The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841

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Over the years, graduate students have written many important dissertations on LDS topics. Unfortunately, they have typically been unavailable or unknown to lay readers. All too often, good copies of dissertations reside only at the institution at which they were written or on a few researchers' bookshelves. BYU Studies and the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History hope to fill this gap by producing and distributing selected dissertations of interest to Latter-day Saints, making them available to a larger audience.

The works in this series have been reformatted from the originals and a subject index has been added. Nevertheless, these dissertations have undergone only minimal editing. For example, some typographical errors have been corrected. Original page numbers are referenced by superscripted italicized numerals in brackets (e.g., [3]). Occasionally, the author has included additional information in the endnotes to update old material. Those additions have been placed in brackets and italicized to distinguish them from the original text. Otherwise, the text is identical to the work accepted by the dissertation committee.

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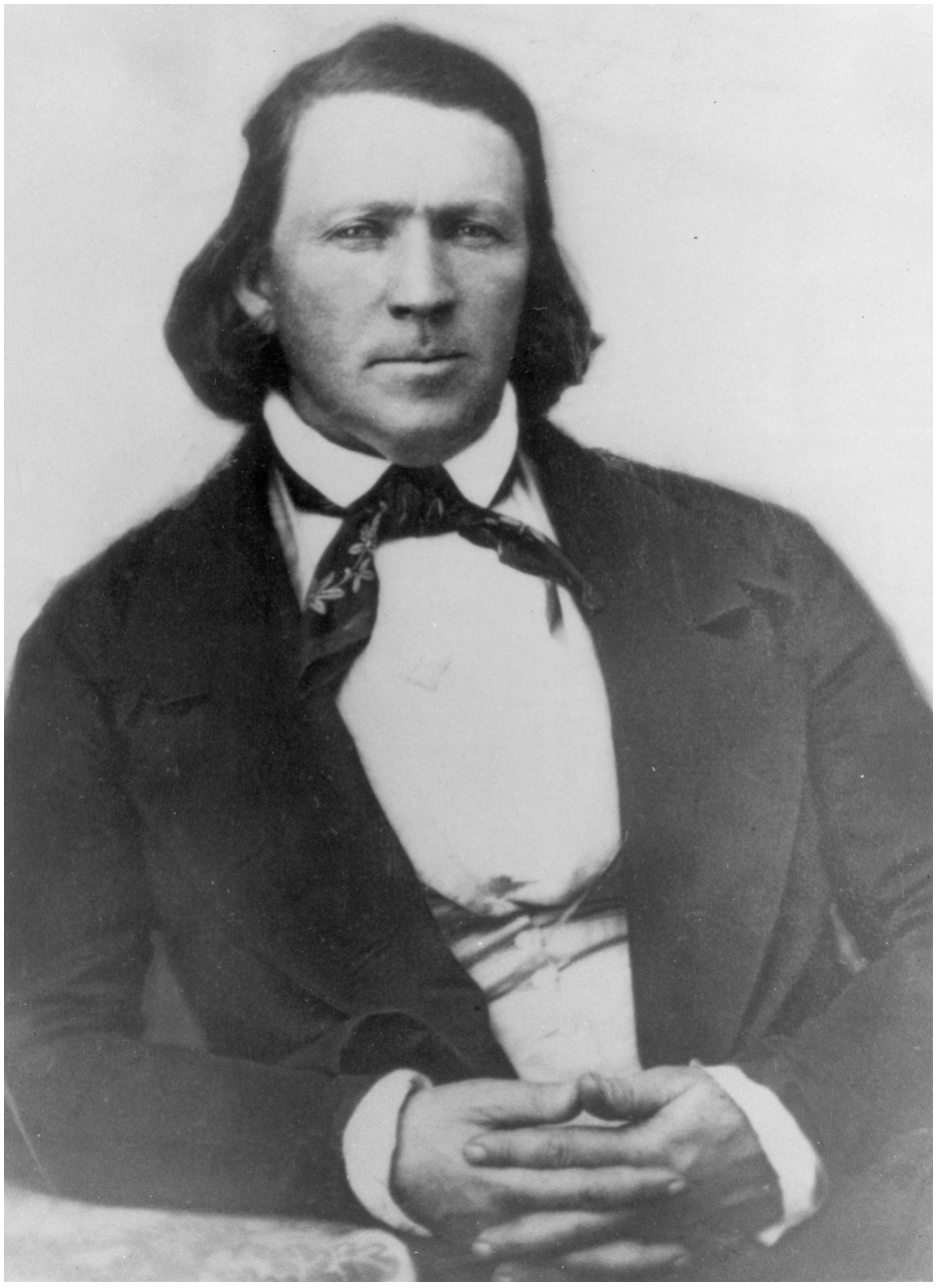


Brigham Young (ca. 1851–52) by Marsena Cannon. Copy print from unknown source. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

Chapter 1

Brigham Young's "Social World": Sacred Cosmos in a Secular Age

Brigham Young has long been recognized and praised as a skilled and successful practical leader, a man understandable in secular terms. The fact that he was so intimately involved and so successful in activities regarded as essentially temporal and secular (business, migration, colonization, politics) has reinforced the tendency to think of him primarily in those terms. The Frenchman Jules Remy, an astute observer and one of the earliest travelers to leave a detailed firsthand assessment of Young in Utah, wrote of him as "eminently what the Americans call practical . . . as much at home in attending to the management of his own private fortune as to his people's prosperity." Few men, he concluded, possessed

> in so high a degree as he does, the qualities which constitute the eminent politician and the able administrator. All who have had an opportunity of seeing him at his work, friends, or enemies, are unanimous on this point.[1]

As if to prove the validity of this assessment, other contemporaries as well as later historians stressed the Mormon leader's successful secular leadership and great practical genius. Ray A. Billington, for example, wrote that Young "displayed the organizing genius that endowed the Mormon migrations with an order and comfort unrivaled in the history of the overland trails." [1] Samuel Eliot Morison concluded that his colonizing efforts placed him "among the most successful commonwealth builders of the English speaking world." Comparing him to other great American colonizers, Herbert Bolton felt that none "so completely molded his people and their institutions as Brigham Young molded the Mormons." Allan Nevins called him "the most commanding single figure of the West."[2] Evaluations of Young have nearly always been in this same vein: generalizations about his practical abilities as if they alone explained his success. This pervasive emphasis, however, has obscured more important and basic aspects of his personality and leadership—especially the religious dimension.[3]

Concentrating on primarily practical skills and successful secular leadership cannot fully explain a man for whom practical decisions were grounded in religious principle, a man of wealth who claimed not to be greatly attached to material things, a man with an integrated world view where the practical was a necessary schoolmaster for the eternal and where everyday experience had eternal significance. Neither can such an emphasis explain his ability to inspire the loyalty and spark the labors of tens of thousands. Many people came to Utah thinking of Young as a shrewd and cunning practical genius, perhaps feeling that part of his power must have flowed from relentless and unscrupulous pursuit of goals. They came away, if they had the chance to observe him closely, knowing there was more to the puzzle than that. Jules Remy was one of those. Contrary to his expectations, Remy came away from several interviews with Young thoroughly convinced that, in addition to his great secular talents, Young was a genuinely [2] religious man and that his religious conviction was profoundly related to his success as a leader.

Remy first sensed the religious integrity of Brigham Young after listening to his remarkable private explanations of the religious blindness of the French people, along with his prediction that they would nonetheless eventually recognize the truth to be found in Mormonism, a doctrine, insisted Young, that would one day revolutionize the world. These ideas, "uttered without affectation, and with an air of conviction so profound," forced Remy and his companion to admit Young's good faith, "contrary to the idea we had entertained." Subsequent observations only corroborated Remy's view that Young was not "the accomplice of the great juggler Joseph," but that he had himself been deceived by that "archimposter." Remy

was certain that had he visited with Smith, the contrived and studied sincerity of the false prophet would have been cause for laughter. With Young it was completely different. "We found his demeanour grave and impressive," Remy wrote of another visit, "and, far from being tempted to laugh at it, what alone it caused us to feel, was deeper regret at seeing this remarkable man plunged into such error." As they departed, he gave them a religious benediction infused with "so much pious warmth and kindness, that we withdrew perfectly convinced of the sincerity of his faith."[4]

Remy clearly made the connection between Brigham Young's faith and his leadership. As part of his qualifications for leadership Remy noted not only his practical ability but also his "unquestioned integrity." At the pulpit, said Remy, he spoke "from [3] the heart and the fullness of it." Young's sincerity and deep religious convictions, he concluded, added to his power as a leader:

> Convinced of the truth of the religion he has embraced . . . he had set before him, as the object of his existence, the extension and the triumph of his doctrine; and this end he pursues with a tenacity that nothing can shake, and with that stubborn persistence and ardent ambition which makes great priests and great statemen.[5]

Although largely glossed over in later assessments, Young's religious integrity was perceived by other contemporaries as well. Mormon apostate John Hyde left one of the most remarkable appraisals, acknowledging even in his denunciation of Mormonism that Young's profound religious sincerity was an integral part of his influence. Hyde thought Joseph Smith was surely an impostor, but observed that Young, never detecting the fraud, both "reverenced him as a prophet, and loved him as a man."

> The whole secret of Brigham's influence lies in his real sincerity. Brigham may be a great man, greatly deceived, but he is not a hypocrite. . . . Brigham Young embraced Mormonism in sincerity, conscientiously believed, faithfully practised, and enthusiastically taught it. . . . For the sake of his religion, he has over and over again left his family, confronted the world, endured hunger, come back poor, made wealth and given it to the Church. He holds himself prepared to lead his people in sacrifice and want, as in plenty and ease. No holiday friend nor summer prophet, he has shared in their trials as well as their prosperity. . . . No man prays more fervently nor more frequently than Brigham Young. No man can more win the hearts nor impress the minds of his hearers than Brigham while in prayer. Few men can persist in believing him a hypocrite. . . . I am convinced that if he be an imposter, he has commenced by imposing on himself.[6]

Both the French traveler and the English apostate agreed: Brigham Young's beliefs were not merely facade and he could not be understood apart from his religion. In fact, as Remy perceived, it was his unshakable conviction that he had the truth and that God was with him that gave him such formidable strength as a man and as [4] a leader. He had the faith that, in the words of Eric Hoffer in his popular classic *The True Believer,* "organizes and equips man's soul for action," the faith that imparts a sense of power and confidence and emboldens man to try the unprecedented and the impossible.[7]

Young himself recognized that to a large extent he possessed his leadership qualities because of his religious principles and convictions that transcended temporal bounds. In 1858 Alfred Cumming peacefully replaced Brigham Young as governor of the Territory of Utah after a confrontation between Mormon militia and an unwelcome federal army that had come as an "escort" for the new appointee. In the spring of 1859 Young and Cumming discussed at some length the dangers still facing the Mormon community, especially the growing threat of military intervention directed by anti-Mormon territorial judges. Uncertain that he had the power to restrain the army, Governor Cumming felt the Mormons should exercise great caution to avoid disaster. While Young insisted that the governor had the authority to prevent abuses and should wield it vigorously, he affirmed that he did not fear and would not cower. "My religion is true and I am determined to obey its precepts while I live," he told the governor:

> with all due respect to your Excellency I do not wish any [advice]. I do not calculate to take the advice of any man that lives in relation to my affairs. I shall follow the counsel of my heavenly Father, and I have faith to follow it, and risk the consequences. . . . You may think strange of it, but you will yet see that I am right.[8]

As noted earlier, those who have discussed Young have generally done so in secular terms. They have written of settlements [5] and colonies and migrations; of treks and teams and labor and building; of business and economics and finance. It is partly because of the limitations of this secular perspective—a perspective that either ignores

or fails to come to terms with Young's own view of the world and the religious dimension of his leadership—that many significant questions about Young's leadership remain unanswered more than a century after his death. The secular perspective that has proved useful in assessing some Mormon accomplishments under Young has been less helpful for explaining his actions or uncovering the foundation for his policies. It lacks the interpretive power of assessing Young in his own terms.

Was he a good man or evil, an unfeeling despot oppressing his people or a fatherly leader watching out for their good? What were his purposes in frequently chastising and cajoling the Saints? One must examine his actions in light of his motivations to begin to answer such questions. Were his people duped or mesmerized by his powers of personality, or were they following a leader whose heart they knew and whose goals they shared? Understanding the Mormon social world and its religious underpinnings provides a perspective that suggests answers. Was Young simply a master pragmatist, able to react effectively in each new set of circumstance, or was he *acting,* gradually implementing long-range plans according to fixed goals and principles? These kinds of questions cannot be answered without taking into account the genuine religious dimension that profoundly influenced Young and how his people responded to him.

There have been revisionist studies of Mormon leaders that take seriously the religious dimension. Jan Shipps, the author of [6] one of them, noted that as a Methodist scholar of religious studies she could perhaps understand the mainspring of Mormonism better than the Catholic sociologist of religion Thomas O'Dea because she was willing to see in Joseph Smith the possibility of genuine religious motivation and experience. O'Dea, in other words, may have missed the essence of Mormon experience because he could not take Mormonism seriously as a religion in the same way she could. One need not accept another world view in order to take it seriously, of course, but, as the scholar of religions Mircea Eliade has noted, there is little understanding of another's mental universe without in some measure taking it seriously.[9]

Because Brigham Young has been known widely as a secular or practical leader more than a religious one, the need for such an approach to his life may still be less evident. It is important to observe, however, that, in contrast to the popular stereotypes, his perspective was a religious one and he usually talked about himself in religious terms. He spoke of faith and priesthood duty, prayer and revelation, salvation and eternity. He talked of establishing Zion, building the kingdom of God, making Saints. He thought in terms of fighting the devil and powers of evil and enjoying the blessings of heaven. Young and his colleagues saw the events of everyday life through the filter of a religiously based world view. For them the distinction between the temporal and the spiritual, the religious and the secular vanished as they set about implementing their religious vision in the real world.

One biographer of Brigham Young concluded that "without Brigham Young the Mormons would never have been important . . . but [7] without the Mormons Brigham Young might have been a great man." Such an assessment, ignoring entirely the religious dimension, explains nothing; Young would have found it ludicrous. Had he ever tried the comparison he surely would have reversed it: without him Mormonism he still would have prospered, but without Mormonism he would have been unimportant. Mormonism, he once said, "has done everything for me that ever has been done for me on earth."[10]

Brigham Young saw his abilities as a gift from God and his leadership successful because God was with him and his people. He saw himself as a rough and unpolished instrument with the grit to do his best and the faith to leave to God the rest. He breathed defiance in the face of a federal army not because he trusted in the arm of flesh but because he was fully confident that God overruled. In the short run he expected setbacks; temporary failure left him unshaken. Devils, after all, will rage and man fall short of his potential. Even when he and his people failed in specific practical endeavors (iron production or sugar manufacturing, for example), Young remained serenely confident. God still reigned in His heaven and, if the Saints had sacrificed in unity, if they had improved in righteousness or grown closer to their God, failure, Young thought, might prove a better school than success. He was certain that in the long run the kingdom would triumph and, as he liked to say, no power on earth or hell could prevent it.

Consistently throughout his life Brigham Young believed these things to be so, and he acted accordingly. An analysis that includes consideration of these aspects of his life has the potential to better explain Young and his associates than an [8] interpretation based on temporal and secular considerations alone. By examining in detail the early formative period during which this religiously based world view became an integral part of Young's life, this study seeks to portray the all-encompassing religious framework from which he acted and use it to shed light on the complex issues confronting early Mormons and on the emergence of Brigham Young as a Mormon leader.

There is a special difficulty in comprehending the *Weltanschauung* or mental universe of Brigham Young. The predominant perspective of modern man is secular or naturalistic, the opposite of the sacral perspective of Young and associates. It is difficult, as the German scholar Ernst Benz has commented, for secular man to understand or appreciate the sacral view. In his "Mormonism and the Secularization of Religions in the Modern World," Benz noted the agreement among sociologists that religion in all its historical forms more and more has disappeared from the consciousness of modern man until modern life and secularized life are in many respects the same. Benz sees secularization in its broadest sense as the desacralization of life—not only a diminishing influence of religious institutions on public life, but also a diminishing influence of religion on modern man's self-understanding and behavior.[11]

If there is something sacred about daily existence, modern man seldom notes it. Instead, he explains most phenomenon in human, ordinary, immediate, and practical terms without reference to Providence. He sees things in relationship to other things in the world rather than in reference to God or the divine. He talks [9] more of the real, the possible, the understandable than of the heavenly, the ideal, the cosmic. In most cases daily activities intrude more on religion than religion interprets and influences daily life.

By contrast, an equally comprehensive and pervasive sacral perspective has dominated many societies even in relatively recent times. This perspective has to do with the holy, the sacred, the cosmic, the divine—a perspective Mircea Eliade has termed the "sacred cosmos" perspective of *homo religiosus.*[12] It is a world view organized around unchanging goals and realities. It posits the transcendent nature of human life and the divine origin of the world. For those with this perspective all areas of life are infused with religious meaning; the temporal is inextricably related to the eternal in such a way that the latter gives sacred meaning to the former.[13] Brigham Young and his colleagues were profoundly influenced by this kind of *Weltanschauung.*

The introduction to Paul Gager's important study of the social world of early Christians presents one model for viewing religiously based societies. Beginning with Peter Berger's definition of religion as "the human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established," he argued that every human society builds a social world and that "sacred cosmos" is but a particular type of social world.

> All new religions . . . are directed toward the creation of new worlds: old symbols are given new meaning and new symbols come to life; new communities define themselves in opposition to previous traditions; a new order of the sacred is brought into being and perceived by the community as the source of all power and meaning; new rituals emerge to remind the community of this sacred order . . . : mechanisms are established for [10] preserving this new world and for adapting it to changing circumstances; and eventually an integrated world view may emerge, including systems of theology, sacred scriptures, and ecclesiastical offices whose task is to give meaning not just to the community itself but to all other worlds as well.[14]

Brigham Young's social world was such a sacred cosmos, an integrated "new world" with theology, scriptures, officers and ritual interpreting and giving meaning to every aspect of existence.[15]

Young's sacred cosmos was also a *social* world. Although Young and his colleagues saw as revealed and eternal the concepts that served as a foundation for their *Weltanschauung,* there can be no doubt that the concepts obtained concreteness and specific significance through events, and through actions and relationships in the social sphere. In turn, the concepts influenced events and relationships. The social world was, in effect, "created" even as they lived in it and devoted their energies to extend it. It is because the sacral perspective both influenced and interpreted experiences that it provides a fruitful perspective for viewing the period.

Not all early Mormons shared the same social world or perspective, however. Some viewed the concepts differently than did Young, and some rebelled against specific applications of the concepts. To some extent early Mormonism resulted in the development of two social worlds, each with widely differing assumptions about man's responsibilities, God's role in history, and the scope of prophetic authority. One scholar has termed the differing perspectives "literalist" and "metaphorist," the one breaking with traditional American protestantism by seeing a literal kingdom of God on earth and a literal merging of the temporal and the [11] spiritual, while the other, more in the mainstream of American religious thought, defined more narrowly the role of religion in daily life.[16] Although the present study emphasizes the emergence in Young and his fellow apostles of that sacred cosmos that came to predominate in nineteenth-century Utah Mormonism, it also traces the tension between the two perspectives in the 1830s and demonstrates the impact that tension had on the Church and on the development of Young's views.

A partial explanation for the emergence among nineteenth-century Mormons of a pronounced sacral perspective can be found in the identity they felt with the ancient Hebrews. To some degree that identity was related to the Mormon temple. But even before the first Mormon temple was constructed, the Mormons had a tie conceptually—and they believed literally—with ancient Israel.

Jan Shipps has argued that conceptually Mormonism had roots going back at least to Abraham and to the covenant people and symbols of the Old Testament Hebrews. After examining the relationships in outlook between nineteenth-century Mormons and ancient Hebrews, Melodie Moench Charles likewise concluded that "in their actions and beliefs, the early Mormons demonstrated a strong resemblance to those Israelites whose spiritual descendants they were," and found it surprising given the completely different historical, social, and geographical situations that they shared so many concerns. Among other things, they shared a view that

> God acted in history, concerning himself with the temporal prosperity and preservation of a special people. This people had a mission of service for their God which had worldwide implications. Each group saw itself as the Chosen People, a family with God at its head. He would assist them in doing [12] his work if they obeyed the ritual and ethical demands of his law.[17]

Edwin Gaustad has noted that these connections with ancient history have relevance for the Mormon psyche that go beyond more surface resemblances. They imply, he concluded, that "the heritage of *all* human history is a legitimate and relevant part of the Mormon heritage," and that properly apprehended, the Mormon past "is an ancient and inclusive past."[18] For Mormons their Hebrew connection provided an antidote to centuries of desacralization.

In some respects, then, the Mormon sacred cosmos can be viewed as they viewed it—a "restoration" of an ancient way of looking at the world. Few were more deeply influenced by this ancient connection than Brigham Young. For example, he stressed to followers in the 1840s that "Christ & Baal never can be amalgamated." Rather than try, he urged they follow his example. When he walked into taverns, traveled with profane men of the world, or dealt in business with the ungodly, "I go wrapt up in the mantle of truth—& wont mingle with any Str[anger] that is not of the L[or]d."[19] Not only did he consciously apply to the Mormon exodus the symbols of ancient Israel, his way of looking at the world, his approach to leadership, and his interpretation of events were all influenced by his Hebraic understanding of God's hand in history.

For Ernst Benz three aspects of Mormon thought best explain the persistence of a Mormon sacral perspective in a secular world.[20] First there is the concept of an Everlasting Gospel. In Benz's analysis this meant that for Mormons "the basic promise, the primitive power, the original spirit and force of the gospel of [13] Jesus Christ is not exposed to decay, to corruption or to depravation in any sense of the word," that continuity, permanence and universality—including a universal world-wide mission as a permanent responsibility—is an integral part of the Mormon *Weltanschauung*. Second, he found beneficial Mormonism's insistence on the permanent presence of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Expecting to experience and use these gifts in their lives and understanding their history as one "guided by the presence of the Holy Spirit in the form of prophecy, of advice, of confirmation, of warning, and—

let us use an otherwise unfashionable word—of miracles" helps Mormons, thought Benz, approach the secular world with confidence.[21]

Finally, wrote Benz, the Mormon concept that pre-existing spirits [*in the premortal existence*]—literally children of God, a Mormon would add—enter human bodies in order to prove themselves in earth life and be prepared and worthy for further advancement in the grand scale of eternal beings gives earth life and things "secular" a different legitimacy. It means that the hardships of temporal life, including death, were accepted beforehand by free choice. For Benz this concept prevents Mormons from losing a sense of the transcendent origin and aim of man: "Denying his heavenly origin, man would deny himself, would deny the sense of his life, the meaning of the community of man in which he lives, the sense of the universe in which he dwells." Benz concluded that all of these things work together to give secular life meaning and to keep Mormons involved in trying to work out God's will in society and the world.[22] *[14]*

To Benz's analysis might be added several other concepts that functioned similarly, especially the belief that God requires man's labor, not faith alone, and that it is the responsibility of man to work hand-in-hand with God to prepare this world for His coming kingdom. These concepts operated in the lives of Young and his associates. The sense of the active power of the original gospel; the experience of "spiritual gifts" and the expectation of miracles—God's intervention in history; the sense of earthlife as a vital but transitory time; the sense of duty to work actively with God in history: these were integral parts of the sacred cosmos we discover in a detailed examination of Young's first encounter with Mormonism, his relationship to the Mormon Prophet, and his first emergence as an effective Mormon leader. These things motivated him, influenced his thought and action, set him to labor on difficult enterprises and gave him the strength to go on in spite of imposing obstacles and setbacks. In Brigham Young we have a case study of how one man responded to his world because of these and other sacral concepts that comprised his social world.

Brigham Young, then, was a "sacral man" and a "sacral leader." Based on a theology he found concrete and relevant to daily life, his sacred cosmos gave his life meaning and structure, influencing his perceptions and his actions. His goals and motivations were "religious" and his methods and actions can best be understood in light of the religious principles that nourished them. As he saw it, Mormonism provided the most rational explanation of his world and his experiences in the world reinforced or confirmed his faith. This writer believes that his was an *[15]* integrated, cohesive, pervasive mental universe and social world. He could easily shift from politics to business to preaching to priesthood ordinances because the shifts did not involve a realignment of goals or principles. His approach to life was integrated, not compartmentalized, and he was not a different man as a preacher or prophet than as a governor or businessman.

It was perhaps in molding the new society of frontier Utah as both governor and church president that the sacral nature of Young's leadership is most inescapable. Eric Hoffer has noted that successful nation building may require the art of "religiofication" or the art of "turning practical purposes into holy causes."[23] But for Young it involved no art, since the approach had been an integral part of his sacred cosmos since the 1830s. Mormonism, he taught his people, was a way of living and thinking, not a "Sunday religion" divorced from everyday life. For those who labored to do God's will in the world, all time was the Lord's and all labor that contributed to building the kingdom was sacred.

Young preached this essential unity of all earthly labors throughout his life. Just months before his death he stressed again,

> I know nothing about seperating and divideing, & calling one a spiritual kingdom and the other a temporal kingdom; I know no diference between them. . . . this is all one kingdom, whether we are working in our gardens or vineyards or building houses, or getting words, or sowing or reaping, or building up cities and towns, it is the work of the Lord, and no man has any right to step out of his religion to do his work, if he does, he will go to the Devil.[24]

Nearly twenty years earlier as part of his Christmas message to his extended family he explained another aspect of this world view. Even in social chat and recreational dance "the kingdom is uppermost *[16]* in my mind all the time," said Young. Chopping wood, hauling with his team,

"with me every engagement is the same as the ordinances of the house of God, my feelings are all the time the same with reference to the kingdom of God." No matter his occupation, "my prayer is to have the mind of the Lord that I might know just what to do, and I consider myself in the line of my duty in one thing as in another." The whole world is the Lord's, he concluded, and he intended to act as a servant of God in every situation.[25]

This is the reason Young could move comfortably and unapologetically from one phase of his leadership to another. A council meeting to choose a new apostle might end with the discussion of legislative matters, while a legislative session was not viewed as an inappropriate forum for a doctrinal address. A Sabbath meeting could accommodate a political caucus for, as Young made explicit, "it is all embraced in our religion." Were he the President of the United States it could be no different, he insisted: "everything in my office would be subject to my religion."[26] Summing up his years of service at the request of New York newspaperman James Gordon Bennett, Young telegraphed in 1873:

> All my transactions and labors have been carried on in accordance with my calling as a servant of God. I know no difference between spiritual and temporal labors. God has seen fit to bless me with means and as a faithful steward I use it to benefit my fellow men, to promote their happiness in this world and in preparing them for the greater hereafter. My whole life is devoted to this service.[27]

In part this study explores the roots of those views—the creation of Young's sacred cosmos and the beginnings of the Mormon social world he came to direct. Penetrating a "foreign mental [18] universe" is never easy, less so a "sacred cosmos" in this age of secularization. The recent availability of additional historical materials, particularly the arrangement of Young's papers along with "new" holograph letters from his early years that had been in private hands, makes the task easier and the results more complete than would have been true before. Because we are interested in perceptions, feelings, and beliefs, this study includes perhaps more quotations from the primary materials upon which it is grounded than would otherwise be the case. There is no other way to understand a foreign mental universe, argued Mircea Eliade, "than to place oneself *inside* it, at its very center, in order to progress from there to all the values that it possesses."[28] Perhaps relevant quotations from primary sources best demonstrate the religious constructs that infused their thinking. Where paraphrasing would be less precise or significantly alter the tone of expression, the actors are allowed to speak for themselves. The study also includes more extensive quotations and more detailed treatment of some experiences where it seems necessary to not only understand the event but demonstrate its impact on participants.

While the perspective and part of the approach of this study has to do with the sacred cosmos of Young and his colleagues, we are interested in that social world not as an end in itself but as one of the tools to better understand Young and his time. Examining in detail those historical experiences that proved formative—those that they felt were significant, instructive, confirming or which had a great impact on their thinking—helps us understand their sacred cosmos. But equally important is the reverse: [18] understanding the social world of the participants helps us understand better the events themselves. In part, then, this study uses an understanding of the social world to help interpret this period of Mormon history. Re-examining Young and his time from the perspective of this shared social world provides an approach to this period that sheds light on some of the otherwise obscure yet important events of the Mormon past. To paraphrase John Gager,[29] the final test of this approach (which takes seriously the sacral perspective and probes the social world) will be whether or not it permits understanding Young and this period of the development of Mormonism in ways that have hitherto been impossible.

Many studies in Mormon history rely in part on *Journal of Discourses* reminiscences by Brigham Young and others, generally responsibly so, and perhaps the practice needs no justification. However, because reminiscences form an integral part of this study, especially for the earlier chapters, reliance upon them does need explanation.

Brigham Young's reminiscences are important both as biographical sources and also because they illuminate some of the obscure events of the Mormon past. Young was a verbal man, an inces-

sant preacher and teacher who generally spoke his mind in a frank and straightforward manner. In addition to revealing his mind, hundreds of sermons (over four hundred printed in the *Journal of Discourses* alone) preserve literally thousands of reminiscences about earlier years. These shed important light on the 1830s, a period not as well documented as later Mormon history and a period where significant questions remain partly because of the paucity of [19] sources. To flesh out the story, this study weaves together reminiscences (Young's and others) with, wherever possible, contemporary documentation. Some reminiscences describe important incidents for which we knew the setting but not the details of experience; others clarify, explain or interpret events. Contemporary sources anchor, provide circumstantial context of, and test the reminiscences.

The question of reliability is very important, of course. Many of Young's reminiscences have an internal consistency that increases confidence in their use. Although he discussed not just once but repeatedly themes and incidents he found important, retellings separated by years or even decades demonstrate remarkable consistency. This unity and consistency over time suggest that he gave an honest and generally reliable review of his actions and experiences as he remembered them.

But how accurately *did* he remember? In addition to the internal test—one reminiscence of a particular event against another—many of Young's reminiscences are corroborated by other reminiscences and by circumstantial and occasionally explicit contemporary evidence. Reminiscences of Young's brothers and of his fellow apostles lend credence to and complement Young's own. In a few cases, particularly in the second chapter where contemporary documentation is more rare, reminiscent accounts by non-Mormons corroborate Young's memory of the past. Even more important, some contemporary evidence firmly and explicitly supports the reminiscences while none denies their validity. Some of the reminiscences can be tied back to concrete historical setting and [20] tested against established facts. These accounts dovetail tightly with contemporary evidence and help explain an event or its impact while the rest at least provide information or an interpretation of events that is not inconsistent with other documentation. Enough can be corroborated or "tested" to give a general confidence in those for which we have no other evidence. Where contemporary or other reminiscent accounts present an alternate view of events, that is acknowledged and, where important, included.

This is not to say that there are no problems or distortions. As with any later retellings, we can expect some emphases in memory more prominent than in the event as experienced, and some things glossed over or forgotten. Memory itself is selective. And what one tells of the remembered—and how it is told, and why—all influence reminiscences. With Young, because the reason for a retelling is often evident, we can in some measure anticipate the kinds of distortions that might have resulted.

Many of Young's reminiscences, both public and private, were told to instruct his people. Most of these in some way illustrate his view of God's hand in the Mormon past. Clearly such retellings tend to emphasize the sacral point of view we have discussed. He had somewhat the same emphasis even in reviewing his past for his own edification. As a prelude to rehearsing some of his earliest experiences in Mormonism, he once acknowledged that such review gave him pleasure "for I can see where God has favored and blessed me."[30] This is not to say that there is intentional manipulation of the facts of history for didactic purposes: he *did* see God's hand in his life and in the history of the Church, and not just [21] retrospectively; contemporary documents demonstrate that this emphasis was not merely a later overlay to memory. One should be aware, however, that both didactic purpose and his own desire to see God's hand in his life would tend to emphasize a sacral interpretation—no doubt with some distortion and some oversimplification when compared to all the complexity and variety of human experience. In spite of the sacral emphasis in interpretation, however, Young's reminiscences seem to have a solid basis in historical experience and honestly portray events from his perspective.

Besides some probably unconscious distortions resulting from didactic purposes, Young's reminiscences must sometimes be adjusted for a conscious shift in emphasis due to rhetorical hyperbole. Young was skilled in using colorful language, humor, wit, and exaggeration to drive

home a point. There are unquestionably conscious overstatements in Young's sermons. These occurred less frequently when he was rehearsing events of early church history than when he reviewed more recent events for listeners who experienced and were familiar with the history he retold, and who understood clearly his message. In either case the basic historical facts remain generally intact. One does not find Young playing loosely with history the way George A. Smith once did, for instance, in order to make a particular point about the Mormon migration to the Great Basin.[31] Young was not deceived by his own rhetoric and apparently did not let rhetorical purposes blur his view of historical reality. [22]

There are a few problems, including an occasional error or contradiction, that cannot be understood simply as a shift in emphasis to a particular audience or merely a matter of interpretation. For example, in October conference 1844 he told the Saints that by Joseph Smith's appointment Hyrum Smith would have been his successor had he lived; in October conference 1866 he said that Joseph had never appointed Hyrum his successor. Such instances are rare, however, and some of them vanish on closer examination when we discover that they represent either minor discrepancies, perhaps due to point of view, or genuine ambivalence that can be traced back to the original experience. For instance, some have seen a contradiction in Young's statements one time that the Saints migrated beyond the Rocky Mountains according to Joseph Smith's plans and by divine direction, another time that they went because they were driven and had no choice. In fact both elements existed side by side in his thought from 1846, harmonized by the idea that the enemies of the Church unknowingly cooperated with heaven in carrying out God's will: they were driven right where God wanted them to be.

Some of Young's reminiscences used here—especially in the first two chapters—are autobiographical. A few of these, it should be noted, probably reveal as much about Young as he came to be as they do about the earlier Young they discuss. When dealing with thoughts, attitudes and emotions, fleeting things not easily documented or recovered at best, we can expect some shifts in emphasis over the years. Some of the emphases would certainly have been different had he recorded the events at the time; clearly his [23] intervening years and experiences with Mormonism in some measure influenced his memory of this period. For example, we might expect that the sacral interpretation which became an integral part of his life mainly after his conversion to Mormonism in 1832 influenced to some extent Young's memory of the conversion process itself as well as certain other earlier events of his life that we examine in chapter two. But even where subtle distortions in memory may have occurred, the experience as remembered represents Young's view of his world and his memories reinforced his sacred cosmos and influenced his actions. His closest associates, moreover, generally found similar meaning in these experiences and both remembered them and interpreted them much as he did.

The difficulties with Young's reminiscences seem overshadowed by the consistency and apparent accuracy. While some reminiscences must be adjusted for hyperbole or other distortion, the problems are not severe. As discussions in this study illustrate, Young's review of events adequately fits—and often helps explain or clarify—known historical settings.

Several historical themes provide unity and focus as we examine Brigham Young and his colleagues in the 1830s. This is, in part, a biographical study of Young during the first decade of his encounter with Mormonism and he, of course, provides a central focus. Rather than treating equally all aspects of his life, the study focuses primarily on those relevant to understanding his perspective and his leadership. It traces, as well, Young's involvements in the events of this inadequately understood decade of the Mormon experience and the impact they had on him. As has [24] already been suggested, this provides a re-examination of key events that profoundly influenced Young and the course of Mormon development.

The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles provides another unifying thread. It was as a young apostle that Brigham Young experienced most of the decade and both individual apostles and the quorum as an institution influenced him greatly. This study provides an institutional history of the Twelve from its organization in 1835, with Young as an original member and the Twelve restricted in responsibility and sphere of influence, to the eventual rise of the Twelve to prominence under

Young's leadership. We shall see that it was Young as president of the Twelve who succeeded in unifying the Twelve and molding it into the effective leadership cadre that received increasing responsibility for general church affairs. It was through the Twelve, of course, that Young and his colleagues came to head the Mormon community. Perhaps this study can best be described as an investigation of Young and his fellow apostles in the 1830s as they gradually became an effective quorum and moved toward eventual ascendancy.

The Quorum of the Twelve in its first period under Thomas B. Marsh was a markedly different organization than the Twelve under Brigham Young. While some of the difficulties that plagued the Twelve under Marsh can be traced to his personality and style and to the fact there were no precedents for the new quorum to follow, they were also related to basic differences of world view. Joseph Smith intended to create on earth a new society after a heavenly pattern, a kingdom or community radically different from the [25] societies of this world. In chapter three we find Young converted to that vision of a literal Zion on earth, a community of the righteous with its own religiously based social mores, economy and government. Not all shared Young's enthusiasm for a new order, however, and profound differences in perspective eventually divided the Ohio-Missouri Saints and almost destroyed the Twelve. Young and others who came to share the sacred cosmos perspective remained faithful to Smith. Those who could not accept the establishment of a religiously directed "kingdom" on earth fought those who did. Later chapters trace the resistance and then rebellion of those not committed to Smith's social vision. If under Marsh the Twelve were deeply divided partly because of this divergence in world views, under Young the Twelve were unified partly because the remaining original apostles and new ones brought into the Quorum shared a deep commitment to the sacred cosmos perspective.

This study, then, also traces the early history of this sacral perspective that Joseph Smith taught, that Young and others accepted and that, under Young and the Twelve, became the basis for the Mormon commonwealth in the Great Basin. It was only after Young and the Twelve fully accepted the social world and all it implied—and their commitment to it had been tested—that Smith placed them in a position to serve as his primary assistants in beginning to implement this vision in Nauvoo in the 1840s. It was this social world that was behind some of the otherwise seemingly "strange" developments in Nauvoo that formed the backdrop for dissension and difficulty with Mormon neighbors and that eventually culminated in Smith's death in 1844. Committed publicly and [26] privately to "carry out all Joseph's plans," Young and the Twelve then labored for more than a generation to make the Mormon kingdom a reflection of the social world they had internalized under Joseph Smith.

Joseph Smith, especially his relationship to Brigham Young and the Twelve, provides the final thread woven throughout this study. Not only was he a primary architect of the sacral perspective, it was through shared experiences in which Smith was a central participant that the perspective was internalized. The interactions, relationship and growing bond between Young and Smith during this important decade are carefully traced here.

Because of these several threads, and because of the nature both of the extant documentation and the historical experiences, emphasis shifts somewhat from chapter to chapter. Chapters two and three center on Brigham Young, portraying first the man as he was when he encountered Mormonism, then the man as he was when called to be one of the apostles. Chapter four deals with the corporate experience of the Twelve during its important first two years. Here Young was neither prominent nor especially influential and the Quorum probably had more impact on him than he did on it. While his experiences and developing views are presented as documentation permits, the focus is on events the Twelve shared, events that were vital to Young's development as a Mormon leader. Chapters five, six, and seven deal with the divisive difficulties of Kirtland and Missouri. Young's role was important, in a few cases even central, but documentation does not permit a full rehearsal of specifics. In broad outlines these chapters trace his role in events and the [27] impact of the events on him. They also attempt to unravel the complex, confusing, and misunderstood context for these events. The principles at issue in these chapters were central to the devel-

oping sacred cosmos. In the remaining three chapters Young again moves to center stage, this time as president of the Twelve. The imprisonment of Joseph Smith and the Presidency thrust Young for the first time into prominent leadership as he and fellow apostle Heber C. Kimball effectively direct the 1838–1839 winter exodus from Missouri in their absence. When Smith returned to the Saints, Young worked with him to begin molding the newly reorganized Twelve into an effective unit in preparation for their mission to England. The final chapter analyzes the impact of that mission, performed at great sacrifice as an act of faith, on Young and the Twelve. After that shared experience the Twelve returned home experienced and united, ready to assume an expanded role as Smith's assistants in the major labors of the Church.

The realignment of presiding quorums that followed the return of the Twelve from England in the summer of 1841 placed the Twelve in a new relationship to the church Presidency and closed the first phase of their preparation for eventual ascendancy. During the 1830s the carpenter and joiner Brigham Young had moved from a reticent disciple to a bold and energetic leader, and the Twelve, which he now led, had developed from disharmony to unity, from obscurity to a position of prominence and power with Mormondom. The present study investigates and documents these developments.

This new relationship of the Twelve to Joseph Smith and the Presidency launched what became, in fact, the final phase of [28] the preparation of the Twelve as Joseph Smith's successors. During the next thirty months the Twelve not only gained extensive administrative experience as they became responsible for much of the day-to-day business of the Church, but they also received intensive private tutoring by Smith in doctrine, ordinances and church government. These final months of preparation made possible the relatively smooth succession of continuity that followed Smith's violent death a few months later.

It is with this final phase of preparation, along with understanding the early performance of the Twelve as Smith's successors, 1844–1849, that all the threads of this study can be tightly bound together. Actions during the five years following Smith's death best demonstrate the profound impact these earlier experiences and years of preparation had on the leadership of Brigham Young and the Twelve—including their immediate and unrelenting efforts to create a new Zion, a sacral community on earth.

It appears to this writer that the formative years under Smith set Young's agenda for life, and that understanding the social world he lived in during the 1830s and early 1840s provides the key to understanding Young's leadership thereafter. The goals he accepted and the concepts he internalized guided him and provided a consistency throughout his thirty-year administration in Utah. He devised particular approaches to meet new situations, but his world view, his goals and his emphasis on the principles for establishing a new society on earth remained largely unchanged. To an important extent, Young's Utah years, essentially 1849–1877, may [29] have been a fulfilling, a working out of what he had learned and was prepared to do by 1844, an implementing of his religiously based social vision of the world. Demonstrating that proposition may require additional work, but it is a proposition deserving to be tested. [30]

Notes

1. Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City, by Jules Remy, and Julius Brenchley, M.A.; With a Sketch of the History, Religion and Customs of the Mormons, and an Introduction on the Religious Movement in the United States,* 2 vols. (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), 2:495–96.

2. Ray A. Billington, *The Far Western Frontier, 1830–1860* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 196; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 549; Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mormons in the Opening of the Great West," *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 44 (1926):64, as quoted by Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Independence: Zion's Printing & Publishing Company, 1945), p. 8; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1950), 1:315.

3. An exception was Philip A. M. Taylor, "Early Mormon Loyalty and the Leadership of Brigham Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (Spring 1962):103–32. Taylor outlined some of the reasons why Young's success may have been so striking, including a discussion of the ways religion influenced the rapport between Young and other Mormon leaders and Young and his people. With Taylor, however, the reader is left to wonder if perhaps Young's "religious" leadership were simply a useful technique rather than an integral part of his character.

4. Remy and Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City,* 1:210, 303.

5. Remy and Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City,* 2:495–96.

6. John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W. P. Fetridge, & Co., 1857), p. 154.

7. Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements* (New York: Menton Books, 1961), pp. 112 and 77. Although Hoffer stated in a preface that mass movements (and, no doubt, their leaders) could be either negative or positive and he made no judgments, he nonetheless based much of his analysis on examples from Fascist or Communist experience, which he clearly saw as negative. Some of the analysis based on these twentieth-century totalitarian experiences cannot be applied satisfactorily to Brigham Young and the Mormons. Other insights seem to fit the Mormon case. For example, Hoffer wrote on page 15 that to be successful a leader of a mass movement must have boundless self-confidence, audacity, faith in a holy cause, awareness of the importance of collective activity; he must be practical and a realist but talk the language of the visionary. Though Young was at first both humble and somewhat apologetic about his background and his skills, his religious convictions made him eventually both audacious and fully confident that if he and his co-religionists did their part they could not fail for God was with them. His faith in his prophet, his God, his cause never faltered. Cooperative action was an important tenet of his religious belief. And he was first the practical man, the realist, the man of action in a demanding world who, because of his religious beliefs, became also the optimist, the visionary, the prophet.

8. Minutes, 24 April 1859, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereafter cited as Church Archives.

9. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion,* trans. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper Torchbooks edition, 1961), p. 165. See Shipps's study, "The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading Toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974):3–20, especially pp. 7, 9–11, 15 and comments in her lecture, "In the Presence of the Past: Continuity and Change in Twentieth Century Mormonism," Redd Center Lecture, 4 October 1980, Brigham Young University.

Whitney R. Cross is another scholar who has taken seriously the religious impulses that shaped early Mormonism. In a statement relevant to an understanding of Brigham Young, who came from this same region, Cross concluded that hypotheses which see Joseph Smith only as a deliberate impostor are too simple to explain what occurred: "Such myths not only distort Joseph's character but also breed serious miscalculations of how any religious novelty is likely to arise. All the spiritual experiments of western New York were alike genuine growths, rooted in a heritage of moral intensity and blossoming in the heat of evangelistic fervor." Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), pp. 143–44. Cross applies this same perspective to William Miller and other religious figures of the region.

10. M. R. Werner, *Brigham Young* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925), p. v; Discourse by Brigham Young, 20 April 1856, *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1957), 3:320, hereafter also cited as *JD.*

11. Ernst Benz, "Mormonism and the Secularization of Religions in the Modern World," *Brigham Young University Studies* 16 (Summer 1976):627–28.

12. For a classic formulation of the idea that all is sacred and can have religious, that is eternal, significance, see Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane,* especially chapter one and pp. 166–67. Although he is dealing more with primitive *homo religiosus* or religious man, as he calls him, and the animistic emphasis in that particular point of view is not directly applicable to Brigham Young's world. Still it provides valuable insight into a religious view vastly different from the view of western secular man and which has some parallels that aid in understanding Brigham Young's perspectives. For a briefer summary from a different focus see also Paul Wheatley's *City as Symbol* (London: University College, 1969).

13. Or as Eliade argues in *The Sacred and the Profane,* pp. 166–67, the whole of life is capable of being sanctified through association with the sacred; the profane is "real" and has more than transient meaning only as it is related to the cosmos.

14. Paul G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community, the Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975), pp. 9–11. Gager defines religion functionally as "that particular mode of world-building that seeks to ground its world as a sacred order, a realm that justifies and explains the arena of human existence in terms of the eternal nature of things." Some of Gager's insights can be directly applied to Young's social world. See especially chapters 1–3.

15. This is why Mormon theology was relevant and compelling to nineteenth-century Mormons. Sterling M. McMurrin in "On Mormon Theology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Summer 1966):140 noted that the real strength of Mormon theology "has been its concreteness, its sincerity, its humane integrity, its genuine relevance to the life of the Mormon people" who were powerfully moved by it.

16. See the comments of Jan Shipps in "Mormon History: A Dialogue with Jan Shipps, Richard Bushman and Leonard Arrington," *Century 2: A Brigham Young University Student Journal* 4 (Spring/Summer 1980):34–35. See also her "Creation of the Mormon World," Mormon History Association Presidential Address, May 1980, Canandaigua, New York, where she applied to early Mormonism elements of the approach Gager used to analyze early Christianity.

17. Jan Shipps, "In the Presence of the Past"; Melodie Moench, "Nineteenth-Century Mormons: The New Israel," *Dialogue* 12 (Spring 1979):54. My own reading confirms this. Compare for example some aspects of the Hebrew world view treated by Eliade in *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return,* trans. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959) with the concepts of Brigham Young and his associates developed in this study. See Eliade's chapter 3, "Misfortune and History," especially pp. 102ff, 112, 126–27. Young and his associates found meaning in suffering and the strength to boldly endure it in the same way that Eliade sees the Hebrews doing so.

18. Edwin S. Gaustad, "History and Theology: The Mormon Connection," *Sunstone* 5 (November–December 1980):47.

19. Minutes, 16 January 1848, General Minutes Collection, Church Archives.

20. Analyzing twentieth-century Mormonism where the sacral view is less pronounced, Benz nonetheless found Mormons relating to the secular world in a unique way—a positive secularization, he called it—attempting to fulfill and implement a Christian vision of society in a secular world.

These same theological constructs were central to the sacred cosmos of nineteenth-century Mormonism. This summary is from Benz's "Mormonism and the Secularization of Religions," pp. 634–36.

21. Prophecy, according to Benz, is "the way of divine guidance through the dangerous desert and rocky mountains of human history, it inspires and enables the believers in the future as it did in the past to prepare and to anticipate so far as possible the coming kingdom of God." Benz, "Mormonism and the Secularization of Religion," p. 635.

22. Improving and perfecting society by implementing a Christian vision of society within a secular world is not a uniquely Mormon concept, of course. During the important revivals of 1830–1831 that swept through the region that gave birth to Mormonism soon after the Mormon Church was founded, such a perspective became part of what Paul Johnson called "middle-class orthodoxy." See Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), pp. 5, 8. The Mormon version of this vision was unique in many respects. For P. A. M. Taylor the Mormon designation of a specific place was significant and different, as was the claim of prophetic priesthood authority (and, it might be added, a specific program revealed through that authority), authoritative against private judgments, conventional ideas (of property, for example, or the proper role of the sacred in secular society), and even against any spiritual illumination received by individuals. See Taylor, "Early Mormon Loyalty," p. 107.

23. Hoffer, *True Believer,* p. 15. There can be no doubt that the Mormon view of community-building as part of their responsibilities to God contributed to the cooperation and discipline with which the Mormons labored.

24. Undated discourse by Brigham Young, ca. April 1877, Brigham Young Papers.

25. Minutes, 25 December 1857, Brigham Young Papers.

26. Discourses by Brigham Young, 4 June 1871, *Journal of Discourses* 14:159 and 31 August 1856, *JD* 4:41.

27. Telegram to James Gordon Bennett, 10 April 1873, Brigham Young Papers.

28. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane,* p. 165.

29. Gager, *Kingdom and Community,* p. 13.

30. Discourse by Brigham Young, 17 July 1870, *Journal of Discourses* 13:211.

31. See discourse by George A. Smith, 24 July 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 1:44. Smith's desire to stress for a Pioneer Day audience the role of "God, through His servant Brigham" in leading the Mormons to the Great Basin led him to state that they had been "without a knowledge of the country, without reading even the notes of any traveller upon this earth, or seeing the face of a being who ever set foot upon this land," suggesting that only by God's hand had they found the mountain passes. Young often gave the Lord credit for leading them to the mountains but without denying the reality of their own careful preparation.

Chapter 2

Brigham Young and the Search for Bible Religion, 1801–1832

While Brigham Young is best known as the leader of the Mormons in the mountain valleys of the West, it is to his New England heritage and his youth and young adulthood in western New York that we must turn to understand the foundations of his later success. Though Young and his family left New England before his third birthday, the Puritan mores of his parents and grandparents formed a vital part of his upbringing and consequently of his character. In western New York the agrarian and western culture of the frontier and Young's own reactions to the fires of religious revival that seared the region modified this Puritan heritage. Brigham Young was both Puritan Yankee and son of the western soils. This chapter examines the emergence in Brigham Young of those attitudes and perspectives that fused with Mormonism to constitute the religiously based world view that dominated his life.

As with many Mormon converts of this era, there exist few contemporary documents detailing Young's activities before he joined the Mormons. If he wrote early letters, they are not extant, and his first diary entry barely mentions his Mormon baptism before continuing as a record of his missionary labors. [36] Of necessity, this reconstruction of his religious attitudes and experiences before and right after his baptism rests heavily on reminiscences.

The first of Young's reminiscences came in sermons—major ones by 1845, less than thirteen years after his baptism, with others throughout his life. In addition to these periodic references to his early biography, in the 1850s Young assisted in the preparation of a lengthy "autobiography" or personal history. Published in the *Deseret News* as the "History of Brigham Young," this provides detail and some framework missing from isolated retellings in sermons. The several manuscript versions that preceded the published one preserve additional information and reveal something of Young's thinking as he tried to clarify events.[1] Together, these reminiscences add up to a cohesive whole.

In addition to Young's own accounts of the period, we have others by close associates that corroborate Young's and add further details. Two of Young's brothers left reminiscences of this period. We also have the rich autobiography of his New York neighbor and close associate Heber C. Kimball. Kimball's account is especially helpful since it is earlier than the others, dating apparently from 1839, just a few years after the events described.[2] As with Young's, Kimball's history exists in two manuscript versions as well as the printed ones. As did Young later, Kimball had access to other records during the preparation of his history.

Because Brigham Young grew to manhood in that region of western New York known as the Burned-over District—and in the same [37] region where Mormonism emerged—a good deal is known about the general social and religious setting for his experiences. The classic study of the region by Whitney R. Cross appeared in 1950. Seeking an explanation for the unusual religious intensity and reform impulses that characterized the area, Cross investigated the social and intellectual background for and impact of the waves of revivals that swept the region. Brigham Young developed his own religious philosophy partly in response to this intense religious enthusiasm and these sectarian revivals. In the most recent study of the region, Paul E. Johnson analyzed in detail the social, economic, and religious milieu of Rochester, less than twenty miles from where Young resided when he joined the Mormons. Johnson, moreover, focused on 1830–1831, years that coincide with Young's Mormon conversion. Other studies have examined the region specifically as the spawning place for Mormonism.[3]

Young was also influenced by the post-Revolutionary primitive gospel movement and

his general reaction to the religious intensity of his region was similar to that of others of his time and place; he was a "seeker" and a "primitivist." Studies of that movement provide a final perspective for understanding Young's experiences and testing his memory of them. Dissatisfied with sectarian doctrines and practices—especially the unseemly division and rivalry—primitivists sought a new unity through emphasis on the Bible and a return to New Testament patterns. They generally were anticlerical and lay-led with limited formal training. Although affected by the revivals and interested in religion, they remained aloof from existing denominations awaiting a better day. [38] Brigham Young and many of his contemporaries who joined the Mormons had this orientation and this chapter provides a case study of the response of one primitivist to the religious enthusiasm of the Burned-over District. Studies dealing with the movement lend credibility to Young's own reminiscences of this period of his life.[4]

It should be remembered, as noted in the introduction, that perhaps some of Young's reminiscences for this period tell more about what he had become than what he *was* in the 1820s. No doubt his view of these early years before his connection with Mormonism became colored by his experiences after. Still, complimentary reminiscences, along with studies of his time and place, confirm that the memory of his experience is a credible one and that we can have general confidence in the broad outlines of his story. And where his Mormon experiences colored his memory about developing attitudes in this period, it is precisely those memories that became part of his personality, that bolstered his later convictions, that served him as an anchor in later experiences and responsibilities. The remembered perceptions of his world formed the foundation of his sacred cosmos.

Brigham Young's New England roots ran deep. Numbered among his ancestors were several generations of New England Youngs, Brighams, Howes, and Goddards. His parents, John Young and Nabby Howe Young, were both natives of Massachusetts, he a poor "orphan" and she of an established and respected family.[5] Among the youngest of ten children, John Young became a bondservant at the age of six after the sudden death of his father. [39] Though he married well and was, in Brigham's words, an "honest, hard-working man, . . . the Lord would never permit him to get rich"—he never overcame the economic circumstances of his youth.[6] After he and Nabby were married in 1785 they lived for a time near her family in Hopkington, Massachusetts. In spite of her family connections and the couple's industry and frugality, a large and growing family soon outstripped their resources, forcing them to make several moves in an effort to improve their economic position. One of these took the family briefly to Vermont, where Brigham Young, the ninth child, was born in Whittingham 1 June 1801. Before Brigham's third birthday they removed to western New York. There they also moved several times, although most of the period they resided in the beautiful Finger Lakes country.[7] For young Brigham, that landscape of rolling hills and forests, mountain streams, and long, slender lakes was home.

John Young settled his family on new land in communities yet to have their first good road or access to market. In these circumstances the land, inevitably, had a heavy impact on Brigham. He later remembered at an early age clearing land and farming with his father and "passing through many hardships and privations incident to settling a new country."[8] For the most part the Youngs supplied the needs of their large family by the work of their own hands in home, shop, and farm. They also labored for others to help make ends meet. Rather than formal schooling, young Brigham's education consisted of learning to work with his hands, first in the fields and eventually in the shop. As he later [40] reminisced of the background he shared with his New York friend and longtime associate in Mormonism Heber C. Kimball,

> We never had the opportunity of letters in our youth, but we had the privilege of picking up brush, chopping down trees, rolling logs, and working amongst the roots, and of getting our shins, feet and toes bruised.[9]

On other occasions he commented that, instead of the classroom, he spent his time, summer and winter, poorly clad and often hungry, chopping, sowing, and planting. Assisting in breaking new ground and supporting his family from the soil provided a harsh school for the young man that inured him to hardships and physical labor. After the experiences of his youth, he later felt the difficulties of crossing the plains as a pioneer relatively tame.[10]

Brigham Young's first occupation, then, was that of farmer. Alongside his father and brothers he learned about the seasons and the soils and the crops. "I have been brought up at the plow and know what it is to raise grain," he told the early Utah pioneers. Everything was not farming and clearing land, however. The lad learned indoor skills as well. His first store-bought hat came at age eleven. Before that his sisters made him winter caps and he braided his own straw hats for summer. He also made bread, washed dishes, milked cows, made butter, and learned other domestic skills. He later boasted that he could beat many of the women at housekeeping.[11]

In Utah, Brigham Young controlled large resources and was known as a man of wealth. This contrasted sharply with the poverty of his youth and no doubt his enjoyment of fine things was related to his early adversity. "I have been a poor boy and a poor man, [41] and my parents were poor," said the later Young. While that description fits most of Brigham Young's childhood, his hardest years came after the death of his mother soon after his own fourteenth birthday.[12] Without mother keeping house, the older children moved on and the family was divided. Brigham Young ended up with his father and younger brother Lorenzo, breaking land for a new farm and harvesting sugar maple on isolated acreage west of the southern tip of Seneca Lake. Lorenzo later remembered an occasion when their father left them while he took sugar to market. Before his return, the boys had exhausted all the food in the house when Brigham shot a robin which, with two spoonfuls of flour thumped out of an empty barrel, provided them their first meal in two days.[13]

This school of poverty reinforced the Yankee in his blood to teach Young the value of frugality, industry and self-sufficiency. In the 1860s he endeavored to explain to an old New York acquaintance why he had done so well as a businessman. Remembering his course "while you knew me" would suggest answers, he wrote. First, his carefully maintained reputation for reliability and integrity had earned him influence and opportunities, he was certain. Secondly, "I never spent my time in idleness, nor spent a sixpence in drink or other folly; but have endeavored to economise my time and my means, and use the latter so that it would increase on my hands." As his property increased, he remained frugal, even "tight."[14] Nonetheless, he later pointedly defended his efforts to win for himself and his people the comforts of life. To those who argued that adversity taught more lessons than comfort, he [42] replied that he and most of his people had already "suffered enough in this line of suffering" to learn all the necessary lessons if they were going to, that they hardly required more experience in poverty.[15]

While under the care of his father Brigham Young enjoyed his times of fun and frolic like most youth, "running, jumping, wrestling" and "laying out [his] strength for naught." But, according to Young's later memory, such uses of his time and energy stopped rather suddenly when John Young told his sixteen-year-old son "You can now have your time; go and provide for yourself." Brigham did not reveal whether he faced this new situation with anticipation or fear, but it seems likely that his youth had given him confidence in his practical abilities and that, with hard work, he anticipated faring better alone than he had with his father during their lean years. Full of energy and anxious to succeed, he set out with discipline and purpose that soon schooled him further in those habits of industry and reliability for which he became known. Rather than sport, at seventeen he used his strength "in planing a board, or in cultivating the ground to raise something from it to benefit myself."[16]

Breaking with the farming of his youth, Brigham Young set out to become an artisan. As an apprentice carpenter and joiner he learned important skills of wood working that he later applied in house building and furniture making. He reputedly assisted in producing some of the finest finished woodwork (mantles, staircases, doorways, and fanlights) in the area of [43] Auburn and Aurelius, New York, including those in the famed Seward Mansion.[17] As a young craftsman he developed patience with detail and a concern for honest, reliable work and quality workmanship. More than fifty years later his response to the letter of an old New York friend stressed his lasting commitment to those qualities:

> I felt amused and interested in your statement that a chair, made by me, would occupay a place in your Centennial supper. . . . I have no doubt that many other pieces of furniture and other specimens of my handiwork can be found scattered about your section of the country, for I have believed all my life that that which was worth

> doing was worth doing well, and have considered it as much a part of my religion to do honest, reliable works, such as would endure, for those who employed me, as to attend to the services of God's worship on the Sabbath.[18]

Young Brigham was concerned with his reputation and his standing in society. Although he recognized in himself "weakness, sin, darkness and ignorance," he sought to use appropriate language and to deport himself in business and social intercourse "in a way to gain for myself the respect of the moral and good among my neighbors."[19] Almost uniformly those who knew him in western New York reported good of him—a favorable reputation that persisted in the region. Joseph Smith, residing only a few miles away, was early ridiculed as a religious fanatic and labeled a ne'er-do-well and a charlatan because of his youthful claims of visions. In contrast Brigham Young was thought of as upright and sober until after he joined the Mormons at age thirty-one. For example, one resident of Canandaigua who had earlier known the Youngs wrote to the local press in 1857 after the publication of an unflattering article about Young. Stressing that he wrote not to defend the Brigham Young of Utah "but Brigham Young as he was, while in *[44]* Canandaigua, before he became a Mormon," the writer corrected errors of fact and responded to the charge that Brigham had been poor and indolent. "He was poor but had enough to be comfortable," insisted the writer. "He was not indolent, but was a hard working man. . . . very handy with tools" who had a trade. In addition, noted the letter to the newspaper, his neighbors thought him "a consistent Christian."[20]

By the time Brigham Young married at age twenty-three, he was well-prepared to provide for a family. He had supported himself for a half-dozen years, had a trade, and was thought of as a responsible member of his community. His bride, Miriam Works, was five years his junior when they wed 8 October 1824. A neighbor remembered Miriam as a "beautiful blond with blue eyes and wavy hair; gentle and lovable," and Brigham as "vigorous, handsome and magnetic. . . . as fine a specimen of young manhood as I have ever known."[21] To support his new household, Young hired himself out. He constructed and painted canal boats at Port Byron, helped build a large tannery in Oswego, and worked in a pail factory in Haydenville. By 1829 he located his family near Mendon, where he built a home for his father, and on his father's land, a workshop and home for himself and family.[22] Caring for his family and toiling at his trade, however, were but part of his life. He yearned also for religious fulfillment and for answers to nagging questions about life and salvation. As with his quest for economic independence, his quest for religious fulfillment was a journey of many years that took a decisive turn in Mendon. It was there that *[45]* he first learned of Mormonism in 1830 and where he was baptized in 1832.

Raised by parents of Puritan stock in the western New York hotbed of religious enthusiasm, young Brigham did not grow up without religious and moral instruction. Though John and Nabby Young had discarded the harsher Calvinist beliefs of their ancestors, as Methodists they were strict religionists nonetheless—as Brigham Young put it, "some of the most strict religionists that lived upon the earth."

> When I was young, I was kept within very strict bounds, and was not allowed to walk more than half-an-hour on Sunday for exercise. The proper and necessary gambols of youth [were] denied me. . . . I had not a chance to dance when I was young, and never heard the enchanting tones of the violin, until I was eleven years of age; and then I thought I was on the high way to hell, if I suffered myself to linger and listen to it.[23]

He was brought up so strict that if he exclaimed "Devil," he believed he had sworn "very wickedly." Even mild vows or curses brought a whipping. In fact, any violation of family mores meant swift discipline from his father whose practice was "a word and a blow . . . but the blow came first." His mother mellowed this stern, emotionally narrow approach somewhat, although she generally sustained John's strict religious views.[24]

For Brigham Young, the good example of his parents sustained the moral precepts they taught. For years he worked side by side with his father and knew his integrity firsthand, and of his mother he once said, "no better woman ever lived in the world than she was." No matter the provocation, neither would countenance their children in wronging another. Brigham idealized *[46]* his mother, partly, no doubt, because she died while he was still young and he long remembered her bedside pleas to "honour the name of the Father and the Son, and to reverence the holy Book. . . . do everything that is good; do nothing that is evil;

and if you see any persons in distress, administer to their wants."[25]

This strict moral training took affect on young Brigham. "I do not know that I ever wronged my neighbor, even to the value of a pin," he said in reference to his parents' teachings. From the days of his youth, he said of himself on one occasion, there never was a boy or man

> that ever tried to live a more pure and refined life. . . . I have not infringed upon any law, or trod upon the rights of my neighbors; but I have tried to walk in the paths of righteousness, . . . that I might gain eternal happiness.[26]

He had sometimes yielded to anger, but he had no memory of ever having "stole, lied, gambled, got drunk, or disobeyed my parents." Indeed, he abandoned his work as a painter when, in his words, "I had either to be dishonest or quit; and I quit."[27]

The strictness of Young's Puritan-influenced upbringing also showed itself in the control he maintained over his feelings and emotions. Not until the sweeping changes in his life brought about through his conversion to Mormonism and his adoption of Joseph Smith as a role model did he find expression for many of his religious and personal feelings, and throughout his life he retained a reticence about revealing deep emotion. This is no doubt one reason for the popular image of the later Young as a flinty and unfeeling leader. Part of this was a matter of *[47]* conscious discipline. He once told the Saints that his heart was so full of tender emotions for them that he could easily weep like a child, "but I am careful to keep my tears to myself." With habit ingrained since his childhood, there was more than conscious determination at work. The suffering of others occasionally brought involuntary tears to his eyes; his own suffering or loss did not. That was true, he said, even with the overwhelming sense of loss he felt when Joseph Smith was killed. There were no tears, although "I felt as tho my head wo[ul]d crack."[28]

In temperament Brigham Young was fiercely independent and, while he may have obeyed his parents and perhaps recognized the wisdom in much of what they taught, he resented their strictness and eventually came to feel that much of it was unnecessary, even counterproductive. As a parent he determined not to subject his children to "such a course of unnatural training." They would

> go to the dance, study music, read novels, and do anything else that will tend to expand their frames, add fire to their spirits, improve their minds, and make them feel free and untrammeled in body and mind.[29]

In part this determination was related to Mormon concepts of agency. It also sprang from Young's own soul. The urge to be "free and untrammeled" was a vital part of Brigham Young and emerged early. "I am naturally opposed to being crowded," was the way he put it on one occasion, adding that he felt instinctively to oppose anyone who tried to force him. Although he never drank, when his father urged him to sign a temperance pledge he stoutly refused. "No," he told his father, "if I sign the temperance pledge I feel that I am bound, and I wish to do just *[48]* right, without being bound to do it; I want my liberty." He was certain that it would be useless for anyone to try to drive him to heaven or hell. "My independence," he announced, "is sacred to me."[30] A son of the generation who fought the War for Independence, he saw himself as a free man before God with all the rights and responsibilities that entailed. He developed a tough honesty and outspokenness and instinctively resisted domination and the arbitrary use of power.[31]

Instead of accepting all of the strict Methodist views of his parents, Brigham Young early developed independent ideas about religion. Of the existence of God he had no doubt; nothing else made sense. "I co[ul]d not get it into my mind that there was a sun moon & stars & nobody to make them—I never co[ul]d get it into my head 'heres a book, but there was no printer'—it was all a bag of nonsense to me." He felt it "natural . . . to be reverential" towards God and His creation. Nor did he have any difficulty accepting his mother's example of reverence for "the holy Book." As she urged, he read the Bible and endeavored to observe its precepts and apply them in his life.[32] Indeed, as with many who came to reject the orthodoxies of that day, his parting came partly from his independent reading of the Bible and his inability to reconcile its teachings with the tumultuous world of religion around him.[33] Also, his personal streak of stubborn independence encouraged him to chart a personal course as he pondered "these eternal things" amid the multiplicity of religious voices around him. *[49]*

Growing up in western New York he was early exposed to contending creeds. "From my

youth up," he remembered, "their cry was, 'Lo here is Christ, lo there is Christ': no, 'Yonder is Christ'; 'Christ is not there, he is here,' and so on, each claiming that it had the Savior, and that others were wrong." He concluded to join none of them until he could judge for himself, and he often prayed, "if there is a God in heaven save me, that I may know all and not be fooled."[34] He was, in fact, a witness to one of the greatest periods of revivals and religious turmoil ever. Though brought up "amid . . . flaming, fiery revivals," Young found it "all a mystery."

> I saw them get religion all around me—men were rolling and holloring and bawling and thumping but it had no effect on me—I wanted to know the truth that I might not be fooled—children and young men got religion, but I could not.[35]

The intensity of the religious climate affected others of the Young family, as well. When Brigham Young was only fifteen years old his younger brother Lorenzo had a vivid dream about him, one that he discussed with his father and probably with Brigham as well. In his dream he saw a brilliant gold carriage drawn "with the speed of the wind" by a beautiful pair of white horses.

> It was manifested to me that the Savior was in the carriage, and that it was driven by His servant. It stopped near me and the Savior inquired, "Where is your Brother Brigham?" After answering His question He inquired about my other brothers, and concerning my father. . . . He stated that He wanted us all, but especially my brother Brigham.[36]

So powerful was the impression left by the dream that Lorenzo slept no more that night. Seeing no other interpretation, he felt that it portended some great evil about to befall Brigham and perhaps the rest of the family, though his father felt no such fears about *[50]* it. Such an experience could only have intensified Young's religious yearnings, perhaps suggesting to him that God was specifically aware of him.

Although Young may have found the revivals a mystery and they did not move him to make a profession of religion, still they had an important impact on him. They reminded him that he was still "unchurched," and they multiplied his religious concerns. They turned him to his Bible, to family and friends who felt as he did. It was in response to them that he concluded that he would gladly give all the gold and silver he ever could possess to meet "with one individual who could show me anything about God, heaven, or the plan of salvation." Pushed by them he embarked while still a youth on a serious quest for a satisfying religion, and "the path that leads to the kingdom of heaven."[37]

Young actively inquired into the beliefs of all the major denominations in his region and of "almost every other religious ism" as well. Always the results were less than satisfying.[38] For one thing, he was distressed that the actions of professed Christians were not in harmony with Christ's example. Too often, he thought, they oppressed the poor or cheated their neighbor, actions out of harmony with his own strict upbringing and his reading of the Bible. Such hypocrisy was not his main objection, however. Where he parted company with all of them was over doctrine. He could not find any who preached doctrine that answered his personal yearnings and growing questions or that seemed in harmony with his reading of the New Testament. He felt that the morals, preachings, and intentions of many were satisfactory, *[51]* but he could find none that taught doctrines that suited him. All had truth, he was certain, but not one could he embrace without reservation. "As far as their teachings were in accordance with the Bible, I could believe them, but no further."[39]

Brigham Young wanted more than moral preaching and generalizations. He yearned for solid doctrine and explicit teachings about God. He desired concrete descriptions of the path to salvation, which he concluded required more than a mere profession of belief. When he took these longings to the sects, always he returned empty. In camp meetings he observed men and women worked into a trance by religious excitement and motionless "from ten minutes to probably an hour without the least sign of life in their systems." When they awoke, Young asked what they had seen or learned. Always the answer was the same: "Nothing or nobody." "Nothing at all."[40] He went to hear the famed preacher Lorenzo Dow, hoping to learn "something about the Son of God, the will of God, what the ancients did and received, saw and heard pertaining to God and heaven." After an eloquent preachment of two or three hours, Young asked himself what he had learned. "Nothing, nothing but morals." Dow could talk about the Sabbath, tell the people not to lie, steal or commit adultery,

but when it came to teaching the "things of God," Young thought him "as dark as midnight."[41]

Young became acquainted with many ministers and, as he grew older and bolder, began to question them: "I read so and so in the Bible, how do you understand it?" Not only did they fail to enlighten him—"they would always leave me where they [52] found me, in the dark"—when he made known his own feelings, they often called him an infidel.[42] Young readily admitted his disbelief in many of their teachings. Neither their creeds nor their preaching gave him solace or the answers he sought. He could not, he concluded, learn from the sectarians how to be saved. Continuing to ponder God's designs for the earth and its inhabitants, he thought that he would walk across the continent to see a man who could tell him "the first thing" about God and heaven.[43]

Young's religious longings and his reactions to sectarianism can best be understood in connection with the widespread Christian primitivist movement of which he was a part. Although he may not have been even loosely associated with a "primitivist" or "seeker" group until his mid-twenties, nonetheless he was aware of their beliefs and probably spoke with many from this orientation. Both their assumptions and their conclusions clearly influenced Young's own deliberations about religion. His disappointments with the sects and his expectations for a Bible religion have too much in common with other primitivists to be entirely coincidental. In general, primitivists were stirred by the revivals but reacted strongly against the sectarian conflict they helped engender. They saw the old-line churches as corrupt and apostate and stressed the need for "a restoration" of the "primitive" faith. Some awaited a new prophet as the best answer to the general apostasy. Finally, like Brigham Young, primitivists turned to the Bible—their own reading of the Bible—as the only authoritative guide. [53] Young clearly did not stand alone in these principles. It is likely that from the time he was religiously aware he had acquaintances and associates that shared this orientation. Both his reading of the Bible and his understanding of its message owed something to the primitivist movement that had been gathering momentum since the turn of the century.[44]

Because of his primitivist assumptions, Young's reading of the Bible convinced him that true religion was more than good morals and professions of belief, that it needed also authority and structure. "I read the Bible for myself," Young insisted, and although the preachers called him an infidel for failing to accept that faith in Jesus would save him, he thought the Bible taught otherwise.

> I understood from the Bible that when the Lord has a church upon the earth it was a system of ordinances, of laws and regulations to be obeyed, a society presided over and regulated by officers and ministers peculiar to itself to answer such and such purposes, and to bring to pass such and such results.

He challenged the ministers to tell him how the kingdom of God should be built up if the New Testament patterns were not the way. My dear friend, they would answer, "these things are done away with." Ordinances? Mere matters of ceremony; belief was sufficient. A system of religion following the scriptural pattern he could not find. For Brigham Young, as with many primitivists, the conclusion was inescapable: "I knew that Jesus Christ had no true Church upon the earth."[45]

As Young understood the New Testament pattern, a people "built up and believing" according to its principles would have [54] among them "all the gifts and graces of the Gospel," including apostles "to rule, govern, control, dictate, and give counsel." Above all Young longed to associate with a man of God—not a preacher of morals alone but a prophet with the knowledge and power of heaven. Later he remembered having felt

> that if I could see the face of a prophet, such as had lived on the earth in former times, a man that had revelations, to whom the heavens were opened, who knew God and his character, I would freely circumscribe the earth on my hands and knees.[46]

Although his convictions about biblical religion had not changed, about the time of his marriage in 1824 he formally associated with the Methodism of his parents. "I patiently waited until I was twenty-three years old," he said later, and then "to prevent my being any more pestered about it I joined."[47] Perhaps, wearied of being called an unbeliever, his marriage to Miriam encouraged him to take this step of further legitimacy in his community. According to one scholar, revivals reminded the unchurched that they must belong to a church, "a point about which they were already feeling guilty." Perhaps repeated revivals

finally convinced Young that he ought to do what he could, even if it was not all he had hoped for. It is also clear that he remained concerned about salvation and that he viewed this as a proper time to "break off my sins and lead a better life." A formal religious commitment might help. He joined the reformed Methodism of his parents, a society that had rejected strict Calvinism and moved in some measure in the directions Young sought. Though he did not agree with all of their teachings, he saw much good in the society and no harm in joining. Because he *[55]* insisted, he was baptized by immersion by a society which held that the form was not important.[48]

It is unlikely that Young was long associated formally with the Methodists. Not long after his baptism he found employment in Oswego, New York, where he joined with other seekers in an informal society of prayer, song, and worship. And, his move to the Canandaigua-Mendon area not long after placed him in an area where the local Reformed Methodist organization had been dissolved.[49] Young's involvement with the Oswego group, however, later occasioned a rare and revealing opportunity to see how a friend who had not followed him to Mormonism remembered Young's early religious quest. More than thirty years later, Hiram McKee, himself a minister and concerned that as a Mormon Brigham Young had lost the piety of his youth, wrote him of the association and desires they had once shared. "How sweet was our communion in old Oswego, how encouraging our prayrs, and enlivening our songs," wrote McKee.

> I have often thought of you as I have been engaged in trying to preach the gospel . . . I have not forgotten your advise, counsel, prayrs. My confidence was great in you, in view of your deep piety, and faith in God. You was one of my early spiritual friends, and guides, and I have often enquired in my mind, I wonder if Brigham enjoys as much piety now as then, or wheather ambitian, and love of power, and distinction did not hold some sway in that mind, that was once so humble, contrite and devoted.[50]

Brigham Young assured his friend that he, too, vividly remembered "the scenes, feelings and experience" of Oswego "when we were fellow seekers after the truths revealed from Heaven," adding that, "so far as I am able to determine, I feel that I am and ever since *[56]* have been as honest a seeker after truth as I was during our acquaintance in Oswego."[51]

As we have noted, among his acquaintances Brigham Young was known as an honest and sober man of industry, a "consistent Christian" who was interested in religion but not carried away by religious enthusiasms. When a local newspaper reprinted many years later the charge that Brigham Young had been "very fanatical and consequently noisy in meetings, shouting, screaming and howling with all his energy," one who had known him well during this period replied. Young's older brother Phinehas, himself a preacher at this time, may have been "noisy," conceded the respondent, "but it is not true of Brigham. . . . We never thought him fanatical until after he became a Mormon."[52]

This was the sober and practical Brigham, not a man of visions and dreams, who long remembered a remarkable "vision" that he and others witnessed in the fall of 1827. He later described to associates in Nauvoo the remarkable lights which for two hours on a moonless night formed marching armies across the sky. "I gazed at it with my Wife—the light was perfectly clear and remained several hours—it formed into men like as if there were great armies." Some miles away Brigham's sister Fanny, father John Young, brother-in-law John P. Greene, and others witnessed the same display. Heber Kimball told the same Nauvoo audience that "President Young has given a short sketch of what has been. . . . I distinctly heard the guns crack and the swords clash."[53]

Joseph Young saw it as a sign of the coming of the Son of Man. No doubt Brigham and Miriam also saw it as a sign, but what *[57]* it portended they did not know. For several years the experience remained for them a vivid memory without specific meaning.

It was probably soon after this experience that Brigham Young first heard of Joseph Smith's "Indian Bible."

> I suppose it was the first time that Joseph Smith gave to his Father the account of the finding of the records, that there was printed in the newspaper a short paragraph . . . that a young man had seen an angel and [the angel] had told him where to find an Indian Bible—and went on to inquire what if it should come forth and we should know about the Indians.[54]

Living only a few miles from the Smiths, Young heard other stories about the young man and the book, generally negative stories that ridiculed his pretensions or exaggerated his foibles.[55] It would

be years still before he would learn that 22 September 1827, the very night he and his wife had observed the lights in the sky, the angel, according to Joseph Smith, delivered to him the gold plates. Nor could Brigham yet have known that the mysterious book would be involved in his own long quest for personal religious integrity.

In 1829 Brigham and Miriam moved to Mendon, New York, and set up shop and home near the residence of Heber C. Kimball, a cousin of Young's, soon to become his closest and lifelong friend. Father John Young was already in Mendon and sisters Fanny Murray and Rhoda Greene, along with brothers Lorenzo and Phinehas, lived nearby. Some of his relatives and new associates in Mendon could be described as seekers, like himself. In the words of Heber Kimball, they shared the same principles, "for the truth was what we wanted and would have."[56] Others, like Phinehas and Joseph Young, were preachers, teaching abroad the religion they knew. It was here, in Mendon and vicinity, less than fifteen miles [58] from Palmyra, that they would all encounter the Book of Mormon and eventually accept it as a new scripture. All that was yet future, however, and when they read in the local press that Martin Harris had been to Rochester to prepare for the publication of the Golden Bible the notice apparently aroused no great sense of anticipation.[57]

Far from feeling anticipation about the future, Brigham Young at this time experienced considerable gloominess, even despair. No doubt he was despondent, in part, about his failure to satisfy his deep religious longings. Continuing poverty and perhaps feelings of inferiority may also have contributed. Frequent moves suggest that he had not yet fulfilled his ambitions or found his niche in the world. Years of experience had also discouraged him about mankind and about human nature generally. Already he had seen firsthand enough examples of how men treated one another "to make me sick, tired, and disgusted with the world." He felt like withdrawing from society and leaving behind "the vain, foolish, wicked, and unsatisfying customs and practices of the world"—a feeling that has importance for understanding his later commitment to establishing in Utah and elsewhere a new society apart from the world.[58] Brigham was not alone in feeling cast down. His friend Heber remembered feeling so gloomy that he wished he were dead. Brigham's brothers Joseph and Phinehas sometimes expressed the same heaviness. According to Phinehas, in the fall of 1829 both he and Brigham felt so disheartened that they could not even pray with any enthusiasm. At that time Phinehas, echoing a common primitivist hope, tried to encourage his brother that [59] surely things would soon change: "Hang on," he said, "for I know the Lord is agoing to do some thing for us."[59]

This, then, was the Brigham Young which Mormonism found. He was a man whose speech, ways of looking at the world, practical abilities and lack of formal training and refinement all related to the developing western New York of his youth and young manhood. His vision of the good life, his closeness to the soil and to the men who produced with their hands, his knowledge of men and human nature all grew out of the fertile soils of his homeland. He was a Puritan, disciplined and introspective, who had found life less than fulfilling, who was pessimistic about his own future and the condition of mankind, and who found no solace in the philosophies of his day. He was a man of rough-hewn toughness, independence and ability who had found no belief to unify mind and soul, no key to unlock his energies and harness his determination, and no cause to prod him to the growth sparked by great efforts. Nearly thirty, he was liked and respected but not distinguished. If he overcame his melancholy, appearances suggested he was likely to remain a craftsman, or certainly nothing more ambitious than a local politician.

The publication of the Book of Mormon set in motion the process that would change Brigham Young's life, dismissing eventually the gloom, satisfying his deep religious longings, and sending him in directions he had never anticipated. He remembered being aware of the Book of Mormon, both by news accounts and by word of mouth, as soon as it was published. This occurred in March 1830, only a few miles away from his own home.[60] [60] Had he expected anything important in connection with it, he would have sought an early copy, no doubt. Instead, Joseph Smith's brother Samuel's earliest missionary labors left two copies of the book with members of the Young family, one purchased by Brigham's brother Phinehas and another left with Brigham's sister Rhoda and

her husband John P. Greene.[61] Phinehas set aside all other labors, "read it twice through, and pronounced it true." He then lent the book to his father who, after reading it, said it was "the greatest work and the clearest of error of anything he had ever seen, the Bible not excepted." Phinehas' sister Fanny Murray got it next, read it "and declared it a revelation."[62] As the volume was passed about, Brigham Young first saw the book and soon had a turn to read either Phinehas' or the Greene copy.[63]

Although Brigham Young apparently had access to the book within a month of its publication and read it without delay, he was not as quick as some of the members of his family to pronounce the work divine.[64]

> "Hold on," says I. . . . "Wait a little while; what is the doctrine of the book, and of the revelations the Lord has given? Let me apply my heart to them"; and after I had done this, I considered it my right to know for myself. . . I wished time sufficient to prove all things for myself.[65]

No missionaries appeared to teach him; no organized group of believers invited him in. He sat down, alone, to ponder the book and test it the only way he knew—slowly, carefully, methodically. While he did not intend to be taken in by still another religious novelty, he would not risk passing over something that might satisfy his long-felt desires. As he approached the book, he felt no need for divine revelation about its authenticity. His "natural *[61]* wisdom and judgment" had been sufficient, he thought, to comprehend the deficiencies and discrepancies in the creeds of the day and he expected the same to be true with the Book of Mormon. Instead, he found something he could not immediately judge, either to embrace or discard. As he later told his assembled kin in Nauvoo, "I could get to the bottom of all religions that I have any knowledge of, but this I reasoned on month after month . . . this was out of my reach."[66]

Brigham Young read the book and pondered its message for perhaps eighteen months, and it would be two years between the time he first received the book and his Mormon baptism. He compared the book's teachings with the Bible and allowed its ideas to ripen in his mind. Though he had long felt that traditions lay heavy upon the Christian world and blinded it to simple Biblical truths, he now struggled with his own traditions and presuppositions.[67] After considering the book for more than a year, Brigham told his brother Phinehas that he was "convinced that there was something in Mormonism." Phinehas replied that he had long been satisfied of that.[68]

As he began to be satisfied in his mind about the Book of Mormon, Young desired to meet those "who professed to believe it" and to judge in them the fruits of the doctrines. Ever practical, he wanted "to see whether good common sense was manifest; and if they had that, I wanted them to present it in accordance with the Scriptures."[69] The first Mormon elders that either Young or Kimball heard were probably those from a small Mormon branch in Columbia, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, who several times passed *[62]* through the Mendon area traveling to or from Kirtland, Ohio, where Joseph Smith resided. Heber Kimball may have listened to them before Young—likely in the spring of 1831 when the Mormon elders traveled to Kirtland, Ohio, for a conference to be held in June. Although he first listened out of curiosity, their message that an angel had visited Joseph Smith with the fulness of the gospel, calling upon all men to repent, and their promise that the gifts of the Spirit would follow those who believed, immediately interested him.

> As soon as I heard them I was convinced that they taught the truth, and that I had only received a part of the ordinances under the Baptist church. I also saw and heard the gifts of the spirit manifested by the elders, for they spoke in tongues and interpreted, which tended to strengthen my faith.[70]

Young and Kimball both heard these elders preach in the fall of 1831 on their return from the June meetings in Ohio. According to Kimball's account, they were "constrained by the Spirit to bear testimony of the truth which we had heard, and when we did this, the power of God rested upon us and we had a testimony that the work was true." Young noted simply that he there heard preached "the everlasting Gospel as revealed to Joseph Smith the Prophet, which I heard and believed."[71]

Now Young and Kimball pondered not only the Book of Mormon but the messages left by the elders and what they had felt and experienced personally. On one occasion Brigham, his brother Joseph and his father went out with Heber to get wood for brother Phinehas Young. Kimball related that as they labored they reflected upon the things the elders had told them, especially the *[63]* gathering of the Saints. They felt the glory of God around them and saw in vision

> the gathering of the Saints to Zion, and the glory that would rest upon them; and many more things connected with that great event, such as the sufferings and persecutions which would come upon the people of God, and the calamities and judgments which would come upon the world.

For Heber this experience was one of several testimonies that the Mormon message was of God.[72]

Although increasingly interested in Mormonism, they still had found no opportunity to observe a Mormon meeting or meet in worship with a Mormon family. Soon after the elders left Mendon, Kimball proposed to Brigham and Phinehas Young that they use his horse and sleigh to visit the Pennsylvania members in their own homes.[73] Apparently Vilate Kimball remained behind to care for the children so the other wives could accompany their husbands. Miriam must have been as anxious to visit the Pennsylvania Mormons as was Brigham or she would not—especially with her poor health—have braved in winter the two-hundred-fifty mile round trip journey.[74] As Young summarized,

> We stayed with the church the[re] about six days, attended their meetings, heard them speak in tongues, interpret and prophecy: these things truly caused us to rejoice and praise the Lord. We returned home being convinced of the truth of these things . . . and bore testimony to the truth of those things which we had seen and heard to our friends and neighbors.[75]

As soon as they returned from Pennsylvania, Brigham Young used the horse and sleigh to travel two hundred miles to discuss the gospel with his brother Joseph, then preaching in Canada. He had now to a large extent satisfied his own mind about Mormonism, but he wanted to share his feelings with his respected older brother and *[64]* see if Joseph concurred and would also join. Young's Methodist minister brother-in-law John Greene, traveling his own preaching circuit, accompanied him part way that February. As the two men talked Mormonism, Brigham told the preacher, "if you dont get snagged I'll treat."[76]

Brigham Young characterized his brother Joseph as a solemn man of sad heart and a "very spiritual man" who was always praying. Like Brigham, he had sought wisdom and solace from the Bible and had concluded that there were no "Bible Christians" on the earth. That conclusion left him in despair; he neither laughed nor smiled. "I do not see any possible escape for the human family," he announced, "all must go to perdition." It was to this older and trusted brother that Brigham Young explained his feelings about the "folly and nonsense so prevalent in the Christian world" and what he had found in Mormonism.[77] Joseph Young remembered that Brigham reported to him

> many things of interest concerning the signs and wonderful mericals being wraught through the believers in this new faith. I was ripe for receiving something that would feed my mental cravings, and this seemed to be the food I wanted—nothing could have been more acceptable to my poor famishing soul. I hailed it as my spiritual jubilee—a deliverance from a long night of darkness and bondage.[78]

Immensely interested, Joseph Young arranged to leave his Canadian ministry and return to Mendon with his brother. In March, shortly after the two brothers arrived in Mendon, Joseph Young accompanied his father and his brother Phinehas to the Pennsylvania Mormons and the three were baptized. Brigham Young was not with them. If he had found the message acceptable, why was he still hesitant to make the commitment? *[65]*

Apparently Young recognized that Mormonism presented him with a momentous decision. If it was not what it seemed, he must know and not be deceived. If, as he had progressively come to believe, it was what it professed to be, he must carefully prepare himself for a lifetime commitment. The weight of such a decision intensified his usual caution. He would not act without "time sufficient to prove all things for myself."[79] Was he weak and tentative, unable to make up his mind—unwilling to take a risk—awaiting a manifestation so that he could be *certain?* Some of his later statements suggest this. Or was he slowly and carefully preparing himself for a crucial decision? It seems probable that his hesitancy resulted from both tentativeness and from a feeling of being inadequately prepared. It is also likely that there was at the time more of the tentativeness and unwillingness to be mistaken than is revealed in Young's later statements, which stressed the careful preparation.

In addition to thoroughly examining the Book of Mormon, by this time Young had listened to the preaching of Mormon elders and visited the Saints in their homes. All of this he had discussed with his family and friends. Still, although his cautious mind had gradually been satisfied and his major concerns removed, he went to Canada

not only to share the tidings with his brother but also because he was unwilling to trust his own wisdom—he wanted reassurance. "I had more confidence in [Joseph's] judgement and discretion, and in the manifestations of God to him," he later acknowledged, "than I had in myself, though I then believed the Book of Mormon to be true." He did not intend to be mistaken. He [66] wanted all his doubts removed and he wanted to *feel* and to *know* he was right before he acted. Had this not eventually occurred, he later insisted, "I never would have embraced it to this day."[80]

No matter how diligently Young applied himself, his rational, methodical approach to Mormonism was not by itself sufficient. He had found the teachings of Mormonism reasonable as far as he could understand them, but he was full of questions, and some of the questions must have expressed lingering doubts. He had understood that the biblical pattern required apostles; why had he heard none preached? And if the officers were incomplete, what about the ordinances of the New Testament church; did Mormonism have all the ordinances and the authority to administer them? The Mormons spoke of a prophet on earth again, continuing revelation and new scripture, suggesting possibilities for an expanding vista of knowledge that, in Young's words, "led the vision of my mind into eternity" and opened up possibilities beyond his immediate ability to grasp. When neither a practical approach to Mormonism nor the example of family members who accepted baptism had moved him to commitment, he knew that he must pray "and feel right about it" in every respect before he could go ahead.[81]

"I could not more honestly and earnestly have prepared myself to go into eternity than I did to come into this Church," he later affirmed.[82] During this period Young sorted out in his own mind the implications of joining the Mormons and tested himself on his willingness to stick to a commitment before he made one. If this was really the Bible religion he had long sought, [67] then, as the Bible challenged, it had to take precedence over all else, even his family commitments. Although he was not, in reality, forced to leave his family for Jesus' sake, he consciously tested his feelings by applying the biblical injunction. He wrestled within, sorting out his feelings, until he knew "in the vision of my mind" he could, if required, leave his family and "know no other family but the family of God gathered together, or about to be, in this my day."[83] Perhaps it was partly because he had tested himself this way that later, when sacrifice was required, he seemed not to hesitate to put his commitment to Mormonism—to his God, as he saw it—above all else. And it was because of this preparation that he could later say that his heart, soul and affections had been with the kingdom of God since the day of his baptism.[84]

It was the plain testimony of a simple elder that firmly launched Brigham Young into Mormonism. Young's own "judgment, natural endowments, and education" bowed to the direct word of a man without eloquence who could say only "I know." Said Young of the experience,

> the Holy Ghost proceeding from that individual illuminated my understanding, and light, glory, and immortality were before me. I was encircled by them, filled by them, and I knew for myself that the testimony of the man was true.

For Young the testimony of this man and his associates "was like fire in my bones . . . it bore witness to my spirit, and that was enough for me."[85] The experience swept his doubts away and planted his feet in new directions. Thereafter he could say that when [68] Mormonism came along, "I fathomed it as far as I could and then I embraced it for all the day long."[86]

Eleazer Miller, one of the Pennsylvania elders, baptized Brigham Young on a cold and snowy fourteenth day of April 1832. With the ordinance came "a humble, child like spirit," in his mind a confirming that his sins were forgiven even as the Savior had said. Young marveled as Miller ordained him an elder before the clothes were dry upon his back.[87] Three weeks later Brigham's wife Miriam joined the Mormons. During this same period, in addition to Joseph, Phinehas and John Young, Brigham saw Lorenzo Young, the Kimballs, the Greenes and other relatives and acquaintances cast their lot with the Restoration.[88]

Seldom was baptism by immersion as a symbol for death and resurrection to new life more appropriate than in the case of Brigham Young. Instead of gloom and despair, he was filled with "good feelings, with joy rejoicing" until both man and nature took on new aspects in his eyes. Hope and purpose replaced discouragement. He felt as if a curtain had been removed from the face of the sun to allow him to bask in the light of truth.

Suddenly it became "Glory! Hallelujah! Praise God!" instead of sorrow and grief.[89] Indeed, he later explained, from the day of his baptism forward, he had felt as if he were in another world: "I never look back upon the old world but it is like looking into Hell."[90]

Young was certain that Mormonism had the power to revolutionize the world and from the time of his baptism, preaching was for him a high priority. He had thought society corrupt and foolish; now he felt he knew why: "The whole world . . . was [69] vailed in darkness. . . . what they understood was nothing more than a faint glimmering of light." Just as the veil of darkness had been lifted from him, he could be an instrument to help lift it from others. His would be a message not of the brimstone and torment awaiting the wicked, but one of the hope and joy awaiting those who would repent.[91] Truth and the gospel of salvation were his text, he said, and the world his circuit.[92]

In reality, Young's original circuit was confined to his own region, where he was assisted by Joseph and Phinehas and Heber C. Kimball. As Brigham Young later summarized the labors of that spring and summer, from Mendon they preached in every direction and "seven months had scarce passed away when there was a dozen branches raised up." After that he went twice to Canada to preach and also traveled twice to Kirtland, Ohio, preaching along the way. Clearly he felt an urgency, a fire within that would not let him rest.[93]

> I wanted to thunder and roar out the Gospel to the nations. It burned in my bones like fire pent up. . . . nothing would satisfy me but to cry abroad in the world, what the Lord was doing in the latter-days. . . . I had to go out and preach, lest my bones should consume within me.[94]

It was remarkable that Young, a man of humble background with unpolished speech who had not been in the habit of addressing the public, should have launched at once into preaching. No doubt he could express himself adequately in conversation, but he was untrained and lacked the confidence to face an audience. Unlike his brothers, Brigham had not developed his skills as a lay preacher and felt self-conscious and hesitant in public. He thought later that only his excitement over the Mormon message and [70] his conviction that the Lord could use even the weak things of the world could have persuaded him to become a public speaker.[95]

Young's initiation as a speaker came dramatically. One week after his baptism he attended a meeting with several experienced Mormon elders. They insisted, to his surprise, that they did not have the spirit to speak and that he must.

> I was but a child, so far as public speaking and a knowledge of the world was concerned; but the Spirit of the Lord was upon me, and I felt as though my bones would consume within me unless I spoke to the people and told them . . . what I had experienced and rejoiced in.

He spoke for over an hour: "I opened my mouth and the Lord filled it."[96] On other occasions, as well, it was the "fire" in his bones that motivated him to overcome his natural timidity. "I was obliged to do it, for I felt as though my bones would consume within me if I did not."[97]

Young's success as a public speaker came only after much effort. Because of his lack of education, his speech was unsophisticated and he long felt embarrassed and "destitute of language" before an audience. In spite of these recognized liabilities, he consciously concluded: "I have the grit in me, and I will do my duty anyhow."[98]

While Young's speech had little in common with the eloquent and studied oratory of the schools, its conversational tone and illustrations rooted in the experiences and idiom of the people proved effective. Indeed, his style came to resemble that advocated by the prominent revivalist Charles Finney, who recommended even for learned preachers not "splendid exhibitions of rhetoric" but extemporaneous speech filled with the impassioned utterances [71] of the common exhorter. He suggested simple language, short sentences and a colloquial manner, with frequent repetition and parables derived from the habits of the people. For Young these things came naturally. His speech was the direct, forceful and vivid idiom of the frontier, full of homespun imagery and colloquialisms. His approach to speaking also resembled that urged by the seminarian Lyman Beecher. "Young men," said Beecher to his charges, "pump yourselves brim full of your subject until you can't hold another drop, and then knock out the bung and let nature caper."[99] In public or in private, in written or spoken language, the vigorous and colorful mode of discourse rooted in western New York and developed as a Mormon traveling missionary remained a part of Brigham Young's personality and characterized his later leadership.[100]

Some of the changes in Young's life following his baptism were subtle and not immediately evident. Here began the process that eventually transformed Brigham Young, "carpenter, joiner" who made fine furniture with his hands into "President Young," committed to making Saints and working with people more than things. Here, too, began the process that eventually transformed an obscure and uneducated working man of upstate New York into a major religious leader and a widely acclaimed pioneer and colonizer of the far West. For Brigham Young, Mormonism meant new directions, new priorities, and new opportunities. These released and channeled his energies, harnessed his abilities, and helped him develop new ones. From the time that Young embraced Mormonism, his relationship to it and responsibility toward it assumed first importance in his [72] life. Preaching and teaching it became his first love, seeing its message spread and obeyed his chief satisfaction, attending to its needs his principle concern.

In addition to his new priorities, Young also had his family to care for. His wife Miriam, ailing from the progressive disability of tuberculosis, needed assistance and special care, and apparently Young conscientiously provided it. His daughter remembered him explaining how he had helped when she was nearly bedridden. He

> got breakfast for his wife, himself, and the little girls, dressed the children, cleaned up the house, carried his wife to the rocking chair by the fireplace and left her there until he could return in the evening. When he came home he cooked his own and the family's supper, put his wife back to bed and finished up the day's domestic labours.[101]

Years after Brigham Young left the area the charge appeared in a local newspaper that he had been indolent, neglected his family, and often left his wife without provisions. An acquaintance from this period who responded in print affirmed his industry and labeled the charge that he was neglectful of his family

> the most unjust charge of all; there could scarcely be a more kind and affectionate husband and father than he was, and few men in his circumstances would have provided better for their families. Mrs. Young was sick, most of the time unable to do any kind of work, but she was a worthy woman, and an exemplary Christian; she was well deserving his care and attention, and she had it while she lived in Canandaigua.[102]

While his wife was still alive Young apparently limited his missions to his own region, permitting him to assist Miriam and spend time with her. The Kimballs, some of the Young family and Grandma Works were near enough to assist Brigham's wife and children when he was away. [73]

Less than five months after their baptism, Miriam died, leaving Brigham alone with two young daughters. She departed life sharing with Brigham a conviction that they would meet again. Young later insisted that he did not mourn her passing, though he would have except for the gospel. He was certain that "because the Priesthood is here," the way was opened from earth to heaven "and my wife was going there."[103] Brigham and his daughters moved in with the Kimballs and for the next eighteen months Vilate Kimball mothered her little namesake Vilate Young and Vilate's older sister Elizabeth.

Disestablishing his household after Miriam's death apparently led Brigham Young to act on an impulse he had felt since baptism—he gave away most of his possessions to friends and acquaintances who could use them. From the time of his baptism he had felt not only a spirit of unity with all of the new faith, but also a conviction that out of that faith and unity would come a new social and economic order. Laboring together to build up and beautify the earth, he was certain the Saints would produce more than they needed and all could share in the plenty. In the spring he had commenced to contract his business and lay aside his ledgers. With his daughters in Vilate's care, he felt he now could go further. He wished to be unencumbered with material things, free to preach the message of joy and peace until Christ should come. This was his impulse and he acted on it.[104] Later he would ascribe to a different time table as he learned that the road to the new society he envisioned was long and difficult. But in 1832, [74] filled with the enthusiasm of the new convert, he set out Quixote-like to change the world. [75]

Notes

1. In 1858 the *Deseret News* published histories of each of the original members of the Twelve. Some were prepared by the men themselves; others were a product of the apostles (and their clerks) that worked in the Church Historian's Office. Young's history was a combination of the efforts of the historians, relying both on their own experience and documents in their possession, and Young's dictation and answers

to questions put to him. Evidence suggests that Young assisted in the preparation of each of the several versions and approved the final manuscript. The three manuscripts of Young's history will be referred to here by number in order of preparation. *[Editor's note: see Ronald K. Esplin, "Conversion and Transformation: Brigham Young's New York Roots and the Search for Bible Religion," in* Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life and Service of Brigham Young, *eds. Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 20–53.]*

2. In 1839 in Quincy, Illinois, Kimball dictated to Robert B. Thompson an account of his 1837–1838 mission to England, an account Thompson published as a pamphlet in 1840. Extant manuscript copies of the mission history, clearly dating from the Nauvoo period or before, contain the earlier history as well. For specific information on the manuscript versions of Kimball's history, see note 56 below.

3. See Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950) and Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978). Although some of Cross's generalizations and interpretations have been challenged, his book remains a useful source book containing important information helpful for understanding the experience of men like Young and Kimball. For critiques of Cross's work as it applies to Mormon origins, see Mario S. DePillis, "The Social Sources of Mormonism," *Church History* 37 (March 1968): 50–79; and Marvin S. Hill, "The Rise of Mormonism in the Burned-over District: Another View," *New York History* 61 (October 1980): 411–30. See also James B. Allen and Leonard J. Arrington, "Mormon Origins in New York: An Introductory Analysis," *Brigham Young University Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 241–74; Marvin S. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 351–72; and Mario S. DePillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966): 68–88.

4. The key study for the primitivist movement as it relates to Mormonism is Marvin S. Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830–1844" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1968). Chapter 1 deals with the movement as a whole, and chapter 2 applies the analysis to the case of Joseph Smith and the rise of Mormonism. Notes in chapter 1 direct the reader to other sources, including I. Daniel Rupp's important *An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States* (Philadelphia: J. Y. Humphreys, 1844) which, notes Hill, reveals "just how widespread were the basic primitive gospel ideals of Christian unity and how heavy the reliance upon the Bible to achieve it," themes we find important in Brigham Young's case. Hill's "Shaping of the Mormon Mind," pp. 352–58 summarizes his argument on the primitivist context for the rise of Mormonism and the primitivist background of many of his converts. DePillis takes similar ground in his "Quest for Religious Authority," where he analyzes the appeal of Mormonism to those primitivists searching for an authoritative religion as an answer to sectarian confusion and competition. Most recently Gordon S. Wood examined the religious setting for the rise of Mormonism, including the primitivist influence, in "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," *New York History* 61 (October 1980): 359–86.

5. For specifics about his New England heritage see Rebecca Cornwall and Richard F. Palmer, "The Religious and Family Background of Brigham Young," *BYU Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 286–310.

6. Discourse by Brigham Young, 5 January 1860, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1967), 9:104, hereafter also cited *JD*. For an overview of the economic situation and travels of the family see Cornwall and Palmer, "Religious and Family Background," pp. 291–302.

7. According to Wood, "Evangelical America," pp. 365–66, Americans were on the move during this period like never before. Many families were uprooted several times. Wood suggests that these moves had profound social and psychological implications, influencing the reactions of those affected to the religious enthusiasms of the period. The Youngs, the Smiths, the Kimballs, and other prominent Mormon families were among those who experienced repeated uprootings.

8. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers, Church Archives.

9. Discourse by Brigham Young, 2 August 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:97. The first portions of this chapter are drawn in part from the writer's collaboration with Ronald W. Walker, "Brigham Himself: An Autobiographical Recollection," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 19–34. For another view of this period of Young's life see Eugene England, *Brother Brigham* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), pp. 1–20. For an imaginative but nonetheless helpful reconstruction of Brigham's frontier education see S. Dilworth Young, *"Here is Brigham . . ."—Brigham Young . . . the Years to 1844* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964). p. 39.

10. Discourse by Brigham Young, 8 August 1869, *Journal of Discourses* 14:103 and 8 October 1869, *JD* 12:287.

11. Minutes, 22 October 1848, General Minutes Collection, Church Archives; and discourse by Brigham Young, 2 August 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:97.

12. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 4:312; and Palmer and Cornwall, "Religious and Family Background," p. 308.

13. James A. Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946): 130.

14. Brigham Young to Ezekiel A. King, 21 September 1866, letterbooks, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives. "I know how to economise," he noted later, "for my father had to do it." On another occasion he said: "some think I am very close and economical. I am." Discourse by Brigham Young, 2 August 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:97 and 22 November 1857, *JD* 6:72.

15. Discourse by Brigham Young, 25 May 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 9:294.

16. Discourse by Brigham Young, 12 November 1864, *Journal of Discourses* 10:360. For the idea that he might have thought he could make a better livelihood than his father see discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1857, *JD* 4:312, where he discussed poverty as a result of "customs, habits, and practices of people." While he did not criticize his father (here or elsewhere), this passage does say "I do know, by my own experience, that there is no necessity for people being so very poor, if they have judgment, and will rightly use it."

17. The indispensable reference for Brigham Young's residences, craftsmanship, and economic activity in New York is the soon-to-be published study by Richard F. Palmer, "Brigham Young: Vermont to Ohio, 1801–1833." [*Editor's note: this is now published as Richard F. Palmer and Karl D.*

Butler, Brigham Young, the New York Years *(Provo, Utah: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1982).*] Based on work in New York repositories and newspapers, Palmer corrects some of the details reported from local tradition in Mary Van Sickle Wait, *Brigham Young in Cayuga County, 1813–1829* (Ithaca: DeWitt Historical Society, 1964).

18. Brigham Young to George Hickox, 19 February 1876, Brigham Young Papers.

19. Discourse by Brigham Young, 12 November 1864, *Journal of Discourses* 10:360.

20. See letter of 7 September 1867 published in the Canandaigua *Republican Times*, News Clippings Collections, Church Archives.

Although Alonzo Beebe, the author of the first article, is identified, the respondent remained anonymous, perhaps because he was unwilling to be publicly known in 1857 as a defender of the then "notorious" Brigham Young. In spite of the anonymity, several things suggest the author was indeed a former acquaintance of Young with no Mormon connections, and not a Mormon plant trying to defend the reputation of his prophet. The respondent knew a good deal about Young's early life that would not have been available short of the early relationship with Young that he claimed. The man was still a resident of the area in 1857, for the response appeared in the local press immediately following the publication of the charges in the same press. The author also plainly stated that he knew nothing of Young since he became a Mormon and was certainly not defending Mormonism: "We did not take up our pen to defend Brigham Young as he is, but Brigham Young as he was, while he lived in Canandaigua, before he became a Mormon." The lengthy letter reads like a straightforward production, and the fact that the letter is in harmony with what we know of the period lends credibility to those personal observations not otherwise corroborated.

21. As quoted in Wait, *Brigham Young in Cayuga County*, p. 39.

22. See Palmer, "Vermont to Ohio." For the Mendon years, see also J. Sheldon Fisher, "Brigham Young as a Mendon Craftsman: A Study in Historical Archaeology," *New York History* 61 (October 1980): 431–47. Fisher assumed that Young lived at this location from 1829–1832, which is not likely. See note 49 below. Young talked about his work as "a carpenter, painter and glazier . . . both as journeyman and master" in a discourse of 20 April 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 3:323. In the "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News*, 27 January–24 March 1858, p. 385, Young says he worked for eighteen years in western New York "following the occupation of carpenter, joiner, painter and glazier."

23. Discourses by Brigham Young, 15 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 6:290 and 6 February 1853, *JD* 2:94. Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," p. 28, adds that John Young also taught his boys never to play cards.

24. Discourse by Brigham Young, 15 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 6:290 and 5 October 1856, *JD* 4:112.

25. Discourse by Brigham Young, 15 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 6:290 and "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News*, 10 February 1858, p. 385. See also Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," p. 25. Lorenzo, younger than Brigham, remembered his bedridden mother, dying of tuberculosis, frequently pulling him over and counseling him to be a good man.

26. Discourses by Brigham Young, 15 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 6:290 and 11 July 1852, *JD* 1:41.

27. Discourses by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:37–78 and 7 April 1861, *JD* 9:29. While he never enumerated his youthful foibles, he did acknowledge elsewhere that "like other young men, I was full of weakness, sin, darkness and ignorance." Discourse by Brigham Young, 12 November 1864, *Journal of Discourses* 10:360.

28. Discourse by Brigham Young, 9 April 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 1:49; and minutes, 12 February 1849, Brigham Young Papers. He wrote to his daughter of Joseph's death that "it was judge by manny boath in and out of the church that there was more then 5 barels of tears shead I cannot bare to think any thing about it," but he kept his own tears to himself. See Brigham Young to Vilate Young, 11 August 1844, photocopy, Church Archives.

29. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 February 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 2:94.

30. Discourses by Brigham Young, 23 March 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 9:248; 27 August 1871, *JD* 14:225; and 21 May 1853, *JD* 10:191. Brigham was probably in his mid-twenties—long accustomed to being on his own—when the temperance pledge incident occurred. The infant temperance movement that dated from his teens seldom required either a pledge or total abstinence; those developments characterized the vigorous movement of the mid-1820s. Young was not alone in thinking that those who bound themselves by pledge yielded their self-control, and that abstinence without a pledge was a morally superior position. See Alice Felt Tyler's *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 321–22, 335–36.

31. Perhaps it was partly as a reaction to his overly strict upbringing that he developed his vigorous and colorful speaking style which consciously and effectively employed expressions forbidden to him as a young man. In the John Young home such mild expressions as "darn it," "curse it," "the Devil," or "I vow" had merited punishment. Discourse by Brigham Young, 15 August 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 6:290. Compare this with his own practice. On one occasion he apologized for using the devil's name, acknowledging that many considered such usage a sin. "I do not often use the old gentleman's name in vain," he explained, "and if I do it, it is always in the pulpit, where I do all my swearing"—which was not strictly so. Discourse of Brigham Young, 31 July 1853, *JD* 1:166. See also 2 August 1857, *JD* 5:99–100, where he explained why he removed the "sharp words" before publishing his sermons, and 8 October 1868, *JD* 12:298–99 and 2 March 1856, *JD* 3:222–23, where he explained why he used them in the first place.

32. Minutes, 17 February 1860, General Minutes Collection; and discourse by Brigham Young, 15 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 6:209.

33. Gordon Wood, "Evangelical America," pp. 374 and 378, wrote that many of Young's generation came to believe that as in government so in religion: "The people were their own theologians and could no longer rely on others to tell them what to believe." According to Wood, independent theology was a theme of the evangelical movement from the early 1800s on. In this context he saw the appeal directly to the Bible as an understandable response to sectarian extremism. Earlier Cross, *Burned-Over District*, pp. 81–82 and 109, had noted that Yankee-bred New Yorkers had a stubborn introspection in the fashioning of personal beliefs, which recognized no authority this side of Heaven." Though a minority, many laymen "thought seriously about religion and took pride in the ability to thresh out things for themselves."

34. Discourse by Brigham Young, 7 May 1871, *Journal of Discourses* 14:112–13; and minutes, 8 January 1845,

Brigham Young papers. See also discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *JD* 8:38.

35. Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers; discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:37 and 23 June 1874, *JD* 18:247. According to Wood, "Evangelical America," p. 375, "Nowhere else in Christendom was religion so broken apart" as in areas like Young's, swept by revivals in the aftermath of America's Second Great Awakening. Cross, *Burned-Over District*, pp. 29–31 and 40, wrote of "a phenomenally intensive religious and moral awareness" in the region, of an "unremitting warfare of theologies," and of an "interdenominational strife of a bitterness scarcely to be paralleled."

36. Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," p. 26.

37. Discourse by Brigham Young, 23 March 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 9:248. No doubt Hill would include Young among those "casualities" of the "Protestant conversion process, of sectarianism, and especially of revivalism" who eventually accepted Mormonism. See Hill, "Rise of Mormonism," pp. 425–26 and his analysis of the impact of revivals, pp. 421–28 which seems to square with Young's experience.

38. Discourses by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:37 and 23 June 1874, *JD* 18:247.

39. Discourses by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:38 and 23 June 1874, *JD* 18:247. See also 9 October 1872, *JD* 15:164–65.

40. Discourses by Brigham Young, 9 April 1871, *Journal of Discourses* 14:90 and 7 May 1871, *JD* 14:113.

41. Discourse by Brigham Young, 3 June 1871, *Journal of Discourses* 14:197. This encounter with Dow may have occurred in the summer of 1827, when he preached only a few miles from Young's residence. See Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism," p. 46. It should be noted that improving the morals of the people was one of the social purposes of revivals and preaching morals was the order of the day. Young acknowledged in the discourse cited above, p. 198, that the preachers "can explain our duty as rational, moral beings, and that is good, excellent as far as it goes." Already blessed with a strict upbringing, he sought something more.

42. Discourses by Brigham Young, 3 June 1871, *Journal of Discourses* 14:197 and 26 July 1857, *JD* 5:73. See also 7 May 1871, *JD* 14:113. It was common for dissenters from the old-line denominations to be greeted by the charge of infidelity. Antisectarianism could lead to infidelity and, according to Hill, primitivists sometimes feared slipping away into total disbelief. See Hill, "Shaping of the Mormon Mind," p. 362 and DePillis, "Quest for Religious Authority," p. 75. As with Brigham Young, many of those who disagreed with the preachers and failed to make a profession of faith went to church regularly and looked for a future conversion experience. Though charged with being irreligious and destitute of the word of God, some responded that, in fact, they had too much of the word of God "to swallow the disgraceful absurdities" of the preachers. See Cross, *Burned-Over District*, pp. 41 and 45. Compare this with discourse by Brigham Young, 9 October 1872, *JD* 15:164–65.

43. Discourse by Brigham Young, 18 July 1869, *Journal of Discourses* 13:58. See also discussions on 9 August 1857, *JD* 5:127–28 and 3 June 1871, *JD* 14:198. Young was like other nonorthodox seekers who sought "one true church with the mark of divine approbation" and for whom it had become "meaningless to pick one of the major contending denominations as an instrument of salvation." See DePillis, "Quest for Religious Authority," p. 75.

44. See Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism," chapters 1 and 2. According to Hill, p. 23, as early as 1802 a number of Baptist ministers had concluded to reject every doctrine and practice not found in the New Testament. See also the brief summary of Christian primitivism in Hill, "Shaping of the Mormon Mind," pp. 353–54. Compare this with Young's statements; see, for example, his discourse on 26 July 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:72–73.

45. Discourse by Brigham Young, 17 June 1855, *Journal of Discourses* 11:254.

46. Discourses by Brigham Young, 7 May 1871, *Journal of Discourses* 14:122–23 and 28 September 1856, *JD* 4:104.

47. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:37 and minutes, 23 September 1849, Thomas Bullock Papers, Church Archives. On another occasion he said, "I joined the Methodists to get rid of them & all the Sects—same as the girl married the man to get rid of him." Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers.

48. Hill, "Rise of Mormonism," pp. 422–24; discourses by Brigham Young, 3 June 1871, *Journal of Discourses* 14:197 and 6 October 1870. *JD* 13:267.

49. See letter to the Canandaigua *Republican Times*, 7 September 1857, Newspaper Clippings Collection. The letter notes that Young had been a Reformed Methodist before arriving in the area, but that the writer doubts that he united with any church while he lived there "as the R.M. society was broken up, and its members scattered at that time."

Questions remain about Young's location during the Canandaigua-Mendon years, 1829–1832. In reminiscences he spoke mainly of Mendon. There he built a house for his father, had his friend Heber Kimball nearby, and at least part of the time maintained a house and shop for himself on land owned by his father. Also, his wife Miriam was buried there. Most of the letters from New York acquaintances of this period come from the Canandaigua area, however, and he occasionally reminisced about "old number nine," referring to his Canandaigua residence. It seems likely, if the Canandaigua correspondent is correct, that Young moved first to Canandaigua and maintained at least a part-time residence there until his baptism. The New York census, listing Young in both communities, supports this possibility. The two residences would have been about ten miles apart.

50. Hiram McKee to Brigham Young, 4 April 1860, Brigham Young Papers.

51. Brigham Young to Hiram McKee, 3 May 1860, Brigham Young Papers.

52. See the charge of Alonzo Beebe in a letter to the Canandaigua *Republican Times*, 27 August 1857, along with the 7 September reply to the same paper, News Clippings Collection.

53. Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers. "Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball," *Deseret News*, 31 March–28 April 1858, p. 25.

54. Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers.

55. See discourses by Brigham Young, 28 June 1876, *Journal of Discourses* 16:67 and 19 July 1857, *JD* 5:55.

56. "History of Heber Chase Kimball by his own Dictation," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives. The several versions of this history, contained in two volumes, have been cited under various headings. The most used version, known in the past as "Journal 94-B" and sometimes cited as "The Journal and Record of Heber C. Kimball," is here given its original title.

Kimball's experience had been much like Young's, though perhaps not as intense. He also "received many

pressing invitations to unite with different sects" and "had been many times upon the anxious bench" without effect until eventually he joined the Baptists "to be a guard upon me, and to keep me from running into evils" though they believed things he did not. One of his principal complaints about the churches echoed one of Young's: they would tell him to believe in the Lord Jesus "but never would tell me what to do be saved, and thus left me almost in dispair." "History of Heber Chase Kimball," p. 25.

57. This from *The Gem of Literature and Science* (Rochester, New York), 5 September 1829, p. 70, is an example of the kind of notice Brigham Young might have read.

58. Discourse by Brigham Young, 15 November 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 6:39. See also discourses on 17 May 1868, *JD* 12:271 and 20 April 1856, *JD* 3:320.

59. Sermon of Heber Kimball in minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers. Phinehas Young to Brigham Young, 11 August 1845, Brigham Young Papers. No doubt in later remembering the conversation, Phinehas saw it as prophetic of the coming of Mormonism to them. However, the feeling that the world was in such a state that only God's intervention would save it, and that such intervention was imminent, was not uncommon at that time. See Wood, "Evangelical America," pp. 376–77.

60. Discourses by Brigham Young, 6 April 1855, *Journal of Discourses* 2:249 and 6 April 1861, *JD* 9:1–2.

61. For an account of the Greene volume, see Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), 7:217–18. Phinehas tells in detail about his copy in "History of Brigham Young," p. 369.

62. Phinehas Young to Brigham Young, 11 August 1845, Brigham Young Papers; "History of Brigham Young," p. 377.

63. In preparing his history, Brigham Young merely noted that the first Book of Mormon he saw was Phinehas's copy. "History of Brigham Young," p. 385. B. H. Roberts was sure that the one Brigham actually read was the Greene copy. See footnote in *History of the Church,* 7:218. Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young, The Man & His Work* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970), p. 5, was just as sure it was Phinehas's book.

64. Discourse by Brigham Young, 8 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 3:91. "Upon the first opportunity I read the Book of Mormon," he said on another occasion. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *JD* 3:38.

65. Discourse by Brigham Young, 8 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 3:91.

66. Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers; discourse by Brigham Young, 17 April 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 2:123–24.

For a consideration of the appeal of the Book of Mormon to someone like Young, see Wood, "Evangelical America," pp. 380–83. See also Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism," pp. 100–104 and 120–21.

67. Discourse by Brigham Young, 8 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 3:91. See also Brigham Young to David B. Smith, 1 June 1853, Brigham Young Papers. The care with which Young examined and pondered the message of Mormonism was perhaps a characteristic manifestation of the "stubborn introspection" that Cross found common among imported Yankees of the region. See Cross, *Burned-Over District*, pp. 81–82. Also, Hill, "Rise of Mormonism," p. 424, concludes that, contrary to the popular stereotype of emotional revival conversions, religious conversions of all types "generally came after long periods of anxiety, not in an immediate moment of frenzy."

68. "History of Brigham Young," p. 377. This would have been the fall of 1831. Lorenzo D. Young later said that Brigham, Heber Kimball, and Joseph Young brought him the Book of Mormon in February 1831. Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," pp. 33–34. If the date is correct the circumstances are wrong, however, for Joseph Young was still in Canada; also, in spite of Lorenzo's allusion, we have no record of a visit to the Pennsylvania Saints until January 1832. Available evidence suggests that Brigham Young kept his meditations largely to himself in 1831 and that the religious transformation beginning to take place within him was still unknown—at least to most of his neighbors. One who knew him well during this period later wrote that two weeks after some Mormon visitors "used their influence to convert him" he and his wife were baptized. Letter to Canandaigua *Republican Times*, 7 September 1851, Newspaper Clippings Collection.

69. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:38.

70. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," p. 25 and "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

71. This appears in an early draft of his history with the phrase "and believed" added in pencil. See "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers and Kimball, "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

72. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," p. 25.

73. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers. Phinehas later said that at the end of 1831 or beginning of 1832 he and Brigham "both became more interested in the subject of Mormonism," and got Kimball to join them in traveling to Pennsylvania. In his history, published as a part of Brigham's, he says they left about 20 January 1832. See Phinehas Young to Brigham Young, 11 August 1845, Brigham Young Papers and "History of Brigham Young," p. 369.

This is another indication that Brigham Young had little to do with Mormons until after he had passed judgment on the Book of Mormon. Nor is there any evidence that Young ever met with any of the Smith family in the Palmyra area even though they resided less than fifteen miles from Mendon for perhaps nine months after he first saw the Book of Mormon.

74. Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers and "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 2, Historian's Office Papers.

75. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers. In the published version Young wrote that they left the Pennsylvania congregation "still more convinced of the truth of the work, and anxious to learn its principles and to learn more of Joseph Smith's mission." According to Phinehas, they "returned home rejoicing, preaching the Gospel by the way." "History of Brigham Young," pp. 385, 369.

76. Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers.

77. Discourses by Brigham Young, 22 July 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:129 and 6 April 1860, *JD* 8:37. In the latter sermon Young reminded his audience they had just heard his brother Joseph say that during this period he did not laugh for two years. "I did not know of his smiling during some four or five years," added Brigham.

78. Fragment of an autobiography of Joseph Young in Franklin Wheeler Young Papers, Church Archives; discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:38.

79. Discourse by Brigham Young, 8 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 3:91. Compare this with a discourse of 6 April 1860, *JD* 8:38, where he said that "when I had ripened everything in my mind I drank it in, and not till then."

80. Discourses by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:37 and 8 August 1852, *JD* 3:91.

81. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:38.

82. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:38.

83. Discourse by Brigham Young, 15 March 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 4:281–82. Years later he reiterated the same priorities and commitment: "if my Father, Mother, Brothers and Sisters rejects the gospel Farewell Father Mother Brothers and sisters. I am for the kingdom of Heaven." Minutes, 14 September 1849, Thomas Bullock Papers. Compare this with Matthew 10:37 or Luke 14:26.

84. Minutes, 25 January 1873, General Minutes Collection.

85. Discourse by Brigham Young, 13 June 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 1:90. See also that of 28 July 1861, *JD* 9:141.

86. Discourse by Brigham Young, 31 August 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 9:364. See also discourse of Brigham Young, 5 March 1860, *JD* 8:15–16 and minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers.

87. "History of Brigham Young," p. 385.

88. Brigham Young was but one of many seekers who found what they sought in Mormonism. He was, in fact, close to the "typical" Mormon convert of this time described by Hill, "Quest for Refuge," p. 13: less than middle-class economically, little formal education, alienated from the sectarian world, thought old-line clergy corrupt, and saw the emerging social order as Babylon incarnate. For a description of the social changes that provided the context for this and the appeal of Mormonism for people in that society, see Wood, "Evangelical America," pp. 373–76 and 379–86. For more on the appeals of Mormonism for people like Young see DePillis, "Quest for Religious Authority," p. 73ff, and Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979). chapter 2. For mention of some other Mormon converts of this period that were much like Young and Kimball, see Hill, "Rise of Mormonism," pp. 424–25.

89. Discourses by Brigham Young, 20 April 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 3:320–21 and 8 July 1860, *JD* 8:119. In a discourse of 22 July 1860, *JD* 8:129 he spoke of the gloom that had cast its pall over his feelings "from the earliest days of my childhood . . . until I heard the everlasting Gospel." See also discourses of 17 May 1868, *JD* 12:217 and 4 March 1860, *JD* 8:8.

90. Minutes, 7 April 1850, General Minutes Collection.

91. The quotation is from a discourse by Brigham Young, 26 July 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 5:73. See also discourses for 16 January 1853, *JD* 1:4–5 and 15 August 1862, *JD* 6:291, 296–97.

92. Discourse by Brigham Young, 28 July 1861, *Journal of Discourses* 9:137.

93. In some respects Young's zeal fits in the context of the idea that became widespread in his region during the 1830s that perfection was indeed possible through the powers of God. According to Cross, *Burned-Over District*, p. 204, a man gathered great incentive to labor for a cause "from the common conviction that his own destiny with that of the world, depended upon human labor to fulfill Heavenly designs." Cross saw this phenomenon, not always healthy, as one of the engines of reform later in the decade. See his discussion, pp. 200–208, and compare it with Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements* (New York: Mentor Books, 1961), pp. 60–78 and 112–13.

94. Discourse by Brigham Young, 20 February 1863, *Journal of Discourses* 1:313–14. Compare this with Kimball's description: "I received the Holy Ghost, as the disciples did in ancient days, which was like a consuming fire. . . . I continued in this way for many months, and it seemed as though my flesh would consume away." According to Kimball, the scriptures were then opened to his understanding by that same spirit. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," p. 29.

95. See his comments in discourses on 17 November 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 12:99 and 17 August 1856, *JD* 4:20–21. It is likely that he had long expressed himself openly and forcefully in daily conversation. See for example his discourse of 29 July 1861, *JD* 9:141, where he says that he could easily out-talk those who preached to him.

96. Discourse by Brigham Young, 17 July 1870, *Journal of Discourses* 13:211.

97. Discourse by Brigham Young, 28 June 1873, *Journal of Discourses* 16:69.

98. Discourse by Brigham Young, 2 August 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:97. Here he also commented: "How I have had the headache, when I had ideas to lay before the people, and not words to express them; but I was so gritty that I always tried my best."

99. For Finney see Cross, *Burned-Over District*, pp. 173–74; for Beecher, Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), p. 320. Boorstin's whole section on "American Ways of Talking," pp. 275–324, is useful in assessing Young's language.

100. For descriptions of Young's style as a speaker after a quarter-century of experience, see Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California*, ed. Fawn M. Brodie (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), pp. 264–65, 288 and Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City, by Jules Remy, and Julius Brenchley, M.A.; With a Sketch of the History, Religion and Customs of the Mormons, and an Introduction on the Religious Movement in the United States*, 2 vols. (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), 2:496.

101. Susa Young Gates and Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1931), p. 5.

102. Letter in the Canandaigua *Republican Times*, 7 September 1857, News Clippings Collection.

103. "History of Brigham Young," p. 385 and discourse of Brigham Young, 12 June 1859, *Journal of Discourses* 7:175. See also Kimball, "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers. Miriam Works Young died 8 September 1832.

104. Discourses by Brigham Young, 8 October 1876, *Journal of Discourses* 18:260; 20 February 1853, *JD* 1:314; and 28 June 1873, *JD* 16:69. Young later said that by the time he arrived in Kirtland, "I had not a coat in the world, for previous to this I had given away everything I possessed, that I might be free to go forth and proclaim the plan of salvation. . . . " Discourse of 17 February 1853, *JD* 2:128. See also a discourse of 3 February 1867, *JD* 11:295, for another comment on his penury when he arrived in Kirtland.

Chapter 3

From Carpenter to Apostle: Brigham Young and the Kingdom, 1832–1835

Although Brigham Young did not first visit Joseph Smith until nearly seven months after baptism, and then only for a few days, from their first meeting until Smith's death nearly twelve years later, no man had greater impact on Young's life and thought than the Mormon prophet. Young left his first visit with Smith confirmed in his belief that God had indeed authorized once again a spokesman on earth. He left the second meeting turned around in his priorities and contemplating the implications of a principle that would become a cornerstone of his sacral perspective. Smith's teachings, along with the impact of events in which he was a participant, shaped during this period Young's developing world view. These experiences, examined in this chapter, set the stage for the organization of the first Mormon Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in February 1835 and the selection of Brigham Young as one of that number.

The thousand-mile three-month trek from Kirtland, Ohio, to the Missouri River near Jackson County, Missouri, popularly known as Zion's Camp, was for Young the single most important formative experience of this period. The expedition and its impact are dealt with here in some detail. With some two hundred men Young followed *[90]* Joseph Smith on the difficult overland journey and for him, as with some others, the extended association with their prophet was worth every hardship. Otherwise, the expedition was anything but an unqualified success. Armed and carrying provisions to beleaguered brethren in Missouri, members of the camp had anticipated acting in concert with the Missouri executive to restore to their homes Mormons who had the year before been forcibly removed. In the months of difficult travel they exhausted themselves and many of the resources of the Church only to find that the governor had withdrawn his offer of support and that they faced angry opposition at every hand. Recognizing that any attempt to carry out their original designs and accompany the refugees back into Missouri would result in bloodshed, Smith disbanded the small army and sent the men back to Ohio—but not before many of them were stricken with cholera and some died.[1]

It is here, in reactions to Zion's Camp, that we first see the emergence of opposing perspectives that three years later helped divide Mormon Kirtland. Whether one was disillusioned or strengthened by the experience was, in part, a reflection of fundamentally different conceptions and expectations. For some Zion's Camp helped solidify an emerging sacral perspective, one that helped interpret problematical experiences in meaningful ways. The gap between what they had anticipated and what they experienced left others feeling betrayed and discouraged. Although the rift caused by the expedition was soon smoothed over, the different perspectives survived to influence perceptions of Joseph Smith's involvements in the emerging Mormon kingdom. *[91]*

Brigham Young once recalled that before his conversion to Mormonism he would have walked across the continent to talk with a man who could teach him of God, heaven, and salvation.[2] After his baptism he naturally longed to meet Joseph Smith, whom he now believed to be a prophet of God. Only three weeks after Miriam's death, therefore, he set out, along with Heber Kimball and Joseph Young, on the three-hundred-mile trip to Kirtland, Ohio. There they hoped to meet the Prophet, mingle with the Saints in their gathering place and learn more about the building of latter-day Zion.

Traveling in Heber's wagon, they took several days and visited many people along the way. When they revealed the purpose of their trip, some people could not refrain from criticizing the Mormons and one minister, after feeding them, proceeded to lecture them on Joseph Smith's *true* (i.e. negative) character. Young felt compelled to reply by forcefully

declaring the basis for his own conviction and affirming his absolute faith in Joseph Smith. Even if the prophet he had never seen should prove to be a horse thief by day and a gambler by night, maintained Young, "I know that the doctrine he preaches is the power of God to my salvation, if I live for it."[3] Such episodes were but foreshadowings of something that became part of the lifestyle of this frontier artisan who would later follow Joseph as prophet.

But Young's confrontations were not all with unbelievers. From within the Church, too, he would frequently face opposition, as he did on this early journey. Visiting various branches of the Church, the travelers preached to and prayed with them, and [92] Brigham Young spoke in tongues. Some Saints were impressed, but others pronounced the gift of tongues as coming from the devil. When Lyman Sherman declared that it was of the devil and that Joseph Smith would oppose it, Brigham replied simply that he had received all this because he believed in Joseph Smith and his message. There was no doubt in his mind as to the source of his gift.[4]

When the travelers arrived in Kirtland in early November, they found Joseph Smith in the woods with his brothers, chopping and hauling wood. There, in the woods, Young later declared, he received a spiritual confirmation that Joseph's claims were true. The Mormon prophet stopped his work, greeted them and invited them to his house. Young's "joy was full" at finally shaking the hand of a prophet of God.[5]

Joseph called a meeting in his home that night and there the Mendon trio conversed with a few Kirtland Saints on the things of the kingdom. Nothing could have been more satisfying to the eager Brigham until, at the end, Joseph asked him to pray. To the astonishment of everyone present, Young suddenly began to speak in an unknown tongue. This was now almost a common experience for him, but it was the first time that Joseph Smith had ever witnessed such a thing. If the confrontation with Lyman Sherman had given Brigham any concerns about Joseph's possible reactions, they were immediately put to rest when Smith declared that the gift was from God. Furthermore, Joseph said, he knew that by the gift of God, "and the same spirit and gift is upon me, and I wish to speak in an unknown tongue," which he proceeded to do. He also interpreted the message and then exhorted the men present to seek after both [93] the gift of tongues and the interpretation. When the meeting ended, scarcely a dry eye remained in the house.[6] Already Young's influence was felt.

This was just the beginning of the gift of tongues in Kirtland that fall. Smith appointed another meeting for the following evening, involving men who had not been present before. Once again Brigham spoke and sang in tongues. In still another meeting later in the week they "laid hands on Hyrum & he & many others spoke in tongues." From this beginning, according to Kimball, "the gift of tongues became general in the church in Kirtland."[7]

If the reminiscences are correct, Joseph Smith saw in Brigham Young a man of destiny. A brief but well-known entry in Young's published history states that during this week, but not within Brigham's hearing, Joseph stated that "the time will come when bro. Brigham will preside over this church."[8] According to another source, the statement was made in the context of discerning comments about each of the New York visitors. In general conversation he remarked,

> Brother Joseph Young is a great man but Brigham is greater, and the time will Come when he will preside over the whole church: and God never put a better spirit in a man than that which is in brother Heber C. Kimball.[9]

How seriously can we take such an account, probably first written many years afterward? It might be natural to see it as a later invention to bolster Young's claims to succeed Joseph Smith, although the supposed prediction played no known role in the succession discussions of 1844, nor was it used in that way later. Young, in fact, is probably not the source for the account. It [94] does not appear in earlier versions of his history, parts of which were dictated by him. Most likely Wilford Woodruff or George A. Smith inserted it in the final version of the history, probably on the authority of Heber Kimball and Joseph Young, both of whom told the story.[10] Moreover, there are several independent reminiscent accounts by people who claim to have heard Joseph Smith make the prediction or one like it.[11]

While the possibility that Joseph Smith made such a prediction in 1832 was neither used nor

needed for succession, the possibility that Young had some foreshadowing of his future role is useful in assessing his motivations and subsequent performance. Perhaps a sense of destiny and special responsibility, partially related to such a prophecy, influenced the quality of Young's discipleship. If the prophecy occurred, it could have been a force in focusing his attention and energies to learn at the feet of Joseph, as in fact he did. Whether the prophecy was made or not, it is clear that this was a momentous week for Brigham. He left Kirtland confirmed in his testimony of both Joseph and the Church and he and his companions, satisfied and refreshed, returned directly to Mendon and their families.[12]

Even though he knew that the Saints were gathering in Kirtland, Ohio, and in Jackson County, Missouri, Young's urge was to preach, not to gather.

> I wanted to thunder and roar out the Gospel to the nations. It burned in my bones like fire pent up, so I turned my back upon Jackson County to preach the Gospel of life to the people. . . . nothing would satisfy me but to cry abroad in the world, what the Lord was doing in the latter days.[13] *[95]*

It was late fall, 1832, but Brigham, Heber, and Joseph Young could neither rest nor wait for mild weather before leaving again. In late December Brigham and his brother Joseph left for Kingston in upper Canada, traveling most of the way on foot, through snow and mud. They found themselves breaking path in the new snow for over one hundred miles.[14] Apparently their aim was to take the gospel to those among whom Joseph had labored as a Methodist preacher only a year before. Brigham afterward declared that for six cold weeks the Young brothers traveled and preached, baptizing forty-five people and organizing several branches before departing for home in February 1833.[15]

This mission illustrates one of the weaknesses of reminiscences as sources: memory can easily condense several experiences into one, as may have occurred here. In spite of heroic efforts, their success "in the dead of winter" was probably less than Young remembered. A brief diary entry in Young's missionary diary summarized the mission this way:

> 2 day of Janury Brother Joseph and I started for Canadia was gon till the firs[t] of March trveled 5 or 6.00 [hundred] miles held about 40 metings Baptized 14 in Canadia 9 of them myself.[16]

Only by adding to the number baptized on this first Canadian mission those baptized by Young when he returned to the area in the spring, along with some baptized between the two missions, do the diary figures equal the ones in Young's memory. He left Mendon 30 April and spent most of May and June preaching and visiting members in this same area of Canada. His most successful day of this second mission was 22 June when he "Preached . . . had a good time *[96]* then went to the water and Baptized 10," along with holding a blessing meeting for the children. His sparse diary entries for May reflect the spirit of this mission:

> the Lord pord out his spiret apon the People and I had good liberty in speaking. . . . Baptized 2 . . . held a meting . . . had a good time. . . . preached . . . the presence of the Lord was with me.[17]

When Young left Canada this time, it was not to return to Mendon and his family. Instead, in early July 1833, he accompanied the James Lake family (and perhaps others)[18] as they traveled to Kirtland to gather with the Saints. After a ten-day journey by lake steamer and wagon, Young and company arrived in Kirtland on Thursday morning, 11 July, where, according to his history, he tarried "sometime, enjoying the society of the prophet." His diary makes clear that the stay was very brief, for he spent part of the weekend outside Kirtland and departed for home on Monday. But even though short, this visit to Kirtland, and a second opportunity to enjoy the company of his prophet had great significance in Brigham Young's life.[19]

This week in Kirtland taught Brigham Young the purpose of the gathering and, because of a powerful charge given him and other elders by Joseph Smith, he left committed to return with his family and participate in building in Kirtland a new society. The Prophet had previously received several revelations dealing with the temporal foundations of Kirtland. There would be a temple, a printing establishment, a house or office for the Presidency, and a school where the priesthood could learn and discuss the things of God. The revelations also spoke of future solemn assemblies and *[97]* endowments of power from on high. These, along with the conversations of the brethren, would probably have provided Young his first notice of the prospective temple and school of the prophets. Already the building committee had

prepared a circular calling on the entire Church to aid "temporally as well as spiritually" to construct these important edifices. Otherwise, stressed the circular, the Church could not obtain the great blessings promised to the faithful.[20] Young, anxious for both doctrine and ordinances, was no doubt captivated by the vision of a temple and a school as the focal points of a godly community.

In this atmosphere Joseph Smith delivered to Brigham Young and other elders visiting Kirtland that summer a moving plea to dedicate themselves to building a new Zion on earth.

> Brother Joseph Smith gave us the word of the Lord; it was simply this: Never do another day's work to build up a Gentile city; never lay out another dollar while you live, to advance the world in its present state. . . . it is the word and commandment of the Lord to his servants that they shall never do another day's work, nor spend another dollar to build up a Gentile city or nation.

It was the elders' responsibility, charged the Prophet, to "sustain the Kingdom of God to your uttermost."[21]

In Brigham Young, Joseph Smith's words found fertile ground. They taught him a concept that influenced him throughout his life and became one of the cornerstones of his sacral perspective. If God's work included building a temporal community—a literal kingdom of God on earth, a kingdom that must be sustained at all cost—then, in Young's later words, it was the "kingdom of God or nothing." His motto became "for God and His kingdom" and "for the good of the kingdom" became a standard against which he [98] measured his actions. As he told the Utah Saints in 1857, "With us, it is the kingdom of God, or nothing, and we will maintain it, or die in trying."[22]

Until Joseph Smith's charge, Brigham Young had given no hint that he intended to curtail his preaching in New York and Canada and gather with the Saints in Kirtland, Ohio. Preaching he had seen as a way to combat the malaise he saw in the world around him, and as his one great responsibility. Now he accepted that he had another responsibility, and that if preaching and baptizing were necessary, so was the next step: creating a community where those committed to the principles he preached could learn together to live a new life. Joseph here asked him to assist in building the Kirtland kingdom. If that were necessary in order to build up a new society, a Zion on earth based on the socio-economic principles of God, he would gather enthusiastically.[23] If anyone cared to ask, Brigham stated rhetorically later, whether he ever again labored a day or even an hour to build up the Gentile world, he would state "most emphatically" that he had not.[24]

After only parts of two weeks in association with Joseph Smith, already Brigham Young was finding in Joseph a model that brought into harmony the disparate elements of his own life. His pre-Mormon years saw toil and sweat as he struggled with temporal responsibilities and developed practical abilities. His first months as a Mormon were months of preaching, months of religious enthusiasm focusing on millennial expectations with worldly goods and considerations pushed aside. In the person of Joseph, the two aspects came together. Brigham had first gone to Kirtland to [99] meet a holy man of God; what he found was a prophet chopping wood for his family. He traveled to Kirtland the second time as a man who had left home and family and set material things aside to preach until the Lord saw fit to end this world and begin his own millennial reign. This time Brigham left Kirtland committed to return with his family to build home and city and Zion, to combine his practical skills with his zeal for the restored gospel in the labors of preparing for that future kingdom of God. Preaching and missions would be part of his future, but so would all of the practical and temporal labors he had once thought, in his zeal, that he had left behind.

The once despondent, earth-bound Brigham had suddenly soared to heaven and now Joseph Smith brought him back. For Young this was the beginning of the process of welding into one whole the temporal and spiritual, joining labors of muscle and hand with the emotions and faith of the heart and soul. "What is the nature and beauty of Joseph's mission?" he later asked an audience.

> When I saw Joseph Smith, he took heaven, figuratively speaking, and brought it down to earth; and he took the earth, brought it up, and opened up in plainness and simplicity, the things of God.[25]

Brigham Young's diary opens a small window on what he felt important at this time. Essentially a missionary diary, entries normally have little detail beyond a bare outline of his travels and preaching.

On a few occasions, however, he wrote longer entries or copied into his diary something of special importance. In the fall of 1833 he copied in a passage from a revelation written in December of 1832 but which he probably read for the [100] first time during his July visit to Kirtland. Known as the "Olive Leaf," the revelation served as a charter for the elders, outlining their conduct and activities in relationship to the anticipated temple and school. Of all the passages of the long revelation that probably interested Young, the one he copied perhaps best suggests his desire for the Christian bonds of fellowship to replace the ethic he found operating in the world. He wrote in his diary the elders' covenant and salutation:

> Art thou a brother or brethren, I salute you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, in token of the everlasting covenent; in which Covenant I receive you to fellowship in a determination that is fixed, immoveable and unchangeable to be your fri[e]nd and brother through the grace of God, in the bonds of love to walk in all the Commandments of God blameless, in thanksgiving forever and ever.[26]

This, no doubt, expressed Young's own hopes for a new society on earth.

In a hurry, Young did not preach along the way on this return to Mendon. Traveling by boat and stage, he arrived home by 20 July. Unlike Kimball, who had a household to move and business to close, Young's preparations for leaving New York were minimal, permitting him to spend the next six weeks preaching in the neighborhood:

> Preached to a large congregation had a good time and liberty in speaking. . . . held 2 metings and the power of god was manifes[t]. . . . wee had a precies [precious] time and the Power of God was manifest. . . . Preached in the [s]chool house to a large congregation. . . . Preached . . . to a large congre[ga]tion . . . and the presents of the Lord was with us. . . . I beleve that the word took affect. . . . the word of truth sunk in to their harts.[27]

For now, this ended Young's preaching and, consequently, his diary; he does not resume entries until his preaching mission in the spring [101] of 1835. The last entry indicated that on 17 September he went to the Mortons' where his daughters had been staying while the Kimballs completed their preparations to move. Presumably the time for departing had come.

Heber Kimball arranged the transportation for both his family and Brigham's. To lighten the load, Young sent a few goods ahead by water, then the two families set out by wagon. They arrived in Kirtland in late October or early November to begin a new life in a community of the Saints.[28]

The fall and winter of 1833–1834 was not an easy time in Kirtland. Rather than a promising, bustling "new Zion," the Youngs and Kimballs had come to a village of poverty and hard times, with little prosperity or opportunity for work.[29] If this was the city of promise, the promise lay in the future. According to Young, many of the men who arrived in Kirtland that fall could find no suitable work, and some who did had not received their pay. Many went to nearby communities seeking better prospects. Young, however, was there for more than employment:

> I told them I had gathered to Kirtland, because I was so directed by the Prophet of God, and I was not going away . . . to build up the Gentiles, but I was going to stay here and seek the things that pertained to the kingdom of God by listening to the teachings of his servants.[30]

Young still had to eat, of course, and to feed his small family. He and his daughters had arrived with very little—anyone who arrived with less had nothing, he later boasted. Young had apparently given away his fine beaver-skin coat and arrived in Kirtland with no winter clothing and only borrowed boots and pants.[31] Longing to be near Joseph, full of the enthusiasm of a [102] new convert whose every act of faith had so far been rewarded, Brigham determined to stay in Kirtland and work through the winter as a carpenter and joiner even if he "never got a farthing" for his labors. In fact, trusting in both the Lord and in his own ability, he did not expect to starve and fully expected to be paid. "I went to work as soon as the word was that I could work and not preach," he said. "I knew that I could get plenty; for I knew how; I always could gather around me and make property."[32]

Without promise of pay, Brigham Young commenced working on the house of temple-trustee William F. Cahoon. As the work progressed, Cahoon shared what he had with Brigham, obtaining the means to pay by the time the work was finished. Heber had enough resources to put up a small frame house and hired Brigham to do it. John Smith also hired him to lay a floor in his house. When one job was completed, another generally opened up, and when none did, he made furniture and traded it for oats or corn.[33]

Settled in a new community, putting down roots near Joseph, working again with his hands, Brigham Young was ready that winter to find a new wife and re-establish his household. He would only select his companion from among the Saints. He knew that if he were to dedicate his labors to building up the kingdom, including months preaching away from home, he must have a wife who was both sturdy and as committed to the gospel as he was. He found such a woman in Mary Ann.

Mary Ann Angell was born in Seneca, New York, and raised in Providence, Rhode Island, of parents who loved the Bible and taught her strictly according to their own Puritan upbringing. She *[103]* obtained the Book of Mormon from Thomas B. Marsh in 1830, later testifying many times that she knew by the spirit, even as she held it in her hands, that it was of God. She introduced the gospel to her parents, and all three were baptized by Young's brother-in-law John P. Greene. Mary Ann was determined to gather with the Saints in Kirtland even before her parents could join her, so she made the journey alone, arriving perhaps a year before Brigham and his two daughters. Hearing Brigham preach the gospel, she "instinctively felt drawn towards him."[34]

Judging her character, Brigham Young thought he saw a kindred spirit and was drawn toward Mary Ann. They were married 18 February 1834 with Sidney Rigdon officiating. Brigham had chosen well. Mary Ann proved steadfast, uncomplaining, and thoroughly loyal. From that time on, as Brigham later phrased it, Mary Ann—"an Angell indeed"—"took charge of my children, kept my house, and labored faithfully for the interest of my family and the kingdom."[35]

Besides his work and family, other activities engaged Brigham Young's attention that first winter in Kirtland. In February Joseph Smith organized the first high council in the Church and instructed them in what he declared was the ancient order of councils. While Young was not named as a member of the council, he, with friend Heber and many others, was present at its organization.[36] Sundays and evenings the elders often met with Joseph; Brigham would have been there. In spite of the general poverty of the Church in Kirtland, there was also temple construction. Finally, Brigham probably assisted in protecting and *[104]* defending his mentor Joseph, whose enemies, led by two embittered former Mormons, mounted a series of "vexatious" lawsuits and were threatening his life. Although Young does not mention this in his history, both George A. Smith and Heber Kimball remembered time spent guarding Joseph. Said Kimball,

> our enemies were raging and threatening destruction upon us, and we had to guard night after night, and for weeks were not permitted to take off our clothes, and were obliged to lay with our firelocks in our arms to preserve brother Joseph's life.[37]

Young not only survived the winter, he prospered. Comparing later his own situation with those who had left Kirtland for opportunities elsewhere, he felt confirmed in his faith. With a rented house, a new wife and two cows he felt

> better off than any other man who came to Kirtland the fall before, according to the property that we came with, and I had enough to live with my family and leave them comfortable . . . and money enough to pay my expenses. . . . so the Lord opened the way most astonishingly.

No doubt that success confirmed him further in his decision to put building the kingdom ahead of all other concerns.[38]

As the spring of 1834 approached, Brigham Young prepared to leave Kirtland for a summer of preaching. At one of the first meetings of the high council pairs of missionaries were assigned to answer specific calls for preaching. At his own request, it was agreed that Young would travel alone, and when spring came, probably after plowing and planting, Young planned to set out.[39] The mission was never performed.

Four days later Joseph dictated a revelation directing "my young men and the middle aged . . . the strength of my house" to travel to Missouri to help the Mormon refugees from Jackson County *[105]* recover their lands. The revelation directed that several hundred men should accompany Lyman Wight and Parley Pratt back to Missouri for that purpose. Smith was to assist in raising the company but it was not certain that he would go himself; the Saints were admonished to "pray earnestly" that he may go with them, "and preside in the midst of my people, and organize my kingdom upon the consecrated land."[40]

The revelation authorized five hundred and forbade departing with less than a hundred. Although the responsible brethren began recruiting

immediately it was only with difficulty, and only after it was announced that Smith would accompany the camp, that they reached the required minimum for a May departure. As late as 30 March, more than five weeks after the call for men, Smith was still not certain he would go.[41]

Although he had been married less than a week when he learned of the expedition, Brigham Young joined the camp without much hesitancy or delay. His brother Joseph Young was less eager and did not agree until Joseph Smith had concluded to go. When Brigham explained to Smith his brother's reluctance, Joseph promised them in the name of the Lord that if they would follow his counsel he would lead them to Missouri and back "and not a hair of your heads shall be harmed." The Youngs shook Joseph's hand in agreement.[42]

Joseph Smith had announced the expedition to Missouri several weeks before an intended 1 May departure. Brigham Young was on hand in Kirtland as the elders began to muster, and he joined the meetings where Smith instructed the new arrivals. Among *[106]* the late April arrivals was Wilford Woodruff, a man who became a lifelong associate of Young and Kimball. Here, for the first time, he met Young, Kimball and other elders, including the Prophet Joseph. His diary notes an important, and to him impressive, meeting that Smith held with the elders.[43]

Woodruff and some other members of the expedition left Kirtland 1 May 1834. Young was among those who remained in Kirtland to hear Smith's final address before they all departed for the pre-arranged rendezvous.[44] According to George A. Smith, the Prophet Joseph emphasized to the members of the camp the necessity of humility, faith, and patience during their journey—and above all, obedience. If they would obey, not murmuring "against the Lord and his servants" like the Children of Israel, they would safely return, he promised. If not, they would feel the displeasure of God.[45] All, it would seem, now had the promise that Smith had earlier extended personally to Brigham and Joseph Young.

At the New Portage rendezvous, 6 May, the encampment was organized. Each member put his money without restriction into a common fund. Smith named both Young and Kimball as captains of ten, minor officers of the camp. Midway in the journey, a contingent joined them from Michigan under Lyman Wight and Hyrum Smith, forcing a reorganization. En route to that portion of Missouri the Mormons called Zion, and charged with the mission of helping to "redeem Zion," the organized expedition became known as Zion's Camp.

Overland and on foot in the heat of summer, this journey proved tremendously taxing. The camp traveled with a sense of *[107]* urgency, and by pushing early and late they sometimes walked over forty miles a day. Joseph Young said that he never suffered more for anything in his life than he did for lack of sleep during that journey. And when he was awake it was doubletime in the heat loaded down with muskets and knapsacks, "traveling until the blood could be heard in our boots and shoes." Blistered and bloody feet never had time to heal. Everyone remembered the feet. Getting enough food and water also proved a continual challenge. At one point George A. Smith's company had to eat raw pork, at another he procured for them buttermilk in a horse bucket, a refreshment all enjoyed until one complained of the container. Even though George A. assured them that the churn was worse than the bucket, the camp drank it all and sent him for more. The water was so bad, said George A. later, that "here I learned to strain wriglers [through] my teeth."[46]

Although Brigham Young seldom mentioned the physical hardships of Zion's Camp, the arduous labor of hand carting across the Plains prompted two reminiscences in 1857. To reinforce the idea that men and women could walk long distances without injury, he told about his longest sustained foot journey, the two-thousand-mile trek from Kirtland to Missouri and back. He remembered dragging loaded baggage wagons through mud holes and over hills, twenty or thirty men to a wagon. Seldom did they retire much before midnight, and then they had to sleep on the ground with stifling heat. Still the horn sometimes sounded by 3:00 A.M. so they could breakfast before an early start. In the day the heat was even more oppressive, along with mosquitoes "by the bushel." Young was *[108]* certain that Zion's Camp had been much more physically demanding than hand carting on the dry Plains.[47]

Zion's Camp was indeed a physical ordeal. What sustained participants was a sense of mission and divine approval, the friendship and fellowship of

colleagues, and the companionship of Joseph Smith, who remained buoyant and uncomplaining. At a reunion of veterans many years later, Joseph Young remembered being encouraged frequently by the Prophet delivering the word of the Lord to the Camp. Others gratefully remembered that songs sung by Brigham and Joseph Young cheered and encouraged the weary men.[48]

Though difficult and long remembered, the physical demands of the journey to Missouri were secondary to the religious significance. There is a distinctly Old Testament/Children of Israel flavor to the experiences of the Camp as they were remembered and later retold, a sense of being the Lord's people on the Lord's errand.[49] They were chosen servants to be blessed for faithfulness or chastised for disobedience. At times they felt a special protection, God intervening in their behalf with prophetic warnings or by preventing battles. At other times they felt the wrath of God. To the faithful these blessings and cursings proved anew the power and nearness of God.

The first dramatic experience in which they saw the hand of God involved misfortune. Although they had earlier discovered "refractory feelings" in Sylvester Smith, no serious problems occurred until they crossed into Indiana. There when differences arose between Sylvester Smith and others the camp asked Joseph Smith to intervene. In the process, he told them that the camp *[109]* would meet with "misfortunes, difficulties and hindrances as the certain results" of giving away to a spirit of rebelliousness. "You will know it before you leave this place," he said, exhorting them to humble themselves and become united.[50] The following morning nearly every horse was so badly foundered it could hardly be led to water. When Joseph saw this he told them that all those who humbled themselves would know that the hand of God was in this misfortune, and their horses would be immediately restored to health. By noon all the horses were as nimble as ever except, pointedly, Sylvester Smith's, which later died.[51]

Despite the clearness of the message, the spirit of discord and murmuring multiplied. Two weeks later, 3 June, Smith mounted a wagon wheel during the noon halt and further chastised the Camp. Their "murmuring & fault finding & want of humility had kindled the anger of the Lord," he announced, and it was already too late to stay his hand: "a severe scourge would come upon the Camp & many would die like sheep with the rot." Repentance, humility, and the prayer of faith might soften the chastisement, but "as the Lord lives this Camp must suffer a severe scourge for their wickedness & rebellion, I say it in the name of the Lord."[52]

The men of Zion's Camp were neither disciplined soldiers nor frontiersmen inured to hardships. They were family men, farmers, craftsmen, and preachers in unfamiliar circumstances. No doubt any such group of men uprooted and thrown closely together to perform new tasks under conditions of physical hardship would have had a quota of complainers and something less than a spirit of perfect unity. But these men, supposedly all committed to Christian principles *[110]* and engaged in creating a new society on earth, were to be different. Having the same frailties as all men, yet they were on God's errand, and He could not ignore their lapses. "I thought we should probably get into a battle with the mob & some of us get killed," thought seventeen-year-old George A. after hearing Joseph's prophecy.

This time there was no immediate chastisement but, for those who believed the prophecy, weeks of awaiting impending doom. In time they would see a dozen of their brethren felled by a plague and "laid in the ground without coffins," reminding them ever after, said George A., "to heed the counsels of the Prophet & not murmur at the dispensations of providence."[53] But that powerful lesson would come after what they took to be a manifestation of the power of God in their defense.

It was at Fishing River that the small band witnessed what Young and others interpreted to be divine power in the heavens, a chastising plague and the comforting word of revelation. By 15 June the camp learned that Missouri Governor Daniel Dunklin would not assist them as he had earlier promised. Abandoned by civil authority, as they moved into the heart of Missouri, the danger of armed confrontation and even extinction became real.[54] By the seventeenth, concrete information indicated a body of men preparing to attack. The night of the eighteenth the encampment felt some security only because Smith, alone in prayer, obtained an assurance that they would

be safe until morning. At daybreak they moved on, determined to reach safer ground.

On the nineteenth they intended to reach the Saints in Clay County. Instead, "one wagon broke down, & the wheels ran off [111] from others & there seemed to be many things to hinder our progress." After every exertion they made only twenty-five miles for the day and, amidst enemies, were forced to camp alone on elevated land between the branches of the Fishing River. As they made camp, five armed men rode up and brazenly taunted them with perhaps exaggerated reports of the forces gathered from each county to oppose them. All the Mormons would "see hell before morning," they swore. Aware that the whole country was in a rage against them, Kimball felt that only the power of God could save them.[55] Wrote another veteran of the camp, the scene was enough "to make any man quail," yet "brother Joseph the Prophet said, 'Stand still and see the salvation of God.'"[56]

Winds and thunder announced the approaching storm even before the rains began to fall about sundown. Then began a dramatic display of the powers of nature: hailstones as large as hens' eggs, floods of drenching rain, winds of raging fury. "The thunder and lightning exceeded all description that I am capable of giving," wrote George A. Smith. Kimball tried to describe it: "The thunders rolled with awful majesty, and the red lightnings flashed through the horizon" until throughout the night he could see to pick up a pin. The earth quaked and trembled without cessation until it seemed to him "as though the Almighty had issued forth his mandate of vengeance." The small stream that they had earlier waded had become a wild torrent. Trees were twisted or blown over. Though the Mormon men were thoroughly soaked (except for a few who found shelter in a small church), their encampment escaped relatively [112] unscathed. To them wind and hail seemed to have been more destructive on every side of them than it had been on their knoll.[57]

Some of those who had gathered to attack them, they learned, had crossed the river and come within two miles of them before swollen waters stopped their advance. The Mormon men saw it as a singular sign when nearly all of their own guns fired in a resounding volley the next morning while the mob, disheartened, scattered, without dry powder, provided no danger. To Heber Kimball, George A. Smith, and others who shared their view, the Almighty had clearly defended them, for only the storm had prevented a bloody conflict.[58]

Before the Mormon encampment left Fishing River, Joseph Smith delivered to them the word of the Lord—an important revelation that served as still another reminder of God's interest in their labors. Brigham Young entertained no doubts about Joseph's revelation or God's concern for them, for the substance of the revelation as it applied to Zion's Camp had already been revealed to him. When Smith announced the revelation, Young felt remorse that he had not been wise and patient enough to keep his personal inspiration to himself and let Joseph speak for the Lord:

> I got a revelation that God excepted [accepted] our offering. I had the same things revealed to me twice & that we should not go into Jackson County. I named this to some of the Brethren a day or two before Joseph got a Revelation upon the same subject. I felt ashamed that I named it first.[59]

Brigham Young had never seen Jackson County, and now he knew that after traveling a thousand miles he would not this time either: "in consequence of the transgressions of my people, it is expedient in me that mine elders should wait for a little season [113] for the redemption of Zion." Zion could only be built by the obedient and righteous. In time, they could prepare themselves, but in the meantime, the word of the Lord to the Camp of Zion was: "I have heard their prayers, and will accept their offering," it is enough.[60]

Both the Zion's Camp experience, and now the new revelation, must have confirmed for Young that establishing the new society he dreamed of would be a slow and lengthy process. He was imperfect, the men of his camp were impatient and "slow to harken," the Missouri Saints did not yet merit God's intervention; even prophets must learn by experience before they were prepared to lead a Zion's people. Specifically, he and other elders must "be taught more perfectly, and have experience, and know more perfectly concerning their duty, and the things which I require at their hands" before Zion could be built. This gave Young and others like him a way of understanding the problems of the camp, including its failure to accomplish what it had set out to do, without concluding that they had mistaken their God or

followed a false prophet. Instead, it moved them to renewed commitment to duty, and it led them to contemplate a future endowment of power from on high which the revelation identified as an essential part of their preparation.[61]

The day following the revelation, 23 June, a meeting was held to choose, agreeable to the revelation, "some of the first elders to receive their endowments," the promised future endowment of power. Neither Brigham Young nor Heber Kimball were among those selected.[62] Perhaps Young understood that the endowment was an *[114]* ordinance associated with the still unfinished temple, and that finishing the temple was also a part of the preparation.

This trek to the border of Jackson County and this revelation telling the Camp that they would not go into the Center Place also brought Brigham Young face to face, perhaps for the first time, with the importance of Jackson County as the Center Stake, the New Jerusalem. He later told of Joseph taking him aside to tell him that he, Brigham, might "live to see the land of Zion redeemed, and then you will see the day of God's power and every person will be of one heart and of one mind." Ever after Young worked and hoped for that day.[63]

Several days later, with the camp beyond Fishing River and once again facing agitated opponents, cholera, a "greater terror to the mob than powder and ball," broke out throughout the camp—ending any immediate danger of attack.[64] The first cases had occurred before they left Fishing River, but it was the night of 24–25 June that, in Young's words, the "brethren began to be stricken down by the destroyer, which was according to the word of the Lord through the prophet Joseph a few days previous." That evening the first man died. Eventually nearly seventy of the camp fell prey to the disease and fourteen died. Both faithful and murmuring received the blow alike. Young witnessed Joseph, "filled with deep sympathy for his brethren" and blessing them, fall ill.[65] Apparently not stricken, Young was free to care for some who recovered and help to bury those who did not.

According to Brigham Young, the Lord did allow Joseph to stay the disease once His purposes were fulfilled.[66] After nearly *[115]* seventy of the camp had been attacked, Joseph called the camp together

> and told them if they would humble themselves before the Lord, and covenant that they would from this time forth obey his council that the plague should be stayed from that very hour and there would not be another case in Camp. whereupon the brethren with uplifted hands covenanted . . . and the plague was stayed according the words of the Lord, through his servant.[67]

Soon after this Smith disbanded the Camp of Zion as the Fishing River Revelation had authorized. They had succeeded only in bringing some supplies to their brethren. After two months of military organization, neither victorious nor defeated, the small army was dismissed. "I do not require at their hands to fight the battles of Zion," said the revelation.[68] While some, like Nathan Baldwin, found that the most acceptable thing they had heard, others, said George A. Smith, apostatized because they were not going to have the privilege of fighting.[69] For some the greatest challenge of Zion's Camp was not the physical hardship, but that the trek should end without one Missouri Saint back on his land and without a shot fired at an enemy.

For his part, Young later maintained that he knew by the spirit that the Lord had appointed the mission, and whatever the outcome, he was willing to accept it—although in his own feelings, "I did not wish to fight."[70] What was important to men like Brigham Young and Heber Kimball, what sustained them during the journey and what they remembered long afterwards, was the confidence they felt in Joseph and their conviction that the Lord would oversee all for their good. Had the Lord commanded battle, Young insisted he would have fought with confidence, believing that "If *[116]* the Lord Almighty called us to contend, he would give us the power to accomplish the work." Reminiscing about Zion's Camp with veterans, Young insisted that he had felt no fear, always traveled "cheerful," and was "always ready, perfectly cool"—because it was God's errand. Added Levi Hancock, one of the veterans, of Brigham's cheerful confidence: "he was filled with the Holy Ghost."[71]

Some of the brethren who traveled in Zion's Camp remained in Missouri. The others found their own way back to Ohio. Brigham Young, like the rest of the camp, received an honorable discharge from General Lyman Wight: "This may certify that [Brigham Young], the bearer of this, is honorably discharged from the army of Zion and

may return to his native land."[72] He also received the $1.16 paid to each participant when the common purse was divided—or at least the dollar, for only limited change was available. At the outset each man had contributed what he could, some substantially and some nothing. No doubt Young, who had earlier rebelled against the world's selfishness, was pleased that all shared alike during the journey and at its end.[73] During the later Mormon expulsion from Missouri, and again during the Nauvoo Exodus, Brigham led in getting covenants adopted so that those with means would assist those without.

Soon after Brigham Young left for Kirtland, Joseph Smith organized a high council in Missouri as he had done in Kirtland the February before. With others, Parley Pratt, William McLellen,[74] Orson Pratt, Lyman Wight, and Thomas Marsh, later of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, received appointments as councillors; *[117]* David Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and John Whitmer were named the presidency in Zion. In instructing the council, Joseph told them that if he were to be taken, he had now accomplished what he had desired to do and what the Lord had required him to do, that the Church was now organized in a way that through the councils the will of the Lord could be known. Before Joseph departed for Kirtland he also ordained David Whitmer to be his successor if he should not live to the Lord himself.[75]

The return trip, though without baggage and military organization, was by no means easy. A thousand miles from home and with only a dollar in pocket, the returnees set out walking. Kimball traveled with one small group, Brigham and his brother Joseph in another. In August they were safely back in Kirtland. When next they met Joseph Smith, he asked the brothers: "'There Brother Joseph and Brother Brigham, have I not redeemed my word?' We replied 'yes.' He then said 'May God bless you.'"[76]

Predictably, the experience of Zion's Camp proved profoundly disturbing to some. While many shared the positive interpretations of Young and retained full confidence in Smith, some could not reconcile the outcome with an expedition appointed by revelation and headed by a prophet leader. Among those who did not go, it seemed even more obvious that the entire effort was pointless. "O my soul think of hundreds of men traveling more than a thousand miles and accomplish a solemn nothing!!" wrote one non-participant critic many years later.[77] The reaction did not take years to develop, however, but was immediate. Sylvester Smith and other *[118]* critics who preceded Joseph Smith back to Kirtland had so stirred things up that the Prophet returned home to face accusers crying: "Tyrant,! Pope!! King!!! Usurper!!!! Abuser of men!!!!! Ange [Angel?]!!!!!! False prophet—Prophecying lies in the name of the Lord!!!! taking consecrated monies!!!!!!"[78]

If the experience provoked in some strongly negative responses, for others it was, in a positive sense, "one of the most extraordinary events of my life."[79] Such strikingly different interpretations suggest that perhaps the reactions had as much to do with basic perspectives and expectations as with the shared experiences themselves. Some of the criticism might be explained by the embarrassment, anger or hurt pride of those whom Smith reprimanded during the trek; Sylvester Smith is a case in point. Perhaps Young and others who remained firmly behind Smith in spite of all setbacks were unthinkingly obedient or more adept at rationalizing; certainly they did seek meaning in the experience. Neither explanation, however, explains adequately why some saw God's hand where others did not. Different perspectives about God, man, and the role of a prophet were involved.

Seeing the explanations of Young and those like him as merely rationalizations or as wholly later, defensive interpretations is to lose sight of the social world within which these events unfolded. There is no evidence that Young, Kimball, and Woodruff viewed the events in 1834 from a different perspective than the one developed here through reminiscences. On the contrary, the one contemporary account available confirms the tone and the interpretation of the reminiscences. *[119]*

According to the brief contemporary summary written by Wilford Woodruff, the march of the camp, led by a prophet, "was similar to the ancient Israelites."

> Joseph often addressed us in the name of the Lord while on our journey and often while addressing the camp he was clothed upon with much of the spirit of God his precepts were very instructive and interesting.

Writing of the Fishing River experience, when only the storm prevented a bloody battle with enemies, Woodruff noted simply, "the God of Israel frustrated their designs." When many non-Mormons turned more friendly and sympathetic to the plight of Mormon homeless, Woodruff was certain that "the Lord granted us favour in the eyes of the people." Perhaps most importantly, Woodruff described the cholera "scourge" in the same terms that he, Young, Kimball, and George A. Smith later used throughout their lives:

> I witnessed a solem scene previous to this time while on our journey there were disobedience and murmurings in the camp and Brother Joseph prophecied that in consequence of these things there was a scourge awaited the camp and as it was prophesied of so it was fulfilled . . . we were visited by the destroying angel.[80]

By this time the sacral world view that came to characterize the thinking of Brigham Young was clearly emerging. Available evidence suggests that Young viewed the Zion's Camp experience through that perspective, resulting in a positive and, for him, meaningful interpretation. These men expected to see God's hand and they thought they did see God's hand. The Old Testament pattern led them to expect instances of murmuring and rebellion and they saw both. If things turned out differently than they had anticipated or would have preferred, they would trust God that it was for His purpose and would be turned to their good. *[120]*

Although Joseph Smith faced a certain amount of opposition when he returned to Kirtland, he was able to still the dissent quickly. "I have succeeded in putting all gainsayers and enemies to flight," he wrote soon after, and "I now swim in good *clean* water with my *head* out!"[81] The doubts and questions raised could not, however, be swept away as easily. A few left the Church over the affair, and others later came to mark it as beginning their disillusionment. For those who did not share Young's perspective, every departure from "the plan," every difficulty, suggested that God was not pleased with Smith or his labors. They could not feel about Zion's Camp as Young did. They had expected far different results and they could not easily accept or understand the experience or its outcome.

In Kirtland, Brigham Young was personally challenged by friends who asked him what profit he saw in calling men from their labors to go up to Missouri and back, apparently without accomplishing anything. If the Lord commanded it, what object did He have in mind? Who has it benefited? Young did not have all the answers, but he knew one who had benefited: himself.

> I told those brethren that I was well paid—paid with heavy interest—yea that my measure was filled to overflowing with the knowledge that I had received by traveling with the Prophet.

Associating with Joseph Smith, learning more from him about the kingdom and experiencing important events with him, Young felt amply repaid for his efforts. His response to questioners: "I would not exchange the knowledge I have received this season for the whole of Geauga county."[82] *[121]*

Young was not the only one to count his association with Smith as worth the trip. If some came away from Zion's Camp disillusioned, many came away impressed with Smith's performance and even more committed to follow his leadership. The widow of one veteran later reported that his dying words were, "I know that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God, my journey with him up to Missouri is more to me than all the world beside."[83] Brigham's brother Joseph was also deeply impressed by Smith's leadership:

> Joseph the prophet led us to Zion, not as a houghty chieftain, not as an arrogant man, but a man filled with the Holy Ghost; and O, how kind and modest he was when he lead us, but how determined and resolute in carrying out the will of the Lord.

George A. Smith observed the same spirit in Joseph. Though he had the care of providing for the camp and presiding over it, wrote George A., and "had a full proport[io]n of blistered, bloody & sore feet. . . . during the entire trip he never uttered a murmur or complaint while most of the men in the Camp complained" to him repeatedly of all their miseries. When minor irritations nearly caused rebellion, remembered George A., "Joseph had to bear with us and tutor us, like children."[84]

In both quiet and dramatic ways the faith of Brigham and some of his associates in Joseph as a prophet of the Lord deepened during Zion's Camp. In Young's view, once again he had obeyed and come away confirmed in this faith, blessed and strengthened.

> I have travelled with Joseph a thousand miles, he has led the Camp of Israel. I have watched him and observed every thing he said or did . . . for the town of Kirtland I would not give the knowledge I got from Joseph on this Journey; and then you may take the State of Ohio and the United States, and I would not give that knowledge for them. It has done me good . . . and this was the starting point of my knowing how to lead Israel.[85] *[122]*

Perhaps this was the beginning of Young's leading Israel in still another sense, for if some gained confidence in Joseph through the Zion's Camp experience, the Prophet also gained confidence in those who proved their steadfastness and loyalty.[86]

Aside from association with Joseph, Zion's Camp was, for Young, almost a dress rehearsal for some of his later responsibilities. "This was the first time we [the Church] had ever travelled in the capacity of a large company, and it was my first experience in that mode of travelling," he later noted. It was also Young's own first leadership experience. Although a captain of ten was a minor leader, his duties were demanding and it served as an important beginning.[87] It seems likely, also, that his careful observation of the strengths and weaknesses of others taught him many lessons of leadership and gave him growing confidence in his own abilities. Many things that he learned on Zion's Camp later served him as he directed even larger movements of the Saints. Perhaps it was an indispensable training camp for his assisting the removal of the Missouri Saints in the midst of poverty and winter just over four years later. A dozen years later during his leadership of the exodus from Nauvoo and migration to the Mountains, Young remembered the experiences and lessons of Zion's Camp and made them a part of that new movement.[88]

Zion's Camp also influenced the way men related to each other. Shared experiences forged lasting bonds of friendship and mutual confidence. Wrote Woodruff later about several of his camp companions, "we had great cause to be united in heart," for they had together "offered to lay down our lives & our offering *[123]* was accepted as was Abrams."[89] Here men who would spend their lives as Mormon leaders with Young had the opportunity, for the first time, to fully take the measure of one another. Zion's Camp, and a common interpretation of what it meant, was part of the lasting bond between them. And if those participating looked at one another in a different light, apparently the Church, too, in the complaining words of a non-veteran "raised [them] above those who did not go." It was a fact that some had faced severe tests of their commitment; others, though perhaps equally committed, remained untested. In the months and years ahead, to be counted among "the old camp Brethren (for as such they were denominated)," was a mark of distinction.[90]

By the time Brigham Young returned to Kirtland in early August, his family had exhausted the few resources he had accumulated the winter before. No doubt he, like his friend Heber who worked as a potter before cold weather forced him to other tasks, sought immediate employment in his trade. For much of the winter, however, he labored on "public" construction "quarrying rock, working on the temple and finishing off the printing office and school room"—employment that paid very little cash.[91] Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon urged the Kirtland Saints to exert themselves to finish the temple, for "on it depends the salvation of the church and the world."[92] That winter, once again, commitment to the kingdom came before personal and family comforts.

The winter was not all spent laboring, either for the kingdom or for the family. One disillusioned brother sued Joseph for breach of contract in relationship to Zion's Camp. Young *[124]* spent some time in court as a witness for the defense. "Thirty witnesses were summoned to attend this trial . . . for the purpose of impeaching the testimony of Joseph Smith, at which they made a signal failure," was how Young remembered it later.[93] There were also church meetings and social activities, and for a few weeks a grammar school that Young probably attended with other elders. Above all, he lost no opportunity to meet with Joseph:

> such moments were more precious to me than all the wealth of the world. No matter how great my poverty—if I had to borrow meal to feed my wife and children, I never let an opportunity pass of hearing what Joseph had to impart.[94]

From the first Joseph had fascinated him. The Zion's Camp experience served to further whet his appetite for sitting at the feet of his prophet. Following Zion's Camp, Young's sense of discipleship apparently intensified and from this point he took every opportunity to be in his company.

On Sunday, 8 February 1835, after listening to Brigham and Joseph Young sing and preach in

meeting, Joseph Smith invited them to sing for him as they had done during Zion's Camp. During the visit in Smith's home, the three men expressed their deep feelings for camp brethren lost to cholera. The two brothers listened intently as the Prophet shared with them a vision that had set his own mind at rest about them. "Brethren, I have seen those men who died of cholera in our camp," he said with great emotion, "and the Lord knows, if I get a mansion as bright as theirs, I ask no more." After a pause he went on to ask Brigham to spread the word to all nearby veterans of the camp to meet the next Saturday for a special conference to appoint twelve Special Witnesses to open *[125]* the door of the gospel in foreign lands. "You," he said, speaking to Brigham Young, "will be one of them."[95]

In his nearly three years as a Mormon, Young had no intimations about the calling of a quorum of apostles. Suddenly, in one breath, he learned not only that there would be one, but that he would be among the number.[96] Joseph Smith talked about the apostles "until he had exhausted much of his feelings," and then he turned to Joseph Young and earnestly announced that seventies would also be called, and that "The Lord has made you President of the Seventies." According to Brigham Young, even while Joseph talked to them about these new officers, the spirit of revelation was upon him.[97]

Saturday, 14 February, Zion's Camp veterans, along with many others, assembled in conference.[98] To set the tone for the meeting, Joseph Smith read from John 15 Christ's instructions to his apostles. After "an appropriate and affecting prayer," he then separated out the Zion's Camp brethren. They were meeting, he explained, "because God had commanded it." He had seen in vision the calling and order of the Twelve and the seventy and he knew by the Spirit that the time had finally come to fill those offices. He knew also, he said, that it was the will of God that those who had sacrificed and gone to Zion at the risk of their lives would be the ones to fulfill that vision. Theirs would be a ministry not for a season or a year or a decade, but until the end time. Following the June 1829 revelation, the Witnesses to the Book of Mormon selected the Twelve. After each of the witnesses prayed in preparation, the Presidency blessed them, and they then *[126]* "proceeded to call forth those whom the Lord had manifested by his spirit." Young was selected second, Heber Kimball third. According to Kimball, the nine of the twelve called then present each spoke in turn.

> After having expressed our feelings on this occasion, we were severally called into the Stand, and there received our ordinations, under the hands of Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris. These brethren ordained us to the apostleship, and predicted many things which should come to pass. . . . After we had been thus ordained by these brethren, the first presidency laid their hands on us, and likewise predicted many things.[99]

In Young's blessing he was promised strength and long life "that he might go forth and gather the elect, preparatory to the great day of the coming of the Lord." He was blessed to grow in his office and to play a role in establishing Zion. According to his blessing, he would travel abroad, "behold heavenly messengers going forth," and "do wonders in the name of Jesus." Finally, apparently in reference to a special mission among the American Indians, reference was made to his influence among "heathen nations" and "declaring the tidings to nations that know not God."[100]

Two weeks later, 29 February 1835, the first seventy were called and ordained—also largely from the ranks of Zion's Camp veterans.[101] As promised, Joseph Young was among them.

The calling of the Twelve and the Seventy provided still another answer to the persistent question: why Zion's Camp? The Fishing River revelation had hinted that the trial of faith had special significance, but perhaps the passage had not come home with force until now: "I . . . will accept their offering; and it is expedient in me that they should be brought thus far for a *[127]* trial of their faith."[102] In his remarks preliminary to the selection, Smith stated explicitly that it was God's will that the new officers be chosen from among those "who went to Zion, with a determination to lay down their lives, if necessary."[103] Zion's Camp had been a testing ground and a school; the two went hand in hand. Zion's Camp was, as Joseph Young expressed it, "our first experience in the school of the prophets."[104]

Brigham Young came to understand trials as a necessary preparation for leadership—and not just for leaders, but an important school for all. Suffering and opposition was part of the refiner's fire that prepared men and women for glory.

Pain, sorrow, suffering is both natural and necessary, he told a group in 1847, and "[yo]u ma[y] as well suffer now as any o[the]r [time] as [yo]u [h]av[e] got it to do."[105] To those who "admit this is the Ch[urch] of God, but the path is too rugged & they swear theyl be damed if they can go it," Young had this advice, based on his experiences in Zion's Camp and elsewhere: "now if they wo[ul]d rise up & say I will go it—till I die—the L[or]d will then strength[en] them, his grace is suff[icien]t for all."[106]

How effective, specifically, was Zion's Camp as a preparation for leadership? In the case of the Twelve, nine of the original Twelve made the march to Missouri in 1831, and of that number only William Smith, Joseph's younger brother, and the Johnson brothers permanently lost their places in the Quorum, and Luke Johnson eventually returned to the Church.[107] So, of the nine apostles originally selected who had been in Zion's Camp, only two died outside the Church. This figure seems striking when compared *[128]* to the three original apostles who had not been on Zion's Camp, all of whom left the Church. Thomas B. Marsh, John F. Boynton, and William McLellen, the non-veterans, all broke with Joseph Smith during the difficulties of 1837–1839, although Marsh later returned to the Church. Many who performed faithfully in Zion's Camp but were not called in the original selection of Twelve and Seventy later gained prominence as leaders, including Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Jedediah M. Grant, Amasa Lyman, and Charles C. Rich of the Presidency and Twelve. Zion's Camp, it might be argued, was part of each one's preparation for leadership, just as it was for Brigham and Joseph Young, Heber C. Kimball, the Pratt brothers, and others selected in February 1835.[108]

Called, ordained, and blessed, Brigham Young was now an apostle. This must have caused him deep reflections. Although the thirty-four months since his baptism had been rich in new experience, experiences that changed him dramatically from the itinerant craftsman of Mendon, Young did not yet think of himself as a powerful leader. He had confidence in himself and in some of his abilities, but a certain timidity, a certain reluctance to lead out, lingered. For one thing, it had been less than three years since his first public speech and, while he had demonstrated the grit to boldly declare his beliefs, he still felt "bashful" before an audience.[109] Even though his rough upbringing had not made of him a polished messenger, he was now commissioned to take the message to the world.

His feelings of inadequacy went beyond speaking ability, however, to a basic lack of confidence in some situations. Although *[129]* certain of the truth of the gospel he preached, he was not yet sure that he could convincingly meet the learning and sophistication of the world. If his later recollection was correct, it would be several years before he left behind these self-doubts. "I used to think, until I was forty-five years of age," he explained, "that I had not knowledge, sense, or ability enough to enable me to associate with the men of the world." Only after years of experience with, as he termed it, the superiority of revelation over the wisdom of the world, and only after he had fully convinced himself that the knowledge of the world contained but few correct principles, was he able to meet all men with confidence.[110]

By example and precept, Joseph Smith provided the keys that unlocked Brigham Young's confidence and abilities as a leader. In Smith, Young saw an untutored youth who yet had the confidence to face the world squarely. Moreover, Joseph alone could teach him the knowledge he wanted most, knowledge of God. In later years Young acknowledged this debt:

> I know how I received the knowledge that I have got. I have seen the time, when I first saw Joseph [i.e., these early years], that I had but one prayer, and I offered it all the time, and that was that I might be permited to hear Joseph speak on doctrine, and see his mind reach out untramelled to grasp the deep things of God.

"An angel never watched him closer," Young maintained. "I would constantly watch him and if possible learn doctrine and principle beyond that which he expressed." It required several years of this close application to Joseph, he said later in exaggeration, "before I pretended to open my mouth to speak at all."[111] *[130]*

Young also learned from Joseph Smith that the Lord could rely on men just like himself—men of simple faith, courage, and integrity—and bless them with all that was necessary to succeed. He must have been familiar with the biblical

teaching that "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise"; and he may have been aware of similar teachings in Smith's still unpublished revelations.[112]

No doubt it was a comfort to Young when Joseph applied the concept to those about to be called as apostles, promising that "weak things, even the smallest and weakest among us, shall be powerful and mighty, and great things shall be accomplished by you from this hour." As noted, he received a specific blessing that he would grow in his calling, "that he might be strong and mighty . . . that he may add ten talents."[113] Although he did multiply his talents, according to the promise, Young always remembered his humble beginnings—"that in and of myself I am nothing"—and gave the credit to God:

> I have learned that of myself I have no power, but my system is organized to increase in wisdom, knowledge, and power getting a little here and a little there. But when I am left to myself, I have no power, and my wisdom is foolishness, then I cling close to the Lord and I have power in His name.[114]

Once Brigham Young had overcome his own doubts, he came to see his experience as an appropriate model for other church leaders. Years later when the Twelve discussed the kind of man to fill a vacancy in their ranks, Brigham Young stated:

> If a man was suggested to me of good natural judgment, possessing no higher qualifications than faithfulness and humility enough to seek the Lord for all his knowledge and who would trust in him for his strength I would prefere him . . . to the learned and talented.[115] *[131]*

Perhaps Young said this as a reflection of his own call and that of Heber Kimball as apostles.

Young and Kimball were the two least polished of those appointed as apostles in February 1835 and many in Kirtland could not discern their potential. Some of the educated and polished "marvelled" when they were called, Young remembered, and when these would meet Kimball and Young, their looks expressed, "What a pity!"[116] A man of simple preparation but considerable natural ability, Brigham Young had the humility to learn and "the grit" to try. He knew his own deficiencies. He also knew his strengths, including his great determination to do right regardless of the cost. "When I think of myself, I think just this—I have the grit in me, and I will do my duty any how."[117] *[132]*

Notes

1. We are here concerned with the impact of Zion's Camp, including a review of some of the specific experiences that had important influence on participants. For other camp activities see the full-length accounts by Kimball, "Extract from the Journal of Heber C. Kimball," *Times and Seasons* 6 (January–April 1845) and George A. Smith, "History of George Albert Smith by Himself," ms, George Albert Smith Papers, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church Archives. Part of his lengthy history, already discussed in chapter 1, Kimball's version was dictated to Robert B. Thompson in 1839. Most later reminiscent accounts are to some extent related to this. George A. Smith follows Kimball for some sections but adds additional information. The version in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), vol. 2 uses both the Smith and Kimball accounts, again with some additional information. Interesting reminiscences by other participants tend to confirm these main accounts. See for example those of Joseph Holbrook and Nathan B. Baldwin, copies in Church Archives. See also Wilburn D. Talbot, "Zion's Camp" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973).

2. Discourse by Brigham Young, 23 March 1862, *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1967), 9:248, hereafter also cited as *JD*. See also discourses of 18 July 1869. *JD* 13:58–59 and 28 September 1856, *JD* 4:104.

3. Discourse by Brigham Young, 5 March 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:15–16.

4. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3, Historian's Office Papers, Church Archives. Very possibly those Mormons concerned about Young's gift had experienced the phenomenon before in a non-Mormon context and distrusted it. Although we know of no specific non-Mormon instances from western New York at this time, historically glossolalia has been associated with revivals which, of course, abounded in the region.

Young's own first experience with the gift occurred while he was living with the Kimballs, probably in September 1832. At the time Alpheus Gifford, one of the Pennsylvania elders, was also staying with the Kimballs. According to Young, Gifford commenced to speak in an unknown tongue during morning prayers and "at the same instant the spirit came on me like an electric shock to speak in an unknown tongue." See "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 2, Historian's Office Papers. This version (and the published one) indicates this occurred "a few weeks" after his baptism. However, if it occurred while he was living with the Kimballs, it more likely was a "few months" afterward, something suggested by ms no. 3.

According to Heber Kimball, the Pennsylvania branch was the first Mormon group to experience glossolalia and their own Mendon branch was the second. He and several others received the gift soon after their baptism, he said, and from their branch the gift spread to other areas of the Church. See "Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball," *Deseret News,* 31 March–28 April 1858, 29.

5. "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* 27 January–24 March 1858, 385 and "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers. Several early histories prepared by the Historian's Office give the date for this first

encounter as 8 November 1832. See for example brief biographical sketch of Joseph Smith in Historian's Office Papers, and the second manuscript copy of Heber Kimball's history where Thomas Bullock adds in the date, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives.

6. "History of Brigham Young," 385 and ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers. The printed version says "As soon as we arose from our knees, the brethren flocked around Joseph, and asked his opinion concerning the gift of tongues that was upon me," and this prompted Smith's response. This early concern that the Church not be deceived by or misuse the gift of tongues continued. A few months later Sidney Rigdon wrote to the Missouri Saints urging them "to be careful lest in this you be deceived. . . . Satan will no doubt trouble you about the gift of tongues unless you are careful." Rigdon to the Brethren, 2 July 1833, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives. Later that same year Frederick G. Williams similarly warned the Missouri Saints that "no prophecy in tongues should be made public for this reason many who pretend to have the gift of interpretation are liable to be mistaken and do not give the true interpretation of what is spoken therefore great care should be had as respects this thing." Williams to Brethren, 10 October 1833, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. To a branch troubled because of the gift, Young himself provided in 1839 both an explanation of the gift (to bless the Saints but not control the Church—the language may be of the Spirit but the sentiments come from the heart) and a warning (not everything said in tongues is immediate revelation from God). "History of Brigham Young," 6 December 1839 entry, 402.

7. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers; "History of Heber Chase Kimball," 29.

8. This remark appears in the published version, "History of Brigham Young," 385, and in the last manuscript version, but not in the earlier ones. Nor is it included in any of the Heber C. Kimball versions.

9. *[Editor's note: This quote is found in Note A (in the handwriting of Thomas Bullock) in Book A-1 of the Manuscript History of the Church, and in Dean C. Jessee, ed., The Papers of Joseph Smith, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989) 1:386.]* Biographical Sketch of Joseph Smith, Historian's Office Papers, Church Archives. Edward Hunter later remembered that Smith made a similar comparison of the two brothers in Nauvoo: "Bro Brigham and his Br. Joseph were walking; Br Joseph remarked the smallest of those two is a good man, but the Kingdom of God will rest upon the shoulders of the largest man." Brigham Young Office Journal, 6 March 1861, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

10. In a letter from Wilford Woodruff to Heber J. Grant, 28 March 1887, Wilford Woodruff papers, Church Archives, Woodruff affirms that he heard both Kimball and Joseph Young say "that they heard Joseph Smith say in their presence and in the presence of others in 1832, the first time that Joseph Smith ever had an interview with Brigham Young, he said Brigham Young would yet be the President of the Church."

11. Diary of Charles Walker, 13 May 1876, Church Archives, records a statement by Levi Hancock that he was chopping with Joseph Smith when he saw Young for the first time and heard Smith remark "before Brigham came within hearing, 'There is the greatest man that ever lived to teach redemption to the world and will yet lead this people.'" See also the statement of Benjamin F. Johnson as recorded in the "History of the life of Oliver B. Huntington Written by Himself, 1878–1900," typescript, Church Archives, 50. It should be noted that these reminiscent accounts were not told to bolster Young's claim to authority but to reaffirm to the faithful Smith's prophetic gift.

12. See "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers; "History of Heber Chase Kimball," 29.

13. Discourse by Brigham Young, 20 February 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 1:313; see also discourse of 28 June 1873, *JD* 16:69–70.

14."History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3 and ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers.

15. Discourse of Brigham Young, 7 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 7:229 and Joseph Smith History, ms of partial draft, Historian's Office Papers.

16. Brigham Young Diary, January 1833, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

17. Brigham Young Diary, 2, 4, 12 May 1833, Brigham Young Papers. See also the entries for 27 May and 22 June 1833.

18. Some have seen this as Young leading a migration from Canada to Ohio, and indeed one version of the manuscript history suggests this: "I gathered up the families of br. Lake, Daniel & Abraham Wood, and all other Saints who were desireous and able to gather, and proceeded to Kirtland." This whole episode was omitted in Brigham Young's first dictation and was only added later in answer to an interlinear notation: "took a company of Saints from Canada." In the published version this emphasis was edited out, however, to read simply, "I gathered up the families of Jacob Lake and son," a reading more in harmony with the diary account: "July the 1–1833 Brother J. Lake and his famely and my self started for the Ohio." It was probably George A. Smith who wrote it as a larger group under Young's direction, something he also mentioned in his own history.

19. "History of Brigham Young," 385 and Brigham Young Diary, 1–15 July 1833, Brigham Young Papers.

20. See Doctrine and Covenants, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1923), Sections 94 (6 May 1833), 95 (1 June 1833) and 96 (4 June 1833). Also relevant is Doctrine and Covenants, Section 88 (27 December 1832), especially the last part. This section, too, was given after Young's first visit to Kirtland and before his second. The circular of Hyrum Smith, Reynolds Cahoon, Jared Carter to the Churches, 1 June 1833, is in Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. In July, shortly after Young left, the cornerstones were placed and construction commenced on the temple.

For an overview of Mormon Kirtland that puts these developments in perspective see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 59–81, 93–96, and the summary by Max H. Parkin, "Kirtland, A Stronghold for the Kingdom," in F. Mark McKiernan, et al., *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1973), 63–98. For a discussion of the founding of Mormon Kirtland and another view of the context for this decision to expand the community, see R. Kent: Fielding, "The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1957). 69–108. See also Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith, the First Mormon* (Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977). 150–55.

21. Discourses by Brigham Young, 3 February 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 11:294–95 and 16 June 1867, *JD*

12:59. George A. Smith later referred to hearing the same charge. See his discourse, 29 December 1867, *JD* 12:150.

22. Minutes, 24 September 1849, Thomas Bullock Papers, Church Archives; minutes, 25 December 1857, Brigham Young Papers; discourse by Brigham Young, 18 October 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:342. Although Samuel W. Taylor in his recent biography of John Taylor appropriately applies the same concept to Taylor, in the earliest reference where Taylor used the phrase, he quoted explicitly from Young: "In the Second Epistle and last verse of the Gospel according to St. Brigham . . . will be found the following words:—'We say it is the Kingdom of God or Nothing.'" Discourse by John Taylor, 1 November 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 6:18.

23. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3, Historian's Office Papers. See also discourse by Brigham Young, 13 February 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 11:295: "Joseph said: 'come up'; and I went up the best I could."

24. Discourse by Brigham Young, 3 February 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 11:295. Compare with discourse of 28 June 1873, *JD* 16:69–70.

25. Discourse by Brigham Young, 7 October 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:332. See also Wilford Woodruff Diary, 27 January 1860, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

26. Brigham Young Diary, undated entry end of 1833, Brigham Young Papers. Compare this with Doctrine and Covenants, Section 88:133. See also verses 67–70, 74–80, 117–41. Young did not have the same immediate affinity with all Smith's revelation. For example, a revelation called "The Vision" and now known as Doctrine and Covenants Section 76 was given in February 1832 and no doubt talked about during Young's early visits to Kirtland. The idea of multiple glories that it developed so conflicted with his ideas on heaven and hell that he could not at first understand or accept it. It took, he said, a patient and prayerful waiting for light before he could make it a part of his faith. See discourse by Brigham Young, 29 August 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 18:247.

27. Brigham Young Diary, 28 July 1833; 17, 25, 30 August 1833; and 1, 14, 15 September 1833, Brigham Young Papers.

28. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3, Historian's Office Papers, and "History of Heber Chase Kimball," 29.

29. The best study for the founding and development of Mormon Kirtland as a community remains Fielding, "Mormon Church in Kirtland." Max H. Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland: A Study of the Nature and Causes of External and Internal Conflict of the Mormons In Ohio Between 1830 and 1838* (Salt Lake City: Max H. Parkin, 1966) has good material on this period and for the later years remains standard. See also R. Kent Fielding, "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland, Ohio," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (October 1959), 330–56 and Robert L. Layton, "Kirtland: A Perspective on Time and Place," *Brigham Young University Studies* 11 (Summer 1971):423–38. The entire issue of *BYU Studies* just cited is devoted to Kirtland studies, as is volume 12 (summer 1972).

30. "History of Brigham Young," 385. See also "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers. George A. Smith described the same scene in a discourse of 29 December 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 12:150.

31. Discourses by Brigham Young, 28 June 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 16:69–70; 17 April 1853, *JD* 12:128 and 3 February 1867, *JD* 11:294–95. Recently the Historical Department received a heavy, well-made nineteenth century beaver skin overcoat with a credible genealogy and the story that it once belonged to Brigham Young but he left it behind in New York when he left the area. With plain and sturdy stitching, serviceable but unadorned, the coat could serve as a metaphor of Young's own character.

32. Discourse by Brigham Young, 3 February 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 11:295–96.

33. "History of Brigham Young," 385; "History of Heber Chase Kimball," 29; and discourse of Brigham Young, 3 February 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 11:295–96.

34. Emmeline B. Wells, "Biography of Mary Ann Angell Young," *The Juvenile Instructor* 26 (1 January 1891):16–17.

35. Wells, "Biography of Mary Ann Angell Young," 16–17. "History of Brigham Young," 385. For Sidney Rigdon as the officiator and a copy of the marriage see S. Dilworth Young, *"Here is Brigham . . ."—Brigham Young . . . the Years to 1844* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), 81–84.

36. *History of the Church,* 2:28–31, 17 February 1834; also Doctrine and Covenants Section 102; for a manuscript version see Kirtland Record Book, Church Archives, 27–28. Young later said he had been present, see discourse by Brigham Young, 8 October 1866, ms, Brigham Young Papers.

37. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," 29. See also "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers. George A. says that the "Brethren provided themselves with weapons which caused some to apostatize as they did not believe it right to arm themselves or fight in self defense." Also "History of Brigham Young," 385. Enemies of the Church had helped finance Philastus Hurlbut in an effort to gather information from New York to discredit Smith and the Book of Mormon. By January 1834 they had formed a publication committee, including former Mormon Joseph H. Wakefield, and had begun dissemination of anything damaging they could come up with. See notice of the committee in *Painesville Telegraph,* 31 January 1834. For a discussion of these early Kirtland problems see Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland,* chapters 8 and 9. These two chapters deal with "The Nature and Extent of Anti-Mormon Resentment"; see especially 356–61 of chapter 9 dealing with the winter of 1833–1834. See also chapter 5, "Early Internal Dissension and Apostasy as Factors in Mormon Conflict." See also Hill, *Joseph Smith,* 156–57.

38. Discourse by Brigham Young, 3 February 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 11:295–96. See also discourses of 17 May 1868, *JD* 12:217 and 28 June 1873, *JD* 16:70.

39. *History of the Church,* 2:35, 20 February 1834.

40. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 103:22, 23, 30, 35 (24 February 1834). This company did not anticipate independent military operations, rather action in concert with the executive of Missouri. Their mission was to supply means to the beleaguered Missouri Saints and to protect them in their lands after Missouri officials escorted them there. See Peter Crawley and Richard L. Anderson, "The Political and Social Realities of Zion's Camp," *BYU Studies* 14 (Summer 1974): 414–15. The Missourians might misunderstand the revelations, Joseph wrote to Missouri Saints, hence some would not be published and they would be very little talked about. Still, "There needs be no difficulty in relation to the revelations; for they show plainly from the face of them, that no blood is to be shed except in self-defense; and that the law of God as well as man gives us a [that?] privilege. If you make yourselves acquainted with the revelations, you will see that this is the case, though we should not publish any more than we are obliged to of necessity for the Church's

sake." Joseph Smith to Dear Brethren, 30 March 1834, Oliver Cowdery Letterbook, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, microfilm in Church Archives.

41. Joseph Smith to Dear Brethren, 30 March 1834, Joseph Smith Papers.

42. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers. A Joseph Young version of the same incident can be found in a report of a 10 October 1865 reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, *Deseret News,* 19 October 1865. This was the second reunion. Manuscript minutes of this and the one of 10 October 1864 are on file in the Church Archives.

43. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 27 April 1834, Wilford Woodruff Papers. While the diary entry does not describe the nature of Smith's discourse, many years later Woodruff said that, among other things, he alluded to a future destiny of the Saints beyond the imagination of the elders, a destiny that included filling up the land, including the Rocky Mountains. See discourse by Wilford Woodruff, 8 April 1898, *Sixty-eighth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . ,* 6, 7, 8, and 10 April 1898 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1898), 57. Although the circumstantial details mentioned by Woodruff in 1898 are in harmony with his diary for April 1837, there is no way to verify his later reminiscence about the nature of Smith's remarks. It is clear, however, that many more things were taught in Kirtland than have been recorded in surviving documents. See, for example, Sidney Rigdon's extensive remarks in 1844 about the "many things" which were "taught, preached, & believed" but kept private for fear of the reactions of the world in minutes of April Conference, 7 April 1844, General Minutes Collection, Church Archives.

44. The earlier manuscripts of the "History of Brigham Young" indicate that he left 1 May with the first group, but in the last one, and in the printed version, that is corrected to read 5 May.

45. "Sketch of the Autobiography of George A. Smith," *Deseret News,* 11–18 August 1858, 105. The promise may have been a needed reassurance to many, for the revelation authorizing the camp warned: "Let no man be afraid to lay down his life for my sake; for whoso layeth down his life for my sake shall find it again." Doctrine and Covenants, Section 103:27.

This is, of course, an unverified reminiscence. The point of emphasizing it here, along with the related ones of Brigham and Joseph Young, is not to insist on the prophetic accuracy of Joseph Smith's warning, but to emphasize that for George A. Smith, Young, Kimball, and other like-minded veterans of the camp, this was an important theme in their understanding of what occurred.

46. Remarks of Joseph Young at a 10 October 1865 reunion of Zion's Camp veterans, *Deseret News,* 19 October 1865. "History of George Albert Smith," ms, 9, 15, 26 May 1834, George Albert Smith Papers. See also Joseph Young's remarks in minutes, 10 October 1864, Brigham Young Papers.

47. Discourse of Brigham Young, 16 November 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 4:92.

48. Remarks of Joseph Young and others, 10 October 1865 reunion of Zion's Camp veterans, *Deseret News*, 19 October 1865. At the reunion Brigham Young sang with gusto, "taking the lead much of the time." One of the songs he and his brother had sung often and liked so well on Zion's Camp was "Hark Listen to the Trumpeter." George A. thought it just like Zion's Camp, "Bro Brigham's voice was most prominent." Levi Hancock noted that "the songs of Brigham and Joseph [Young] were the sweetest I ever heard in the Camps of Zion." For Joseph Smith's buoyant spirit and uncomplaining endurance see Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, 4 June 1834, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives and "History of George Albert Smith," ms, 25 June 1834, Church Archives. See also Hill, *Joseph Smith,* 173, 183–84.

49. See the discussion of this phenomenon on 12–13. *[Editor's note: see page 5 of this publication.]*

50. "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," 772. "History of George Albert Smith," 17 and 18 May 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers. See note 1 above for additional information about these histories.

51. "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," 772.

52. "History of George Albert Smith," 3 June 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers. See also "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," 788.

53. "History of George Albert Smith," [*preliminary draft*] 3 June 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers.

54. Even before word that the governor would not assist, Smith had concluded that without divine intervention their numbers were "altogether too small for the accomplishment. of such a great enterprise." Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, 4 June 1834, Joseph Smith Papers. Concerning Dunklin's attitudes see Hill, *Joseph Smith,* 168–69, 177–78.

55. "History of George Albert Smith," 18–19 June 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers and "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," 790.

56. Joseph Holbrook reminiscence, Church Archives.

57. "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," 790 and "History of George Albert Smith," 19 June 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers.

58. "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," 790 and "History of George Albert Smith" 19 June 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers.

59. See Young's remarks in Wilford Woodruff Diary, 27 January 1860, Wilford Woodruff Papers. This was one of the incidents that later led Brigham Young to stress that if one who is not head of the Church receives a revelation he should keep it to himself until it is made known to all through the proper channel.

60. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 105:9, 2–3, 5, 11–12, 18–19 (22 June 1834). Joseph Young later said Joseph Smith had told him before this that "these men will not go into Jackson county, for we are not humble enough, neither are we united enough to go into Jackson county now." Minutes, reunion of Zion's Camp veterans, 10 October 1864, Brigham Young Papers. This lesson Brigham Young accepted and later taught. "Some may ask why we did not tarry at the centre stake of Zion. . . . we had hearts devoid of what the Lord required of his people; consequently, we could not abide what the Lord revealed unto us. We had to go from there to gain experience." Discourse of 15 May 1865, *Journal of Discourses* 11:102. Similarly he said in 1872 that the Saints could not stay long in Jackson County because "they had not learned 'a' concerning Zion." Have we now learned our abc's, he asked rhetorically. "Do we understand anything with regard to the building up of the kingdom? I will say, scarcely," discourse of 28 April 1872, *JD* 15:4.

61. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 105:10–11 (22 June 1834); see also verses 12, 18, 33, 35–37. This revelation was not the first time that the Saints' misfortunes had been blamed on their own intransigence, of course, but here, if Young had not come to terms with the matter before, he clearly would have. See also Doctrine and Covenants,

Section 101 (16 December 1833) and the letters quoted in *History of the Church,* 1:448–5l, where the Jackson County Saints themselves acknowledge that some had been rebellious.

62. See minutes, 23 June 1834, "The Conference Minutes, and Record Book, of Christ's Church of Latter Day Saints," hereafter cited Far West Record, Church Archives. Parley Pratt, Lyman Wight and Thomas Marsh, later of the Twelve, were among those named.

63. Minutes, Reunion of Zion's Camp veterans, 10 October 1864, Brigham Young Papers. Concerning his later desire to "return" to Jackson County and his vision of what it might be like, see for examples Wilford Woodruff's diary, 22 August 1860 and 24 August 1867, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

64. Remarks of George A. Smith in Minutes, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, 10 October 1864, Brigham Young Papers. Compare this with the reminiscence of Joseph Holbrook, Church Archives: "cholera . . . so frightened our enemies that they did not dare come near us or have us come near them which relieved us from further danger from our enemies." See also "History of Heber Chase Kimball," p. 389. Of course it also helped that Joseph declared his peaceful intentions and disbanded the camp soon after the cholera passed, and dispersed the small army, each to find his own way home.

65. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers; "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," p. 839; and "History of George Albert Smith," 25 June 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers.

66. Remarks of Kimball in minutes, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, 10 October 1864, Brigham Young Papers. "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," pp. 838–39. To the Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, 10 October 1865, minutes, Church Archives, Young later talked of his "driving the cholera from Luke Johnson when digging [a] grave."

67. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 1, Historian's Office Papers. Young's later chastisement of the pioneer camp is reminiscent of this, although he succeeded in bringing them to repentance and to a covenant to remember God before the disasters that he foresaw befall them. See William Clayton Diary, 29 May 1847, photocopy, Church Archives, for one account. According to George A. Smith, Joseph had to tutor the men as children who had forgotten their God and the solemn purposes of their mission, precisely the position Young assumed before the pioneers (in 1847).

68. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 105:14.

69. "History of George Albert Smith," 22 June 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers. Joseph Young remembered Smith later saying, "Brethren, some of you are angry with me, because you did not fight in Missouri; but let me tell you, God did not want you to fight." Joseph Young, *History of the Organization of the Seventies* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment, 1878), 14.

70. Discourse by Brigham Young, 28 June 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 4:370. These were the feelings he had at the time, he explained to his audience, "they were true, and they have remained so with me to this day."

71. Minutes, 10 October 1864, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, Brigham Young Papers, and minutes, 10 October 1865, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, Church Archives. George A. Smith affirmed that he traveled with the same confidence. Though "but few in number," they obeyed "knowing & most assuredly believing that he that gave the commandment would not lead his People to be Slaughtered by thir enemies." Remarks of George A. Smith, 8 December 1844, Seventies Book B, Church Archives. That this was more than rhetoric is suggested by the way Young and the Twelve managed their own first potentially violent crisis in 1845. See Ronald K. Esplin, "Brigham Young and the Power of the Apostleship: Defending the Kingdom Through Prayer, 1844–1845," given in the Sperry Symposium, January 1980, Brigham Young University. The lectures will appear together in a forthcoming volume as the "Sperry Symposium, 1980," Brigham Young University Press. *[Editor's note: This was published as Ronald K. Esplin,* "Brigham Young and the Power of the Apostleship: Defending the Kingdom Through Prayer, 1844–1845," *in* A Sesquicentennial Look at Church History: Sidney B. Sperry Symposium, 26 January 26 1980, 102–22 *([Provo, Utah]: Religious Instruction, BYU, 1980).]*

72. Reminiscence of Nathan B. Baldwin, Church Archives.

73. For the division of means see "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," p. 840. One participant noted that "This order of things might seem rather hard to some who had consecrated liberally and only received back equal with him who had no dollar to consecrate," but at least, this once, they all knew that they had lived the United Order. Reminiscence of Nathan B. Baldwin, Church Archives.

74. McLellen spelled his name several different ways. This spelling, used by him as editor of *The Ensign of Liberty* in 1847, will be used here as standard.

75. Meetings of 3 and 7 July 1834, *History of the Church,* 2:122–26. Joseph described the ordination of Whitmer and the purpose for it in a meeting 15 March 1838, Far West Record, Church Archives. Smith later said that this completed establishing "this church on a permanent foundation," and had he died "it would have been enough, but I yet live, and therefore God requires more at my hands." Joseph Smith Diary, 12 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

76. Remarks of Joseph Young, 10 October 1865, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, *Deseret News,* 19 October 1865.

77. William E. McLellen to Joseph Smith III, July 1872, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Auditorium, Independence, Missouri.

78. Joseph Smith to Lyman Wight, et al. [the Missouri High Council], 16 August 1834, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. It is not surprising to find Sylvester Smith and others whom Joseph chastised during the camp among those spreading dissent. For the proceedings against Sylvester Smith, who was eventually reconciled and even served briefly as a secretary to Joseph Smith during the illness of Warren Parrish in early 1836, see *History of the Church,* 2:142–60, 11–28 August 1834.

79. Remarks of Joseph Young, 10 October 1865, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, *Deseret News,* 19 October 1865.

80. Wilford Woodruff Diary, May–June 1834, Wilford Woodruff Papers. Instead of daily entries, at this time Woodruff wrote brief summaries of important events or periods. Woodruff remained in Missouri after the camp was disbanded, and this entry was apparently written there sometime between July and November 1834.

81. Joseph Smith to Lyman Wight, et al. [the Missouri High Council], 16 August 1834, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. For more on the opposition to Smith after the Missouri expedition see Hill, *Joseph Smith,* pp. 185–86; "History of Brigham Young," p. 385; and *History of the Church,* 2:142–60.

82. Discourses by Brigham Young, 6 October 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 10:20 and 23 October 1853, *JD* 2:10.

83. Widow of Marshall Hubbard in minutes, 10 October 1864, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, Brigham Young Papers.

84. Remarks of Joseph Young, 10 October 1865, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, *Deseret News,* 19 October 1865. "History of George Albert Smith," 25 June 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers. Compare this with discourse by Brigham Young, 6 October 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 10:20 and discourse by Wilford Woodruff, 12 December 1869, *JD* 13:158. For additional information on Smith's deportment in Zion's Camp and his own feelings about the Camp see Hill, *Joseph Smith,* pp. 168–84.

85. Remarks of Brigham Young, Salt Lake High Council Record, 1869–1872, Church Archives.

86. This is one of the points about participation in Zion's Camp made in Phineas Young to Brigham Young, 11 August 1845, Brigham Young Papers.

87. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 October 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 10:20. For the duties of a captain of ten see "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," 771.

88. Some of the parallels in Young's leadership to lessons he learned from Joseph beginning in Zion's Camp are obvious. Others are more subtle and would require detailed presentation to establish. Though popularly known later as Zion's Camp, it was also called Camp of Zion and Camp of Israel, Old Testament allusions that Brigham Young consciously developed further in the Camp of Israel from Nauvoo. See "History of George Albert Smith," 29 May 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers, for one mention of a letter from the "Camp of Israel."

Young carefully observed overall organization and leadership, assessing strengths and weaknesses of both and later applying the lessons he learned. The most dramatic examples of parallels involve Brigham Young later passing on specific lessons learned here from Joseph, as well as his leading the camps in a manner strikingly similar to Joseph's in 1834.

Young watched Joseph Smith closely, learning his style and precepts—things that would surface in Brigham Young years later. For example see Smith's teachings on handling the snakes and Young acting on the lesson in George A. Smith's account for 26–27 May 1834 and 18 June 1834, and his passing it on to the Saints 29 April 1846, William C. Staines's Diary and 26 April 1846, Willard Richards's Diary. The same thing can be shown for Smith's teaching to not waste game ("History of George Albert Smith," 26 May 1834, ms, George Albert Smith Papers), something Young repeatedly stressed to the pioneers. In his later leadership of the pioneers Brigham Young repeatedly gave highly original practical advice on details large and small, reminiscent in style to Joseph Smith's advice to Zion's Camp, "History of George Albert Smith," 29 May 1834, George Albert Smith Papers. We have already mentioned the similarity of Young's chastisement of the pioneer camp, 29 May 1847, with Young's memory of how Smith chastised Zion's Camp and brought them under covenant. The parallel could be extended in general to how Young handled grumblers and to his penchant for chastising his brethren. George A. Smith records several examples of Smith's chastisements in Zion's Camp and "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," p. 789, provides another.

89. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 7 April 1836, Wilford Woodruff Papers. For comments along the same line by George A. Smith see Seventies Book B, 8 December 1844, Church Archives.

90. Phineas Young to Brigham Young, 11 August 1845, Brigham Young Papers. Remarks of George A. Smith, 8 December 1844, Seventies Book B, Church Archives.

91. "History of Brigham Young," 10 February 1858, p. 385. *[Editor's note: for a discussion of Brigham Young's contributions to the construction of the Kirtland Temple, see Elwin C. Robison,* The First Mormon Temple *(Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), 78, 80, 163.]*

92. "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," p. 667.

93. "History of Brigham Young," p. 385. At issue in the trial were the promises that Joseph had supposedly made to camp participants. Young himself was willing to acknowledge that everything had not gone as they would have wished and that the impatient and critical would suppose many instances of failure. His own faith was otherwise: "were promises made Yes. & not one word of Joseph's word will fail." Minutes, 10 October 1865, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, Brigham Young Papers.

94. Discourse by Brigham Young, 16 August 1868. *Journal of Discourses* 12:269–70.

95. Young, *Organization of the Seventies,* pp. 1–2. Concerning Smith's deep feelings about the loss of men on Zion's Camp, see Hill, *Joseph Smith*, pp. 183–84.

Apparently Joseph Young told about this experience many times. At least two other versions have been recorded, although this printed one is the only detailed one. Compare this with the summary in the minutes of the 10 October 1864 union of Zion's Camp Veterans, Brigham Young Papers: "when we talked upon the subject of our brethren dying of the cholera in Missouri and being buried in their every day clothes, Joseph replied 'if we get as good a place as they have obtained, we shall be satisfied,' and he told me that the Lord had inspired him to select twelve men, as Apostles, also a number of Seventies, and a Patriarch." See also the even briefer note on his remarks in the minutes of 10 October 1865, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, Church Archives, which reports that he told of "his interview with the Prophet after the return of the Camp of Zion—the calling of the Twelve—Joseph's vision relative to the Bre[thren] who fell in Zion's Camp."

Brigham Young also later referred to this visit in Smith's home when Joseph announced that "by-an-by" he would select apostles and seventies "from those who have been up to Zion, out of the camp boys." Discourse of 7 May 1861, *Journal of Discourses* 9:89.

96. Discourse by Brigham Young, 7 May 1861, *Journal of Discourses* 9:89. A revelation of June 1829, now Doctrine and Covenants, Section 18, had foreshadowed the calling of the Twelve, but as the revelations were not published or widely circulated at this time, Young's claim to have learned nothing about the apostles until this time is credible. Compare this with "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," p. 668: "heretofore I had known nothing about it, not having had the privilege of seeing the revelations, as they were not printed."

97. Young, *Organization of the Seventies,* pp. 1–2; and discourse by Brigham Young, 7 May 1861, *Journal of Discourses* 9:89. This is apparently the same vision that Joseph referred to during the first meeting to organize the Twelve. While it was never recorded, B. H. Roberts discusses several allusions to it in a footnote to *History of the Church,* 2:182.

98. "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," p. 668. The original minutes for this meeting are in the Kirtland Record Book, p. 147, Church Archives. The printing of those minutes in *History of the Church,* 2:181–82, 185–89 will be

followed here unless otherwise indicated. See also "History of Heber Chase Kimball," Heber C. Kimball Papers.

99. "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," p. 668. The "first presidency" refers to Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams, the First Presidency of the Church or presiding quorum. The Twelve Apostles, organized here, would later become the second quorum in the Mormon hierarchy.

100. *History of the Church,* 2:188–89.

101. See *History of the Church,* 2:201–4 for the calling of the Seventy.

102. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 105:19 (22 June 1834); compare this with Doctrine and Covenants, Section 101:4–5.

103. *History of the Church,* 2:182. Amasa Lyman, later an apostle, explained why he thought this was so. According to him, the vicissitudes of that "anomalous and strange journey . . . afforded us ample opportunity to evince our faith by the offering of our lives for the truth, thus proving by the patient endurance of our toils and our untiring perserverance in the accomplishment of our purposes, that the interests of the Kingdom, when they should be committed to our keeping, would be faithfully cared for." "Amasa Lyman's History," *Deseret News,* 8–15 September 1858, 117. See also his remarks to the Seventies, 12 February 1856, Seventies Papers, Church Archives. For another example of Joseph's thinking about a tried leadership see his letter from Liberty Jail, 25 March 1839, in *History of the Church,* 3:293–94 and Doctrine and Covenants, Sections 121 and 122.

104. Remarks of Joseph Young, 10 October 1865, Reunion of Zion's Camp Veterans, *Deseret News,* 19 October 1865. See also Young, *Organization of the Seventies,* p. 14.

105. Minutes, 15 August 1847, General Minutes Collection. See also in the same collection Young's remarks of 14 May 1848. Of pain and sorrow and sickness he said, "if we make a right use of them they will return us blessings." Wilford Woodruff Diary, 15 February 1858, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

106. Minutes, 11 February 1849, Thomas Bullock Papers.

107. Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Pratt experienced difficulties with Joseph Smith, but returned within a few months and continued in their apostleship.

108. As noted, some men resented the emphasis placed on Zion's Camp participants, among them Brigham's brother Phinehas. Ironically, according to Oliver Cowdery, the Witnesses originally selected Phinehas for the Twelve but yielded to Joseph Smith's request that the place be given to his younger brother William who had, perhaps not coincidentally, participated in Zion's Camp. (Cowdery also suggested, as did the reminiscences of Joseph Young, that Joseph Smith and the Witnesses learned before the meeting who would be selected for the Twelve.) In a letter to Brigham Young, 27 February 1848, Brigham Young Papers, Cowdery wrote: "At the time the twelve were Chosen in Kirtland, and I may say before, it had been manifested that brother Phinehas was entitled to occupy the station as one of that number; but owing to brother Joseph's urgent request at the time, Brother David [Whitmer] and myself yielded to his wish, and consented for William to be selected, contrary to our then feelings and judgment, and to our deep mortification ever since. Brother Phinehas occupied that relation to myself [brother-in-law], that caused me to feel delicate about urging his name, and besides, bro. Joseph, about that time, was bearing down heavily upon bro. Phinehas."

109. Discourse by Brigham Young, 2 August 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:97.

110. Discourse by Brigham Young, 23 March 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 3:276.

111. Discourse by Brigham Young, 8 October 1866, Brigham Young Papers. During these early years of discipleship Young would give his testimony or preach on the first principles, but not until Nauvoo, after ten years of close attention to all of Smith's teachings both public and private, did he begin to speak out on doctrinal matters. See also his discourse of 17 November 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 12:99.

112. I Corinthians 1:26–27. Because the first edition of the Doctrine and Covenants would not be printed until later in the year, he was probably less familiar with passages in Smith's revelations teaching the same concept. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 1:23 says "That the fulness of my gospel might be proclaimed by the weak and simple unto the ends of the world, and before kings and rulers." Doctrine and Covenants, Section 50:16 notes that the weak among the elders can be made strong through the Lord.

113. *History of the Church,* 2:182, 188.

114. Discourse by Brigham Young, 5 December 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 1:337–38.

115. Minutes, 23 October 1859, Brigham Young Papers. Interestingly, the man called at this time was George Q. Cannon, a man who became a powerful leader somewhat in the mold of Brigham himself. Said President Young of him at this time: "George knows right as well as any other man he is modest, but I don't think he will let modesty smother his duty," something that Joseph Smith might well have said or thought of Brigham Young in 1835.

116. Discourse by Brigham Young, 16 September 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:173. Young here conceded that his call "was indeed a mystery to me," until he considered that perhaps the alternative to men like himself and Heber were "Big Elders" who could not be taught, the very kind of men who marvelled at their call. "When I considered what consummate blockheads they were, I did not deem it so great a wonder." Throughout his life Young maintained that it was better to be a humble man who knew too little and had to rely on the Lord than a Big Elder who could not be taught. Compare this with the comment of William Thorn, 24 February 1877, Salt Lake Stake Deacons Quorum Minutes, 1874–1877, Church Archives: "I've heard that when this church was first organized, that Bros. Brigham & Kimball were about the worst speakers & that on that account some rejected them, & those who rejected them lost & the rejected ones became the head."

117. Discourse by Brigham Young, 2 August 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:97.

Chapter 4

Brigham Young and the Apostles: The Quorum Experience, 1835–1836

This chapter examines the early shared experiences of the newly organized Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, experiences that had a lasting impact on Brigham Young's development as a Mormon leader and on the nature of the later Quorum of the Twelve under his direction.[1] For the apostles this was a period of struggling to define the scope of their office and to learn the meaning of the apostleship. While the highlights of the period came in connection with important shared experiences in the temple, the period was otherwise characterized more by difficulties, disagreements, and division. All of these provided Young experience, and in some ways perhaps the negative exerted more influence on his later leadership than did the positive. As President of the Twelve, his emphasis on unity and duty was, in part, a reaction against the disharmony, and the concern for status and authority, that he experienced here. It is only against the backdrop of this formative period that the decimation of the Twelve in the disaffections of 1837–1838 or Young's leadership of a revived quorum in 1839 can be adequately understood.

The personality of Thomas Marsh, president of the Twelve throughout this period, helped set the tone for his quorum. *[150]* Initially the Twelve was not more prominent in church leadership than were other church councils, a disturbing fact for Marsh and some others. Several times in confrontations with other church officials their concerns about this surfaced. Because Marsh was concerned about his prerogatives as president, his leadership of the Quorum was often intrusive and officious. He was impatient with criticism and tended to view a difference of opinion or even initiative by other apostles as a challenge to his leadership.[2] No doubt these characteristics contributed to the pettiness and self-concern that plagued the quorum.

Disharmony within the Quorum cannot all be laid at the feet of Marsh, however. Others, too, had visions of potential authority and prestige greater than the actual, creating tensions within them and leading to anxiety about position and prerogatives. Also, some of the difficulties clearly related to the newness of their office and their own relative youth and inexperience.[3] This was a collection of individuals not yet molded into a unit and often without a clear view of its role and purpose. Neither tradition nor precedent defined for them their mission or suggested how they accomplish it. Scriptural models and Smith's instructions provided guidelines, but the precise bounds of their authority and methods of their work could only be the product of shared experiences. Finally, Joseph Smith ruffled the feelings of his sensitive apostles as often as he soothed them. Whether this was a conscious ploy on his part to teach that humility and service must precede authority, as Young later thought, or simply a consequence of his *[151]* own style, the results were the same. Eager to be powerful men in the kingdom, some of the apostles bristled and complained at every slight.

Rather than complaining, Brigham Young was patient. Reverence for Joseph Smith and his authority, along with a deep sense of the importance of obedience, no doubt contributed to his patience in spite of difficulties. Perhaps a sense of destiny also contributed—if not a sense of personal destiny, at least a feeling that the fledgling quorum had an important future role and that this stage was, in some measure, a necessary preparation. Years later he related that when Marsh complained about Smith's treatment of the Twelve at this time, he told his president, "If we are faithful, we will see the day . . . that we will have all the power that we shall know how to wield before God."[4]

Young and Kimball may have reacted differently to the challenges of this period for still another reason. While it is not known how their fellow apostles viewed them at this time, it is

likely that several of the more polished and accomplished ones—perhaps men like William McLellen, John F. Boynton, or Orson Hyde—felt that the two artisans did not quite measure up. They had none of the learning, flashy dress, or eloquence of some of their colleagues. And for Young, close-up views of apostolic pettiness must have increased his confidence in his own virtues, especially his teachableness and common sense. Speaking generally about the way "Big Elders" reacted to their call to the apostleship, Young commented about the foolishness of those who knew too much to be *[152]* taught. Observing them, he said, helped him better understand why he and Heber had been called.[5]

For Young this was a period of learning, observing, and growing. Although existing documentation does not permit knowledge of his specific response to all these events, he was a participant. When opportunity came to do more, he would be prepared. When it was his responsibility to head the Twelve, he would do things differently.

Of the period following his call to the apostleship, Young mentioned in his history frequent councils where they received "much instruction" from the prophet about their new callings.[6] Between the calling of the Twelve and their May departure for a joint mission, Joseph Smith and others of the Presidency did meet several times with the apostles. In the first of these instruction meetings, one week after the ordinations, Oliver Cowdery delivered to the Twelve an "apostolic charge" that outlined the scope of their personal responsibility and came to serve as a charter for the apostleship. As one of the Three Witnesses, Cowdery had assisted in calling and ordaining the Twelve; as Assistant President of the Church, he also spoke for the Presidency.

The new apostles received Cowdery's solemn and impressive charges in a public meeting, 21 February 1835. Throughout Cowdery stressed that their office required sacrifice and great labor. "You have enlisted in a cause that requires your whole attention," he told one apostle: "Your labor must be incessant, and your toil great; you must go forth and labor till the great work is done. . . . your heavenly Father requires it."[7] *[153]*

All must prepare their minds for long periods away from home and family. The gospel must go to the ends of the earth, and since the Twelve hold the keys of that ministry, they, too, must go. The cost would be high, stressed Cowdery, and they should be willing to sacrifice even their lives should God require it. Nonetheless, God would protect them. "You will see what you never expected to see; . . . you must be prepared to walk by faith, however appalling the prospect to human view," he told them.[8]

Cowdery further warned the Twelve to cultivate humility and to set their hearts fully on the things of the Kingdom. "I know the pride of the human heart," he stated, therefore

> Beware, lest the flatterers of the world lift you up; beware, lest your affections be captivated by worldly objects. Let your ministry be first. Remember the souls of men are committed to your charge; and if you mind your calling, you shall always prosper.

Unity as a quorum would provide both power and protection, he told them, and they should avoid the temptation of some of the "ancient apostles" who sought to be greater than their brethren. "You are as one; you are equal in bearing the keys of the Kingdom to all nations." Rather than competing, each must pray for the other and aid him to bear off his portion. "This appointment is calculated to create for you an affection for each other, stronger than death."[9]

As apostles abroad in the world they would need great wisdom and knowledge. They must seek that not from the world but from God: "He can endow you without worldly pomp or great parade. He can give you that wisdom, that intelligence, and that power, which characterized the ancient saints." The future temple *[154]* endowment was part of the knowledge they must have before going abroad with their message: "Tarry at Kirtland until you are endowed with power from on high."[10]

Cultivate humility, beware of pride, give credit to God; mind your ministry and you shall prosper; be zealous for the souls of men committed to your charge; seek unity and brotherhood as a quorum; be prepared to walk by faith heedless of the odds in human terms alone. As if Brigham Young took the charge as a model for his ministry, all these became important themes in Young's life and in the success of his leadership in the years ahead.[11]

In addition to these charges there was another, at once the most fundamental and the

most imposing. Noting the powerful testimony of the ancient apostles that they had seen the Savior after His resurrection, Cowdery told one of the apostles: "You must bear the same testimony; or your mission, your labor, your toil, will be in vain." To all the Twelve he elaborated. Each should receive his own witness of the gospel even "that you have seen the face of God."

> Never cease striving until you have seen God face to face. Strengthen your faith; cast off your doubts, your sins, and all your unbelief: and nothing can prevent you from coming to God. Your ordination is not full and complete until God has laid his hand upon you.

They must qualify as special witnesses of the Savior as did the ancients, insisted Oliver again in closing, "Therefore call upon Him in faith in mighty prayer till you prevail, for it is your duty and your privilege."[12]

For years Brigham Young had striven diligently to know and be worthy of his Master. Now it was his personal responsibility *[155]* to seek Him as never before. Until he succeeded, according to Cowdery, his apostleship would not be fully validated. In his turn Brigham stepped up before Oliver to receive the covenant:

> Do you with full purpose of heart take part in this ministry, to proclaim the Gospel with all diligence, with these your brethren, according to the tenor and intent of the charges you have received?[13]

Yes, he answered, no doubt with full and solemn intent. His call and ordination and this charge henceforth would be part of his life. Here, and in the days ahead, as he learned more of the meaning of the apostleship, he would endeavor resolutely to do all that duty required of him. The changes in his life had just begun. From this time he desired more deeply and with more intent than ever to sit at Joseph's feet and learn "the deep things of God."[14]

Less than a week after Cowdery's charge to the Twelve, Joseph Smith and his counselors met with the new apostles to further instruct them.[15] Wiser from experience, Smith first stressed to the new officers the necessity of keeping a detailed, permanent record of their councils and deliberations. Carelessness in not appointing a clerk for every meeting had already meant the loss of important knowledge—something they must avoid. He promised that if they kept a faithful record "it will be one of the most important records ever seen," for their decisions would become items of doctrine and covenants for the Church.[16]

Joseph Smith then proposed a discussion of the importance of apostles and how they differed from other church officers. Brigham Young was one of the four who discussed the question, then Joseph explained: *[156]*

> They are the Twelve Apostles, who are called to the office of the Traveling High Council, who are to preside over the churches of the Saints, among the Gentiles, where there is <u>no</u> presidency established:

Their ministry was not to the gathered Saints in the stakes of Zion, but to the world.

> they are to travel and preach. . . . They are to hold the keys of this ministry, to unlock the doors of the Kingdom of heaven unto all nations, and to preach the Gospel to every creature. This is the power, authority, and virtue of their apostleship.[17]

The minutes kept by the Twelve record Joseph's additional emphasis on the priesthood keys and authority they now held. It was "all important," he stressed to them, that they understood their priesthood and authority, for they otherwise could not fulfill their responsibilities. And because they now held the authority, it was their *duty* to unlock the kingdom of heaven to foreign nations, "for no man can do that thing but yourselves." Though their assignment was different than his, he concluded, "you each have the same authority in other nations that I have in this nation."[18] Schooled in such precepts, it is no wonder that the Twelve soon had difficulty reconciling their treatment and actual status with the theology of their office.

One month later the Twelve received through Joseph an important revelation that formalized their role as he had already described it to them. Looking towards departing 4 May on their first mission as a quorum, the Twelve met in council on 28 March for a time of "general confession." Feeling unworthy of their calling, they petitioned Joseph to "inquire of God for us, and obtain a revelation, (if consistent) . . . that our hearts may be comforted," and the revelation "On Priesthood," was the result.[19] *[157]*

The revelation affirmed that the "twelve traveling counsellors . . . or special witnesses of the name of Christ" were to be called "the twelve apostles" and that when united "they form a quorum

equal in authority and power" to the Presidency of the Church. The Seventy, also special witnesses but acting under the direction of the Twelve, when united also form a quorum "equal in authority to that of the twelve special witnesses or apostles." Finally, the "standing high councils, at the stakes of Zion, form a quorum equal in authority to that of the twelve especial witnesses or apostles" and their decisions, too, have equal weight. The revelation suggests a hierarchy with the Presidency directing the Twelve and the Twelve directing the Seventy, all equal in authority and power, though not in responsibilities or assignment. The special assignment of the Twelve as "a travelling, presiding high council," was to build up and regulate the Church in all nations, organizing branches and ordaining officers under the general direction of the Presidency.[20]

While the revelation was not ambiguous concerning the relationships of the Presidency, Twelve, and Seventy, the relationship between the High Council in Zion and the Twelve was not clarified. The revelation stated only that in authority, and in the weight of their unanimous decisions, they were equal. In the months ahead, this ambiguity became problematical for both apostles and councilors concerned about their priority.[21] Even additional instructions from the Prophet further defining the distinct jurisdictions of the two councils failed to end speculation and concerns. *[158]*

So that the newly appointed officers could not mistake their responsibility and jurisdiction, Smith amplified the instructions one more time before the apostles left on their mission. In a 2 May conference on the eve of their departure, he told the Twelve that they were to regulate all matters in the branches of the Church wherever there was no standing high council, but "the Twelve will have no right to go into Zion, or any of its stakes, and there undertake to regulate the affairs thereof, where there is a standing high council." Nor can the standing high councils regulate the churches abroad, "for this belongs to the Twelve." He also stressed the special authority of the Twelve as a quorum. Although individual apostles must conduct their business in the branches by the consent of the membership, while in a quorum capacity the Twelve "will have authority to act independently, and make decisions, and those decisions will be valid."[22]

From the first, then, it was clear that the Seventy were subordinate to the Twelve, just as the Twelve operated under the direction of the Presidency. The relationship between high priests and seventies or apostles was not clear. Some worried about who had more authority, a seventy or a high priest, and about whether an apostle had the high priesthood or not. This, no doubt, was one of the reasons Smith repeatedly stressed the special assignment of the traveling high council and seventies—that they operated abroad and not in the stakes. According to Brigham Young, Joseph verbally clarified the relationship on the level of authority, as well. Many times in later years Young told how Heber's case and his own provided the occasion. *[159]*

Both Brigham and Heber had been present 17 February 1834 in Kirtland when the first high council was formed, but neither had been called to the council or ordained high priests when others were. Later, when it came to the attention of fellow apostles that they were elders when ordained to the apostleship and had never been high priests, William E. McLellen asked Joseph if the oversight should not be corrected. Young recalled Joseph's disappointment that those concerned didn't better understand the priesthood. "Will you insult the Priesthood? Is that all the knowledge you have of the office of an Apostle? Do you not know that the man who receives the Apostleship, receives all the keys?"[23]

This early, if Young's memory was correct, Joseph Smith saw the apostleship as at least equal to any other office, holding all of the keys of the priesthood.[24] That was the potential of the office in Smith's revelation "On Priesthood." It is also clear that their sphere of jurisdiction was then limited. Regardless of what one understood of the potential of the Twelve, by assignment they had been steered away from the stakes where they were not needed, to the world where they were needed and where, by revelation, their first responsibility lay. The two stakes could best be handled by their own high councils, directly under the Presidency, leaving the Twelve free for their labors. It is also clear that at first the office of apostle did not bring with it any more prestige or honor than membership on the high councils. On the contrary, the nature of their respective assignments assured more local responsibilities and visibility to the standing high councils. *[160]*

Preparing for their first spring mission, the Twelve decided in a 12 March council on a schedule of conferences that would take them to branches of the Church in New York, New England, and Upper Canada. This mission was to fulfill their general responsibility to oversee—to regulate and organize—the branches abroad. It also had several specific purposes, one of which was to collect monies from members in the East to buy lands for gathering "and in this way . . . establish Zion," as required by a December 1833 revelation.[25]

The ordination of Parley P. Pratt in late February brought the number of apostles meeting in Kirtland to ten.[26] On 25 April Thomas B. Marsh arrived and the following day Orson Pratt, ordained later that afternoon, completed the Quorum of the Twelve.[27] The first meeting of the full Quorum stressed a theme of quorum fellowship and unity that Young preached many times in later years. During the meeting all felt moved to forgive any wrongs that existed between them and to commit to one another "that from henceforth each one of the Twelve love his brother as himself, in temporal as well as spiritual things, always inquiring into each other's welfare."[28] The most memorable meeting, however, occurred later in the same week when on 2 May Joseph presided over "a grand Council of all the church authorities in Kirtland."[29]

We have already noted the instruction Joseph gave on that occasion about the role of the Twelve. In addition, other things occurred in that "grand Council" that had special significance for Brigham Young. For the first time Smith organized the Twelve according to age and provided a structure of leadership. *[161]*

Thirty-three-year-old Brigham Young, the second apostle called, now sat as number three, behind Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten who were less than two years his seniors. Heber C. Kimball, just fourteen days his junior, was seated fourth. At this time Joseph suggested a rotating Presidency, each apostle presiding in turn. Very early, however, either by further direction or as a matter of practical need, the practice was established of having the senior member preside.[30]

Another matter of significance to Brigham Young was taking the gospel to the Indians, whom they thought of as descendants of the Lamanites of the Book of Mormon, a promised race, the Seed of Joseph. It was proposed as early as March "that Brigham Young should open the door of the Gospel" to them, and now in May the entire quorum voted him that assignment as part of their mission, with the Prophet affirming that "This will open the door to all the seed of Joseph." Although both in that mission and in the years ahead Young repeatedly came short of the success he desired on his labors among the Indians, he never forgot his special responsibility for them.[31] Also of special importance to Joseph Smith—and something Brigham Young never forgot—was an item that did not become a part of the printed record. As the meeting closed it was unanimously agreed "that we never give up the struggle for Zion until it is redeemed altho we should die in the contest."[32] The concerns of Smith, Young, and others for the redemption of Zion had clearly not ended with the failure of Zion's Camp. *[162]*

Sometime before their departure that spring the Twelve prepared a written testimony to accompany the revelations in the soon-to-be-published Doctrine and Covenants. With editorial work complete, a conference voted to accept the revelations and publication began before the Twelve returned from their mission. The testimony of the apostles was placed as a preface, a testimony that has since appeared in most editions and which makes the Twelve the "Witnesses to the Book of the Lord's Commandments."[33]

Another mission at hand, Brigham Young again resumed his diary. On Sunday, 3 May, he noted a meeting with the Twelve during the day, an evening gathering at Smith's home, and at 2:00 A.M. "the 12 started on our mishon to the east." Apparently they started in the night in order to meet a steamer in Fairport at 6:00 A.M. "A boat was there as had been predicted by Brother Joseph," noted Heber Kimball. By 4:00 P.M. they were 140 miles from home at Dunkirk.[34] The first mission of the Twelve had begun.

This mission is significant not only as the first the apostles undertook as a quorum, but also because it is the only mission that involved the whole quorum in the same labors. In the future either some of the Twelve had separate assignments or, as in the case of the mission of the Twelve to England, some failed to respond. This

mission saw twelve men participating, traveling together and, at least some of the time, meeting together. As Orson Hyde put it, he "with the entire quorum" was appointed "to hold conferences in all the churches . . . strengthening . . . regulating and putting them in order."[35] On this mission the label "traveling high council" had concrete meaning as they formed [163] a high council to conduct necessary business in many regions.[36] They labored as a quorum, "bound together," as Cowdery had urged, "notwithstanding you can part and meet, and meet and part again."[37] Between appointed conferences, where most would gather to form a quorum or council to conduct the business of regulating or organizing a conference, the Twelve and their traveling associates divided up either to visit churches by assignment or preach much as Young and others had done on earlier mission.[38]

The Twelve held conference 22 and 23 May in Freedom, New York, with Elder David Patten presiding. Local business accomplished, they met on the twenty-fifth in the spirit of their earlier resolutions to pray for each other. The council assigned Brigham Young to preach to a nearby group of Indians and blessed him, at his request, that he would have the necessary power to succeed. Later that day he left with two companions, one his brother-in-law John P. Greene.[39] Though they had but a few days before appointed meetings with the Twelve further east, Young felt a great desire that the short assignment be effective. His brief diary entries record his efforts but no specific results.[40]

Elder Young and his companions rejoined the Twelve for a 5 June conference at Lyonstown, New York, where Heber Kimball presided.[41] Here Young learned that Joseph Smith had sent for him, Orson Hyde, and William Smith to return to Kirtland to testify in court in his behalf. They arrived in Kirtland in time to help Joseph "righteously triumph over his enemies," then promptly rejoined their colleagues in the East to finish with them the conference schedule.[42] The twenty-seventh of September found [164] Young and Kimball back in Kirtland with family and friends. According to Kimball, during their mission they had felt the power of God, including healing the sick and casting out devils by their authority.[43] The new apostles had done their duty. It seemed a promising beginning.

During the five months, Young and companions traveled hundreds of miles by wagon, canal boat, river steamer, railroad, on foot, and no doubt by stage once or twice. Traveling without purse or scrip, they met both kind friends and rejection. At one large conference they counted 144 carriages and estimated that 2–3,000 attended. Here the members assisted the itinerant apostles more than any other place. Three weeks later they found "Fathers and mothers sisters and Brothers who opened their house to ous and adminersted to our relief" and in another city a month later Young noted that the Saints helped him get a badly needed coat.[44]

On many other occasions people rejected their testimony and sometimes their calls "upon the charity of the people to help ous on our Jurney" as well. Announcing that they were traveling preachers who went without money, they asked one man for breakfast who immediately denounced them as impostors. Against some they washed their feet or shook their garments. Young noted in his diary an occasion when a woman stood after one of them spoke and said that they were proud deceivers only after money and women. After several others also spoke critically, Young arose and testified against them. Kimball told of leaving their testimony with a town that cordially received them: "may the Lord bless them"; and of another town where twelve Methodist families in [165] succession refused them a meal: "may the Lord reward them." That night they had to hire a room at an inn and went to bed hungry. Next morning they traveled ten miles before finding breakfast.[45] Kimball said that because most of the mission had been performed on foot, that he suffered considerably from fatigue and blistered feet.[46]

None of this, of course, was much different than they had expected. Previous to their ordination, Elders Young and Kimball had tasted some of this, and Cowdery had warned them as apostles to expect more. In addition to their general responsibilities to testify to the world and to regulate the Saints, the Twelve also attended to specific assignments given them by Joseph. In harmony with an earlier revelation, he had asked them to appoint men in each branch of the Church to raise means to assist in the purchase of land in Zion. He also instructed them to seek

means for the temple and for publishing the word of God. After mentioning these assignments, Kimball carefully noted in his summary of the mission: "we feel as though . . . we had done as the Lord commanded."[47]

All was not well, however, and if the Twelve returned to Kirtland to accolades, they also returned hurt and angry to face accusers. Even while they labored in the East a letter of complaint from Freedom, New York, along with other reports raising doubts in the minds of the Presidency, resulted in a letter of chastisement and censure. Their problems began when Warren A. Cowdery, presiding elder in Freedom, wrote to Kirtland about the late May conference the Twelve held there. They had ignored their instructions regarding the Kirtland Temple, insisted Cowdery, neither gathering monies *[166]* nor preaching the subject as a preparation for agents that followed them.[48]

The instructions to the Twelve emphasized both the temple and monies for land in Zion. Apparently the Twelve, intent on fulfilling the written revelation, stressed more the latter, while the Presidency insisted that they should have understood the priority of the temple. The Presidency and Kirtland High Council met on 4 August to consider the complaints and concluded, in strong language, that the Twelve had

> failed in the outset, to fill their great and important mission, as they know God has commanded us to build a house, in which to receive an endowment, previous to the redemption of Zion, and that Zion cannot be redeemed until this takes place.

The temple and its endowment of power from on high was a necessary prelude to the establishment of Zion, they insisted. Since the minutes would be sent to the Twelve, they queried directly, "did we not instruct you to remember first the house, secondly the cause of Zion, and then the publishing of the word to the Nations?"[49]

The next charge, at first impression petty, called forth the strongest censure. Orson Hyde had briefly left his mission to return to Kirtland with Young to testify for Joseph. Rejoining his brethren in the East he made derogatory reference to how Sidney Rigdon's Kirtland school was conducted, remarks reflected in William McLellen's letter to his wife in Kirtland. The remarks, decided the Council, insulted and cast reflections on "those who are held in much higher estimation in the sight of God and this church than themselves." They preemptorily disfellowshipped *[167]* Elders Hyde and McLellen until they could return and make satisfaction.[50] The letter of reproof continued with the warning that he who spoke evil, even to his family, "of the dignities which God has set in his Church," would be cursed unless he repented. There were already insinuations enough in Kirtland without having more from those who should be friends and brothers and who, in fact, were sent to put down such gossip, concluded the letter: "May God help you to be more wise for the future."[51]

The Presidency expressed other concerns as well. Word had reached Kirtland that at least some of the Twelve had complained of the burden their mission placed on their families and of the treatment their families received in Kirtland. Their duty, reminded the Council, was to seek first the kingdom of heaven, not to "preach yourselve crucified for your wives sake," but to testify of Christ. Then there was a reminder to credit God—not their own preaching—for success, and finally, a stinging rebuke of the whole Quorum:

> as far as we can learn . . . you have set yourselves up as an independent council subject to no authority of the church a kind of out law. This impression is wrong, and will if persisted in, bring down the wrath and indignation [of heaven] upon your heads.

Were they not an "independent Council" when traveling abroad? (Or had they boasted even in Kirtland that they were subject to no one except Joseph?) If they felt prideful and boastful before, they could feel only hurt after receiving the letter.[52] The letter also included this counsel and this balm: "go forth in the name of the Lord, in the power of [your] mission, giving diligent heed to *[168]* the direction of the Holy Spirit. . . . for great things await you, and great blessings are in store for you."[53]

With all the criticism that the Kirtland authorities received from detractors outside the Church and complainers inside, it is not difficult to understand the Presidency's anxiety that perhaps even their newest official quorum did not possess the hoped-for wisdom and steadfastness. It is less understandable that they would react so immediately and so strongly to such "unwarrantable," indeed flimsy, evidence without await-

ing the Twelve's return.[54] Whether good would result from this hasty, and perhaps unfounded, chastisement remained to be seen.

The same day the Twelve returned to Kirtland from the East, 26 September, they met with Joseph Smith and the Presidency to consider their difference. The Twelve showed Warren Cowdery's charges that they had been remiss in their duties were incorrect. On the matter of writing derogatory sentiments about Kirtland, Orson Hyde and William McLellen confessed and were forgiven. The record made no mention of the charge that the Twelve had set themselves above all authority. As far as Joseph Smith was concerned, "all things were settled satisfactorily." Noted Joseph of the next day, four of the Twelve—the four senior members, including both Brigham Young and Heber Kimball—"preached and broke bread. The Lord poured out his Spirit, and my soul was edified."[55]

On the part of the Twelve, hurt feelings and misgivings remained. The fact that the initial letter of reproof had been issued by the Presidency in council with the Kirtland High Council further complicated relationships between the two parallel councils. *[169]* The whole incident could only have increased the feelings of insecurity some had about their status and heightened concerns for reputation and position. Nor had the Twelve yet received the last criticism relative to their conduct in the East. Feelings would not be fully aired and the problems finally resolved until some months later when the Presidency and Twelve met to establish harmony and a spirit of unity in preparation for the temple endowment.

This incident, with additional slights and reproofs from the Presidency in the months ahead, severely tested some of the Twelve. Although Brigham Young no doubt felt some of the hurt that troubled his associates, and did not understand in the fall of 1835 precisely why Joseph had acted as he had, he nonetheless had confidence enough in the Prophet to be patient until he did understand. Eventually he thought the meaning and purpose clear. After Joseph Smith's death, Joseph Young, senior president of the Seventies, asked why the Prophet had "snubbed" the Seventies so. In response, Brigham asked why Joseph had likewise kept the Twelve "so far from him & snob[bed] them" so much that some exclaimed "We are Apostles[!] it's an insult for us to be treated so." The answer, thought Brigham Young: Joseph "snobed us & when we proved ourselves willing to be every bodys servant for Christs sake then we were worthy of power." This was necessary, according to Young, for only "true servants" may receive the power. Those who aspire or think themselves great are unfit for power.[56]

Immediately upon returning to Kirtland, the Twelve testified in the high council trial of Gladden Bishop. After cutting him off *[170]* from the Church at a conference in the East, they had invited him to Kirtland for a rehearing of his case. The high council confirmed that the Twelve had acted properly in the case and announced a decision along the lines suggested by Thomas Marsh and Brigham Young. When some in the council tried to incriminate the Twelve for cutting Bishop off, suggesting they had exceeded their authority, Joseph Smith announced that the high council had nothing to do with the Twelve or their actions, that according to revelation only a general council of the authorities of the whole Church had jurisdiction over them if they erred.[57] Even though the authority of the Twelve had been upheld, the insinuations hurt and were not soon forgotten by some of the Twelve.

Within ten days of the return of the Twelve, Joseph Smith presided at a meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve. He further instructed them in their duties and then told them "it was the will of God" that they go with their families to Missouri in the spring of 1836. In the meantime, they were to

> attend this fall the solemn assembly of the first Elders for the organization of the school of the prophets, and attend to the ordinence of the washing of feet and to prepare their hearts in all humility for an endowment with power from on high to which they all agreed with one accord, and seemed to be greatly rejoiced.

According to Smith's diary, he had a "glorious time" with the Twelve. His prayer, "May God spare the lives of the twelve with one accord to a good old age for Christ the redeemers sake Amen," concluded the entry.

Joseph Smith's next diary entry about the Twelve, nearly a month later, began on a completely different note: "Behold they *[171]* are under condemnation." With no hint in the entries before this, and without any context provided or reason suggested here, Smith wrote in his diary

for 3 November,

> Thus came the word of the Lord unto me concerning the Twelve saying . . . they are under condemnation because they have not been sufficiently humble in my sight, and in consequence of their covetous desires, in that they have not dealt equally with each other.[58]

The revelation named Elders Patten, Hyde, and McLellen as offenders, as well as William Smith in another connection. The Twelve should be equal in their rights and their privileges, equal in the ministry and in sustenance, stressed the revelation, and those who had not honored that command must repent and prepare their hearts "for the solemn assembly and for the great day which is to come. Verily thus saith the Lord." They had not kept their agreement of the spring before that each "love his brother as himself, in temporal as well as in spiritual things."[59]

Was Brigham Young one under condemnation here? If so, he learned a lesson that remained with him throughout his life. Consistent with what is known of him in this regard, it is more likely that he was not: "nevertheless, some of them dealt equally therefore they shall be rewarded," stated the revelation. Still, Young no doubt felt with the others the sting of chastisement, recognizing that he, too, could do better: "but verily I say unto you they must all humble themselves before me before they will be accounted worthy to receive an endowment to go forth in my name unto all nations."[60]

The only other revelation Smith had written for the Twelve was the impressive spring discussion "On Priesthood." Understandably *[172]* this one, featuring reproof as well as promise, caused a stir among the Twelve. As soon as they heard about it, William McLellen and Orson Hyde visited Smith's to hear it read. They "expressed some little dissatisfaction" until Smith convinced them to examine their hearts. Brigham Young came by later the same day and to Joseph "appeared perfectly satisfied" with the chastisement.[61]

No doubt one of the reasons Young felt "perfectly satisfied" is that he recognized the justice of the rebuke. In addition to examining his own heart, he knew personally the disunity in the quorum, along with certain jealousies and pettiness. There was not always the feeling of brotherhood that should characterize such officers. Years later he explained that in Kirtland the Twelve were divided by jealousy, "continually sparring at each other." On one occasion some of the Twelve convened the Quorum and summoned Brigham when they learned that he had accepted an invitation to preach. By what authority, they wanted to know, had he "presumed to appoint a meeting and preach" without consulting them? Nor was this an isolated instance. Under Thomas Marsh they met very often, he concluded, "and if no one of them needed cleaning, they had to 'clean' some one any how." Later, he would conduct matters differently. He told the Twelve in 1849, "when T. B. Marsh was Pres[iden]t of the 12—he was a[lway]s like a toad's hair comb[ing] up & down" but "since I [h]ave been the Pres[iden]t I am daddy."[62]

A few days after the November 1835 revelation chastising the Twelve, Joseph met with them "by their request." The minutes do not show that the revelation was mentioned. Instead, Joseph reassured them: "I am satisfyed that the Spirit of the Lord is *[173]* here, and I am satisfied with all the brethren present [nine of the Twelve]." He told them they had his full confidence and he intended fully to uphold them. He acknowledged that there were difficulties—"darkness"—but chose to stress "that great blessings awate us at this time and will soon be poured out upon us if we are faithful in all things."[63]

Additional blessings from on high were needed before the Church was fully established or Zion could be redeemed—that was Smith's text for the Twelve. According to the Prophet, he had supposed he had established the Church on a permanent foundation when he had gone to Missouri with Zion's Camp, "and indeed I did so, for if I had been taken away it would have been enough."[64] But he had not been taken, and now God required more of him—and not only of him but of others. Smith told the Twelve that disunity was presently the one "great deficiency or obstruction" in the way of greater blessings. Furthermore, it was their duty to hold a solemn assembly as commanded by the Lord and according to his pattern, including the washing of feet, the specific ordinance "calculated to unite our hearts, that we may be one in feeling and sentiment."[65] If the Twelve could humble themselves as the revelation commanded and perform the ordinance in the proper spirit, perhaps then they could enjoy that

unity and oneness that had so far escaped them.

Joseph Smith concluded his remarks to the Twelve by further instructing them about the endowment they were "so anxious about." The endowment would not give them power to heal those without faith or benefit those whose hearts were not right, nor were their minds presently enlightened enough to comprehend the endowment, he told *[174]* them. Nonetheless, if they prepared themselves faithfully, he predicted "a blessing that will be worth remembering." As they prepared their hearts for the ordinances, some might receive special manifestations. If so, they should be considered a personal blessing not to be shared: "let us be faithful and silent," Smith counseled, and "if God gives you a manifestation, Keep it to yourselves"—advice that Brigham Young lived by and taught in later years.[66] Oliver Cowdery had earlier charged the Twelve to validate their calls as special witnesses by preparing themselves to see the Lord. For some, promised the Prophet in closing, the time for that was near at hand, for "all who are prepared and are sufficiently pure to abide the presence of the Saviour will see him in the solemn assembly."[67]

Instead of the peaceful unity and humble repentance that might prepare them for glorious blessings, the Twelve continued to be plagued with difficulties through the close of 1835. The worst of these involved William Smith whose rebellion and uncontrolled emotions drove him to angry clashes with his brother Joseph. That fall Brigham Young witnessed and, as a member of the quorum that sought to discipline one of their own, participated in scenes that he would never forget as he watched William insult and abuse the Prophet. Although William Smith was the only apostle singled out for praise in the August letter chastising the Twelve, within a month of the return of the Twelve to Kirtland William's difficulties erupted dramatically.[68] During a high council proceeding at which their mother, Lucy Smith, was testifying, William Smith jumped up to accuse his brother Joseph of insulting *[175]* their mother. An argument ensued that would have entirely disrupted the meeting had not Father Smith stepped in and urged patience on Joseph.[69]

After the confrontation, William Smith was immediately "censured by the brethren"—presumably his quorum, though perhaps some of the high council, as well. In a letter to Joseph the next day he alluded to the censure as unjust, "concidering that his cause was a just one," and wanted the matter reopened. Joseph replied simply by note that he had parted with good feelings (after the intervention of their father) and could not be held responsible for "the dissatisfaction of others," i.e. those who had called William to account. Nonetheless, Joseph invited William to call on him. Joseph promised he would talk with his younger brother "in the spirit of meekness and give him all the satisfaction I could." William did come, and in the presence of their brother Hyrum, the two attempted to discuss the matter. Perceiving that Hyrum agreed more with Joseph, William became enraged and rushed from the house. If Joseph could sway brother Hyrum, then William would influence their brother Samuel to his viewpoint. As Joseph wrote in his diary, soon Samuel

> was in the street exclaiming against me, and no doubt our enemies rejoiced at it. And where the matter will end I know not. but I pray God to forgive him and them, and give them humility and repentance. The feelings of my heart I cannot express on this occasion.

After evening prayer Joseph "obtained a testimony" that William would return to the Church, and "repair the wrong he had done."[70]

During the following week, Joseph wrote the revelation chastising the Twelve, discussed above. One paragraph of the *[176]* communication was directed at William: "my servant William shall return, and I will yet make him a polished shaft in my quiver. . . . and there shall be none mightier than he, in his day and generation." Nevertheless, warned the writ, "if he repent not speedily, he shall be brought low." His sin was great, but not more so than that of others of the Twelve, stated the revelation.[71] Perhaps the promise of potential prominence helped calm William's passions. Peace was restored to the family for over a month until once again William's emotions overcame him in a clash more violent and damaging than the first.

This time the altercation broke out in William's own home, where he hosted a debating society. Mistaking some of Joseph's remarks, he became enraged and physically attacked Joseph and others, leaving him "with marks of violence" and "feelings indescribable." When he came to his senses, William realized that this time he had gone too

far and a humble sadness replaced the rage and rebellion. Before he had demanded a council that he might be vindicated. This time he responded meekly when the Twelve summoned him—not just to call him to account, which they did, but also to find if he intended to right himself and continue with them and the Church or not.

> I told them that on reflection upon the many difficulties that I had had with the Church and the much disgrace I had brought upon myself in consequence of these things and also that . . . my health was such that I was not able to travel as an apostle must . . . it would be better for them to appoint one in the office that would be better able to fill it.[72] *[177]*

This he thought best both for the Church and for himself. He feared falling from such a high station, he said, but felt that perhaps as a common member he could save himself.

William explained all of this in a contrite letter to Joseph on 18 December. Joseph felt gratified with William's change of heart but firmly declined the offer to resign his apostleship. "When a man falls one step, he must regain that step again, or fall another," Joseph replied. If William maintained his office by "rising up and making one tremendous effort," he might yet overcome his passions and please God. Joseph's answer also showed once again the great need he felt for unity within the Twelve. He told William the grief he felt at his treatment of Elder McLellen the night of the debate: "I thought you should have concidered your relation with him in your Apostle ship, and not manifest any division of sentiment between you, and him, for a surrounding multitude to take advantage of you."[73]

The exchange of letters laid the groundwork for reconciliation. Pondering on New Year's Day the serious difficulties in his family, Joseph attributed them to the powers of darkness seeking to promote so much jealousy and disunity in the Smith family and in the Twelve that the Saints could not be endowed. In his diary Smith noted his firm determination to resolve the family difficulties that very day.[74]

Several of the family, along with Martin Harris, joined in a special meeting in Joseph Smith's home. Father Smith's moving prayer set the tone for his remarks to his family, during which, according to Joseph, "the Spirit of God rested down upon us in *[178]* mighty power, and our hearts were melted." William made a "humble confession" and

> the spirit of confession and forgiveness was mutual among us all, and we covenanted with each other in the Sight of God and the holy angels and the brethren, to strive henceforward to build each other up in righteousness. . . . and be reconciled and thereby promote our own happiness, and the happiness of the family.

Mother Smith, Joseph's wife Emma, and his scribe were called in to witness the solemn covenant of reconciliation, "truly a jubilee and time of rejoicing." The following day William humbly confessed before a council meeting. The next day, Sunday, he asked forgiveness of the whole congregation.[75]

Brigham Young had never rebelled against Joseph Smith—and he would not forget the rebellion of William, his fellow apostle. Young had too much respect for Joseph Smith as a man, and for his office and the principle of obedience to authority, to permit himself to oppose the Prophet, in spite of his own deep feelings about independence. Yet Young, too, had his trials of obedience to Joseph and, ironically, most severely in connection with the continuing foibles of the Prophet's younger brother William. On a later occasion, aware that William was out of line and required church discipline but sensitive to his family position, Smith insisted that Young handle the matter. Young accordingly made the charges, followed through to a church court, and in the midst of establishing his case was shocked to find Joseph on his feet opposing him. His wife Emma had persuaded Joseph, apparently as a matter of Smith family unity, that he must stop Young's attempt to injure the family. "Bro Brig[ham] I will not listen to this *[179]* abuse of my family a minute longer," Joseph is reported to have said. According to the apostle who later related the incident, Young was "tried to the very utmost" and for a moment his standing in the Church seemed to tremble in the balance. Instead, Young withdrew the charges and yielded to the Prophet.[76]

William Smith's reconciliation gave Joseph great satisfaction. After William's public confession Joseph wrote in his diary,

> the cloud that has been hanging over us burst with blessings on our heads, and Satan has been foiled in his attempts to destroy me and the Church by causing jealousies to arise in the hearts of some of the brethren, and I thank my heavenly father for the union and harmony which now prevails in the Church.[77]

This entry, like the revelation to the Twelve, suggests that William Smith had not been the only difficulty, and indeed he had not. A less serious difficulty that had grieved Smith only two weeks before involved Orson Hyde.

Hyde, certain that others of the Twelve had received benefits for their families that he had not, complained to Joseph about the inequality. He even hinted that if the matter was not handled to his satisfaction he would leave Kirtland to find better employment "in the world."

> I am willing to continue and do all I can provided we can share equal benefits one with the other, and upon no other principle whatever. If one has his support from the "publick crib" let them all have it. But if one is pinched I am willing to be, provided we are all alike.[78]

While the sentiments sound just, they do not breathe that same spirit that once prompted Brigham Young to exclaim that he would stay in Kirtland and work to build it up if he was not paid a [180] farthing. Smith fully agreed—as the revelation also confirmed—that the Twelve had not been equal, yet he felt that some of Elder Hyde's specific accusations were unjust and untrue. After discussion with Joseph, Elder Hyde went away generally satisfied both with Joseph and his brethren of the Twelve.

A few days later, Brigham Young witnessed a minor confrontation between Orson Pratt and Joseph Smith in the Hebrew school that would have meaning later when Brigham presided over the learned and stubborn apostle. A discussion between the two men over the pronunciation of a Hebrew letter turned into a heated debate with Elder Pratt manifesting "a stubbourn spirit," as Joseph saw the event. It required most of the morning to settle the unpleasant feelings and bring Pratt to confess his fault "for entering into any controversy concerning so small a matter as the sound of a Hebrew letter." No doubt the man later known as "the Professor" maintained that he could pronounce a letter as correctly as the Prophet, not to mention that a controversy required two parties. For him it must have been a severe trial to swallow his pride and ask "the forgivness of the whol school."[79]

By early January the difficulties that had caused division with the Twelve had been largely resolved. As far as records reveal, Brigham Young had not been personally involved in any of the difficulties, nor had others like Parley Pratt, Heber C. Kimball or the Johnson brothers. Complaining and murmuring or opposing Joseph Smith were not strong tendencies in Young's character that he had constantly to keep in check. He apparently remained consistently loyal to Joseph and to his calling. As a [181] keen student of human behavior and human relations as well as, since his conversion, a perceptive student of priesthood and church government, no doubt Brigham Young carefully observed how each man had responded to the difficulties and reached private conclusions about the people and the principles that he filed away for the future.

There remained, however, the general difficulty between the Presidency and the Twelve and the ambiguity in the relationship of the High Council and the Twelve. Only a new supposed slight was necessary to bring the friction to the surface. In mid-January Smith called two important councils involving all of the officers of the Church (members of the two high councils, two bishoprics, two presidencies, the Twelve and the Seventies) to organize the leadership and to make arrangements affecting the temple. New councilors were selected to fill vacancies in the high councils—a replacement for Luke Johnson, now in the Twelve, for example, and for Oliver Cowdery, now in the Presidency. The full council also discussed and adopted rules for meeting in the House of the Lord. With so many quorums and offices present, during the business Smith stressed the need for perfect order. Each quorum, for example, would speak or vote in turn. On each proposition, the Twelve *followed* the high councils; otherwise the apostles were hardly mentioned.[80]

The following day the Twelve requested the Prophet to meet with them—they could remain silent no longer. Was this the occasion Heber Kimball later referred to when "Joseph tried the Twelve but the Twelve was united & tied Joseph down"? If so, [182] perhaps there was a written document signed by all of the Twelve that preceded the meeting. And if so, Smith left them a challenge and an instruction that they "never let any body tie [them] down as you have me."[81]

The meeting began with Joseph Smith, Frederick G. Williams and Sidney Rigdon listening silently as each of the Twelve spoke in turn. To "unbosom his feelings touching the mission of

the Twelve," President Marsh spoke about three concerns. In the recent councils, the Twelve had been placed below the high council of Kirtland and Zion, "having been previously placed next [to] the Presidency in our assemblies." Feelings also persisted, he said, about last fall's handling by Hyrum Smith and the high council of the Gladden Bishop case in a way that seemed to discredit the Twelve. Finally, and significantly, there remained the issues raised by the actions of the August letter chastising the Twelve and suspending Hyde and McLellen while they were laboring in the East.[82]

David Patten, Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, and each of the Twelve followed in turn. All, apparently, acquiesced in the observations of Elder Marsh, adding their own feelings about the matters. Both the role and status of the Twelve and their relationship to Joseph were at issue. The letter of reproof, maintained the Twelve, was harsh in language and should never have been written without better evidence against them. That it was written forced them to conclude

> that the presidency had lost confidence in them, and that whereas the church in this place had carressed them at the *[183]* time of their appointment, to the Appostleship they now treated them coolly and appear to have lost confidence in them also.

The apostles felt that both as apostles and before their calls they had "borne the burden in the heat of the day, and passed through many trials," therefore the Presidency should have more confidence in them. Along with other specific complaints, they asked for additional information about their duties and authority so "that they might come to an understanding in all things, that they might act in perfect unison and harmony . . . and be prepared for the endowment." These things were said, noted the minutes, "in a verry forcible and explicit manner yet cool and deliberate"—not in anger but with calm determination.[83]

In his response, Joseph Smith began at the heart of the matter: he asked the Twelve directly if they were determined to persevere in the Lord's work, whether or not the presidency were able to satisfy them. They manifest by unanimous vote their commitment to remain in the work. Joseph then assured them that he had not lost confidence in them. If the words in the letter of chastisement were harsh, so also was the letter that Elder McLellen had written from the East and the one should be set against the other. Next he discussed the duties of the Twelve "and their authority which is," he assured them, "next to the present presidency."[84] The order of the councils that had caused them concern was simply the "most judicious" for the occasion, an expediency simply because the matters at issue were local matters involving the presidencies and high councils more directly than the Twelve. To further emphasize the key part he repeated it once *[184]* again: "the 12 are not subject to any other than the first presidency; viz., myself, S. Rigdon and F. G. Williams."[85]

The Prophet then acknowledged that, from the impulse of the moment, he had sometimes spoken too harshly. He asked their forgiveness if he had wounded their feelings, "for I love you and will hold you up with all my heart in all righteousness . . . I am determined that [nothing] . . . shall separate me from you."

> and I will now covenant with you before God that I will not listen to nor credit, any derogatory report against any of you nor condemn you upon any testimony beneath the heavens, short of that testimony which is infalible, untill I can see you face to face . . . and I do place unlimited confidence in your word for I believe you to be men of truth, and I ask the same of you . . . for I will not tell you I know anything that I do not know.

In the future, even upon firm evidence, Joseph Smith would be slow to act against one of the Twelve. After conciliatory words from Joseph's counselors, the Twelve accepted by vote the covenant and expressed their satisfaction with the entire proceedings.[86]

> we then took each others by the hand in confirmation of our covenant and their was a perfect unison of feelings on this occasion, and our hearts overflowed with blessings, which we pronounced upon each others heads as the Spirit gave us utterance. . . . and may God enable us all to perform our vows and covenants with each other in all fidelity and righteousness before Him, that our influence may be felt among the nations of the Earth in mighty power.[87]

The following day was Sunday. Joseph Smith began the usual services by arranging the quorums, "first, the presidency; then the twelve, and the seventy" and finally the high councilors. The Twelve were in their proper place. President Rigdon suspended the sermons for the day so the Presidency and Twelve could, in turn, share their

feelings. Full reconciliation and harmony characterized the meetings. Reported Joseph: *[185]*

> the Lord poured out his Spirit upon us, and the brethren began to confess their faults one to the other and the congregation was soon overwhelmed in tears and some of our hearts were too big for utterance, the gift of toungs came on us like the rushing of a mighty wind, and my soul was filled with the glory of God.[88]

No doubt Brigham Young felt much like his friend Heber Kimball who described this as the beginning of "a joyful season and one long to be remembered by us."

> All things were reconciled to our minds. . . . We continued together a day and a night. This seemed to be a day of humiliation amongst the church as all felt to confess their sins throughout. It was truly the beginning of good days.[89]

Finally, they felt the unity and harmony that portended future success.

The next week the good times not only continued but were enlarged. With grievances settled and the Twelve united, the time for long-awaited blessings had arrived. On the evening of Thursday, 21 January, Joseph Smith presided over the first ordinance work to be associated with the still-to-be-completed temple. First the Presidency washed, anointed, and blessed Father Joseph Smith, Sr. He was then prepared to anoint each of the Presidency in turn. In anointing his son Joseph, Father Smith sealed upon him "the blessings of Moses, to lead Israel in the latter days, even as moses led him in days of old." This tie to ancient Israel Brigham Young often acknowledged by referring to Joseph Smith as "our Moses."[90] For Joseph, the ordinance concluded with all the presidency pronouncing prophecies and blessings on his head.[91] *[186]*

According to Joseph Smith's diary, in the midst of these blessings, the "heavens were opened upon us" and visions and revelations descended. Among those recorded:

> [I saw] Eld[er] Brigham Young standing in a strange land, in the far south-west, in a desert place, upon a rock in the midst of about a dozen men of colour, who appeared hostile He was preaching to them in their own toung and the angel of God standing above his head . . . protecting him, but he did not see it.

Joseph also reported seeing the Twelve, fatigued and in tattered clothes, standing together in a circle "with their eyes cast downward, and Jesus standing in their midst, and they did not behold him, the Saviour looked upon them and wept."[92] Heber Kimball heard Joseph relate this vision several times, including how he saw the Savior watch over the Twelve until they accomplished their work and were crowned in the celestial city. "The impressions that the vision left on Bro Josephs mind was of so acute a nature that he never could refrain from weeping while rehearsing it," said Kimball later.[93] Others of the Presidency reported visions and the ministering of angels "and the power of the highest rested on us the house was filled with the glory of God, and we shouted Hosanah to God and the Lamb." Following the Presidency, the high councils of Zion and Kirtland received the same ordinances:

> some of them saw the face of the Saviour, and others were ministered unto by holy angels, and the spirit of prophecy and revelation was poured out in mighty power . . . for we all communed with the havenly hosts.[94]

Brigham and his brethren of the Twelve learned more about these great manifestations the next morning when they met, as usual, for school. Instead of Hebrew study, the morning was spent "rehearsing to each other the glorious scenes" that attended *[187]* the ordinance of the night before. That evening the Twelve and Seventy met in the temple with the Presidency for their anointings. As President of the Twelve, Thomas B. Marsh received his anointing first and was "ordained . . . to the authority of anointing his brethren."[95]

Apparently Marsh's anointing including a special responsibility and blessing to lead his quorum in introducing the gospel to foreign lands. Hereafter he saw this not only as a stewardship of the Twelve but more directly as his own. Later he even insisted that the work could not be done without him "for unto this was I anointed."[96]

After his own anointing and blessing, President Marsh performed the same ordinance for his brethren, beginning with the oldest. Joseph Smith then laid hands upon them and spoke "many great and glorious" blessings. According to Joseph's diary, "the heavens were opened and angels ministered unto us." The Twelve then directed the anointing of the Seventy under their quorum leaders. After President Rigdon's eloquent prayer invoking the benediction of heaven "upon the Lord's anointed," the brethren erupted in "a loud hosannah the gift

of toungs fell upon us in mighty power, angels mingled their voices with ours, while their presence was in our midst, and unseasing praised swelled our bosoms for the space of half an hour."[97]

The meeting was dismissed at a late hour—but not the manifestations. The Prophet noted in his diary that "the spirit and visions of God attended me through the night." The brethren met for school next morning "filled with the spirit as on the past *[188]* evening" and instead of studying, conversed about "heavenly things & the day was spent agreably and profitably."[98] These and other experiences associated with the Kirtland Temple left an indelible imprint on Brigham's mind and heart.

Over the next two weeks as the high priests and elders received their ordinances, Joseph Smith continued instructing the Twelve and others in the things of the temple. At one later meeting, the brethren present reported more manifestations, many testifying "that they were filled with the holy spirit which was like fire in their bones so that they could not hold their peace."[99]

Like his brethren, Brigham Young had other involvements besides these soul-satisfying meetings relating to the temple. For months he and his fellow apostles had assisted in the ministry in the Kirtland region and in late February they, with the presidents of Seventy, received the assignment to oversee all missionary labors and teaching of the Saints in outlying areas—to "see that the calls for preaching in the region round about Kirtland be attended to and filled by judicious Elders of this church," was how Joseph noted the assignment in his diary.[100] There was also temple construction, a labor of love for Young's skilled hands.

Clearly Brigham Young had little time to work at his trade for the support of his family and this, the second winter of labor on the temple, was a season of poverty for the Youngs. Joseph had told the Twelve and the Seventy that they had "a right by virtue of their offices to call upon the churchs to assist them" and their families.[101] The Saints, however, found that temple *[189]* construction alone, even without the need to purchase lands in Missouri, exhausted their resources. They could not support Joseph Smith's family, let alone the families of a traveling ministry.

For his part, Brigham Young prided himself that he lived by his own labors.

> I traveled and preached, and still went back [with] nothing; but was willing to exchange, deal, work and labor for the benefit of my brethren and myself, with the kingdom of God and nothing else before me all the time.[102]

Although Young did work hard, he also received assistance, which he acknowledged: "I have supported myself and my family, by the help of the Lord and my good brethren. Some of them have helped me very liberally, for which I thank them."[103] He labored, he traded, he sometimes received gifts, and when he had to, he borrowed.

Indeed, the winter of 1835–1836 was a borrowing season. As Jonathan Crosby remembered the time, Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, and Parley Pratt were "very poor" in January 1836. Brigham stood in the door of the printing office, a building he had helped construct, "thinking of his condition & he felt so bad the swet rold off . . . him." When apostle Parley Pratt came by, Young asked him, "What shall we do? I have nothing to eat & dont know whare to get it." Pratt knew that Brother Crosby, who had just arrived, had some money and at his suggestion Elders Young, Kimball, and Pratt all went to Brother Crosby and each borrowed $25 to feed his family.[104] With such assistance Young's family ate in spite of his many hours devoted to the kingdom.

On 22 February 1836, Joseph Smith asked Brigham Young to set aside everything in order to work full-time superintending *[190]* the interior painting and some aspects of the finish work on the temple. Until then he had spent most mornings with the elders in the Hebrew school, studying "the word of the Lord in the original," as Joseph phrased it.[105] It is interesting to contemplate a man of Young's limited education so engaged day after day. It is not an activity he later commented on, nor did he later display any acquaintance with Hebrew. Clearly he was not a star pupil, and it is unlikely that anything but obedience and the opportunity to be with Joseph could have induced his daily attendance. He was a careful student of the scriptures and desired to further understand them, but it is likely that he considered prayerful application in a language he understood a more fruitful endeavor for him than Hebrew study.

Young was interested in the Egyptian mummies, however, and in the ancient writings with

them. Several times he called on Joseph to learn more about them. Of one occasion when Brigham visited with two others, Smith wrote:

> I exhibited and explained the Egyptian records to them, and explained many things to them concerning the dealings of God with the ancients and the formation of the planetary system.

Thought Joseph, "they seemed much pleased with the interview."[106] Joseph's explanations of ancient records Brigham could understand. Reading them himself was something else.

This winter that closed the first year of his apostleship had been for Brigham Young eventful. He had labored on the temple, attended school, learned more about temple ordinances; he had met in council and preached and baptized. But ultimately the lasting impact of these events was not so much what he contributed *[191]* as what he had experienced.[107] He had felt Joseph's chastisement—and the Lord's. He had seen the fruits of disunity and disharmony in his quorum, the wages of rage and emotion. No doubt these experiences increased his sensitivity to disunity and influenced the stress he would later put on achieving unity both by true brotherhood and obedience to authority. Witnessing personal attacks on Joseph likely strengthened inner feelings that would soon sustain and drive him as he rose up in defense of his Prophet. He had shared sacred experiences with his brethren and participated in emotional reconciliations that promised a future of greater harmony. And he continued to be enthralled by Joseph. Certainly with but few exceptions, when Joseph spoke in public, Brigham was there; if there was a council where his presence was appropriate, he was there. Much of the winter, however, saw Brigham Young at work on the temple while Joseph managed the affairs of his office. Neither a source of concern nor yet a right hand man, Brigham Young was infrequently mentioned in Joseph's diary.

Not yet among the most influential leaders, not yet a full-time church authority, Brigham Young found that his ordination had given him new responsibility and new opportunity, but had not yet greatly altered the pattern of his life. Working on the temple, preaching, receiving instruction and blessings in council—all these were experiences any elder might have had. He was a disciple, a follower, known to the Kirtland Saints and, we can assume, respected by most, but not particularly visible or prominent. *[192]*

One change that Young must have contemplated as spring approached was the move to Missouri. The previous October, less than two weeks after the Twelve returned from their mission, Smith had told them that it would be necessary to move their families to Zion in the spring. The apostles' mission had already involved them in assisting Joseph in the two projects closest to his heart, construction of the temple and the redemption of Zion. But now he wanted the Twelve's assistance directly in the Missouri Zion. Smith's resolve to redeem Zion ran deep. He had even concluded in the fall of 1835 that he would lead an enlarged Camp of Zion to protect the Saints in regaining their lands and in purchasing more.[108]

With spring approaching and the temple nearly completed, Zion was again on Joseph's mind. On 13 March he met with the Presidency and some of the Twelve "and counseled with them upon the subject of removing to Zion this Spring." Feeling that their influence in persuading the Saints to gather to Missouri would be greater if they, too, resided there, they concluded to emigrate by the fifteenth of May "if Kind providence smiles upon us and openes the way before us."[109]

Although it looked for all the world like Brigham Young and his associates were headed for Missouri, it was not to be. On 27 March 1836, the Prophet Joseph presided over the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, with hundreds of Saints and 416 priesthood officers present—more officers than had ever assembled before. Songs and sermons—Sidney Rigdon spoke two and one-half hours "in his usual logical manner"—along with the sustaining of *[193]* officers, preceded Joseph Smith's presentation of the dedicatory prayer. After Joseph was sustained as a prophet and seer, he called upon the Saints "to acknowledge the 12 Apostles who were present as Prophets and Seers and special witnesses to all the nations of the earth, upholding them by their prayers." The Seventy were next sustained—as special witnesses but not as prophets and seers.[110] After the prayer some bore testimony of angels, Brigham Young gave "a short address" in tongues which fellow apostle David W. Patten interpreted, along with a short exhortation in tongues himself, then Joseph

dismissed the congregation.[111]

With the temple dedicated, the promised solemn assembly could finally be held. That very evening the Prophet gathered the Twelve and other quorums into the temple to instruct them on the ordinance of the washing of feet and also the spirit of prophecy. At one point young George A. Smith arose and began to prophesy

> when a noise was heard like the sound of a rushing mighty wind . . . and all the congregation simultaneously arose . . . [and] many began to speak in tongues and prophesy; others saw glorious visions. . . . The people of the neighborhood came running together . . . and were astonished at what was taking place.[112]

Once again manifestations had confirmed to them the sacredness of the temple and the importance of their labors within.

Two days later, before beginning the ordinances, several of the Presidency knelt "in the most holy place in the Lord's house" to seek the Lord's will "concerning our going to Zion, and other important matters." The Presidency and Twelve had earlier agreed to move with the families to Missouri by 15 May. With the *[194]* date fast approaching, Smith wanted confirmation that it was best. The voice of the Spirit, according to Joseph, was that through fasting and prayer, if they humbled themselves enough, they would receive further word.[113] Although Joseph Smith's diary records no specific later answer to this inquiry, his instructions to the Twelve in the temple the following day and his own subsequent actions make it clear that his inner feeling of urgency about Zion, and about the officials moving there, was gone.

The Twelve and other quorums received the washing of feet 30 March 1836. At least since the Fishing River revelation to Zion's Camp—which stressed that Zion could not be redeemed until the elders were endowed with power from on high—Brigham Young had looked forward to the promised temple rites. No doubt the dedication and solemn assembly were for him days of satisfaction and fulfillment. The comments about the occasion in his history are unadorned: the washing of feet was administered to him by the Prophet Joseph, he noted, and "I . . . was privileged to listen to the teachings and administrations of the Prophet of God." As they administered the ordinance, the Presidency pronounced blessings and prophecies upon the Twelve.[114] Another who was present wrote of the event in his diary. The Twelve and presidents of Seventy first received the ordinance and then washed the feet of the other quorums.

> after the washing the Brethren commenced prophesying for the spirit of prophecy was poured out upon the congregation: the house was divided into 4 parts by the curtains & they prophesied, spoke and sang in tongues in each room.[115] *[195]*

After the ordinance, the Prophet instructed while the Twelve prepared the bread and wine. It had been necessary to tarry in Kirtland until endowed, he told them, but the time was near when the elders would go forth, each empowered to stand alone. The Seventies, he said, are not called "to serve tables or preside over churches," but to build up churches and set others to preside over them. The "twelve also are not to serve tables, but to bear the keys of the kingdom of all nations." What about Zion? Were the Twelve to go there? "The 12 are at liberty to go wheresoever they will and if one shall say, I wish to go to such a place let all the rest say Amen." The Seventies also were free "to go to Zion if they please or go wheresoever they will and preach" the gospel. Zion, however, remained central: "let the redemption of Zion be our object," to be accomplished by preaching and then gathering the strength of the Church to the borders of Zion. The brethren covenanted that if any more Saints were slain or driven from their lands in Missouri, they would not rest until the wrongs were avenged. The organization was now complete, Joseph told them. They had the necessary ordinances and the instruction they needed, now "go forth and build up the kingdom of God."[116]

The assembly continued under the direction of the Twelve for eight hours after the Presidency retired. The rest of the meeting was summarized, as it was reported to him, in the Prophet's diary:

> the brethren continued exhorting, prophesying and speaking in tongues until 5 o clock in the morning. The Saviour made his appearance to some, while angeles ministered to others, and it was a pentecost for an enduement indeed, long to be *[196]* remembered, for the sound shall go forth from this place to all the world.[117]

What impact did all this have upon Brigham Young? Significantly, Young is highly selective in

what he reports of the spiritual phenomena of Kirtland, limited mainly to what he experienced himself—the gift of tongues, healings, prophetic impressions of the Spirit—and things he witnessed of Joseph. He does not report open visions and visitations. The paucity of his comments possibly suggests he was not a participant and remained skeptical of some of the claims of others. His earlier experiences with New York revivalism had led him to conclude that the over enthusiastic could be deceived. On the other hand, it is clear that Young was sensitive to Joseph's teaching that spiritual manifestations were sacred and personal, not to be lightly shared and certainly not to be sought after for a sign.

Both Young and Kimball later told of a meeting of the Twelve, probably about this time, that demonstrated the futility of sign seeking. According to Kimball, the Twelve had "set stakes" to see an angel. They sought a dramatic manifestation and determined to pray until they received one.[118] Thomas B. Marsh, a man of ambition who desired manifestations partly as a confirmation of his position, probably set the tone for this meeting. According to Oliver Cowdery, he visited with Marsh 23 January 1836, the day after the first temple-related heavenly manifestations were reported. Marsh, apparently, had not shared the manifestations, for Cowdery wrote in his diary, "I pray that his faith may be strength[en]ed to behold the heavens open" as he greatly desired. *[197]* A letter from Marsh to Elder Pratt in 1837 further revealed elements of Marsh's personality that could contribute to the scene described by Young and Kimball, including his fixed determination to wrest from heaven a spiritual blessing. In the letter, Marsh appointed an extraordinary meeting of the Twelve, noting that it would "be glorious & prove a lasting blessing. . . . we intend to break through every obstacle."[119]

Although the Twelve "set stakes," they did not see an angel that day, Kimball assured his later colleagues, "but [we] prayed ourselves into darkness." For Brigham Young the incident illustrated the difference between humbly seeking the Lord's enlightenment and blessings and sign-seeking. While the one is necessary, the other grieves the spirit of the Lord. The meek and cautious can distinguish between the two and avoid such pitfalls, thought Young. "At the time Brother Kimball speaks of," he told the later apostles, "the Twelve had praid until it was so dark we could hardly see to get down stairs." Understanding what had happened, Young "praid to God with all my heart that I might never again meet with that Quorum with the spirit they possessed and I never did."[120]

George A. Smith, not one of the Twelve at this time or a participant in the experience just reviewed, later drew a similar conclusion from his own experiences and observations of the Kirtland Temple phenomena. He thought it highly significant that some of those "who manifested the greatest gifts, and had the greatest manifestations" later left the Church. Some of them, he thought, were "terribly afflicted with self conceit" and did not *[198]* demonstrate that humility and quiet dignity necessary for the experiences to be edifying. He contrasted them with those who received knowledge of the things of God "by the power of his spirit, and sought not after signs and wonders." Upon them, observed Smith, the operations of the spirit "seemed to produce no visible demonstration." These were the men, he concluded, who remained faithful.[121]

Did Young see the Savior as Joseph said some did, fulfilling the promise to the pure-in-heart and Oliver's charge to the apostles? Young would never say. Only rarely did he later suggest publicly the deep meaning these experiences held for him. One such occasion was his thoughtful comments on the Kirtland Temple to the Saints gathered in Salt Lake City to lay the cornerstone of the Salt Lake Temple. The preparatory ordinances administered in Kirtland, "though accompanied by the ministration of angels and the presence of the Lord Jesus," were but a "faint similitude" of the full temple rites, he told them. In Kirtland some thought they had received all there was, then apostatized, convinced they knew as much as God.

> But be assured, brethren, there are but few, very few of the Elders of Israel, now on earth, who know the meaning of the word endowment. To know, they must experience; and to experience, a Temple must be built.[122]

The Kirtland Temple experiences had meaning for Brigham Young. From this time the temple became a vital thread in Young's life, a thread that for him eventually touched and became intertwined with every important thread of the gospel. *[199]*

To Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith, and others with experience in the Kirtland Temple who went on to experience other temples, the Kirtland ordinances fell into perspective as only a preparatory or initiatory rite. Brigham Young suggested that while there might have been in Kirtland additional ordinances had the Saints enjoyed the temple longer before their removal, they received and experienced in 1836 all they were prepared to receive. As George A. Smith later expressed it, the Lord went slowly and carefully, "with such great caution that, at all hazards, a few . . . might be able to understand and obey." Some apostatized because there was too much, some because it was not enough, but if "the Lord had on that occasion revealed one single sentiment more . . . I believe He would have upset the whole of us."[123]

There occurred the Sunday following the solemn assembly and washing of feet one of the most significant events associated with the Kirtland Temple. After the Lord's supper, the Twelve officiating, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery retreated behind lowered veils for "solemn and silent prayer." They afterwards testified that as they finished praying a vision opened up to them both and they saw and received in turn Moses, with the keys of the gathering and the return of the Ten Tribes; Elias, with the keys of the dispensation of Abraham; and Elijah with the important keys of redemption and sealing.[124] Brigham Young and his associates in the Twelve later testified that they received all of these keys from Joseph along with the charge to safeguard them and the instruction to use them to build up the kingdom of God on earth. All of the keys were *[200]* important, but for them the key of Elijah, identified with the powers held by Peter and the ancient apostles to bind or loose on earth and have the act ratified or sealed in heaven, came to have special significance.[125]

These experiences, and of course the temple itself with ordinances said to be ancient, served as a reminder to Brigham Young and the Mormons that the Lord had not only restored biblical Christianity, but a new Israel as well. No doubt the reported appearance of the great prophets of the ancient world helped firm up in the minds of many the developing idea of a literal kingdom on earth ruled by priesthood power and encompassing both the temporal and the spiritual—the same kingdom, emphasized the Mormons, prophesied by Daniel to precede the millennial reign of Christ.[126] When Joseph Smith first organized a priesthood council more than two years before, he had done so, he said, after an ancient pattern: "according to the ancient order, and also according to the mind of the Lord."[127] Hereafter the Saints would be even more attuned to the ancient order of things.[128] The diary of Stephen Post, who wrote that after his Kirtland Temple experiences he "could form an idea of the endowment anciently for Gods ordinances change not," indicates that this connection with ancient Israel was not lost on contemporaries.[129]

Joseph Smith's excellent Kirtland diary ends with the report of these visitations. The events of the next week, the sixth anniversary of the Church, were not recorded at the time. According to Heber C. Kimball's reminiscent account, dictated about three years later, 6 April found the priesthood of the Church *[201]* gathered in the temple fasting and observing the Lord's Supper. The Twelve washed the feet of the Seventy as Christ had done with his apostles. "The meeting continued on through the night, and the spirit of prophecy was poured out upon the assembly and cloven tongues of fire sat upon them for they were seen by many. . . . Also Angels administered to many, for they were also seen by many."[130] Following the anniversary convocation in the temple, Kimball reported that manifestations continued for several days, "attended by a marvellous spirit of prophecy." Every man seemed full of prophecy and

> our time was spent in visiting from house to house, administering bread and wine and pronouncing blessings upon each other . . . [until] from external appearance, we would have supposed that the last days had truly come.

During this time there occurred one of the few temple-related events that Brigham Young later recounted in detail. He and others who had witnessed it told Wilford Woodruff how "a circle of about 40" angelic visitors "dressed in white robes & caps" spent several hours in the upper story of the temple.

> their was no person in that room at the time that was mortal yet the room was filled with light & many personages did appear clothed in white & frequently went to the windows & looked out so that the Brethren in the street could see them plainly.[131]

Either they were very tall or their feet never touched the floor, the observers had concluded, for if they were only the size of "common men" they could not have been seen as fully from the ground as they were. Apparently Young and his companions watched the celestial phenomenon for several hours. When he arrived home, Mary Ann asked the reason for his lateness and he described the *[202]* scene to her. She remembered his description and related it years later.[132]

For the Twelve the dedication of the temple marked the end of a period of preparation. For more than a year they had met together frequently, learning about their authority and responsibility as a quorum and about each other. There had been less happy times when pettiness and jealousies created disunity and when the Twelve were not in harmony with the Presidency. Those times had been overshadowed by emotional reconciliations and shared experiences in the temple. As a quorum they had prepared for and experienced their first temple blessings. As a quorum they had organized and regulated the eastern branches. As a quorum they had superintended the preaching around Kirtland. Now, however, the time had arrived for them individually, and in different directions, to "go forth and build up the Kingdom."

For some the Kirtland meetings of the Twelve in April would be their last with fellow apostles as a quorum. With the departure of Marsh and Patten to Missouri, the Twelve essentially ceased to function as a quorum until it was reorganized under Young nearly three years later. Except for a brief period in the summer of 1837 when a majority of the Twelve had an opportunity to meet in Kirtland, the next important meetings of the Quorum of the Twelve would be several years and hundreds of miles away—and would involve a number of new faces.

Instead of a requirement that they move their families to Missouri, as seemed likely a few weeks before, the Twelve were now free to choose their own field of labor and set their own *[203]* priorities in building up the kingdom. In the temple Smith had told the Twelve that the Quorum should respect the decision of each member to "go wheresoever [he] will." Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten, Young's two seniors in the Quorum, elected to reside with their families in Missouri after all, and later in the summer Marsh took a mission to Tennessee and Kentucky to raise monies for the purchase of lands for the gathering in Missouri.[133]

Others of the Twelve engaged in a fruitful season of preaching. Some, like Heber Kimball, chose their own fields according to Smith's words, but for others Joseph suggested specific assignments. Parley Pratt was to go to Canada, Brigham and Joseph Young to preach to relatives in New England. Parley Pratt, deep in debt and with a sick wife, could not decide whether to go or care for his family and pay his debts. Not until Heber roused him from bed one evening and gave him a prophetic blessing of health for his wife, prosperity in his family, and success in his mission to Upper Canada, did he conclude to leave for Toronto.[134]

Brigham Young, also in debt, once again received this 1836 call from the Prophet without hesitancy. "It has never entered into my heart," he declared when later remembering this, "from the first day I was called to preach the Gospel to this day, when the Lord said, 'Go and leave your family,' to offer the least objection."[135]

Although Brigham Young may always have faithfully and unhesitatingly accepted mission calls, separation from his family was neither painless nor easy. Like any caring husband and father, he missed his family. The fact that usually he was forced *[204]* to leave them without sufficient support added to his concern. If his response seemed painless, it was only because he had long since established in his own mind, and with Mary Ann's agreement as the rule in his own home, the priorities that placed God and duty to the kingdom first. He would do his duty as well and as quickly as he could, then return to his family. In June, a month after leaving Kirtland, he wrote back to Mary Ann,

> what shal I say to you to comfort your hart I pray for you and I feel that the Lord will bless you and keep you from danger and bare you upon the arms of faith, tell the Children that I remember them in my Prares. I Pray the Lord to give you strength and wisdom in all things.

Among the messages for each of his children, he asked Mary Ann to "Kiss that little son of ours and tell him to make hast and groe so he can goe with me." In closing, he indicated he did not yet know when he could return home. Next month Brigham wrote Mary Ann that his first priority

once home would be to "pay for my house and I want to repare it this fall so that I can feele contented about my famely when I leve them."[136]

Once again Brigham outlined his mission in a small diary, making entries faithfully from early May until early September. He and his brother preached wherever they could but, as Joseph had directed, concentrated their labors among relatives in New England, baptizing thirteen and leaving the seed planted in others. Several years later at a family meeting in Nauvoo, Brigham Young reminisced about this important mission. He noted that they made a concerted effort among family and friends only because Joseph had assigned it, that when he and Phinehas had early preached together "I never preached to my friends." In reporting *[205]* their mission for publication, Brigham wrote that they had "visited our friends as we anticipated, with whom we conversed freely on the subject of the gospel as brought forth in the last days: many of them seemed to realize the truth of it and none rose in opposition to it."[137]

By 1845 in Nauvoo, Brigham could better judge the results of this mission. There were "60 or 80" of their relatives in the Church, he thought. For Joseph Young, all this was "according to the promise of the Prophet," who had promised them that they would see the fruits of their labors. Joseph Young remembered that some of the family looked upon both them and their doctrines as strange, yet they were able to preach and bear testimony to many.[138] Among these they preached to was Uncle John Haven, who later remembered looking Brigham full in the face

> to see if he could say he was a Mormon and I found that he had the courage to say that he was—I wanted to know what they said and then I took the Bible to see if it was true—l found they were the only sect that kept to the Bible in all its purity.[139]

That was the Mormonism that had intrigued and finally engulfed Brigham Young—and that was the Mormonism he preached.

Over the next several years many of the family joined Mormonism, but in terms of immediate success that spring, Brigham and Joseph were more successful in the Boston area, where they baptized seventeen after completing their specific assignment. Brigham met Joseph Smith in nearby Salem, Massachusetts, where on 6 August 1836 Smith received a revelation about their business in that place. Young remained with him "a few days" before returning to Boston. He also noted in his diary his joy at *[206]* spending time with Oliver Cowdery and Hyrum Smith.[140] For Brigham Young the four months proved rewarding and important.

Brigham Young was clearly an effective messenger. Because of his sensitivity and genuine warmth, he made friends easily. Simple and sincere in approach, he could be either bold and direct or patient. For Brigham, preaching without purse or scrip was the best way and "never hard." He and his companions spent some hungry days and cold nights, but not, he insisted, when he was the one to speak. "Now, you may think that I am going to boast a little. . . . brag a little of my own tact and talent," he admitted later, "but when I had the privilege of asking, I never was turned away—no, not a single time." Why? Because he first gained the friendship of the people.

> I could make the acquaintance of the family, and sit and sing to them and chat with them, and they would feel friendly towards me; and when they learned I was a "Mormon" Elder, it was after I had gained their good feelings.[141]

Building on a foundation of friendship, he gained many invitations to teach a family or to preach in the neighborhood where a direct approach would have cost him dinner and a missionary opportunity, he insisted. He did not bait the ministers or denounce the sectarians. Rather he tried to attract people to the truth he brought and draw them into the gospel.[142]

Brigham and Joseph Young returned to Kirtland in September. In October, Levi and Willard Richards, two cousins whose family they had reached on their mission, arrived to further investigate the gospel. Willard stayed with Brigham that fall and when Brigham baptized him in December, he baptized a future apostle, a future *[207]* counselor to himself, and a man who for nearly fifteen years would be one of his closest associates.[143]

Parley Pratt's mission also proved dramatically successful. As a result of his labors, many in the Toronto area were baptized, including Robert B. Thompson, soon a clerk to Smith; the Fieldings—Joseph, Mercy and Mary, who became Hyrum Smith's wife; and John Taylor, soon an apostle and eventually Brigham Young's successor as president of the Church. Several of these Toronto Saints,

recently emigrated from England, played a role in the first mission to England as Heber Kimball had predicted—probably unaware that he would head that work and that Willard Richards would also play a role.[144]

In several respects, Young's return from his second mission as an apostle in September 1836 closed an era in his life. With the dedication of the temple and the dispersing of the apostles in April, priorities changed. Not only would there be no meetings of the Twelve, there would not be the same demand for consecrated labor on the Lord's House, or the same intense preparation for temple blessings. Missouri would figure again in Young's future, but not yet. For the next three years he could not even count on his now familiar pattern of a summer's preaching. The months since his ordination had been months of growth in his office and of preparation. Ahead would be months of performance, not as one of the Twelve, but sometimes standing alone. With Young it would still be the "Kingdom or nothing," but the months ahead would force him to demonstrate that commitment in unexpected ways. *[208]*

Notes

1. Because of sparse documentation, this period in the history of the Quorum of the Twelve has never been adequately treated. Although gaps remain, using available contemporary records with the reminiscences provides, for the first time, the broad outlines, permitting an assessment of the impact of the period on participants.

2. This chapter and the following three provide examples of Marsh's leadership and the documentation for these conclusions. See also Lyndon W. Cook, "'I Have Sinned Against Heaven, and Am Unworthy of Your Confidence, But I cannot Live without a Reconciliation': Thomas B. Marsh Returns to the Church," *Brigham Young University Studies* 20 (Spring 1980):389–400. *[Editor's note: see Ronald K. Esplin, "Thomas B. Marsh as President of the First Quorum of the Twelve, 1835–1838," Sperry Symposium (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1984), 167–190; Ronald K. Esplin, "Brigham Young and the Transformation of the 'First' Quorum of Twelve," in* Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life and Service of Brigham Young, *eds. Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 54–84.]*

3. The four oldest apostles at the time of their call were thirty-four and thirty-three, the four youngest not yet twenty-four.

4. Discourse by Brigham Young, 7 October 1860, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1967), 8:197, hereafter also cited *JD*. Thomas B. Marsh witnessed these comments.

5. Discourse by Brigham Young, 16 September 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:173.

6. "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News*, 27 January–24 March 1858, p. 385.

7. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1851), 2:192.

8. *History of the Church,* 2:193–98.

9. *History of the Church,* 2:195–97.

10. *History of the Church,* 2:197.

11. While there is no evidence that the Twelve initially had copies of Cowdery's charge, it was recorded and referred to later. According to *History of the Church,* 5:386, the charge was read again in a meeting of 11 May 1843. Perhaps it became part of Young's life because he "treasure[d] it up" in his heart, as he later testified he did of Smith's teachings, praying to God "to help my memory when information [was] wanted." His memory was excellent "especially with regard to things which pertains to the kingdom of God upon the earth," and perhaps even more especially as to his own duty in that kingdom. See discourse by Brigham Young, 8 October 1866, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church Archives.

12. *History of the Church,* 2:193, 195–96. Compare this with Smith's revelation in Doctrine and Covenants, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1923), Section 88:68. For an indication that this charge was taken seriously, see Cowdery's conversation with Thomas Marsh, 23 January 1836 recorded in "Oliver Cowdery's Sketchbook," edited by Leonard J. Arrington, *BYU Studies* 12 (Summer 1972):420.

13. *History of the Church,* 2:198.

14. Discourse by Brigham Young, 8 October 1866, Brigham Young Papers.

15. For a brief overview of the organization and early development of the Quorum of the Twelve from a different perspective—and with some information about other quorum members that is not developed here—see Wilburn D. Talbot, "The Duties and Responsibilities of the Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1835–1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1978), chapter 3. See also D. Michael Quinn, "Organizational Development and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: A Prosopographical Study," (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1973). His chapter 1, Historical Development of the Hierarchy, places the Quorum of the Twelve in context with other officers and quorums of the Mormon leadership.

16. Minutes of meeting, 27 February 1835, *History of the Church,* 2:199. The Twelve immediately secured a book which opened with William E. McLellen's minutes of this meeting. With Elders Hyde and McLellen as clerks, the minutes continued through August 1835, the end of their first mission. In spite of Smith's stress on the importance of the record—in the Twelve's version of the minutes he said that all important decisions if recorded by them "will ever after remain upon record as law, covenants and doctrine"—no additional entries were made. Apparently there was not another record book of the Twelve until Nauvoo. Their 1835 record is the source for several entries in the *History of the Church* (for example, 12 March, and 22 and 28 April 1835) and provides an alternate account of other meetings, notably the important one of 2 May 1835.

17. Kirtland Council Record Book, p. 88, Church Archives, emphasis added.

18. Record of the Twelve, 27 February 1835, Church Archives.

19. Minutes, 28 March 1835, Kirtland Record Book, p. 198, Church Archives.

20. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 107:23–39.

21. For a brief discussion of this problem and a diagram illustrating the parallel authority of the two councils, see D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844, *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976):213.

22. *History of the Church,* 2:220. The original can be found in Kirtland Record Book, pp. 187–91, Church Archives.

23. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 1:136–37. Another version is in *Deseret News*, 6 June 1877, reporting Brigham Young's 21 May 1877 speech (mistakenly titled 25 May) in Logan.

24. We have already noted that both Smith's instructions to the Twelve in the 27 February 1835 meeting and the 28 March 1835 revelation allow for this interpretation. There was a precedent for this understanding even before the organization of the Twelve, however, for Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery had been referred to as apostles as they presided over the Church before additional leadership quorums were formed.

25. *History of the Church,* 2:209. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 101:72ff, especially 72–74. In the 1835 Kirtland edition of the Doctrine and Covenants it is Section 97, paragraph 10 which Kimball quoted in summarizing this mission in "History of Heber Chase Kimball by his own Dictation," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives.

26. Parley Parker Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt,* ed. Parley P. Pratt [Jr.] (New York: Russell Brothers, 1874), 127.

27. Both Orson Pratt and Heber Kimball thought it significant enough to record that with the arrival of Marsh there was among the Twelve great desire for Pratt to join his brethren, including prayers for him and a prophecy that he would arrive for a meeting on the twenty-sixth "although no one of them knew where I was." He arrived in Kirtland at 10:00 just as the meeting began for which his attendance had been predicted. "History of Orson Pratt (written by himself, March, 1858)," *Deseret News*, 29 June 1858, p. 65 and "Extract from the Journal of Heber C. Kimball," *Times and Seasons* 6 (January–April 1845):669.

28. *History of the Church,* 2:219, 28 April 1835. This is printed from the Kirtland Council Record Book, pp. 187–91, Church Archives.

29. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386.

30. *History of the Church,* 2:219–20. Calendar age was important only in this first organization. The seniority of men called to fill future vacancies was established by the date they were set apart in the Quorum. The Minutes of the Twelve, 27 February 1835, record Joseph saying, "At all times when you assemble in the capacity of a council to transact business let the oldest of your number preside." Perhaps the rotating presidency was designed more for a series of conferences in the field, where it was apparently used in the summer of 1835.

31. *History of the Church,* 2:209, 222; and "History of Brigham Young," p. 386.

32. Record of the Twelve, 2 May 1835, Church Archives.

33. *History of the Church,* 2:245.

34. Brigham Young Diary, 3 May 1835, Brigham Young Papers; and "Journal of Heber C. Kimball," p. 869.

35. "History of Orson Hyde," *Deseret News* (5–12 May 1858), p. 49.

36. For an example, see the account of the "traveling high council assembled in conf[erence]" in Farmington, Maine, in Record of the Twelve, 28 August 1835, Church Archives.

37. O1iver Cowdery's Charge to the Twelve, *History of the Church,* 2:198.

38. For accounts of the mission, "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers; Brigham Young's holograph diary for the period, Brigham Young Papers; a short report in *History of the Church,* 2:222–26; and the Record of the Twelve, Church Archives. The entry of 9 May 1835 in that record provides an example of their approach as they organized conferences and enquired into the faith and labors of the Saints.

39. *History of the Church,* 2:224–25.

40. Brigham Young Diary, 25–30 May, Brigham Young Papers.

41. It is not clear whether a different apostle presiding in each conference represented a following of the pattern Smith suggested for conducting quorum meetings by a rotating presidency, or whether it is a result of the common practice of simply selecting one of the priesthood as the "presiding" official to conduct the business of that particular conference or meeting.

42. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3, Historian's Office Papers, Church Archives.

43. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

44. Brigham Young Diary, 17 July, 7 August and 12 September 1835, Brigham Young Papers.

45. Brigham Young Diary, 5–23 July 1835, Brigham Young Papers; and "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

46. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

47. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers; see the entry before 31 August 1835. The revelation can be found in Doctrine and Covenants, Section 101:72–74.

48. Warren A. Cowdery to Joseph Smith, 29 July 1835, in Minutes, 4 August 1835, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives.

49. Meeting of 4 August, Joseph Smith papers, reprinted in *History of the Church,* 2:239–40. Regardless of verbal instructions, as Joseph Smith reminded the brethren in Zion in a 16 August 1834 letter, Joseph Smith Papers, the Fishing River revelation made it clear that the temple and endowment were necessary before Zion would be redeemed. Nevertheless, the Twelve seem not to have understood that priority as part of their mission—at least when compared with the explicit emphasis on their duty to implement the earlier revelation. Their own minutes show much stress on the gathering and redeeming of Zion with but little mention of the temple. When the temple is mentioned in the minutes of the Saco, Maine, conference in late August (about the time the letter of reproof from the Presidency arrived), the order was: first, redemption of Zion; second, building the House of the Lord in Kirtland; and third, printing the word of God.

50. For the school being under Rigdon's direction, see *History of the Church,* 2:283. Feeling the attack personally, perhaps Rigdon set the tone for the whole proceeding by insisting that such insults not be tolerated. Although published minutes indicate only that he was present, Joseph Smith's diary suggests the prominence of President Rigdon in the whole affair. They met to resolve, he says "some matters of difficulty . . . between some of [the Twelve] and president Rigdon." Joseph Smith Diary, 26 September 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

51. Minutes, 4 August 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

52. The letter reached them in Maine. See *History of the Church,* 2:372.

53. Minutes, 4 August 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

54. Unwarrantable is the word the Twelve used as recorded in Joseph Smith Diary, 16 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers. The word becomes "unwarranted" in the printed version, *History of the Church,* 2:372. It is not known what specific information the Presidency had for all the charges, but the specific ones mentioned seem either relatively minor or not on proven authority, i.e. "unwarrantable."

55. Joseph Smith Diary, 26 and 27 September 1835, Joseph Smith Papers. See also *History of the Church,* 2:283. This dictated diary of Joseph Smith begins 22 September 1836 and continues through the major temple manifestations of the following spring, ending 3 April 1836. It is the most detailed and complete diary of Smith's during the 1830s and is the basis for most of the entries in the *History of the Church* during this period.

56. Minutes, 30 November 1847, Brigham Young Papers. See both versions of these minutes. For a brief discussion with examples of Joseph Smith consciously trying people as a method of testing and teaching, see Danel Bachman, "Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," (M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975), pp. 168–69. See also note no. 4, above.

57. Minutes, 26 September 1835, Kirtland Council Record Book, Church Archives. See *History of the Church,* 2:372 for an example of lingering feelings.

58. Joseph Smith Diary, 5 October and 3 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

59. Kirtland Council Record Book 2 May 1835, p. 18, Church Archives.

60. Joseph Smith Diary, 3 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

61. Joseph Smith Diary, 5 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

62. Historian's Office Journal, 16 February 1859, Historian's Office Papers. Minutes, 12 February 1849, Brigham Young Papers.

63. Joseph Smith Diary, 12 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

64. Diary of Joseph Smith, 12 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers. Compare this statement with his comments in Missouri when he finished organizing the high council and presidency there as he had earlier done in Kirtland. He "told them that if I should now be taken away, I had accomplished the great work the Lord had laid before me, and that which I had desired of the Lord; and that I had done my duty in organizing the High Council." Remarks of Joseph Smith, 3 July 1834, *History of the Church,* 2:124.

65. Joseph Smith Diary, 12 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

66. Brigham Young later stressed to the Saints that often one's most sacred experiences were not to be shared. The Lord has no confidence in those who reveal all they know, he taught, and "He cannot safely reveal Himself to such persons." But He has special blessings to bestow on those who can keep personal revelations private. Discourse by Brigham Young, 15 March 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 4:287–88 and 28 June 185,. *JD* 4:371–72. Brigham Young's own most dramatic revelatory experiences were seldom discussed in detail with the Saints and are often known only by private writings or later brief public allusions. For example, Orson Hyde said in 1860 of an experience he, Young, and others of the Twelve shared in February 1848, "I do not know that this testimony has often, if ever been given to the masses of the people before" because "We said nothing about the matter in those times, but kept it still." Discourse by Orson Hyde, 7 October 1860, *JD* 8:233–34. Young stressed that "the Spirit which reveals will impart the proper discretion" in a discourse of 20 April 1856, *JD* 3:318.

67. Joseph Smith Diary, 12 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

68. Council meeting and letter, 4 August 1835, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives. This communication indicated that he had written to Kirtland a letter that "filled our hearts with joy" when compared with the complaining and critical letters of some of the others.

69. Joseph Smith Diary, 29 October 1835, Joseph Smith Papers. No doubt William Smith was out of order, as Joseph insisted, but Joseph's own diary suggests that he was perhaps as insistent on the point of order and his own dignity as William was stubborn about refusing to yield.

70. Joseph Smith Diary, 30–31 October 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

71. Joseph Smith Diary, 3 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

72. William Smith to Joseph Smith, Joseph Smith Diary, 18 December 1835, Joseph Smith Papers. See also the entry of 16 December for the altercation itself.

73. Joseph Smith Diary, 18–19 December 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

74. Joseph Smith Diary, 1 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

75. Joseph Smith Diary, 1, 2, and 3 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

76. Lorenzo Snow related the incident to the Twelve as recorded in Abraham H. Cannon Diary, 9 April 1890, Church Archives. At least one other incident where Young was reluctant to yield to Smith has been recorded. See the incident of 6 April 1843 over bonding in *History of the Church,* 5:329–32. Similar to Young's refusal as a young man to sign a temperance pledge when he did not drink, Young felt it an insult to be bonded when he was thoroughly honest; Smith insisted that to increase the confidence of the members abroad in all authorized to handle church funds, that he, too, be bonded. Smith prevailed.

77. Joseph Smith Diary, 3 January 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

78. Letter from Orson Hyde to Joseph Smith, 15 December 1835, in Joseph Smith Diary, 17 December 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

79. Joseph Smith Diary, 5–6 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers. See also *History of the Church,* 2:356.

80. Manuscript minutes of these two council meetings can be found in Joseph Smith Diary, 13 and 15 January 1835, Joseph Smith Papers, and Kirtland Council Record Book, pp. 200ff and 233ff, Church Archives. They are printed in *History of the Church,* 2:364–68 and 370–71. Smith noted in his diary after the meeting of 13 January, "This has been one of the best days that I ever Spent, there has been an entire unison of feeling expressed in all our proceedings this day, and the Spirit of the God of Israel has rested upon us in mighty power."

81. Heber C. Kimball's remarks in meeting of the Twelve, recorded in Wilford Woodruff's Diary, 23 February 1859, Wilford Woodruff Papers, Church Archives. Years later in a 23 March 1888 meeting Moses Thatcher mentioned, and others present seemed to acknowledge, "a very

strong document that President Young had signed, with others, in relation to some conduct of President Joseph Smith's." Copy of diary entry in files of author.

82. Minutes of meeting, found in Joseph Smith Diary, 16 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

83. Minutes of meeting, found in Joseph Smith Diary, 16 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

84. Joseph Smith Diary, 16 January 1836. The term "present presidency" is important, as it serves to distinguish between the First Presidency present with the Twelve in this council and the Presidencies of the Church, which at this time included all those who presided over the stakes and high councils of Zion and Kirtland: Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and others not included in the "present presidency."

85. Joseph Smith Diary, 16 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers. Compare this with *History of the Church,* 2:373–74. The printed addition "who are now my Counselors; and where I am not, there is no First Presidency over the Twelve" is not in the manuscript account. After this there seems to be no question that the Twelve are second in authority to the First Presidency. Although they still have no assigned role in the stakes, they are seated second and come second in voting after the Presidency in matters affecting the whole Church. See for example *History of the Church,* 2:394–95 and 2:403. These entries come from Joseph's diary for 12 February 1836 and 3 March 1836 and are not later interpolations.

86. It will be remembered that the difficulty began in August 1835 with a letter of Warren A. Cowdery from Freedom, New York. While this discussion and reconciliation effectively ended the difficulty between the Twelve and the Presidency, the problem with Dr. Cowdery remained. This same day Oliver Cowdery wrote to his brother in New York to help resolve the matter. On 11 February he received an answer from Warren along with letters from him to the high council and the Twelve. On 25 February Warren Cowdery and his family arrived to settle in Kirtland, and on 5 March he sat down with the Twelve and Presidency for an airing of feelings and final rapprochement. See entries for 16 January, 11 and 25 February and 5 March 1836 in "Oliver Cowdery's 'Sketch Book.'" Warren Cowdery's 7 March 1836 letter of apology and explanation was published in the *Messenger & Advocate* 2 (February 1836):263.

87. Joseph Smith Diary, 16 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

88. Joseph Smith Diary, 17 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers. The following Sunday the high councils of Kirtland occupied the time for confession and exhortation.

89. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers. The order of events in the manuscript seems to suggest that Kimball was here describing the aftermath of a fall 1835 reconciliation. Although the problems were first discussed in the fall, the details Kimball gives match not the fall discussions but the full reconciliation here. In several places Kimball's reminiscent account provides correct details but places events out of sequence as he juggles items for the flow of the story. That this occurs here is natural since the resolution of the problems is separated by several months from their inception.

90. See for example Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, University of Utah. See also Wilford Woodruff Diary, 10 January 1837, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

91. Joseph Smith Diary, 21 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

92. Joseph Smith Diary, 21 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

93. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

94. Diary of Joseph Smith, 21 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers. Numerous visions and visitations were reported in Kirtland during the several months beginning at this time and closing in April soon after the late March dedication of the temple. Milton V. Backman's "Spiritual Manifestations in the Kirtland Temple: Contemporary Accounts and their Meanings," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Mormon History Association, 1977, Kirtland, Ohio, surveyed these. His information will be presented in his forthcoming study on Ohio in the Sesquicentennial History of the Church. [*Editor's note: see Milton V. Backman,* The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838 *(Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 284–309; Steven C. Harper, "'A Pentecost and Endowment Indeed': Six Eyewitness Accounts of the Kirtland Temple Experience,"* Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844, *ed. John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2005), 327–371.*] A few instances can be found in Max H. Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland: A Study of the Nature and Causes of External and Internal Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838* (Salt Lake City: Max H. Parkin, 1966). pp. 84–88.

95. Joseph Smith Diary, 22 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

96. See Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten to Parley P. Pratt, 10 May 1837, Joseph Smith Papers. See also Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 12 November 1837, photocopy in Kimball Family Papers, Church Archives.

97. Joseph Smith Diary, 22 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

98. Joseph Smith Diary, 22–23 January 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

99. Joseph Smith Diary, 28 January and 6 February 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

100. Joseph Smith Diary, 24 February 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

101. Minutes, 2 May 1835, Record Book of the Twelve. This version is different from the one in *History of the Church,* 2:221–22.

102. Discourse by Brigham Young, 3 February 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 11:296; see also discourses by Brigham Young, 31 August 1856, *JD* 4:34–35 and 7 April 1860, *JD* 7:229.

103. Discourse by Brigham Young, 7 April 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 7:229. For his further acknowledgment of the Lord's assistance at this time, see discourse by Brigham Young, 7 April 1860, *JD* 7:229. See also discourse by Brigham Young, 24 July 1854, *JD* 2:18: "the Lord fed and clothed me."

104. Jonathan Crosby reminiscence, Church Archives. Crosby says that Brigham Young later mentioned the incident many times but to his knowledge the others never did. Perhaps it was this experience that Young related in 1860, "a time in his past history, when he was so poor he did not know where to get bread for his family." President's Office Journal, 18 January 1860, Brigham Young Papers. Crosby dates this as January 1835, the winter after Zion's Camp. However, Joseph Smith's diary for 26 December 1836 notes that "a brother from the east called upon me for instruction, whose name is Jonathan Crosby," strongly suggesting that Crosby was not previously known to Joseph and had just

arrived. It seems likely that Crosby misdated his reminiscent account.

105. Joseph Smith Diary, 17 February 1835, Joseph Smith Papers. For Smith's joy in Hebrew scriptures, see the whole entry. See also the entry of 19 January 1836.

106. Joseph Smith Diary, 16 December 1835, Joseph Smith Papers. Likely Young had already been there and heard explanations earlier with others of the Twelve. See Joseph Smith Diary, 3 October 1835.

107. Young was probably among those who shared an impressive experience in connection with the serious illness of his brother Lorenzo Dow Young. He would have been among those gathered up by Father Young to conduct a special group prayer according to a pattern Joseph Smith explained to them. As part of the pattern, Hyrum Smith was mouth in a priesthood blessing on Lorenzo who later related: "The spirit rested mightily upon [Hyrum] and he was full of blessing and prophecy. He said that I should regain my health [and] live to go with the Saints into the bosom of the Rocky Mountains to build up a place there." According to Lorenzo, this was the first that he had heard of the Saints going to the Rocky Mountains, and, although he knew that Hyrum might have known it before, he thought Hyrum had "seemed surprised at some things he had said, and wondered at the manifestations of the spirit." Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946):45–46.

108. A few days before the Twelve returned to Kirtland, Smith prepared "an Article of inrollment for the redemption of Zion that we may obtain volunteers to go next spring to M[issouri]. I ask God in the name of Jesus that we may obtain eight hundred men or one thousand well armed and that they may accomplish this great work. Even so Amen." Joseph Smith Diary, 24 September 1835, Joseph Smith Papers. For other examples of his concern with redeeming Zion see Joseph Smith Diary, 5 and 29 October 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

109. Joseph Smith Diary, 13 March 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

110. Joseph Smith Diary, 27 March 1836, Joseph Smith Papers. The account in *History of the Church,* 2:417 added "Revelators" and the phrase "holding the keys of the kingdom," which are not in the diary account.

111. *History of the Church,* 2:428. Most of the *History of the Church* account, including the mention of the presence of angels, comes from Joseph Smith Diary. The mention of Young's gift of tongues, however, is not in the contemporary account.

112. *History of the Church,* 2:428. Nearly all of the *History of the Church* entries dealing with the temple in the spring of 1836 are from Joseph Smith's diary. In this instance the diary says only "met in the evening and instructed the quorums respecting the ordinance of washing of feet." George A. Smith in his "History of George Albert Smith by Himself," ms, George Albert Smith Papers, Church Archives, says simply that he "received much instruction & many manifestations of the Spirit and while in the Temple I had a vision of the Millennium and exclaimed 'All the world is giving glory to god!'"

113. Joseph Smith Diary, 29 March 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

114. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386. Joseph Smith Diary, 30 March 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

115. Stephen Post Diary, 30 March 1836, Church Archives.

116. Joseph Smith Diary, 30 March 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

117. Joseph Smith Diary, 30 March 1836, Joseph Smith Papers.

118. Remarks of Young and Kimball in Wilford Woodruff Diary, 23 February 1859, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

119. Entry of 23 January 1835 in "Oliver Cowdery's 'Sketch Book,'" p. 420; and Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten to Parley P. Pratt, 10 May 1837, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers.

120. Remarks of Young and Kimball in Wilford Woodruff Diary, 23 February 1859, Wilford Woodruff Papers. Dating this incident is difficult, but it seems likely that it occurred in the spring of 1836. The only other plausible setting would be July 1837, ruled out by Kimball's absence in England. An interlinear clarification by Woodruff of Young's comments seems to say "last time I met with the Twelve in Kirtline." If that is a proper reading, it strengthens the probability of April 1836, before the Twelve dispersed for their summer missions—and David Patten and Thomas Marsh for residence in Missouri. The Twelve only met as a quorum once more in Kirtland and that was in July 1837. Any other meeting of the Twelve in Kirtland after the spring of 1836 could have involved only a handful of apostles, and Elders Young and Kimball, critics of the meeting, would have presided.

121. Discourse by George A. Smith, 15 November 1864, *Journal of Discourses* 11:10.

122. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 2:31.

123. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 2:31; and discourse by George A. Smith, 18 March 1855, *JD* 2:215ff.

124. Joseph Smith Diary, 3 April 1836, Joseph Smith papers; and Doctrine and Covenants, Section 110. Since the manuscript version is in the handwriting of Warren A. Cowdery who left the Church in 1837, the historicity of the account is firm.

125. See Matthew 16:19 and 18:18.

126. Daniel 2:44–45.

127. *History of the Church,* 2:32–33, 19 February 1834.

128. Historian Jan Shipps has suggested that the reported visitations of the ancient prophets, 3 April 1836, was one of the perhaps five most pivotal events in Mormon history. She feels that this claimed contact with the great prophets of the Old Testament influenced the way Joseph and his associates viewed the Old Testament and the people of Israel, as well as how they viewed themselves as the modern Israel. Before this time, she argues, Mormons viewed the Old Testament through the filter of the New. Afterwards—just as Christ's transfiguration with Moses and Elijah present tied his time directly with the prophetic era—Mormons brought Old Testament motifs directly into their religious life without redaction through the New Testament. Notes on file from conversation of 13 February 1980. Professor Shipps has a paper in progress developing these ideas.

129. Stephen Post Diary, 30 March 1836, Church Archives.

130. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers. Where Kimball's details can be checked, they seem to be generally accurate, although for periods where he is working without notes the dating is sometimes off. In this case, the entry for 6 April seems distinct and with

details that do not fit with other known dates. While his earlier discussion of temple experiences stretching over two months seems to suffer from some confusion and intermingling of events, most of the specific events he reported were recorded in Smith's diary, though not always in the order or on the dates Kimball's account suggests.

131. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 8 November 1857, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

132. Emmeline B. Wells, "Biography of Mary Ann Angell Young," *The Juvenile Instructor* 26 (1 January 1891):18. Young told his wife that "the upper part of the temple was illuminated and I have been watching my friends. . . . the brethren who have been ministering in the temple have been quietly observing personages pass to and fro, and about in the upper part of the building."

133. "History of Thomas Baldwin Marsh (Written by himself in Great Salt Lake City, November, 1857)." *Deseret News,* 24 March 1858, p. 18.

134. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1938), pp. 130–31.

135. Discourse by Brigham Young, 24 July 1854, *Journal of Discourses* 2:19. Kimball had preached to many of his New England relatives during the 1835 mission with the Twelve.

136. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 3 June and 21 July 1836, Blair Collection, University of Utah.

137. Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers. Brigham Young to Oliver Cowdery, 15 September 1836, *Messenger & Advocate* 3 (November 1836):402. For accounts of the mission see also Brigham Young Diary, May–September 1836, Brigham Young Papers; "History of Brigham Young," p. 386; and the letters to Mary Ann cited above.

138. Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers; and "History of Joseph Young," ms, Historian's Office Papers. Phinehas Young also assisted for part of the mission.

139. Minutes, 8 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers.

140. *History of the Church,* 2:466; Brigham Young Diary, 8 August 1836, Brigham Young Papers; "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3, Historian's Office Papers. See also Doctrine and Covenants, Section 111.

141. Discourses by Brigham Young, 31 August 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 4:34–35 and 5 April 1857, *JD* 4:305.

142. This approach came naturally to men like Brigham and Heber. It also was in harmony with Smith's advice. During the solemn assembly in March, he instructed the elders to go forth "in all meekness, in sobriety, and preach Jesus," and to do it without contending with others "on account of their faith, or systems of religion." *History of the Church,* 2:431. In Brigham Young's teaching this became "don't fight the sects," and he had occasion in later years to remind many, including some of his fellow apostles, of the teaching. Joseph promised that those who ignored the counsel to preach positively would bring persecution upon themselves, while those who heeded it "shall always be filled with the Holy Ghost." For Young's assessment of Kimball's missionary approach see discourse of 6 April 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 4:305.

143. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386; and "History of Willard Richards," *Deseret News*, 23–30 June 1858, p. 173. See also *History of the Church,* 2:469–70 footnote where B. H. Roberts says that Richards first got the Book of Mormon as a result of Young's 1835 mission. Joseph Young reported visiting the Richards family in the 1836 tour as well, and it is clear that Willard and his brother made their way to Kirtland soon after.

144. Pratt, *Autobiography*, p. 131. "[A]nd from the things growing out of this mission, shall the fulness of the gospel spread into England, and cause a great work to be done in that land."

Chapter 5

The Kirtland Experience: Diverse Perceptions of the Sacral Kingdom, 1836–1837

Following the April dedication of the Kirtland Temple, Joseph Smith began an important shift in emphasis and priority that came to have far-reaching effects. Some accepted the changes and their implications as proper, indeed as a necessary part of building a kingdom of God on earth under prophetic direction. Others, feeling that the Prophet's actions were beyond the proper scope of religious leadership, rejected the developments. Had all gone well and uniform prosperity resulted, perhaps Smith would have had few critics. But when his intervention appeared to multiply the difficulties, some already uncomfortable with the directions rebelled and a period of unparalleled dissension and division resulted.

For several years the needs of the Missouri Zion and the requirements of building and preparing for the Kirtland Temple had received top priority from Joseph Smith. Both demanded large commitments of energy and means. By the spring of 1836, with the dedication of the temple and the decision not to move to Missouri for the present, resources could be shifted to other concerns. It was time to build up the kingdom of God in Kirtland. Perhaps not coincidentally, Smith's important Kirtland diary ended with the [224] temple emphasis, and without the diary the details of Smith's decision are not known. The emphasis, however, is clear. In the words of his history, he spent most of his time for some months "particularly in devising ways and means to build up Kirtland."[1]

The change was in emphasis, not in conception. As early as 1833 Brigham Young had been exposed to the ideal of a theocratic kingdom of God on earth distinct from the kingdoms of this world, and the Mormon roots of the idea can be found even earlier.[2] A primary purpose of the Mormon gathering was to place like-minded Saints in communities where they could, under priesthood direction, live a life apart and build God's Zion on earth. What was new in 1836 was that circumstance permitted Smith for the first time to begin implementing this "temporal" program on an enlarged scale, combining his accepted ecclesiastical role with the practical, physical building of a community of Saints.[3]

Smith's proposed kingdom was rooted in history and theology. Reacting against the post-Revolutionary disorder, in the eyes of one scholar, Smith intended to change society from "a confused, secularized, anarchic chaos where freedom had deteriorated to mere license, into a Christian kingdom . . . ruled by God's restored priesthood." He intended to sacralize American life with towns, organizations, governments all organized along Christian lines.[4] Another historian has argued that the Mormon kingdom was indeed a quest for refuge from a tumultuous world, and therefore many, like Young, found it attractive.[5] In addition, theology was clearly basic. Smith taught that a gathered community of Saints under priesthood direction was *the* divinely approved way to improve man, [225] overcome the world, and prepare a people for the return of Christ. Furthermore, religion could fulfill its proper role only if it included all aspects of human thought and action under its purview.[6] The Mormon kingdom was to be "an earthly kingdom unto God," modeled less after the Puritan City on a Hill than after the biblical pattern of ancient Israel. Only God and man together, guided by revelation through a prophet whose counsel touched on all aspects of life, could build a society of righteous. It was to be a sacral kingdom with every labor given sacred meaning by its priesthood direction and its ultimate connection with God's kingdom. If the social changes help explain the attractiveness the ideal held initially, only the theology can explain all of its driving force. In spite of opposition and difficulties, even if the endeavor failed, the creation of a Zion on earth was required and had to be attempted.

With the Children of Israel as a model, it was easy for Young, and many others, to see it as appropriate that a prophet labor to improve the temporal context and existence of man—even that the merging of the temporal and the spiritual under the authority of the priesthood was the essential pattern for building the kingdom of God on earth. Not all of Smith's religious followers agreed. Imbued with what Young would call sectarian notions about the proscribed role of religion in American life, some thought a prophet had no business in temporal matters. For them, Smith's efforts to begin implementation of things that before had been only implicit raised questions—about Smith's temporal skills, about the propriety of such involvement in the first place, about *[226]* the loss of individual freedom an expanded prophetic hand implied.

The extent of ecclesiastical involvement in Kirtland economic decisions and institutions increased considerably in 1836–1837, beginning a pattern that was eventually further developed by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo and implemented on a larger scale by Young and the Twelve in the Great Basin. Overall, however, the Kirtland effort was abortive. Instead of harmony in a new society of Saints, the battle lines were drawn over issues fundamental to Smith's conception of Mormonism.[7] At issue were concepts central to the sacral perspective. What is the role of a prophet? Can the temporal be sacred? Does God care about economic matters in the same way he does about religious? Answers to such questions—as well as the diverse reactions to Kirtland developments—reflected deep-seated differences in how men viewed the world. For Brigham Young and the Twelve, not all of whom accepted the kingdom ideal, this battleground was of great importance, helping to shape the nature of future Mormon leadership.

In the fall of 1836 Brigham Young and Heber Kimball returned to a Kirtland markedly different than the one they had left. In place of poverty and want, they found a vigorous village full of animation and activity where "the noise and bustle of teams with lumber, brick, stone, lime or merchandise, were heard from the early dawn of morning till the gray twilight of evening." With work for the laborer, a ready market for the farmer, and merchandise easily available, "every countenance was lit up with a smile." Everywhere they found "a firm confidence that our days *[227]* of pinching adversity had passed by, that the set time of the Lord to favor Zion had come."[8]

Kirtland was part of an economic boom that affected other towns in the region, a boom fired by increasing population and attendant optimism.[9] Nearby Painesville, Ohio, for example, experienced similar growth and vigorous economic activity at this time.[10] It seems likely, also, that for Kirtland the completion of the temple in April, coincident with favorable economic circumstances that permitted the application of scarce resources to other projects, helped fuel new economic activity.[11]

A recent careful analysis of the Kirtland economy indicates that most of the upswing can be explained by the pressures of increasing population. New arrivals increased the demand for limited lands, forcing prices up, and a growing population also spurred mercantile activity and construction.[12] If not too rapid, prosperity based on such growth should have been healthy and well-founded, and no doubt Joseph Smith and his associates initially welcomed it.

Nonetheless, the unexpected suddenness of the prosperity created immediate problems. After years of poverty, many were ill-equipped to handle sudden wealth in harmony with their religious concerns. Some soon placed undue emphasis on the material things, neglecting religious duties and upsetting priorities. Once the boom was in motion a spirit of speculation helped further fuel it and brought some to seek gain even at the expense of their neighbors. Men suddenly divorced from the discipline of poverty and estranged from their religious moorings were later, in less happy times, easy prey for disillusionment. *[228]*

This, at any rate, is how Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, and others came to understand the relationship of the Kirtland economic boom to the serious problems that followed. Most likely some of these conclusions only matured later, after pondering the lessons of defeat. But the sparse contemporary record supports the idea that early, soon after their return from the East, they came to see the dangers in the new prosperity. The suddenness of the change, for one thing, must have caused them to reflect. The prosperity that had been promised Zion was to be the result of a long

process as men learned to work in unity—not an instant gratification of material desires. Likely, craftsmen like Kimball and Young, bred with a puritan emphasis on *producing* wealth, had misgivings about a prosperity that seemed unearned. Common sense cautioned them and perhaps suggested to them that the prosperity could not be sustained. The attitudes they encountered in some of their newly prosperous co-religionists could only have reinforced initial concerns.

All of the reminiscent accounts—and with some contemporary support—emphasize the extent and the danger of the spirit of speculation that accompanied the economic boom. According to Heber C. Kimball, dictating less than three years later,

> On our arrival we were much grieved to see the spirit of speculation that was prevailing in the church to an extensive degree—trade and traffic seemed to engross the time and attention of those saints. . . . some men who when I left could hardly get meat to cut and were considered poor I found on my arrival to be supposed men of wealth. In fact everything in the place seemed to be moving in great prosperity and all seemed engaged to become rich.[13] *[229]*

With benefit of hindsight, Elder Kimball stressed that "supposed . . . wealth" and the "appearance of prosperity" had convinced many that "the time had arrived for the Lord to enrich [the Saints] with the treasures of the earth," a belief, thought Kimball, that "stimulated them to great exertions." Similarly, nineteenth-century official Mormon history characterized this as a time when "the spirit of speculation in lands and in property of all kinds, which was so prevalent throughout the whole nation, was taking deep root." A contemporary critic wrote of those in Kirtland "guilty of wild speculation and visionary dreams of wealth and grandeur, as if gold and silver were their gods, and houses, farms and merchandize their only bliss or their passport ot it."[14]

As already noted, recent investigation suggests that population growth accounts for most of the average rise in Kirtland land prices, and that speculation played but a small role. Cold economic analysis of average prices, however, cannot weigh the impact of a spirit (or psychology) of speculation on individual lives or how it may have affected individual transactions. Early in 1836 the nearby *Painesville Telegraph* in an article entitled "Real Estate Speculation" mentioned that a particular piece of local property sold for $10,000 five weeks before and for $20,000 a month later while the "present proprietor has refused $25,000" for it.[15] While the article noted increasing population and generally flourishing business and economic development, "speculation" may be a better explanation of this example than those basic causes. Similarly, when Heber Kimball talked about men who were poor suddenly becoming "supposed men of wealth," when he noted that *[230]* Kirtland lots worth "to our astonishment" from $500 to $1500 on his return, he no doubt had specific examples in mind where the "spirit of speculation" seemed a more satisfactory explanation than generally rising population.[16]

Economic changes, and perhaps even more importantly, attendant changes in the expectations and activities of some of the Saints, apparently led some of the previously impoverished Kirtland Mormons into a round of "dealings"; acquisition, often on credit, had risen to become a concern rivaling those of serving or sharing—all certainly elements of a speculative fervor.[17] As Warren Cowdery noted a few months later, changing economic prospects affected the way many thought and acted. "With the consciousness of having suddenly and without much effort enhanced the amount of his worldly fortune," one affected by prosperity went into debt to get even more after concluding that he "must clothe himself and family according to his [new] circumstances & present prospects." This psychology of speculation apparently led some Mormons, "too elated with our growing numbers and future prospect of complete ascendance in this town," to abandon cautious dignity in their relations with non-Mormons in Kirtland and assume an air of haughty superiority.[18]

"Prosperity" also contributed to other difficulties. The Mormon gathering attracted men of varied class, background, and habit. The Savior's parable of casting a net into the sea and drawing every kind into the kingdom was "never more fully verified than in the gathering of the Church in Kirtland," thought Warren Cowdery.[19] Editor Cowdery described three classes of people that *[231]* he observed in Kirtland, including not only those "filled with love and good will to their brethren" but also some who expected "to live on the labor or alms of . . . their brethren" and even

complained if they were not supported as well as the "honest, confiding, unsuspecting souls" who often yielded to the schemes and entreaties of the avaricious. Too often in Kirtland, he lamented, the widow and fatherless have been deceived, the "innocent and unsuspecting . . . made the dupes of the wily and the artful."[20] Cowdery warned newcomers to hold on to their means and beware of those who came with schemes and promises, for not all were Saints in very deed.

In spite of misgivings he might have felt when he witnessed the changes in Kirtland that fall, Brigham Young must have been pleased to have his skills in demand at good wages. With the temple completed, this winter he could build up the kingdom by plying his trade among brethren in support of his family. In January, Oliver Cowdery wrote about "streets continually thronged with teams loaded with wood, materials for building." Many new buildings had been completed with more under contract. New houses went up every day, noted Willard Richards to his sister, and "Carpenters and joiners . . . command any price."[21] No doubt Willard Richards, rooming with his cousin Brigham, observed firsthand the demand for the skilled carpenter and joiner Brigham Young. Oliver Cowdery had promised the Twelve in 1835 that if they put their ministry first, they would prosper. Young had done so and now came a season of prosperity. Years later he delighted in telling how he had come to Kirtland with almost nothing and yet, *[232]* through the blessings of the Lord, left behind property worth $5,000 when he fled.[22]

The Kirtland economy was viable and, given stable conditions, had a reasonable prospect for successful development. In itself, the Kirtland prosperity was not a speculative bubble ready to burst,[23] nor was the economy hopelessly mismanaged by Smith and his associates. Nonetheless, there were several serious problems with the Mormon economy in Kirtland, among them a problem of cash flow or liquid capital. Much of the wealth of Mormon Kirtland was tied up in real estate—in the temple and individual land holdings and improvements. Without access to some of those assets, there simply was not enough capital to sustain economic growth. Partly for this reason Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon led the movement in the fall of 1836 to establish a bank. The Mormons had the need for a bank, and, it would seem, population and resources enough to sustain one if favorable circumstances continued.[24] Optimistic, Smith and the Presidency prepared articles of agreement in November and in January 1837, the Kirtland Safety Society, under a revised constitution, issued its first notes. In addition to presiding over the Church as "prophets, seers, and revelators," the Presidency now presided also over the bank.[25]

By the winter of 1836–1837, many in Kirtland felt deep concern about the Saints' involvement in temporal affairs. No doubt some saw the difficulties as a demonstration of the basic futility of trying to mix religion and business, a proof of Smith's error. Although he had promoted development, the Prophet *[233]* was also displeased by the turn of events. While he would not divorce the temporal and the spiritual, as his critics preferred, he would not have agreed that material goals could be pursued at the expense of the spiritual or religious. He wanted religious goals and principles to control the temporal, not the other way around. Men of both views issued warnings: repent or Kirtland will be scourged.

How early these concerns were voiced, or how often, cannot be determined. There are almost no extensive reports of sermons during this period and few diaries.[26] Wilford Woodruff recorded one important occasion in the fall of 1836, soon after he arrived in Kirtland, when "the God of Israel sharply reproved this stake of Zion (Kirtland) through the Prophets & Apostles for all our sins & backslidings." During this Sabbath meeting in the temple, the "Prophets & Apostles"—no doubt Presidents Smith and Rigdon and several of the Twelve—gave the Kirtland Saints "a timely warning that we may escape the Judgments of God that otherwise will fall upon us." To emphasize the seriousness of the warning, they likened the situation of Kirtland to that of Zion's Camp when it failed to heed Joseph and eventually felt the chastening hand of the Almighty.[27] A month later Woodruff noted "a lecture from President David Whitmer" to the Seventies. Whitmer

> warned us to humble ourselves before God lest his hand rest upon us in anger for our pride & many sins that we were running into in our days of prosperity as the ancient Nephites did & it does now appear evident that a scourge awates this stake of

> Zion even Kirtland if there is not great repentance immediately. *[234]*

Whitmer was clearly not alone in his fears for "almost every countenance indicates the above expectation esspecially the heads of the Church." Less than a week later Elder Pratt also warned the Saints to humble themselves, to leave their sins, and to care for the poor among them lest judgment overtook them.[28]

During the winter intense opposition against Joseph Smith developed among influential Kirtland elders. This began the period Young later characterized as "a crisis when earth and hell seemed in league to overthrow the Prophet and Church of God. The knees of some of the strongest men in the Church faltered." Kimball spoke of spending many hours of personal sorrow, heartsick at the turn of affairs and of actual danger in rising to Joseph's defense.[29] Contemporary evidence of the increasing rebellion includes a February effort to depose Joseph Smith, and Wilford Woodruff's lament in April that Joseph's "life was so beset & sought for by wicked and ungodly men" that he had to flee for a few days and could not perform Woodruff's marriage. In May, according to a minute book, there was thought to be "a company of men to put down President Joseph Smith Jr."[30]

In the past, this dissension has generally been seen as a function of economic downturn and financial collapse. One recent study argues that such supposed causes alone cannot explain the difficulties, and that something more was clearly going on. Now that more of the important events in the Kirtland apostasy can be dated, this becomes even more certain: much of the rebellion preceded economic adversity.[31] The causes for dissent were many and complex, but clearly, with such widespread and intense feelings *[235]* not triggered by any particular shared difficulty, some basic issues had to be involved. Perhaps some were disillusioned by the early difficulties of the bank soon after notes were issued in January. It seems likely that others murmured against Joseph because instead of condoning their temporal involvements he called them sharply to repentance, a course he understood was "not calculated to gain the good will of all, but rather the ill will of many."[32] At least two of the Twelve were deeply involved in personal business ventures to the injury of their calling. If Smith, who was also engaged in merchandising, had chastised those men—men already sensitive about their public station—their reaction would not have been meek. Whatever the specific concern, Brigham Young came to believe that there was at least one more basic cause: prosperity and the unbridled pursuit of material things had so dulled the spiritual sensitivities of the Saints that many, including some of the leaders, no longer knew by the spirit that Joseph was a prophet of God. Repeated admonitions, though they failed, had been designed to bring the wayward back to God before that occurred.[33]

For whatever reasons men lost confidence in Joseph as a prophetic leader, confidence in Smith was clearly a central issue. Men were concerned about his leadership and the directions he was taking the Church. Increasingly, it appears, some of the Prophet's actions failed to meet with the expectations or desires of an important segment of Mormon Kirtland. One of the reasons, related to the concept of continuous revelation, was that Kirtland was a place of continuous change. *[236]*

Smith's theology provided for change. He taught that new truth would be unfolded "line upon line, precept upon precept; and I will try you and prove you herewith."[34] Some, initially comfortable with Mormon doctrine and practice and with the Prophet's actions, found innovations unacceptable. This was certainly true of the April change in emphasis to build Kirtland temporally. Smith, and the new revelations he presented, challenged the Saints continually to move aside tradition and old understandings to make way for new. This process involved tensions and difficulties, as Joseph well understood. He told the Kirtland Saints in April 1837 that they were not yet ready for more revelation, for "what God commanded, one half of the Church would condemn."[35] On another occasion he told Young privately that if he revealed more of what the Lord had revealed to him, "there is not a man or a woman that would stay with me."[36] Nonetheless, Smith thought it his responsibility to move in new directions even if many Mormons were not prepared to accept the changes. No doubt some of the Kirtland tensions and some of the lack of confidence in Joseph in Kirtland stemmed from his pushing the Saints step by step toward, as he saw it, additional truth.[37]

While little talked about, plural marriage was clearly one of the innovations that contributed to Kirtland difficulties. Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery had apparently learned the doctrinal justification for the practice in 1831, probably in connection with translating portions of Genesis describing plural marriage among the ancient patriarchs. Soon afterwards a trusted few learned of the concept obliquely, although it apparently was never [237] officially taught in Kirtland, even privately. At some point during the Kirtland years Joseph Smith took a plural wife and it is probable that Oliver Cowdery did also. Although all of this was kept private, known at most to only a few, rumors and charges surfaced, adding to the underlying tensions that fed the 1837 problems.[38] Brigham Young and Heber Kimball both, it appears, were aware of the charges but knew nothing of the practice or the doctrine itself at that time. Presumably they reacted to the rumors and murmuring as Ebenezer Robinson said he did. Of those in the spring of 1837 who objected "to the course being pursued by brother Joseph Smith," Robinson

> asked no particulars with regard to the matter, thinking that all would be reconciled in a short time. . . . One thing we felt sure of; the gospel was true, and that truth and righteousness would ultimately prevail. . . . therefore [we] looked upon all who opposed or who did not agree with Joseph Smith and the church, as weak in the faith, or dissenters from the faith.[39]

Among Kirtland dissidents at least Oliver Cowdery and Lyman Johnson knew directly about plural marriage.

Innovation, then, was one of the ingredients of the 1837 difficulties. The Kirtland years were years of growth with elaboration of doctrine and of ecclesiastical structures. The temple provided a new dimension with opportunities for new experience and understanding. Many welcomed it, but presumably some who had been baptized, as they thought, into a society of restored biblical Christianity, did not welcome the increasing doctrinal and organizational complexity and would have returned to the simpler days of 1830 or 1831 when the Church was a small society [238] of family and friends. Others, while not unalterably opposed to development, resisted the particular directions of change.

Concerns about innovation were related to the sacral perspective central to Young's interpretation of the world. For him, the gospel included all truth, only a small part of which man yet comprehended. As God revealed additional truths, man should seek understanding, and he should adjust to new truth. Another central thread that bound together many of those in opposition to Smith was also directly related to the sacral perspective: concern with or opposition to the prophet's temporal involvements. There was, as we have noted, a widespread belief that a prophet should not be involved in the affairs of the world. Many also shared an assessment that whether or not it was appropriate, Joseph Smith was not able enough in those affairs to counsel *them*.

Brigham Young later commented on both of these. When temporal matters were talked of, many were ready to decide at once, he said, that *they* knew more then Joseph about such things, "and they did so decide." Some of the leading elders of the Church, he insisted, shared this feeling. These were experienced and talented men who said they honestly believed "that Joseph Smith did not understand anything about temporal matters" although they believed that "he understood spiritual things—that he understood the Spirit of the Lord, and how to build up a spiritual kingdom among men."[40]

Perhaps more basic was the concern that skilled or not, successful or not, Joseph Smith and the priesthood should not be [239] so involved. Joseph C. Brewster, in some ways a dissenter of another stripe, reflected on this issue the prevailing opinion of Smith's critics when he said that the Lord did not intend his kingdom to be a temporal one, that "the temporal work Joseph tried" was not of God.[41] In February 1837 *Universalist* editor S. A. Davis visited Kirtland. While no doubt partly reacting to the excessive enthusiasm for temporal things which both sides of the Kirtland debate denounced, he also noted the Mormon idea of a tangible, physical kingdom to be established on earth:

> they seem to have too much worldly wisdom connected with their religion—too great a desire for the perishable riches of this world—holding out the idea that the kingdom of Christ is to be composed of "real estate, herds, flocks, silver, gold," &c. as well as of human things.

Brigham Young would have agreed with the proposition that the kingdom was more than a spiritual or otherworldly mystery; Warren A. Cowdery, in editorial comments on Davis's report, disassociated

himself not only from the "undue attachment in some of the saints to amass wealth and heap up perishable treasures," but from the whole concept of a temporal kingdom.[42] Cowdery was among those who, as Young later explained, thought that Joseph Smith's duty embraced spiritual things alone, "and that the people should be left to attend to their temporal affairs, without any interference whatever from Prophets or Apostles."[43]

At first some "in authority" debated the Prophet about this in private councils, but eventually this basic issue became a public question, "so public that it was in the mouth of almost everyone." Finally Young felt moved to publicly challenge those who held such a narrow view of the role of God and his servants. *[240]*

> I said, "Ye Elders of Israel, Father Smith is present, the Prophet is present, and here are his counsellors, there are also High Priests and Elders of Israel, now, will some of you draw the line between the spiritual and the temporal in the Kingdom of God, so that I may understand it?" Not one of them could do it.

He thought it ludicrous for man to point out the path a Prophet of God should walk in, "and just how far he must go, in dictating temporal or spiritual things." For Brigham and others in harmony with Smith's efforts, "Temporal and spiritual things are inseparably connected, and ever will be."[44]

At issue was more than the bank, of course, and more than the temporal prosperity of Kirtland. At issue was the shape of the Mormon kingdom, the role of Mormon leaders, and the extent to which the Saints would submit to prophetic direction or control in their lives. Many dissenters opposed the increasingly theocratic and all-encompassing nature of the kingdom, preferring instead the more traditional and circumscribed role of religion in daily life that they had known in American Protestantism. Those comfortable with Kirtland developments welcomed "a more closed society based on higher law, where the Saints were of one mind and one heart, ready to do battle against the ungodly."[45]

In addition to the rather late temporal involvements of church leaders in Kirtland, the Kirtland years also saw basic leadership changes that reinforced the concerns of those at odds over the temporal issues. Kirtland Saints saw the first First Presidency formed in 1832, the first high council in 1834, the first Quorum of the Twelve and the first Seventy in 1835. Increasing concentration of authority accompanied this elaboration of *[241]* priesthood structure, raising for some new issues of agency and authority. By 1837 the major dissenters seem united in lamenting "the degree of aggrandisement implicit in the developing kingdom, the concentration of power, the seeming lack of restraint upon a man they believed claimed infallibility and would heed no criticism."[46]

How much trust should be placed in leaders, however much inspired, who are also human? This was, perhaps, the central question. Though not referring explicitly to Joseph Smith, it is no doubt this issue that Warren A. Cowdery called to the attention of the Saints in his July 1837 editorial: "If we give all our privileges to one man, we virtually give him our money and our liberties, and make him a monarch, absolute and despotic, and ourselves abject slaves." Those who thus barter away their liberties are unworthy of them, Cowdery continued. He was certain that

> whenever a people have unlimited confidence in a civil or ecclesiastical ruler or rulers, who are but men like themselves, and begin to think they can do no wrong, they increase their tyrany, and oppression, and establish a principle that man, poor frail lump of mortality like themselves, is infallible. Who does not see a principle of popery and religious tyrany in such an order of things?

No freeman worthy of the name, Editor Cowdery concluded, would tamely surrender his independent rights as a citizen. Intelligent people must ever be alert against encroachments upon their liberties, "whether those encroachments are from the civil or ecclesiastical power."[47]

Clearly one's conception of the proper role of a prophet, and of the nature of the Church and society of Saints, profoundly *[242]* influenced his reactions to the Kirtland developments.[48] If some rebelled almost instinctively at the growing power or temporal involvements of religious leaders, others welcomed both. Those committed to a gathered community of Saints, those comfortable with the idea of a theocratic society and an identity not only with biblical Christianity but also with ancient Israel, reacted differently to the Prophet's involvements and to the adversity and reversals associated with them than those who were not.

Wilford Woodruff was one who perceived the developing pattern, understood somewhat its

implications, and saw in it all the return of an ancient system. The same month Warren Cowdery wrote against "popery," Woodruff found it interesting to contemplate "the day that is now at hand & hath already begun in fulfillment of ancient prophecy," the day that would see the Church of Christ brought out of the wilderness and Israel once again established on chosen lands "by a Theocratical government in fulfillment of the covenants God made with Abram Isaac & Jacob."[49] In harmony with these goals, he did not see Joseph Smith as a religious autocrat dabbling with temporal affairs, but "as a father . . . to all Israel." Woodruff rightly perceived that non-Mormons and others not of the same mind could neither understand or appreciate the Prophet's "principle, his spirit, his wisdom, virtue phylanthropy, nor his calling." Woodruff, Kimball, and Young, however, had caught a vision of Smith's mission that did not limit him only to so-called religious themes. Wrote Woodruff,

> The Prophets and Apostles & all inspired men of God in every age of theocratical government have looked, spake, & written respecting this generation with feelings of the deepest *[243]* interest. In 1830 the stone began to roll. . . . It will continue to be propeled by the arm of JEHOVAH untill the Kingdom fills the whole earth & Israel gatherd. Babylone falls & Christ reigns.[50]

This was not to be simply another age of theocratic government, they thought, but *the* age in which would be re-established the full ancient pattern—a gathered people, a literal kingdom—culminating in the personal reign of Christ.

As with others in Kirtland in 1837, events forced Brigham Young to face these basic issues of prophetic leadership and find personal answers to the questions raised. From his perspective, the premise that the temporal and the spiritual could be separated only in an artificial way seemed self-evident. From this time forward he taught that temporal acts have spiritual implications, that spiritual successes are not independent of a temporal framework.

He later explained his personal answer to the other questions raised by the Kirtland storm. Like others, Young found himself concerned about Joseph's leadership, "not about his revelations—but it was in relation to his financiering—to his managing the temporal affairs which he undertook." Much as others had complained of Joseph's temporal skills, a feeling briefly came over him that "Joseph was not right in his financial management." His defense was to dismiss this lack of confidence quickly:

> It gave me sorrow of heart, and I clearly saw and understood, by the spirit of revelation manifested to me, that if I was to harbor a thought in my heart that Joseph could be wrong in anything, I would begin to lose confidence in him, and that feeling would grow . . . until at last I would have the same lack of confidence in his being the mouthpiece for the Almighty.[51] *[244]*

In his mind he distinguished between Joseph as a man and the Prophet as the mouthpiece for the Almighty, but he intended to maintain full confidence in both.

Brigham Young further explained his feelings. He knew that Joseph could err, that his every temporal act was not inspired. But he had a firm conviction that Smith's foibles were between him and God.

> Though I admitted in my feelings and knew all the time that Joseph was a human being and subject to err, still it was none of my business to look after his faults. . . . It was not for me to question whether Joseph was dictated by the Lord at all times and under all circumstances or not. . . . He was called of God; . . . and if He had a mind to leave him to himself and let him commit an error, that was no business of mine.[52]

For Young the question was not whether Joseph Smith erred in this or that act, but was he a prophet of God and were his doctrines true?[53] Of that he had no doubt. Though imperfect, he insisted that Joseph was superior to all his critics and held the keys of salvation over them. "Had I not thoroughly understood this and believed it, I much doubt whether I should ever had embraced what is called 'Mormonism.'"[54] Because of his conviction that God did oversee His people and His kingdom and that Joseph was His mouthpiece, Brigham Young accepted reversals and difficulties with the belief that in all there was ultimately meaning and purpose.

Brigham Young was patient with Smith's problems for other reasons, as well. Even if his management of Kirtland was flawed, Brigham Young felt that many of the difficulties could be laid at the feet of the Saints. Young charged many of the complainers with hypocritically multiplying for Joseph the very problems they *[245]* then piously denounced. On several occasions Young explained in detail the pressures on Smith to "sell" the Saints

on credit the merchandise he had arranged for on short term, to be paid for when sold, and then their unwillingness and outright refusal to pay him.

> When he had let many of the brethren and sisters have goods on trust, he could not meet his liabilities, and then they would turn round and say, "What is the matter brother Joseph, why don't you pay your debts?" "It is quite a curiosity that you don't pay your debts; you must be a bad financier; you don't know how to handle the things of the world."[55]

Those very critics would pay a non-Mormon merchant, said Young, but from the Prophet they thought it should all be free. "Joseph was a first-rate fellow with them all the time, provided he never would ask them to pay him."[56]

It was Brigham Young's faith that Kirtland would have prospered had the Saints obeyed. The unwillingness of the Saints to trust their means to the Church under his direction, concluded Young, is what "brought proverty and distress upon the whole people." Young believed that if the people had confidently supported Joseph, "wealth would have been poured into the laps of this people, to overflowing." How? If the Saints had "gone forth with their whole heart, mind and strength," as the Prophet directed, God would have blessed them, "they having done the best they could. I believe that, as much as I know that the sun shines."[57]

These, then, were the main issues that divided men and defined the battle lines in Kirtland in 1837: Joseph's fallibility, the nature and scope of prophetic power and leadership, the *[246]* propriety of ecclesiastical involvements in temporal affairs, innovations in doctrine, and the nature of the gathered community of Saints. With these came a giant storm of innuendo, misunderstanding, mistrust, charges, and counter charges until many who later became firmly committed to the Prophet's approach to these basic questions were temporarily swept along. A brief passage in the *History of the Church* represents what the storm looked like from Smith's perspective:

> evil surmisings, fault finding, disunion, dissension, and apostasy followed in quick succession, and it seemed as though all the powers of earth and hell were combining their influence in an especial manner to overthrow the Church at once, and make a final end.[58]

For Young the explanation for dissent was simple: those who murmured had lost faith. Similarly, he saw the central issue as simply a question of whether or not the Church would submit to be governed by its head. Consequently, his exhortation to the Kirtland Saints was simple and direct: he warned the people not to murmur "against Moses (or) Joseph or the heads of the Church."[59] This was in early January 1837. Within a month some influential elders would be in open rebellion. Like the Children of Israel anciently, thought Young, the modern Saints also were slow to hearken and quick to grumble. Perhaps it was about this time that Smith gave an even more explicit warning. As his mother later remembered, he urged the brethren to beware,

> for I tell you in the name of the Lord, that there is an evil in this congregation, which, if not repented of, will result in setting many of you . . . against me, that you will have a desire to take my life: and you even would do it, if God should permit the deed.[60] *[247]*

When in February Brigham Young learned of both a plot against the Prophet's life and a scheme to depose him, he stepped boldly forward and took the lead in actively defending Joseph against his enemies. A brief review of January developments with the Kirtland bank provides the context.

After great effort and at great expense, Oliver Cowdery had procured in the fall of 1836 the plates for printing bank notes for the Kirtland Safety Society, the new Mormon bank. At the same time Orson Hyde failed to obtain from the Ohio State Legislature the required charter. Although the Mormons were certain the denial was but another example of religious prejudice, in reality they had applied at a time when hard money Democrats controlled the legislature and approved only one charter in all of 1835 and 1836.[61] Although the liabilities were great, there were other unchartered or unauthorized banks during this period and some reason to think it could succeed. With a pressing need and many resources already invested in the venture, Smith determined, probably with the aid of faulty non-Mormon legal advice, to plunge ahead.[62] On 6 January 1837 officers of the bank gathered to witness the first issue of money and to hear the Prophet's assurances that he had received the Word of the Lord about the bank. Significantly, in the words of Woodruff, he did not tell them at that time what the Lord said, "but remarked that if we would give heed to the commandments the Lord had given this morning all would be well." Caught

up in the spirit of the occasion, Woodruff ended his diary notation with a prayer: *[248]*

> May the Lord bless Brother Joseph with all the Saints & support the above named institution & Protect it so that every weapen formed against it may be broaken & come to nought while the Kirtland Safety Society shall become the greatest of all institutions on EARTH.[63]

For the Kirtland Safety Society to succeed without a charter, church members had to be willing to accept the notes while keeping many from circulating in outside hands. Perhaps most importantly, they had to personally risk large fines for possession or passing unauthorized bank notes if an 1816 law were strictly interpreted and applied. Within two weeks of the first issue of notes nearby newspapers reminded Mormons and others of the probable penalty, no doubt weakening the resolve of many to deal in the paper.[64] Not many days later the bank suspended specie redemption of its notes after so many were presented that they threatened to drain the bank of its reserves.[65]

Had the Saints' failure to sustain the paper already lost them the promise Wilford Woodruff had so optimistically recorded only three weeks before? The Kirtland Safety Society did not die in January. It remained technically alive for most of the year and Joseph Smith would yet expend energy and resources for many weeks in his personal effort to save it. But from this time forward, keeping the bank's doors open and its notes circulating even at large discount was a constant struggle, which was compounded in the spring with the general banking public, and in the summer by the alleged dishonesty of some of its officers.

Apparently the decision of the Kirtland Safety Society on 21 January to suspend specie redemption rekindled anti-Mormon passions that for months had been dormant. Woodruff reported on *[249]* 24 January the threats of a mob "to visit us that night & demolish our Bank & take our property." Though the mob did not appear, Woodruff saw meaning in the threat: "the wrath of our enemies appears to be kindled against us this in part is the scourge that hath awated us." The following Sunday, Smith told the Saints that it was not yet too late to redeem the Lord's promises: he "blessed us in the name of the Lord & said if we would be faithful we should rise above our imbarresments & be delivered from the hands of our enemies."[66]

Presidents Smith and Rigdon called an important meeting for the following Tuesday where they discussed with those present "the temporal business" of the Church. Apparently they still had some hope of a state charter and had renewed their petition. In the meantime the Presidency announced that they had purchased a chartered bank in Monroe, Michigan, with the hope that if "all lent a hand in esstablishing it that it might be beneficial to us in forwarding the building of the temporal Kingdom."[67] Soon after the meeting Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Oliver Cowdery left Kirtland to conduct business in Monroe.

During the absence of the Presidency, a number of the remaining elders attempted to depose Joseph Smith and appoint David Whitmer in his stead.[68] To determine how best to proceed, dissenters called a council for the upper room of the temple. Most of those present were dissatisfied with Joseph, but Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, the two senior members of the Twelve residing in Kirtland, and John Smith, were also there. Perhaps they had heard of the plan and attended only to oppose it. *[250]* No doubt Young went "pretty well charged with plenty of powder and ball" until he felt "like a thousand lions," as he described his emotions on another occasion.[69] After listening to the murmurings of rebellion against the Prophet, Young rose up, and in a

> plain and forcible manner, told them that Joseph was a Prophet, and I knew it, and that they might rail and slander him as much as they pleased; they could not destroy the appointment of the Prophet of God, they could only destroy their own authority, cut the thread that bound them to the Prophet and to God, and sink themselves to hell.[70]

Young's firm opposition to their measures enraged several, among them the self-styled pugilist Jacob Bump, with whom Young had earlier labored in finishing the temple interior. Physically restrained from attacking Brigham, Bump twisted and shouted, "How can I keep my hands off that man?" Young, no less angered, retorted that Bump could lay them on if it gave him any relief. The meeting broke up with the dissenters unable to unite in their opposition to Smith.[71]

Immediately after this incident, Joseph Smith returned to Kirtland. That he returned safely may have been due to Young's quick action in the face of an alleged plot to ambush him. Unable to depose the Prophet, had the dissenters determined on vio-

lence? Was the threat from anti-Mormons? In his brief account, Young said only that the threat was real and that, as a precaution, he and William Smith borrowed a horse and buggy and met Joseph's stage. William took Joseph's place in the stage and Joseph finished his trip in the buggy, probably by another route.[72]

On the morning of 19 February, Woodruff, Young, and others gathered in the temple and heard the Prophet address the Saints [251] "in the power of God." Though he had been gone less than half as long as Moses on the mount, noted Woodruff in his diary,

> many were stired up in their hearts & some were against him as the Israelites were against Moses but when he arose in the power of God in their midst, as Moses did anciently, they were put to silence for the complainers saw that they stood in the power of a Prophet, O how weak is man.

Joseph told the assembly, according to Woodruff's later account,

> I am still the President, Prophet, Seer, Revelator and Leader of the church of Jesus Christ. God, and no man, has appointed and placed me in this position, and no man or set of men have power to remove me or appoint another in my stead.[73]

In Woodruff's view, Joseph had at first been depressed as he addressed the Saints, but then the Spirit rested upon him—the same Spirit that bore testimony to his listeners that what he said was true—and his spirits recovered.

Although the dissenters may have been temporarily silenced, Smith's personal burdens still weighed heavy. Especially was he concerned about temporal arrangements: debts, the bank, business dealings that he had initiated to help promote Kirtland. In all of this Brigham Young, it appears, was involved. Looking back years later he affirmed that he had been conversant "with every circumstance that transpired, pertaining to temporal matters, from the first day of my acquaintance with Joseph Smith," and he certainly had opportunity to be so informed here. When Smith was in the East on business the August previous, Young had spent several days with him and throughout the fall and winter Young had assisted where he could.

No doubt to seek additional resources in the East and also to follow up on business arrangements initiated the summer before, [252] Joseph Smith sent Brigham Young and Willard Richards in March on a special business mission. Richards, who had been ill, received a special blessing for health along with a setting apart for his mission before the 14 March 1837 departure. Before Young returned to Kirtland in late May, he and Richards traveled hundreds of fatiguing miles, mostly by stage, often traveling both day and night. Brigham Young later said that they "transacted much business," but the details of their mission are unknown. At the conclusion of the mission Willard Richards noted simply, "I was deeply involved in the Temporal affairs of the Church in Co[mpany] with Bro. Brigham."[74]

Young's selection as Joseph Smith's business agent suggests the Prophet's increasing recognition of Young's abilities, and his awareness of Young's steadfast loyalty. Here, in the difficult Kirtland of 1837, Young came increasingly to the fore as Joseph's defender and his assistant. Except for his relationship to Joseph, he was not otherwise necessarily viewed as a prominent or influential Kirtland citizen. While he and Willard were in the East, Smith received by revelation a new plan for the City of Kirtland. No doubt Young saw the plan upon his return and quickly noted the streets named after important Kirtland residents, including some of his prominent colleagues of the Twelve, names like Luke, Lyman, Boynton, Hyde, Whitmer, Kimball, and Parrish. He would have looked in vain for a Brigham or a Young street.[75] If the naming suggests relative prominence, then Young was far from the top. But he was quietly assisting Joseph and gaining the confidence of his prophet. [253]

A letter from the East to his wife Mary Ann that Brigham wrote during his mission demonstrates aspects of his personality and provides an opportunity to sense the impact of his background and lack of education. The letter acknowledged his comfort in knowing that, this time, his family were not suffering for "food and rament." In spite of the problems, it had been a prosperous season in Kirtland. He had nothing "in potickular" to say about his "tempriel business"—although some of it involved the family; he purchased some property that he kept for many years. He asked Mary Ann to "tell the girls"—his two older daughters (the other daughter and two sons were still toddlers)—"to be good and pray for me and as for my Wife I [k]now that she pray[s] for me all

ways. Mary I remember You allways in my prayrs." After love to his wife he closed with a P.S. "Plese read this and keep it to Yourself [and] not expose my Poore righting and speling."[76]

In Kirtland all was not business and finance that winter and spring. No doubt Brigham Young had witnessed as did Wilford Woodruff touching meetings of deep emotion, moving discourse, matter-of-fact speaking in tongues.[77] But the greatest religious experience of the year occurred in late March and early April while Brigham and Willard were in the East. The twenty-third of March was a day of fasting and prayer in the temple, the time occupied

> in singing, exortation, & prayer, some had a tongue, others an interpretation, & all was in order. The power of GOD rested upon the people the gifts were poured out upon us some had the administering of angels & the image of GOD sat upon the countenances of the Sants.[78] *[254]*

The third and sixth of April were great days of solemn assembly with instructions, gifts, ordinances similar to what Brigham Young and others had experienced the year previously. Those of the Twelve in Kirtland, including Heber Kimball, assisted in ordinance work. Most impressive to Wilford Woodruff—an unanswerable rebuke, he thought, to dissenters who claimed Joseph fallen—was Joseph's presence and power.

> President Joseph Smith jr arose and addressed the congregation for the term of three hours clothed with the power, spirit & image of GOD he unbosomd his mind & feelings in the house of his friends He presented many things of vast importance.

Woodruff thought the Prophet's power should drive unbelief from the doubters, for "such language sentiment, principle & spirit cannot flow from darkness." For those with Woodruff's perspective, Joseph was indeed "a prophet of God rised up for the deliverance of Israel."[79]

While such outpourings prepared some for the storms ahead, they provided no easy answer to the difficulties of the season. For the Prophet, the answer was obedience: if the Saints obeyed, the difficulties could be overcome. On the seventh anniversary of the organization of the Church, he pleaded with the Saints to heed his words "this once . . . that Zion & her stakes" might prosper. He urged them to support the Safety Society. He presented his plan for the city and described in enthusiastic detail what Kirtland could become if they would obey "this once."[80]

The following Sunday President Rigdon talked about the temporal situation of the Church. The bank was a key to the temporal salvation of the Saints, he insisted, and the Presidency *[255]* had done all in their power to sustain it. Many of the Church had refused the bank's paper, playing into the hands of Mormon enemies, and those who had "must suffer by it." During Smith's remarks that same Sunday he, too, promised severe judgment to those who professed to be his friends and friends to the bank but had "turned tritors & opposed the currency & its friends." Woodruff thought Smith saddened because of the unbelief and negligence of many supposed brethren.[81]

From its beginnings, the Safety Society was closely identified with Joseph Smith, and many took his association to mean divine approbation.[82] Boasts were made—unauthorized boasts, insisted Joseph[83]—that it was the most sound financial institution in the United States, that it could not fail, etc. Smith put his full backing behind it and urged all the Saints to do the same. When difficulties multiplied in the spring he went to extraordinary efforts to uphold the Society, efforts that argue strongly for his commitment and good faith in the venture, and perhaps also his realization of the impact the institution's success or failure might have on his people.[84]

By May the national banking panic hit the region, causing other financial institutions to suspend redemption in specie, as the Safety Society had done in late January. While that may have made the Kirtland bank seem less fragile, or at least more like its sister institutions, the panic also brought a tightening of credit. As Smith's notes for land and merchandise came due in the spring and summer, it became impossible for him to meet them all; the whole fabric of his financial dealings was threatened at once. *[256]*

When all his efforts to sustain the bank with additional resources or by convincing the Saints to risk more to sustain it failed, President Smith eventually turned the institution over to Warren Parrish, Frederick G. Williams, and others, and disassociated himself from it. Soon after, reported Kimball, there were rumors of counterfeit notes and more substantial information that "some

who were entrusted with the Bank, robbed it to a considerable extent," though, he added, "those of integrity in the Church replaced the robbed money to the expense of all they had."[85] Knowing that the Safety Society bills had now become virtually worthless, in August Joseph Smith published a warning against accepting the notes. In October an Ohio court judged the Safety Society an illegal bank and within thirty days it closed.

If mismanagement compounded the problems, if dishonesty increased the economic losses late in the story, the real cause of the failure of the Safety Society, as some contemporaries understood, was the failure to obtain a charter.[86] Many of the Saints were simply unwilling to take the risks associated with an unchartered bank. As Warren Cowdery perceived, the lack of a charter "operated as one cause to limit the circulation of the bills, destroy public confidence in them," and motivated their return to the bank for specie. Given the "unpopularity of our religion," he continued, plus the lack of a charter, the circulation of the notes was necessarily limited. "Our enemies foresaw, and every man might foresee without the gift of prophecy, the down fall of the institution."[87] *[257]*

Most accounts of the Kirtland apostasy feature the failure of the Kirtland bank, and perhaps they should. Disaffection, even rebellion, preceded the bank's failure, and it was not alone the cause for loss of confidence in Joseph or the basic cause of the economic ruin that many experienced later in the year. But it became the symbol for these things. For some it represented failed expectations—dashed hopes and a fallible prophet. For others it represented the folly of temporal involvements by a religious leader. For these, the collapse of the Kirtland Safety Society provided the most concrete and visible evidence that Joseph Smith could fail. No matter that his counsel in relationship to the bank had been repeatedly ignored. No matter that his warnings bespoke his conviction that God had given no unconditional promise. The fact was that it had failed: "and many became disaffected towards me as though I were the sole cause of those very evils I was most strenuously striving against, and which were actually brought upon us by the brethren not giving heed to my counsel."[88]

Naming the bank as a reason for disaffection was, no doubt, for some people an excuse rather than a cause. Clearly some parted with Smith and the Presidency because they took offense at his reproofs, because they refused to risk what he urged, because they would not share—or because they did not want a prophet's counsel in temporal affairs. If the bank was a symbol to the disaffected of Smith's fallibility, for men like Young who interpreted these experiences from a different perspective, the bank was a symbol of a people who refused to be governed by the Lord through his Prophet. *[258]*

If Young had hoped to return to a changed Kirtland, with renewed unity and support for the prophet, he was sadly disappointed. He returned in late May to a city in full rebellion. The rebels, according to one man who left in April, included at least five of Young's associates in the Quorum of the Twelve.[89] Since their calling the Twelve had often been less than united and in less than full harmony with Smith—often because of only petty

Brigham Young (ca. 1841). Copy print of oil on canvas. Portrait by unknown artist, copied from "President Brigham Young," *Young Woman's Journal* 8 (July 1897): facing p. 439. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

concerns. No doubt that history of disharmony had something to do with the fact that so many of the Twelve now opposed Smith more directly. But the difficulties were not confined to the Twelve. Although many of the members remained behind the Prophet, the leadership was in disarray.

In later noting the spirit of apostasy "imbibed by many of the Twelve," Brigham Young added that the same spirit was among all the quorums of the Church and was so pervasive "that it was difficult for any to see clearly the path to pursue." He spoke from experience when he later warned a repentant brother not to boast that this time he would remain true: Young knew too much about human weakness to make any such boast. Instead, he prayed that God would preserve him from falling away.[90] Brigham also had a stubborn streak of independence that anchored him from being swept along simply because others thought they saw problems with Joseph. In his own experience, as Young wrote once to a non-Mormon New York friend:

> I can truly say, that I invariably found him to be all that any people could require a true prophet to be, & that a better man could not be, though he had his weaknesses; and what man has ever lived upon this earth who had none?[91] *[259]*

Brigham Young was determined to remain faithful, determined not to lose confidence in Joseph, determined to do his duty in defense of the life and reputation and calling of his prophet. It was this determination that he later emphasized when summarizing this period.

> During this seige of darkness I stood close by Joseph, and with all the wisdom and power God bestowed upon me, put forth my utmost energies to sustain the servant of God, and unite the quorums of the Church.

But before there was any unity, the disaffection would grow—even among the Twelve. And Young would spend many days of worry and many sleepless nights trying to do his duty.[92] *[260]*

Notes

1. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), 2:441. For other comments on this decision see Marvin S. Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830–1844" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 161–63, 164. Although Joseph Smith had lived in Kirtland since 1831, he apparently did not prepare a plan for developing the city until the period under discussion and it was not formally filed as a city plat until April 1837. See Robert L. Layton, "Kirtland: A Perspective on Time and Place," *Brigham Young University Studies* 11 (Summer 1971):437. See also Wilford Woodruff Diary, 6 April 1837, Wilford Woodruff Papers, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church Archives, where Woodruff says Joseph Smith presented them "the plot of the City of Kirtland . . . as it was given him by vision." A copy of the plan is reproduced in Max H. Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland: A Study of the Nature and Causes of External and Internal Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838* (Salt Lake City: Max H. Parkin, 1966), p. 211. Smith's plan for Kirtland was preceded by his June 1833 Plat of the City of Zion, prepared for Jackson County, Missouri, but never implemented. For a copy of the plan and a discussion of its features see Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," *BYU Studies* 17 (Winter 1977):223–30.

2. Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism," pp. 129–37, 172.

3. Earlier both the cooperative, priesthood-directed Order of Enoch and the plan for the City of Zion envisioned intimate ecclesiastical involvement in so-called temporal affairs. Because of the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri, in 1833, however, the ideas were not widely implemented. Joseph Smith did not reside in Missouri to direct the short-lived cooperative order, nor did it involve large numbers of people. For a discussion of the concepts involved see Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), pp. 15–40.

4. Robert Bruce Flanders, "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History,* ed. F. Mark McKiernan et al. (Lawrence, Kansas, Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 154–55.

5. Marvin S. Hill, "Quest for Refuge: An Hypothesis as to the Social Origins and Nature of the Mormon Political Kingdom," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975):3–20. Hill argues that the kingdom was less a quest for power or empire than for social unity and refuge—that the Mormons were fugitives from social change and sought power only as a means to construct and protect their refuge. See pp. 4–8 for some of the social, psychological, and demographic factors that may have contributed to this need.

6. See Flanders, "Nauvoo Revisited," p. 156.

7. Robert Bruce Flanders has written about the diverse reactions to Smith's kingdom in Nauvoo, suggesting that those who accepted it left with Young and the Twelve to implement the vision in the West, while those who rejected it remained behind. See the introduction to his *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965) and his summary article, "Nauvoo Revisited," pp. 141–66. A recent article by Marvin S. Hill begins the analysis of the Kirtland divisions over these issues which this chapter explores. See Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Causes of Kirtland Dissent," *Church History* 49 (September 1980): 286–97. For another way to conceptualize the two perspectives see Jan Shipps' remarks in "Mormon History: A Dialogue with Jan Shipps, Richard Bushman and Leonard Arrington," *Century 2: A Brigham Young University Student Journal* 4 (Spring/Summer 1980):34–35.

8. Warren A. Cowdery reminiscing about the year before in *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (June 1837):520–21. For another contemporary description of Kirtland emphasizing the same changes, see Wilford Woodruff Diary, 26 November 1836, in Dean C. Jessee, "The Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," *BYU Studies* 12 (Summer 1972):371.

9. Brigham Young, now an "oldtimer" in the community, saw the population of Kirtland almost double during his years there. See estimate in Marvin S. Hill et al., "The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics," *BYU Studies* 17 (Summer 1977):387–475.

10. See *Painesville Telegraph* for 18 November 1836 as cited in Max H. Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland.* This is a privately printed copy of Parkin's master's thesis.

11. There is no question that sacrifice for the temple contributed to the poverty of individual families, if not of the community as a whole. For other factors that contributed to Mormon poverty in Kirtland's earlier years see Parkin, *Conflict* in *Kirtland,* p. 205ff.

12. Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," pp. 406–14.

13. "History of Heber Chase Kimball by his own Dictation," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives.

14. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers; *History of the Church,* 2:487; and Warren A. Cowdery in *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (May 1837):509.

15. *Painesville Telegraph,* 29 January 1836, as cited in Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland,* p. 285.

16. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers; *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (June 1837):521, notes that land prices rose 1–800 percent and more. While econometric analysis indicates that the average increase was far less, there is no reason to doubt contemporary estimates suggesting there were many examples of far greater increases, or the application of the word "speculation" to these. Noah Webster's 1828 dictionary defines speculation as simply "buying land or goods, &c, in expectation of a rise of price" so that the profit is not the normal or reasonable increase (wholesale to retail for example) but includes an (unearned) advance because of inflated prices. By extension this definition would include raising the price of land artificially (i.e. by more than population pressure might suggest) because a boom atmosphere raised expectations higher than would be true otherwise. Some surely speculated. Some even "profiteered," a word not in Webster's 1828 but by modern definitions ("exorbitant profit" and "unreasonable profit") might be considered a close relative to "speculation." What participants in Kirtland in 1836–1837 seem to be saying is that some of the Saints sought to increase their material goods at any cost, even at the expense of one's brother. Speculation and spirit of speculation seem fitting descriptions of what they observed and how they felt about ultimate results.

17. In defense of the contemporary references to speculation, one might note that economic transactions are singularly influenced by attitudes and psychology. The replacing of the earlier psychology of poverty with one suggesting boom times, early and easy gain, surely influenced many economic decisions and led to rapid, even dramatic, economic changes—a phenomenon appropriately (if not technically) described by the word speculation.

18. Warren A. Cowdery in *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (June 1837):521 and 2 (July 1836):350.

19. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (May 1837):505. He made the same observation in 1836, *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (July 1836):350. Using another scriptural image, Eliza R. Snow later described in verse the same phenomenon that she observed as 1837 progressed:

> In Kirtland City, a promiscuous band,
> Where wheat and tares to such a height had grown
> That Saints could scarce from hypocrites be known!

Eliza R. Snow, "The Gathering of the Saints and the Commencement of the City of Adam-Ondi-Ahman," *Poems, Religious, Historical, and Political* (Liverpool: 1846), p. 10.

20. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (May 1837):505–6 and 3 (April 1837):492. Although the editor of the church periodical in Kirtland, Cowdery was a persistent critic and generally saw and wrote about the worst. He later left the Church partly over these things. His last editorial acknowledged that if he had "unjustly impaired the confidence of our brethren, in the saints in this place" it was not intentional, rather he had hope that his warnings had "prevented more ruin." *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (September 1837):571. No one defended the spirit behind some of the temporal transactions in Kirtland, however, and these remarks seem to have been motivated by the same concerns that led Hyrum Smith to denounce those that sometimes relieved newcomers of means that would otherwise have aided the Church, or prompted Sidney Rigdon to exhort "all not to prey upon each other" but contribute towards liquidating church debts. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (April 1837):488–89.

21. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (January 1837):446 and Willard Richards to Hepsibah Richards, 20 January 1837, Willard Richards Papers, Church Archives, as quoted by Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," p. 401.

22. Oliver Cowdery in *History of the Church,* 2:195. See discourse by Brigham Young, 17 April 1853, *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1967). 2:128, hereafter also cited *JD*; and 3 February 1867, *JD* 11:296; and Minutes, 18 January 1873, General Minutes Collection, Church Archives. For rhetorical purposes in his sermons Young repeatedly used the $5,000 figure. Perhaps more accurately, he wrote to an acquaintance of his youth that he left behind property worth "$3 or 4000." See Brigham Young to David B. Smith, 1 June 1853, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

23. Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," pp. 394–405.

24. Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," pp. 431–32, 459–60.

25. Brigham Young likely saw the need for and agreed with the effort to establish a bank to make assets more liquid and increase the money in circulation. Later in Utah he managed the same thing through an extensive system of book credits and drafts on book accounts. In addition he and his associates made limited issues of notes to provide a circulating medium. See for example the records of the Deseret Currency Association, Church Archives. Perhaps because he learned from Joseph's Kirtland experience, he kept close control so that no fraud could damage confidence in the notes nor could they be easily debased by enemies.

26. Wilford Woodruff, for example, recorded a series of chastisements or warnings of impending difficulties that would otherwise have remained unknown. Of necessity I have relied heavily on the few contemporary sources relevant to the themes treated in this chapter.

27. Wilford Woodruff, 11 December 1836, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," p. 374.

28. Wilford Woodruff, 17 and 22 January 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," pp. 382–83.

29. "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* 27 January–24 March 1858, p. 386; and "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

30. Wilford Woodruff, 13 April 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," p. 395. Kirtland Record Book, 11 May 1837, Church Archives.

31. Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom," pp. 286–97. Hill provides the best discussion of non-economic causes of Kirtland dissent. See especially pp. 394–95 in relation to the crisis of confidence that some experienced, and some of the reasons for that. Several other ideas raised by Hill will be discussed in more detail below.

Hill is one of the few to correctly place the effort to depose Smith in the "fall or early winter of 1836–1837," an event usually thought to have occurred in the spring or summer of 1837. See Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism," p. 172. This and other important events are more precisely dated below.

32. *History of the Church,* 2:478, 6 April 1837. Warren Cowdery's report of this conference notes that Joseph taught it was the privilege of the priesthood "to reprove, rebuke and admonish, as well as to receive revelations," and that "he rebuked his brethren frequently . . . because he loved them; not because he wished to incur their displeasure or mar their happiness." *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (April 1837):487. Young often talked about this as a responsibility. For one example, including his insistence that Smith's plain speaking to wayward brethren contributed to his death, see discourse by Brigham Young, 6 October 1855, *Journal of Discourses* 3:48–49.

33. Brigham Young believed and later repeatedly taught that the true test of a Saint was a testimony by the spirit that Joseph was called of God. Losing that conviction was for him *prima facie* evidence of losing the spirit of God. See his discourses, 13 July 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 9:312; 9 September 1860, *JD* 8:176; and 11 September 1853, *JD* 1:74–75.

34. Doctrine and Covenants, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1923), Section 98:12 (6 August 1833).

35. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (April 1837):488.

36. Discourse by Brigham Young, 25 May 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 9:294. Young had a defense for himself from that pitfall. "Do not reveal anything to me, then, [for] I do not wish to apostatize," he told Joseph. According to Young, Joseph said the same thing a few months later in Far West: "The people cannot bear the revelations that the Lord has for them. There were a great many revelations if the people could bear them." Discourse of 23 June 1874, *JD* 18:242.

37. We have already noted the observation by George A. Smith that some apostatized in relationship to the temple because "there was not more of it, and others because there was too much." Discourse by George A. Smith, 18 March 1855, *Journal of Discourses* 2:215.

38. See Danel Bachman, "Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith" (master's thesis, Purdue University, 1975), pp. 73–77 and 86–88. See also Bachman's "New Light on an Old Hypothesis: The Ohio Origins of the Revelation on Eternal Marriage," *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978):28–32. Bachman here quotes Benjamin Winchester as saying "there was a good deal of scandal prevalent" in Kirtland about Joseph Smith's "licentious conduct." And Benjamin F. Johnson: "Suspicion or Knowledge of the Prophet's Plural Relation was one of the Causes of Apostasy & disruption at Kirtland although at the time there was little said publickly upon the subject." See also Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland,* pp. 163–74, especially 173–74 where he quotes a report of "much excitement against the Prophet" for "an unlawful intercourse between himself and a young orphan girl." See also Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism," pp. 188–90.

39. Ebenezer Robinson, *The Return* 1 (August 1889), p. 116.

40. Discourse by Brigham Young, 11 September 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 1:74–75.

41. Quoted from *The Olive Branch* 1 (December 1849), pp. 88–89 in Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom," p. 296.

42. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (April 1837): pp. 489–91.

43. Discourse by Brigham Young, 13 November 1869, *Journal of Discourses* 10:363.

44. Discourse by Brigham Young, 13 November 1864, *Journal of Discourses* 10:363–64. An undated manuscript contains another detailed recital of this incident from a later Young discourse. There he suggested that one man succeeded in stirring up much of the furor on this issue. Apparently Young prefaced the story by telling his audience he would describe a Nauvoo event. The setting fits Kirtland better. In addition, Young's practice of checking his sermons before publication lends credibility to the published version's "Kirtland." See discourse by Brigham Young, ca. April 1877, Brigham Young Papers.

45. Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom," p. 296. At stake in the upheaval, concluded Hill, was "the degree of control to be possessed by the church and its leaders, the degree of consolidation in the kingdom," with dissenters wanting "a more open society, closer to the values and traditions of evangelical Protestantism." My own investigations of the period confirm this, the central insight and conclusion in this essay.

Writing of the division in Mormon society evident in Nauvoo, where the two perspectives were again clearly in evidence, Robert B. Flanders concluded that the central issue may have been "a fundamental loss of freedom" that many felt as the Mormon kingdom expanded. See "Some Reflections on the Kingdom and the Gathering in Early Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968):159–60.

46. Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom," p. 296.

47. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (July 1837):538. Apparently the Cowdery brothers shared deep and intense feelings about American republicanism and its freedoms, including an early conviction that the separation of church and state was a necessary safeguard for liberty to prevail. See Oliver Cowdery to Lyman Cowdery, 13 January 1834, Cowdery Letterbook, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, microfilm in Church Archives.

48. The feelings of each party about these issues involved deeply felt convictions and to some extent general assumptions about and perceptions of the world and how God operated within it. It is interesting to contemplate the possible influence of background in predisposing individuals to favor one or the other perspective. Among the major dissenters of 1837–1838 we find some of the more polished preachers, a lawyer, a school teacher, a scribe, merchants—men of some education or refinement in the arts of the world. Prominent among the defenders of Joseph Smith and his program were a potter, a carpenter, farmers. President Rigdon, stoutly loyal in Kirtland, does not fit the pattern, nor does the disaffection of the farmer David Whitmer.

Perhaps those who worked with their hands to slowly shape and create better understood the long "process of Zion," as Young and Kimball both tried to suggest later through the image of the clay and the potter. The potter understood, also, that the clay had to be milled before it could be shaped.

49. Wilford Woodruff, 2 April 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," p. 386.

50. Wilford Woodruff, ca. 19 April 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," p. 396.

51. Discourse by Brigham Young, 29 May 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 4:297.

52. Discourse by Brigham Young, 29 May 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 4:297. Young early understood that a prophet was less than perfect and that the Saints were good men and women striving to become better, not saintly beings fully prepared for celestial realms.

53. For Young, the question was the truth of the doctrines Smith taught, not whether he was without any flaw or personal weakness. See discourse by Brigham Young, 5 March 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:15–16. He also applied this concept to himself as church president: "There are weaknesses manifested in men that I am bound to forgive," he said in 1860, because "I am right there myself." Nonetheless, he had a special position and responsibility: "I am liable to make mistakes . . . but I am where I can see the light. I try to keep in the light." Brigham Young Office Journal, 30 April 1860, Brigham Young Papers.

54. Discourse by Brigham Young, 29 May 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 4:297. On another occasion he summarized the principle this way: "I will tell you how I got along with Joseph I found out that God Called Joseph to be a Prophet I did not do it. I then said I will leave the Prophet in the hands of that God who called and ordained him. . . . He is not responsible to me and it is none of my business what He does it is for me to follow & obey him." Wilford Woodruff Diary, 27 January 1860, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

55. Discourse by Brigham Young, 8 October 1855, *Journal of Discourses* 3:120–21.

56. Discourse by Brigham Young, 9 October 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 1:215.

57. Discourses by Brigham Young, 13 November 1864, *Journal of Discourses* 10:364 and 11 September 1853, *JD* 1:75.

58. *History of the Church,* 2:488. For an example of the perspective of those never reconciled and who blamed the difficulties on the deception and dishonesty of Smith, see S. Burnett to Brother Johnson, 15 April 1838, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives.

59. Wilford Woodruff, 10 January 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," p. 382.

60. Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother,* ed. Preston Nibley (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wall, Inc., 1945), p. 240.

61. Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," p. 437.

62. For a discussion of the legal context see Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," pp. 434–41. On the question of legal advice, see pp. 471–72.

63. Wilford Woodruff, 6 January 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," p. 381. Note that this, sometimes read as if Smith had said it, was Woodruff's prayer, not Smith's boast or prophecy. According to Woodruff, Joseph Smith said only that if the Saints did right "all would be well." Compare Woodruff's diary with the later recollection of dissident John F. Boynton, who remembered Smith saying on this or another occasion, "that the audible voice of God instructed him to establish a Banking Anti-Banking institution, which like Aaron's rod should swallow up all other banks . . . and survive when all others should be laid in ruins." *Painesville Republican* as quoted by Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom," p. 290. Brigham Young, a stockholder in the bank, was probably present.

64. Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," pp. 435–36. The authors maintain that the $1000 fine was double the annual income of an average farm family of this era.

65. No doubt the bank added to feelings of instant wealth which, in turn, increased disillusionment when prosperity failed. In addition to putting more "money" into circulation, the bank may have imparted a feeling of wealth to stockholders who invested only a few dollars. For less than ten dollars one might have acquired (or was it only a down-payment?) stock with a face value of $1000 or more. Such increase in value was not realized, of course, but may have helped create unrealistic expectations. See D. Paul Sampson and Larry T. Wimmer, "The Kirtland Safety Society: The Stock Ledger Book and the Bank Failure," *BYU Studies* 12 (Summer 1972):430.

66. Wilford Woodruff, 24 and 29 January 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," pp. 384–85.

67. Wilford Woodruff, 31 January 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," pp. 384–85. See also Jessee's footnote about the ten-year-old Monroe bank. The Historical Department holds notes of the bank signed by Oliver Cowdery. The collapse of that bank during the national banking panic later in the year dashed the presidency's hopes of accomplishing through that institution what they could not with the unchartered Kirtland bank.

68. This event is generally thought to have occurred several months later. For example, see Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland,* p. 311. Knowing when Young was in Kirtland and Smith was not, I suspected that the Whitmer incident provided the setting for Woodruff's 19 February 1837 diary entry. Woodruff's autobiography in the *Deseret News,* 14 July 1858, confirmed this. Working from his diaries in preparing the sketch, he there inserted for 19 February a comment not in his diary: "and many were opposed to Joseph Smith, and some wished to appoint David Whitmer to lead the church in his stead." A letter published in a newspaper on 14 March confirms that the three presidents were absent from Kirtland on banking business in Monroe sometime earlier than that date. See *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (April 1837):490–91 for a reprinting of the earlier letter. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (August 1837):548 prints a letter from Oliver Cowdery dated "Monroe, Michigan, Feb 1837." Part of the confusion in dating 1837 has come from too much reliance on the "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News*, 27 January–24 March 1858. Except for those months where his travel diaries supplied dates, that reminiscent account for 1837 is in a "literary order," grouping similar events together, rather than a chronological order.

69. Discourse by Brigham Young, 8 October 1866, Brigham Young Papers. For later descriptions of the "voice and roar of the Lion," see Wilford Woodruff Diary, 14 September 1856 and 19 October 1856, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

70. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386. The extent of David Whitmer's involvement in this attempt is not known, although both he and Martin Harris were present, if Young's recollection is correct. Whether or not Whitmer was a prime mover here, it is likely that the dissenters settled on him as the only priesthood alternative to Joseph Smith because of his July 1834 ordination by Smith to succeed him. Brigham

Young was present in a 15 March 1838 council in Missouri when Joseph "gave a history" of that ordination for Whitmer to be "a leader, or a prophet to this Church, which . . . was on conditions that he [Joseph] . . . did not live to God himself." Far West Record for date. Young, of course, fully believed that Joseph Smith had since lived to God. For an instructive treatment of the dissenters viewpoint of Whitmer's position see William E. McLellen's article in *The Ensign of Liberty* 1 (March 1847):5–6. There is also an account that a Kirtland prophetess predicted Smith's fall from office because of transgression and that either Whitmer or Martin Harris would replace him. See Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith,* pp. 241–42.

71. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386.

72. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386.

73. "History of Wilford Woodruff (From His Own Pen)," *Deseret News,* 7 July–4 August 1858, p. 86. Wilford Woodruff, 19 February 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," p. 385; "History of Brigham Young," p. 386.

74. Discourse by Brigham Young, 11 September 1853. *Journal of Discourses* 1:74; Willard Richards Diary, 13–14 March and 11 June 1837, Willard Richards Papers, Church Archives. For details of their travels (not their business) see the diary of Richards or a summary drawn from that diary in "History of Willard Richards," *Deseret News,* 23–30 June 1858, p. 73. Apparently because this was a business mission and not a proselyting one, Young made no diary entries himself.

75. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 6 April 1837, Wilford Woodruff Papers. For a copy of the plan see Parkin, *Conflict at Kirtland*, p. 211.

76. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 24 March 1837, Blair Collection, University of Utah.

77. Wilford Woodruff in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," pp. 375, 381–84.

78. Wilford Woodruff, 23 March 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," pp. 385–86.

79. Wilford Woodruff, 6 April 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," pp. 390–91.

80. Wilford Woodruff, 6 April 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," p. 391.

81. Wilford Woodruff, 9 April 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," pp. 393–94.

82. The *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (January 1837):443, carried the 2 January 1837 Articles of Agreement of the Kirtland Safety Society, along with Smith's invitation to members throughout the Church "to call on us, and take stock in our Safety Society."

83. When one dissenter excused himself because "he had been told that it never would fail let men do what they pleased, Pres. Smith then arose, and stated that if this had been published, it was without authority, at least from him." He went on to say that he had always understood that this or any institution not properly conducted would fail. Meeting, 3 September 1837, Kirtland Record Book, Church Archives.

84. Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," pp. 456–58.

85. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers. Brigham Young may have been the first to discover fraud in the handling of bank notes. See the account in Andrew Jenson, ed., *The Historical Record; a monthly periodical devoted exclusively to historical, biographical, chronological and statistical matters* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson, 1886–1890) 7:433–35. Warren Parrish was accused of and in some accounts admitted embezzlement and fraud.

86. Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," pp. 431–37.

87. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (July 1937):535–36.

88. *History of the Church,* 2:488. In a stable economic setting Joseph's economic ideas might have received a fair test; as it was factors independent of his efforts contributed both to prosperity and decline, yet, because of his prophetic claims and temporal involvements, discontent over the deteriorating situation focused on him.

89. Ebenezer Robinson in *The Return* 1 (August 1889):116. Among those who "objected to the course being pursued by brother Joseph Smith," he listed David Whitmer and Martin Harris; and of the Twelve: Luke and Lyman Johnson, Parley P. Pratt, William E. McLellen, and John F. Boynton.

90. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386, emphasis added; and discourse by Brigham Young, 6 September 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:212–13.

91. Brigham Young to David B. Smith, 1 June 1853, Brigham Young Papers.

92. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386. See also comments by Brigham Young in Wilford Woodruff Diary, 25 June 1857, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

Chapter 6

The Kirtland Experience: Estrangement and Strife in Kirtland, 1837

Brigham Young returned to Kirtland in late May 1837 to face some of the most difficult and painful months of his life. Much of his concern was for Joseph Smith who was increasingly assailed. Here Young gradually came to the fore as a defender of the Prophet, in some ways his foremost defender. He labored with the Saints, reassuring the faithful, perhaps reproving those who faltered. Although he worked mostly behind the scenes, everyone knew where he stood. And occasionally he spoke out boldly. He stood firmly for Joseph and the kingdom, and in the end Young had to flee to save his life. As before, he continued observing and learning from the example and teachings of Joseph.

For most of this period Young was the presiding member of the Twelve in Kirtland, and for some of it perhaps the only apostle in town not estranged from the Prophet. Young's second concern, it seems, was with his brethren of the Twelve. While there was no established tradition that suggested he presided by right among the apostles in Kirtland while his seniors were elsewhere, he did labor with them, although apparently not in a formal or quorum capacity. In some respects Young's own quorum was at the head of the rebellion—some rebelled early and, as the storm raged, eventually [273] all but Young himself and Kimball would become disaffected. The little evidence we have suggests that Young tried to reason with them, keep them in, bring them back.

Only once during this period were the Twelve together as a quorum—and then just briefly, in the shadow of rebellion, with a few apostles present. While Thomas Marsh and David Patten were in Kirtland during the summer, Marsh met with several of the apostles, laboring with some success to reconcile them to Joseph. At this time Smith delivered to Marsh for the Twelve a revelation that further explained their quorum and again affirmed the importance of their office. The revelation confirmed their unique position holding, as did the Presidency, the priesthood keys of their gospel dispensation. It was also during this time of crisis as two apostles headed up a mission to England that the Twelve first fulfilled their duty to take the message abroad.

It has been evident to all that the Twelve were involved in and severely affected by the Kirtland difficulties. This chapter, and the next which explores the aftermath, examines in detail what that impact was and how it helped prepare for new leadership thereafter. The reminiscences of Young, along with some additional contemporary evidence not available or used before—especially the perceptive and detailed letters of Mary Fielding[1]—permit for the first time a more complete chronology of the Kirtland problems. This chronology is essential for understanding the developing crisis and for exploring Young's role in this vital period. Here we see the role of the Twelve in the rebellion, the impact of the [274] rebellion on the Twelve and on the Church, and Young's role in defending his prophet and all he believed in during a time of crisis.

News of the Kirtland problems quickly reached Missouri. Information that the difficulties involved several of the apostles particularly distressed Thomas Marsh and David Patten, the two senior members of the Twelve. They had heard "much evil . . . by letter and otherwise" about three of the Twelve—Luke and Lyman Johnson and John Boynton.[2] Marsh, sensitive about his prerogatives as president of the Twelve, no doubt took the rebellion of some of the apostles as a personal affront. Anxious to appear to Smith and the Saints as a powerful and successful leader, yet too distant from the scenes of dissent to influence events, he felt frustrated and powerless. Reports that Parley Pratt, and perhaps others of the Twelve, expected to leave for missionary labors in Europe also distressed him.

Since his spring 1836 anointing to lead the Twelve in opening work abroad, Marsh had felt that to be his particular mission and did not intend to be upstaged. With these things in mind, he concluded to appoint an extraordinary meeting of the Twelve in Kirtland and interject himself into the fray on the side of Joseph. Marsh hoped that through some dramatic act he could bring the Twelve into line and himself once again to the fore as their leader.

Elders Marsh and Patten wrote to Parley Pratt 10 May to inform him of the meeting and insist that he not go to England until difficulties within the Quorum were settled and they could [275] consult. The time had come to go abroad, they agreed, but Pratt should not take the work upon himself. And before anyone went

> The 12 must get together difficulties must be removed & love restored, we must have peace within before we can wage a successful war without. . . . shall the 12 apostles of the Lambe be a disorganised body pulling different ways, Shall one [go] to his plough another to his merchandise, another to England &c. No! I even I Thomas will step in (if there is none other for it is my right in this case) and give council to you.

There was much to say that could not be written, hinted Marsh. He urged Pratt at all costs to be in Kirtland on 24 July for a special meeting "to break through every obstacle" and prepare for their mission abroad.[3]

Meanwhile, Parley Pratt was involved in difficulties far more serious than any supposed urge to slip away to England ahead of his brethren. Caught up in the "envyings, lyings, strifes and divisions," as he later phrased it, Pratt was one of those to strike out at Joseph Smith.[4]

On 23 May, Parley Pratt wrote Smith an angry letter, accusing him of covetousness and taking advantage of his brother "by undue religious influence." Specifically, Pratt complained bitterly that Smith had turned his personal notes for debt over to a bank. He insisted he would prefer charges against the Prophet, and six days later a note was drawn up by Apostles Lyman Johnson and Orson Pratt condemning Smith for "lying and misrepresentation. Also for extortion—and for speaking disrespectfully against his brothers behind their backs."[5] Parley Pratt's letter to Joseph accused him of impoverishing his family by selling them land at an "extortionary price," and concluded "that the whole [276] scheme of speculation in which we have been engaged, is of the devil." Parley was certain that by precept and example President Smith and President Rigdon had been "the principal means in leading this people astray, in these particulars."[6]

Brigham Young returned to Kirtland about the same time that Parley Pratt wrote his severe letter attacking Joseph Smith. Joseph Fielding and his sisters Mary and Mercy, Canadian converts of Pratt, arrived about the same time. Fielding had arrived expecting to accompany those who would go to England on the projected preaching mission. He was sorrowed and troubled by the contention in Kirtland, especially so to see the Prophet "much accused by some of the Elders, by some of the Twelve, and by some of the Three Witnesses."[7]

Perhaps the first Sunday meeting either of them attended was the meeting in the temple on 28 May. Woodruff, a witness to the February cabal against Joseph, wrote in his diary that the same spirits of "murmering, complaining, & of mutiny" had continued unabated "untill many & some in high places had risen up against Joseph . . . and they were striving to overthrow his influence & cast him down." Apparently it was in this meeting that Warren Parrish openly denounced Joseph Smith before the congregation. Smith responded in his own defense, and Sidney Rigdon and several others also vigorously sustained the character of the Prophet. This must have been the incident witnessed by Canadian convert John Taylor, briefly in Kirtland on a visit. He said that the denunciations of Joseph were "warmly sustained by many of those present," and that he was among those who spoke out [277] in Smith's defense. Not content with denouncing the Prophet, Parrish also pronounced a curse upon his head which, he insisted, the God of Heaven would seal because of his wickedness.[8] In Woodruff's view, Joseph was vindicated in the confrontation, for he "acted wisely while all saw the spirit of his foe."[9] Clearly, not all would agree.

According to Taylor, Pratt tried to convince him of Smith's errors but ceased when reminded of the testimony "by revelation" that he had given them of Smith's divinely appointed call. Taylor told Pratt that he now had that same testimony, and "if the work was true six months ago, it is true today; if Joseph Smith was then a prophet,

he is now." Joseph Smith entertained the influential Canadian convert in his home, and Taylor left comforted and reinforced in the gospel.

Warren Parrish had earlier been an intimate of Joseph, his private secretary for many months, and a man for whom Smith had expressed warmth and admiration. His estrangement from Joseph and disaffection from the Church were neither sudden nor simple. In addition to his involvement with the temporal developments that influenced so many, Parrish's personal difficulties, if later accounts are to be trusted, began with moral infractions that cost him influence and position.[10]

Those faithful to Joseph Smith immediately brought charges against Warren Parrish, Parley Pratt, and Lyman Johnson of the Twelve, Frederick G. Williams of the Presidency, and David Whitmer for conduct unbecoming their high office and "injurious to the Church of God." The following day the Kirtland High Council, *[278]* presided over for the occasion by Sidney Rigdon, met to hear the cases.[11] Parrish countered by charging President Rigdon with not believing the revelations of God, "both old and new," and with denying the agency of man and his accountability to God.[12] Instead of moving against the dissenters, the council became embroiled in procedural disputes and ended in confusion. Appalled at the outcome, Wilford Woodruff filled his diary entry with shorthand and concluded to "let memory speak upon this subject."[13]

Since at least February some of the Twelve had looked towards a summer mission to England. Heber Kimball in that month discussed the project with Brigham Young and Parley Pratt, suggesting that they begin preparing themselves. Increasing difficulties in Kirtland, however, along with the continued absence of President Marsh, made the mission appear doubtful. Kimball, then, was considerably surprised when Joseph Smith told him that, according to the Spirit, the mission must go forth and that he must head it. In spite of the strife and apostasy in Kirtland—or perhaps because of it—the mission would be sent. Kimball was very anxious that Brigham accompany him, but Smith, indicating he needed Young at home, would not agree. If Kimball was to establish the Church abroad, Young was to help preserve and defend it at home.[14]

Taking the gospel abroad was a responsibility of the Twelve as a quorum, and one especially dear to Quorum President Marsh. Now it appeared that, not only would Marsh be denied the opportunity to preside, but that Kimball alone of the Twelve would be involved in the first overseas mission. In addition to Parley Pratt's disaffection, Kimball later said that at this time apostles *[279]* McLellen, Boynton, and the Johnson brothers had "rebelled against Joseph Smith, and all those who were his friends" and now ridiculed "that religion that they had formerly borne testimony of to the world."[15] Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt were also disaffected. Marsh and Patten, of course, were still in Missouri and probably William Smith as well.

Orson Hyde entered the room just as the Presidency prepared to bless Kimball for his mission. He acknowledged that he had sinned "before my God and you" and asked their forgiveness, announcing that if they thought him worthy he intended to accompany Heber to England. He, too, received the preparatory blessing. As Kimball completed his preparations to leave, Boynton told him that if he "was such a damned fool as to go at the call of the fallen prophet" he would not get a dime's help from John Boynton. Lyman Johnson also tried to dissuade Heber, but declared he would help him if Heber insisted on going. He "took his cloak off his back and put it on to mine; this was the first cloak I ever had in my life."[16]

The same day that Joseph Smith met with Elders Kimball, Hyde, and Fielding to instruct them[17] on their mission, Willard Richards arrived in Kirtland. Because he had stayed with family, he had not returned from their joint mission when Brigham Young had. According to his diary, he had months before made a covenant with Kimball to be among the first missionaries to a foreign land, but now that the mission was departing, he felt that his deep involvement in "the Temporal affairs of the Church in Co[mpany] with Bro. Brigham," would prevent his participation. With *[280]* Kimball's encouragement, the Presidency's permission and the cooperation of cousin Fitch Brigham—who would assist Brigham Young in Willard's place—Willard concluded to join the mission to England.[18] On 13 June, Brigham Young accompanied the missionaries the twelve

miles in a steamer to the Lake Erie shore and then returned to Kirtland.

The prosperity that had driven Kirtland for months disappeared in the spring and summer of 1837. Instead of animation, activity, optimism, editor Warren A. Cowdery wrote of "a sullen, we can almost say, a desponding gloom." During the boom almost every man had borrowed too much, thought Cowdery, and now at a time of slow business and tight money the loans came due. Land prices were down, food prices up, many men unemployed. "The day of speculation . . . appears to have gone by for the present, and the hour of adversity—the time of trial—has come; payments are due, money scarce, credit impaired, and confidence gone!"[19]

Many of the faithful who had tried to sustain the Safety Society notes now found they had little else, yet no one would accept them. Joseph Fielding would try to use some for passage to New York. Heber left his wife Vilate "in debt with nothing but Kirtland money to pay her way" and not knowing "whether it is ever likely to pass." Jonathan Crosby went around Kirtland with a bundle of bills and couldn't get food for his family. About this time Mary Fielding heard Joseph Smith say that between the unfaithfulness of the bank directors and the division of the people he did not know that the bank would ever rise again.[20] *[281]*

The day after he instructed the departing missionaries, Joseph fell ill. When the elders called to bid him farewell, he was unable to raise his head from his pillow. By the following day he was worse and suffering intensely. Overjoyed, his enemies used the illness against him by suggesting that his afflictions were because of transgression.[21] Writing to her sister Mercy, who had returned to Canada, Mary Fielding said that on 18 June President Smith appeared to be so far gone that president Rigdon told the Saints that without the intervention of God, it would be a wonder if he lived till night. Mary reminded her sister of Parrish's curse. That night a number of brethren—doubtless Brigham among them—fasted and prayed for Joseph nearly all night in the temple. From that time, wrote Mary, to the relief and great joy of his friends, Joseph began to recover. His message to the faithful: "he shall yet stand in his place and accomplish the work God has given him to do however much many seek his removal."[22]

On Sunday, while Joseph lay apparently dying, the Saints entered the temple for meeting to find that Elder Parley Pratt occupied the stand. In a "very plausible de[s]course" Pratt labored to show that Joseph had committed great sins and that nearly all the Church had departed from God. Pratt acknowledged two letters to Joseph, said he would retract nothing, and went on to profess himself innocent of all charges of wrongdoing. Reports circulating against him, he insisted, had been raised through envy and malice.

President Rigdon quickly dismissed the large congregation who had listened with great attention, "some pleasd but many greatly displeased."[23] *[282]*

With the prophet disabled, Sidney Rigdon for a time shouldered alone the burdens of the beleaguered Presidency. He remained steadfast in his loyalty to Joseph and, as always, impressive in his oratory.

The afternoon meeting was for Mary Fielding an unforgettable scene of confusion. Both of the Pratt brothers, Warren Parrish, and "many others disafected" were again present.[24] President Rigdon, "bowed down with the sad condition of the Church and the situation of dear Brother Joseph," stood before the Church and "in language it is impossible to . . . describe" talked about what they had witnessed and what the gospel should mean to them. He would bear no more the public insulting of Joseph, he concluded, and if anything occurred again similar to Elder Pratt's morning performance, Rigon would leave immediately. After a vote indicated many in agreement, he left the building followed by many of the Saints. Mary stayed to hear Oliver Cowdery attempt some reconciliations and then, when Orson Pratt began to speak, she and many more also left. As she passed Joseph Smith's home, she wondered if he would live until morning.[25]

A few days later Joseph Smith was enough recovered that Mary Fielding and Heber's wife Vilate ate supper with him and his family. Wrote Mary of the visit, he can now walk and converse, but "feels himself to be but a poor creature," able to perform only as God strengthens him. To him, his sickness had been a "power that had seized him" and against which he struggled. Joseph told the ladies that Parley Pratt had left his family and set out for Missouri without a parting word. Smith did not know his intentions. Brigham Young, the

senior and now the only apostle in Kirtland not [283] disaffected, had no doubt labored with Parley, though without avail. For Mary, as earlier with Young, the issues were simple: "I know not what the Lord will have to do with his Church before it will submit to be governd by the Head but I fully believe we shall have no prosperity till this is the case."[26]

By Sunday, 25 June, Joseph was still not well enough to attend meeting. Parrish, using every opportunity to spread his disaffection and defy the authorities faithful to Smith, arrived early enough to seat himself in the place usually occupied by the Prophet. Hyrum Smith conducted the meeting and spoke until tears forced him to his seat. When in control of his feelings, Hyrum again took the stand, and this time, "before he concluded he seemed to be filled with the spirit and power of God . . . when he assured us with great energy that from that hour the Church should begin to rise."[27]

It is interesting to think of Brigham Young sitting week by week in the meetings Mary Fielding described. No doubt he felt enraged at the conduct of the dissenters, yet we find no mention that he took the stand to speak out in defense of Joseph. Missionary stumping had taught him to explain his beliefs and convictions simply and forcefully, something he would do in Kirtland meetings a few weeks later when those he thought more able were not at hand. But for now his influence was less visible—perhaps in council, in some groups, one on one with individuals. Convinced that men like Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith—and Oliver Cowdery while faithful—could speak out more persuasively, he left the public defenses to them. Still, [284] this crisis weighed heavily upon him. Reminiscing about it later with several of the apostles, he confessed: "I could not sleep those days I spent many a knight all knight without sleeping at all I prayed a good deal my mind was constantly active in those days."[28]

The next week brought changes, first several meetings of peace and renewal—for a time, at least, the raging storm subsided—and then the arrival of Elders Marsh and Patten from Missouri. Sunday, 2 July, Joseph Smith, seated with his faithful parents, brothers, and uncles, was present to witness what Mary Fielding called "a quiet comfortable waiting upon god in his House." Sidney Rigdon delivered a striking discourse from Daniel 2:44 on the kingdom of God, telling the Saints with great energy that the prophesied kingdom was set up, that it would never be destroyed "nor be left to other People. no said he nor yet change Governors." Like Woodruff in the months before after moving meetings, Mary thought his remarks should have convinced the opposers that their efforts were fruitless, although she did not expect "in the least that Satan will give up the contest."[29]

If possible, the weekday meetings on Thursday were even better. Fielding wrote her sister that she witnessed remarkable demonstrations of the power and spirit of God, and that many who had long resided in the city said that "such a time of love & refreshing has never been known." Hearts were melted and brethren and sisters wept and praised God together.

> I do assure you Brother Hyrum Smiths prediction that from that hour the Lord would begin to bless his people has been verily fulfild, I believe . . . what I felt that day seemed to out [285] way [weigh] all the affliction and destress of mind I have sufferd since I came here.[30]

Elder Marsh arrived in the midst of this renewal. He assured Mary Fielding that he believed the difficulties between the Presidency and the Twelve would be shortly settled. Already they had persuaded Parley Pratt, when they had met on the road, to return with them. Mary thought Elder Marsh "a most exelent Man . . . a Man of great faith."

To be certain that they received a proper report on the perplexing problems that had beset the Twelve and the Church, Brigham Young met Thomas Marsh and David Patten as soon as they arrived. President Marsh took Young's advice and went directly to Joseph Smith. Patten, however, was apparently already too agitated to do the same. Was he insistent on first hearing firsthand the rumored charges against Joseph? Was he confused by conflicting reports and unwilling to face the Prophet until he had sorted things out for himself? Brigham Young said later that Patten first went to Warren Parrish who succeeded in swaying the apostle somewhat to his view. He "got his mind prejudiced," reported Young, "& when he went to see Joseph[,] David insulted Joseph & Joseph slaped him in the face & kicked

him out of the yard." In Young's view this sharp reaction from Joseph "done David good" and quickly brought him to his senses.[31] Patten's clash with Smith was sharp but of brief duration. If he did not immediately assist Marsh and Young in working to reconcile the other apostles, there is at least no other record that he had any further difficulty with or doubts about Joseph himself. *[286]*

With the mantle and responsibility of quorum president, and perhaps with the assistance of the impressive meetings, Thomas Marsh was more successful with the Pratt brothers than Brigham Young had been. During the next Sunday meetings, Orson Pratt was among those who made apologies for past errors. He said his actions had been founded on report and that he did not know personally anything against the Prophet. On the contrary he believed Smith to be honest and now felt in his own mind quite satisfied. Either this Sunday or the next Parley Pratt likewise made "considerable acknowledgement" of his faults, although Mary Fielding judged his confession less satisfactory.[32]

A public letter that Parley Pratt prepared a few months later suggests what he might have said at the time of his reconciliation. He freely acknowledged writing to the Presidency a letter "in great severity and harshness" in regard to some business matters, "but at the same time expressing my entire confidence in the faith of the church." He maintained that even though the letter was written "under feelings of excitement, and during the most peculiar trials," he did not believe then or at any time that the Presidency were dishonest or had wrong motives or intentions. Always, he said, he had thought them men of God. "But I considered them like other men, and as the prophets and apostles of old liable to errors, and mistakes, in things which were not inspired from heaven; but managed by their own judgement." His letter had been meant as a private admonishment, although, in retrospect, he knew that it was not written "in the spirit of meekness, to do them good, but rather to injure them and wound their feelings." He *[287]* censured himself for rashness and imprudence "and many faults which I would to God that I had avoided."[33]

According to Mary Fielding, these "ample confessions" included promises to give themselves up more fully than ever to the work of the Lord. Parley Pratt was faithful to that promise. By 5 August he was laboring on a mission in New York and from then until his death remained "in the harness," as Heber Kimball later characterized the labor of the apostles. For Kirtland Saints this was a time of comfort and consolation. The contention, it appeared, was almost over.[34]

Thomas Marsh and David Patten, apparently in company with William Smith, had traveled to Kirtland for the express purpose of meeting in conference with the Twelve.[35] Because of the disaffections and the absence from Kirtland of several members, the proposed 21 July 1837 meeting of all the Twelve could not be held. Instead, President Marsh had to content himself with investigating the condition of each of the apostles and laboring with those still disaffected.

Elder McLellen had apparently left Kirtland before this and largely disassociated himself from the Church. His later assertion that he had in August 1836 "ceased to be an active minister among that people because he verily believed that the course pursued by their Leaders would sooner or later bring inevitable destruction upon them and their followers" may be the best explanation for the failure of Kirtland or Missouri records to mention him over a period of many months, although we do find him participating in some fall 1837 church meetings in Missouri *[288]* before his formal excommunication. An 1872 letter mentions again the fall 1836 date, insisting with more details that he quit the Church because "they practiced so much wrong." Like Young and Kimball, McLellen returned from his 1836 mission to find a Kirtland changed from the one he had left and "the Presidency to a great extent absolved [involved? absorbed?] in temporal things." In his memory, what convinced him of their error was their indebtedness, partying, and intoxication as "big-merchant-men," and inevitably their support of "that swindling Kirtland banking concern, about which so many <u>lies</u> were prophesied." As he said in another letter many years later,

> I left the Church in Aug. 1836, not because I disbelieved the Book [of Mormon] or the (then) doctrines preached or held by the Church, but because the <u>Leading men</u> to a great extent left their religion and run into and after speculation, pride, and popularity! . . . I quit because I could not uphold the Presidency as men of God.[36]

When Heber Kimball wrote that the "appearance of prosperity" and expectation of material wealth stimulated many "to great exertions, so much so that even some of the Twelve went to New York and purchased to the amount of 20,000 dollars worth of goods," he was thinking primarily of Lyman E. Johnson and John F. Boynton. Later comments that their difficulties stemmed from "leaving their calling to attend to other occupations" no doubt referred to this same activity.[37] In addition to merchandising, the two apostles contracted for a tract of land, which they subdivided and sold at inflated prices. With the economic downturn, they were unable to satisfy the mortgage and lost the whole tract. *[289]*

Although in stable times they might have made a good living without materially injuring the Saints, their critics felt that they had engaged in the enterprise for the wrong motives and as a result lost the spirit of their calling.[38] And Saints who had purchased from them in good faith, many paying considerable money, lost all. One man who had paid them $1500 of an $1800 contract claimed that, after he lost everything because of their handling of the affair, they tried to attach his horses for the remaining $300. Justice of the Peace Oliver Cowdery's docket book suggests this was not an isolated example. Time after time the two apostles appear as plaintiffs initiating action for debt.[39]

President Marsh no doubt labored with the two merchant apostles, as well as with the constable Luke Johnson.[40] Residing with Joseph during his stay in Kirtland, Marsh called a meeting at Smith's home "to which several of the brethren who were disaffected were invited." Marsh "moderated" the meeting and after listening patiently to the "aggrieved parties" succeeded in affecting a reconciliation.[41]

If Marsh's success with the dissenters gave him satisfaction, he was still troubled, nonetheless. He wanted to be known as a strong and effective leader, yet so many of his quorum had been deeply involved in the rebellion. Also, one of his purposes for calling a meeting of the Twelve had been to prepare, as a quorum, for a foreign mission under his direction. Much to his consternation, that mission was already underway. Questioning his own status, wondering if the Lord could still accept the Twelve, he went to Joseph 23 July, the day before the *[290]* grand council would have been held, to discuss his troubling concerns. In response Joseph dictated as Marsh copied in his own book "the word of the Lord unto Thomas B. Marsh concerning the twelve Apostles of the Lamb."[42]

"I have heard thy prayors . . . in behalf of those thy Brotherin whoe ware chosen to bare testamona of my name," read the revelation acknowledging Marsh's concern for the Twelve. It continued with admonition, warning, and blessing specifically for President Marsh in his calling, that he should continue his residence in Missouri, that he had a role in publishing the Word to the world. If he was faithful he could continue to defend successfully the kingdom: "thy voice shall be a rebuke unto the transgressor, and at thy rebuke, let the tongue of the slanderer cease to perverseness." Marsh was told to pray for his brethren of the Twelve and admonish them "sharply," and then heard the promise: "and after their temptations & much tribulations behold I the Lord will feele after them & if they harden not their harts and stifen not their necks aganst me they shall be converted and I will heal them." In response to concerns about his own status and about some of the Twelve going abroad without him, the revelation acknowledged Marsh as the one chosen to hold the keys pertaining to the Twelve among all nations, "for on thou have I layed the burden of all the Churches, for a little season."[43] Marsh told Vilate Kimball in connection with this that "there was one thing made known to joseph while he was receiving [the revelation] which he told [Marsh] not to write." Joseph had assured him, explained Marsh, that since proclaiming the gospel *[291]* in Europe was his special responsibility, the door could not be "effectually" opened until *he* sent someone or went himself.[44]

Although the revelation was addressed to Marsh and prompted by his concerns, it also dealt with the Twelve as a quorum:

> I say unto all the twelve; arise gird up your loins take up your cross. follow me and feed my sheep; exalt not yourselves, rebel not against my servant Joseph for verily I say unto you I am with him and my hand shall be over him.

The Twelve were not to trouble themselves "concerning the affairs of my Church in this place saith the Lord," for Kirtland was not their responsibility, "but purify your harts before me,

and then go Ye into all the world and Preach my gospel." The Twelve, concluded the revelation, held in connection with the Presidency, the priesthood keys and power for their generation,

> for Verely I say unto You the Keys of the dispensation which Ye have recived have com down from the Fathers. and last of all being sent down from Heven unto you: behold how grate is your caulling.[45]

By the end of July Kirtland had quieted markedly. Joseph again sent Brigham Young east on business. At the same time, his own strength returning, he determined to visit the Saints in Canada, including Mary Fielding's sister Mercy and her husband Robert B. Thompson, later a clerk to Joseph.

On 26 July, Hyrum, Joseph, Sidney Rigdon, David Patten, Thomas Marsh—heading for Canada—and Brigham Young and a few heading east, set out. They traveled no further than Painesville before Smith was arrested for "some pretended debt." A trial was held immediately and he was released, re-arrested on another charge, again dismissed after a hearing. A third time Anson Call provided bail. A fourth time he was forced to pay a few dollars [292] on a debt. A fifth arrest was on a case "soon disposed of," and finally after a sixth arrest Joseph left his valuables as security. Because of the delays they returned home until the following evening when they again set out, this time "shunning . . . places where we suspected our enemies were laying in wait to annoy." At Ashtabula they boarded a steamer for Buffalo. "I gave the Prophet my valize for a pillow," said Brigham, "and I took his boots for mine, and we laid down on the deck of the vessel for the night." At Buffalo they parted company.[46]

In New York, Brigham transacted business, visited with Parley P. Pratt and held several meetings. Albert P. Rockwood, a cousin whom Brigham and Joseph Young had first preached to in 1836, had visited Kirtland in July and, "satisfied that Joseph was a Prophet," received baptism at Brigham's hands. Now in New York, Young ordained his cousin an elder, predicted that his family would all join the Church and a branch be raised up in his hometown of Holliston, Massachusetts, and set him apart to preside over the branch when it came to exist.[47]

With Young in the East and Joseph and other leaders in Canada, Kirtland was neither quiet nor peaceful. Soon after the departure of Joseph and his party from Kirtland a great row occurred in the temple with apostle against apostle, pistols and knives brandished, frightened women screaming and men jumping out of windows. Warren Parrish, the ringleader of the dissenting party, came into the temple on a Sunday and, with armed followers, seated himself in the east-end pulpits. In the absence of the Presidency, Father Smith took his place in the Melchizedek Priesthood pulpits [293] on the other end and conducted the meeting. When the dissenting faction attempted to disrupt the meeting and would not be quieted, Father Smith called for the police. As if at a signal, the armed men on the west end rushed from their seats with John Boynton saying "he would blow out the brains of the first man who dared to lay hands on him." Loyal police and other members of the Church succeeded in disarming them and "after a short, but terrible scene to be enacted in a Temple of God," order was restored.[48]

The following day Father Smith, William Smith, and seventeen others were arrested and bound over for trial after the dissenters charged their opponents with riot. Eliza R. Snow, called as a witness, found the trial "as amusing as the Temple scene was appalling," as a non-Mormon lawyer hired to defend the brethren mocked John Boynton, the wayward apostle. "Just look at Mr. Boynton, see how changed! Before he apostatized, we used to see him in Painesville—he then was humble, and seemed truly a follower of the meek and lowly Jesus," but now we see him puffed up with pride, "more like a celestial dandy than a Saint." The court acquitted the brethren.[49]

Brigham Young arrived home on 19 August. Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon did not get back from Canada until the weekend of Sunday, 27 August, and then not without difficulty. Within four miles of Kirtland they were surrounded, taken to Painesville, and secured in a tavern until a supposed trial could be arranged. But, as Mary wrote to her sister in Canada,

> to the disappointment of the wretches the Housekeeper was a Member of the Church who assisted our beloved Brethren in making their escape, but as Bro J[oseph] S[mith] says not by [294] a Basket let down through a Window but by the Kitchen

> door. no doubt the hand of the Lord was in it or it could not have been effected.[50]

But escaping from the tavern was only half the battle. The night was wet and dark and they had to avoid the roads to elude their pursuers. Forewarned by the lighted torches of their pursuers, they were able to lay down in a swamp or by an old log with men sometimes so nearby that Joseph had to entreat the exhausted Sidney Rigdon to breathe more softly if he intended to escape. Greatly fatigued, they arrived home at 5:00 A.M.[51]

Here it was late August and Smith had not yet acted decisively against any of his accusers. The open rebellion and disloyalty of some would seem to have justified firm action months before, as early as February and May. In these and later difficulties Smith demonstrated a tendency to forgive at the first intimation of repentance. If that was one reason for delay, the method bore fruit: the events of late June and early July clearly strengthened some who wavered and might have been lost had Joseph earlier acted precipitously. Because of his patience and capacity to forgive, men like Parley Pratt, Orson Hyde, and Orson Pratt were back in their quorum. It is also possible that Smith had avoided a decisive move until all had a chance to demonstrate their propensities, and until he was certain he had the strength and unity among the faithful to prevail. In retrospect eighteen months later he suggested still another reason for delay—that he had stayed his hand for fear of the consequences of reproving firmly as soon as he detected perfidy.[52] At any rate, whatever his reasons for previous delay, when Joseph Smith returned this time *[295]* to find Kirtland once again in turmoil, he determined to remove from positions of influence those who had openly rebelled and appointed for the Sunday following a conference to reorganize the Church.[53]

Without being asked, Brigham Young understood what had to be done. Early in the morning before the conference, he went to those whose votes could be relied on and asked them to occupy the stand and prominent seats.[54] Business of the conference began at 9:00 A.M. with those assembled first sustaining the Presidency: Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams[55] as "the three first presidents of the church" and Oliver Cowdery,[56] Joseph Smith, Sr., Hyrum Smith and John Smith as "assistant counselors" in the Presidency. These seven, said Smith, were to be considered "the heads of the Church." After voting on the Kirtland bishopric, the Church voted separately on each of the Twelve. The Saints rejected Luke and Lyman Johnson and John F. Boynton, although they gave the men an opportunity "of making their confession if they had any to make."[57]

Elder Boynton, the only one of the three present, gave a partial confession of error, but devoted most of his comments to self-justification. Brigham Young strongly protested Boynton's conduct and "in a plain and energetick manner" stated why he could not receive Boynton into fellowship "untill a hearty repentance was manifested."[58] Thomas Marsh fully agreed with Brigham's testimony and similarly withdrew his fellowship. President Rigdon then spoke at length about the cause of the difficulties of Elders Boynton and Johnson, cautioning all the priesthood not to leave their *[296]* calling "to persue any ocupation derogatory to that calling," or, to save them, the Lord would chasten them. Boynton spoke again, still attributing his difficulties to the failure of the bank and insisting that he understood it had been instituted "by the will & revilations of God, & he had been told that it would never fail let men do what they pleased." Joseph Smith denied that he had said or authorized anyone to say any such thing, and insisted that he had always said it could not stand unless righteously conducted.[59] The Church then voted their dissatisfaction with Elder Boynton's confession.

With Brigham Young's assistance, the conference had succeeded in disfellowshipping those of the Twelve not in harmony with the Prophet.[60] One week later President Rigdon commented on the conjectures of some that he and President Smith had rigged the conference by conspiring together to remove certain people from office or use their influence to do so. The conjectures were wrong, he insisted, "for not one word has passed between them on the subject." Nor was a word needed.[61]

After the conference, Thomas Marsh and Hyrum Smith prepared to leave for Missouri. With them they carried the minutes of the conference, Joseph Smith's letter of greeting to the Missouri Saints, and other important notices. No doubt they had a copy of a revelation, bearing the same date as Smith's letter, chastising two of

the Missouri church leaders: "John Whitmer and William W. Phelps have done those things which are not pleasing in my sight, therefore if they repent not they shall be removed out of their places."[62] And apparently Joseph prepared at this same time an announcement warning the Church against the disaffection of the [297] Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. David Whitmer and others, read the notice, "have been in transgression, but we hope that they may be humble and ere long make satisfaction to the Church, otherwise they cannot retain their standing." The notice likewise indicated that Oliver Cowdery had been in transgression, "but as he is now chosen as one of the presidents or counselors, I trust he will yet humble himself and magnify his calling"; if not, he too would be removed. Cowdery, by this time, may have left Kirtland to live in Missouri; because he was absent, later in the month he was replaced as church recorder.[63]

Efforts to labor with the wayward apostles and other brethren did not end with the 3 September meeting that disfellowshipped them. Both Thomas Marsh and Brigham Young met with the apostles during the week and when the Saints convened again on Sunday, 10 September the three who had been disfellowshipped the week before were invited to speak. After each made confession, the Church voted that they be "received into the fellowship of the Saints and retain their office of Apostleship." Joseph Smith then read the congregation a letter from Thomas Marsh to the effect that before he left for Missouri the three had satisfied him; "Elder Young also stated the same to the congregation."[64] The three repentant apostles then administered the Lord's Supper to the congregation. After this last week of meetings and reconciliation, it was President Marsh's understanding that the difficulties that had existed when he arrived in Kirtland in late June were "all apparently settled." Even Warren Parrish had [298] "affected" repentance and satisfaction with Joseph Smith and the Church.[65]

A conference on 17 September discussed some of the temporal concerns of the Church and resulted in a general circular from the bishop of Kirtland to the Saints, issued the following day:

> Whatever is glorious, whatever is desireable, whatever pertains to salvation, either temporal or spiritual, our hopes, our expectations, our glory, and our reward, all depend on our building up Zion according to the testimony of the Prophets. . . .
>
> The time is not far distant when some of those who now deride and mock the Saints for devoting their all to build up the Zion of God, will bless their name for having provided a city of refuge for them and their children.[66]

To further emphasize the Church's unfaltering commitment to Zion building, Joseph talked that evening to a conference of elders about the gathering, emphasizing that more places of gathering must be appointed and more missionary exertions undertaken to bring in a gathered people. One hundred and nine elders accepted calls to preach and Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon accepted the assignment of laying out additional gathering places in Missouri.[67] Confidence returning, the elders prepared to resume their labors. Ten days later, accompanied by William Smith, bishop's counselor Vinson Knight and some others, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon departed for Far West.[68]

Something of the mood and expectation of Joseph and Sidney Rigdon at the eve of their departure to Missouri has been preserved in a letter from Mary Fielding to her sister Mercy. Joseph had visited Sister Fielding shortly before leaving and it was probably then that she learned that, after settling in order the Missouri church, they intended to select locations for [299] eleven new stakes of Zion: "but this is not spoaken of in publick for reasons you will be much aware of If this were generally known it would make their way much more dificult."[69] Meeting the last Sunday before the Presidency departed proved especially moving. President Rigdon discoursed about the enlargement and future glory of Zion. He concluded by telling the people what *they* must do and what their privileges and future blessings would be if they did, to which "all the Congregation in one Simultainous voice responded with a loud Amen it was the opinion of most that they never heard the like before." Joseph Smith poured out his blessings on the congregation and wept openly at this evidence of their unity.[70] If the battle that had raged for months within the Church was over directions and over control of the program of the Church, the faithful in Kirtland in September knew who had won. Zion would be built. Zion must be built.

In Far West, Missouri, on 7 November, Joseph Smith held a conference to sustain the authority

of the Church and to reorganize the Missouri church leadership, a parallel of the 3 September conference in Kirtland. Although Thomas Marsh and several others objected to sustaining Frederick G. Williams, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps, each was eventually sustained except Williams. Most of the concern about President Williams stemmed from sentiments (not enumerated in the minutes) expressed in a letter he had written that apparently stirred up feeling in Missouri over actions in Kirtland. The conference rejected him and sustained Hyrum Smith in his place in the First Presidency.[71] David Whitmer was sustained "by almost an unanimous vote" as president of the *[300]* Church in Missouri only after considerable discussion with several speaking out strongly in his favor. For the first time in more than a year, apostle William E. McLellen suddenly reappeared in an official record because he spoke for Whitmer. At Whitmer's request McLellen spoke again and his remarks "gave general satisfaction."[72] Joseph Smith also spoke—whether for or against is not indicated. All of the Twelve were unanimously sustained during the meeting, indicating that the Presidency not only accepted McLellen but had accepted the confessions and repentance of the three Kirtland apostles.[73]

Three days later a general meeting of all Missouri priesthood brethren dealt with "laying off cities" and "consecrating lands for public purposes"—the foundations for the temporal enlargement of Zion. It was voted that the gathering to Far West continue and that other places for gathering and settlement be laid out. In effect, the Missouri Church voted to sustain the Prophet's program as the Kirtland Saints had done in September. As part of a committee, Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer set out to locate additional lands in upper Missouri. Soon after this, Joseph and his party departed for Ohio, a departure probably hastened by the news of the death of Hyrum's wife Jerusha Barden in Kirtland.[74]

Joseph felt pleased, overall, with his visit to Missouri. He reported in Kirtland that they had found the Missouri Church in as prosperous a condition as they could have expected. While there the high council had convened and settled many difficulties. It is also clear that Smith met privately with Oliver Cowdery in an *[301]* effort to mend their growing breach. Cowdery's difficulties with the Prophet involved not only differences over the temporal program, but also personal differences with Joseph. Each thinking the other had acknowledged errors, they parted in Missouri somewhat reconciled. So pleased was Joseph with the location and the society of Far West—compared with a Kirtland of lukewarm Saints surrounded by less-than-warm neighbors—that he and Elder Rigdon decided to locate their families there "as soon as circumstances will admit."[75]

Kirtland did, indeed, enjoy a period of peace following the September reconciliations. Mary Fielding's early October letter to her sister noted that nothing "very particular" had occurred there since her last letter—nothing, at any rate, as dramatic as the scenes that had filled her pages in the summer. Had she written another letter a few weeks later she would have had plenty to report, for the lull was only temporary and her own forebodings proved only too true.[76] The details of this last storm—especially why it swirled around Brigham Young with such intensity—seem presently unrecoverable. While so many church officials were absent in Missouri, Young was one of perhaps three men of high position thoroughly loyal to Joseph and still in Kirtland.[77] That, along with Young's increasingly vigorous and outspoken defense of Joseph, accounts for his central role when once again dissent violently erupted.

There is no question that Young's emotions were full during this period, and that those emotions were not predominantly emotions of calm and peace. A brief statement in his history *[302]* captures something of this intensity: "When I saw a man stand in the path before the Prophet to dictate him, I felt like hurling him out of the way and branding him a fool."[78] This, essentially, is what he did in the oft-quoted story of catching a man loudly denouncing Joseph through the Kirtland streets after midnight one night—a story he included in his history. Cowhide in hand, Young confronted the man, jerked him round and warned him that if he did not stop and let the people sleep, he would cowhide him on the spot. They had the Lord's prophet right there and did not need the devil's prophet yelling in the streets, noted Young.[79] Another account has also survived involving Young and a whip quelling a street disturbance.[80] No doubt such characteristic vigor in

defense of the Prophet was one reason that Young became a prime target and opponent of Kirtland apostates in the weeks ahead.

It is likely that Kirtland remained generally peaceful through October. The high council, often presided over by Joseph Smith, Sr., met regularly through the month and apparently had nothing more serious to deal with than disfellowshipping a group of Saints who had involved themselves in dances "with the world," i.e. with non-Mormons.[81] In October, Kirtland also received the first cheering news from England as letters from Apostles Kimball and Hyde recounted the early success of missionary labors in that country.[82] Sometime in November, however, the Kirtland calm was swept away by still another wave of strife and contention. As Thomas Marsh reported it the next spring after learning about it from others, "it seems that Parrish, J. F. Boynton, Luke Johnson, *[303]* Joseph Coe, and some others, united together for the overthrow of the church."[83] Perhaps the high council action of 30 November was related to this new dissent; Roger Orton, a long-time dissenter who did not appear for trial, was cut off "for abusing Elder Brigham Young."[84] Along with dissent, this time there were also increasing threats of violence, the intensity of which might be gauged from the brawl in the temple the August before.

About 10 December, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon returned from Missouri, and soon after the dissenting band "openly, and publicly, renounced the church of Christ . . . and claimed themselves to be the old standard." Calling themselves simply the Church of Christ, as all Mormons had done earlier, they "set at naught Br. Joseph, and the whole church," whom they denounced as heretics who had strayed from the faith.[85] The stage was set for a raging battle between the Saints and the Old Standards or, as they called each other, the Lick Skillets and the Apostates. Some thirty leading men of Kirtland, some of considerable talent—"all the talented men among the Elders were ready to join them," they boasted to George A. Smith a few months later—joined under Parrish's banner of the Old Standard, including the apostate apostles and Oliver Cowdery's brother Warren who until October had been editor of the church periodical.[86] Working openly against Joseph, Brigham, and all the faithful, they also corresponded privately with the Whitmers, Oliver Cowdery, President Williams and William McLellen in Missouri, men who had not yet made public their own rebellion. *[304]*

This time Joseph Smith must have moved immediately to cut off from the Church all those who rebelled. Less than three weeks after his return to Kirtland John Smith reported in a letter to his son George A. that in late December some "28 persons were upon mature discussion, cut off from the Church" making "between forty and fifty" dissenters removed in the "high and mighty pruning." No doubt Brigham Young, who had been present throughout the fall, played an important role in testifying against many who were then cut off. If, in addition, he defended Joseph's person and office as vigorously as the several reminiscences suggest, it is not difficult to understand the intensity of feeling his actions may have engendered among the dissenters. Before the month was out, Young's life was sought. From mid-December threats of violence increased and by January actual violence occurred. In mid-January Hepzebah Richards wrote to her brother Willard that the dissenters "are very violent in their opposition to the President and all who uphold him." She wrote of the new organization they had formed and their determination to hold their next meeting in the temple "if it is by the shedding of blood."[87]

On 12 January 1838, Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith fled Kirtland under cover of darkness. Luke Johnson, the "unantagonistic apostate" who helped in their escape, later told about the circumstances that led to their flight. Lawsuits, both "vexatious" and "pretended" as Joseph later called them, and justified suits over the tangled financial affairs of Kirtland, threatened both Smith's freedom and his ability to arrange his affairs honorably, as he intended.[88] In addition, threats against their lives led *[305]* Rigdon and Smith to fear destruction if they were captured by their enemies either by mob action or "under the color of legal process." Although armed men pursued them for more than two hundred miles through the cold and snows of winter, with the help of Constable Johnson they escaped.[89]

Rigdon and Smith were not the first to flee Kirtland. Three weeks earlier Brigham Young had

hastily departed. The specific circumstances that forced his action are not known, but there can be no doubt that he was convinced that his life was in immediate danger. "I had to leave [Ohio] to save my life," he stated later: "I was going to the west where Joseph told me to go." Desirous that the reason for the anger against him be understood, he further explained in his history:

> On the morning of December 22, I left Kirtland in consequence of the fury of the mob, and the spirit that prevailed in the apostates, who had threatened to destroy me because I would proclaim, publicly and privately, that I knew by the power of the Holy Ghost, that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of the Most High God, and had not transgressed and fallen as apostates declared.[90]

Although not fainthearted or easily intimidated, Young fled only four days after his wife Mary Ann give birth to twins, leaving her and his five children exposed to the anger of those who sought him. In his absence, the burden of the children and the continual harassment of her family by dissidents proved too much for the ailing Mary Ann. Her frail health was broken by the ordeal and she did not recover for many months.[91]

For Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, and others faithful to Joseph Smith, Kirtland was ever after not only a place of sorrowful scenes and unpleasant memories but, as Mary Fielding had described *[306]* it, "a place where Satan has his seat and is frequently stirring up . . . the people."[92] When Brigham passed through Kirtland in years ahead it was always with the gloomy feelings suggested by that description. Joseph Smith's letters indicate similar feelings. Several years later, when it became Young's responsibility to decide what to do with the Kirtland Temple and the faithful Saints still there, he wrote that every pure man, woman and child should depart, "leaving Kirtland to the owls & bats for a season."[93] *[307]*

Notes

1. Mary Fielding arrived in Kirtland at the beginning of this period about the time that Wilford Woodruff departed. Almost immediately she commenced a series of letters to her sister that covers the next several months. The combination of Woodruff and Fielding provides an overview of much of the year.

2. Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten to Parley P. Pratt, 10 May 1837, Joseph Smith letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church Archives.

3. Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten to Parley P. Pratt, 10 May 1837, Joseph Smith letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. Thinking that Pratt was in Canada, Marsh wrote that they would inform the eight of the Twelve in Kirtland about the meeting. Apparently there were only seven of the Twelve in Kirtland at that time. In *Elders Journal* 1 (July 1838):36, Marsh indicated that William Smith traveled to Kirtland with him and Patten in June of 1837, so he was not in Kirtland. The supposed eight, therefore, would have to include William E. McLellen, who Marsh perhaps assumed to be in Kirtland when he was not.

4. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, ed. Parley P. Pratt, Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1966), p. 168.

5. Warren Parrish obtained a copy of Pratt's letter and had it published by *Zion's Watchman*, 24 March 1838; the note by Johnson and Pratt is in the Newell K. Whitney Collection, Brigham Young University; both are cited by Marvin S. Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Causes of Kirtland Dissent," *Church History* 49 (September 1980):292–93.

6. From Richard Livesey, *An Exposure of Mormons, Being a Statement of Facts Relative to the Self Styled LDS and the Origin of the Book of Mormon* (Preston, England: J. Livesey, 1838), p. 9 as quoted by Max H. Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland: A Study of the Nature and Causes of External and Internal Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838* (Salt Lake City: Max H. Parkin, 1966), p. 288. This is a privately printed copy of Parkin's master's thesis. Livesey reprinted the *Zion's Watchman* copy from Warren Parrish, cited above. In 1838 Parley insisted this was not a true copy of his original letter. As Parkin says, "Precisely what part was altered and in what manner is not made clear, for Parley candidly admitted that he had written the letter in 'great severity and harshness, censuring them both.'" See *Elder's Journal* 1 (August 1838):50.

7. Joseph Fielding Diary, June 1837, typescript, Church Archives.

8. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 25 June 1837, Church Archives.

9. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 28 May 1837, in Dean C. Jessee, "The Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," *Brigham Young University Studies* 12 (Summer 1972):397–98; B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor, Third President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1963), pp. 39–41. Woodruff does not name Parrish but wrote of a man "once a friend, (not now)." Although Roberts said Taylor's visit was in March, the account he quoted is clearly a less precise reminiscence and not a diary entry. As far as is known, neither Pratt nor Parrish were openly disaffected until May, suggesting that Taylor's visit was later in the spring. In fact, it seems likely that he traveled with Robert B. Thompson, the Fieldings, and others of his neighbors who arrived in late May.

10. See Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland*, p. 168. For the question of embezzled funds, see pp. 304–5. A few days after the confrontation in the temple, Parrish testified against Joseph Smith in the trial where Smith was acquitted of the charge of hiring men to kill Grandison Newell. See Wilford Woodruff Diary, 30 May 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," pp. 398–99 and a distorted but more full account in *Elders Journal* 1 (August 1838):57–58.

11. Minutes, 29 May 1837, Kirtland Council Record, Church Archives. For Frederick G. Williams's associations with the bank that led to difficulty with Smith, see Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland*, pp. 304–6.

12. Newell K. Whitney papers, Brigham Young University, as cited in Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom," p. 295. These charges were no doubt related to the dissenters' view that the Presidency had claimed to dictate to men broadly and that they were accountable not to men but to God alone.

13. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 29 May 1837, in Jessee, "Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," p. 399. Two days later Woodruff left for missionary labors elsewhere, ending his Kirtland diary. Part of the procedural problems related to the scriptural prescription for trying a member of the Presidency. See Doctrine and Covenants, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1923), Section 107:81–83.

14. Heber Kimball's printed account of his call and his mission can be found in Heber C. Kimball, *President Heber C. Kimball's Journal, Seventh Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882). Much of this is a reprint of Robert B. Thompson's 1840 Nauvoo edition. In addition, information about the call appears in "Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball," *Deseret News*, 31 March–28 April 1858, p. 33 and in "History of Heber Chase Kimball by his own Dictation," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives. This is drawn from all. See also "History of Brigham Young." *Deseret News*, 27 January–24 March 1858, p. 386; and Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), 2:489.

15. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

16. "History of Heber Chase Kimball," p. 33.

17. They were instructed to preach only the first principles and avoid discussion of the gathering or other special teachings until after the work had taken root. *History of the Church,* 2:492.

18. Willard Richards Diary, 11 June 1837, Willard Richards Papers, Church Archives; "History of Willard Richards," *Deseret News*, 23–30 June 1858, p. 73. For Kimball's version of the covenant see "History of Heber Chase Kimball," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

19. *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (June 1837):520–22; see also 3 (July 1837):536. The speculation Cowdery specifically referred to was local speculation in real estate. Caroline Barnes Crosby in her Autobiography, Church Archives, wrote that most would hardly hire a Mormon. Mary Fielding wrote that "Plenty of men out of employ here even in the summer and how it will be in the winter I cannot tell," and in mid-June that "times are getting worse here, as might be expected." See Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, 1 September and ca. 15 June 1837, Church Archives.

20. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 15 June 1837 and 8 July 1837, Church Archives. Jonathan Crosby Autobiography, Church Archives.

21. *History of the Church,* 2:493.

22. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 15 June 1837, Church Archives.

23. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 15 June 1837, Church Archives.

24. Parley Pratt's disaffection at this time is mentioned in his autobiography and is generally well known; the briefer and less bitter disaffection of Orson Pratt is not. Mary Fielding alluded to Orson's troubles several times. Compare this with John Taylor's later statement that "Orson Pratt had partaken more or less of that spirit" that affected Parley. G. Homer Durham, ed., *The Gospel Kingdom; Selections from the Writings and Discourses of John Taylor, Third president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1944), p. 189.

25. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 15 June 1837, Church Archives.

26. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 15 June 1837, Church Archives.

27. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 15 June 1837, Church Archives.

28. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 25 June 1857, Wilford Woodruff Papers, Church Archives.

29. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, 8 July 1837, Church Archives.

30. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, 8 July 1837, Church Archives.

31. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 25 June 1857, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

32. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, 8 July 1837, Church Archives.

33. *Elders Journal* 1 (August 1838):50.

34. See letter from Pratt from New York in *Elders Journal* 1 October 1838):8; and Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, 8 July 1837, Church Archives.

35. See Marsh's account in *Elders Journal* 1 (July 1838):36.

36 *Ensign of Liberty* 1 (March 1847):9; William E. McLellen to Joseph Smith III, July 1872, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri; William E. McLellen to J. T. Cobb, 14 August 1880, New York Public Library, New York City, as published by Larry C. Porter, *BYU Studies* 10 (Summer 1970):485–87. According to the "History of William E. McLellen," *Deseret News*, 12 May 1858, p. 49, when McLellen was excommunicated 11 May 1838 he said he "believed the Presidency had got out of the way" because of what he had heard, "not from any thing he had seen himself." McLellen retained his faith in the Book of Mormon and until his death looked to David Whitmer, a man he felt never strayed from the pure truths of early Mormonism and who held the keys, to set in order the Church of Christ.

37. *History of the Church,* 2:509, 3 September 1837.

38. Joseph Smith, too, was criticized for selling lots for inflated prices. For Smith's defenders, the crucial difference was one of motive. The two apostles, it would seem, had engaged in land sales for personal gain. While the dissidents would admit no difference, the faithful saw Smith's involvement as a means to raise funds for the essential work of the Church and if the price included a sizeable profit, it would be viewed as a "tax" or tithe for the kingdom. This was a practice Smith continued later, explicitly justifying it in Nauvoo on that ground. To newly arrived emigrants in 1843 he openly explained that he charged more per acre than he paid. After mentioning some of the uses for the money he concluded, "those who purchase church lands & pay for it, this shall be their sacrifice." Joseph Smith Diary, 13 April 1843, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives.

39. Ira Ames as quoted in Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland*, p. 286; see p. 291 for their merchandising. See Oliver Cowdery's Docket, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, microfilm in Church Archives.

40. Luke Johnson, who unlike Boynton and his brother, eventually rejoined the Church, remains something of a mystery. Eliza R. Snow referred to him as "the unantagonistic apostate," for after he left the Church he did not rail

against his former brethren and cause them difficulties as did most of the others. In fact, he used his constableship to aid Joseph Smith and Joseph Smith, Sr., against their enemies. See Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Company, 1884), pp. 23–24. See also "History of Luke Johnson (By Himself)" *Deseret News,* 19–26 May 1858, p. 57. Apparently he simply lost his faith in the divine calling of Joseph Smith while retaining his friendship and respect for the leaders and many of the people. In writing his own history later, Johnson said merely that he had "partaken of the spirit of speculation" possessed by many until his mind became darkened and he lost the Spirit of God and neglected his duty. "History of Luke Johnson," p. 57. For his return to the Church see Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, 10 March 1846, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

41. "History of Thomas Baldwin Marsh (Written by himself in Great Salt Lake City, November, 1857)," *Deseret News*, 24 March 1858. Thomas Marsh was often maligned in later years and seldom credited for his efforts or achievements. There is every indication that in this crisis he labored faithfully and with generally good effect to defend Smith and the Church and to discharge his responsibilities as president of the Twelve. John Taylor, who met Marsh in Canada in August, acknowledged later that some people said he was "a fool, but I did not so understand it." Woodruff agreed with Taylor's assessment that at this time "he was a pretty fair average man in regard to intelligence, speech, good, sound reason, etc." Durham, ed., *Gospel Kingdom*, p. 187. Brigham Young, a perceptive judge of men, probably contributed to the negative image—perhaps with memory distorted by later feelings—when he said "I considered Brother Marsh a great man, but as soon as I became acquainted with him [i.e. 1834 to 1836] I saw that the weakness of the flesh was visibly manifest in him" and he did not demonstrate constancy or good understanding. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 September 1847, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1967), 5:212, hereafter also cited *JD*. The flighty, emotional, almost whining expression in parts of Marsh's 10 May 1837 letter to Parley Pratt may be the kind of thing Brigham Young was talking about.

42. The version used here is from the diary of Brigham Young as he copied it from Marsh's book. Vilate Kimball also "copyed it from Dr. Marshs book as he wrote it from Joseph's mouth." That copy was mailed by Vilate in Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 6 September 1837, photocopy, Kimball Family Papers, Church Archives, from which Kimball recopied it into his own diary. Today it is Doctrine and Covenants, Section 112.

43. Brigham Young Diary, 23 July 1837, Brigham Young Papers.

44. Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 6 September 1837 and Heber Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 12 November 1837, photocopies, Kimball Family Papers. After he had faithfully answered Smith's call, Kimball was irritated that Marsh should suggest to Vilate that their sacrifice would not be effective. Perhaps he had also experienced earlier Marsh's tendency to claim for himself an honor that belonged to all the Quorum. Heber wrote Vilate that, just between the two of them, Marsh's claims did not concern him except that he resented any effort "to share in the honor and praise of well doing without . . . labouring to obtain it lawfully." As for their mission, "Still Brother joseph sed it was all right to prepare the way for brother Marsh. as john was the fore Runner of Christ . . . so we have come to prepare the way before Brother Thomas. And we have baptised a good lot of them. he may say all that he can it dont make it out that he came first to bring the gospell to the Land of Europe." They had the Prophet's blessings and the Lord's blessings, and their success further confirmed the rightness of their mission, thought Kimball.

45. Brigham Young Diary, 23 July 1837, Brigham Young Papers.

46. See accounts in Young, "History of Brigham Young," p. 386; and *History of the Church,* 2:502. The *History of the Church* account is not based on a contemporary diary and is apparently in error in dating the first departure as the twenty-seventh. Brigham Young's diary suggests that the "false start" was on the twenty-sixth, after which they returned to Kirtland until the evening of the twenty-seventh, when they again set out for the lake, this time by an alternate route.

47. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386.

48. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 1 September 1837 and Snow, *Lorenzo Snow*, pp. 20–21. "History of the life of Oliver B. Huntington Written by Himself, 1878–1900," typescript, Church Archives, p. 28, describes the same event. There is also an account in Lucy Mack Smith's *History of Joseph Smith by his Mother*, ed. Preston Nibley (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wall, Inc., 1945), p. 241, which is probably describing the same event, although a few differences in the context she suggests leave a slight possibility that she is describing a similar occurrence.

49. Eliza R. Snow, *Lorenzo Snow*, pp. 21–22. Some of Snow's details are confirmed by information from a related court action recorded in the Oliver Cowdery Docket, Huntington Library, microfilm, Church Archives, p. 348. Snow says that two lawyers defended the case. Benjamin Bissell, one of them, was not satisfied that he had been paid according to agreement and later entered an action against those he had successfully defended "at Kirtland for riot." The docket lists two more names than the sixteen plus Father Smith noted by Snow, but otherwise they agree. Because Bissell would not have sued for the remaining amount of his bill without working with his clients, who had paid some and denied the rest, it seems likely that the riot and defense occurred several weeks, if not months, before the January 1838 docket entries. Further, it is known that William Smith did not arrive in Kirtland until late June and that he was absent from Kirtland with others from 27 September to 10 October. Since Hyrum, Joseph, Sidney, and Brigham are notably absent from the nineteen brethren charged (although Samuel and Don Carlos and Uncles John and Asahel Smith are all there), and since those men were only absent from Kirtland at the same time between 27 July and 19 August out of all the months when the event might have occurred, it seems certain that this is the "terrible stir with Wm Parish" in August that Mary Fielding wrote about.

50. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 30 August 1837, Church Archives. George Q. Cannon, *The Life of Joseph Smith, The Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888), pp. 216–18, recounts the same story, although with additional details. The main discrepancy between the two versions is Cannon's assertion that Smith and Rigdon were eating supper at the home of Attorney Bissell when he was surrounded, and it was Bissell who aided their escape.

51. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 30 August 1837, Church Archives.

52. Joseph Smith to Edward Partridge and the Church [25 March 1839], in *Times and Seasons* 1 (July 1840):133.

"Your humble servants intend from henceforth," wrote Smith in this letter from Liberty Jail, "to disapprobate everything that is not in accordance with the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ . . . they will not hold their peace as in times past, when they see iniquity beginning to rear its head, for fear of traitors, or the consequences that shall follow, from reproving those who creep in unawares. . . ." Smith here referred specifically to the machinations of Sampson Avard in Missouri, summer 1838, but seemed to apply it more broadly as well.

53. "History of Brigham Young," p. 393.

54. "History of Brigham Young," p. 393.

55. At least as early as 29 May 1837 President Williams had been associated with some of the dissenters over issues of the Safety Society. See *History of the Church,* 2:484–86 and Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, pp. 240–41. According to Ebenezer Robinson, *The Return* 1 (August 1889):116, he was among those who objected to Smith's course in the winter and spring of 1837; Robinson left Kirtland in mid-April. The original minutes group Rigdon and Williams "for councillors to Pres. Smith . . . carried by a unanimous vote." The version in *Millennial Star* 16 (January 1854):56, an elaboration of the original and not an independent version, says "unanimously in the affirmative, except for F. G. Williams, which was not carried." Interestingly, the reprinting of this by B. H. Roberts in *History of the Church,* 2:509 adds in reference to Williams only one word: "which was not carried unanimously" emphasis added. "History of Brigham Young," p. 393, complicates the matter further by saying that President Williams was not present so the matter "was laid over."

56. There is some ambiguity about Cowdery's position at this time. Apparently he was ordained as associate president, holding all the keys and subordinate to no one but Joseph himself, in December of 1834. See *History of the Church,* 2:176 and Robert G. Mouritsen, "The Office of Associate President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), pp. 90–92. A revelation of 19 January 1841 seems to recognize that unique office and ordination when it is given to Hyrum Smith because of Cowdery's unfaithfulness. See Doctrine and Covenants, Section 124:95. Yet here that earlier ordination is ignored and he is given a lower station. To some extent, at least, Joseph was aware by this point of the problems that would lead Cowdery out of the Church the following spring. Could this office be an effort to "save" him, a preliminary, if he was faithful, to being sustained publicly in the other office? See *History of the Church,* 2:511.

57. Minutes, 3 September 1837, Kirtland Council Record Book, Church Archives; see also *History of the Church,* 2:509–10.

58. Minutes, 3 September 1837, Kirtland Council Record Book, Church Archives.

59. Boynton later reported that Joseph had said "that the audible voice of God instructed him to establish a Banking Anti-Banking institution, which like Aaron's rod should swallow up all other banks . . . and grow and flourish and spread from the rivers of the ends of the earth and survive when all others should be laid in ruins." *Painesville Republican* 15 (February 1838) as quoted in Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom," p. 290. Compare this with Wilford Woodruff Diary, 6 January 1836, discussed on pp. 248–49 above. Apparently neither Boynton nor Lyman Johnson helped sustain the bank. Neither demonstrated enough confidence in the institution to subscribe to its stock. See list of subscribers in Marvin S. Hill et al., "The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics," *BYU Studies* 17 (Summer 1977):466–80.

60. "History of Brigham Young," p. 393. The Kirtland High Council was also reorganized at this conference and subsequently met for the first time 9 September 1837. See *History of the Church,* 2:511.

61. *History of the Church,* 2:512. Sustaining of officers by the "common consent" of the Church was not a mere formality. Had the faithful not been present or had Joseph Smith called for the vote during the height of the earlier confusion and disillusionment, the possibility existed of his rejection by the Church. Although the Presidency may hold priesthood keys independent of the Church and have a right to "officiate in all the offices in the church," to be a presiding quorum *over* the Church, they must have those willing to follow and uphold them "by the confidence, faith, and prayer of the church." Doctrine and Covenants, Section 107:9, 22; (28 March 1835).

62. See Joseph Smith to John Corrill and the Brethren in Zion, 4 September 1837, Joseph Smith Papers; also *History of the Church,* 2:508–11.

63. *History of the Church,* 2:511 and 2:513.

64. Minutes, 10 September 1837, Kirtland Record Book, Church Archives.

65. *Elders Journal* 1 (July 1838):36.

66. *History of the Church,* 2:515–18.

67. *History of the Church,* 2:513–14.

68. See *Elders Journal* 1 (November 1837):27–28 for a report of their journey.

69. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, 7 October 1837, Church Archives.

70. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, 7 October 1837, Church Archives.

71. Apparently this action effectively removed Williams from his office and hereafter Hyrum Smith appears as a member of the First Presidency until adjustments were made in 1841. The argument that his acting for the Missouri presidency in December 1837 indicates that Williams was "still a member of the Church in good standing," is not persuasive since those who appointed him were themselves disaffected and outside the Church within a few months. See Frederick G. Williams (III), "Frederick Granger Williams of the First Presidency of the Church," *BYU Studies* 12 (Spring 1972):257. No formal action against his membership has been found, although we know that he associated closely with the apostates for nearly the first half of 1838 but was rebaptized 5 August 1838.

72. We noted that McLellen afterward always insisted he had left the Church in the fall of 1836. While it may be that his disillusionment with Joseph Smith dated from then, and he thereafter had little to do with the Church or his office, clearly Whitmer would not have invited McLellen to speak in his behalf if he were already thought of as an apostate himself.

73. Minutes, 7 November 1837, *History of the Church,* 2:522–24 from "The Conference Minutes, and Record Book, of Christ's Church of Latter Day Saints," popularly known and hereafter cited as "Far West Record."

74. Minutes, 10 November 1837, *History of the Church,* 2:524–25; and *Elders Journal* 1 (November 1837): 28. Soon after his return to Kirtland, Hyrum Smith responded to Joseph Smith's urgings and married Mary Fielding.

75. *Elders Journal* 1 (November 1837):28.

76. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, 7 October 1837, Church Archives.

77. Joseph's father, Joseph Smith, Sr., and uncle John Smith, sustained in September as counselors in the Presidency, were the other two.

78. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386.

79. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386. See also several versions of this story told by George A. Smith and cited by A. J. Simmonds in his "John Noah and the Hulets: A Study in Charisma in the Early Church," presented at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the Mormon History Association. While it might be helpful to know when this occurred, Simmonds' dating in 1836 based on the "History of Brigham Young" does not hold up; Young's history here grouped things for literary purpose and the order is not strictly chronological.

80. *The Return* 1 (August 1889):115. Ebenezer Robinson dated this as spring 1837; it must have occurred at least by early March when Young left for the East, for before Young returned Robinson had moved to Missouri. Robinson says that a Canadian brother staying with Truman O. Angell (Young's brother-in-law) became very exercised after several days of fasting and prayer. One morning he went through the streets "hallooing at the top of his voice, warning the people and the nations to repent and prepare for the things that were coming." He raised such a fuss that Joseph and others ran out with buckets thinking there was a fire. When Joseph learned the cause of the disturbance he simply left, but "Brigham Young came with a raw hide whip, and whipped the man back into the house."

81. Minutes, October 1837, Kirtland Record Book, Church Archives. This was not viewed as a frivolous matter, however, the council met on this several times between 18 and 30 October laboring with thirty-one individuals. See also *History of the Church,* 2:519–20.

82. Published in *Elders Journal* 1 (October 1837):4–7 and 1 (November 1837):19–22.

83. *Elders Journal* 1 (July 1838):36.

84. Minutes, 30 November 1837, Kirtland Record Book or *History of the Church,* 2:526–27. Orton was also a brother-in-law to Brigham's brother. According to Ebenezer Robinson, who left Kirtland in early spring 1837, Roger Orton, one of the Seventy, was among those who in the winter and spring of 1837 "objected to the course being pursued by brother Joseph Smith, jr. and the church." *The Return* 1 (August 1889):116. Long associated with the opposition party, he and Young may have looked upon each other as adversaries for months.

85. Thomas Marsh in *Elders Journal* 1 (July 1838):37.

86. Discourse by George A. Smith, 10 January 1858, *Journal of Discourses* 7:115 and 15 November 1864, *JD* 11:11. George A. Smith experienced this firsthand in March. Warren Cowdery had used his editorial position as a voice for the views of his associates for several months. The first number of the new *Elders Journal*, to replace Cowdery's *Messenger and Advocate*, was printed in October while Smith was absent. The November number, actually not printed until December after his return, contains his editorial stating that they would not be scandalizing "our own citizens, especially when there is no foundation in truth for so doing," as the former Kirtland editor had done: "we consider him who puts his foot upon the neck of his benefactors, an object of pitty rather than revenge," *Elders Journal* 1 (November 1837):27. For an intolerant and distorted review of Parrish's vagaries from June see *Elders Journal* 1 (August 1838):56–58 and for Warren Cowdery, p. 59.

87. John Smith to George A. Smith, 12 January 1838 and Hepzebah Richards to Willard Richards, 18 January 1838, Church Archives, as cited in Parkin, *Conflict in Kirtland*, pp. 319, 321–22. There is also an account of Smith's showdown with dissenters in James H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), pp. 166–69.

88. "History of Luke Johnson," p. 57. Also *History of the Church,* 3:1. Smith had already determined to move to Missouri "as soon as circumstances will admit." No doubt the proviso related to his efforts to settle his financial affairs, as well as the stability of the situation in the Church. There is also evidence that he "continued to regard the debts which he left behind as obligations." Hill et al., "Kirtland Economy Revisited," p. 458 and *History of the Church,* 3:11, 164.

89. *History of the Church,* 3:1.

90. Discourse by Brigham Young, 24 July 1854, *Journal of Discourses* 2:18. "History of Brigham Young," p. 393.

91. Emmeline B. Wells in a "Biography of Mary Ann Angell Young," *Juvenile Instructor* 26 (1 January 1891):18–19 wrote that this was "undoubtedly the severest trial of her life," and that she "suffered intensely from the depredations" of the apostates and others who came to her house "frequently searching it pretending to believe her husband was hid up there." They frightened her with "threats and vile language until her nervous system became completely shattered. . . . a quick consumption set in which seemed likely to prove fatal." [*Editor's note: although Mary Ann was ill at this time, her twins were actully born the previous year (December 1836).*]

92. Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, ca. 30 August 1837, Church Archives.

93. Heber Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 16 November 1839. Joseph Smith to Oliver Granger, ca. July 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. Brigham Young to the Kirtland Saints, 21 January 1845, Brigham Young Papers. A few weeks before this letter Phinehas Young, still a Kirtland resident, wrote his brother Brigham that the so-called priesthood leaders in Kirtland "have Caused us to weep and mourn," that several prominent men were in full apostasy, that "we are at our wits end, having every kind of spirit to deal with." Phinehas H. Young et al., to Brigham Young, 31 December 1844, Brigham Young Papers. Young wrote in his diary in June 1844, after speaking in Kirtland, "the people are ded an cold in relegion here in Kirtland."

Chapter 7

The Kingdom Disorganized: The Leadership Crisis, 1838

For Mormon leadership, the Missouri aftermath of Kirtland dissension was a time of sifting. In Kirtland church leaders divided over basic issues central to Smith's conception of the Mormon kingdom. Discord over these issues and over Joseph Smith's leadership plagued every recent Kirtland endeavor, finally forcing the Prophet, and leaders like Young who fully supported his views, to leave. Smith began in Kirtland the process of removing those influential dissidents who would not sustain his leadership. That process was incomplete, however, and there remained among the leaders those who opposed Smith's conceptions and his directions. In Missouri in 1838, those, too, were removed. In addition, tension between the Mormons and neighbors who feared and opposed the Mormon gathering and the emerging kingdom contributed to the apostasy of two apostles and, as tensions erupted into violence, in the death of another.

This sifting had a profound impact on the shape of future Mormon leadership. Leaders had been at odds over the role of religion, God's hand in daily life, the shape of the proposed new society, and the office of prophet—issues central to the sacral perspective now firmly part of Smith's world view and of those [320] apostles in harmony with his efforts. The Missouri sojourn completed the sifting out of those not committed to the sacral perspective and related vision of the kingdom. The men who replaced them shared, with Young and the remaining original apostles, Smith's perspective and had already proven their commitment to it.

For the Twelve, this Kirtland-Missouri period proved decisive. By the end of the period only five of the original twelve apostles remained, and one of them, William Smith, could not be relied upon. The four, however, proved themselves capable and loyal to Smith and his vision of a new Zion on earth. Those who here remained firmly attached to Joseph Smith and his ideals remained so afterward. Bound together by shared perspectives and shared experiences, they had a new unity and new sense of purpose. Finally, they were ready for powerful service on behalf of the kingdom. They would form the nucleus of a new Quorum of the Twelve that would eventually carry the Prophet's ideals to the mountain valleys of the West.

Attending to a sick wife and some personal needs, Young was on the sidelines during much of this period. Nor did the Twelve as a quorum play an important role in Missouri. With two of the apostles in England and four of the Twelve removed from office, the Quorum, had it met, would have had six members at most. In fact, there is no evidence that the Twelve met regularly as a quorum during the period, although individual apostles received assignments and increased in visibility and prominence, Young included. By the end of the period, after the apostasy of two more apostles [321] and the imprisonment of the Presidency and other prominent leaders, including one apostle, Mormon leadership responsibility fell on the two senior members of the Twelve: Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.

Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Brigham Young had all left Kirtland hastily in winter. Hampered by the snows and cold of the season, the two-month overland journey to Missouri was hazardous and difficult. His family still in Kirtland, Brigham Young traveled as far as Dublin, Indiana, where he stopped with his brother Lorenzo who, with others, had decided to winter there en route to Missouri. Traveling by covered wagon with their families, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon also reached Dublin. There, his means exhausted, Joseph threw himself on the man who had proved his loyalty and effectiveness. "You are one of the Twelve who have charge of the kingdom in all the world," Joseph told

Brigham Young, and "I believe I shall . . . look to you for counsel in this case." Once certain that Joseph was in earnest, Brigham assured the Prophet that he would have the money to proceed. Young approached a Dublin Mormon whom he knew wished to sell his property and promised him that if he would use some of the proceeds to sustain Joseph he would soon have a good offer. Several days later the Smiths proceeded on their journey with $300, while the good brother had an outfit and money to move his own family.[1]

Before Brigham Young could overtake the Rigdon-Smith camp near Quincy, Illinois, the latter had experienced extreme cold and almost perished near Paris, Illinois. Because of rumor and [322] prejudice, no one would shelter them until they threatened to force the door of an inn in order to preserve their families. As they departed, a reluctant host apologized for their treatment in Paris and wished them well.[2] To their mutual satisfaction, Brigham and Joseph traveled together for the nearly two hundred miles of ice and snow, water and mud between Quincy, Illinois, and Far West, Missouri, where they arrived 14 March 1838.[3]

Several miles from the city an escort received them "with open armes and warm hearts." For Joseph, the contrast between being "greeted on every hand by the Saints" in Far West and his "long Seven years of Servictude persecution & affliction" in Kirtland was striking. Long anxious for their prophet to live among them, the Missouri Saints determined to care for him in comfort, leaving him nothing to do but "to attend to my Spiritual concerns or the Spiritual affairs of the Church."[4]

Not all was well in Zion, however. For weeks Oliver Cowdery and other dissenters had corresponded with the Kirtland dissidents and met privately with others in Far West to coordinate opposition to Smith and his directions.[5] Cowdery's letters demonstrate that he and others resolutely opposed Joseph Smith's policies and his leadership, and that their rebellion had much to do with a sense of lost personal freedom implicit in the new directions. Specifically, they opposed the Prophet's "endeavoring to unite ecclesiasticle with civil authority," especially his efforts to counsel them in their temporal affairs. For their part, although they had not yet openly announced their separation from Smith and the Church, they intended to find in northern [323] Missouri a gathering place of their own and, at the proper time, publicly proclaim their principles and influence others to join them.[6]

Even though most of the dissidents in Missouri had not yet openly broken with Smith, those Missouri leaders faithful to the Prophet were not unaware of the undercurrents. Led by Thomas Marsh, they determined to hold the line against rebellion until Joseph Smith arrived. During their November visit to Far West, the Presidency had firmly taught that the Saints should accept priesthood counsel in temporal as well as spiritual matters. Knowing that Cowdery and the Missouri presidency had sold some of their lands against the counsel of the Church, and that they otherwise refused to be counseled in their affairs, Marsh and others faithful to Smith moved against them. In February the faithful group succeeded, with the support of most of the local church, in removing David Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and John Whitmer as the local presidency, and in banning Cowdery from signing licenses. They also excommunicated the two counselors. Presidents Marsh and Patten of the Twelve accepted the appointment as presidents *pro tempore* until the Presidency arrived.[7]

Thomas Marsh was certain that had they not acted, the local members themselves would have rebelled, for they were opposed to the actions of their presidency. With the recalcitrant leaders moved aside, the Missouri Saints were united, Marsh reported to Joseph Smith, and wished "to have the whole law of God lived up to." Unaware that Joseph Smith had fled Kirtland the month before, but fearing that the discountenanced leaders could [324] yet cause great difficulty, Marsh urged the necessity of Joseph coming immediately.

> Your presence is absolutely necessary for the salvation of this church. . . . Although these men speak against your proceedings, they are mute when you are present, and the great body is determined to follow you.[8]

The day after Joseph Smith and Brigham Young arrived in Far West, the Prophet presided over a council that considered the February actions taken by Marsh and his associates. In organizing the council, Smith seated Marsh, Patten, and Young

as the three senior members. He told the council that he approved of the earlier proceedings. Noting that they had excommunicated the counselors in the Missouri presidency but not President David Whitmer, he explained that he had ordained Whitmer in July 1834 "to be a leader, or a prophet to this Church" only "on condition that he (J. Smith jr) did not live to God himself." In the meantime, Whitmer had no unusual status except as a president in Missouri. Nonetheless, President Smith chose to take no additional action against Whitmer at that time. In a 29 March letter to the Kirtland presidency, Smith reported that "D Whitmer remains as yet." The major difficulties of the Missouri church had been adjusted "by a judicious High Council" before his arrival, he wrote, and the Saints appeared "in union & peace & love prevails throughout."[9]

Clearly, Joseph Smith was not unaware of the underlying problems. His 29 March letter showed awareness, for example, of the ongoing correspondence from Kirtland dissidents to Missouri. Compared with Kirtland, however, Far West seemed secure, and Joseph felt "no uneasiness" yet "about the power of our Enimies *[325]* in this Place to do us harm."[10] He knew that the enemies were real enough and included men of influence, although it is not known if he understood the extent to which David Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, Lyman Johnson, and Frederick Williams were involved. That Smith understood the issues and the charges made against his leadership is suggested by a political "motto of the Church" that he forwarded to Kirtland with the above letter.

Apparently the sentiments occurred to him as he and several of the brethren walked near Far West within a few days of his arrival. Brigham Young co-signed the document after Smith and the two senior apostles. Almost as if he were answering the repeated charges in Cowdery's letters, Joseph affirmed in his motto his belief in the liberties of the constitution, in an orderly and peaceful society of "good and wholesome laws," the "standard of Democracy." He, too, denounced "tyrants, mobs, aristocracy" and priestcraft—indeed any and all who attempted to harass others "under the pretext and color of law, or office, either religious or political." He was not a tyrant, a demagogue, an usurper, he seemed to be saying, but one who had long engaged in the thankless struggle against those very evils. Perhaps his juxtaposition of aristarchy and aristocracy best demonstrated his true feelings. The "Parrishites or more properly the Aristocrats or Anarchys[ts]"[11] were the true usurpers, setting themselves above the people and trying to dictate their brand of religion over the revealed model that the Church had accepted. Joseph was for "aristarchy," "a government of good men in power," men independent and intelligent *[326]* but humble enough to be governed by revelation and the priesthood as well as their own wisdom.[12]

Only two weeks after their arrival in Far West, Smith's letter to Kirtland mentioned Brigham Young among those who had already located a place to live and were ready to plant and plow.[13] As Young later rephrased it, "I . . . expended what little means I had left to purchase an inheritance for my family." Since the Mormons intended to settle a broad region of northern Missouri, it was not necessary that he settle directly in Far West in order that his temporal labors "build up the kingdom." He immediately began fencing and plowing his "small improvement" on Mill Creek, a tributary of Shoal Creek perhaps four miles nearly east of Far West.[14] On Mill Creek he was close enough to travel to Far West for meetings but he would not be in the mainstream of Far West activities. Most of his energies would go towards his farm and his family.[15]

Although the date that Mary Ann Young and the children joined Brigham in Missouri is not known, they also apparently arrived in the spring, probably soon after his own arrival. Somehow she obtained means for river passage and after a short overland trek traveled the Ohio and Missouri Rivers to Richmond, Missouri, where Brigham met her and the children. Only then did he fully realize how greatly Mary Ann had suffered from the harassments in Kirtland, from poor health, from fatigue. She appeared nearly in the grave, he thought, and still so weak and sick "that her life was despaired of for a long time." For the next season, at least, the first priority would be his family. *[327]* On 17 April 1838, Joseph Smith delivered to Brigham Young a revelation confirming that priority:

> Verily thus saith the Lord, let my servant Brigham Young go unto the place which he has bought, on Mill Creek, and there provide for his family until an effectual door is opened for the support of his

> family, until I command him to go hence, and not leave his family until they are amply provided for.[16]

Laboring with the axe and the plow no doubt gave Brigham Young ample time to ponder the months of unprecedented turmoil and upheaval he had just witnessed. Not much more than two years earlier he had heard Joseph warn the Twelve on the need for unity. Even with His presence, Jesus' apostles anciently had to learn lessons of unity and harmony: to prevail, they must learn the same lessons, warned Joseph. Nonetheless, Joseph had early felt encouraged at the faithfulness of the elders. "When or where has God suffered one of the witnesses or first Elders of this church to fall?" he asked rhetorically. "Never nor nowhere . . . His almighty arm has sustained us, men and devils have raged and spent the[ir] malice in vain."[17] But now, in the spring of 1838, all of the Three Witnesses, four of Brigham Young's own quorum, and dozens of other elders had deserted the Prophet and what he stood for, branding as wickedness his labors and his plans. For Brigham Young surely it had been as he later characterized it, a "crisis when earth and hell seemed leagued to overthrow the Prophet and church of God."[18]

Pondering all these things, Young had what he later called a revelation "upon natural principles." After considering what had occurred and why and also musing about future possibilities, he felt that he could clearly see what the future portended. *[328]*

> I saw upon natural principles, that we would be driven from there, but when, I did not know; but still it was plain to me that we would have to leave the State, and that when we did leave it we would not go south, north or west, but east, back to the other states.[19]

Young felt that the temporal program of the Church, gathering a strong and united people and creating a unique society, could ultimately be accomplished only in a secure location where that society could mature without interference and opposition. Somewhere, he anticipated, there would have to be a place of refuge where the Saints might gain "a foothold, a strength, power, influence, and ability to walk by themselves and take care of themselves."[20]

April, Joseph Smith's first full month of residence in Missouri in 1838, saw the convening of several important conferences and councils to regulate the affairs of the Missouri Church. On 6 April the members and officers met to commemorate the founding of the Church eight years before and to transact business. The most important business involved the appointment of Thomas B. Marsh as "President pro tempore of the Church in Zion," and David W. Patten and Brigham Young as his "assistant Presidents."[21] The three senior apostles became the stake presidency in place of David Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and John Whitmer, marking the first time that apostles received an assignment from the Presidency to preside in a stake of Zion.[22]

When the conference convened the following day to hold "the first quarterly Conference" of that stake, the clerk noted that "Presidents Joseph Smith jr., Sidney Rigdon, T. B. Marsh, D. W. Patten, and B. Young took the stand; after which the several *[329]* quorums." For the first time it was not Brigham Young or Elder Young or Brother Young, but "Prest B. Young," who gave the opening prayer. President Patten reviewed for the conference the activities of each of the Twelve, indicating that he had heard things that concerned him about William Smith's faith in the work, that he could not recommend at all Elders McLellen, Boynton, Johnson, and Johnson, but that he thought the other apostles to be "men of God, whom he could recommend with cheerful confidence." In meeting on 8 April, President Smith spoke about the Kirtland bank and the Word of Wisdom—both matters of contention with the dissidents—saying that the health code "should be observed." President Young gave "a short history of his travels to Massachusetts and New York."[23]

A few days later, after formal charges against them were presented to the high council, Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer were notified to appear for trial. On 12 April, with Brigham Young present but not sitting as an officer, the council organized as a "common council" under the bishop to try a president according to the scriptural pattern. Cowdery, declining to appear, sent instead a letter. Responding to the several charges, he acknowledged that he had indeed sold certain of his lands (the fourth charge) and therefore, as they construed things, he was guilty of the fifth, "virtually denying the faith by declaring that he would not be governed by any ecclesiastical authority nor revelation whatever in his temporal affairs." He reaffirmed that he would

not be governed in temporal affairs contrary to his own judgment, insisting that any effort to control him in those things was a violation of *[330]* his constitutional privileges. Cowdery complained of "an attempt to set up a kind of *petty* government, controlled and dictated by ecclesiastical influence. . . . a direct attempt to make the secular power su[b]servient to Church dictation."[24] Because of those principles, concluded the letter, he now respectfully withdrew from the Church. The council completed their investigation, and then, agreeable to Oliver's letter, voted that he no longer be a member of the Church.[25]

The following day the council heard the case of David Whitmer. Like Cowdery, Whitmer responded by letter and refused to attend. Convinced that the council was illegal and had no right to try him, he wrote, and that they would pursue their unlawful course regardless, he withdrew his fellowship from them, "choosing to seek a place among the meek and humble" where the rights of men are regarded. Seeing no need to try the case, the council dropped David Whitmer from the Church.[26]

On 13 April a council also convened under Presidents Marsh, Patten, and Young to try the case of Lyman E. Johnson. The numerous charges against the apostle ranged from defending Kirtland dissidents against church authorities to lying about financial dealings with Joseph, not observing the Word of Wisdom, cheating a brother, and beating Phinehas Young. Brigham Young gave testimony that after Johnson beat his brother, Phinehas came "with his head cut the blood running out of his ears; also his stomach was injured." Apparently, after conviction on the charge in a civil court, Johnson bragged that he would pay $5 for the privilege—and similarly pound anyone else who lied to him—but if the fine *[331]* was larger than that he would appeal outside the county. Johnson, too, wrote a letter rather than attend, and said that in objecting to his threat to change venue on the case, a constitutional right, that the Church was usurping authority, improperly using religious influence, injuring him in his privileges and therefore, he would "withdraw . . . from your society and fellowship." After investigation sustained the charges, the council decided that Johnson was no longer a member of the Church or an apostle of God and turned him over to the buffetings of Satan until he repented.[27]

Apparently court actions were held about this time for two other apostles. Although no proceedings of the council in relationship to Luke Johnson have been found, the date for his excommunication is generally given as 13 April 1838—that is, the same time that his brother Lyman was cut off from the Church.[28] Less than a month later William E. McLellen was apparently tried "for transgression." Except for his attendance at November 1837 meetings in Far West, there is virtually no evidence of his involvement with the Church as a church official since the fall of 1836—the time he later insisted he withdrew from the Church. According to later reports, McLellen admitted to the council that he had personally seen nothing "out of the way" in Smith's conduct, yet he "had no confidence in the heads of the Church, believing they had transgressed, and . . . consequently he quit praying and keeping the commandments of God."[29] Within a few months McLellen had become one of the most active of the apostates working with anti-Mormons against his former co-religionists.[30] *[332]*

The decision of church courts did not end difficulties with the dissenters. Perhaps in part because of the court actions, several of the former members stepped up their harassment of the Saints and their leaders, notably with numerous "vexatious lawsuits." By June, Sidney Rigdon no doubt expressed the feelings of many when he preached his fiery "Salt Sermon." Constant abuse from former friends need not be tolerated, he insisted, for "if that salt of the earth lose its savor, behold, it is henceforth good for nothing only to be cast out and trodden under the feet of men."[31]

This 17 June speech motivated the expulsion from Far West of those dissenters like Oliver Cowdery who had not voluntarily withdrawn. A resolution addressed to Oliver Cowdery, David and John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and Lyman Johnson was immediately drawn up and signed by a number of citizens—none of the Twelve signed it—threatening them with forced removal if they did not immediately depart Far West and Caldwell County. Oliver Cowdery, who had not followed through with his expressed intention to leave Far West if Joseph came, now believed his life in danger and joined the others in an uncere-

monious forced exodus for which they were ill-prepared.[32]

After the 17 April revelation permitting him to retire for a season to his farm and his family, Brigham Young seldom participated in Far West council meetings. He was present for a May council, "Brygum Young Presiding," to hear a case against Lyman Wight, but the case was postponed and he was not present at the several June councils for that or other cases.[33] Though Young may not have been an active participant in Far West affairs, still [333] he was no doubt aware of Rigdon's fiery speeches and of the move against the dissenters. Surely he learned quickly of the revelation announced 26 April 1838, "making known the will of God concerning the build up of Far West." Far West was to be a consecrated land, built up unto the Lord, with a House of the Lord to grace its borders. The city was to be "built up speedily by the gathering of my Saints," and the temple by labor and donation, not by debt. The ground for the temple was to be broken on 4 July 1838, and the cornerstone laid on the twenty-sixth of April next, 1839.[34]

In July came additional revelations that particularly concerned Brigham Young and his future. One announced to the Church the law of tithing, another how it would be administered. A revelation to W. W. Phelps, formerly of the Missouri presidency, and Frederick G. Williams, Joseph Smith's counselor until the Saints failed to sustain him, confirmed that they had lost their former standing because of transgression, yet admonished them to be ordained elders and preach abroad "if they will be saved."[35]

Most important to Brigham Young, in answer to the inquiry, "Shew unto us Thy will O Lord concerning the Twelve," there came a revelation which he carefully copied into his diary. The Twelve should be organized once again, it announced, with "men . . . appointed to supply the place of those who are fallen." President Marsh had a role in the printing in Far West; "let [him] . . . remain for a season in the Land of Zion to publish my word." Once the Quorum was reorganized, the other apostles should again take up their labors and preach [334]

> from that hour and if they will do this in all lowliness of heart in meekness and pureness and longsuffering I the Lord God give unto them a promise that I will provide for their families and an effectual door shall be opened for them.

Then with uncharacteristic specificity, the Twelve were directed *where* they should preach and *when* they should depart: "next spring let them depart to go over the great waters" to preach the fullness of the gospel in Europe, and let them "take leave of my saints in the city [of] Far West on the 26th of April next on the building spot." They were to depart from the very spot and on the very day that the April revelation had designated for laying the cornerstone of the temple. Finally, Brigham Young was interested to learn that the revelation named John Taylor, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff, and his own friend and cousin Willard Richards as the new apostles.[36]

Because of the revelations, five of the apostles in Missouri met the following day in Far West. It was decided to immediately notify the new apostles by letter and to publish the same in the *Elders Journal*.[37] The Church, President Rigdon told the Twelve, would provide for their families while they labored abroad. Rigdon also stressed a favorite theme when he advised the Twelve that once at work abroad they were to "instruct their converts to move without delay to the places of gathering, and there to strictly attend to the law of God."[38]

Late in July, Brigham Young had an emotional reunion with Heber Kimball and his family, just arrived in Far West after his mission to England. No doubt Brigham brought Heber up to date about the apostasies and difficulties that had continued to rack [335] the Church during his absence. For his part, Heber not only reported on the Saints in Kirtland, where he had just gathered up his family—("The brethren who yet resided there, although very kind and affectionate, were weak in the faith in consequence of trials and temptations")—but he also told Young in detail about missionary labor abroad, an assignment they would soon share. As Brigham had done the spring before, Kimball applied his labor to establishing a home and caring for his family. Orson Hyde also arrived in Far West from his English labors. Because he arrived ill, or fell ill soon after his arrival, Joseph Smith took him into his home and cared for him that summer and fall.[39]

The first violence between Mormons and their northern Missouri neighbors erupted when Mormons attempted to vote at Gallatin on 6 August. By September threats and the maneuvering of armed men became general until October, when

large military forces—and finally death and destruction—fell upon Mormon settlements in 2Caldwell and nearby counties. On 2 October, Joseph met several hundred Kirtland emigrants who had traveled together as "Kirtland Camp." The following day Brigham Young joined them in traveling northward to their place of settlement.[40] That day and the next mob forces besieging the Mormon settlement of DeWitt, Carroll County, fired on the town. On 5 October, Joseph Smith traveled there to assess their situation and see how they might be helped, leaving Brigham Young to preside over the quarterly conference at Far West. After convening the conference, President Young dismissed it because there were too few officers and members present to conduct business. The following day, 6 October, he and *[336]* President Marsh presided over an enlarged conference that assigned and instructed eight elders who volunteered to preach in the field. By invitation the prospective apostle John Taylor, who had just arrived, addressed the congregation, which then sustained him to fill one of the vacancies in the Twelve.[41] A few days later DeWitt was sacked and the fatigued men and worn inhabitants, stripped of many of their belongings, made their way to other settlements. Depredations continued throughout the month.

Later in the month, a contingent of Mormon militia traveled northward to the Mormon settlement of Adam-Ondi-Ahman in Daviess County, to discourage depredations upon the new settlers. Joseph Smith traveled there at that time, as did Marsh, Patten, Young, Kimball, Parley Pratt, and apostle-designate Taylor of the Twelve. While there the Prophet laid out still another city, including selecting the site for a temple block, which Brigham Young then dedicated.[42]

As hostilities increased Brigham Young gathered information that helped Smith and others assess the developing situation. Since he had largely remained on his farm without "communication, correspondence or deal with the Missourians," they did not know Young, permitting him to "learn their acts and feelings unsuspected." He observed men gather up their families, animals and belongings, prepared to leave the region, and then burn their own houses. Later he saw their names attached to affidavits stating the Mormons had burned them. With understatement, Brigham later recalled that "this was quite effectual in raising prejudice against us."[43] *[337]*

The causes of the violence were complex as the Saints found both strictly local problems and general difficulties with neighbors wherever they gathered.[44] It cannot be doubted, however, that along with intemperate Mormon rhetoric and insensitive and overzealous claims by some Mormon faithful, the repeated charges by dissenters and apostates of misuse of power and dangerous tendencies in the Mormon Kingdom added fuel to the smoldering fire. The reality of a secretly organized military band of "Danites" or "Destroying Angels" no doubt spawned many of the rumors and, to those who in fact learned of its existence, tended to confirm every other rumor.[45] Sampson Avard, a man of influence and talent but without official church position, organized the band to take vengeance on Mormon enemies. According to Young's brother Lorenzo Young, who was invited to a meeting of the organization, he and Brigham played a role in exposing and ending the Danites:

> From the meeting I went directly to Brother Brigham and related the whole history of the affair. He said he had long suspicioned that something wrong was going on but had seen no direct development, He added, "I will go at once to Brother Joseph [Smith], who has suspicioned that some secret wickedness was being carried on by Dr. Avard." Dr. Avard was at once cited before the authorities of the Church and cut off for his wickedness. He turned a bitter enemy of the Saints.[46]

If the dissenters for two years had found Mormon temporal involvements reason for concern, Missouri citizens, suspicious of Mormon institutions and intentions even without abuses by some members and distortions by dissenters, felt they had even more reasons. Mormon gathering, city building, political and economic programs disturbed dissenters and old citizens alike. That those who *[338]* compiled the *History of the Church* understood this to some extent—although they gave too much credit to the apostate and too little to the imposing reality of their own nascent but growing institutions—is suggested by their summary,

> Our Church organization was converted, by the testimony of the apostates, into a temporal kingdom, which was to fill the whole earth, and subdue all other kingdoms.[47]

As Brigham Young had perceived in the spring, this would not be the time nor northern Missouri the place where Mormon institutions could mature. Mushrooming difficulties would soon cut short every development.

By October, after months of zealous defense of Joseph and his measures, Thomas Marsh lost confidence in both. Some later joked that President Marsh left the kingdom over a pint of cream strippings, but as Young well knew, there was much more to the story than that. As noted, Marsh was a prideful man, concerned that his authority and that of the Twelve be properly recognized. For more than three years he had labored as president of the Twelve without, he thought, due honor and recognition. He did not see the period as one of preparation for greater responsibility, as Young had come to do, but thought their treatment an insult to their great office.[48] Minutes of the Missouri meetings he presided over before Smith arrived, and of high councils after, indicate Marsh's oversized concern that all recognize the dignity of his—and other—offices in the priesthood. Such phrases as "insulted the authorities of God" or "speaking against the authorities" abound in minutes of such meetings and seem a characteristic expression of his concern.[49] *[339]*

After years of sensitivity, what Marsh took to be an insult and a public humiliation over an otherwise minor matter marked the beginning of his parting with Joseph Smith and the Church. Marsh's wife and a neighbor, Sister Lucy Harris, had agreed to exchange milk, including the strippings, so they would have enough for cheese. When Sister Marsh allegedly violated the agreement at the expense of Sister Harris, first the neighborhood teachers, then the bishop, then the high council became involved. According to George A. Smith, because Marsh was president of the Twelve and thought himself a great man in Israel, he was "extremely anxious" to maintain the character of his wife and made a "desperate defense" before the council. When the council confirmed the bishop's decision against his wife, he appealed to the First Presidency only to be again embarrassed. For Marsh this latest insult, as he saw it, merely salted old wounds, another in a long line of supposed snubs and slights.[50]

When Marsh returned to the Church nearly twenty years later, he attempted to explain his actions. "I have frequently wanted to know how my apostasy began," he told a congregation, "and I have come to the conclusion that I must have lost the Spirit of the Lord out of my heart." How? "I became jealous of the Prophet, and then I saw double and overlooked everything that was right, and spent my time looking for evil." He became resentful of Joseph Smith and felt angered and defiant.[51] By October both Marsh and Young knew that he was wavering in his commitment to the Church. The scenes of former brethren turning violently against the Church had prompted Marsh to say that if ever he *[340]* apostatized, he would go away quietly. Now several approached him, asking if he was going to leave. Marsh tried, sometimes unsuccessfully, to evade the question. When Joseph Smith insistently questioned him, he replied contemptuously, "when you see me leave the church, you will see a good fellow leave it."

> I got mad, and I wanted everybody else to be mad. I talked with Brother Brigham and Brother Heber, and I wanted them to be made like myself; and I saw they were not mad, and I got madder still because they were not. Brother Brigham, with a cautious look, said "Are you the leader of the Church, brother Thomas?" I answered, "no." "Well then," said he, "Why do you not let that alone?"[52]

Sensing that he approached a time of decision, President Marsh retired to the printing office, his place of labor, and, as Kimball reported it, "prayed, and was humble, and God gave him a revelation, and he wrote it." He met Young and Kimball as he came out of his office and read the message to them. The revelation told him to sustain Joseph and to believe that what he said was true, but pride and stubbornness in the way, Marsh could not. "God saw fit to give him a revelation to forewarn him of the course he would take; and still he took that course."[53]

Once committed to leaving, Marsh ostensibly made preparations to settle a few miles away, then quietly departed and never returned. Apparently that same night, probably 18 October, Orson Hyde, who had suffered from violent fever and was not yet fully recovered, followed Marsh in leaving the Saints. Upon learning of their departure, John Taylor proposed to Heber Kimball that they take a wagon and see if they could not overtake them and persuade them to return. "If you knew him [Marsh] as well as I do," replied Kimball, "you would know that if he had *[341]*

made up his mind to go, you could not turn him."[54] lt would he nearly two decades before he decided to turn himself and return.[55]

Marsh did not leave as silently as he had thought to or as he later maintained. Although there is no evidence that he participated directly in actions against the Mormons, as some dissenters did, he swore out an affidavit that further inflamed sentiment against the Church, and he wrote a private letter back to Far West in an attempt to turn some from the Prophet. Danites and the "Destruction Company"—sworn to uphold Smith right or wrong and burn settlement for settlement if the Mormons were further molested, said Marsh—figure prominently in his statement.

> The plan of said Smith, the Prophet, is to take this state; and he professes to his people to intend taking the United States, and ultimately the whole world. This is the belief of the Church, and my own opinion of the Prophet's plans and intentions. The Prophet inculcates the notion, and it is believed by every true Mormon that Smith's prophecies are superior to the laws of the land. I have heard the Prophet say that he would yet tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies; that if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mohammed to this generation.[56]

Orson Hyde, attesting to Marsh's affidavit, added: "The most of the statements . . . I know to be true; the remainder I believe to be true."

A few days after signing the affidavit, Marsh wrote to the Abbotts of Far West

> I have left the Mormons [and] Joseph Smith Jr. for conscience sake, and that alone, for I have come to the full conclusion that he is a very wicked man; notwithstanding all my efforts to persuade myself to the Contra[ry]. I also am well convinced that he will not escape the just Judgements of an offended God.

Attributing the alleged operations of the Danites (and several other unexplained acts of violence) to Smith and Rigdon, Marsh *[342]* denounced their disposition "to pillage, rob, plunder assassinate and murder. . . . O my God what principles to be called the religion of Jesus Christ." Thanking God for his escape, he urged the Abbotts also to flee before they became innocent victims of the outrage certain to fall upon Far West. "I know more about this matter than you. Be advised by your Brother, and escape for your lives, for I verily believe that God will destroy that place." In a postscript, Orson Hyde added: "I can say with him that I have left the Church . . . for Conscience sake, fully believing that God is not with them, and is not the mover of their schemes and projects." Hyde, however, was torn. In spite of his loss of confidence, he retained affection for Joseph. Without mentioning his host or others by name, he wrote of the kind assistance and "hospitality I have shared during my sickness. . . . Let them think of me as they will, I can assure them, that they will ever live in the memory of a grateful heart."[57]

With the departure of Marsh from the Church, David W. Patten became the senior apostle in the Twelve. It was later said that he had asked to Lord to let him die a martyr.[58] Bold and fearless, he led a group of Mormon militia on a patrol that engaged the mob and on 25 October, the day after Marsh and Hyde signed their affidavits, Captain Patten received a fatal wound in the Battle of Crooked River. As he lay dying, Heber Kimball was among those trying to exercise faith that he might live. Kimball heard him speak "of those who had fallen from their steadfastness," exclaiming, "O that they were in my situation; for I feel that I have kept the faith; I have finished my course."[59] *[343]*

Brigham Young and Heber Kimball were now the senior apostles in the places of Thomas Marsh and David Patten. In July four new apostles had been appointed to again make the quorum complete after apostasy. Now, before even those four could be assembled and ordained, apostasy and death brought three more vacancies. If Young presided, it was over a decimated quorum. In late October 1838, besides his friend Kimball, only the Pratt brothers and the unstable William Smith remained of the original Twelve.

On 27 October, Missouri governor Lilburn W. Boggs issued his infamous "Exterminating Order," legitimizing those who had gathered as a mob to pillage and burn. To the militia commander he ordered,

> The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description. If you can increase your force, you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary.[60]

Three days later, a lawless mob massacred men, women and children at Haun's Mill settlement, 30 October. Brigham Young's brother Joseph Young was an eyewitness of that tragic scene.[61] Joseph Smith had urged all those residing apart

from Mormon strongholds to gather with their brethren for protection, and by this time Brigham Young had moved his family to Far West.

On the morning of 28 October, one hundred and fifty Mormon men rode out under a white flag to survey the countryside and learn if possible the intentions of the government. A late afternoon alarm in Far West that troops approached from the south prompted the thought that their men had returned, until the numbers belied that hope. Were they friendly troops sent for *[344]* protection or a mob to plunder? Young was among the armed men who marched out of Far West to meet the force and find out. Near sundown the two armies approached each other and sent out messengers under white flag. When the Mormon messenger inquired their intentions, the reply was that they wanted three persons out of the city before they massacred the rest, "a very alarming and unexpected answer."[62] Impending darkness postponed hostilities. Instead of protection and relief, Young watched as the militia struck hands with the mob—some painted as Indians—that had also gathered.[63]

Kimball, dictating less than a year later, said that he and Young were "appointed captains of fifty, in a hurry," as the Mormons rushed to defend themselves. Some men known to be wanted, particularly those of the Mormon Caldwell County militia who had engaged the mob at Crooked River, fled to save their lives. Those remaining spent the night arranging wagons and pulling down houses to use as fortifications. Piles of construction materials also became part of the bulwarks. During the night both sides received reinforcements. Next morning Joseph Smith counseled the defenders and then ordered Young and Kimball with their men to take up a position directly in line with the militia's advance. The troops approached within rifle shot to examine the defense and then withdrew.[64]

Instead of "the awful tragedy of a bloody massacre" that Heber had anticipated as he watched the approaching troops, negotiations began.[65] Colonel George M. Hinkle, representing the Caldwell militia, negotiated with militia officers, who pledged their sacred honor that Mormon leaders could pass safely for *[345]* discussion. Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Parley Pratt, Lyman Wight, and George Robinson went into the enemy camp under flag of truce and were immediately seized. When they did not return next morning as agreed, Brigham and Heber and the others knew the awful truth: they had been betrayed.[66]

Apparently Governor Boggs's exterminating order of the twenty-seventh was not known to the Mormons until the evening of the twenty-ninth. According to Parley Pratt, "determined not to resist any thing in the shape of authority, however tyrannical or unconstitutional," once they knew that the force was authorized by the governor, the Mormons agreed to submit. His account suggests that Smith's agreement to meet with the militia leaders in their camp under a flag of truce was to work out terms for surrender. Perhaps more to the point, once Smith and other leaders were in enemy hands, the Mormons could offer no effective defense. With their leaders hostage, they stood helplessly as the superior military force, cannons at the ready, disarmed them, harangued them, mistreated them. Reported Kimball:

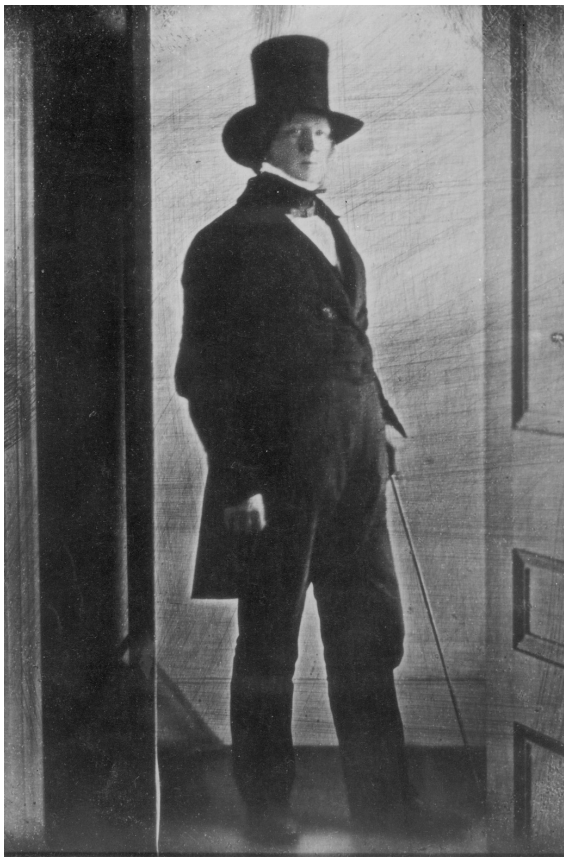
> When these troops surrounded us, and we were brought into a hollow square, the first persons that I knew, were men who had once professed to be our brethren. They were the men who piloted the mob into our city, namely: William E. McLellen and Lyman E. Johnson, two of the Twelve; John Whitmer and David Whitmer, two of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon; William W. Phelps, and scores of others, "hail fellows, well met."

Mocking and abusing, McLellen was particularly obnoxious. "Look and see yourself poor, your family stripped and robbed, and your brethren in the same fix. Are you not satisfied with Joseph?" he taunted. Yes, replied Kimball, he was a hundred fold *[346]* more satisfied than before, "for I see you in the very position that he foretold you would be in—a Judas to betray your brethren, if you did not forsake your adultery, fornication, lying and abominations."[67]

Once the mob-militia had disarmed the Mormons, whatever discipline it had possessed disappeared. Brigham witnessed the depredations as they

> commenced their ravages by plundering the citizens of their bedding, clothing, money, wearing apparel, and every thing of value they would lay their hands upon, and also attempting to violate the chastity of women in sight of their husbands and friends, under the pretense of hunting for prisoners and arms.

The soldiers shot Mormon animals and turned horses into fields ready for harvest.[68] An attempt



Brigham Young (ca. 1846), daguerreotype attributed to Lucian R. Foster. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

to have Joseph Smith and several others shot soon after they were seized was foiled by the courageous stand of Colonel Alexander Doniphan, a Missouri officer. Instead of court martial and execution, on 2 November the guards escorted the prisoners to Jackson County (and later elsewhere) for trial and imprisonment. Lawless men terrified Far West several more days. With the city surrounded they attempted to take prisoner every man who seemed to have any influence. Heber afterwards felt certain that he would have been imprisoned had they known him. The fact that he had only been in Missouri a few weeks and that Brigham Young had lived away from the city preserved the two apostles from arrest.[69] They remained with the Saints to witness the desecration and suffering and administer what comfort they could.

Perhaps some of the faithful needed less comfort than we would suppose. Supposedly to defray the war expenses, the soldiers *[347]* forced all in Far West to "give away their property by executing a deed of trust at the point of a bayonet." According to Young, some of the brethren kicked up their heels afterward saying they were glad of it, "we have nothing to trouble us now." Kimball added that their enemies expected them to be downcast and sorrowful as they walked up to sign the deeds of trust,

> but I testify as an eye-witness that the brethren rejoiced and praised the Lord and kicked up their heels, and thanked God, taking joyfully the despoiling of their goods. There were judges, magistrates and . . . sectarian priests who stood by and saw all this going on, exulting over us, and it seemed to make them more angry that we bore our misfortunes so cheerfully. Judge Cameron said, with an oath, "See them creatures laugh and kick up their heels! They are whipped but not conquered."[70]

On 5 November, General John B. Clark ordered the men at Far West into a line, then arrested fifty-six. According to Brigham Young, "open and avowed enemies" such as William McLellen and others had provided the names. Once again, they left without arresting Heber Kimball or Brigham Young. The next day, both men listened as Clark delivered a written statement to his captive audience. Alleging that they and their leaders had entered into a treaty—which included the surrendering of their leaders and the signing over of their property to pay for expenses of the "war"—Clark said it was now time to comply with the remaining portions and leave the state. Whatever their feelings or their innocence, "it is nothing to me," he told them: he had his orders. He would be merciful and allow those not arrested to gather in some corn, but they must not think of planting and must soon be gone or he would destroy them without mercy. *[348]*

> I am sorry, gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are; and oh! that I could invoke that Great Spirit, the unknown God, to rest upon you, and make you sufficiently intelligent to break that chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism. . . that you no longer worship a man.

They had been the aggressors, Clark concluded, and had brought all their troubles upon themselves. The only way to prevent an occurrence of the same wherever they went was to become as other citizens. "I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize yourselves . . . lest you excite the jealousies of the people, and subject yourselves to the same calamities."[71]

No doubt Brigham and Heber seethed within at the arrogance, at the cold blooded violation of their rights, at the insults offered by this supposed servant of the people. But if Clark had to appeal to the "unknown God," these men appealed to a God they felt they knew. Both men later testified that they knew in their hearts that part of Clark's harangue would be proven false for all to see. "As for your leaders," he told them, "do not once think—do not imagine for a moment—do not let it enter your mind that they will be delivered, or that you will see their faces again, for their fate is fixed—their die is cast—their doom is sealed."[72] On this point Brigham Young had the faith of Abraham and he told the brethren "As the Lord God liveth, he shall come out of their hands."[73]

The burden of leadership at this time of crisis fell on Brigham Young and Heber Kimball. Disarmed, cornered, their presidency hostage, it was a day for protecting what remained, for surviving, for finding a place of refuge and somehow getting there. *[349]* While there was not yet time to consider the lessons, clearly the events of the fall of 1838 would have a lasting impact. The chief executive of a state had put the force of his office behind a move to exterminate them. They experienced robbery and plunder under the color of law. Disarmed and helpless, they had witnessed violence and rape. Young and his co-religionists had been thoroughly whipped. Later actions suggest that Young emerged from this experience with a fixed determination that if ever it was in his power they would not be so whipped again. The cities of Zion should be free and independent, not mocked and desecrated by lawless enemies of God and man. The Saints would gather again and, if General Clark's prediction held, they would again face enemies. Next time it would be different. *[350]*

Notes

1. "History of Brigham Young," Deseret News, 27 January–24 March 1858, p. 393; and Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1851), 3:2.

2. Joseph Smith Diary, 21 December 1842, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church Archives.

3. See "History of Brigham Young," p. 393 for an account of their journey. Sidney Rigdon's family experienced illness and remained behind near the end of the journey and did not arrive at Far West until later in the spring. Joseph wrote to the Kirtland Presidency, 29 March 1838, Joseph Smith Papers, that "Br B Young. . . . arrived here when we did. They were with us on the last of our journey which aded much to our Sattisfaction. They are also well."

4. Joseph Smith to the Kirtland Presidency, 29 March 1838, Joseph Smith Papers.

5. See Oliver Cowdery to Warren A. Cowdery, 21 January 1838, Cowdery Letterbook, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, microfilm in Church Archives, for an indication that Frederick G. Williams and David Whitmer also corresponded with the Kirtland dissidents.

6. Oliver Cowdery to Warren and Lyman Cowdery, 4 February 1838, Cowdery Letterbook, Huntington Library. For the details of their plans see the rest of Cowdery's January-March 1838 letters in this letterbook.

7. Minutes, 5 and 10 February 1838, *Elders Journal* 1 (July 1838):44–45. For Cowdery's view of this see Cowdery Letterbook, Huntington Library. Marsh was a prominent resident of Far West but had no formal authority as an apostle to preside there. His actions here are either as an influential local member or as appointed by the authority of the local council, rather than by virtue of his apostleship.

8. Thomas B. Marsh to Joseph Smith, 15 February 1838, *Elders Journal* 1 (July 1838):45.

9. Minutes, 15 March 1838, "The Conference Minutes, and Record Book, of Christ's Church of Latter Day Saints," popularly known and hereafter cited as "Far West Record." Joseph Smith to Kirtland Presidency, 29 March 1838, Joseph Smith Papers.

10. Joseph Smith to Kirtland Presidency, 29 March 1838, Joseph Smith Papers.

11. Joseph Smith to Kirtland Presidency, 29 March 1838, Joseph Smith Papers.

12. *History of the Church,* 3:9. For this definition of aristarchy see Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: S. Converse, 1828; reprint ed., Anaheim, California: Foundation for American Christian Education, 1967).

13. Joseph Smith to Kirtland Presidency, 29 March 1838, Joseph Smith Papers.

14. Kimball described Young's farm as "three or four miles from the city," but the scale of a map later drawn by Thomas Bullock suggests a distance nearly of six miles or so. See Heber C. Kimball, *President Heber C. Kimball's Journal, Seventh Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), p. 65; and Bullock map, ms, Church Archives.

15. Discourse by Brigham Young, 24 July 1854, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1967). 2:18, hereafter also cited *JD*; and "History of Brigham Young," p. 393.

16. Emmeline B. Wells, "Biography of Mary Ann Angell Young," *Juvenile Instructor* 26 (1 January 1891), p. 19; "History of Brigham Young," p. 393. The revelation is from *History of the Church,* 3:23.

17. Joseph Smith Diary, 12 November 1835, Joseph Smith Papers.

18. "History of Brigham Young," p. 386.

19. Discourse by Brigham Young, 17 February 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 3:209. Brigham Young no doubt understood the legal and practical difficulties with going west from Missouri into lands set apart for the Indians. Many times in later years he indicated that Joseph Smith would have gone west from there but was prevented from intercourse with the

Indians on the Missouri frontier and could not go among them. See for example discourse by Brigham Young, 31 August 1856, *JD* 4:41 and Historian's Office Diary, 2 December 1847, Historian's Office Papers, Church Archives. It was equally impossible to go south, into the region from which the Mormons had been expelled in 1833. East and north were the only two possibilities.

20. Discourse by Brigham Young, 17 February 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 3:209.

21. In spite of this appointment, there is little to suggest Young's detailed involvement in Far West affairs until he moved his family there during the fall crisis. He sometimes participated as a local president in high council trials, but not regularly, and he was present for important conferences. With the Presidency residing in the city, it appears that they, not the local presidency to which Young was appointed, conducted most church business.

22. While these appointments indicate Smith's confidence in the three apostles, the move should not necessarily be seen as a step in the direction of giving the Twelve authority over the stakes. Appointing individual apostles to a local jurisdiction is not the same as the Quorum of the Twelve exercising jurisdiction by right of office.

23. Minutes, 6–8 April 1838, Far West Record, Church Archives; also printed in *Elders Journal* 1 (July 1838):46–47.

24. For a brief discussion of some aspects of the idea that priesthood authority was higher than civil authority see Danel W. Bachman, "Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975), pp. 97–101.

25. Minutes, 12 April 1838, Far West Record, Church Archives. See also *History of the Church,* 3:16–18. For a more complete account of the Oliver Cowdery trial see Leland H. Gentry, *A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836–1839* (Salt Lake City: Department of Seminaries and Institutes, n.d.), pp. 92–98; pp. 83–87 are also relevant. This is a privately printed copy of Gentry's Ph.D. dissertation. *[Editor's note: it has since been published as Leland Homer Gentry,* A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839 *(Provo, Utah: BYU Studies and Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2000).]* The bitter tone of Cowdery's private letters is noticeably missing in his communication to the council. His letter did not constitute the public Declaration of Principles that he had promised Kirtland dissenters would be forthcoming, nor is there any evidence that he made such a declaration while the Mormons were still in Missouri.

It seems likely that while Joseph Smith understood at least to some extent the intensity of Cowdery's disaffection, most members of the Church knew little about the extent of his involvement with those who fought openly against Smith and the Church in Kirtland and Missouri. Cowdery never made his activities public and this trial, simply agreeing with Cowdery's own wish, did not investigate his activities or present testimony to substantiate the charges. This permitted a later view that Cowdery was drummed out of the Church because personal enemies manipulated things to drive a wedge between him and Joseph. Even Phinehas Young, brother to Brigham Young and brother-in-law to Cowdery, thought in 1842 that the difficulties mainly resulted from misunderstandings stirred up partly by enemies of Cowdery who ultimately proved disloyal to Smith. Specifically he mentioned men who themselves apostatized in Missouri like George M. Hinkle, George W. Robinson, Thomas Marsh "and others who Joseph thought to be his friends." Concluded Phinehas, "I believe he [Cowdery] would be with [his old friends] in person and that soon if Brother Joseph only knew the true state of affairs." Phinehas Young to Willard Richards, 14 December 1842, Willard Richards Papers, Church Archives.

Cowdery himself promoted this view. See Cowdery to Phinehas Young, 23 March 1846 and Cowdery to Brigham Young, Heber Kimball et al., 25 December 1842; the relevant portions of both letters, originals in the Church Archives, can be found in Stanley R. Gunn, *Oliver Cowdery—Second Elder and Scribe* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), pp. 161–62. In the latter letter Cowdery wrote to the Twelve that "I do not charge or believe that either of you contributed anything to render my situation or circumstances, then or afterwards, in the least afflicting."

26. Minutes, 13 April 1838, Far West Record. See also Gentry, *Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, pp. 98–100. According to Richard L. Anderson, more than an avowed enemy of Joseph Smith, Whitmer was jealous of the influence of Sidney Rigdon and generally uncomfortable with the changes in the Church. See Anderson, "David Whitmer: The Independent Missouri Businessman," *Improvement Era* (April 1969):76. Ebenezer Robinson in *The Return* 1 and 2 (1889–1890) documents Whitmer's systematic rejection of any innovation after 1835. Thomas Marsh also noted Whitmer's insistence that the Book of Mormon was of God, but Joseph Smith later strayed from the proper path. See "History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh (Written by himself in Great Salt Lake City, November, 1857)," *Deseret News*, 24 March 1858, p. 18. Whitmer may also have openly fought Joseph Smith and the Church, however; Kimball said that he was with the mob that took Far West in Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 59.

27. Minutes, 13 April 1838, Far West Record, Church Archives. Gentry, *Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, pp. 100–102. Thomas Marsh later wrote that he, Smith and Rigdon met with Cowdery and Lyman Johnson "who were <u>also</u> exploring northward," on 18 May. Apparently they were seeking out a place to settle apart from the Saints, an intention Cowdery had expressed earlier. "History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh," p. 18.

28. It seems possible that the same council that tried Lyman Johnson also tried Luke. John F. Boynton was apparently cut off in December 1837 or January 1838 while Smith was in Kirtland, but no record has been found of that action either. Luke Johnson rejoined the Church less than ten years later during the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo; the other two never did rejoin. According to Andrew Jenson, John Boynton later visited Brigham Young on two occasions, once told Erastus Snow in reference to the gospel to "Stick to it, for it is good," and never joined another church insisting, "If anything is right, Mormonism is." See Jenson ed., *The Historical Record* 5 (May 1886):53–54.

29. *History of the Church,* 3:31, 11 May 1838 and "History of William E. McLellen," *Deseret News*, 12 May 1858, p. 49. While there seems to be no controversy about this as the date of McLellen's formal excommunication, no minute has been found to amplify the details.

30. Brigham Young placed him with the "open and avowed enemies" in his "History of Brigham Young," p. 393. Heber Kimball recounted one encounter with McLellen during the later mobbings. See Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 59. See also "History of William E. McLellen," p. 49 and *History of the Church,* 3:215.

31. Doctrine and Covenants, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1923), Section

101:40 (16 December 1833). For a discussion of the speech see Gentry, *Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, pp. 103ff.

32. See Gentry's discussion of the sermon and the expulsion of dissenters in *Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, pp. 103–12. See *The Return* 2 (February 1890):219 for a list of those who signed the threatening document. Ebenezer Robinson, the editor of *The Return* and one who signed it, did not charge Joseph Smith with the document but thought that it came from "the office of the First Presidency," perhaps from Hyrum Smith, one of the last who signed the threat. Sampson Avard who secretly organized some of the Far West men as "Danites" was the first signer and most probably had a hand in the writing.

Robinson signed it out of loyalty to the Presidency, he said later, and without having read it all or heard it read. Probably many others did the same. After years of harassment and persecution by enemies, neither the Presidency nor the faithful Saints felt patience and tolerance any longer a virtue. While there is no evidence that Joseph used or urged others to use violence upon dissenters, he did use intemperate language that contributed to tensions and misunderstandings at this time. He not only allowed the printing of Sidney Rigdon's Provocative fourth of July speech, for example, but recommended that all the Saints acquire copies and specifically endorsed some of the sentiments: they had had enough threats and persecutors attempting to execute their threats, he wrote, "with which we are absolutely determined no longer to bear, come life or come death, for to be mobbed any more without taking vengeance, we will not." *Elders Journal* 1 (August 1838):54.

33. Minutes, 24 May 1838, Far West Record, Church Archives.

34. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 115. This revelation also changed the name of the Church.

35. See *History of the Church,* 3:46 footnote for this last revelation, which was not printed in the Doctrine and Covenants. The others are today Doctrine and Covenants Sections 117, 119 and 120. The ambiguity about formal actions against Frederick G. Williams has been noted. Although only the 7 November 1837 failure to sustain him in Far West is known, both this revelation and the fact of his rebaptism a month later suggest that he was, indeed, considered excommunicated. See *History of the Church,* 3:55 (5 August 1838).

36. See Brigham Young Diary, 8 July 1838, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives; today this is Doctrine and Covenants Section 118.

37. *[There were six apostles in Missouri, but it appears Orson Pratt was not present—or at least he was not named in the minutes. The meeting minutes, including the names of the five who were present, were published in the* Elder's Journal, *1 no. 4 (August 1838): 61, and in* History of the Church, *3:47.]*

Both John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff later testified that they had known by the spirit before the letter arrived that they had been called. See G. Homer Durham, ed., *The Gospel Kingdom; Selections from the Writings and Discourses of John Taylor, Third President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1944), p. 190.

38. *History of the Church,* 3:47. The next issue of the *Elders Journal* 1 (August 1838):53–54 included an article by Rigdon confirming once again his commitment to the process of gathering in cities and building a distinct society therein. Members who merely retain what they have at baptism do not become Saints, he wrote. Members must gather together to obtain new knowledge, more intelligence, and eventually all the privileges of the Church.

39. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 52–53 and "History of Orson Hyde," *Deseret News*, 5–12 May 1858, p. 49. Hyde long remembered Joseph's kindness to him at this time and later referred to it several times. For example, in a 17 April 1841 letter to Joseph printed in *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 July 1841):183, he mentioned "when we were sick, you took us in."

40. *History of the Church,* 3:85, 147. It is likely that by this time, early October, Brigham Young moved his own family into Far West for safety.

41. Minutes, 5–6 October 1838, Far West Record, Church Archives.

42. "History of Heber Chase Kimball by his own Dictation," ms, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives.

43. "History of Brigham Young," p. 393. See also discourse by Brigham Young, 11 July 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 1:41: "To my certain knowledge" that occurred, he says twice here, and he could name names.

44. For a discussion of causes see Gentry, *Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, pp. 167–212.

45. By this time many Mormons were willing to meet force with force. In addition to the unauthorized "Danites," units of Mormon militia patrolled at this time, and perhaps other Mormon parties engaged in retaliatory raidings. Concerning the tendency toward responding with force see Marvin S. Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830–1844" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 187–90 and 197–221. See also Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977). pp. 230–34.

46. James A. Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946):52–53. For a consideration of the Missouri Danites see Gentry, *Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, pp. 213–44. Some evidence links Sidney Rigdon to Avard and his activities. If Rigdon did not authorize the band, it seems likely he at least knew of its existence. It appears less likely that Joseph Smith was aware until, once informed, he saw it disbanded. Though short-lived and apparently unauthorized, the Danites had a profound impact on the Missouri difficulties.

47. *History of the Church,* 3:211.

48. For Marsh's complaining and Young's view that it was a preparation see discourse by Brigham Young, 7 October 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:197. See also Minutes, 30 November 1847, Brigham Young Papers. Marsh's associates later wrote of this period that he "had been lifted up in pride by his exaltation to office and the revelations of heaven concerning him, until he was ready to be overthrown by the first adverse wind that should cross his track." *History of the Church,* 3:167.

49. See *Elders Journal* 1 (July 1838):45–46 for examples. Also Minutes, 29 June 1838, Far West Record, Church Archives, where he demanded that one man publicly confess "that he had insulted them."

50. Discourse by George A. Smith, 6 April 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 3:283–84.

51. Discourse by Thomas B. Marsh, 6 September 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:207. Compare this with his account in "History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh," p. 18.

52. "History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh," p. 18; and discourse by Marsh, 6 September 1857, *Journal of Discourses*

5:207. One of the tensions between Marsh and Joseph Smith may have been over Missouri lands. Marsh was one of several who controlled much of the land in Far West and may have rebelled against Smith's handling of land sales and distribution. Lyndon W. Cook, "'I Have Sinned Against Heaven, and Am Unworthy of Your Confidence, But I cannot Live without a Reconciliation': Thomas B. Marsh Returns to the Church," *Brigham Young University Studies* 20 (Spring 1980):394.

53. Discourse by Heber C. Kimball, 12 July 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 5:28, 29.

54. Durham, ed., *Gospel Kingdom*, p. 187. Also *History of the Church,* 3:165 and "History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh," p. 18.

55. See Walter Litchfield, "Thomas B. Marsh, Physician to the Church" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1956), pp. 117–35 for a comprehensive review of his return to the Church in 1857; p. 117 contains this from the journal of Wandell Mace: "I left the Church in Missouri in 1838. I never wrote against the Church nor persecuted the people. I did nothing to disturb or hinder its progress. I just left it and kept myself away from it, and have been silent." See also Cook, "Thomas B. Marsh," pp. 396–40.

56. Durham, ed., *Gospel Kingdom*, pp. 186–87. Durham reproduced the affidavit in its entirety; the version in *History of the Church,* 3:167 is incomplete. Taylor here says that he was in Far West at this time "mixed up with all prominent church affairs. . . . And I know that these things, referred to in the affidavits, are not true." Taylor, for one, specifically denied any knowledge of the Danites. For a discussion of Joseph Smith's response to these charges see page 387, note 21, or Joseph Smith to the Church, 16 December 1838, Joseph Smith Papers.

57. Marsh and Hyde to Brother and Sister Abbot, ca. 25 October 1838, Joseph Smith Papers. From Far West Marsh traveled to Richmond where he visited David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery. "I enquired seriously of David if it was true that he had seen the angel," wrote Marsh, and Whitmer told him as sure as there is a God in heaven he had seen it. Marsh then asked him why he was not then standing by Joseph. Joseph had been a good man, answered Whitmer, "filled with the Holy Ghost but he considered he had now fallen." He questioned Cowdery "in the same manner who answered similarly." "History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh," p. 18.

58. See Wilburn D. Talbot, "The Duties and Responsibilities of the Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1835–1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1978), pp. 39–40.

59. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 55. For Joseph Smith's recital of the Battle of Crooked River and death of Patten see *Times and Seasons* 1 (November 1839): 4–5.

60. *History of the Church,* 3:175. Emphasis deleted.

61. See *History of the Church,* 3:183–86 for his account.

62. Parley P. Pratt, "A History, of the Persecution, of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Missouri," *Times and Seasons* 1 (December 1839–October 1840):115–16.

63. "History of Brigham Young," p. 393. Consult Gentry, *Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, pp. 312–51 for the siege of Far West and its aftermath. See also *History of the Church,* 3:182–208 and a version by Joseph Smith in *Times and Seasons* 1 (November 1839):5.

64. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 57–58; and Pratt, "A History of the Persecution," p. 116.

65. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 58.

66. Was this a dishonorable betrayal by traitors in their own ranks and a violation of a flag of truce, as the Mormons saw it, or a delivering up of prisoners to prevent the destruction of Far West, as the militia viewed it? For the point of view of General Samuel D. Lucas, see *History of the Church,* 3:195–99. Gentry, *Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, pp. 342–45, reviews the evidence.

67. Pratt, "History of the Persecution," p. 116. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 59–60.

68. "History of Brigham Young," p. 393.

69. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 60, 65.

70. "History of Brigham Young," p. 394; Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 64.

71. *History of the Church,* 3:202–4, emphasis deleted. Both Heber and Brigham included the speech in their histories. "History of Brigham Young," p. 393; and Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 60–62.

72. *History of the Church,* 3:202–4, emphasis deleted.

73. Discourse by Brigham Young, 1 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 1:364. See also Willard Richards Diary, 18 January 1847, Willard Richards Papers: "when Joseph & Hyrum & seven were in prison—I s[ai]d I knew that they would be delivered & come safe out of the hands of the Missourians." Similarly, Kimball wrote in 1839, "Although they were in the hands of their enemies, who threatened to kill them, I always had the testimony that they would be delivered and come forth victorious." Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 56. Joseph Smith later insisted that he, too, although he felt great anxiety about his family, "felt an assurnace [*sic*], that I with my brethren and our families should be delivered." *Times and Seasons* 1 (November 1839):7–8. While still imprisoned in Liberty Jail he wrote that although their enemies seemed to have a great triumph over them, "we most assuredly believe and know, that their triumph will be short, and that God will deliver us out of their hands," *Times and Seasons* 1 (April 1840):83.

Chapter 8

The Temporary Ascendancy of Brigham Young and the Twelve: Discipleship during Crisis, 1838–1839

The imprisonment of the Presidency left the Missouri Mormons without their customary leaders at a time of severe crisis. If the society was to survive intact—indeed if many now impoverished by plunder yet facing a winter exodus were to survive at all—it would take leadership of a high order to encourage, to give direction, to coordinate resources. It was this task that fell on Brigham Young and Heber Kimball, first because they were there and understood what had to be done, and then by official directive from the Presidency.

Ten weeks into their captivity, 16 January 1839, Joseph Smith and his counselors Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith addressed an important letter to "Bros H C Kimball and B Young." It began with an answer to the query of Young and Kimball about leaving Missouri: "It is not wisdom for you to go out of Caldwell [County] with your families yet for a little season untill we are out of Prison." No doubt the Presidency hoped soon to be free, able to join them in their journey to a new home. They must stay also, for with the Presidency in prison, continued the letter, "the management of the affairs of the Church devolves on you[,] that is the Twelve."[1] *[360]*

Perhaps it had important meaning for the future role of the Twelve that the Presidency did not appoint Brigham Young and Heber Kimball to preside in their absence simply because they thought the two men the most effective priesthood officers on hand. The letter gave no hint of that. Instead, it specifically suggested that because the Presidency were not able, leadership responsibilities naturally devolved "on you[,] that is the Twelve."[2] Until the Presidency were released, the responsibility of all the affairs of the Church lay with the Twelve. From the first, the theology of the office had allowed for this, but by assignment the Twelve's responsibility had been limited. Now, with the other leadership quorums in disarray and the Presidency disabled, everything came under their jurisdiction.

In this exigency, however, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles hardly appeared to be a powerful tool. Because of apostasy, death, and imprisonment, the Quorum of the Twelve was as disorganized as other quorums. The departure of the Johnson brothers, McLellen, and Boynton left four vacancies in the quorum, and before any of those named to fill them had been ordained, the disaffections of Marsh and Hyde created two more. Patten was dead, Parley Pratt in prison and William Smith could not be relied upon. Unless Orson Pratt had recently arrived in Far West from his New York assignment, only Brigham Young and Heber Kimball of the original Twelve could assist the Saints in the ravished Missouri settlements.

Yet it was also a quorum on the way up. In this same January letter of appointment, the Presidency "nominated" George A. Smith and Lyman Sherman to fill the vacancies left by the departure *[361]* of Marsh and Hyde, and instructed Young and Kimball "to get the twelve together ordain such as have not ben ordained, or at least such of them as you can get"—some were not in Missouri—and then, as a quorum, "proceed to regulate the Elders as the Lord may give you wisdom." Before the Presidency penned this letter, two had been ordained, and more ordinations would soon follow. How would the reviving quorum be organized? An important postscript said simply: "Appoint the oldest of the Twelve who were firs[t] appointed, to be the President of your Quorum." Heber Kimball and Brigham Young, both born in June 1801, had birthdays only a few days apart. It is possible that Joseph Smith did not know that by his postscript Brigham Young became president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.[3]

Young and Kimball had known most of the new appointees for several years. George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff had shared with them the

experiences of Zion's Camp and much since. John Taylor they had met in the spring of 1837 when he used his formidable preacher's skills in defense of the Prophet. Willard Richards, baptized by his cousins Brigham and Heber in December 1836, had lived and traveled with Brigham Young and was presently on a mission in England. They had first met Lyman Sherman in 1832 on their way to Kirtland and knew his integrity. Presumably they had associated with John E. Page at least since his move to Kirtland in the fall of 1835. If Young and Kimball had reservations about any of these men, they went unrecorded. Clearly they welcomed the additional laborers and the opportunity for the Twelve to organize and function again. And clearly they recognized [362] kindred spirits in the steadfast, warm and likable Woodruff and Smith, with whom they had already shared so much. In contrast to the men they replaced, these were men of proven loyalty to Joseph Smith and the principles he promoted, men who shared with Young and Kimball a similar perspective of the kingdom.

It was vital that the Twelve agreed on common goals and directions for the Church, for this would be a time of decision. Building the kingdom and creating a Zion society required a gathered people, and that required a gathering place. Now there was none. The January letter to Kimball and Young recognized that the gathering had temporarily stopped. Joseph Smith, however, saw the cessation as a necessity only until a new place could be located and circumstances permitted another effort. Discouraged after repeated disappointments and difficulties occasioned in part by the Saints' efforts to build tight communities apart from their neighbors, some of the Saints, including several important leaders, were ready to try something different. Why not live their religion scattered, a few here and a few there as other people? To scatter or to gather, a decision with implications for the entire Mormon theocracy, was something that Young and the Twelve must face in the months ahead.

Although the Twelve would, for a time, be responsible for the broader affairs of the Church, the January letter from the Presidency reminded them that their particular assignment of taking the gospel to the world was not suspended, "but under wise management can go on more rapidly than ever." In spite of the disasters that had befallen the Saints, the July revelation [363] appointing the Twelve to a foreign mission still stood. Even if Brigham and Heber moved their families to safety, the letter stressed that they must return to leave for their foreign mission from the Far West temple site on the twenty-sixth of April as the revelation directed. "If we die for the testimony of Jesus we die, but whether we live or die let the work of God go on." Fear not but be strong in the Lord, counselled the Presidency, and remember that the fiery trials are not strange but are the "afflictions by which [men] are perfected."[4]

This January letter of appointment and instruction was not required for Young and Kimball to understand their responsibility, nor is there evidence it was used by them to bolster their authority. Already they had labored diligently for more than two months to comfort and assist the Missouri Saints and to maintain all the order and organization within the Church that circumstances permitted. Available records, though sparse, document their involvement in every aspect of church affairs in this troubled period. Mobbings, forced removal, imprisonment, and apostasy had left every quorum disrupted and church organization in disarray. Concluding by December that an early release of the Presidency was unlikely, Elders Young and Kimball led out in reorganizing the remaining Saints. So that they would have a properly constituted council to conduct affairs for the Far West Saints, including disfellowshipping those who had proven unfaithful, Young began with the high council.

Brigham Young and Heber Kimball set 13 December as the day to fill vacancies in the high council and reorganize that [364] body. Because disaffection and apostasy accompanied the physical assault upon the Church, Young made careful preparations to insure that those loyal to Joseph Smith prevailed. He first made certain that all the faithful high councilors would be present, along with several other loyal high priests. Then, as he later described the meeting, "I gave the H[igh] P[riests] the wink . . . we then drew up the disaffected & disfellowshipped them." If all the disaffected ones had been present and united, "they wo[ul]d av whipt us out," he admitted.[5]

Actually the reorganization and the sifting did not all occur at the same meeting. The minutes for 13 December confirm, however, Young's

concern for testing the feelings and loyalties of the officials present before reorganizing the council—even though he had secured the attendance of the most faithful. In response to the many who had expressed discouragement or disillusionment during the crisis, Young told them that "his faith . . . was the same as ever, and he fellowshipped all such as loved the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in act as well as word." That, along with Heber Kimball's affirmation that he felt "as formerly" about Joseph Smith and the work, set the tone for the meeting. Simeon Carter asserted that his faith, too, was "the same as ever." He thought Joseph had been unwise in some things but he still believed in every revelation that had come through him and did not agree with those who thought him a fallen prophet. Others voiced their opinions that the scourges the Church experienced had been necessary and demonstrated the hand of God. After such expressions demonstrated considerable unity, high priests [365] were appointed to fill the vacancies, and the council stood ready for business.[6]

The meeting of the high council the next week proved equally important. On 19 December the council voted that, according to the July revelation, John E. Page and John Taylor be ordained to the apostleship to fill vacancies in the Quorum of the Twelve.[7] Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball then ordained them to the apostleship. This high council, presided over by the apostles, proceeded to give Elder Taylor his first assignment as an apostle—to join Bishop Partridge in petitioning the federal government for assistance. Perhaps it was also in this meeting that Heber Kimball and Alanson Ripley received the assignment to visit the prisoners frequently to cheer them up and coordinate with them.[8]

By the time Elders Young and Kimball received Joseph Smith's 16 January letter, they had already attended to a number of things that had weighed on Smith and his imprisoned associates. Of course they had also had the benefit of some other communications with the prisoners.[9] For example, they had a letter to the Saints that Smith had written from Liberty Jail, 16 December 1838. The letter combined strong denunciation of traitorous brethren with pointed exhortation and promise to the faithful. If the Saints remained true and lived worthy of the Lord's blessing, wrote the Prophet, they had the promise that "Zion shall yet live though she seemeth to be dead." And for the present, they should fear not for "the very God of peace shall be with you and make a way for your escape . . . we commend you to God."[10] While Joseph [366] Smith promised the blessings of God toward a safe removal of the faithful, the responsibility on earth rested with the apostles.

Since the depredations of November, Missouri Mormons had been leaving their homes and communities as fast as they were able. Although militia commanders had supposedly promised them the "privilege" of staying through the winter if they seeded no crops, armed men rode through the country threatening death to any Mormons they found after February. By January many of those remaining simply had no means to depart. Raiding parties had stolen or destroyed teams and wagons and left little of value to trade for new ones.[11]

It was at this point that Brigham Young, according to later testimony, approached Bishop Partridge, whose stewardship was the temporal well-being of the Saints—particularly the assistance of the poor—and proposed that he assist the poor in leaving. Wearied, overburdened, without means to materially aid them, he supposedly replied, "The poor may take care of themselves, and I will take care of myself."[12] Determined that something be done, Brigham Young, probably with the assistance of Heber Kimball, John Taylor, and other men, appointed a meeting to plan how to comply with the governor's orders "to remove from the State of Missouri immediately."

On 26 January, John Smith, uncle to the Prophet Joseph and assistant counselor in the Presidency, chaired the meeting. After several expressions of the "seeming impossibility" of removing all the Saints because of the poverty, the meeting appointed a committee of seven, including the three apostles with John Taylor as [367] chairman, to determine how many families could not leave without assistance and to appeal to Missouri citizens for aid. Agreeing that it was the duty of those with means to assist those without, the committee also appointed a survey of all the community's resources. On motion of Brigham Young, the meeting of 29 January went further by agreeing to a covenant

> to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our abilities in removing from this state and . . . never desert the poor who are worthy till they

> shall be out of the reach of the exterminating order of Gen. Clark acting for and in the name of the state.[13]

Elias Smith, secretary of the meeting, then drew up a formal instrument and thirty-three men bound themselves "to the extent of all our available property . . . for providing means for the removing of the poor and destitute . . . till there shall not be one left who desires to remove from the state." A committee of seven, soon increased to eleven, was then appointed to superintend removal. None of the Twelve sat on the committee, although Heber C. Kimball continued to work with it through April.[14]

At a meeting 1 February, Brigham Young and John Taylor urged "in the most forcible manner" the necessity of union in order to fulfill the covenant and carry out their resolutions.[15] The following day additional copies of the covenant circulated among the Saints. Brigham Young evidently took the lead in enlisting signers, persuading eighty to subscribe to the covenant the first day and three hundred more the second.[16]

In late January, soon after the letter informing Young and Kimball of the appointments of George A. Smith and Lyman Sherman to the Twelve, Joseph and Hyrum asked their brother Don Carlos to *[368]* inform George A. of his call. When Hyrum asked him how he thought George A. would like the appointment, Don Carlos replied that traveling on foot was so laborious for George A., a young but large man, that he would dread it. "He must take a horse then," replied Hyrum. When he learned of the call, George A. requested Don Carlos to tell no one else as he felt unprepared and unequal to the station.

> I had felt very timid about conversing or making myself familiar with any of the Twelve, as Lyman E. Johnson, John Boyton and some of the others, who formerly belonged to the Quorum, had treated me rather aristocratically, which, added to the high respect I had for their calling, made me feel embarrassed in their presence.[17]

Learning that Brigham and Heber were leaving to visit the prisoners, George A. overcame his reticence, asked to join them, and the three mounted horses for Liberty.

At Liberty Jail the visitors spent supper hour locked up with the prisoners. George A. later remembered that Joseph Smith spent the hour talking with Brigham and Heber, pausing only to ask him how he felt about his call. The young man replied that he was pleased and would do his best to honor it. The next morning the three spent the breakfast hour with the prisoners before returning to Far West. Soon after this Lyman Sherman died of illness, never learning of his appointment as an apostle.[18]

Brigham Young had escaped arrest in the fall because of his low profile, but by February he was the one sought after. Though for a time he continued his labors by disguising himself or keeping hidden from those harassing Far West, by mid-February it became necessary for him to flee.[19] Heber Kimball, still less *[369]* well known, agreed to remain behind to finish the removal and if possible aid the prisoners to escape. By April he, too, would be in hiding by day, counseling with the committee only at night. Less well known than Heber, George A. Smith also materially aided the removal efforts.

On 14 February, in the midst of bitter winter cold, Brigham Young, his family, Heber's family, and others departed Far West. Brigham Young shepherded across northern Missouri at this time more Saints than he had teams and wagons to move. After advancing with one part of the camp as rapidly and as far as possible, he returned with equipment to bring up more, leaving Mary Ann to care for his family. Even with great exertions, it was only with the aid of friendly Missourians that Young's family escaped severe frostbite and perhaps even death before gaining refuge in Atlas, Pike County, Illinois. Although others of his camp went to the area around Quincy, Illinois, Young and his family spent several weeks in Atlas. Perhaps he knew from previous visits that he would be welcomed there.[20]

While Young worked his way to a place of refuge, Joseph Smith remained imprisoned in Liberty Jail. No doubt both men had ample time that winter to ponder the events of the preceding season and attempt to draw lessons from them. No contemporary letters reveal Young's conclusions, but it is likely that he agreed with the sentiments expressed by Smith in lengthy letters from his lonely imprisonment. At the same time Smith's heart went out to his suffering brethren, he could not forget not yet forgive "the wickedness and corruption of false brethren" that had greatly *[370]*

multiplied the sorrows of the Saints. His feelings rebelled at the actions of men who should have been brothers but who turned to meanness and revenge. Among others, Smith mentioned specifically the Three Witnesses, the former counselors in the Missouri presidency, and William McLellen. The last two defectors from the Twelve he singled out for special comment, saying with bitterness that Marsh and Hyde had a cloak of hypocrisy instead of inner strength and integrity to uphold them in the hour of trouble. Although the Savior had said that offenses must come, he also said wo unto those by whom they came: "We confess that we are offended."[21]

Once Brigham Young had done all he could toward a safe removal from Missouri, the next decision he and the Saints faced had to do with the gathering: should they immediately gather again, and if so where? Joseph Smith had promised in his December letter that Zion would rise again—but only the Lord knew the timetable. No doubt Young and Kimball discussed this with Joseph during their February visit to Liberty Jail, but it is unlikely that Smith had definitive advice to give, other than to reinforce, if that were needed, the idea that the Saints must, indeed, find a new place to gather. A late March letter from prison acknowledged the importance of finding "places for the location of the saints," but concluded that for the time being other church authorities would have to make the decisions for "we cannot council you in this thing as well as if we were with you." Later in the same letter the Presidency wrote that they felt strongly that the Church would "do well" to secure certain Iowa lands that had been offered [371] them.[22] They went on to say, however, that "the saints aught to lay hold of every opening, in order to obtain a foot hold on the earth," and suggested specifically only the propriety of brethren settling any promising places between Far West and Kirtland "until God shall open out a more effectual door."[23]

With no place appointed for refuge and regrouping, the Saints had scattered, each to whatever places of shelter or opportunity they found available. Just as Brigham Young had foreseen in the spring, practical reasons forced most of them to head east toward Illinois, where Quincy and some other communities gave them assistance and welcome. Bishop Partridge took up residence in the Quincy area, as did Sidney Rigdon when broken health won him a release from prison before Joseph Smith and the others. By the time Brigham Young left Far West inmid-February, Quincy was becoming a *de facto* temporary headquarters for the Church.

In a letter that Bishop Edward Partridge wrote to Joseph Smith from Quincy 5 March 1839, he noted that Quincy was full of church members, many of whom would no doubt accept the invitation to settle there. Still, it was only one of many places of refuge and the Saints, he wrote, "are scattering off nearly all the while."[24]

At a meeting in Quincy a few days later, President Rigdon read a letter from Isaac Galland about lands in nearby Iowa that he would sell on reasonable terms and then led in appointing a committee to investigate the place. When the committee returned from Iowa with a favorable report, the Saints in Quincy held a [372] conference to consider "the Expedience of Locating the Church in some place." Based on the report of the committee, William Marks, who was chosen president of the meeting, came down in favor of the purchase "providing that it was the will of the Lord that we should again gather together." That, indeed, was the central concern in many minds. If it was right to gather, why had they again been scattered? Marks observed that being driven from other places had almost led him to conclude that it was not wise to gather. He invited all present to express their views. Some spoke in favor of "an immedate gathering." Others, like Bishop Partridge, shared the fears expressed by Marks and thought it not presently expedient. Rather than to settle together, Partridge thought they should "scatter into different parts and provide for the poor which will be acceptable to God." After more discussion, the bishop carried the day and it was agreed unanimously that at the present it was not advisable to settle on the Iowa lands as a gathered people.[25]

Although Sidney Rigdon had urged that the lands be examined and was a member of the committee to examine them, there are indications that he was among those who had serious misgivings about the Saints immediately gathering once again. In 1837–1838 no one had more forcefully and eloquently preached the gathering than had Sidney Rigdon.[26] But the Missouri persecutions

and his own imprisonment greatly diminished his enthusiasm. John Taylor remembered Rigdon advising the brethren that each should make his own way "for the work seems as though it has come to an end." Perhaps it was at the same occasion that Brigham Young heard him urge the Saints to scatter, each man doing the best he could for [373] himself, for the "work of gathering . . . the Saints we will not accomplish, these Saints will never be gathered again." Young responded forcefully that although president Rigdon and others thought it impossible, the Saints would, indeed, be gathered again and eventually the Prophet would be among them.[27]

For his part, Young, too, recognized that the gathering and the related way of life promoted by the Saints had provoked and would continue to provoke hostility among neighbors. There would be no lasting peace and no independent Zion of strength until they could have a refuge apart from others. But there could be no kingdom without a gathered people. The gathering was central and could not be abandoned. Until the way finally opened for them to go to a secure place, they must, once again, make the effort.[28]

By mid-March Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, and John Taylor had joined the Saints gathering in Quincy. They met in council for several hours the evening of 17 March and again the following day when they agreed to immediately move their own families to Quincy so they could begin meeting and operating as a quorum. If all the Saints could not yet be gathered, at least the Twelve could; Quincy would for the time being serve as headquarters.[29]

Sunday, 17 March, the three apostles also met in conference with the Saints. "B. Young took the lead of the meeting & gave much important instruction there,"[30] wrote Woodruff in his diary. Young described the circumstances of the Saints in Far West and presented a letter from the Far West committee on removal asking for teams and money to move fifty poor families to Quincy. He [374] later reported that, as poor as they were, the Saints at Quincy "manifested a spirit of willingness to do their utmost. They were ready to sell their hats coats & shoes to accomplish the object." After the meeting Young collected $50 and the promise of many teams to go back and bring out the destitute.[31]

Young's instructions at the important conference included warnings against scattering and the counsel that they should, at least, settle in companies or where they could be organized into churches and "nourished and fed by the shepherds" until a new gathering place was appointed. He urged the Saints to follow those whom God had appointed to counsel and lead them, for there was order in the kingdom of God, "and we must regard that order if we expect to be blessed."[32] George Harris followed Elder Young. He spoke of those who had deserted the Church "in the time of our perils, persecutions and dangers." By unanimous vote the conference cut off from the Church a number of individuals. With the notable exception of Frederick G. Williams, the list included mainly those whom Joseph Smith had written against in his December letter, including Thomas B. Marsh.[33]

It is possible that Brigham Young mistakenly included Frederick G. Williams on this list of those to be voted out. While Williams was clearly a dissenter during the winter of 1837–1838, he rejoined the Church in the summer of 1838 and no evidence of later disloyalty has surfaced. Perhaps it was enough for Young that he had not been visibly present in Far West and acting in defense of the Saints "in the times of our perils." In the important reorganization meeting on 13 December in Far West, Young [375] stressed that he fellowshipped those who loved the Savior and the gospel "in act as well as word."[34] Perhaps in this Quincy conference Young was as prepared to cut off influential members who had failed to aid them as those who did them injury. With neither investigation nor testimony, the Quincy vote merely reflected the feelings of those present. Family tradition suggests that Williams was, in fact, absent on a mission given him by Joseph Smith when the difficulties erupted and that Young interpreted his absence as disloyalty.[35] Whatever the reasons, when Willaims was rebaptized a year later, he asked forgiveness for his conduct and expressed determination to do the will of God in the future. Young apparently bore no personal malice. When he learned of Williams's return, he wrote to his wife that it gave him great comfort and that he longed to hear of more returning.[36]

If Frederick G. Williams was a notable addition to the list of those cut off on 17 March, there were also two notable absences: Orson Hyde and

William Smith. There are indications that the Missouri disasters triggered in Joseph's volatile younger brother William still another rage. Not only did William fail to visit and support his imprisoned brothers (in contrast to the efforts of Samuel and Don Carlos Smith, for example), but it was later said that he publicly expressed the hope that his brother Joseph would never get out of the hands of his enemies alive, and further, that if it had been up to him, "he would have hung him years before."[37] After leaving Missouri in the fall of 1838, William moved to Plymouth, Illinois, and it is likely that the Quincy apostles did not know his location. It is also likely that they *[376]* were content to postpone William's case until he was present—and perhaps Joseph and Hyrum Smith, as well.[38]

It may be that Orson Hyde was not cut off with Thomas Marsh because Brigham Young had already learned of his change of heart and desire to return. Feeling deep sorrow for his actions, Hyde in February had approached Heber Kimball in Far West to seek his council. Kimball admonished him "very strongly" to return to the Church and to accompany the Twelve to England, where he had earlier helped Kimball open the work. Although Hyde feared the brethren would never forgive him, Kimball reassured him he could be forgiven and promised to be his advocate. Hyde told Kimball that fear had influenced him to act as he had. Years later he wrote that he would mention only one cause for having "sinned against God and my brethren" at this time: "that I did not possess the light of the Holy Ghost."[39]

In late March, Orson Hyde wrote to Brigham Young, now president of his quorum, mentioning the advice that Heber had given him and promising when they met a full explanation and a full confession. The past winter had been one of torment as he struggled with himself and God, he reported, "so exercised that I would neither work nor sleep, and would frequently find myself weeping." He could not help but compare that with his feelings a few months before when he returned from his successful mission to England, without guilt and in harmony with God. The Danites had truly been a trial to him, he noted, for he learned about the secrets from several who had been initiated: "But these things do *[377]* not rest upon my mind with that weight which they did at that time." As to the terms for his return, he was not particular:

> the chastening hand of the Lord has don for me that which nothing else would, I think. If the Church will accept me as a minister, or a sol[d]ier, or a door-keeper, they can have me. I need not write to you that I have litterally died and ben rased from the dead. . . . Brigham, will you forgive me: will the Church forgive me: If, so God will forgive me.

Whatever the disposition of his case, the sincere wish of his heart was that "Mount Zion" prosper, wrote Hyde in closing, signing himself "your Younger Brother in a distant land feeding swine."[40]

If Hyde's trials had made him low, the trials of the Saints who had remained steadfast had tempered and strengthened them and had united them. Brigham Young and others of the apostles later said that the Church never enjoyed more of the spirit of God than during their worst persecutions. Heber Kimball reflected this in his March 1839 report to England on the state of the Church:

> Brethren, I can truly say that I have never seen the Church in a better state since I have been a member of it. What there are left are firm and steadfast, full of love and good works. They have lost all their earthly goods, and are now ready to go and preach the gospel to a dying world.[41]

If the Saints had gradually regained their enthusiasm and their optimism, so had their Prophet—in spite of continued imprisonment. Months of close confinement with poor food and forced separation from his family and friends had not broken him. Rather his private meditations had mellowed and matured him. Patience, new understanding and sensitivity, and gradually a renewed spirit of optimism replaced anger and enmity. After more than four months of confinement Smith wrote in March several letters that demonstrate his enthusiasm when contemplating the work ahead.[42] *[378]*

Joseph Smith especially looked with anticipation toward the day he could again teach the Saints. Although he had tried to prepare the Saints in the past to receive new teachings, external adversity, internal division, and impatient Saints who had run before they were sent had interfered. Some of these earlier problems, he had now concluded, were because

> many things were introduced among the Saints, before God had signified the time, and notwithstanding the principles and the plans may have been good, yet aspiring men . . . brought trouble, both upon themselves and the saints at large.[43]

At the proper time those plans and principles would be reintroduced, along with things never taught before. So far, insisted the Prophet, he had "never had the opportunity to give [the Church] the plan that God has revealed to me." Timing was important—the Saints must be prepared and God must approve. But Joseph was certain that the time was near "when God will signify many things."[44] Since first meeting the Prophet in 1832, Young had treasured the opportunities to learn from him. These promises of more to come must have held great interest for the senior apostle.

Joseph Smith further emphasized the expansiveness of Mormon belief, with the suggestion that his future teachings promised more innovation, in another prison letter that March. Providing an overview of Mormon belief for a man he had not met, the Prophet stressed that "Mormonism is truth," and that those who embraced it felt at liberty to embrace "all truth." Mormonism ideally, thought Smith, freed men from superstition and ignorance so they could accept all that God revealed, "without being circumscribed or prohibited by the creeds or superstitious notions of men." *[379]* Indeed, if God does speak to man, man should accept all that is revealed, for "where is the man who is authorized to put his finger on the spot and say, thus far shalt thou go and no farther: there is no man. Therefore let us receive the whole, or none."[45] Though innovation, especially things that went against traditionally accepted Christian notions, had already contributed to the difficulties of the Church, more could be expected.

On 17 April 1839, Brigham Young presided over a conference in Quincy at which he presented George A. Smith to be sustained as one of the Twelve. The Saints sustained George A., but not without Reynolds Cahoon's remarks that "there had been so much apostasy among the Twelve that he hoped the saints would exercise faith to keep this one from flying the track."[46] The Twelve then held a council with other church officials about returning to Missouri to fulfill the "revelation & commandment of the Lord" which required them to "take leave of my saints in the city of Far West" on 26 April and begin their mission abroad.[47] Some present, certain the Lord would take the will for the deed, did not expect the Twelve to fulfill it, reported Young later of the occasion, "but I felt differently and so did the Twelve who were with me." Brigham no doubt remembered the Presidency's reminder written in January that they must return and fulfill the revelation. He may also have known that anti-Mormons had boasted that the revelation could not be fulfilled, clear evidence that Joseph Smith was not a prophet. After each of the Twelve separately expressed their feelings, Young announced that "the Lord God had spoken & it was our business to obey, & the Lord would take care *[380]* of us." All present agreed to go and fulfill the revelation.[48] The next day Elders Young, Pratt, Taylor, Woodruff, and George A. Smith, accompanied by Alpheus Cutler, named master builder for the Far West Temple, set out for Missouri—unaware that Joseph and Hyrum Smith and other Liberty Jail prisoners had been allowed to escape and were already on their way to Illinois.

Two weeks earlier eight men, including John Whitmer and Captain Bogart, who had led the mob forces in the Battle of Crooked River, confronted Theodore Turley, one of the Far West committee on removal, in his office. Bogart presented Turley with a copy of the revelation directing the Twelve to leave Far West and asked him to read it, saying:

> [Joseph] and the Twelve are now scattered all over creation; let them come here if they dare; if they do, they will be murdered. As that revelation cannot be fulfilled, you will now give up your faith.

Turley's insistence in the name of God that the revelation would be fulfilled brought laughter and scorn.[49]

Pressure on the remaining Far West Saints increased so much that on 14 April Kimball and the committee removed the last thirty-six families to a grove twenty-five miles away.[50] On the sixteenth the mob rode into Far West to "tantalize the committee on the subject of the revelation" and threaten any Mormons who would not immediately leave the nearly deserted town.[51] On the eighteenth Kimball was abused and threatened as he went to the committee room to notify the committee to leave before they were killed. Right behind him, the rabble commenced breaking up furniture. They injured Turley and raised such an uproar that within an hour the *[381]* committee had all fled for their lives. According to Kimball, the men destroyed many of the accounts

and records of the committee and plundered the remaining property that had been assembled to aid the poor in leaving.[52]

By the time he was forced to leave Far West, Kimball had learned of the escape of the Liberty Jail prisoners. He immediately rode towards Quincy, Illinois, until, satisfied that they had safely left Missouri, he returned and traveled to Richmond with Shadrach Roundy to visit through the bars with Parley Pratt and other prisoners still held there. Because some thought that Kimball and Roundy must have aided the Liberty prisoners to escape and intended to do the same in Richmond, they quickly withdrew. The two men returned to the Far West area on 25 April and secreted themselves, hoping that Brigham Young and others would soon arrive. That night Elders Young, Orson Pratt, Page, Taylor, Woodruff, and Smith of the Twelve, along with a number of Saints, arrived by moonlight and in the early morning rode into the public square of Far West.[53]

The small conference of twenty-five members and officials first excommunicated by vote nearly three dozen of their former associates who had failed to remain loyal during the difficulties of the fall and winter. They then sang a hymn about the mission of the Twelve and rolled a large stone onto the temple site. After Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith received their ordinations as apostles and two other men (who had been released from Richmond Jail only two days before) as seventies, Alpheus Cutler directed the placement of the stone to commence the [382] foundation of the temple. All seven of the apostles prayed in turn according to their order in the Quorum, then "the twelve took their leave of the Saints agreeable to revelation."[54] Before departing, some of the brethren wandered the deserted streets, observing grass once again where only months before foot and wagon traffic packed soils hard. Their enemies, thought Taylor, certain that they would not risk appearing, had not even posted a guard.[55] Theodore Turley aroused Isaac Russell, one of those just cut off by the meeting, to astonish him with the news that the Twelve had just left Far West.

For Wilford Woodruff the events of this day were worthy of record "for a Revelation of God & commandment" was fulfilled "under trying circumstances which to all human appearance could not have been done." While the Twelve and the committee traveled to Tenny's Grove to accompany the last of the faithful from Missouri, their enemies converged on Far West from several points to discover that they had already transacted their business and departed. In addition to gratitude for their own safety, Woodruff expressed in his diary the thankfulness he and his fellow apostles felt in leaving Missouri accompanied by the last of the Saints, according to the covenant they had made to see all the poor removed.[56]

On 3 May the Twelve had a joyous reunion with Joseph and Hyrum Smith—"one of the greatest days of rejoicing in my life," thought Kimball. Elders Young, Kimball, Taylor, George A. Smith, Woodruff, and probably Orson Pratt traveled together the four miles from Quincy to where Joseph and his family resided. Wrote Woodruff [383] in his journal, "Brother Joseph . . . greeted us with great joy . . . was frank open & familiar as usual Sister Emma was truly happy . . . & after spending the day rejoicing together we returned to Quincy." Young also later noted that seeing Joseph free and again striking hands with him was one of the most joyful scenes in his memory: "Joseph conversed with us like a man who had just escaped from a thousand oppressions, and was now free in the midst of his children."[57] Brigham Young was content to be one of those children. Defending Joseph and leading in his absence had brought Young prominence, but now his prophet had returned. Young would retain his role as defender while he resumed his roles as associate and student of Joseph Smith. [384]

Notes

1. Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith to Kimball and Young, 16 January 1839, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church Archives. Another manuscript copy has been preserved in Kimball Family Papers, Church Archives. A printed version is in Heber C. Kimball, *President Heber C. Kimball's Journal, Seventh Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), pp. 66–67.

2. By contrast, the earlier appointment of the three senior apostles as the Missouri local presidency seems to have been a recognition of their loyalty and effectiveness more than of their office. While Smith, in that instance, did respect the order of seniority within the Twelve, he might as easily have appointed other priesthood officers.

3. Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith to Kimball and Young, 16 January 1839, Joseph Smith Papers.

The letter itself was addressed to Kimball and Young, rather than the reverse. That order might have been insignificant or it might have reflected Kimball's assignment as liaison between the Far West Saints and the prisoners. It seems possible, however, that the Presidency, not certain which of the two apostles was eldest, looked on Kimball as the senior.

4. Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith to Kimball and Young, 16 January 1839, Joseph Smith Papers.

5. Minutes, 12 February 1839, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

6. Minutes, 13 December 1838, in "The Conference Minutes, and Record Book, of Christ's Church of Latter Day Saints," popularly known and hereafter cited as Far West Record, Church Archives.

7. Wilford Woodruff and Willard Richards, the other nominations, were not in Missouri. The presidency did not name George A. Smith and Lyman Sherman until January.

8. Minutes, 19 December 1838, Far West Record, Church Archives.

9. In November, Brigham Young and Heber Kimball attempted to visit them in Richmond Jail but were unsuccessful. They saw their brethren chained together and greeted them but were not permitted to talk with them. "Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball," *Deseret News*, 31 March–28 April 1858, p. 41.

10. Joseph Smith to the Church, 16 December 1838, Joseph Smith Papers.

11. See account in *Times and Seasons* 1 (September 1840):165.

12. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), 3:247.

13. Minutes, 26–29 January 1839, General Minutes Collection, Church Archives. The original minutes of this series of meetings do not identify the authors of motions or seconds. The phrase identifying Brigham Young was inserted later by a different hand, probably in Nauvoo when this was first prepared for publication. During the exodus from Nauvoo, Young also had the members covenant to aid the poor.

14. See minutes for February, March and April, General Minutes Collection. See also Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 11–74.

15. Minutes, 1 February 1839, General Minutes Collection.

16. *History of the Church,* 3:251. Copies of the Covenant with signatures are filed in General Minutes Collection.

17. George A. Smith, "History of George Albert Smith by Himself," ms, George A. Smith Papers, Church Archives.

18. "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers; and Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 67.

19. A manuscript version of Young's history has this sentence lined out: "The persecution became so bitter against me (and my life was so diligently sought for[]) that I was compelled to flee." "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3, Historian's Office Papers, Church Archives.

20. See Helen Mar Kimball Whitney's "Early Reminiscences," *Woman's Exponent* 9 (1 June 1880):5–6; Emmeline B. Wells, "Biography of Mary Ann Angell Young," *The Juvenile Instructor* 26 (1 January 1891):19. Apparently partly because of brief stays while Young retraced miles, Mary Ann later said that she "kept house in eleven different places" before arriving at the new home of the Saints on the Mississippi in the spring of 1839. The Young family later remembered this journey as dangerous and traumatic. Once when Young had left the family, his infant daughter Mary Ann was thrown from the wagon and run over, although she survived. The context provided for the story in Susa Young Gates and Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1931), pp. 20–21, is flawed but the event may well have occurred. Atlas was more directly east of Far West than Quincy and a town that he had passed through twice in 1834 and again on his journey to Missouri in 1838.

21. Joseph Smith to the Church, 16 December 1838, Joseph Smith Papers. The versions published in *Times and Seasons* 1 (April 1840):82–86 has been edited and altered somewhat. In his letter of 16 December 1838, Smith provided his personal answer to the principal charges made against him in the Marsh-Hyde affidavits. To their charge that he had boasted of becoming a Mohammed to his generation, he said, in effect, that in great emotion he had said some things that should not have been taken literally. "We refer you to Isaiah who considers those who make a man an offender for a word and lay a snare for them that reproveth. . . . We believe the old prophet. . . . we have reproved. . . . and men have laid snares for us we have spoken words and men have made us offenders." Regarding the accusations of Danites and secret violence, Smith wrote that the Presidency had been weighted with concerns, both family and others, and had not until after their imprisonment become aware of some things proposed and done in their name.

In March, while still in prison, Smith again commented at length about these men who had deserted the Saints, and why he thought they had left. His comments then, after months of imprisonment and meditation, betray sadness and patience more than bitterness. See his letter in *Times and Seasons* 1 (July 1840):132. Some of the relevant portions were later canonized and can be found in Doctrine and Covenants, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1923), Section 121.

22. Three days earlier Joseph himself had written to Isaac Galland, the man offering the land: "We think the church would be wise in making the contract, therefore, if it is not made before we are liberated, we will make it." Joseph Smith to Isaac Galland, 22 March 1839, *Times and Seasons* 1 (February 1840):56.

23. Joseph Smith and others to Bishop Partridge and the Church, 25 March 1839, *Times and Seasons* 1 (May 1840):102 and (1 July 1840):131–32.

24. *History of the Church,* 3:272.

25. Minutes, "~~Janv~~ Feby 1839," General Minutes Collection. This manuscript appears to be a clean copy probably from undated notes taken at the time. The copy appears to have been made soon after, but apparently enough months had elapsed that the clerk was unsure of the date of the meeting. Since the minute mentions a report from the visiting committee—apparently the one appointed 9 March (see *History of the Church,* 3:275–76)—I believe this should be dated in March, not February. Nauvoo scholar Robert B. Flanders also recognized that this was the decisive question. See Flanders, "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, ed. F. Mark McKiernan et al. (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1973), p. 143; and *History of the Church,* 3:47.

26. For example *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (April 1837): 488; *Elders Journal* 1 (August 1838):53; Mary Fielding to Mercy Fielding Thompson, 1 October 1837, Church Archives.

27. Discourse by John Taylor, 11 December 1864, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1967), 11:17–18, hereafter also cited *JD.* A proclamation from the First Presidency in January 1841 urging a general gathering contains an interesting sentence that could well be Rigdon's own acknowledgment of his earlier doubts and rationale for supporting it again: it is true, notes the proclamation, that a general gathering has "heretofore been associated with the most cruel and oppressing scenes," but we hope those days are gone. *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 January 1841):276.

Rigdon's 1839 hesitancy to promote the gathering was apparently part of a general lack of confidence and unwillingness to take further risks after the Missouri persecutions and his own imprisonment. According to Orson Hyde in a 27 April 1845 speech to Nauvoo high priests published by John Taylor as a pamphlet, it was well known to the Saints that after his release from prison Rigdon declared that God was "unjust in suffering him to be so ill used" and that he would never again follow a revelation "that did not tend to his own comfort and interest." See also discourse by John Taylor, 9 November 1881, *JD* 23:12 and *History of the Church,* 3:264. Compare these with Rigdon's statement that through all difficulties his confidence and courage remained strong, *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 April 1841): 375. Rigdon's wavering at this time was certainly related to his poor health. Weeks of mistreatment, poor food, and the damp cold of a prison cell had broken his health and perhaps his spirit; he suffered from poor health for the next several years.

28. Young repeatedly insisted in later years that he had recognized when they left Missouri that they were heading to an interim gathering place only, and that when they returned to the Missouri Zion it would be from the West and not from the East. See, for example, his discourse of 11 December 1864, *Journal of Discourses* 11:17. For his recognition that the gathering would provide difficulties, see pp. 328–29 above.

29. See Wilford Woodruff Diary, 17–18, 20 March and 8 April 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers, Church Archives.

30. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 17 March 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers. The printed minutes stated: "Brigham Young was unanimously called to the chair." *Times and Seasons* 1 (November 1839):15.

31. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3, Historian's Office Papers. See also Wilford Woodruff Diary, 17 March 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

32. No doubt he is partially referring to his own situation, and that of the Twelve, although there is no evidence that he or Kimball told the Saints about the 16 January letter from Joseph appointing them to handle affairs in the absence of the Presidency.

33. *Times and Seasons* 1 (November 1839):15.

34. Minutes, 13 December 1838, Far West Record, Church Archives.

35. See Nancy Cox, "I Have a Question," *The Ensign*, January 1980, pp. 48–49.

36. For Williams's comments on returning see *Times and Seasons* 1 (April 1840):95. For Young's response, Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 11 June 1840, Blair Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

37. *Millennial Star* 27 (21 October 1864):658. One of the historical errors Young felt most exercised about in Lucy Smith's reminiscent account of church history was her assertion of William's loyalty at this time. Brigham Young here discussed that question.

38. See "History of William Smith," *Deseret News*, 26 May 1858, p. 57. For a March letter from William Smith to his imprisoned brothers explaining that he was too busy to visit them and that he feared a visit might be misinterpreted by Missourians as an effort to liberate them, see *History of the Church,* 3:274. See also Calvin P. Rudd, "William Smith: Brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973), pp. 265–70.

39. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 69; and "History of Orson Hyde," *Deseret News*, 5–12 May 1858, p. 49.

40. Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, 30 March 1839, Brigham Young Papers.

41. Heber C. Kimball to Joseph Fielding, 12 March 1839, in Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 68–69. See also the discourse by John Taylor, 11 December 1861, *Journal of Discourses* 11:26.

42. See Joseph Smith to Mrs. Norman Buel *[Buell],* 15 March 1839, *History of the Church,* 3:285; and Joseph Smith et al. to Edward Partridge and the Church [25 March 1839], *Times and Seasons* 1 (May–July 1840):99–104 and 131–34. One of the things that Smith stressed was the meaning of his adversity. To Bishop Partridge he said that the Lord had chosen his own crucible to try them, "a trial of our faith equal to that of Abraham or any of the ancients, and they will not have much cause to boast over us." To Mrs. Buel *[Buell]* he added that their trials "only give us the knowledge necessary to understand the minds of the ancients." He also wrote that because of their experiences they had more tender feelings and new understanding of the bonds of love and friendship.

43. Joseph Smith et al. to Bishop Partridge and the Church [25 March 1839], *Times and Seasons* 1 (July 1840):132–33.

44. Joseph Smith to Mrs. Norman Buel, 15 March 1839, *History of the Church,* 3:286; and Joseph Smith et al. to Bishop Partridge and the Church [25 March 1839], *Times and Seasons* 1 (July 1840): 132–33.

45. Joseph Smith to Isaac Galland, 22 March 1839, *Times and Seasons* 1 (February 1840):53–55.

46. "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers. See also "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News*, 27 January–24 March 1858, p. 394.

47. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 17 April 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers; Doctrine and Covenants, Section 118:1–5.

48. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3, Historian's Office Papers; for a reminiscent account of this meeting see discourse by Wilford Woodruff, 12 December 1869, *Journal of Discourses* 13:159.

49. *History of the Church,* 3:306–7.

50. On the eleventh Joseph Smith sent a message by Stephen Markham that the brethren should "be of good cheer, but lose no time in removing from the country." *History of the Church,* 3:316.

51. See entry of 24 April 1839, "History of Brigham Young," p. 394. See also minutes of the committee for 5, 11, 14 April 1839, General Minutes Collection.

52. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 72–73.

53. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 74. On the twenty-first Young and company had come across John Page and his family hurrying towards Quincy. To Brigham's request that he accompany them, Page replied that he had his family along and must get them to Quincy. "I said never mind your family will get along. I want you to go with us. He asked how much time I would give him to get ready—

I answered 5 minutes." They assisted him in loading his upturned wagon after a spill; he then camped and accompanied them back to Far West. "History of Brigham Young," ms no. 3, Historian's Office Papers. Young and his party met other Saints who had just fled Far West and who returned with them.

54. Minutes, 26 April 1839, General Minutes Collection; and Wilford Woodruff Diary, 26 April 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers. See also Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 75.

55. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 75; and an undated letter by Taylor in *Millennial Star* 2 (May 1841):13. George A. Smith noted that the entire movement so astonished the anti-Mormons that a number of families that had come to settle on vacant Mormon lands left the country. "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers.

56. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 26, 27 April 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

57. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 76; Wilford Woodruff Diary, 3 May 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers; "History of Brigham Young," p. 394.

Chapter 9

Brigham Young and the New Quorum of the Twelve, 1839–1840

The bold return to Missouri marked the beginning of a new era for the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Not only did the April Missouri ordinations provide, for the first time since Kirtland, enough apostles for a quorum, the successful foray into enemy territory launched the new quorum with united confidence. In addition, their impending mission to England gave them direction and purpose.

In retrospect, it is clear that this was an important beginning in another sense, one that the participants could not yet have foreseen: joined by Willard Richards, named but not yet ordained, the cast would be complete of those apostles who would eventually succeed Joseph Smith as the primary leaders of Mormonism. Here were added to the Twelve the men who would be associated with Young and Kimball in providing continuity with Joseph Smith and his principles for the next two generations. Both those of the original apostles still involved in the work and those newly ordained recognized Young as their senior in the apostleship, a relationship that began here and would continue for more than forty years. [392]

Brigham Young's role in the Mormon exodus from Missouri had been his first experience in heading a movement of larger scale. He appears to have labored carefully, consulting with others, and using the familiar leadership structures. His was a management through conferences, committees, and councils, low-key rather than domineering, though he firmly made his influence felt where he judged it mattered most. Now his most important council and committee would be the Twelve. What style would he use with them? How effective would he be as a leader or would they be as a quorum? Could they become a powerful and united tool for the kingdom under his direction? The months just ahead would begin to provide the answers.

Problems remained, however. Parley Pratt still languished in a Missouri jail, William Smith could not be counted on, Lyman Sherman had died before he joined them, and Willard Richards remained thousands of miles away. But the quorum was active again, it had a determined leader, an urgent purpose, and energetic new members committed to the same ideals. All of this seemed to promise for the Twelve better days ahead than they had known in the past.

The early May reunion of Joseph Smith and the Twelve launched an unusual season of instruction, with the Prophet frequently joining the Twelve in council. For the first time, the apostles would here begin to have, as a quorum, that relationship with Joseph Smith and the Presidency which, to the deep consternation of some, had earlier eluded them. During this period, Joseph Smith began with Young the process of shaping the reorganized [393] quorum into an effective unit. Not only did Smith instruct them for their mission, he also began teaching them more of those "mysteries of the kingdom" alluded to in his prison letters, instruction which served as a prelude to the intensive teaching that followed their return from Europe.

For the first time since the Missouri difficulties, the Church met 4–6 May for an important conference under the direction of the Presidency. The business transacted during the three-day gathering proved to be of great importance for the Church and the Twelve. By this time Sidney Rigdon resided in perhaps the best dwelling in Commerce, Illinois, upriver from Quincy, and the conference appointed his home as the location for the next general conference in early October. That action, along with the sanctioning of Joseph Smith's purchase of Iowa lands directly across the river from Commerce, effectively established a new gathering place for the Saints. Not only had Smith completed arrangements with

Galland for the Iowa lands, as he had indicated his intention to do, he also completed just before the conference negotiations to purchase lands in Commerce. At the conference he appointed William Marks to preside over the Saints at Commerce and he instructed the bishops to reside there, marking the beginning of what would soon be known as the Nauvoo Stake of Zion. Saints in the East, however, he counseled to settle in Kirtland and vicinity rather than migrating to Commerce; he appointed a new Kirtland presidency to preside over the temple and re-establish a stake of Zion there.[1] *[394]*

With reference to the Twelve, the conference sanctioned their proceedings at the Far West temple site, including the ordination of new apostles and the excommunication of dissidents. The members also resolved to do all in their power to assist the Twelve in their intended mission to England. The conference then considered the cases of apostles William Smith and Orson Hyde. Faithful to his promise to Hyde, Heber Kimball had described to Hyrum Smith before the meeting Hyde's feelings of remorse and his desire to return. When Joseph Smith proposed to drop Hyde, Hyrum and Heber both pled his case. Joseph Smith withdrew his proposal and the conference then voted merely to suspend the two apostles until they personally appeared before the next conference of the Church to explain their conduct. Most of the business behind them, the Saints spent the second day of the conference receiving instruction from "the Presidency and those of the Twelve present." The final day the Twelve and Seventy met to attend to ordinations and to select a number of seventies to accompany the Twelve to England.[2]

Apparently Joseph Smith left for Commerce immediately after the conference and commenced laying out a city while the Twelve remained in Quincy for another week of councils and business. "Spent the day in converation with the Twelve," wrote Woodruff about the seventh, and Sunday, 12 May saw him "in council with the twelve & Quorums of the seventies" to conduct church business. They organized committees to assist the families of the seventies who were to preach and also to labor with Lyman Wight whose political pronouncements portended difficulty.[3] The next several *[395]* days letters went out "by the direction of the Twelve" informing men of their appointments and assignments.[4]

Joseph Smith wasted no time in founding a new city for the Saints. Brigham and the apostles had insisted to the Saints that once again they must and would gather and build. Once he was free, Joseph Smith put his energies to the task. The temporal labors of city building would remain a religious duty of the Saints. By 18 May, Young, Woodruff and their families arrived at the designated location to settle. Already they found the surveyor hard at work laying out a city according to Smith's plans. That day Woodruff wrote in his diary that although the Saints were driven from place to place, yet they were not discouraged but "determined to build a city wherever their lot is cast showing themselves to be industrious & determined to maintain the kingdom of God."[5] Though it be only a resting place, the city must rise.

Although they found the location for the city beautiful and promising, with only a handful of buildings scattered about, the two apostles had to join others seeking shelter for their families across the river at abandoned Fort Des Moines (Montrose), Iowa. With dwellings in Iowa and church councils and conferences in Commerce, Young and Woodruff—along with John Taylor and others who soon joined them there—commenced a summer of ferrying the Mississippi.

On 21 May the Presidency crossed the river into Iowa and toured that region with Elders Young, George A. Smith, and Woodruff of the Twelve and several other men. By the twenty-fourth, six of the Twelve resided in Montrose and spent the day exploring *[396]* the Iowa prairie on foot. The next day they all crossed to Commerce for an important council. Heber Kimball, standing at the rail of the ferry, remarked as they approached Commerce, "It is a very pretty place, but not a long abiding place for the Saints." Already there had been threats and some destruction of property by a few rowdies in Iowa, and by month's end there would be more.[6] Was Kimball simply pondering the likely possibilities and announcing by "natural revelation," as Brigham had said to himself about Far West the spring before, his assessment of the outcome? Or was Kimball, later noted for his prophecies, voicing what he felt prompted to say? For whatever

reasons, Kimball was certain that Nauvoo would prove a less than permanent home for the Saints.

Heber's pessimistic remarks saddened President Rigdon when he learned of them, for he had the best house in town and no interest in leaving it. When the council opened at the home of Joseph Smith, Rigdon indicated he had some feelings about Kimball. "I should suppose," he told the council, "that Elder Kimball had passed through sufferings and privations and mobbings and drivings enough to learn to prophesy good concerning Israel." Knowing that Rigdon was in earnest, Kimball adroitly turned the matter to a point of humor that evoked laughter and "Elder Rigdon yielded the point."[7] Nonetheless, after two years of turmoil, it was a serious matter to predict still another migration.

No minutes of the day-long council have survived, although Woodruff noted that "we recieved much council from Joseph," and had "a vary important & lnteresting time." The day before the Twelve had submitted to Joseph a report in reference to the [397] seventies. Perhaps that report and their upcoming mission were discussed. Woodruff also noted that William Smith was "restored to his qourum."[8] A later report said that the intercession of Hyrum and Joseph Smith led the council to restore him to fellowship.[9] The next day, Sunday, the Twelve again crossed the river for a meeting held in Joseph's home when John Taylor and Orson Pratt addressed the Saints.

Few councils were held in early June while the Prophet worked on his history and visited family and friends. Smith did counsel those of the Twelve whose families did not yet reside in the Commerce area to move them immediately to the new gathering place. The advice sent Heber Kimball back to Quincy to bring up his family. John E. Page was visible in the city by early June, if he was not there earlier. Kimball wrote to Parley Pratt, still in prison, telling him that the Presidency were sanguine that he would soon be out of the hands of his enemies. Kimball also was optimistic: "I do not feel as though I can go to England until I take you by the hand. . . . Be of good cheer, brother; a few days now, and you shall see the salvation of God; and I shall see you in other lands, publishing peace to the captives." Heber further informed him that the Church had resolved that the bishops would care for the families of the Twelve so they would be free to preach abroad.[10] The Twelve met as a quorum in Montrose on 20 June to discuss their calling. "We feel & believe that it is the most important period & age of the world," wrote Woodruff after the day together. They read and discussed with great interest the Old Testament history of the Children of Israel and they searched the [398] prophecies of Isaiah. But even more compelling, thought Woodruff, were their readings in the Book of Mormon and contemplation of the future work to go forth among the descendants of those peoples.[11]

Orson Hyde joined the Twelve in their 25 June council meeting in Montrose, "& a more humble & penitent man I never saw," thought Woodruff who had not been present during the Far West difficulties.

> & well he might be for in the time of persecution in Zion or far west he deserted the cause, denyed the faith, & betrayed his brethren & assisted Thomas B. Marsh (the president of the Twelve Apostles) in jeperdizing the lives of Joseph & his Council & the whole church in Zion.

Woodruff was certain that the Hyde and Marsh testimony had influenced the governor to issue his military order of extermination. The following day the Twelve crossed to Commerce and, with Joseph still out of town, met with Presidents Rigdon and Hyrum Smith. During discussion of Orson Hyde's status, President Rigdon expressed "very plain and forceably" his fear that if Hyde were allowed to return to his quorum, he would desert the Church again at the next trial as he had done before. On the third day of Council about the matter, this time with Joseph Smith present, Hyde was restored to the Church and to the Quorum of the Twelve "in full fellowship by a full vote of the Council. after making an humble confession & acknowledgement of his sins." According to John Taylor later, this only came after Hyde had "made all the satisfaction that was within his power."[12]

From Liberty Jail, Joseph Smith and the Presidency had written that they held "the keys of the mysteries," things that [399] would be known in due time but had not yet been given to the Saints. In the council on 27 June 1839, Smith began unfolding to the Twelve some of the promised teachings, launching a period of "much valuable instruction from the Prophet," as Kimball characterized it.[13]

Along with his detailed doctrinal explanations, Joseph Smith told the apostles that God had not revealed anything to him but what he would in time make known to the Twelve—and not only to the Twelve but each Saint "may know all things as fast as he is about to bear it."[14]

Surely as important as the specific teachings was the idea that as the Twelve prepared themselves more would be taught them. These intimate sessions of instruction apparently struck a responsive chord in the apostles and fired their imagination in anticipation of things ahead.[15] Parley Pratt, who missed these important sessions but received private tutoring from Smith when they met in Philadelphia later in the fall, wrote with enthusiasm of the "many great and glorious principles concerning God and the heavenly order of eternity" that Joseph unfolded to him. In 1839 the Prophet "had barely touched a single key; had merely lifted a corner of the veil and given me a single glance into eternity," wrote Pratt, but it was a beginning that opened up new views and excited his vision of expanding truth.[16]

On 2 July, after dining at the Woodruff's, the Twelve and the Presidency assembled at Brigham Young's for blessings and farewell instructions. The Presidency blessed the new apostles and the wives of several of the Twelve, promising, according to Woodruff, that if the apostles were faithful they would return *[400]* safely to their families and reap a bountiful harvest "as seals of our ministry." Hyrum Smith urged the Twelve to be humble, not to trifle with their office, to remember strictly the importance of their mission. He told them to be prudent and preach only repentance and the first principles, not the mysteries. Joseph then presented the Twelve more of the "precious things of the kingdom."[17]

The Prophet's final instructions to the apostles especially stressed the need for humility and unity. He urged them to be merciful, always ready to forgive a brother at the first intimations of repentance. He counseled them to "not be exalted & beware of pride & not seek to excell one above another but act for each others good." He prayed God to give them humility and the wisdom to learn from the mistakes of their predecessors, and ask:

> Must the new ones that are chosen to fill the places of those that are fallen . . . begin to exhalt themselves untill they set so high that they will tumble over & have a great fall . . . as several of the Twelve have done, or will they learn wisdom & be wise.

Joseph urged the Twelve to credit God and not themselves when they preached with power to the astonishment of the people. Nonetheless, he told them, "Ye are not sent out to be taught but to teach." Finally, he concluded, in all their

> trials, troubles, & temptations, . . . see to it that you do not betray heaven, that you do not betray Jesus Christ, that you do not betray your Brethren, & that you do not betray the revelations of God.[18]

Young, Taylor, and Woodruff spent 4 July preparing for publication in the first number of the *Times and Seasons,* the new church periodical, an epistle from the Twelve to all the Church. *[401]* The lengthy document expressed their feelings about the Missouri difficulties and repeated for the Saints much counsel that Joseph Smith had written from jail or recently taught the Twelve. Be patient, urged the Twelve, and leave vengeance in the hands of God. Be honest, prayerful, true men, aiding the weak and the poor, bearing with one another's infirmities. Take care not to stir up dissension or accusations or rumor against church authorities, rather pray for them and uphold them. The epistle urged the elders to be up and about their labors, for God had committed to them the care of souls. They should preach "nothing but repentance to this generation" and leave the "further mysteries of the kingdom, till God shall tell you to preach them, which is not now," for men must understand the first principles before they can understand "those greater mysteries, which the most wise cannot understand without revelation." The Twelve concluded their circular with a revealing conditional promise: if the Saints were united and humble, if they submitted to counsel and sought the glory of God and the salvation of men rather than honor, if they were willing to "filfil the purposes of God in all things," they would have power. And

> Zion shall blossom as a rose, and the nations flock to her standard, and the kingdoms of this world shall soon become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever, Amen.[19]

On 7 July each of the Twelve gave his farewell addresses to the Saints in an emotion-filled meeting of great impact. Orson Hyde once again

enjoyed "the spirit of the Lord" as he addressed the Saints. Brigham Young "spoke & also bore testimony." *[402]* President Rigdon with his customary eloquence brought tears to the eyes of many as he described the circumstances of the Twelve leaving all they held dear on earth, to go "amidst persecutions and trials such as always followed the preaching of this gospel." Certainly the Prophet did no less when he told them that if they were placed where they could see their brethren only "through the grates of a window while in Irons because of the Gospel of Jesus Christ remember Brother Joseph has been in like circumstances also."[20] All of this caused Woodruff to reflect in his journal

> Surely this is an important day to behold a quorum of Twelve Apostles of the Lamb of God organized in these last days to go forth unto all the nations of the earth. . . . May the Lord enable us the Twelve ever to be meek & humble & to lie passive in His hands as the clay is in the hands of the potter.[21]

The Twelve now earnestly prepared to depart. They continued to meet in council with the Presidency, less for doctrinal instruction than for the practical labors of selecting hymns, preparing materials for publication in the *Times and Seasons*, and other matters of business.[22] They also prepared their families as well as possible and packed a few personal belongings for traveling. Two things delayed their immediate departure: the escape of Parley Pratt from jail and chills and fever, the debilitating sickness that swept through their riverside settlements during July. On 12 July, President Smith called for some of the Twelve to visit the sick and administer to them, naming his own stricken father as one in need of their comfort. That same day, according to Woodruff, they received "the glorious intelligence of the happy deliverance" of Pratt after seven months' *[403]* imprisonment "for the cause of God." Within a week Parley was again among them. Orson Pratt had also been in Missouri to assist his brother; now both of the Pratt brothers could accompany their quorum to England.[23]

In spite of tender hands and priesthood blessings, the disease continued unabated. For a week and more most energies went to attending to the sick. George A. Smith arrived in Commerce as the sickness spread. Joseph Smith told George A. and Joseph's own brother Don Carlos to begin at his house and lay hands on every sick person, to "rebuke their diseases and command them in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to arise and walk," not leaving a single person on their bed between his house and Ebenezer Robinson's. The Prophet had taken so many of the ill into his house and door-yard that his home looked like a hospital and he, too, fell victim and was confined to bed. On 22 July, "a day never to be forgotten," Joseph arose from his own bed of sickness to command the sick in the name of Jesus to be made whole. He crossed the river to Montrose and went house to house. Said Young, "I arose and was healed, and followed him and the brethren of the Twelve" to other homes. Woodruff reported that

> it was a day of Gods power there was many Sick among the Saints on both sides of the river & Joseph went through the midst of them taking them by the hand & in a loud voice commanding them in the name of Jesus Christ to arise from their beds & be made whole & they leaped from their beds . . . & followed Joseph from house to house & it was truly a time of rejoicing.[24]

Although many continued ill and some new cases developed, this marked the height of the epidemic.[25] With the Prophet in their midst, bodies began to mend and spirits began to strengthen. *[404]* Woodruff himself escaped the sickness until a few days later when he experienced his first attack of the "distressing disease." Contemplating how many of the Twelve were affected, he thought "the enemy is striving to bind us down that we shall not go into the vineyard." Woodruff was one who did not intend to be bound.[26]

Sunday, 4 August, was a day of prayer and fasting. The Prophet once again instructed the Twelve, including an admonition which the Twelve accepted to "go forth without purse or scrip, according to the revelations of Jesus Christ." The meeting also passed a resolution that the Twelve should leave as soon as possible and affirmed again that the Church would provide for their families in their absence.[27] Later that same week Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor, the first of the Twelve to leave, departed Commerce for England. Wrote Woodruff in his diary:

> It is no small trial of my faith to leave my family & my all & to start on a mission of four thousand miles to preach the gospel to the nations of the earth & that to without money purs or scrip with the power of desease resting upon me . . . but yet I do this freely for Christ Sake trusting in him. . . .

> May the Lord give me grace & a safe return to my family.

He wrote that his wife Phebe parted with him "with that fortitude that becometh a Saint realizing the call & responsibility of her companion." He comforted her with the promise that in spite of the distance and perils of this mission, he would see her face again, for he was going in obedience to the command of the Lord.[28] As the time of parting arrived, this scene of deep emotion was no doubt repeated in the home of others of the Twelve.

From Liberty Jail, Joseph had written of an Abrahamic test, a trial of faith like unto the ancients'. Zion's Camp had tested *[405]* them, the apostasies of Kirtland and disaffections and persecutions of Missouri did as well. But perhaps no test was greater for the Twelve—even before the challenges of the mission itself—than leaving their families in the grasp of poverty and sickness and before a new gathering place had yet risen after the defeats of the fall and winter before. When the history of this period was prepared in Nauvoo several years later, this paragraph was inserted to describe their difficulties:

> Perhaps no men ever undertook such an important mission under such peculiarly distressing and unpropitious circumstances. Most of them when they left this place . . . were worn down with sickness and disease. . . . Several of their families were also afflicted and needed their aid and support. But knowing that they had been called by the God of Heaven to preach the Gospel to other nations, they conferred not with flesh and blood, but obedient to the heavenly mandate, without purse or scrip, they commenced.[29]

Though the Church had promised to assist their families, the apostles had no illusions about church resources to do so. Nor could temporal means alone aid those lying sick, some near death. What gave strength and comfort was a feeling that the Lord would intervene and oversee; they left their families in the hands of God.

Less than eighteen months earlier a revelation had assured Brigham Young that it was proper for him to farm and care for his family "until I shall command him to go hence, and not to leave his family until they are amply provided for."[30] Now, under circumstances that he could not have anticipated and even though his family were far from provided for, the command had come. For Brigham Young the decision—if not the execution—was simple; it was still another case of putting the kingdom and obedience to God *[406]* first, something he had disciplined himself to do since his conversion. He later said that it never entered into his heart, when the Lord said "Go and leave your family" to object,[31] and he insisted that all true Latter-day Saints must learn to put the kingdom of God first and be willing "to forsake Wives, children, houses lands and possessions, for the gospel's sake."[32]

Young did not advocate neglecting family responsibilities, however. He later told missionaries that the Twelve did this in 1839 by "special command" and that normally the elders must provide for their families before leaving to preach.[33] Still, the principle was important and Young would often stress it later: when the Lord required one's labor, in sickness or health, poverty or comfort, the call should be heeded and, until the task was completed, home and family should be left in the hands of God.[34] That Brigham Young and his fellow apostles determined to do in 1839.[35]

It was a trial not only for the apostles, but even more so for the wives who were left with the anxiety and immediate care of sick, poorly clothed, and poorly sheltered families. Without wives of strength and faith to match their own, the apostles could not have left under the circumstances. A few days after Kimball and Young departed, Vilate Kimball wrote Heber of her feelings. Because he had insisted, she would tell him frankly

> how we do; which is very poorly, I can assure you. As to my feelings I don't know but I am perfectly reconciled to your going, but I must say I have got a trial of my faith if I never had before. The day you left home was as sick a one as I ever experienced. . . . no doubt the pain in my head was worse on the account of my much weeping, but I did not weep any after you left.[36] *[407]*

For his part Brigham Young acknowledged that the sacrifices of his wife Mary Ann provided a necessary complement to and matched his own. "I am inclined to think you mean to get the blessing of those of the Patiants [patient] and faithful on[e]s," he wrote to her a year later from England upon learning of her continuing self-denial to provide for others.

> this I doe not here from you but from others, you may well think that my hart feeles tender toards you, When I relise your patiants and willingness to suffer in poverty and doe everything you can for my children and for me to goe and due the thing the Lord requires of me.

A month earlier he had written in a similar vein,

> when I think how diligant you are and how faithful to my famely and willing to suffer for the sake of my going to preach the gospel you must be blest and blest you shall be I pray the Lord to Bless you and I Bles you and all the faithful sisters.[37]

If answering the call to Europe under trying circumstances was indeed a test of faith, it might be expected that not all responded the same. Orson Hyde did not finally depart on his mission for many months, but after more than two years of magnificent effort, he completed his separate mission to the Holy Land. John E. Page, who after his eloquent enthusiasm about Hyde's opportunity was called to accompany him, continued long after Hyde had departed to reaffirm his intentions of meeting him along the way. Two years later he still offered excuses but never managed to leave the East Coast.[38] William Smith apparently made no effort to join his fellow apostles. Though he was clearly better situated than some of those who went, he simply pled poverty and remained at home.[39] The rest answered the call. *[408]*

The *History of the Church* for this period, compiled in Nauvoo before the Mormon exodus, contains a passage that admirably describes their composite experience in traveling to New York in the fall of 1839, a passage which they may have helped prepare.

> While journeying to the sea board they were brought into many trying circumstances; after a short recovery from severe sickness, they would be taken with a relapse, and have to stop among strangers, without money and without friends. Their lives were several times despaired of, and they have taken each other by the hand, expecting it would be the last time they should behold one another in the flesh. However . . . the Lord always interposed in their behalf, and did not suffer them to sink in the arms of death. Some way or other was made for their escape—friends rose up when they most needed them, and relieved their necessities; and thus they were enabled to pursue their journey. . . .[40]

Taylor, healthy when he left with Woodruff in August, nearly died along the way a few weeks later. Kimball, Young, and George A. Smith were each a frail shadow of his healthy self, even though they delayed leaving a full month as they tried to recover. George A., much the youngest of the three, was so ill that he appeared as an old man.[41]

Young and Kimball started on their mission in mid-September. Brigham left a sick wife and children—not one well enough to draw water for the others—and an infant daughter ten days old. When he started out his sister Fanny urged him to stay until he (and presumably the family) was well. To her importuning he replied,

> "Sister Fanny, I never felt better in my life." She was a very eccentric woman and looking at me with tears in her eyes, she said, "You lie." I said nothing but I was determined to go to England or to die trying. My first resolve was that I would do what I was required to do in the Gospel of life and salvation, or I would die trying to do it.[42]

In fact, Young had to be helped to the river in order to cross, and from the Kimballs' had to be helped to a wagon in order to depart. *[409]* Heber was little better. His wife also was bedridden and only by supreme effort did she rise to cheer him off with a wave.

Faith and determination made illness and the pain of parting bearable; it did not remove it. A few months earlier, alone and intensely worried about his family, Kimball had received what he took to be a binding promise from the Lord:

> Trouble not thyself about thy family, for they are in my hands; I will feed them and clothe them and make unto them friends. They never shall want for food nor raiment, housing nor lands . . . and peace shall rest upon them forever, if thou wilt be faithful and go forth and preach my gospel to the nations of the earth.[43]

No doubt this, as well as the general assurances of Joseph to the Twelve, were in his mind as they departed. None of it stilled the longing in his heart to comfort and assist. From England he reminisced about the parting:

> I will tell you my Dear that time will be Remembered by me as long as time lasts. fore no man has ever suffered a[s] much as I did in my feelings. no nore do I ever wish to while I live on Earth. I think if Ever one man did I have left all fore the Caus of Christ.[44]

Young's first letter to his wife, written only hours after parting, explained debts that he owed and money owed him with which to pay them, ending with a balance of $2.72 for herself. "This is all most robing You I [k]now. but I doe not now wht else to doe. Brother Joseph has pledged him self that the Wives of the twelve should have what they wanted. . . . I doe feele as thou the Lord would provide for you and me."[45]

The Twelve left Commerce with neither money for passage nor clothing for their journey.

To his wife, Brigham Young explained their plan to "goe through the Churches" or branches of the Church [410] along the way instead of the shortest route by water "so that we can recru[i]t up and get what Clothing we shall want."[46] In spite of his illness, Young commenced diary entries to record this significant mission. His short entries convey his gratefulness to the Saints for their indispensable assistance: "The frends and Brothern convaid ous [conveyed us]," or "we ware kindley treated and nurst up and helped to pursue our jorney."[47] Because of illness and their desire to visit the branches—where they preached and counseled as well as received assistance—the journey to Kirtland required seven weeks.

For ten years Young and Kimball had been companions and associates; never did they rely more on one another than now. First Heber nursed Brigham, who was the weaker. A month later Heber, very ill, was administered a mistaken dose of morphine by a drunken doctor and nearly died. He came to his senses to find Brigham attending him "with a fatherly care, and manifesting much anxiety." "Don't be scared; for I shan't die," Kimball told his faithful friend. The experience was a traumatic one for both men. Later in the month Heber had strength enough to write about it in detail. He told his wife that "it tock the docter and his wife and Br Brigham all nite to keep a breth of life in my body."[48]

Heber Kimball's father-in-law, traveling from Commerce with other elders, came upon Heber in his illness and left him only with great sadness, certain he would never see him alive again.[49] Young gave the group all but $5 of the money he and Kimball had, as Heber tried to comfort them by insisting he would live and that he and Brigham would beat them to Kirtland. A few [411] days later Kimball was well enough to nurse Young, who suffered still another relapse. Additional donations brought their purse to $13.50 and they set out to travel by stage as far as it would take them. Young, who kept the money in his small trunk reached in and paid the fare at each point then, seeing enough for one more leg, went on. Then occurred something that the practical Young never could understand except as another manifestation that the Lord attended them in their ministry. Wrote one who heard Young later tell the story,

> they did not expect to be able to travel far with the stage for lack of means, but at every stopping place, when Bro. Young went to his trunk to pay his fare, he found money to pay their fare to the next stopping place, and so on until they got through and had 50¢ left, and took their meals regular and always when he needed money he found it in his trunk.[50]

Not until Kirtland did Young total up what he had spent to discover that they had disbursed over $87 out of the $13.50 they had begun with. At first he suspected that Heber had put the money there from a purse that he had not disclosed. Kimball insisted that was not so. Young, skeptical of some of the accounts he heard or read of others, later insisted as a preface to telling this story that he was willing to believe "a *big* story, if it was true."[51]

While the Twelve were slowly traveling eastward, Joseph presided in October over a general conference of the Church in Commerce, soon to be known as Nauvoo.[52] For the most part, the business of the conference merely formalized matters that had already been decided in earlier councils with the Twelve present. William Smith and Orson Hyde received the vote of fellowship of [412] the Church. The conference again confirmed the appointments of Elias Higbee and Sidney Rigdon to carry church petitions for redress to Washington and the designation of the Commerce area as a suitable gathering place for the Saints. In connection with the vote of Commerce to be a stake of Zion, the Prophet spoke of how "in the providence of God they had been led to this place," stating that he thought it a good place, well adapted to the needs and circumstances of the Saints. The minutes also show the prominence of Lyman Wight in this conference, interesting in light of his subsequent appointment as an apostle when the Twelve returned from England.[53]

Sunday, 3 November, Young and Kimball arrived in Cleveland and there met Heber's father-in-law Roswell Murray, who was as joyful and astonished in seeing Heber again as though he had seen someone rise from the dead. The following day they traveled to Kirtland, where they joined with others of the Twelve and remained about two weeks. For Young it was the first visit to the city since he fled for his life nearly two years before. He found a few friends and thought the Church in general striving to serve the Lord,

although he noted "some devision of sentiment among the Brothern." Others of the Twelve were less mild in their assessments. George A. Smith wrote in reminiscence that Kirtland members were "dead with a universal spirit of apostacy," and although several families were very kind to them,

> many considered that God was greatly displeased with us, or we would not be sick, & that we and the Saints . . . must be very wicked or we would not have been driven from our homes, & then afflicted with sickness on starting on a mission to preach the Gospel.[54] *[413]*

Heber Kimball wrote to his wife about his disappointment in the Kirtland Saints. He had anticipated finding the people united and enjoying the blessings of the people of God, he wrote, but instead he found to his sorrow only a few firm in the faith and the rest "broken up and divided into several different parties."

Kimball had several experiences that convinced him that it was the "big elders," those proud and haughty who could not be counseled, who caused the disunity.[55] Most of the Saints loyal to Joseph Smith and with means departed Kirtland in 1838, and for the most part only the very poor and those who did not wish to join with the body of the Church in the West remained.[56] Kimball preached in the temple comparing his audience "to a parcel of old earthen pots that were cracked in burning." Those who had control of the house declared that he would never speak there again. Heber told his wife that he had been blessed by having "three competent Judges before me to Critticised and to pick all the flaws" that they could in his discourse.[57]

Before they left Kirtland, the Twelve held a council with local leaders. No doubt they talked about the general condition of the Church in Kirtland. To the proposal of the apostles that several of the elders from the west remain there to preach for a few weeks, one local elder replied to the effect that they didn't need farm-boy preachers like Young and Kimball and most of their company, that they had enjoyed many talented preachers in Kirtland and "men of such ordinary ability as the missionaries of our party possessed could do no good" there. He thought possibly that John Taylor "*might* do," but he was not sure. Heber later chaired another *[414]* meeting that rescinded the proposal to leave elders in Kirtland and instead called for volunteers from Kirtland to preach elsewhere. Three or four Kirtland elders responded.[58]

Sunday, 17 November, Brigham Young preached in the Kirtland Temple in the morning and John Taylor in the afternoon. That evening, those of the Twelve present and others of their party ascended to the attic story to perform temple rites for John Taylor and Theodore Turley, men who had not been in Kirtland during the temple experiences of 1836 and 1837. Wrote Young in his diary of this important and significant opportunity to return to the temple for sacred purpose,

> I anointed Brother Taylor in the House of the Lord the Proses [process] was as follows after Brother Taylor had washed in pure water and castel soap then we all went to the House of the Lord H. C. K[imball] opened the meeting by prayr I then aninted J. Taylor with pure sweet oil and pronounced such blesings as the spirit gave utrence. J. T[aylor] then arose and praid for him self Brother Turley was anointed by D. S. Miles then it was se[a]led by Hozanna then their feet was washed.[59]

A few days later the Twelve departed Kirtland, taking a lake steamer east toward New York. At night heavy weather transformed the tranquil waters that Young had so enjoyed during the day. Although he generally made his diary a simple record of names, dates, and places, he here recorded something of special significance to him, as if he were quietly surprised at himself and the outcome.

> the wind arose about one o'clock in the morning I went up on deck and I felt impres[sed] in spirit to pray to the Father in the name of Jesus for a forgiveness of all my sins and then I fe[l]t to command the winds to sees [cease] and let ous goe safe on our Jorney the winds abated and Glory & [h]ouner & prase be to that God that rules all things.[60] *[415]*

The Twelve again preached, counseled, baptized, and collected means as they spent two months traveling from Kirtland to New York City. During this period Young recorded in his diary comments like "the Brothering they ware verry kind to us I think I shall never forget them in time nor in Eternity," and "had a good visit with the Brotherin they helped ous on our jorney." At one town they dedicated an upper room for a council and special prayer meeting to petition the Lord to open their way. There Young reproved George A. Smith for hurting some of

the brethren by unwise talk before they left Illinois. According to Smith, he apologized and "felt thankful for the timely reproof."[61]

Young later recorded two instances during this leg of his journey that had significance to him. The first had to do with counseling a branch of the Church who were in confusion because the gift of tongues had been among them and they supposed that everything which was spoken in tongues was "immediate revelation from God." Speaking as a man of some experience with the gift, Young taught them that while the language might be from the Lord, the thoughts came from their heart "whether they were good or evil," and that the gift was given for a blessing to the Saints, "but not to govern them nor to control the elders, or dictate the affairs of the church." For that, said the apostle, "God had placed . . . apostles, prophets, helps and governments." Shortly after this he met with the family of his cousin Phinehas Brigham, whose son was a young Baptist preacher. When a long visit proved unproductive, Young shared in parting one of the insights that had helped open his own mind to Mormonism nearly eight years before. *[416]* He told them that he had studied all the religions and found their doctrine when "simmered down to truth," would fit "into a snuff box of the smallest class." In contrast, he found the Mormon message expansive:

> higher than I could reach with my researches, deeper than I was capable of comprehending, and calculated to expand the mind, and lead mankind from truth to truth, from light to light . . . to become associated with Gods and angels.[62]

Young and his party arrived in New York City in late January and spent the next five weeks holding meetings, baptizing, and raising means. According to Kimball, who arrived somewhat later than Young after a side-trip to the Victor-Mendon area, the apostles would have departed weeks earlier for England had passage been available. Before they sailed, the four of the Twelve in New York on 19 February sent a communication to the Nauvoo Saints. Prominent in the letter is their sense of trials successfully met with the aid of the Lord. When they reflected on all that might have prevented them from accomplishing their mission—the mobbings and persecution since the mission was first appointed in 1838, the sickness and death and poverty—to

> at last find them upon the sea shore, in health and peace and plenty; ready to set sail, . . . is a matter of joy and consolation . . . and fills our hearts with gratitude to that god who commanded us to cross the mighty deep. . . . We consider that there is no instance on record where men have been called to so great an undertaking, under the same circumstances of poverty, sickness and distress; both ourselves, families, and brethren; but yet through the mercy of God, we think the mission will be accomplished, and will stand on record.

Again they saw in their sacrifice and in their blessings a resemblance to "the old Patriarch" Abraham.[63] *[417]*

On 7 March 1840, Elders Young and Kimball, Orson and Parley Pratt, and George A. Smith departed New York harbor on board the *Patrick Henry* bound for Liverpool. Elders Woodruff and Taylor had booked passage several weeks before. After a stormy voyage—"I was sick nearly all the way, and confined to my berth," said Young—they arrived in England on 6 April, the tenth anniversary of the organization of the Church. Joseph Smith had reassured Young before he left with the promise that "when [you] land upon a foreign shore the same spirit [will] rest upon you that now rests upon me. to lead guide and direct."[64] He was there as the president of that quorum with special responsibility to bear the message to the nations of the earth. If humble and worthy, he believed, it was his right to be taught by the spirit how to lead and direct this mission. Neither Joseph Smith nor Hyrum Smith nor Sidney Rigdon could assist; it was now his responsibility to lead out as he had never done before. Full of emotion, Brigham Young let out a loud shout of hosannah when he touched the shore. "I felt that the chains were broken, and the bands that were upon me were burst asunder," he recalled later.[65] He felt ready and fully determined to succeed with the mission that had already cost them so much.

As soon as their feet were firmly planted on English soil, the five apostles held a private meeting to partake of the Lord's Supper, to thank God for their safe arrival, and to ask once again that the way be opened to accomplish their mission. Soon after, they met Elder Taylor and then Willard Richards ("I was so emaciated from my long journey and sickness that he did not know *[418]* me," said Young of his cousin) and sent word to Elder Woodruff to meet in Preston for council and a general conference of the Saints.[66]

Brigham Young (ca. 1850), daguerreotype by Marsena Cannon. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

The next week seven apostles and one to be ordained met in Preston for what Wilford Woodruff called "The First Council of the Twelve among the Nations."[67] The apostles first ordained Willard Richards to the apostleship as authorized by the 8 July 1838 revelation. Perhaps Young instructed Richards in the importance of unity. In his diary the new apostle wrote a plea to God to enable him to perform his responsibilities in righteousness "with My Brethren the Twelve, that we may ever be of one heart & one mind in all things . . . in thy Kingdom."[68] The apostles then formalized, for the first time since the apostasy of Thomas B. Marsh, the presidency of their senior member: Brigham Young was unanimously sustained by the apostles and set apart as "the standing President of the Twelve."[69] Eight apostles, more than enough to do business as a quorum, now stood organized and ready to push forward the work in England. *[419]*

Notes

1. Minutes, 4–5 May 1839 (entry after 29 May), Wilford Woodruff Diary, Wilford Woodruff Papers, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church Archives.

2. Heber C. Kimball, *President Heber C. Kimball's Journal, Seventh Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), p. 77; Wilford Woodruff Diary, 4–6 May 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

3. Later in the month the Presidency became involved in this difficulty. See Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), 3:351–52 and 363–64.

4. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 7, 12, 13–14 May 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

5. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 18 May, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

6. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 77. See also Wilford Woodruff Diary, May 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

7. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 77–78.

8. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 25 May 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

9. "History of William Smith," *Deseret News*, 26 May 1858, p. 57; and Joseph Smith Diary, 25 May 1839, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives. Since William resided in Plymouth, Illinois, it is possible that Joseph had not seen his brother since Missouri (he had not yet seen his brother Samuel) and highly probable that he had no lengthy visit with him until 15 June when, on the way to visit his brother Don Carlos, Joseph "met Br Wm . . . , found him in good spirits—went with him to his house . . . found his family all well staid over night, and had a very satisfactory visit." See Joseph Smith Diary, 15 June 1839, Joseph Smith Papers.

10. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 78–79.

11. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 78–79; and Wilford Woodruff Diary, 20 June 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

12. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 25–27 June 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers; G. Homer Durham, ed., *The Gospel Kingdom; Selections from the Writings and Discourses of John Taylor, Third President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1944), p. 193.

13. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 79; Wilford Woodruff Diary, 27 June 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

14. *History of the Church,* 3:380.

15. See, for example, Brigham Young to Joseph Smith, 7 May 1840, Joseph Smith Papers.

16. Parley P. Pratt. *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, ed., Parley P. Pratt, Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1966), pp. 297–98.

17. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 2 July 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and Joseph Smith Diary, 2 July 1839, Joseph Smith Papers. Although *History of the Church,* 4:385–92 mentions additional teachings from "About this time," the insertion of remarks "on Priesthood" at this point is an error. They come from the diary of William Clayton and should be dated 16 May 1841. See Clayton diary extracts copied by L. John Nuttall, Nuttall Papers, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

18. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 2 July 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers. See also the briefer account in Joseph Smith Diary, 2 July 1839, Joseph Smith Papers.

19. *Times and Seasons* 1 (November 1839):12–15.

20. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 7 July 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers; see also accounts in Joseph Smith Diary, 7 July 1839, Joseph Smith Papers.

21. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 7 July 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

22. See Wilford Woodruff Diary, July 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and Joseph Smith Diary, July 1839, Joseph Smith Papers.

23. See Wilford Woodruff Diary, 12 and 19 July 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers. For Orson Pratt's efforts to help his brother escape, and his premonition that Parley soon would be free, see P. Pratt, *Autobiography*, pp. 241–46.

24. "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News*, 27 January–24 March 1858, p. 401; Wilford Woodruff Diary, 22 July 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

25. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 22 July 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 82–83.

26. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 25 July 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers; see also discourse by Wilford Woodruff, 12 December 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1967), 13:159–60, hereafter also cited *JD*, where he said: "The devil, however, tried to kill us, for before we started everyone of the Twelve was taken sick, and it was about as much as we could do to move or stir. . . . All the Twelve had something the matter with them. But we had to travel sick; we had to travel by faith in order to fulfil the mission to which we had been appointed by revelation. But the Lord sustained us; He did not forsake us."

27. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 83; and Joseph Smith Diary, mistakenly entered as 5 August, Joseph Smith Papers.

28. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 7–8 August 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

29. *History of the Church,* 4:390.

30. *History of the Church,* 3:23, 17 April 1838.

31. Discourse by Brigham Young, 24 July 1854, *Journal of Discourses* 2:19.

32. Minutes, 18 January 1873, General Minutes Collection, Church Archives. In this same sermon Young explained one of the reasons he could leave his family for the Lord. Referring again to Smith's counsel to the elders in 1833, he told the Saints "the word of the Lord was to the people: 'not to do another days' work to build up Gentile Cities, but to build up Zion'; he said he had not wife nor child, which was his own and if the Lord saw proper, to take any thing away from him, which he seemed to possess, he would feel that it was all right, for nothing is ours, until we have overcome, finished our career, and [the] Lord has set apart to us our possessions, our Wives and children."

33. Minutes, 10 April 1843, General Minutes Collection. For Brigham and the Twelve, the fall of 1839 was not the only time that the kingdom had to come before the family. Wrote Willard Richards during the migration to the Great Basin a few years later: "The great cause of Zion swallows up all minor or personal considerations and wife and children and relatives appear lost as it were and we are obliged to forsake them all to build up the Kingdom of God and bring about a reign of peace upon the earth." Postscript of Brigham Young to George D. Watt, 16 April 1847, as quoted in Dean C. Jessee, "Brigham Young's Family: The Wilderness Years," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Summer 1979):477.

34. Brigham Young's remarks in Wilford Woodruff Diary, 12 May 1851, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

35. For more on this aspect of Brigham Young's teaching and experience, see Ronald K. Esplin, "Inside Brigham Young: Abrahamic Tests as Preparation for Leadership," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980):300–319.

36. Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 21 September 1839, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives. For another example see the letters of Leonora Taylor to John Taylor in Ronald K. Esplin, "Sickness and Faith, Nauvoo Letters," *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975):425–34.

37. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 November 1840, Blair Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah, and Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, Church Archives.

38. See, for example, the lengthy discussion of his mission in John E. Page to the Presidency, 1 September 1841, Joseph Smith Papers, and Benjamin Winchester's report of his verbal remarks about it in Winchester to Joseph Smith, 18 September 1841, Joseph Smith Papers. For an example of how his fellow apostles viewed what they saw as his *refusal* to depart, see *History of the Church,* 4:372.

39. William Smith to Don Carlos Smith, 1 December 1840, *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 December 1810):252–53. For the Twelve's view of this failure to respond see "History of William Smith," p. 57.

40. *History of the Church,* 4:390–91. See also discourse by Brigham Young, 31 August 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 4:35.

41. Young may also have waited for the birth of his daughter, born early September. For the journey of Young and Kimball see "History of Brigham Young," pp. 401–2 and 409. Also Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 85–97. Young and Kimball made it only as far as Quincy, Illinois, before they had to stop for several days to gain enough strength to continue. There Brigham visited for the last time with his father John Young, old, worn down by the Missouri persecutions, ill. He died shortly after Young and Kimball left Quincy. Wilford Woodruff's experiences can be found in his diary, 8 August 1839 through the end of the year, Wilford Woodruff Papers, with an abbreviated account in "History of Wilford Woodruff (From his own Pen)," in *Deseret News*, 7 July–4 August 1858, p. 393. For John Taylor, see B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor, Third President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1963), pp. 67–71; and "Sickness and Faith," pp. 425–34. Taylor also discussed his departure in *Millennial Star* 2 (May 1841):13–14. George A. Smith's account can be found in "History of George Albert Smith by Himself," ms, George A. Smith Papers, Church Archives.

42. Discourse by Brigham Young, 17 July 1870, *Journal of Discourses* 13:211.

43. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal.* pp. 70–71.

44. Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 19 September 1840, Heber C. Kimball Papers. Compare this with the insistence of John E. Page, who did not go, that poverty and a sick wife were adequate reasons for not being at his post. Page to Young, 12 April 1844, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

45. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 15 September 1839, Blair Collection, University of Utah.

46. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 15 September 1839, Blair Collection, University of Utah. He wrote this to lessen her concern over his impoverished departure.

47. Brigham Young Diary, October 1839, Brigham Young Papers.

48. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, p. 88; and Heber Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 24 October 1839, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

49. Kimball wrote to his wife, 24 October 1839, Kimball Papers, "the brethren twock the team and went on and left Br B with me his helth being very powor, when they left me they wep like children aspechly your father for he thought I should not live."

50. Historian's Office Journal, 16 February 1859, Historian's Office Papers. For detailed retellings of this experience see "History of Brigham Young," p. 102; and Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 90–92.

51. Historian's Office Journal, 16 February 1859, Historian's Office Papers, emphasis added; and President's Office Journal, 18 January 1860, Brigham Young Papers. See also Minutes, 18 January 1873, General Minutes Collection. Later Young probably referred more often to this than to any other experience from his early ministry.

52. In a retrospective summary of the first leg of his journey, apparently written soon after his departure, Woodruff wrote that he and Taylor were the first of the quorum of the Twelve that left "Nauvoo." See Woodruff Diary, August 1839, Wilford Woodruff Papers. According to the minutes of the October conference, however, it was still held "at Commerce." A letter from Hyrum Smith to Parley Pratt dated 22 December 1839, copy in Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers, displays Nauvoo as the inside address. By the time the Twelve sailed for England, Commerce had become Nauvoo.

53. Minutes, 5 October 1839, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. Sidney Rigdon did perform this mission. On 4 February, George A. Smith, briefly in Philadelphia with Benjamin Winchester, met with Rigdon on his return from Washingtonton. He was sick with malarial chills and fever and told Smith "Comfort consisted in good health, and something to eat." See "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers.

54. Brigham Young Diary, 4 November 1839, Brigham Young Papers; and "History of George A. Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers. John Taylor also encountered people questioning how they could be so afflicted if they were faithful in the Lord's work. See his explanation in *Millennial Star* 2 (May 1841):14.

55. Joseph Smith apparently agreed with that assessment. See his letter to Oliver Granger, ca. July 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers, for his determination to tolerate such unruly elders no more.

56. "History of Brigham Young," p. 402.

57. Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 12 November 1839, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

58. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball's Journal*, pp. 92–93; and Minutes, 20 November 1839, General Minutes Collection.

59. Brigham Young Diary, 17 November 1839, Brigham Young Papers.

60. Brigham Young Diary, 26 November 1839, Brigham Young Papers.

61. Brigham Young Diary, December 1839, January 1840, Brigham Young Papers; and "History of Brigham Young," p. 402; and entry for 27 November 1839, "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers.

62. "History of Brigham Young," p. 402.

63. *Times and Seasons* 1 (March 1840):70–71. Parley Pratt signed this first, followed by Young and Kimball. That, plus the composition itself, suggests Parley Pratt as the author of the letter.

64. Minutes, 10 October 1865, General Minutes Collection. Compare this with what Smith told all the Twelve in 1835: "and you each have the same authority in other nations that I have in this nation." Minutes, 7 February 1835, Record of the Twelve, Church Archives.

65. "History of Brigham Young," p. 409; and discourse by Brigham Young, 17 July 1870, *Journal of Discourses* 13:211–12.

66. "History of Brigham Young," p. 409. Joseph Fielding noted in his diary that the apostles "look thin & weather beaten. Bro. Kimball is very thin, but they are in good Spirits." Joseph Fielding Diary, 9 April 1840, typescript, Church Archives.

67. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 14 April 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers. It is possible that Joseph Fielding and William Clayton were present. The two men had served with Richards in presiding over the English members since the departure of Kimball two years before and Clayton's own diary indicates that he met "in council with the twelve." Neither Woodruff's diary nor reminiscent accounts mention the presence of any but the apostles, however, and it may be that the council Clayton attended was apart from this organizing meeting. Joseph Fielding's diary notes that the Twelve met in council but makes no reference to his own attendance. William Clayton Diary, 14 April 1840, in James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, eds., *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840 to 1842* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974), p. 140; and Joseph Fielding Diary, typescript, Church Archives.

68. Willard Richards Diary, 14 April 1840, Willard Richards Papers, Church Archives.

69. Minutes, 14 April 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

Chapter 10

A Preparation for Ascendancy: Brigham Young and the Quorum Experience in England, 1840–1841

The Quorum of the Twelve's year-long mission in England proved to be an ideal laboratory for honing Young's leadership skills and for developing the competence of the Twelve as a group. The very distance from their American colleagues forced Young and the apostles to rely on their own abilities. However much they wished to share their responsibilities with Joseph Smith, they could not wait for counsel from Nauvoo but had to plunge ahead. It seems likely that Young's reliance on his fellow apostles, as well as the intensity of their fellowship, was partly a function of this isolation from other priesthood councils. Also, removing them from a familiar environment where they had less prestige and responsibility and where their energies might have been fragmented, and placing them instead in a foreign land under difficult circumstances where the people looked up to them and the responsibilities weighed heavy, tended to focus their every energy on successfully meeting the challenges of their mission.

The English setting also helped the Twelve gain confidence in themselves as apostles. The lower-class English with whom the Mormons had most success found attractive these foreigners from America who had left everything to bring them a message of truth. [427] Specifically, the English members had learned respect for the office of the apostleship. The two years of unspectacular results since their departure led the English Mormons to eagerly anticipate the return of the apostles and prepared them to expect men of ability and power. If the Twelve could interject new energy and get the work rolling immediately, the psychology was right for a mushrooming of enthusiasm among the English Saints in support of their labors. Not only would this enhance their position as leaders, it also would make easier and more successful the missionary labors they had arrived to promote.

The English experience provided Young with a mixture of challenging and supportive circumstances, allowing him confidence even as he grew. His own background of poverty and experience as a laborer gave him empathy for the working man. Apparently that shared background, along with Young's lack of pretension, helped endear him to the English working class. At the same time, extensive business dealings with the more sophisticated taught him to operate in those circles and gave him confidence in his ability to do so. Perhaps for both groups his native practical competence, coupled with his "foreigness," especially his roots in America's rural west, held a certain attraction. Because of the severe inequities he observed in English society and the fact that so many of the people he contacted suffered poverty and loss of freedom as a result, he approached his missionary labors in England with supreme assurance that he was offering them not only the way of salvation, but a way of life infinitely more promising on this earth than what they had experienced. [428]

If Zion's Camp was an important preparation for the calling of the original apostles, as they came to believe, the English experience of unity, success and a sense of power after sacrifice was essential to the reorganized Twelve. The mission fostered a pattern for relationships with each other, set a tone for the quorum, and prepared them to receive new responsibilities soon afterward. Under Young's leadership, their responsibilities encompassed both spiritual and temporal dimensions. Their shared experiences increased their trust in Young as a leader and in each other. The mission also increased the confidence of Joseph Smith and the Church in the apostles.

These labors of the Twelve in England under Young's direction marked the beginning of the quorum functioning as a united and effective entity. Here Young first presided over a quorum of apostles engaged in a common labor. Here, for

the first time, he had the opportunity to be a different kind of leader and shape the quorum into a different kind of council than he had experienced under Thomas B. Marsh. No doubt his memory of the earlier quorum experiences combined with his common-man background and the stress placed on unity by Smith to reinforce his propensity toward consulting and working with his associates. Young carefully nurtured harmony and the full participation of his associates in the decisions and labors of the Quorum. In England he labored diligently and with success to shape the Twelve into a quorum capable of functioning with united strength and wisdom rather than merely as a collection of individuals.[1] *[429]*

During their initial mission in 1837–1838, Elders Kimball and Hyde had succeeded in establishing thriving Mormon branches in several parts of the island nation. When they departed for America, they left the presidency in the hands of Joseph Fielding, Willard Richards, and one of their converts, William Clayton. Spread between presiding over the members and directing the preaching, the men were unable to extend the work significantly; probably as many left the immature branches as came in during the two years before the return of the apostles. Anticipating that the arrival of the apostles would bring a renewal of the work, they warmly welcomed Elders Woodruff and Taylor—the latter an Englishman returned home—in January 1840. With the aid of two other American elders who arrived with them, the two apostles quickly infused new energy and enthusiasm into the work. Optimism and a sense of excitement animated the Saints by the time Young and his associates arrived in early April.[2]

News of the arrival of Young's party of apostles spread quickly among the British Saints. By 12 April, their first Sunday in England, more than five hundred church members had assembled to greet the apostles. Kimball reported that the apostles testified to the Saints that Sunday "with power, for the Lord was with them." According to Joseph Fielding, the arrival of the apostles, especially the return of Kimball, greatly revived the spirit of the English Saints.[3] Later in the week the Twelve held their organizing council as well as several days of conference with the Saints. *[430]*

On 15 April, the day following Richards's ordination, a general conference of the Saints in England convened in Preston. In recognition of his special relationship with the English Saints, Young deferred to Kimball, who "presided" or chaired the conference. This was the beginning of a rotating chair or presidency of the conferences, similar to the pattern of the first mission of the Twelve in 1835. In the same spirit, Kimball had called Joseph Fielding to conduct the first Sunday meeting with the Twelve in England, a gesture Fielding recognized as "his desire to support me in my office." From this beginning, the apostles under Young worked to build the confidence of the Saints in all their leaders.[4]

Those Saints present at this first conference represented nearly sixteen hundred English Mormons. After they voted to sustain Willard Richards as an apostle, the conference approved Hiram Clark to replace Willard Richards in Fielding's presidency of the mission. Apparently the apostles concluded to leave the local presidency in place for a time, to work with them and build them up in the eyes of the members.[5] The conference also approved the publishing of a hymn book and, as soon as sufficient subscribers could be obtained, a monthly periodical—thus authorizing what would become one of Young's central preoccupations in the months ahead.[6]

On 16 April the Twelve met together in council. They accepted Willard Richards's suggestion that the proposed publication be called the "Latter Day Saints Millennial Star" and Brigham Young's nomination of Parley Pratt as the editor, with authority to determine content, size, and price.[7] The Twelve *[431]* assigned a committee to select hymns for publication (Young, Pratt and Taylor) and another to obtain copyrights (Young, Kimball, and Pratt). They concluded to ordain Peter Melling "an Evangelical Minister" so that the Saints could receive patriarchal blessings. They also discussed the emigration of English Mormons to America, a pressing matter because President Fielding, not instructed to preach the gathering, had declined to authorize emigration until the Twelve arrived. Though not yet ready to make a public declaration, the Twelve concluded to issue recommends to groups large or small who would emigrate quietly except, following Young's suggestion, "we recommend no one to go to America that has mon[e]y without assisting the poor according to our council from time to time."[8]

Anticipating dispersing to various fields, the apostles ended their council with an agreement to reconvene in Preston 6 July 1840.

To conclude their days of conferences and councils, the apostles spent a relaxing day 17 April enjoying each other's company and visiting with the Saints on their Good Friday holiday. That evening they met at the Moon residence—son John had assisted Elder Taylor in Manchester—and Sister Moon, to mark the commencement of their labors, brought out a bottle of wine dating from her marriage forty years before. They then held a council to ordain Patriarch Peter Melling and finalize their assignments. Kimball would go to the churches he had built up on his first mission, Orson Pratt to Scotland, John Taylor to Liverpool, where Parley Pratt would also be headquartered for publishing, and George A. Smith to the Staffordshire Potteries. Elders Young and Richards *[432]* would accompany Woodruff to the rich field he had opened several weeks before in Herefordshire.[9]

On the seventeenth, the Twelve also prepared a report and packet of letters to send to Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. William Clayton, clerk of the conference on the fifteenth where Kimball presided, worked with Young and Kimball to prepare copies of the minutes. A brief report that prefaced the meetings perhaps captured the apostles' feelings of anticipation as they launched their labors:

> The gospel is spreading, the devils are roaring . . . the priests are howling, the tares they are binding up, the wheat is gathering, and nations are trembling, and kingdoms are tottering: "men's hearts are failing them for fear, and for looking for those things that are coming on the earth."[10]

Of more significance is the note to the Presidency that Brigham Young appended to the minutes, stressing a theme that he would repeat many times during his mission:

> If you see any thing in, or about the whole affair, that is not right: I ask, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that you would make known to us the mind of the Lord, and his will concerning us. I believe that I am as willing to do the will of the Lord, and take counsel of my brethren, and be a servant of the church, as ever I was in my life.[11]

Young closed the note with expressions of friendship for Joseph Smith and his other Nauvoo associates.

Following the Preston conferences, Wilford Woodruff summarized in a lengthy diary entry his earlier labors in Herefordshire where he had commenced in early March working among the United Brethren, a Methodist offshoot. The direction they had taken in their independent movement prepared them to be open and receptive to Woodruff's message. Already he had baptized more *[433]* than 150 people, including nearly fifty lay preachers and their superintendent, Thomas Kington. These men brought with them control of forty-two licensed preaching places and one chapel. In addition, when Woodruff left the region for Preston, there were nearly two hundred more people "ready to be baptized as soon as an oppertunity offers."[12] It was to this ripe field, and to the labor of preparing, baptizing, and organizing the converts, that Young accompanied Woodruff after the conference, with Elder Richards to join within a few days. No sooner had they arrived than they commenced preaching and baptizing.[13]

Two of Young's surviving letters reveal his initial reactions to missionary labor in the Herefordshire region. To George A. Smith he wrote enthusiastically of the press to fill appointments and the "grate caul for Preaching in this regon of contry. there seems to be an opening clear through to Bristel." He was impressed by the readiness of the people to hear and accept their message. Only the priests, who as Young had anticipated, rejected their teachings, dampening the enthusiastic scene.[14] To the Prophet Joseph he elaborated the same themes. "If we could go four ways at a time we could not fill all the calls we have for preaching," he wrote. Young thought the people very different from Americans. They say that

> it cannot be possible that men should leave their homes and come so far, unless they were truly the servants of the Lord; they do not seem to understand argument, simple testimony is enough for them. they beg and plead for the book of Mormon and were it not for the priests . . . the people would follow after the servants of the Lord and enquire what they should do to be saved.[15] *[434]*

Already Young had noted that with few exceptions it was the poor who received their message, but these humble people for whom "simple testimony is enough" pleased him and engaged his every energy on their behalf.

For a month Brigham Young assisted in the delicate task of fully transforming the main body of United Brethren into organized branches of the Latter-day Saints.[16] His own simple and direct preaching well fitted the people and his wisdom and experience with people helped facilitate the transition. His organizing skill supplemented Woodruff's as they gradually molded the conference of co-religionists into a body of the Saints. Nor were the apostles without the gifts of the spirit as a witness to the new Saints that they came with authority. The week beginning Sunday, 17 May proved especially notable and illustrates something of Young's contribution along with how the three apostles worked as one in this momentous labor. Woodruff preached in the morning, Young in the afternoon. When detractors tried to break up the meeting

> Elder Young rose up in the power of the Priesthood & in the name of the Great God & according to the laws of the land commanded order. two of the brethren went to the door to keep order. Elder Richards was one of them & they were enabled to overcome the enemy & peace was again restored. We administered the Lords supper. & confirmed 5. & ordained 4.[17]

The eighteenth of May had traditionally been a feast day among the United Brethren. But now, because most were receiving the restored gospel, Elder Kington, formerly the United Brethren Superintendent, held a feast for the Saints. The apostles' day started at 5:00 A.M. with Elder Woodruff baptizing several—and more throughout the day for a total of twenty—and Elders Young and Richards confirming *[435]* them as they came out of the water. At 4:00 P.M. Elder Young addressed the gathered Saints "clothed with the power of God" as a prelude to nearly one hundred cheerful Saints sitting down to a feast with the apostles. After dinner Young again delivered a short address followed by more confirmations and ordinations and still more baptisms. In his diary Brigham Young tersely noted, "spent the day with the Brothering they had a tea party we had Prayrs confirmed several ordained a nomber there was 20 Baptized."[18]

The day's activities caused Woodruff to reflect humbly on his unprecedented success. Since he first arrived less than three months before, nearly four hundred had accepted baptism and still the work seemed to accelerate. Woodruff thought James Morgan a fitting symbol, for on the same day he was baptized he was ordained and commenced baptizing others.[19]

Apparently it was also on this day that a "notable miracle was wrought by faith & the power of God." Sister Mary Pitt had been confined to bed for six years and unable to walk without crutches for eleven years. Writing two weeks later, Woodruff said that the three apostles had blessed her "& her ancle bones received strength & she now walks without the aid of crutch or staff."[20]

After Young's address the next day, Woodruff baptized four more whom Richards and Young confirmed. The following morning, 20 May, the three apostles ascended to the privacy of the beautiful Malvern Hills where, as Brigham noted in his diary, "we had Prayrs *[436]* and a little counsel." Characteristically, Woodruff provided more detail:

> we united in prayer & held a Council & unitedly felt that it was the will of God that Elder Young should go immediately to Manchester to assist in publishing a collection of Hymns . . . & also to immediately print & finish . . . the Book of Mormon.[21]

Later that day, with Young on the way to Manchester, apostles Woodruff and Richards resumed baptizing and confirming.

When Woodruff temporarily left the area a month later he could reflect on 541 members organized into thirty-three branches. He gave the Lord credit for preparing the field and leading him to it and his fellow apostles credit for assisting him in the harvest. He and all the Saints benefited from Young's council and from his "instruction with much wisdom," wrote Woodruff. Similarly, he praised Richards as a man who had passed through a great school of experience and learned sound judgment.[22] Young's feelings about the month of shared experiences in Herefordshire may be gauged from a note he wrote to Richards a few weeks later: "I want to see the Brothern in that contry I shall never forget my little mision in that contry with Brother Woodruff and with Br Richards."[23] After the Manchester conference in early July, Woodruff returned to labor another month in Herefordshire, eventually leaving nearly eight hundred members when he departed to preach in London.[24]

Brigham Young left his colleagues in Herefordshire in order to attend to publishing, a matter that had been of concern to the Twelve since

before they had set sail for England. From New York Parley Pratt had written to Joseph Smith in November 1839 [437] asking for authorization to immediately publish another American edition of the Book of Mormon, as well as general authorization for the Twelve to publish abroad. Hyrum Smith answered Pratt's inquiry in Joseph's absence. While recognizing the need for another American edition, he hoped it could be done in Nauvoo under the Prophet's direction. He thought the Twelve should be authorized to publish abroad but would not give authorization until Joseph returned.[25] A few months later Elders Hyde and Page, still in the United States, requested on behalf of the Twelve permission to publish abroad any book they felt necessary. This time the Prophet gave them full authorization, but it would be months before that word reached England, where the rest of the apostles, confronted with a pressing need for books and impossible import duties, faced an immediate decision.[26]

While still laboring in Herefordshire with Woodruff, Young wrote a detailed letter to Joseph Smith asking his council about publishing the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants. Apparently the two men had discussed the possibility before but, perhaps thinking it best to import books so that the Twelve could spend their energies in other areas, no final decision had been reached. Now, with importation out of the question, the matter had become urgent. In answer, Joseph Smith sent with Lorenzo Snow on 19 July permission for Young to proceed with both publications—authorization again that would not arrive until the work was far advanced.[27] Although Young sought council and obeyed it when received, he was not paralyzed when distance hindered communication. [438] He had already determined to publish the Book of Mormon as soon as he could raise the money.

Brigham Young intended to launch an ambitious publications program. No doubt this had been envisioned since their arrival, for their first meetings saw agreement on a monthly periodical and the hymnal. Time had only confirmed to Brigham Young the urgency of the need. Seeing the proposed *Millennial Star* as a first step, he was unwilling to wait until it could be financed by subscribers. Young instructed Pratt to proceed immediately with two thousand copies of the magazine and he would see to the bill. It was his intention to return to Manchester to assist in publication—but not without monies to finance the program.[28]

Not all the new converts were poor. Several families of some wealth joined the Church in Herefordshire and two of them, especially, furnished Young with the money he needed to begin publication. It was with money in hand from John and Jane Benbow and Thomas Kington that the three apostles hiked to Beacon Hill in the Malvern Hills for their important council of 20 May.[29] On that date the three apostles "of one accord . . . & after prayer" discussed the proposed publishing program. Willard Richards then recorded their decision on a small slip of paper for Young to take with him:

> We having obtained the funds to print a Hymn Book & Also the Book of Mormon [and launch the *Star* until it became self-sustaining, they might have added] it is our feelings that Broth[er] Young repair immediately to Manchester & join his Brethren previously appointed with him on a committee for the printing of the Hymn Book & that they cause 3000 copies to be issued without delay & Also that the same be a committee to cause 3000 copies of the Book of Mormon to be printed & completed with as little delay as possible & cause an index [439] to be afficed to the same—the form of the Book to be at the disposal of the committee.[30]

Anxious to operate unitedly and as a quorum, Young asked his two associates to sign the report. On the way to Manchester, where he would consult with Elders Pratt, Taylor and Kimball, Young visited with George A. Smith about the plans: "I perfickley concur with the feelings of my Broetherin abov named," added Smith to the certificate.

Pratt, meanwhile, had not been idle. By mid-May he had a bid for publishing the *Star* and had advanced the editorial work enough that the first number came from the press as Young arrived and the second was out by 17 June.[31] Young arrived in Manchester on Saturday and the next Monday, 25 May, he and his associates began seeking bids to publish the Book of Mormon. They eventually visited every printing establishment in Manchester and Liverpool before deciding on a firm to print five thousand copies. With the arrival of Taylor on the twenty-sixth and Kimball on the twenty-seventh, the committee began selecting

hymns. By mid-June Young reported enthusiastically to Richards the progress of the committee, though noting "my labor has ben such that I am quite unwell. but I keepe going with all my might." For the next several months Elder Young spent most of his time in either Liverpool or Manchester working on publications or emigration, influencing the tempo and directions of the whole mission of the Twelve through correspondence, and preaching when he could.[32]

On 1 June 1840, Brigham Young and Heber Kimball met with and organized the first of several Mormon companies to sail for [440] America under their direction. A few individual Saints had sailed previously, but this, a small company of forty-six, was the first organized under the mission with priesthood leaders appointed to preside at sea—a pattern that would endure for decades with thousands of Mormon emigrants to follow. Young gathered a packet of letters from the apostles to those at home and sent them with the emigrants. For his own wife, Mary Ann, he prepared two letters along with some small gifts, and locked them in a little box. A final note with the key to the box went into the packet with the other letters.[33] As part of the final preparations, Young and Kimball blessed the departing Saints. The two of them, along with John Taylor, joined the emigrants on the ship to help them get situated comfortably. The ship set sail on 6 June.[34]

Knowing the general poverty of the Church and of his family, Young sent Mary Ann all the assistance he could. Earlier he sent some means and now, with the emigrants, he sent additional. But he had arrived in England penniless and could send little; he felt that anything he had came by the grace of God and the goodness of the English Saints. Later he wrote of his gratitude to God for permitting him to help his wife and children buy "a morsel of bread, it is not me but the Lord that has done it though through me."[35]

Even before the apostles left New York, a letter from Hyrum Smith had informed them that while their families were "generally well," because of the poverty of the Church they were not "altogether so comfortably situated as I could wish."[36] In fact, during part of the winter the situation of some of the families [441] was nearly desperate. In order to obtain food from the Nauvoo bishops, Mary Ann Young had been forced to cross the Mississippi in an open boat, her baby bundled tight against the cold while the older girls watched the rest of the children. Years later one Nauvoo veteran told how Mary Ann had arrived at her home one stormy November day

> with her baby Alice in her arms, almost fainting with cold and hunger, and dripping wet with the spray of crossing the river. . . . I tried to persuade her to stay, but she refused, saying, "the children at home are hungry, too." I shall never forget how she looked, shivering with cold and thinly clad. I kept the baby while she went to the tithing office. She came back with a few potatoes and a little flour, for which she seemed very grateful, and taking her baby with her parcels . . . weak as she was from ague and fever, wended her way to the river bank.[37]

By spring, however, the worst times had passed and letters from America began to report "I saw sisters Pratt, Kimball, Young, Woodruff, Turley, Smith. . . . They and their families are well."[38]

It is unclear how much of this history of his family Brigham Young might have known by 11 June, but it is certain that they were very much on his mind. The day was so wet and unpleasant that he returned to his room early and soon fell asleep. He dreamed of being home with his family, of embracing his wife and eldest daughter. In his dream his wife told him "you must provide for your own families for the Church are not able to doe for them."[39] The next day he reported this "night vision" to his wife in a lengthy letter, stressing that he thought in his dream that he must take care of his own for the Church would not be able to. He then reported to her the progress of his mission and pledged that he would labor as hard and as rapidly as possible, [442] "for I feele that I with my Bretherin will be wonted with our familes eare long. for if the Lord dont come out of his hiding place before Long I am mestaken."[40]

Brigham assured Mary Ann that he was as happy in England as he would be anywhere that he had to be deprived of the company of his family, for the English

> are as loving a set of people as ever I saw in my life, y[e]a they are more so in their aperance than the Americans. but my soul says sweet home sweet home. my blesed famely, yes my kind and loving family, how sweet is home.

Lest that sound too much like he was longing for home instead of attending to duty, Young assured her it was not so. He had tested his feelings when the company of emigrants left Liverpool harbor,

asking himself if he were ready to join them for America: "I could not bare the thought of going, but when the time has fully com, and the Lord says goe home my hart then will leap for joy." He thought first they must publish the Book of Mormon and Elder Pratt had to get his family situated in England so he could stay and keep the *Star* alive. Then "I shall feele perty well satesfyde to com home and see you and the Children and my Brotheren that I love in the Bonds of truth." In closing, Young repeated again the promise Joseph had given him that his family would not want while he was away, indicating that the promise had sustained him. Joseph said it by authority, wrote Young: "I believe it I have felt satisfied and contented about my famely ever since I left them."[41]

Brigham Young's concerns for his own family made him sensitive to the feelings of others—and anxious to help where he could. He was fully aware that Jennetta Richards, the delicate *[443]* wife of Willard whom he had married soon after his arrival in England in 1837, had not been well and that Willard desired to be with her. Although Richards had not directly asked for permission to visit, Young wrote him that "I percive more than words in your letter but how to anser the dezire manefested I know not." After the necessary business and news, he returned to the matter:

> Now as to the other question about Jenett[a] thus saith the scripter he that provideth not fore his own house hold has—but perhaps he had not hou[s]e. well has he got a famely yes he has got a wife then let him see that she is taken care of and her hart comforted—but stop say som why doe you not takcare of your famely. I doe when circumstances doe not render it otherwise there is a difference betwene 3 months jorny and afue ours ride. now I say to answer my own feelings com as soon as you can leve things there this is not by revelation nor by commandment so put it not with the anapistles of the new testement but Brigham sayes come and see your wife.[42]

Young's sensitivity and compassion did not end with concern for the families. He was also interested in the health, faith, and feelings of his fellow apostles. During this period he labored unceasingly to build that unity of purpose and feeling that should characterize the Twelve—and which he knew could only flow from hearts in tune and concerned with one another. Though many letters have not survived, it appears that he wrote frequently to his brethren. Judging from those extant, he not only kept them informed on progress and mission events, but wrote letters of personal concern and encouragement. He asked his wife to direct his letters to John Taylor, Liverpool, for while Brigham traveled throughout the mission, Taylor's general responsibilities were there and he "will [k]now whare I am for we are constently wright[ing] to each other." Hearing news about Page and Hyde's *[444]* preparations for Jerusalem, Young expressed delight that they were exerting themselves, but also hoped they would use wisdom and not overdo: "I am glad to see the Bretherin strech them selves. stil, I should hate to see them broake for this dos hurt and it is painful to bare—but the Lord bless the Bretherin."[43] This personal attention helped produce among the apostles the result Elder Young had longed for. As Heber Kimball expressed it to his wife in May, the Twelve drew together as one: "There never was better feelings among the Twelve than at this time; all things go well."[44]

In late June the Twelve began leaving their fields of labor to assemble with the Saints for conference and council in Manchester. Their labors had proven productive. While Woodruff's success in Herefordshire was unsurpassed, others had also found fruitful fields. Especially notable were the labors of Elders Kimball and Fielding who, resuming the companionship they shared in opening the mission in 1837, spread new life and enthusiasm among the members wherever they traveled and "are Baptizing in all the branches whare they goe."[45] Before their tour, many had taunted the faithful that Kimball and the apostles would never return to England, that they had been deluded by a passing fancy without substance. They made many false prophets as they visited branches they had earlier built up. According to their report,

> the brethren here expected that when the Twelve came, there would be greater power in the preaching in general, and so it is; many have been added of late, the field is widening, the work is rolling on in the land, the prospect is good. Br. Fielding says he dont know how to express his feelings, he so greatly rejoices to see it, and he is far from being alone in this.[46] *[445]*

On 6 July the Saints met together in a conference to settle difficulties (the Twelve functioning as a traveling high counci1),[47] review membership (842 more members than in April), approve and perform ordinations (Thomas Kington was among

those ordained high priests), and receive general instruction and encouragement from their leaders. The conference also approved the newly printed hymn book and accepted a number of volunteers to work full time in the ministry.[48]

The following day Young presided over a "General Council of the Church Officers" in the *Star* office. Elder Young addressed the officers concerning their duties, then each was assigned a field of labor until the next conference. The Twelve then walked to a warehouse to weigh and pay for the large quantity of paper Young and Pratt had purchased to publish the Book of Mormon, dined with twenty of the elders, then met in council themselves. All of the apostles agreed that Parley Pratt should immediately go to New York for his family; they also agreed on Pratt's motion that "H. C. Kimball and B. Young take charge of the Star Office" until his return. After discussing emigration, the Twelve decided that the Saints should travel in companies and that Theodore Turley, a seventy, should head the next one to depart.[49]

Following the conference Elder Woodruff reported in his diary the prospective fields of labor. With Elders Kimball and Smith, Woodruff would soon open the work in London, Elder Young would remain in Manchester to oversee the publishing, and Elder Taylor intended to leave Liverpool for a stay in Ireland. "The foundation is now laid in such a manner in this country," he thought, and *[446]* with new doors opening "that we have every reason to expect a greater increase for three months to come, than has been in the three that are past. I Pray God to roll on his work in mighty power."[50]

It is interesting to contemplate Brigham and Heber, the two craftsmen, editing the *Star* in Pratt's absence. It seems strange that Young did not use John Taylor whom he later termed "one of the strongest editors that ever wrote." Perhaps he thought Taylor, a native Englishman, too valuable to remove from the field and from appointments already arranged throughout the United Kingdom.[51] After working in Manchester close to Pratt for two months, Brigham Young certainly knew what was ahead for him. He had written Mary Ann the month before that he had been left to labor nearly alone on the hymn book—"my labor so hard that it scemes as though it would be imposable for me ever to regane my helth"—because Elder Taylor had been ill and Elder Pratt had as much as he could do to attend to the *Star*.[52]

It seems likely that only the fact that Willard Richards was also in Manchester near his wife persuaded Young to take on the added responsibility of the *Star* instead of assigning another. It was Young and Richards who managed the *Star,* as it turned out, permitting the unusually effective Kimball to remain in the field. Unsure when Pratt would return, the Twelve formalized the arrangement at the next conference by voting—just days before Pratt arrived—that "Elder Richards take charge of the Millennial Star." From July until October, however, Young "was much confined to the office . . . conducting and issuing the Millennial Star, Hymn Book *[447]* and Book of Mormon, giving counsel to the elders throughout the European mission, preaching, baptizing and confirming."[53]

When the new season emigration geared up early in 1841, John Taylor would play a key role from his Liverpool headquarters in contracting for passage, organizing the companies, and generally overseeing activities there. But as the next company prepared for an early September departure, Taylor left Liverpool for short missionary journeys to Scotland and Ireland, leaving that endeavor also for Young to oversee.

During lulls in the long hours in the *Star* office or alone in his room at night, Brigham had time to reflect on his own concerns as well as those of the Saints. In June he had asked Mary Ann to remain in the Nauvoo area, rather than going east for a season as she might have done, because "when I come hom I shall want to be with the Brethern [of] the first Presidency." To Joseph he had written in May of his dream of living forever

> to enjoy each others society in peace. I long to see the faces of my friends again in that Country once more. . . . it is hard for me to be parted from my old friends who I have proved to be willing to lay down their lives for each other. I feel as though the Lord would grant me the priviledge of sometime seeing my old friends in America. . . . I beg to be remembered to Brother Rigdon and family also to Brother Hyrum and family.[54]

Young missed not just the fellowship and friendship, but also the teachings. As he wrestled with the cares and challenges each day, he especially wanted the Prophet's council. Although he had

several times written for advice, by early September, some five months into his mission, he still had no answers to his queries. *[448]*

On 5 September, as a company of two hundred Saints gathered in Liverpool to sail to America under Elder Turley, Brigham Young and Willard Richards labored in the Manchester office of the *Star* to prepare a lengthy report and letter to Joseph Smith and his counselors in Nauvoo. The letter contained many expressions of friendship and of the ever-present desire to receive instructions from the Presidency. The heart of the report was a discussion of the social and economic conditions in England and their impact on the missionary success and lives of the Saints. The apostles were appalled that the priests and factory masters had such control that "many simple souls who believe our message dare not be baptized" because starvation could be the result.[55] They were appalled at men out of work, families starving, women and children surviving only by begging. England had a lasting impact on these Americans who visited at a time of economic difficulty, and they returned praising God for the promised land. As George A. Smith wrote to a cousin in Ohio, "I never before realized the value of American institutions."[56]

Because of these conditions the Twelve made every exertion to aid the emigration of as many Saints as possible. So many of the poor had come to Liverpool to emigrate that the generosity of those Saints who had means was not enough to pay the passage. Knowing the poverty and distress, reported the apostles to the Presidency, "we . . . have made use of our own credit, among the brethren" to emigrate the poor along with the rest.

> Brethren, our hearts are pained with the poverty & misery of this pepole, & we have done all we could to help as many off *[449]* as possible to a land where they may get a morsel of bread, & serve God according to his appointment; & we have done it cheerfully as unto the Lord. & we desire to ask you have we done right? Or is it a right principle, for us to act upon, to involve ourselves, to help the poor Saints in Zion?[57]

Their indebtedness and personal responsibility for the emigration weighed on their minds as the ship prepared to depart. But once that concern was penned, the questions would not stop: Are Joseph and Hyrum coming to England as we have heard? Have we done right in printing the hymn book, the Book of Mormon? What about the Doctrine and Covenants? Shall we send to America next season all we can and stay here ourselves? Or should we gather up all the Saints we can and come to America with them in the spring? Is it right for us to stay here and leave our families a burden to the Church? The questions ended with, "Finally, Brothers, how long must we be deprived the company of the Dear Brethren whom we Love?"[58]

These were important questions—some urgent. Earlier in the letter to the Presidency the apostles had stressed that because they felt weakness in the face of the great work committed to them, and because they desired to receive counsel rather than give council to their leaders, they rejoiced "that the Church has a Moses in these last days (and an Aaron by his side) of whom the Saints may enquire, as in days of old, & know the mind of the Lord." Nonetheless, the distances were great and they knew they could not await answers.

> Our motto is go ahead. Go ahead.—& ahead we are determined to go—till we have conquered every foe. So come life or come death we'll go ahead, but tell us if we are going wrong & we will right it.[59] *[450]*

With letter in hand, Young and Richards traveled to Liverpool to meet the departing Saints and to assist Taylor in organizing them. They set apart Turley as president and six counselors to assist him. Although William Clayton was to have remained, his family were among those leaving. The whole affair of arranging and departing proved so traumatic to the family, and to Clayton who was ill, that his mother-in-law, "seeing the toil and trouble there was in these things" began to weep and insist he go with them. She took her request to Young and Taylor who, sensitive to the needs of the family, consented. When Willard Richards realized that Clayton was departing, he was not pleased. For nearly three years they had labored together in the ministry, and the apostle felt Clayton was needed more by the mission than by his family.[60] On 8 September a steamer towed the ship *North America* out of port, Young and Richards on board with the emigrants. After the fifteen mile tow, they returned to shore with the steamer, then traveled back to their labors in Manchester.[61]

On 6 October 1840 the Twelve met in Manchester with the Saints for the third general conference since their arrival. According to the teachings of Joseph Smith, the Twelve functioning as a quorum had the authority to conduct the business of the Church without constant reference to a sustaining vote of the membership. Only when they had less than a quorum was it necessary to conduct business "by the voice of the Church." Among Young's questions to Joseph Smith in his letter of 7 May was one about the advisability of keeping the quorum together to do business as a quorum.[62] *[451]* However, even though a quorum of apostles was present at the first two conferences, the Twelve had conducted business by the voice and vote of the Church. By October, Young had concluded to change that, a decision prompted partly by practical concerns and partly, no doubt, by a desire to establish as a precedent the other pattern.

This was only part of Young's personal agenda for the conference. Still extant is a small folded paper illustrating other aspects of his thinking and preparation for the conference:

> Whare shall the Book of Mormon be bound. . . .
>
> Who shall take carge of the Maleneal Star if P. Pratt does not come
>
> is it best for some of the 12 to goe home this fall and come back next Seson
>
> What time shall the next company goe to america and how shall they be organised to goe. . . .
>
> Who shall have athority to ordane officers in the Churches
>
> Will the Church help Brother Richards
>
> Who shall make or prepare the endex to the Book of Mormon[63]

This agenda was largely followed. In a sense, the October conference, an important conference for establishing policy and new precedents, was President Young's conference.

Following the earlier pattern Elder Young moved and it was seconded and carried that Orson Pratt—not in attendance in July—be president of the conference. As usual the branches were first represented. Total membership was up 1,115 overall since July and Elder Woodruff marveled to hear of the seventy churches and 1,007 members of Herefordshire.[64] George A. Smith spoke on the subject of ordinations, proposing that no more be done except as *[452]* authorized by a high council or under guidelines they would prepare. After adding his thoughts on the matter, Young proposed that in the future, due to the great expenses involved and the inconvenience to many members, general conferences be done away with, except as the Traveling High Council (the Twelve) should feel necessary. In the afternoon session Elder Richards moved and the conference agreed that, for the time being, all ordinations be under the control of the Traveling High Council. Several disciplinary cases ended the session. Elder Young brought up one case of misconduct and another "opened a wide field for instruction from Elder Young" and also Orson Pratt.[65]

An evening session of the conference dealt with assigning elders to their places of labor. As before, assignments were "Moved, seconded, and voted" through a list of names and places until

> Moved and seconded, that the remainder of the Officers . . . be left to the Travelling High Council, to dispose of, and appoint to such places as they may judge expedient.—Carried.
>
> Moved and seconded, that in consequence of there not being time to transact all the business of this Conference, the Ordination of Officers be left to the Traveling High Council, to ordain from time to time, such Members as they may consider requisite. Carried.

The rest of the business the Twelve, as a quorum, would attend to after the conference. Elders Young, Pratt, Richards and Kimball then led a discussion on the propriety of establishing a fund to aid those called to the vineyard but who had insufficient means to respond. After that carried, the "Conference adjourned sine die."[66] The next conference would be when and where the Twelve *[453]* would direct, and in the meantime, as a quorum, they would regulate all matters that needed attention.

On 7 and 8 October the Twelve held councils with some of the Saints present. On the last date they voted that Richards take charge of the *Star* and that the office be moved to London "as soon as circumstances will permit."[67] Except for several matters relating to publishing, the items of Young's agenda were handled during the conference. Who would index the Book of Mormon? Young would, as it turned out, but not until January. How would the Book of Mormon be bound? Young, with his brethren in Liverpool and Manchester, must decide.

An important series of letters that Young wrote to his wife during the fall and winter have

survived. These detailed letters in his own hand contrast markedly with later ones penned by clerks and provide a rare opportunity for insight into his feelings and his thought. In addition, in the absence of a detailed diary, they provide the best information on many of his activities during this portion of his English mission.[68]

These letters document plainly that the demands of publication continued to occupy a large portion of Young's time and energy and that, invariably, everything connected with it took longer than he had anticipated. In mid-October he and Kimball, just returned to Manchester, prepared to visit Preston and Liverpool on business concerning the Book of Mormon. If they could finish the business, it was their intention to spend part of the winter in London (where Elders Kimball, Woodruff, and Smith had labored in August to open the work) and perhaps make a short *[454]* visit to Hamburg, Germany, where one elder labored. If the typesetting and printing started about the time that they purchased paper in July, by this time it should have been far advanced. No doubt one of the matters that still concerned them at this point was finding a low-cost but quality binder. Young also carried the financial responsibility for the *Star,* in spite of Richards's editorial assistance. Consequently he was much relieved when he learned 20 October that Pratt had returned the day before from America. Finally, he wrote, he would be at liberty "to goe to other places to Preach and attend to buisness."

On 30 October, Young expressed his determination to get the Book of Mormon to the people as soon as possible, even though he then knew that it would not be "out of press" as soon as he had expected. As late as mid-January he moaned, "the printing of the Book of Mormon goes slow to what the hymn Book did it is a grate job though it is about don and desposed of." Since it "rest[s] upon my sholders," he knew it must be done before he could leave for America. Not until February were the first copies of the book ready, with binding and business details continuing for several weeks after that.[69]

Publishing was simply a tool of proselyting, however, and proselyting—spreading the message and warning the people—remained the overall concern. To Mary Ann in October, Brigham wrote that he was very anxious to see Elders Hyde and Page because they needed help in the vineyard. He thought the labor would likely be cut short "for nothing but destruction awates this Nation." Too many elders tended to act independently, he thought, and he hoped for additional elders who would follow counsel and keep within bounds: *[455]*

> I have not herd who is acoming but I trust they will be good men that will be sent, for [s]churely it requires men of strong mind and determined persistence to due all things right, & then due nothing more.

Within his October letter to Mary Ann, Brigham wrote a note to his brother Joseph Young, a president of the Seventy, elaborating on these concerns. Send more elders, he urged, "but for Heven sake due not send men here that is to[o] big to be counsled." He wanted humble, pliable, tight lipped men who would be discreet. He and his brethren had carefully followed the admonitions of the Presidency to not teach the mysteries, and he wanted other elders who would do as they had: even when new converts "get the spirit of Provisi [prophecy] upon them and . . . tell many things that is about so . . . all we can due is to laugh at them a little and pass it off." Even without more elders, Brigham wrote in October to Mary Ann, "the work of the Lord is roling on in this contry the Elders are going in every direction to preach the people are reciving there testemony and they are building up Churches in meny parts." With his brethren, Young worked diligently to do his share:

> sence we have ben in Manchester We have don all that we posably could to spread this work we have succeeded in makeing the priest mad, so that they rave like demonds, We keepe Baptiseing every weak which causes much per[se]cution.[70]

In late October, Elders Young and Kimball took a short mission to Preston and then south to the town of Hardin, Wales. Though they initially baptized few, their preaching elicited a singular response from the people. As Brigham Young wrote to Mary Ann in November, *[456]*

> We have hered from Wales whare Br Kimball and I went, a grate meny of the people was sorry they did not obey the gospel when we ware there the report went out that we had the same power that the old apostles had, it is true we did lay hands on one young man that was quite low with a fevor, we rebuked his fevor and he got well we laid our hands on a woman that had verry bad eyes she emeditly recoverd, they have a gradel [great deal] to say about our preaching. they say that Elder

> Kimball has such sharp eys that he can look wright through them, and Elder Young Preashes so that every Body that heres him must beleve he preaches so plane and powerful.[71]

Several months later Kimball wrote of their short mission to Hardin that they preached only twice "and the people almost universally received our testimony." The power of God was manifested, noted Kimball, both in restoring to sight the one nearly blind and also in the young man "lying at the point of death" who a few days later was baptized. Kimball said that a large church was raised up there after them and many were preparing to emigrate.[72]

The week after the visit to Wales, Young was back in Manchester for Sunday activities. He had earlier organized the Manchester elders into a preaching corps that occupied some forty stations throughout the city to conduct street meetings and announce the central meeting at the large Carpenter's Hall. The men would first meet together for a priesthood meeting and then disperse to their assigned stations. On 8 November Brigham felt impressed to send the brethren home rather than to their stations, partly, no doubt, because he was aware the Methodists had complained. Because of the complaints, the mayor that morning instructed the police to arrest all the street preachers. All twenty arrested were quickly released when they proved to be Methodists.[73] *[457]*

In his letters, Young could not help but contrast England with America. The climate of England did not agree with him, nor did the social and economic conditions. Noting in October that Parley Pratt's family had arrived well and in good spirits, he added for Mary Ann that he thought they would get enough of "old England" within the year and that he was glad that his family was in America. He wrote that there was scarcely a night that he did not dream of being in his own country with some of his old friends. In November he wrote again about the members turned out of work because of their religion adding that he was certain the Lord turned all things to good: "the Priest[s] and leaders drive the people to us . . . they can due nothing aganst the truth, but for it, it all helps to role the worke on to the final crices." As an example he pointed with delight to the Manchester sectarians who tried to keep their members away from the Mormons by telling them "if you dont . . . you will want to goe again and you will be druv a way by them, they are so intising you cannot keep away if [you] goe once." The delusion was so powerful, said the preachers, that after joining the Mormons people would even pay their own passage to America "to the promist land." Young thought such admonitions a great boon to the work. He joked that not all were deluded enough to pay their passage, however, and a few had even said they would not go unless their way were paid.[74]

These letters also reveal Brigham Young's deep feelings for Joseph Smith and his continuing concern that all his actions be acceptable to Joseph as well as to the Lord. After the persecutions and apostasies of 1837–1838, Young was concerned *[458]* for Smith's safety, as well as for the Church. In October he wrote,

> how doe the church feele about Br Joseph Smith . . . is there feelings agan[s]t him I have ben informed he has said the Brotherin would for sake him and some of them would secke his life and he would have to swim the Mississ[ippi] river to get out of their hands, I shall be glad when [the] Church understand things and Lern that the Lord is god and he will takcare of his own work, and moses will doe the work the Lord tells him to do.

He hoped that the Church would not eventually provoke the Lord as the Children of Israel did. He also expressed this prayer: "I aske one thing of the Lord God the Eternall Father in the name of Jesus Christ that is that our Moses that the Lord has given us, may live to . . . go into the promist Caneneon."[75]

As far as can be determined, Brigham Young received no letter of advice or instruction from Joseph Smith or the Presidency until 2 November when he met Lorenzo Snow in Liverpool carrying Smith's answer to Young's 7 May 1840 letter. Notations in Joseph's letterbook preserve the gist of the answer "sent . . . by Lorenzo Snow which gave them permission to publish . . . but not to ordain any into the quorum of the Seventies, and likewise some general instructions." Apparently the letter itself, not presently available, contained a suggestion of dissatisfaction along with the permission to proceed. The letter was not explicit enough, however, that Young fully understood the cause or the extent of the Prophet's concern. Since he had attempted to learn the Presidency's counsel on all matters and stood willing to obey when he received it, no doubt the rebuff, mild

though it may have been, carried a sting. To his wife Young wrote in November, *[459]*

> in Brother Joseph['s] letter he sent to the Twelve he said he had something aganst them, acording to whatt I could lern from the letter it was because we did not wright to him upon the subject of printing the hymnbook and the Book of Mormon which we should have been glad to have don if we could, but it did not seeme to be posable, all I have to say about the matter . . . is I have don all that I could to doe good and promote the cause that we are in. I have don the verry best that I knew how, and I think that Br. Joseph will tel us all about things when we return home.

He was willing to wait. And he would have to wait, for it would be more than two months before he and his brethren received the next communication from Smith. Knowing that Mary Ann would see him, Brigham told her to show him the letter "or not, jest as you plese, but tell him at ennyrate to say what he wants me to doe and I will try and doe it."[76]

These important letters to Mary Ann in the fall and winter of 1840–1841 reveal much about Young's relationship to his family, an important aspect of his personality largely ignored and, for most of his life, not documented in this detail. In addition to what has already been noted, he wrote in mid-October,

> I trust within one year from this time I shall have the priveledge [of] injoying the society of my famely; I feel as though their faceses would look and voices sound better than ever before. how I long to see my wife and children. When I let my mind meditate upon past scenes and the triels we have past through to gether, I feel as thou I could not concent to be so far from them, and whare I cannot administer to their comfort, but so it is, and I must be content.[77]

To lighten Mary Ann's concern for him, he wrote that all of his wants had been supplied: "there has been an efectual dore opened for us sence we left home, would I be sure that my famely fared as well as I due, I would be happy." He expressed satisfaction that his family had been moved to the Nauvoo side of the river and hope that they could stay there when he returned. *[460]*

Before he had mailed the above letter, Brigham learned more about his family through a letter from Vilate to Heber Kimball. "I am glad Brother Brigham has sent some assistance to his family," she wrote, "for they were needy." She thought their house—though it would soon be improved—hardly a shelter and mentioned that Young's daughters Vilate and Elizabeth were both sick with the chills.[78] This news prompted Young to write:

> I aske my Hevenly Father to preserve my family till I returne home, how I long to see my famely or know they are well and provided for so that they doe not suffer for food and rament, and I know that the Church is poor and it is as much as they can doe to attend to without doing enything for my famely I know they woul[d] . . . if they could but th[e]y cannot. . . .
>
> Sister Vilate says your house could hardly be cau[l]d a shelter this makes me fee[l] bad but I will doe [all] I can for you to help you to make you and the Children comfortable while I am in the vinyard. . . . I dremed last night of seeing the house whare you live & that it looked very open and cold, I feele for you.

Once again he assured her not to be concerned for him for "the Brotherin and Sisters would pluck out there eyes for me if it ware nessary they due all they can for my comfort . . . and may the Lord bless them for it and he will."[79]

In addition to attending to the requirements of publishing, Brigham Young spent November, December, and early January traveling throughout the mission visiting the elders, preaching, holding conferences, and helping push the work forward wherever he could. In late November he "herd Elder [Lorenzo] Snow preach, he is a nise young man I think"; that marked the beginning of an association in the ministry that would last for many years.[80] During this period, Young's longest stay was ten days in London, where he preached and visited the sites in company with Elders Woodruff and *[461]* Kimball who, along with George A. Smith, had opened the London work during August. London, they found, was the most difficult place in England to gain successfully the attention of the people. Although they had baptized 130 persons on the way to the city, in London they spent two weeks before winning a single convert. They stayed with the labor mainly, it would seem, because of the symbolic importance of having a presence in the capital city. By February they had forty-six members; by May, seventy-four.[81]

While Young was generally sensitive to the feelings of his colleagues, his manner could also be curt and abrasive. Not given to circumlocutions, he spoke frankly what was on his mind, probably admonition more often than praise. Sometimes the admonition was recognized as appropriate and taken in good spirit, as appar-

ently happened with George A. Smith in the council in Batavia as they traveled to New York the fall before.[82] Other times the comments, even when deserved, must have stung; and if they had not been balanced by fellowship and genuine goodwill they would eventually have caused breaches in the unity of the quorum. One of these encounters occurred in London. While those who labored in London any length of time stressed the inherent difficulties of the place for preaching, Young attributed at least some of the slowness of the work to deficiencies in the labor or approach of the apostles. George A., he thought, simply used the wrong approach for the people of the great city, while Elder Woodruff seemed to Young more intent on writing in his diary than counseling those interested in the gospel.[83] Nonetheless, the men worked together harmoniously and effectively in furthering the London work. *[462]*

While it is difficult to judge the impact of the apostles' December preaching on the London missionary effort, one can sense something of the impact of the city on the apostles. After the August visit Woodruff called the city "as profitable a school to me as any I have ever met with in my travels."[84] Young joined them in December partly, at least, for school. The three apostles visited the Tower of London, the Thames Tunnel, Buckingham Palace, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, the National Gallery, the College of Surgeons, and the British Museum. Woodruff wrote in his diary detailed descriptions of each site that he had not thoroughly described in August or October. Judging from his reports, the size of the city, the magnificent architecture and sculpture, the centers of government and learning all impressed them.

Young left London by rail on 11 December and resumed his schedule of visits and conferences. After one such visit he wrote in his diary, "I have had a good time with the Brethrn I find Fathers & mothers sister & Brothers whare ever I goe."[85] On the way to London he had preached two nights in the Staffordshire Potteries with George A. Smith. Christmas day found him back in that area for a conference: "had a good time gave the church much instruction found G. A. Smith not verry well." Young spent the night with the ill apostle.[86] A few days later he returned with Willard Richards to Manchester, where the two prepared for publication a lengthy article titled "Election and Reprobation," dealing with the ever-present questions of election, faith, and works.[87] Replete with biblical references and quotations, the *[463]* piece served as an answer to Protestant ridicule of the Mormon teachings on these central issues. Twice during the month Brigham preached on the subject. Later in January, Young and Richards prepared the index for the nearly finished edition of the Book of Mormon.

With the new year the apostles realized their stay in England was drawing to a close. In October, Young had written to Mary Ann only that he thought they would arrive home at about the right time for the Lord would indicate when: "I doe not feele as though I could doe enny thing with out him the Lord must guide me or I shall goe rong." In November he told her that Elder Taylor had begun "to think about going home." Finally, 15 January 1841, he was prepared to announce to Mary Ann that

> on the 6 day of Apriel 1841 we hold a Council of the twelve with the officers of the Church for the purpos of arrangen the affares of the Church so that we can leve, I think we shall start for home then, and make ouer way as fast as we can. I beleve this is the feelings of all the twelve, this is all I can say upon the subject, the will of the Lord be don.[88]

The labors he had set for himself about completed, Young finally would allow himself to think of returning home. Apparently the heavy demands of young children and her own poor health had prevented Mary Ann from writing often. Just before he wrote to her in January, he finally received a long letter from her, further turning his heart toward home. He expressed sorrow at her illness and awareness of the difficulty of her task even with health. "I pray for you and the children continually," he wrote; "it is all I can due. I can not help you about your daly work." He reaffirmed that he felt they were in the hands "of the Lord God *[464]* of Isreal," although he also admitted feeling a great desire for them. He was certain that the time went faster for him than for them because of the variety and demands of his mission. His responsibilities weighed so heavily upon him that he had time for little else: "if I would give up my mind to think of my famely it would destract me and I should not be fit for the work the Lord has set me about." But this time he was distracted and it was all right. Mary

Ann had written that "little Mary ann cried the other night and did not want to goe to Bed till she had kneled down and praid for Father." Deeply touched, Young responded: "bless the little creater [creature] how I want to see hir," adding a note of love and counsel to each of his six children.[89]

Immediately after writing to Mary Ann, Brigham penned letters to the other members of the Twelve notifying them of the decision to leave. On 18 January Kimball and Woodruff received notice to be ready to sail in early April. George A. Smith was already generally aware of the plans when Young wrote to him 11 February that Jennetta Richards intended to accompany them to America in the spring. He went on to give more precise information and, characteristically, invite George A.'s response:

> the twelve are agoing to meet on the last day of March or the first day of Apriel for . . . such business as will be nessary . . . before they goe home, I believe it to be the minds of all the Bretherin to goe home emed[i]atily after the confrence. . . . what say you about the matter I say I am for home if the Lord will that I goe if this dos not meet your mind you must let me know.[90]

Because Young had adjourned the previous conference *sine die,* it was necessary to formally notify the membership of the decision to hold another conference. The February *Star* carried *[465]* the announcement that the Twelve would meet in Manchester 6 April as many "officers . . . as can conveniently attend, in general council . . . when much business of general interest will be attended to." The notice directed the presiding elders to hold local conferences previous to the general gathering so they would have accurate membership information.[91]

On 15 December, Joseph Smith wrote an important letter that included his advice that the Twelve return to America in the spring. It is unlikely that Brigham Young received the letter until after he had announced to the Twelve his decision to depart. As late as 6 February 1841, Woodruff noted in his diary that a 25 December 1840 letter from Mary Ann to Brigham Young reported Joseph Smith's intention to instruct the Twelve to "hold a conference in the Spring ordain as many as they thought wisdom & send them to all parts they could" and then return home. Had Smith's letter already arrived, Woodruff would have commented on that rather than the second-hand notice of what the Prophet intended to do.[92] When Joseph Smith's letter of 15 December finally did arrive, it did contain a paragraph in answer to the Twelve's earlier query about returning in the spring:

> I have reflected on the subject some time and am of the opinion that it would be wisdom in you to make preparations to leave the scene of your labor in the spring. Having carried the testimony to that land, and numbers having received it, consequently the leaven can now spread, without your being obliged to stay. . . . I would therefore say in the mean time be diligent, organize the church and let everyone stand in his proper place, so that those who cannot come with you in the spring may not be left as sheep without a shepherd.[93]

Brigham Young had already concluded to do precisely what the letter counseled. *[466]*

This important letter finally provided Smith's answers to the several letters and numerous questions Brigham Young and his brethren had earnestly penned in May and September. Although Smith acknowledged that some of the questions merited an earlier reply, he in effect gave the Twelve a vote of confidence by suggesting that he trusted them to decide properly the questions while he attended to other priorities. He felt that their mission was as important as any labor then on the earth and admitted to having "some anxiety" that by faith and diligence and charity they would really commend themselves "to one another, to the Church of Christ, and to your Father which is in heaven." From all the information he had received, however, he felt satisfied that they had not been remiss in their duties and that their diligence and faithfulness must please God and all the Church. The unity and harmony with which they labored especially gave Smith confidence in them. If emulated, he wrote, such unity would bless the whole Church: "The order of the Kingdom will be maintained,—its officers respected, and its requirements readily and cheerfully obeyed."[94]

Joseph wrote that he approved of their publishing. He would be particularly pleased to learn that the Book of Mormon was printed "in all the different languages of the earth." He concurred in the decision to have Parley Pratt, his family at hand, remain longer than the rest of the Twelve, and gave his reasons why. But he did not feel to comment on the long lists of questions. He felt that they had acted in wisdom

> and I have no doubt but the spirit of the Lord has directed you. and this proves to my mind that you have been humble, and your desires have been for the salvation of your fellow [467] man, and not for your own agrandizement and selfish interests. As long as the saints manifest such a disposition their councils will be approved of, and their exertions crowned with success. There are many things of much importance, on which you ask council, but which I think you will be perfectly able to decide upon, as you are more conversant with the peculiar circumstances than I am, and I feel great confidence in your united wisdom. therefore you will excuse me for not entering into detail.

In answer to Young's earlier plea, he promised that if he did see something wrong he would "take the privilege of making known my mind to you and point out the evil." Although Young several times had asked for specific counsel and advice, time and practical necessities had forced him and his brethren to make their own decisions—and mature in the process. No doubt Young took deep comfort in Joseph's expression of full confidence in him and in their labors.[95]

Smith's epistle revealed that he had some understanding of the probable impact of the mission on the Twelve. He wrote of what they must feel to see their labors assist the spread of truth throughout England "while surrounded with circumstances the most unpropitious," threatening destruction. Such success, he thought, must increase their confidence in God and in themselves,

> like the gallant Bark, that has braved the storm unhurt, spread her canvass to the breese, and nobly cuts her way through the yielding waves, more conscious than ever of the strength of her timbers and the experience and capabilities of her Captain, Pilots and crew.

From contemplating their mission and labors he turned to consider his own, asking the Twelve—perhaps a foreshadowing of their future role—to support him that he might succeed.[96]

President Smith's letter also contained news of Nauvoo developments, some of which the Twelve knew by the *Times and Seasons* [468] and other letters: construction of the Temple, Hyrum Smith becoming patriarch according to Father Smith's "last directions and benedictions," importance of Nauvoo as the gathering place. He left the Twelve to decide emigration routes and procedures but advised against New Orleans in the summer, the sickly season. He would not be coming to England but extended the English Saints "a pressing invitation" to come and see him in America. He closed with an overview of baptism for the dead, a new doctrine taught for the first time since they left. They would immediately see its "consistancy and reasonableness," he thought, but as the ordinance could only be performed in Nauvoo, he declined giving further details until they returned. At the same time, he noted, "I always feel glad to give all the information in my power."[97]

The first issue of the *Times and Seasons* for 1841 printed extracts of the Prophet's letter to the Twelve and the second published an epistle from the First Presidency titled "A Proclamation to the Saints Scattered Abroad." For the Saints in England the March *Millennial Star* reprinted both.[98]

The proclamation contained additional information about developments in Nauvoo (lands, city charter, Nauvoo Legion, plans for a university) and stressed even more than the earlier letter the importance of the gathering. Whatever doubts had earlier existed about the wisdom of continuing the general gathering had apparently dissipated in the enthusiasm over the new city's growth and promise: "The persecutions we suffered in Missouri, were but a prelude to a far more glorious display of the power of truth," read the proclamation. The gathering was essential to the [469] work of the kingdom. Only the united and concentrated efforts of the faithful could build up the new society spiritually or temporally.

> Therefore, let those who can, freely make a sacrifice of their time, their talents, and their property, for the prosperity of the kingdom, . . . bid adieu to their homes and pleasant places of abode, and unite with us in the great work of the last days. and share in the tribulation, that they may ultimately share in the glory and triumph.[99]

Joseph's long-standing program to establish Zion and build the Kingdom of God was once more in force.

Most of the English Saints needed no convincing. Even before the apostles mentioned the gathering they desired to see the Prophet, to live among the Saints, to go to America. As Brigham wrote to his brother Joseph Young in October 1840,

> the Saints have got a start for to gether to america and goe they will, and nothing can stop them. . . . they have so mich of the spirit of gatherin that they would goe if they knew that the mob would be upon them and drive them as so[o]n as they got there they have the spirit of the times here as well as the Church there.[100]

For the English Saints baptized by the Twelve, it

was a gathering not only to America but to the "Land of Joseph."[101] With the publishing firmly in hand, Brigham Young spent the months of February and March attempting to rationalize and improve a system of emigration, and gearing up to transport as many Saints as possible to the Land of Joseph before the Twelve departed.[102]

The season's emigration opened in early February with final preparation for the sailing of the *Sheffield.* Before the emigrants assembled in Liverpool, the apostles had completed contracting for the ship and arranging many of the stores. It seems likely that the day-to-day arrangements were made by John Taylor, still [470] headquartered in Liverpool, with Young and sometimes others of the Twelve on hand to assist in organizing the company and completing arrangements as departure neared. It is also likely that Young's stamp was on the financial arrangements. Alexander Neibaur, one of the prospective passengers of the *Sheffield,* found "the ship all in an uproar, luggage, men, women & children all huddled together," when he, his family and luggage arrived 5 February from Preston. Elders Young, Taylor, and Richards "which 3 gentlemen had the superintendency of the storing for the Company," arrived the next evening to assist.[103] To accompany each shipload of English Saints, Young appointed an American elder—someone capable of being a leader as well as one who could transact the American end of the business without unnecessary costs. In this case he appointed Hiram Clark. The apostles normally blessed the company, set apart the leaders, helped orient them to ship life, and stayed on board with them until the moment to sail arrived.

On the evening of 6 February, Elder Young called the emigrants to order and informed them that all must be on board by 8:00 the next morning. Some had not completed financial arrangements for their passage and he insisted that be done immediately.[104] In the morning the three apostles boarded the ship to visit with the emigrants and render last minute assistance until 10:00 A.M. when the captain ordered the vessel to sail. Young thought the company as well situated as they could ask for: "they had the hole ship to them selves." Hundreds watched as a fine breeze carried the 235 New Orleans–bound Mormons down the river and out to sea. Young had concluded that if they sailed [471] early enough to avoid the New Orleans summer, as Joseph had suggested, that the less expensive Louisiana route was best.[105]

The *Sheffield* sailed on Sunday. By Thursday the three apostles met in council to set apart the presidency for the ship *Echo.* According to the minutes, the company's organization included the president and six assistants along with one man to act as clerk and historian.[106] Young remained in Liverpool nearly a week until the *Echo* sailed with 109 Saints on board. He then traveled for several weeks before returning to assist in March with the *Alesto* and its passengers.

When not directly involved with the ships and emigrating Saints, Young supported the movement with numerous letters to keep the other apostles informed and coordinate their efforts so that money, provisions, emigrants, and a ship came together for a successful company. Woodruff noted that he and Kimball received several letters in early February "which gave us information of the vast emegrat[i]on of the Saints."[107] By mid-month Young had concluded to write to all the Twelve and other presiding elders throughout England asking immediate information so he could arrange the last companies. His letter to George A. Smith illustrates the process of planning and preparation:

> We wish you to Call the Churches to gether in your part and ascertaine emeditly how meny of the Bretherin can be reddy to sale by the 10 of march next, as we shall fit of another Company then . . . let us know by the 25 of this month, let us have the names of all, and the ages of all children under 14 years, children from one to 14 will goe 2 for one under one year they goe free.

Young asked Smith to appoint an agent to handle the money for passage and provisions; Young himself knew the market and would [472] purchase to save them money. As soon as he had contracted for another ship, Young promised to inform them of the sailing date. His advice was to avoid the more expensive New York route by sailing to New Orleans by March, adding that those who could not be ready in time "had better stay" until late August or September when they could again sail for New Orleans.[108]

George A. presented the matter to the Saints in his region and found "All willing but none able to gather at present." They simply did not have the means. Levi Richards apparently found people with means enough but who could not be ready

by March. He wanted to know if it was binding that they wait until fall. If they could not be ready in time, responded Young, "we say goe or at enny other time when they chose, our surkler [circular] is no law but advice in consequence of the expence." Since the vessels that he had contracted for were already "fild to overflowing," Young's advice to all others was "go when you can."[109]

Between ship departures Young continued his travels, visiting the elders and preaching. He spent several days in Hardin, Wales, where he and Heber had opened the work in late October. He also prepared a communication for the *Star* on family prayer. Too often he had observed fathers stepping aside for the elders. "Heads of families should always take the charge of family worship," he wrote, urging twice daily family prayers under the direction of the fathers. Young also had the financial burden for the mission. Selling Books of Mormon and trading passage for loans raised some of the monies, but more was needed, especially for emigration, and he sought to raise additional means [473] as he traveled. He wrote to Willard Richards in March that he was not yet on the track of any money. If he had some, "I should feele more in a hurrey to return to L[iver]pool but can due no good at present."[110]

On 1 April the Twelve assembled in Manchester to hold their final councils as a quorum in England. Orson Hyde, en route to Jerusalem on his special mission, had arrived in England several weeks before, but Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff, at least, had not seen him until this day. Young noted in his diary that he "was much rejoiced to see my Bretherin specely O. Hyde."[111]

With the addition of Orson Hyde, nine of the apostles met together in Manchester that April—the most since Kirtland days soon after the organization of the Quorum. John E. Page and William Smith had failed to respond to the call to preach abroad and the death of David Patten left one space still vacant. The nine that did respond to the mission call, the nine that assembled here for the first time under the direction of Brigham Young, were the same nine who would later receive significant instruction and additional temple rites under Joseph Smith and eventually, as his successors, lead the Mormon migration to the Great Basin.

After a day of informal visiting and sharing the news, the Twelve met in formal council 2 April. It was a meeting devoted to necessary business decisions before departing. The quorum voted to accept the labors of Young and the publication committee and, since the committee and not the quorum had managed the details of publication, leave them free to close out their financial arrangements and report the same to President Joseph Smith. [474] Parley Pratt would remain in England and the council appointed Amos Fielding agent to superintend fitting out the emigrants under his direction. Wrote Woodruff of the day in council, "we had a good time unity prevailed."[112]

In councils on 3 and 5 April, the Twelve agreed that Parley Pratt manage the *Star* as a proprietor and that he be authorized to do additional publishing if needed. They set 17 April as the day to sail for home and, significantly, resolved "that the Twelve do business at the conference as a quorum and call upon the Church or Conference to sanction it." Rather than an open conference with business from the floor, the Twelve would present items for the sustaining vote of the Saints. On 5 April, Woodruff wrote in his diary that "perfect union & harmony prevailed in all the deliberations of our Councils for the last four days."[113] Under Young in England, the Twelve stressed and to a considerable extent achieved that unity so often lacking in the earlier Quorum of the Twelve.

Sunday, 4 April, the Twelve met with the Saints. According to Young's diary, all nine of the Twelve "bore testamoney to the Bible Book of Mormon J. Smith as a prophet." Wrote Woodruff of the occasion, "It is seldom that any congregation is privilged with as much testimony." If the Twelve found their united testimonies impressive, no doubt the Saints did, too.

On 6 April 1841 the "Council of the Twelve assembled . . . for the first time to transact business as a quorum, in the presence of the church in a foreign land." President Young conducted and presided, organized the conference, opened with [475] prayer, then called for the representation from churches throughout the kingdom. The tally showed a total of 5,814 plus 50 not in any branch, up nearly 2,200 since the last conference and more than 4,300 since their first conference one year before.[114] The conference also witnessed many ordinations, including the ordination of a second

patriarch for England, and the farewells of several apostles. Brigham spoke about the organization and authority of priesthood quorums, drawing on his Kirtland experience, including the order of seating the quorums in the temple. In perhaps the most important matter of business the "Council"—not the Conference—"proceeded to organize all the churches into conferences throughout the Kingdom & appoint presiding Elders over them."[115] Parley Pratt, the apostle to remain in England, would preside over the whole.

A large, beautifully decorated cake from New York, a present from the wife of George J. Adams to the Twelve, graced the evening meeting. Appropriate hymns and "a powerful and general feeling of delight" animated the seven hundred in attendance. The Englishman Joseph Fielding thought the cake a fitting symbol "of the good things of that land from whence it came, and from whence they had received the fulness of the gospel." Brigham Young and William Miller sang the hymn, "Adieu, my dear brethren," then "President Young blessed the congregation, and dismissed them."[116]

The following day the Twelve spent together in council, socializing with each other and the American elders, visiting the Saints and, importantly, unitedly blessing Orson Hyde for the mission to Palestine that the Presidency had set him apart to *[476]* perform.[117] Each of the apostles then went his own way to make final preparations and say a last good-bye to the Saints of England.

Parting was not easy for the Saints or the apostles. For both the year had been one that changed lives, nurtured development, and forged lasting bonds of love and respect. Hundreds of the English Saints shared the conviction that William Miller expressed to Brigham Young and Heber Kimball: "I know that you are his [God's] servants to minister salvation to the nations of the earth."[118]

The apostles had found the English Saints so attached to them that at times it was only with great difficulty that they could avoid expending their health and all their energies in comforting and counseling them. George A. Smith, at twenty-three the youngest of the Twelve, wrote of this on 8 January 1841 to his brother Lyman:

> I seldom go to Bed before 12 oclock . . . This comes from my having So many Who come to hear me talk and receive instruction from me. . . . you cannot think how foolish it makes me feel to Be Looked up to with So much Earnestness by Persons Who have been Professors of Religion and Preachers of the Different Sects. I thank the Lord for the Wisdom he has given me and the Success I have had in the teaching thes Men. . . . They all Look to me for instruction as children to A Father and this Makes me feel vary Small indeed and Causes me to cry unto my father Who is in heaven for Wisdom and Prudence.[119]

Wilford Woodruff expressed similar feelings at the close of the last conference he would hold with some of his friends in Herefordshire. Of those who came for counsel he wrote:

> some are placed in all the perplexing circumstances that possible can be & are flocking around me by Scores at a time and asking council what to do, As soon as meeting closed multitudes crouded around me, many hands were presented on evry side to bid me farewell, many calling for me to bless *[477]* them before I leave them, others crying out to lay hands on me & heal me before you go. Br. Woodruff I am turned out of Doors for my religion what shall I do, I am ready to go to Zion my wife wont go with me shall I go & leave her. My Husband beats me & turns me out of Doors because I have been Baptized I have got money enough to carry me & the children to Zion will you let me go without him.

And the list goes on and on. Surely he needed all the wisdom of Solomon, thought Woodruff, to possibly deal with such a scene.

> And when I left the chapel many were still waiting for a little council upon a variety of subjects which they did not get for the want of time many parted with me with tears in their eyes, many of the Brethren & sisters followed me to Turkey Hall whare I spent the night, & filled the house untill a late hour Begging Council & instruction at my hand.[120]

Although Brigham Young had not labored for several months in a single area as had Woodruff in Herefordshire or George A. Smith in the Potteries, he had spent months in and out of Manchester and Liverpool, he had met with Saints throughout the kingdom, and he had been looked to for counsel wherever he had traveled. No doubt he, too, had a burden of pastoral care and some emotional partings as departure neared. As one study of the mission of the Twelve concluded, each of the Twelve had such impact on the lives of people "that throngs gathered round them as they left, giving them tearful farewalls reserved for only the most admired and beloved of friends."[121]

Before leaving Manchester on 15 April the Twelve performed their last official act as a

quorum in England, finishing for publication in the *Star* "An Epistle of the Twelve" to the Saints throughout Great Britain. They expressed thanks for the diligence of the Saints in hearkening "to the council of those whom God has seen fit to send among them, and who hold the keys of this [478] ministry." The result had been union and power. They warned them to remember "that which we have ever taught . . . both by precept and example . . . to beware of an aspiring spirit."[122] The epistle announced the appointments of Levi Richards and Lorenzo Snow as traveling counselors to assist Elder Pratt, stressed the order for ordinations, and then instructed the Saints in detail about the gathering and emigration—counsel in harmony with what Joseph Smith had written them.

Their mission concluded, the apostles left the epistle with Elder Pratt and took the train for Liverpool, arriving in time to join two hundred of the Saints in a splendid party. In a brief meeting the Twelve concluded to sail five days hence, 20 April. The owners of the ship had been so pleased to have the apostles' business that they agreed to delay sailing until then, gave them a special rate, and reserved for them the use of "the Aft quarter deck. which was a great privilege to us."[123] Sunday the nineteenth the Twelve preached to the English people for the last time. Monday, the seven apostles and 120 Saints accompanying them loaded their baggage, and the *Rochester,* one of the fastest ships in the harbor, was ready. With a "multitude of Saints" to wave them off, the *Rochester* set sail.[124]

No doubt in the waves of British Religious history, especially in the agitated waters of that period, the apostles' year of labor had caused only a little turbulence. They had not overturned the churches or shocked the nation. But they had built rapidly upon a small foundation, and they had established among the Saints institutions of organization and emigration that would [479] endure for a generation and more. Some of their converts would desert them. Many more would follow them to the New World. After them would come more missionaries and more converts and more emigrants.

If their impact on the English nation was transitory, the impact of the English mission on the Twelve was enduring. They had learned to rely on each other and on their God. They had increased in self-reliance and in confidence in one another. They had proven they could work together with harmony. Never again would Brigham Young see a Quorum of the Twelve Apostles disanimated and divided as he had seen in the past. Under difficult circumstances and with sacrifice, they had come as a religious duty and they had triumphed. The contrast with their arrival a year before—penniless and poorly dressed, most of them strangers in a foreign land—and their departure was inescapable. Likely each of the Twelve marveled, as did Wilford Woodruff, when comparing their arrival with departure, joined by

> a ship load of Saints & all that we need of this worlds goods to make us comfortable, & having an influence sufficient to detain a ship a day or two on our account truly the Lord hath blessed us in a manner not looked for it hath truly been a miricle what God hath wrought by our hands in this land . . . & I am asstonished when I look at it for during our stay here we have esstablished churches in all the most noted cities & towns in this Kingdom have Baptized more than 5000 souls Printed 5000 Books of Mormon 3000 Hymn Books 2500 Volumes of the *Millennial Star* & about 50,000 tracts, & gatherd to the land of Joseph 1000 Souls & esstablished a great influence among those that trade in ships at sea & lacked for nothing to eat drink or ware truly the Lord hath been good.

As they departed one of Woodruff's converts, a man who had already aided many of the poor to emigrate, gave him a purse of gold to [480] assist him in his journey home; he divided it with his brethren so none of the Twelve left England with empty pockets.[125]

At midnight on 24 April the contrary winds which had blown since soon after their departure increased to gale-strength and blew off the fore topsail. The next day the sea seemed "mountains high" and all aboard the pitching ship were sick. The winds continued and sickness increased until there was fear that some of the children would die. On the twenty-eighth the storm worsened. Berths crashed down and some of the baggage broke loose, threatening to crush the emigrants before it could be resecured. Perhaps it was at this point that the Twelve felt to ask the interposition of Providence to still the seas. The next day Woodruff noted simply: "the Sun Shines plesent & we have a fair wind for the first time since we left Liverpool." Brigham Young made no entry in his diary until the following week, when he wrote:

> when the winds ware contr[ar]y the 12 a gread to humble them selves before the Lord and ask him to calm the seas & give us a fair wind, we did so & the wind emeditly changed and from that time to this it has blone in our favor.

After the storm had passed, Young further noted that he could not endure many more sea voyages like this one and the last one and "ware it not for the power of God & his tendere mercy I should despare."[126]

The *Rochester* arrived in New York 20 May. Sunday, 23 May, the Twelve held a council in the city and then separated to take various routes home. Elder Richards, his wife traveling with him, and Elder Woodruff, his wife already in the East with relatives, remained for a time on the coast. Apparently Orson Pratt *[481]* had business to attend to and traveled apart from his colleagues. George A. Smith, still single, proceeded home with less urgency than the others. In Philadelphia he met William Smith and traveled with him several days. He also met John E. Page and urged him to leave immediately and overtake Orson Hyde in Europe. Though he apparently had means enough, Page declined to go. Preaching comfortably in the East, the two apostles had no interest in the hardships of a foreign mission.[127] Elders Young, Kimball, and Taylor, after laboring with the Saints in and around New York for a few days, left the area 4 June bound for Nauvoo.[128]

The three apostles arrived in Nauvoo 1 July 1841. No description of their feelings and joyful reunion with family and friends is available. Brigham later said for his history simply that they "were cordially welcomed by the Prophet Joseph, our families and the Saints." Knowing the intensity of feelings, the length of separation, the adversities met, it is easy to imagine the tears of joy, long hours of conversation and renewal, expressions of thanksgiving—all of which soon gave way to labors on house and farm to improve the conditions of their families.

Brigham was back with Mary Ann, with little Emma, with the twins Brigham and Mary Ann, with his son Joseph A., and with his two older daughters Vilate and Elizabeth. Finally he could do more than pray for their welfare. To Joseph's inquiry about how he would live, Brigham answered directly: "I will go to work and get a living." But not yet. He had enough money left to buy one barrel of flour. He would work on the cabin, improve the garden, *[482]* and sit amidst his family eating bread until the barrel was empty. That would be soon enough to go out and find work.[129] *[483]*

Notes

1. For a treatment of the impact of the mission on Young and the Twelve complementary to what is presented here, see Eugene England, *Brother Brigham* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), pp. 34–61. *[Editor's note: see James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker,* Men with a Mission: the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles, 1837–1841 *(Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992).]*

2. See James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes," *Brigham Young University Studies* 15 (Summer 1975):499–526, for an insightful and reliable overview of the mission. Concerning the mission history under Fielding, Richards, and Clayton, see Joseph Fielding Diary, typescript, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Church Archives.

3. Joseph Fielding Diary, 9 April 1840, Church Archives; Heber C. Kimball and Joseph Fielding to the Editors of the *Times and Seasons,* 6 May 1840, in *Times and Seasons* 1 (July 1840):138–39.

4. Fielding censured himself that the work had not progressed as well under his direction as it had earlier with Kimball and Hyde. He confided to his diary his great comfort when the Twelve expressed goodwill and confidence in him rather than disappointment. "Their Desire is to exalt me in the Eyes of the Church," he wrote. Joseph Fielding Diary, 9, 12, 19 April 1840, Church Archives.

5. In July, the Twelve released Fielding from his office and called him on a special mission with Kimball, temporarily dissolving the local presidency.

6. Minutes, Wilford Woodruff Diary, 15 April 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers, Church Archives.

7. Young later said that "Parley P. Pratt craved the privilege of editing it, and we granted him the privilege." Discourse by Brigham Young, 31 August 1856, *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprint ed., 1966), 4:35, hereafter also cited *JD.*

8. Minutes, 16 April 1840, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives. According to Fielding, it was the decision of the Twelve that the Saints "go as other Emigrants, making no noise about it. . . . so the way is now opened. I felt thankful that I held back as I had done, and not given liberty till the Brethren have come. I felt thankful for Men of God to teach the Truth to us, that we may not walk in Darkness or in Doubt." He also mentioned that the rich should not go without the poor. Joseph Fielding Diary, 18 April 1840, Church Archives.

9. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 17–18 April 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers; "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* 27 January–24 March 1858, p. 409.

10. The report and minutes can be consulted in *Times and Seasons* 1 (June 1840):119–22 and also in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), 4:114–20. See also William

Clayton Diary, 17 April 1840, in James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, eds., *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840 to 1842* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974), p. 141. For a discussion of millennialist feelings as they related to the mission of the Twelve see Allen and Thorp, "Mission of the Twelve to England," pp. 517–19.

11. Report and minutes, *Times and Seasons* 1 (June 1840):119–22.

12. Wilford Woodruff Diary, entry following 16 April 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers; see also entries for 21–23 April 1840. For a discussion of the Herefordshire success see Allen and Thorp, "Mission of the Twelve," pp. 504–8.

13. The scope of Mormon successes in England related to the profound demographic and economic changes sweeping the country at this time. The message of Mormonism, combining primitive biblical religion with authority, proved especially appealing to some of those oppressed and uprooted by the sweeping changes. For an overview of the social and religious context as it related to Mormonism see Ronald W. Walker, "The Godbeite Protest in the Making of Modern Utah" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1977), pp. 3–18.

14. Brigham Young to George A. Smith, 4 May 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

15. Brigham Young to Joseph Smith, 7 May 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives.

16. See Brigham Young Diary, late April through May 1840, Brigham Young papers, for notation of his travels, preaching and baptizing.

17. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 17 May 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

18. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 18 May 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

19. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 18 May 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers. For a brief account of Woodruff's Herefordshire experience from the beginning see Woodruff to the *Millennial Star,* 9 July 1840, published in *Millennial Star* 1 (July 1840):71–72 and *Millennial Star* 1 (August 1840): 81–84. Another version covering the beginnings of the work but continuing the story further is Wilford Woodruff to the *Times and Seasons,* 7 October 1840, *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 February 1841):311–14.

20. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 3 June 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

21. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 20 May 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and Brigham Young Diary, 20 May 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

22. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 22 June 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers. Compare this with the account in Wilford Woodruff to the *Millennial Star,* 9 July 1840, in *Millennial Star* 1 (August 1840):82–83. There Woodruff wrote of Young, that while "the saints were much edified, and their hearts made glad with the teaching and instruction by Elder Young, I also enjoyed much benefit myself by enjoying his society, sitting under his instruction, and sharing in his council."

23. Brigham Young to Willard Richards, 17 June 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

24. Wilford Woodruff to *Millennial Star,* 5 August 1840, *Millennial Star* 1 (August 1840):94.

25. Parley P. Pratt to Joseph Smith, 22 November 1839, and Hyrum Smith to Parley P. Pratt, 22 December 1839, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. Under Joseph Smith's direction, another edition of the Book of Mormon was shortly commenced—stereotyped in Cincinnati. See the report of the printing committee in *Times and Seasons* 1 (October 1840):186 and Joseph Smith to Oliver Granger, ca. July 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers.

26. Orson Hyde and John E. Page to President Smith, 1 May 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook, and Joseph Smith to Dear Bretheren, 14 May 1840, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives. The Prophet's only reservation concerned the hymn book. He hoped they could wait to use a forthcoming expanded edition as a standard.

27. Brigham Young to Joseph Smith, 7 May 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. Notations made on the letter in Nauvoo preserve the gist of the answer and who it was sent by.

28. Young's letter to Pratt has not been found, but it was mentioned in Brigham Young to George A. Smith, 4 May 1840, Brigham Young Papers, and its content described in a discourse by Young, 31 August 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 4:35. Apparently Pratt had not intended to publish more than one thousand, mostly for subscribers.

29. "History of Brigham Young," p. 410. Apparently the Benbow wealth was inherited through Jane and her commitment to the gospel was as important as his in making the monies available to the Church. See minutes, 27 January 1849, Municipal High Council, Brigham Young Papers.

30. Certificate, 20 May 1854, Miscellaneous Papers, Brigham Young Papers.

31. From Manchester Young wrote: "the Star is out and about thirteene hundred cop[i]es are alreddy gon. if we had on[e] thousand only we should come short of our object," Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff and Willard Richards, 24 May 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

32. See financial papers relating to the publishing in Miscellaneous Papers, Brigham Young Papers. These accounts and notations evidence Young's personal involvement with publishing, especially the Book of Mormon. He carried these papers to Nauvoo, presumably for review by President Smith, and then kept them among his own papers. Brigham Young to Richards and Woodruff, 24 May 1840 and Brigham Young to Willard Richards, 10 June and 17 June 1840, Brigham Young Papers, detail some of the printing arrangements and comment on other of Young's activities. The latter two letters indicate that Young's enthusiastic hopes expressed in the first letter for *immediate* publication of the hymn book and Book of Mormon soon ran into the hard realities of publishing and were adjusted and more cautiously stated thereafter. Evidence of Young's continuing involvement in proselyting can be seen in his hiring Carpenter's Hall, large enough to seat two thousand, and preaching in it with others. See Brigham Young Diary, 30 May through June 1840, Brigham Young Papers, and also "History of Brigham Young," p. 410.

Woodruff received the letter from Young on publication progress the same day he learned of the birth of a son in Montrose, Iowa, and included the publication among the "much glorious news in thes letters that . . . drive sleep from our eyes & I felt more like going out into the street and shouting glory Hallelujah than anything else." Wilford Woodruff Diary, 30 May 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

33. The two letters are not known to exist. The cover note is dated 2 June 1840 and is part of the Blair Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah. It closes with: "I just closen up my letter and say fare well Sister Moon or Brother

Moon will deliver the little present to you. Brother Kimball sends you a little smeling bottle just to let you know that he thinks of my famely."

34. Brigham Young Diary, 3–4 June 1840, and Brigham Young to Willard Richards, 10 June 1840, Brigham Young papers.

35. For Young's earlier assistance see Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 6 June 1840, Heber C. Kimball Papers; and Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 15 January 1841, Blair Collection, University of Utah.

36. Hyrum Smith to Parley Pratt, 22 December 1839, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers.

37. From Emmeline B. Wells, "Biography of Mary Ann Angell Young," *Juvenile Instructor* 26 (15 January 1891):56–57.

38. Leonora Taylor to John Taylor, 12 April 1840, in *Millennial Star* 1 (July 1840):63–65. Similarly, Phebe Woodruff to Wilford Woodruff, 4 May 1840, in *Millennial Star* 1 (August 1840):89–90; Phebe reported all the wives well but Sister Taylor. Phebe Woodruff's expression to her husband was probably representative of the feelings of other wives: "I know that it is the will of God that you should labour in his vineyard; therefore, I feel reconciled to his will in these things. I have not been left to murmer or complain since you left me, but am looking forward to the day when you shall return home once more . . . having fulfilled your mission in the love and fear of God."

39. Brigham Young Diary, 11 June 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

40. Joseph had observed to them that "we should hardly get over the nation [England] before the Judgments of God would overtake the people." Brigham Young and Willard Richards to The First Presidency, 5 September 1840, Joseph Smith Papers.

41. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 June 1840, Blair Collection, University of Utah. Compare this with "Still I have not ben concerned about them, for the Lord said by the mouth of Brother Joseph; that they should be provided for, and I believed it," Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, Church Archives. *[Editor's note: see Ronald K. Esplin, "Inside Brigham Young: Abrahamic Tests as Preparation for Leadership,"* BYU Studies *20 no. 3 (Spring 1980): 300–310.]*

42. Brigham Young to Willard Richards, 17 June 1840, Brigham Young Papers. Richards went immediately to his wife. Joseph Fielding noted meeting Elder Richards, who "had come to see his Wife quite unexpectedly." Diary of Joseph Fielding, 27 June 1840, Church Archives.

Alluding in a humorous way to a growing sense of his apostleship, Young had concluded an earlier letter with the warning "be carful not to lay this letter with the new testament writings if you doe some body will take it for a text after the Mallineum a[nd?] contend about it. . . . now my Dear Brother you must forgive all my noncense and over look erours." Young had also by this time concluded that Parley Pratt should have his family with him if he were to stay when the others returned home. John Taylor had also talked about having his family sent to England, prompting the charge from Nauvoo busybodies that if he could pay their passage to England he could send more to Nauvoo to help them there. See Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 6 June 1840, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives.

43. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 June 1840, Blair Collection, University of Utah. Leonora to John Taylor, 12 April 1840, *Millennial Star* 1 (July 1840):64.

44. Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 27 May 1840, Kimball Family Papers, Church Archives.

45. Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff and Willard Richards, 24 May 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

46. Heber C. Kimball and Joseph Fielding to the *Times and Seasons,* 6 May 1840, in *Times and Seasons* 1 (July 1840): 138–39. Kimball reported at greater length in a 6 June 1840 letter to the *Star*, *Millennial Star* 1 (June 1840):37–40. For a report from George A. Smith see his 6 June 1840 letter reprinted in *Times and Seasons* 1 (15 November 1840): 223–24. Orson Pratt remained in Scotland and succeeded in opening that land, though not with spectacular success. See Orson Pratt to Parley P. Pratt, 16 April 1841, *Millennial Star* 2 (May 1841):10–12; see also letter of Wilford Woodruff, 8 July 1840, in *Times and Seasons* 1 (September 1840):168.

47. Joseph Fielding thought Young particularly effective in handling difficult problems among the members. In one case, Young responded with irony to a man's defense that an evil spirit was to blame for his actions—agreeing that "the Blame must be laid on that Spirit, and if he could get at him he would cut him off from the Church, but he did not know how to get hold of him unless he took hold of the Person possessed by it." Fielding saw it as a time of "great Instruction and Warning to the Church" as Young counseled the man and taught the Church the principles involved. Joseph Fielding Diary, 6 July 1840, Church Archives.

48. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 6 July 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and *Millennial Star* 1 (July 1840):67–71.

49. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 7 June 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and published minutes in *Millennial Star* 1 (July 1840):67–71. There is a brief manuscript minute of the Twelve's meeting in Minutes, 7 July 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

50. Wilford Woodruff to Phebe Woodruff, 8 July 1840, in *Times and Seasons* 1 (September 1840):167–69.

51. Discourse by Brigham Young, 31 August 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 4:34. Taylor left 27 July for Ireland and then Scotland, returned briefly to Liverpool then went to the Isle of Man. See report of his labors in *Millennial Star* 2 (May 1841):12–16 and another report, 3 February 1841, in *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 May 1841):400–402.

52. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 June 1840, Blair Collection, University of Utah.

53. "History of Brigham Young," p. 410.

54. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 June 1840, Blair Collection, University of Utah. Brigham Young to Joseph Smith, 7 May 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers. "I wish you would have the goodness to give me a pretey general knowledge of the Church for I feel for them and pray for them continually," wrote Young.

55. Brigham Young and Willard Richards to the First Presidency, 5 September 1840, Joseph Smith Papers. This has been published by Ronald W. Walker in *BYU Studies* 18 (Spring 1978):466–75. In spite of this, they concede that "the people of this land [are] much more ready to receive the gospel, than those of America . . . for they have not that speculative inteligence, or prejudice, or prepossession, or false learning, call it what you please" of the Americans. In this sense ignorance is a blessing for there is less to unlearn and the missionaries do not have to labor "month after month to break down their own notions, for their priests have taught them lettle, & much of that is so foolish as to be detechted at a glance." The people who received the message received it "very readily & the trouble of keeping up church discipline here has been small compared with our native country. But

how those who receive the word so readily will stand in the day of trial remains yet to be proved, as there has been nothing in this land as yet which need try the faith of any one."

56. George A. Smith to C. C. Walker, 6 June 1840, in *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 November 1840):223–24.

57. Brigham Young and Willard Richards to the First Presidency, 5 September 1840, Joseph Smith Papers.

58. This passage continued: "& we feel that it is our privilege to love those who are willing to lay down their lives for the[ir] Brethren. We need not say we send our love to you for that is always with you. Should you doubt it Time & works must declare it."

59. Brigham Young and Willard Richards to the First Presidency, 5 September 1840, Joseph Smith Papers.

60. William Clayton Diary, 5 and 7 September 1840, in Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons,* pp. 171–72.

61. Brigham Young Diary, 5–10 September 1840, Brigham Young Papers; and William Clayton Diary, 8 September 1840, in Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons,* pp. 172–73. For a graphic account of the rigors and difficulties of an emigrant ocean crossing see pp. 172–82. The voyage could be pleasant but was often the ordeal described by Clayton with sickness, deaths among the children, inadequate water, heavy seas. Some of the company chose to winter in Ohio because of lack of means; those who went through to Nauvoo arrived 24 November 1840 after a journey of eleven weeks.

62. "Will the Twelve have to be together to do business as a quorum or shall they do business in the name of the Church. Why I ask this is for my own satisfaction, if the Lord has a word for us, for one I am willing to receive it." Brigham Young to Joseph Smith, 7 May 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers.

63. Notes, 6 October 1840, Miscellaneous Papers, Brigham Young Papers.

64. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 6 October 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

65. Minutes, 6 October 1840, *Millennial Star* 1 (October 1840):165–67.

66. Minutes, 6 October 1840, *Millennial Star* 1 (October 1840):168.

67. Minutes, 8 October 1840, Brigham Young Papers, and Wilford Woodruff Diary, 7–8 October 1840, Wilford Woodruff Papers. Circumstances never being favorable, the office never was moved. Elder Richards relinquished his new post to Parley Pratt when Pratt returned on the nineteenth.

68. For a survey of Young's holograph or personal writings and a discussion of their importance, see Dean C. Jessee, "The Writings of Brigham Young," *Western Historical Quarterly* 7 (July 1973):273–74. These 1840–1841 letters of Young to his wife were not available when Jessee wrote. The first one dated 16 October 1840 had several entries before it was mailed 31 October. The original is in the Blair Collection, Church Archives; it can also be consulted in Ronald K. Esplin, "Inside Brigham Young: Abrahamic Tests as Preparation for Leadership," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980):302–6. The second letter is dated 12 November 1840 and includes an entry for 17 November; the third is dated 15 January 1841; both of these are in the Blair Collection, University of Utah. See also Young's brief diary notations, 20 October 1840 through February 1841, for his preaching and travel during this period.

69. Young wrote to George A. Smith, 30 December 1840, Brigham Young Papers, that the Book of Mormon would be out of press in about two weeks and a letter the first week of January to Wilford Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff Diary, 8 January 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers, saying that five hundred of the books were out of press and in binding. Still, not until 8 February, when Kimball and Woodruff deposited five copies in the copyright office do we have firm evidence that some copies of the book were finished. See Wilford Woodruff Diary, 8 February 1841. Young to wrote to George A. Smith, 11 February 1840, Brigham Young Papers, that the book was "out[,] Bound rea[d]y for sale price 5 shillings retale 4/6 [w]hole sale." Only the first books were ready by that date, for Young wrote to Kimball and Smith, 5 March 1841, Brigham Young Papers, that "the Book of Mormon is going well [and all copies] will soon be Bound." Handbinding a five thousand copy edition was no small task. Nor did Young's responsibility end with publication. Some of the edition was finished with a special binding and gilded pages. When some of the special edition proved defective, Young followed through to see them corrected. See Young to Willard Richards, 1, 5, 8 March 1841, Brigham Young Papers.

70. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, Church Archives.

71. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 November 1841, Blair Collection, University of Utah.

72. Kimball to the *Times and Seasons*, 4 August 1841, in *Times and Seasons* 2 (16 August 1841):508. Kimball and Young impressed many people with their direct discourse and spiritual gifts. They continued to enjoy the gift of tongues that they had first experienced in Mendon, for example. On 29 May 1840 "Brother Kimball and Young came . . . and sung some and afterwards spake with each other in tongues," wrote William Clayton. A few days later "Brother Young spake in tongues" on 12 June 1840. See Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons,* pp. 157, 162. See also "Remarkable Prophecy Fulfilled," relating to Kimball's earlier mission in *Millennial Star* 2 (May 1841):8.

73. "History of Brigham Young," p. 410.

74. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, Church Archives, and 12 November 1840, Blair Collection, University of Utah.

75. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, Church Archives.

76. Brigham Young to Joseph Smith, 7 May 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers; and Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 November 1840, Blair Collection, University of Utah.

77. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, Church Archives.

78. Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 6 June 1840, Heber C. Kimball Papers. Vilate also indicated that she and Mary Ann had drawn on the bishops for some assistance the winter before but now, with a little help from their husbands, they hoped to maintain their families without drawing on meagre church resouces. In Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 January 1840, Blair Collection, University of Utah, Young mentioned to Mary Ann his satisfaction that she was to have a house and could move out of the Iowa barracks. The news that her "house" was so inadequate must have disappointed him.

79. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, Church Archives.

80. See Brigham Young Diary, December 1840 and January 1841, Brigham Young Papers; and "History of Brigham Young," p. 410; and Brigham Young to Willard Richards and Levi Richards, 5 December 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

81. For these numbers and a brief overview of the work see Kimball to the *Times and Seasons*, 4 August 1841, in *Times and Seasons* 2 (16 August 1841):507–11. Kimball, Woodruff and Smith reported their August–September mission in a 12 October 1840 letter to the *Times and Seasons* printed in *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 December 1840):250–52. See *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 September 1841):535–38.

82. "History of George Albert Smith by Himself," ms, George A. Smith Papers, Church Archives.

83. Discourse by Brigham Young, 6 April 1857, *Journal of Discourses* 4:304–5.

84. Wilford Woodruff to the Editors, 7 October 1840, *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 February 1841):330.

85. Brigham Young Diary, 21 December 1840, Brigham Young Papers.

86. Brigham Young Diary, 25 December 1840, Brigham Young Papers. "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers, for an account of the conference. For a description of the Potteries see Woodruff to the Editors, 7 October 1840, *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 February 1841):314.

87. Reprinted in *Times and Seasons* 2 (1–15 September 1841): 524–26 and 539–42.

88. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, Church Archives; and Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 November 1840 and 15 January 1841, Blair Collection, University of Utah.

89. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 15 January 1841, Blair Collection, University of Utah. *[Editor's note: see Ronald O. Barney, "Letters of a Missionary Apostle to His Wife: Brigham Young to Mary Ann Angell Young, 1839–1841,"* BYU Studies *38, no. 2 (1999): 156–201.]*

90. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 18 January 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and Brigham Young to George A. Smith, 11 February 1841, Brigham Young Papers.

91. *Millennial Star* 1 (February 1841):264.

92. The shortest transit time for a letter between Nauvoo and England may have been the one month, nine days commented on by Parley Pratt in his 24 October 1841 letter to Joseph Smith, Joseph Smith Papers. Usually transit took from one to three weeks longer than that. Mail that did not go by steamer could take more than a month on the Atlantic portion alone; mail that did not go direct took two months and longer.

93. Joseph Smith to the Twelve, 15 December 1840, Joseph Smith Papers. Of the many copies of this communication, this is the only dated one. There is an undated manuscript copy in the Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers, and it is printed both in *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 January 1841):258–61 and *Millennial Star* 1 (March 1841):265–69. Because most versions were undated, it was mistakenly inserted in the *History of the Church* with October documents and it has generally been mistakenly assumed that the Twelve received it in the fall of 1840. See *History of the Church,* 4:226–32.

94. Joseph Smith to the Twelve, 15 December 1840, Joseph Smith Papers.

95. Joseph Smith to the Twelve, 15 December 1840, Joseph Smith Papers.

96. Joseph Smith to the Twelve, 15 December 1840, Joseph Smith Papers.

97. Their appetite whetted by the season of doctrinal teaching that preceded their mission, the Twelve missed being at Joseph's side to receive such teachings personally and in detail. For example, when they learned that Joseph had presented an essay on priesthood as part of general conference, Parley Pratt wrote to Sidney Rigdon: "Say to President Smith that I want to see his essay on priesthood very much." Letter, 8 January 1841, *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 April 1841):364–65. The essay in question can be read in a manuscript in the hand of Robert B. Thompson, Joseph Smith Papers, or in *History of the Church,* 4:207–12.

98. "Extract from an Epistle to the Elders in England," *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 January 1841):258–61; and "A Proclamation to the Saints Scattered Abroad," *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 January 1848):273–77. See also *Millennial Star* 2 (March 1841):265–74.

99. "A Proclamation to the Saints Scattered Abroad," pp. 276–77.

100. Note in Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 16 October 1840, Blair Collection, Church Archives. For a comprehensive treatment of Mormon British emigration that began with the Twelve in England, 1840–1841, see P. A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward, The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1965).

101. See Parley Pratt to Joseph Smith, 25 October 1841, Joseph Smith Papers, where he sends his love to all the Saints in the "Land of Zion or the Land of Joseph as it is called by thousands in this country."

102. For a chronology of these months see Brigham Young Diary, Brigham Young Papers; and "History of Brigham Young," p. 1. The latter source gives names of ships and number sailing.

103. Alexander Neibaur Diary, 5–6 February 1841, Church Archives. The three apostles were most likely responsible for provisioning the emigrants, not for stowing their goods. They began the system of having a church agent work with local agents appointed from each branch involved. Among Young's financial papers for the Book of Mormon there survives an invoice from "J. Thompson. Ships and Emigrants Supplied with Stores on the Lowest Terms." The invoice is for supplies contracted for by the Church's Liverpool agent Amos Fielding. See Miscellaneous Papers, Brigham Young Papers.

104. If emigrants left without fulfilling their financial agreements, the apostles would have no means to contract for the next ship. Neibaur noted that several had to borrow and one was forced to pawn his clothes. Alexander Neibaur Diary, 6–7 February 1841, Church Archives.

105. Brigham Young to George A. Smith, 11 February 1841, Brigham Young Papers.

106. Minutes, 11 February 1841, Brigham Young Papers.

107. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 8 February 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers; see also "History of Brigham Young," p. 1.

108. Brigham Young to George A. Smith, 13 February 1841, Brigham Young Papers.

109. "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers; and Brigham Young to Levi Richards, 13 March 1841, Brigham Young Papers.

110. Article on Family Prayer in *Millennial Star* 1 (March 1841):286–87. Brigham Young to Willard Richards, 8 March 1841, Brigham Young Papers.

111. Brigham Young Diary, 1 April 1841, Brigham Young Papers. When Young was informed in early March of the arrival of Hyde and George J. Adams his next thought was "but whare is Elder Page." He was not certain Hyde would remain in England long and wrote Richards to let

him know where Hyde would be and how long: "let me know for I due not want to mis of him. . . . if nessary I will come emeditly." It was not necessary. Brigham Young to Willard Richards, 5 March 1841, Brigham Young Papers.

112. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 2 April 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and Minutes, 2 April 1841, Brigham Young Papers. Woodruff's diary also contains a copy of the minutes for this series of councils. As he had in October, Young prepared himself a brief agenda of "busness for the councel of the Twelve . . . a peace prapared for the Star for to govern the getherin of the Saints from Urop—an agent at L.pool for to conduct the saints—another Patrick [patriarch] ordained. . . . the Elders are not Fathers but midwifes high Preast[s] to be ordained. . . ." See Brigham Young Diary, entry just before 31 March 1841, Brigham Young Papers. All of these items were taken care of between 2 April and 15 April 1841.

113. As noted, in England Young stressed and the Twelve to a considerable extent achieved a degree of harmony that had been lacking in the Quorum before. The "perfect union & harmony" noted here was the ideal of course and not always achieved. These were strong-willed and independent men and occasional clashes or tension were to be expected. For example, see the hint of this in Brigham Young to Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff, 24 May 1840, Brigham Young Papers or Young's brief reference to Richards, 1 March 1841, Brigham Young Papers, that "br Pratt and famely are well he has got over all his feelings about Books."

Such things were quickly resolved, however, and all of the Twelve who comment on this period stress the unusual degree of harmony that prevailed. Wrote John Taylor: "I am happy to state, however, that we have been united in our councils to the present time; that there has been no discordant feeling, nor jarring string." John Taylor, 3 February 1841, in *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 May 1841):401. For George A. Smith's feelings about his fellow apostles, see his letter of 11 April 1841 in *Millennial Star* 1 (April 1841):306. For Heber Kimball's personal commitment to and desire for unity among the Twelve see Heber C. Kimball Diary, 1 January 1841, Heber C. Kimball Papers.

114. These totals are from the representations in the minutes published in the *Star*, figures that Young and others include in their published histories. In addition, approximately eight hundred had emigrated and were not counted here for a total membership present and emigrated of 6,614 plus 50 not in branches, or 6,664. Subtracting from that the first representation of 1,541 leaves an increase in one year of 5,123 while the apostles often talked of "between 6 and 7,000." Part of this discrepancy may be accounted for by tallying those substantial numbers baptized by Taylor and Woodruff before April 1840; no doubt there were also many dozens if not hundreds cut off during the year, although no totals are available. It would seem that the total number of converts was approaching 6,000 rather than 7,000. *[Editor's note: see James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker,* Men with a Mission: the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles, 1837–1841 *(Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992).]*

115. Printed minutes in *Millennial Star* 1 (April 1841): 301–5. The first quotation is from there with the added phrase "in the presence of the church," not in Woodruff's diary account from which the second quotation comes.

116. Minutes, 6 April 1841, *Millennial Star* 1 (April 1841):304–5.

117. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 7 April 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers.

118. William Miller to Young and Kimball, 15 August 1841, in *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 November 1841):598.

119. As quoted in Allen and Thorp, "Mission of the Twelve," p. 524.

120. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 15 March 1841, Church Archives.

121. Allen and Thorp, "Mission of the Twelve," p. 523.

122. *Millennial Star* 1 (April 1841):309–12. No doubt thinking of their own experiences in Kirtland and Missouri, they defined such a spirit as one "which introduces rebellion, confusion, misrule, and disunion, and would, if suffered to exist among us, destroy" the union and spirit and power which are associated with the priesthood and can only exist with the humble and meek.

123. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 15–16 April 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and Willard Richards Diary, 20 April 1841. Young's later reminiscent account of this has the ship waiting even longer for them and adds that the "agents of the vessel said such a thing had never been done before, but they were urgent and anxious to oblige us" because of past business and future prospects. See discourse by Brigham Young, 17 July 1870, *Journal of Discourses* 13:212.

124. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 19–21 April 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and "History of Brigham Young," p. 1.

125. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 19 April 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers. In a discourse of 12 December 1869, *Journal of Discourses* 13:160, Woodruff said they baptized "something like seven thousand people." For Young's reminiscent overviews of this mission see discourse of 17 July 1870, *JD* 13:211–12 and 31 August 1856, *JD* 4:35–36.

126. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 24–29 April 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers; and Brigham Young Diary, entries before and after 5 May 1841, Brigham Young Papers.

127. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 23 May to 4 June 1841, Wilford Woodruff Papers; "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers; and *History of the Church,* 4:372.

128. "History of Brigham Young," p. 2. Less than a week after parting, Young wrote a short letter to Richards telling him the least expensive way to travel on the canal and otherwise providing travel advice and information. He closed with the phrase he and Richards had used in their 5 September 1840 letter to Joseph and which had indeed become something of a motto for them in England: "I am as ever your Br. in the N[ew] Covenets and I say goe ahead." Brigham Young to Willard Richards, 9 June 1841, Brigham Young Papers, emphasis added.

129. Discourse by Brigham Young, 24 July 1854, *Journal of Discourses* 2:19.

Epilogue

In a letter to Mary Ann a year earlier, Brigham had expressed his hopes upon returning home. First, he wanted to live in Nauvoo—not in Montrose on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River or in a nearby community, but in Nauvoo, close to Joseph Smith. Though his calling did not necessarily require him to be at the headquarters, he wrote Mary Ann: "when I com hom I shall want to be with the Brethren [of] the first Presedency." He did not expect long to have the leisure of relaxing, nor did he expect a lengthy period of peace. Nonetheless, he looked forward to the joy of a "se[a]son . . . with my famely ocaisonly."[1]

Joseph Smith called to visit Brigham Young at his home a few days after his return to Nauvoo. While there, he delivered the word of the Lord to him:

> Dear and well-beloved brother, Brigham Young, verily thus saith the Lord unto you, My servant Brigham, it is no more required at your hand to leave your family as in times past, for your offering is acceptable to me; I have seen your labor and toil in journeyings for my name. I therefore command you to send my work abroad, and take especial care of your family from this time, henceforth, and forever: Amen.[2]

Mary Ann and Brigham could take comfort in knowing that their labor had been recognized and their sacrifice was acceptable—and that they would now enjoy that season of peace together as a family.

If available documents accurately reflect activities at this time, Young's interlude with his family may have lasted a little more than a month. Between his return in early July and *[499]* August when Joseph Smith requested Young and his colleagues to return to their labors, reference appears to only one important council meeting. Monday, 19 July, the five apostles then in Nauvoo assembled at Young's home, joined for a time by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, to meet with former apostle Lyman E. Johnson. Without a record of the proceedings, we can only conjecture, but there is reason to believe that Johnson felt remorse about some of his actions and had come to seek resolution.[3]

The next several weeks Young apparently labored on home and farm as he had intended. These were not weeks of leisure, for there was much to be done, but the change of pace rested and renewed him. When Joseph Smith came in August with demanding new assignments, Young was ready. As Smith had multiplied his involvements in building up Nauvoo, the breadth of responsibility and weight of details had become increasingly burdensome. Especially if he were to have time for other aspects of his calling, such as translating and teaching, he had to have assistance.[4] Given the long-time loyalty to Smith of most of those now in the Twelve and the recent record of the Quorum in England, it was natural that he should look to Brigham Young and the Twelve to provide that assistance.

With the aid of their English mission, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had come of age at the very time that Joseph Smith had pressing need for their services. Under Young's direction they had pulled together in England and achieved a success unprecedented in the short history of the Church. Besides the proselyting success, in England the Twelve had functioned, for the *[500]* first time, as an effective agency of ecclesiastical administration. Joseph Smith needed these skills and was ready to take advantage of their new maturity.

It seems probable, too, that the Nauvoo Saints had come to look upon the apostles with more respect since their English mission. No doubt the extensive news that circulated in Nauvoo of their labors and missionary success increased in the minds of the people their stature as leading elders in the Church. Many more people would have looked upon them in 1841 as

effective and trustworthy men than would have thought so in previous years. Nor did it hurt their reputation among the Saints to be preceded by several hundred English converts loyal to them and singing their praises.

On 10 August, Joseph Smith, in council with the Twelve, charged the apostles to supervise "the business of the church in Nauvoo," marking the first time that the Quorum of the Twelve had formal responsibility within a fully organized and functioning stake of Zion.[5] In Missouri several of the apostles, including Brigham Young, had served temporarily as a local presidency when the former stake officials proved disloyal. During the exodus from Missouri, with the Presidency in prison and church organization in shambles, the Presidency formally directed the Twelve to supervise temporarily the Church. But the stake officials here were not disloyal, nor was there any exigency comparable to the Missouri disorder. This assignment marked an important departure from the earlier division of responsibility between standing high councils and the Twelve or Traveling High Council.[6] *[501]* Now the apostles would have church-wide responsibilities that they would administer under Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, just as they had among the branches abroad. To explain this significant change to the Saints, Smith appointed a special conference for 16 August.

With the dawn arrival of Willard Richards by riverboat, six of the Twelve assembled with the Saints for the August conference.[7] Because his youngest child had just died, Joseph Smith was not present to conduct the conference. Brigham Young called the meeting to order and was then voted to the chair. He stated that the Prophet had appointed the conference to transact business that should not wait until the October conference, specifically calling missionaries and providing for emigrants. Conscious that the direction of these matters had not been associated previously with his office, Young paused to explain that he and the Twelve had not stepped forward in this matter because of personal aspirations. "Nothing could be further from his wishes, and those of his Quorum," he assured his listeners, "than to interfere with church affairs at Zion and her stakes." So long had he been in the vineyard, he went on, that he was now attached to foreign missions and nothing could induce him to leave that field to attend to church affairs at home but duty, the requirement of heaven, or revelation "to which he would always submit, be the consequences what it might." "Amen," responded the brethren of his quorum who must have been seated near him.[8] Young then read a list of prospective missionaries and another list of cities needing elders, and "by nomination" the conference began to designate who would go *[502]* where. At this point Bishop Vinson Knight suggested, and the conference agreed, that to expedite the meeting the Twelve should make the assignments and simply present them to the conference. That meant, in effect, that the Twelve would conduct the business "as a quorum" rather than by the conference, just as they had done in their last conference in England.

When Joseph Smith arrived for the second session of the conference, he expanded on Elder Young's cautious remarks about the purpose of the conference. He explained directly

> that the twelve should be authorized to assist in managing the affairs of the Kingdom in this place [Nauvoo, church headquarters]. which he said was the duties of their office & c. Motioned seconded and carried that the quorum of the twelve be authorized to act in accordance with the instructions given by president Joseph Smith in regulating and superintending the affairs of the Church.[9]

For publication, the brief manuscript minutes were fleshed out with additional explanations that seem consistent with Smith's intent in taking this action. According to the published account, the Prophet said that the time had come

> when the Twelve should be called upon to stand in their place next to the First Presidency, and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the church at the stakes, and assist to bear off the kingdom victorious to the nations.[10]

Authorized by Joseph Smith and the sustaining vote of the Saints in special conference, the Twelve now had the mandate to conduct church affairs in the stakes of Zion as elsewhere. A motion that the conference accept the missionary assignments made by the Twelve allowed Smith to further clarify the implications of this. According to published minutes, he told the conference that as they had already sanctioned the doings of the Twelve, *[503]* further vote was unnecessary, that transacting such business with the approval of the Presidency was, in fact, a part of their office. The manuscript version states without elaboration: "Resolved on Motion ~~of President Joseph Smith~~ . . .

that the Twelve be authorised to make the selection of elders independent of the conference and present them ~~to the first Pres here~~ to President Joseph Smith for his approval."[11] The Twelve had authority to administer the affairs of the Church wherever and whenever Joseph Smith directed. Willard Richards adequately summed up in a brief diary entry their new position: "Conference—Business of the Church given to the 12."[12]

For Brigham and Mary Ann Young, the impact was immediate. After attending to the needs of his family for only a month, Brigham again had demanding responsibilities that directed his energies to the affairs of the kingdom. "In accordance with the word of the Lord and the counsel of the Prophet Joseph," he later wrote of this time, he remained that summer, fall, and winter in and around Nauvoo assisting Smith "in company with my brethren of the Twelve" in locating stakes of Zion, preaching, setting the churches in order, writing epistles to the Saints abroad, and settling new emigrants. Beginning in September he also served for a year on the Nauvoo City Council. What time he had left he devoted to finishing and improving his family's small log cabin, draining the swampy land it stood on, fencing and cultivating a portion of his land, building a shed for his cow and a storage structure for his produce.[13] According to his long-standing custom, when he was not in the field preaching, Young kept no regular diary. *[504]* Except for two lines in early January, the only entry he made in 1842 was on 18 January: "this evening I am with my wife a lone by my fire side for the first time for years we injoi it and feel to prase the Lord."[14]

For the Twelve, the brief period of rest was over. Increasingly Joseph Smith would rely on them to manage the day-to-day affairs of the Church. From this time they began to serve as his assistants and, increasingly, as his private advisors. It is because of this realignment in the role and position of the Twelve—and the processes that accompanied it—that the Twelve were in place and prepared for a relatively smooth succession when Smith was killed in 1844.[15] In all of these things Brigham Young stood at the head of his quorum. His appeal to the Saints at the death of Joseph Smith was less a personal one of "follow me" than a plea that the Church recognize the legitimate authority and rightful station of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles as the only ones empowered and designated to lead them. Without the developments set in motion with this basic shift of assignment in August 1841, his claims on behalf of the apostles would not have been credible.

Joseph Smith's August 1841 action placed the Twelve for the first time next to him in practice as well as in theology. In this new role the apostles were able to build upon their successes of 1839–1841, continuing to work together as a quorum as they expanded their functions and abilities. Step-by-step they became increasingly visible and influential as Smith's defenders and his *[505]* administrative arm. Their prominence and increased sphere of influence gradually accustomed the Saints to view the apostles as their leaders.[16]

At the same time the Twelve undertook these visible assignments, they were also closely involved with Joseph Smith privately. He began to meet with them as a quorum and to invite them to meet with him in important councils. From this time forward some of the Prophet's closest personal associates were of the Twelve, including Brigham Young and Smith's personal assistant from late 1842 until his death, Willard Richards. From Liberty Jail, Joseph Smith had written that he had never had the opportunity to give to the Saints all the plan that God had revealed to him.[17] From the perspective of Smith and the Twelve, private instructions in Nauvoo completed the presentation of those plans.

The apostles repeatedly affirmed later that their private tutoring included the bestowal of additional priesthood keys—the fullness of the priesthood they sometimes called it—completing their authority to preside. Part of this was associated with additional temple rites. Because the Nauvoo Temple was not yet complete, the Prophet taught these in other private settings.[18] Although a number of men and women were in the circle that received these ordinances and accompanying doctrinal instruction from Joseph Smith, the Twelve, especially those nine apostles who had performed their foreign missions and who met for the first time as a quorum in England in April 1841, formed the core of the group. Under their direction the same ordinances were presented to others of the Church in the Nauvoo Temple following Smith's death. *[506]*

In Nauvoo, as in Kirtland earlier, diverse perspectives about Joseph Smith and his vision of a

theocratic kingdom led to division and tension. Smith's continuing to unfold new teachings, both publicly and privately, and his emphasis on building Nauvoo temporally under tight ecclesiastical control, prompted tensions to resurface that had never been fully resolved since Kirtland. As before, Young and Kimball and many others accepted Smith's expanding kingdom and saw it as not only appropriate but necessary. This time, after the Kirtland crucible winnowed out dissenters of a different perspective, the apostles as a quorum also supported the Prophet.[19] In this context, the Twelve became Smith's successors not only organizationally, but also as heirs to the Prophet's sacral perspective and his vision of an all-encompassing theocracy. Most of the apostles already shared this perspective at the beginning of this period. Smith's private tutoring, however, added to their understanding of the perspective and its implications in Smith's thinking. The Twelve received and internalized Smith's sacral teachings, ultimately preserving them as part of their vision of the kingdom.

A few months after Joseph Smith's death, apostle Parley P. Pratt in a published proclamation to the Church described the Prophet's vision of a theocratic kingdom and his preparation of the Twelve to build it on the foundation he had begun. Before his death, Pratt explained, Joseph had called the Twelve together "from time to time" in order to "instruct them in all things pertaining to the kingdom, ordinances and government of God." Once he had committed to the Twelve "all things for the building *[507]* of the kingdom according to the heavenly vision, and the pattern shown [him] from heaven," according to Pratt, Smith told the apostles that he had finished his work and the labor was theirs. His charge to them to do all things according to that pattern prompted Pratt to write:

> The chaos of materials prepared by him must now be placed in order in the building. The laws revealed by him must now be administered in all their strictness and beauty. The measures commenced by him must now be carried into successful operation.[20]

These things Brigham Young alluded to in his address to the Saints 8 August 1844, before they voted to sustain the Twelve. Explaining to the congregation what he called "the order of the church and the Power of the Preasthood,"[21] Young affirmed that the Prophet Joseph had given to the Twelve all the keys and powers that he held, and that now, for the first time, "can we begin to see the necessity of the apostleship."

> For the first time in my life, for the first time in your lives, for the first time in the kingdom of God do I step forth to act in my capacity in connexion with the quorum of the Twelve as Apostles of Jesus Christ unto the People and to bear of[f] the keys of the Kingdom of God in all the world.

The Prophet Joseph had left the plans and laid the foundation for a great work, Young assured the Saints that day, "and we will build upon it."[22] From that day forward the Twelve dedicated themselves to carry out all of Joseph Smith's plans. Their migration to the West they saw as part of the plan, and what they did in the West was based on the sacral perspective and program for building a theocratic kingdom of God on earth that they had learned from Joseph Smith. The apostles would lead the Church as Joseph would have, *[508]* Young reported to his daughter following the vote of the Saints to sustain the apostles, "which is our indespenc[s]able duty to due."[23]

By 1844 Brigham Young had played a part in molding the Twelve to this vision. For more than thirty years thereafter, he and the apostles labored together to translate the vision into reality among the Saints. *[509]*

Notes

1. Brigham Young to Mary Ann Young, 12 June 1840, Blair Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

2. "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News*, 27 January–24 March 1858, p. 2; and Doctrine and Covenants, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1923), Section 126 (9 July 1841).

3. "History of Brigham Young," p. 2; and "History of George Albert Smith By Himself," ms, George A. Smith Papers, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter cited as Church Archives; and Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), 4:389. In company with former apostle John F. Boynton, Johnson had traveled to Nauvoo earlier while the Twelve were still in England. See the Heber C. Kimball Diary, 28 January 1841, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives, where Kimball wrote after receiving an 8 December 1840 letter from his wife: "the tidings was good. and we felt to rejoice much to hear that John Boyington and Lymon [no doubt Lyman Johnson] and menny other pressious things." The entry is imperfect and the letter giving more details has not been located. Presumably these discussions helped heal feelings, although Lyman, unlike his brother Luke, never returned to the Church.

4. Concerning this need see, for example, Smith's memorial to the High Council, 18 June 1840, Joseph Smith Papers, Church Archives.

5. "History of Brigham Young," p. 2; and "History of George Albert Smith," ms, George A. Smith Papers. Although both of these are reminiscent accounts, contemporary minutes for the 16 August meeting corroborate them. *[Editor's note: see James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker,* Men with a Mission: the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles, 1837–1841 *(Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 313–317.]*

6. Several of their new assignments can be seen as an extension of "traditional" ones. They were to call and appoint missionaries, for example, certainly related to their general charge to preach the message abroad. Similarly, since they had been responsible for teaching the gathering in the East and in England, it was merely an extension to have them also responsible for settling the gathered Saints once they arrived in Nauvoo. Nonetheless, by these new assignments, Smith significantly expanded the scope of their jurisdiction and responsibility.

7. Orson Hyde was on his way to the Holy Land, Parley Pratt presided in England, and John Page, Wilford Woodruff, and William Smith remained in the East. In April Lyman Wight had been selected to fill the vacancy in the Twelve, but there is no mention of his being present this day. Those in Nauvoo were Young, Kimball, Taylor, Smith, Pratt and Richards.

8. *History of the Church,* 4:402–4; and "History of Brigham Young," p. 2. This explanation appears only in the published minutes. *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 September 1841:521–22. Compare with Minutes, 16 August 1841, General Minutes Collection, Church Archives.

9. Minutes, 16 August 1841, General Minutes Collection. This was the order contemplated in the 28 March 1835 revelation to the Twelve, but by assignment not implemented until now. See Doctrine and Covenants, Section 107, especially verses 21–24.

10. "History of Brigham Young," p. 2. This version continues with Smith's explanation that the Twelve had been faithful, had born the burden in the heat of the day, and that it was right they be able to provide for their families in Nauvoo "and at the same time relieves him, so that he might attend to the business of translating." Perhaps it was this August 1841 action that gave him the leisure to complete work on the Book of Abraham, published in the *Times and Seasons* beginning in March 1842.

11. Minutes, 16 August 1841, General Minutes Collection. Lineouts are here reproduced as they appear in the original.

12. Willard Richards Diary, 16 August 1841, Willard Richards Papers, Church Archives.

13. "History of Brigham Young," p. 3.

14. Brigham Young Diary, 18 January 1842, Brigham Young Papers.

15. For a brief overview of the enlarged role of the Twelve during this period that preceded their succession see D. Michael Quinn, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974):29–31. An overview of these developments from the perspective of the Quorum of the Twelve can be found in Leonard J. Arrington and Ronald K. Esplin, "The Role of the Council of the Twelve during Brigham Young's Presidency in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," *Task Papers in LDS History,* No. 31 (Salt Lake City: Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), pp. 8–14.

16. For a review of the visible involvements of the Twelve in Nauvoo see T. Edgar Lyon, "Nauvoo and the Council of the Twelve," *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, ed. F. Mark McKiernan et al. (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 167–205.

17. Joseph Smith to Mrs. Norman Buel *[Buell]*, 15 March 1839, *History of the Church,* 3:286.

18. For a discussion of some of these see D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Fall 1978):79–105 and especially pp. 83–96.

19. Robert Bruce Flanders has suggested that those who accepted Smith's Nauvoo kingdom left with Young and the Twelve to implement that vision in the West, while those who rejected it remained behind. See in the introduction to his *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1965); and his summary article "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," in McKiernan et al., *The Restoration Movement*, pp. 141–66.

20. Parley P. Pratt's "Proclamation. To the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Greeting," in *Millennial Star* 5 (March 1845):149–53.

21. Brigham Young Diary, 8 August 1844, Brigham Young Papers.

22. Wilford Woodruff Diary, 8 August 1844, Wilford Woodruff Papers, Church Archives. See also Minutes, 8 August 1844, General Minutes Collection.

23. Brigham Young to Vilate Young, 11 August 1844, photocopy, Church Archives.

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The LDS Church Historian's Office prepared for publication in 1858 a history of each of the early members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. In cases where the subjects were available, they either wrote their own history or participated in the preparation of a sketch. In other cases, the historians prepared the history based on memory and on documents in their possession. In addition to the ones identified in the titles as the production of the subject, it is likely that Orson Hyde wrote his own and that Parley Pratt's was based on his own autobiographical writings. After the *Deseret News* published the histories in 1858, the *Millennial Star* republished them in England in the 1860s.

Deseret News. "History of Brigham Young." 27 January–24 March 1858.
Young's history was a product of the efforts of the historians combined with his dictation to them. Evidence suggests that he assisted in the preparation of each of the several versions; he also approved the final manuscript. Three manuscript versions exist in the Historian's Office Papers, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. This history can also be consulted in a modern printing: *Manuscript History of Brigham Young,* ed. Eldon Jay Watson (Salt Lake City: Elden Jay Watson, 1968).

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Abstract

The Emergence of Brigham Young and The Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841

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Abstract

Mormon theology permitted the Quorum of Twelve Apostles a prominent position in the Mormon hierarchy, but its actual role was limited at first. Only after experience, testing, changing of personnel and a demonstration of loyalty was the apostles' role enlarged in practice. This study investigates the Twelve's development from a divided group of individuals into a united leadership cadre. The Twelve's commitment to Joseph Smith's vision of a theocratic kingdom and their proven effectiveness under Brigham Young resulted in a decisive change in assignment in 1841 that paved the way for them to succeed Joseph Smith in 1844.

The study is both biographical and institutional, tracing Young's development from an uneducated artisan to a forceful leader and providing an institutional history of the Twelve. It also explores the relationship of Joseph Smith with Young and the Twelve and reinterprets vital events of the 1830s from the perspective of these people.

Committee Approval:

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