). Received copy of Sidney Rigdon's revelations.<sup>204</sup> Laid hands on a sick man. Returned home and went to bed. Hot day.[page 26]

**Wednesday July 1. 1846** I had not been in bed more than an hour when I heard a rumpus among the oxen. Got up and found they had broke the fence and were following a cow. Had considerable difficulty in getting them back to my lot. I weighed 116 lb.

**Thursday 2** Milked the cows. Then drove them and the oxen to pasture. Staid till 3 p.m. Then wrote recommends for F. D. Richards who was going on a mission to England. At 6 I went to the Temple. At Sundown prayed. [blank] President. [blank] mouth. ( ). I was mouth in blessing some packages for the East and for England. After meeting went to Samuel W. Richards<sup>205</sup> and gave him my packet and also some further instructions. Staid with him till 9. Kissed him, blessed him and then went home. Hot day.

**Friday 3** At home all day assisting Lucy in washing and Henrietta ironing. About 6 went to the Temple and prayed. [blank] President. [blank] mouth. ( ). Returned home and slept in my California waggon with Wife and child. A pleasant night. Warm.

Franklin and Samuel Richards started down the River on the Steam Boat.<sup>206</sup>

**Saturday 4** At 10 I went to the Temple and staid until 3 where I was told that William Law had been taken thro the Temple by A. W. Babbit. Many persons expressed their dissent of the act and well do I remember Josephs words, "If it were not for a Brutus, Caesar might have lived." So has Law proved a Brutus unto Joseph. At 3 I went into the woods to hunt oxen. Returned at 5 and found Benson at home. Sundown I went to the Temple. [blank] Pres. [blank] mouth. (8). At the close of the meeting C. E. Bolton gave me the lie in regard to the prayer meeting, when it was first commenced. I replied that he was not there the first meeting, but I was, being one of the seven who met with Joseph Young on Feb 11th and the only one of the seven who now meet. That he had contradicted me in a thing where he was not present and had hurt my feelings. He replied "I dont care if they are." "I am a liberal man." Query how has he shown his "liberal" feelings in insulting Phinehas Richards, Levi Richards, Franklin Richards, Zebedee Coltrin, William Anderson, Wandel Mace and others both in and out of that sacred building. He has prayed (out of the Temple) to God that

<sup>204</sup>After the Martyrdom, Rigdon claimed to be the guardian over the Church and was subsequently excommunicated on 8 September 1844. By April 1845, he had organized a church and was receiving revelations. Rigdon's main revelation during this period was for the Saints to gather in the East and await the great battle that would ensue in the West (F. Mark McKiernan, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer, 1793–1876* [Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado Press, 1971]).

<sup>205</sup>Samuel Richards (1824–1909), a native of Richmond, Massachusetts, was the son of Phineas Richards and the younger brother of Franklin D. Richards (see n. 109). He joined the Church in 1838 and in 1842 moved to Nauvoo with his family. There he worked as a carpenter on the temple and as a drill sergeant in the Nauvoo Legion (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:718–19).

<sup>206</sup>Franklin and Samuel were leaving on a mission to England.



some parts of my property might be destroyed and that I might not get it into California. If such principles are “liberal” principles Good Lord deliver me from the same unfriendly, overbearing disposition. Returned home and got severely x'd. by H. and L. Warm day.

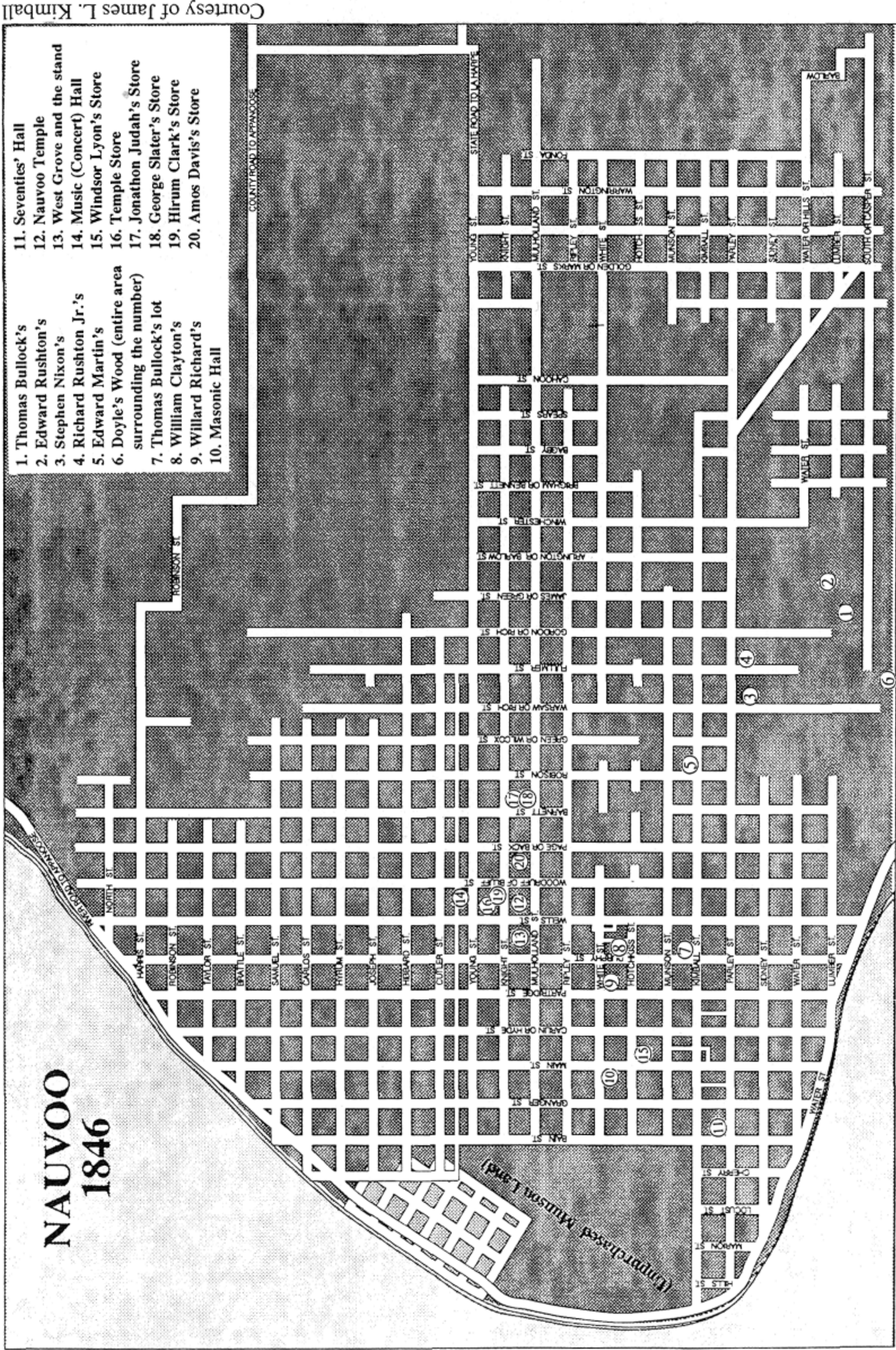
**Sunday 5** A heavy storm of thunder, lightning and rain. I had to remove the bed out of the waggon into the house. Lucy asked forgiveness for all past offenses. I forgave her and she forgave me and we determined to love more and more. At 10 I went to the Temple with Henrietta. Elder Babbitt preached. I was too late to get to my reporting Seat. Sat in the north aisle. Could not hear much of what was spoken. Returned home, severely pained with piles and I had to undress and stay at home the remainder of the day. Took some cooling medicine.<sup>207</sup> H and L went to the Temple in the p.m. to hear Joseph Young preach. He spoke very feelingly against abusing animals, wives and children. Hot day.<sup>208</sup>

---

<sup>207</sup> A common nineteenth-century ointment for piles (hemorrhoids) consisted of jimsonweed and catnip leaves, onions, tobacco, whisky, and bacon lard (see *Gunn's Newest Family Physician*, 222–29, 1140).

<sup>208</sup> After this page, there is one blank page and then a space where six pages have been cut, leaving only a stub of paper behind. It is not clear if they contained any writing. In addition, the journal has a wrapper page used as the outer cover of the journal. It has been torn and badly damaged. On this sheet is written a list of grocery items and their prices and/or amounts. For example, on 21 February Bullock lists “shoes\_\_\_\_\_ 1.00,” “meal 1/2 Bush\_\_\_\_\_ 18 3/4,” and “wine 1 Quart\_\_\_\_\_ 37 1/2.” The list is dated from mid-February to mid-April 184–(?). The year has been badly damaged but would logically have been 1846 when Bullock worked during those corresponding months in the Trustees Office, where large amounts of supplies were given out to those leaving Nauvoo for the pioneer camp in Iowa. Similar lists can be found in Bullock's 1843–49 journals. Because the list has little relevance to this project, I have not included it here.





Courtesy of James L. Kimball