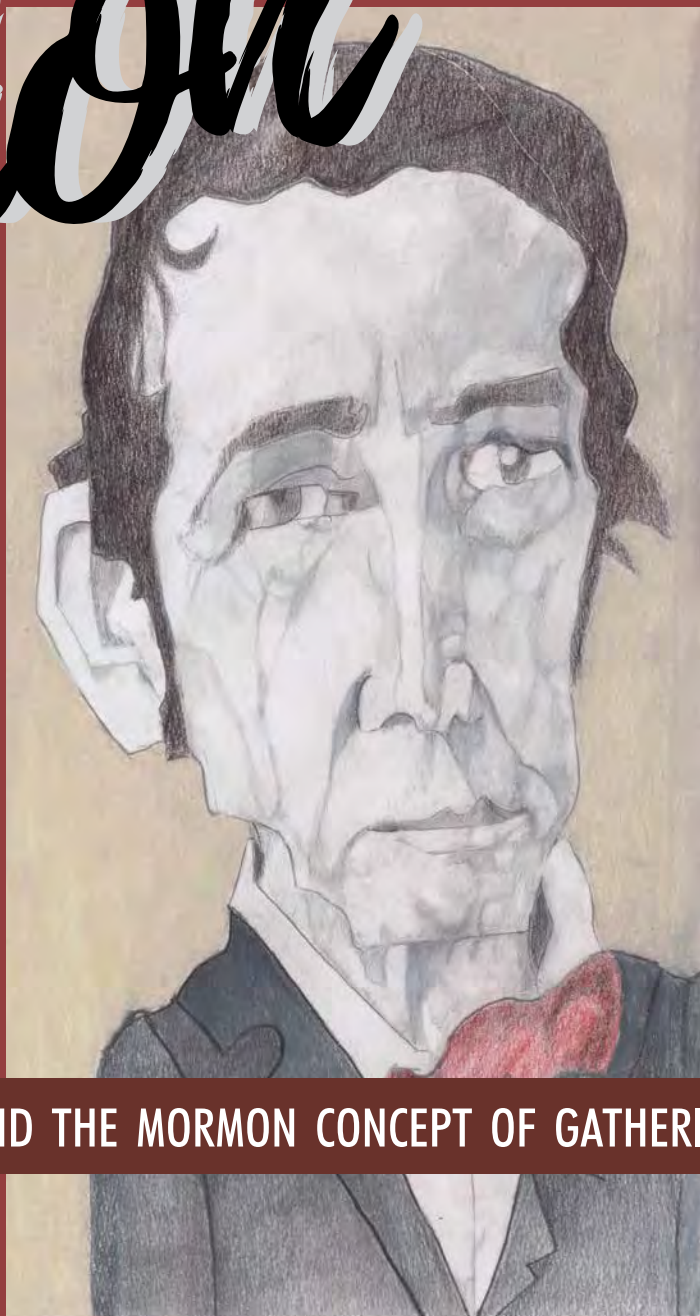


COME UP HITHER TO

Zion

CHERYL L. BRUNO
JOHN S. DINGER



WILLIAM MARKS AND THE MORMON CONCEPT OF GATHERING

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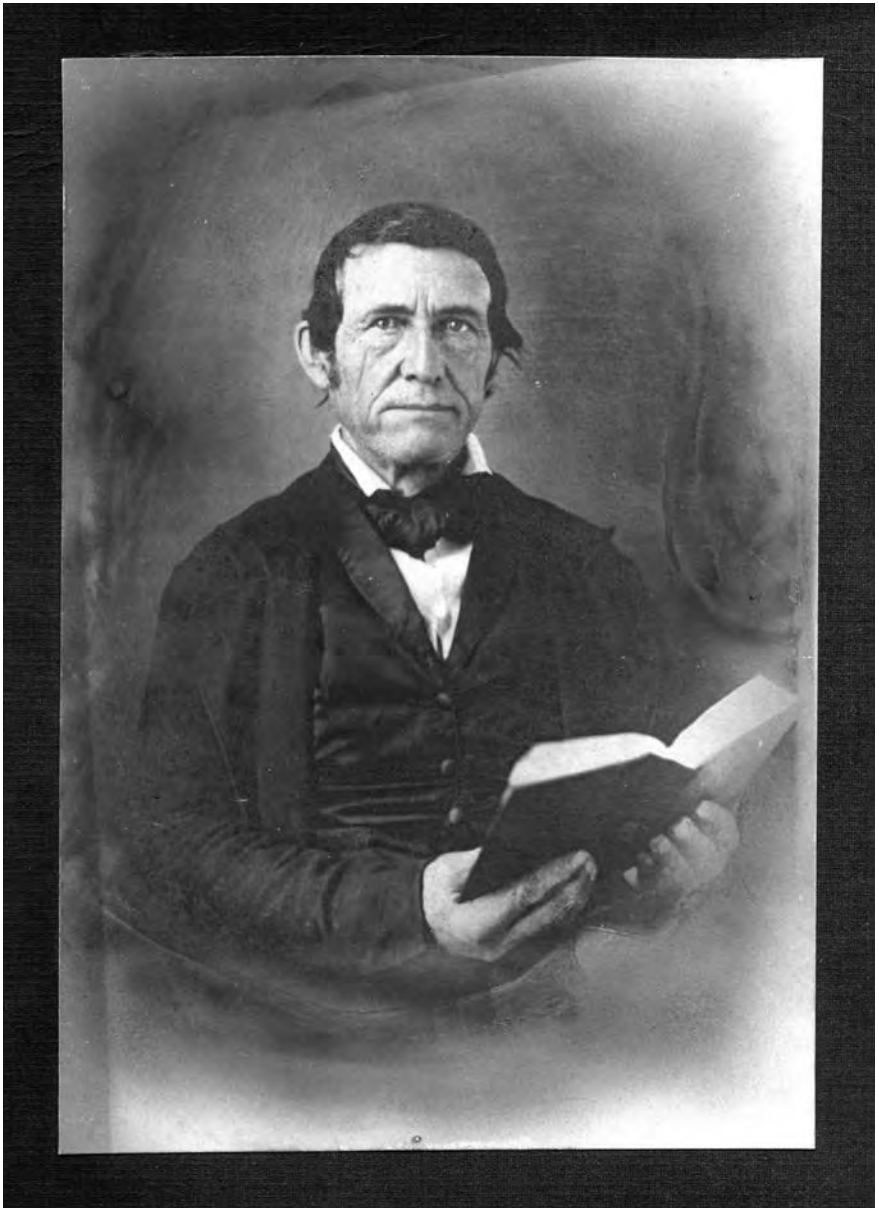
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Contents

Preface	vii
Introduction: They Shall Be Gathered In	xi
1. Ordained to Preside Over Kirtland	1
2. Missouri, the Land of My People	25
3. Commerce: Suited for the Saints	37
4. Nauvoo Municipality	53
5. The Ties that Bind	71
6. A Viper on the Wall	97
7. Succession and Shoulder-Rounding	111
8. James J. Strang: Claims and Clashes	135
9. Charles B. Thompson's Gathering Committee	155
10. The Weary Wanderer	175
11. Reorganizing Zion	185
Conclusion: Quiet Cornerstone	207
Appendix A: William Marks—Letters	219
Appendix B: William Marks—Publications	251
Bibliography	265
Index	293



William Marks photograph on Scoville silvered copper plate, circa 1850–1860. Courtesy of Community of Christ Library and Archives.

Preface

Like-minded acolytes have often felt a desire to band together into supportive communities that would strengthen their faith and serve as a central location for expansion. The metaphysical concept of Zion as a center of spiritual consciousness and a place of unity has been contemplated in different ways in a variety of religious organizations. This book explores the meaning of the principle of “gathering to Zion” within the movement founded by Joseph Smith Jr., as illuminated by the life of one of his most loyal converts, William Marks. Marks, who became an important leader in the Latter Day Saint church, was both drawn to this principle and present through its early development from 1830 to 1844. After the death of Smith, several groups claiming the right of succession attempted to gather followers into a religious or philosophical organization, as well as to a physical location termed “Zion,” where they were to follow a communal lifestyle. Consequently, Marks not only experienced gathering as conceptualized by Smith, but he encountered it again four other times: in Brigham Young’s call to move the Saints west; in James Strang’s community at Voree, Wisconsin; in Charles Thompson’s Congregation of Jehovah’s Presbytery of Zion; and in the reorganization group eventually led by Joseph Smith III.

Marks’s position in the top echelons of leadership in these groups involved him in defining moments in Mormonism. The banking crisis in Kirtland, Ohio, the ejection of the Saints from Missouri, the building of a religious “kingdom” in Nauvoo, Illinois, the clandestine practice of plural marriage, and the predicament of who would lead the church after Joseph Smith’s death are all watershed Mormon issues that are profitably studied alongside the biography of Marks. These moments all intersect to some extent with the Latter Day Saints’ distinctive idea of gathering.

Furthermore, Marks can be seen as an example of actions often paired with gathering: boundary maintenance of who is to gather with the select company, or the expulsion of those who don’t fit. His life thus encapsulates two main themes. The first, gathering, is seen in his continued desire to find the true church he is seeking. The second, excommunication, is something he experienced from both ends through his own excommunication from Presbyterianism to join the Mormons, a major calling on the Kirtland High Council where he dealt with polygamy through excom-

munications, his expulsion from Nauvoo after the death of Smith, and his participation with James Strang in excommunicating Young and other Mormon apostles. Perhaps the most striking event in this vein was Marks's role in the excommunication of Sidney Rigdon, as Marks stood up for established rules and processes even when he was penalized for it.

Records detailing Marks's daily life and thoughts are scarce. He kept no journal, and his personal contemplations and beliefs are limited to brief statements published in a few church newspapers, as well as a series of letters written to a friend in later life. These are important, however, as they describe some of the major controversies in Mormonism from an insider's point of view. Marks wasn't a dynamic speaker or writer, though minutes of high council and city council meetings in Nauvoo offer glimpses of careful actions he took and measured decisions he made. He was quiet, thoughtful, and considerate of the expertise of others, thus winning the respect and admiration of his fellows. He was successful and esteemed in both spiritual and temporal pursuits, though at times he found himself involved in grueling power struggles with those in leadership. In the diaries of acquaintances, contemporary religious journals, and histories of the various ecclesiastical groups with which he was affiliated, Marks is thus described as everything from a "mean conspirator" to "the noblest of men."

Through careful analysis of existing documents, the authors of this book have come to view Marks as a sincere seeker who was devoted to Joseph Smith and the movement he founded. It is evident that Marks struggled with Smith's most divisive doctrines while remaining committed to the overall cause. After the death of the charismatic leader, Marks faced weighty issues along with the rest of Smith's followers. Questions foremost in his mind emerged as these: Would Mormonism continue as the true, restored religion Joseph Smith described? Were the Saints to gather as one body? Where? Under whose direction? How was belonging in the Latter Day Saint tradition to be defined? Marks's struggle with these queries is representative of so many early Book of Mormon believers.

This manuscript uses the 1830 capitalization and punctuation of "Latter Day Saint" that was carried over into the James Strang, Charles Thompson, and Reorganization movements. We also use the terms "Mormon," "Mormonism," and "Mormon church," all of which were ubiquitous in the time period we discuss, used by member and non-member alike. Likewise, the terms "Reorganization" and "Reorganized church" are used to reference the now Community of Christ (formerly Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) beginning with

its initial planning meetings in the 1850s. With due respect, we generally refer to people by surnames, except when first names are needed to distinguish between family members. In quotations we replicate the spelling and punctuation of the original manuscripts. When we add letters or words for clarification, we use [brackets]. When a word is crossed out in the original, we use ~~striketrough~~. When letters or words are added above the line, we use ^carets^.

The authors wish to thank Rachel Killebrew at the Community of Christ Library and Archives for her valuable assistance in searching for and providing scans of documents, Robin Jensen for reading and commenting on our treatment of succession, John Hajicek for suggestions and insights both on succession and the James Strang movement, Holly Welker for her suggestions, editing, and sometimes scathing commentary on the manuscript, and Loyd Isao Ericson and Raistlyn Camphuysn of Greg Kofford Books for close and caring oversight while preparing this book for publication.

In this biography, we welcome each interested reader to explore key Mormon doctrines and early church history through the intriguing and poignant wanderings of William Marks.

INTRODUCTION

They Shall Be Gathered In

“The gathering, not polygamy, was Mormonism’s oldest and most influential doctrine,” wrote historian William Mulder.¹ William Marks, descendant of Puritan founders of New England² and convert to Mormonism, was shaped by both. Marks joined his fortunes to Joseph Smith’s young, upstart religion at a pivotal time in its early history, when the principle of gathering was beginning to be preached and practiced. Marks’s life was characterized by the many gatherings that he participated in—gatherings that were often being broken and scattered because of polygamy.

According to Smith, in September 1827 he received a set of golden plates from the angel Moroni, a resurrected being who had lived on the American continent over a millennium earlier. These plates were divinely translated by Smith and published in 1830 as the Book of Mormon. With Smith’s Church of Christ being established one month later in April, it could be argued that doctrines like gathering, which are contained in the Book of Mormon, precede Mormonism itself.

The Book of Mormon purports to be a record of groups of Israelites who migrated to the Americas. It contains the writings of prophets who descended from them and includes an account of Christ’s visit to those people. Many of the prophets in the Book of Mormon speak of the gathering of Israel. The prophet Nephi, who lived around 560 to 545 BC, quoted Isaiah and told the people that God would “gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth” (2 Ne. 21:12). Jacob, another Book of Mormon prophet who was active at the same time, made clear that the gathering was to be a physical event. He prophesied that Christ would “come among the Jews” who would reject him, leading to destruction and pestilence. However, after they would repent and be-

1. William Mulder, “Mormonism’s ‘Gathering’: an American Doctrine with a Difference,” 249.

2. For example, William’s great-great-grandfather, Abishai Marks, was married to Martha Cornwall, descendant of William Cornwall, Puritan founder of Middletown, Connecticut, who came to America before 1633. William and Cornwall/Cornwell became family names for many generations to follow. See Edward E. Cornwall, *William Cornwall and His Descendants: A Genealogical History of the Family of William Cornwall, One of the Puritan Founders of New England, Who Came to America in or before the Year 1633, and Died Middletown, Connecticut, in the Year 1678*, iii, 2–3.

lieve in Christ, “they shall be gathered in from their long dispersion, from the isles of the sea, and from the four parts of the earth” (2 Ne. 10:3–8).

The Book of Mormon also records the prophesying of Christ who visited the Americas after his death and told believers he would “remember the covenant which I have made with my people; and I have covenanted with them that I would gather them together in mine own due time, . . . [in] the land of Jerusalem, which is the promised land unto them forever” (3 Ne. 20:29). Christ described a “New Jerusalem” to be established in the Americas. There, his people would be “gathered in, who are scattered upon all the face of the land . . . and I also will be in the midst” (3 Ne. 21:23–25).

William Marks and the early Saints read these words in the Book of Mormon and discussed the promises associated with the gathering of the Lord’s people—as both a physical event and a philosophical concept rooted in the Bible.³ The principle was also taught by the new prophet Joseph Smith, who often provided revelation from God on the matter and preached that the time had come for the prophesied gathering to begin.

In September 1830, just six months after the formation of the church and right before a church conference, Smith received a revelation dealing with the gathering of God’s people. While this revelation was given to a small group of people, “Six Elders of the Church & three members,” they were commanded that they “are called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect.” Further, they were told that “wherefore the decree hath gone forth from the father that they shall be gathered [*sic*] in unto one place upon the face of this land to prepare their Hearts & be prepared in all things against the day of tribulation & desolation.” There was some need for immediacy as “the hour is nigh” and “they that do wickedly shall be as stub[b]le & I will burn them up.”⁴ At the conference held after this revelation was received, Colesville branch president Newel K. Knight recorded that it was discussed and the Saints were instructed “to begin the gathering of Israel, and a revelation was given to the Prophet on this subject.”⁵ While the gathering was to be “one place upon the face of this land,” it was not disclosed where this place was to be.⁶

Smith received another revelation in December 1830 that specifically told him and all the Saints “that it is expedient in me [the Lord] that they

3. See, e.g., Deut. 30: 3–5; Isa. 11, 14:1–2.

4. “Revelation, September 1830–A [D&C 29],” 37, JSP.

5. “Newel Knight autobiography, circa 1871,” 268–69, CHL.

6. “Revelation, September 1830–A, as Recorded in Hyde and Smith, Notebook [D&C 29],” 30, JSP.

should assemble together at the Ohio.” At the time, Smith was working on a translation of the Bible. The revelation went so far as to tell him to put it off until the gathering: “I say unto you that it is not expedient in me that ye should translate any more until ye shall go to the Ohio.”⁷ Revelations like this emphasized the importance and priority of gathering among the early Saints.

Months later, other revelations spoke of gathering and provided additional context. At this point, the concept of gathering took a second form. Originally, it was a physical assembling of the faithful to a location, but additional revelations expanded the effort by calling certain elders to go out and gather others to the fold through missionary work. In February of 1831, church members were told to “go forth baptizing with water . . . Until the time shall come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, when the city of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared.” Gathering thus started to include proselytizing, with an overarching purpose “that ye may be gathered in one.”⁸

Mormon settler Solomon Hancock described his experience traveling to Jackson County, Missouri, a land that was “very rich and productive abounding in much wild fruit and honey and game,” which made it “lovely and desirable for settlers.” Hancock considered the county “a home for the Saints, a land of zion and a place of gathering . . . and we began to preach for the Saints to gather to Jackson County Missouri the land of Zion to learn more of the ways of the Lord.”⁹

While the Saints gathered in both Ohio and Missouri, revelations and instructions continued to come forth on the subject. In March 1831, Smith again received revelation instructing members “with one heart and with one mind, gather up your riches that ye may purchase an inheritance which shall hereafter be appointed unto you.” The New Jerusalem was to be “a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety.”¹⁰ In July 1831, Missouri was appointed and consecrated for gathering: “Wherefore it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints.” Local leaders were to assist families to “plant them in their inheritance” in the land that the Lord had “appointed & consecrated for the getting of the Saints.”¹¹

7. “John Whitmer, History, 1831–circa 1847,” 4, JSP. See also Elizabeth Maki, “Go to the Ohio,” 70–73.

8. “John Whitmer, History, 1831–circa 1847,” 13, JSP.

9. “Charles B. Hancock autobiography, circa 1882,” CHL.

10. “History, 1838–1856, volume A-1 [23 December 1805–30 August 1834],” 108, JSP.

11. “Revelation, 20 July 1831 [D&C 57],” 93, JSP.

When Smith proclaimed that Jackson County was Zion, the “New Jerusalem,” his followers were eager to begin building the city in preparation for the coming of Christ.¹² Smith painted a vivid picture of Jackson County as the place where the first humans, Adam and Eve, lived after leaving the Garden of Eden and before the great flood shifted biblical history to the Middle East. Here, Adam had blessed his posterity, and in the end times the great progenitor would return to this consecrated spot that Smith named “Adam-ondi-Ahman,” or “Adam in the presence of God.”¹³ Believers who assembled in that place would witness the Second Coming of Jesus Christ and a grand council where the Savior would collect back the keys of the kingdom that had been distributed to Adam and other stewards of gospel dispensations.

In late summer of 1831, the Latter Day Saints, as they were known, began flooding into the county, which, since its incorporation in 1826, had already been occupied by settlers who perceived the Mormons as a threat. By the end of 1833, the county’s first settlers had violently forced about 1,200 “obnoxious” Mormons into neighboring counties.¹⁴ Early Mormon convert John Corrill wrote to Oliver Cowdery, the Second Elder of the church, at church headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio, expressing his belief that the governor of Missouri would support the Saints in moving back into their homes but could not help further unless there was a military force that could stay and protect them.¹⁵ The response came in the form of a revelation to Smith in which the Lord summoned both young and middle-aged men—“all the strength of mine house . . . warriors . . . [to go] straightway unto the land of my vineyard, and redeem my vineyard; for it is mine” (LDS D&C 101:55–56). Although the Saints in Missouri were told that this affliction had come upon them to chasten them for their sins, they were assured that Zion would “be redeemed.”¹⁶ “It is better, in the eyes of God,” Smith wrote them, “that you should die, than that you should give up the land.”¹⁷

12. “Revelation, 20 July 1831 [D&C 57],” 93, JSP; “Revelation, 6 June 1831 [D&C 52],” 87–89, JSP.

13. Orson Pratt interpreted the name to mean “Valley of God, where Adam dwelt.” Orson Pratt, “Daniel’s Vision,” February 25, 1877, *JD*, 18:343.

14. “History, 1838–1856, volume A-1,” 322, JSP.

15. John Corrill, “From Missouri,” *EMS*, 126.

16. “History, 1838–1856, volume A-1,” 361, JSP.

17. “History, 1838–1856, volume A-1,” 394, JSP.

Church representatives Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight made an arduous winter journey back to Kirtland, arriving on February 22, 1834. A letter they bore from W. W. Phelps, assistant president of the church in Missouri, reiterated that the governor was willing to restore the Saints' property, but the state constitution gave him no power to enforce such an action. Phelps warned, "The mob swear, if we come [back] we shall die!"¹⁸

Two days after they arrived in Kirtland, Pratt and Wight were commanded through revelation to assemble at least one hundred (and optimally five hundred men) as a military force to return with them to Missouri.¹⁹ This enterprise would come to be known as "Zion's Camp." On Wednesday, February 26, Smith left his home in Kirtland "to obtain volunteers for Zion, in compliance with the foregoing revelation."²⁰ Through this trip, William Marks would meet the Mormons.

On their way east, Smith and Pratt passed through Ohio, Pennsylvania, and then several western New York townships and settlements. At Perrysburg, they "called the church together, and related unto them what had happened to our brethren in Zion." Smith prophesied mightily, and consequently, "with all readiness, the young and middle aged volunteered for Zion."²¹ On Saturday, March 8, they held a meeting in Farmersville, New York, and arranged for another to be held March 10 in Freedom Township, where they had been invited to stay at the home of Oliver Cowdery's brother, Warren.

Though Warren had been aware of the Book of Mormon since 1830 and was sympathetic to the difficulties of the Saints in Missouri, he was not a member of the church at that time. Warren, his wife Patience, and their eight children lived in a fine brick home in Freedom. On the property adjoining their farm lived another big family: Samuel Miles, his wife, Prudence Marks Miles, and their brood of seven. Having heard of Mormonism from Warren, Samuel and some of his older sons had traveled nine miles to attend the meeting in Farmersville on Saturday. "After the meeting closed," Samuel's son later recounted, "a few proceeded to a nearby stream where the ice was cut, it being mid-winter, and some baptisms were tended to." The Miles family, Warren Cowdery, and several other families in Freedom became interested in what Smith and Pratt were preaching.

18. "History, 1838–1856, volume A-1," 398, JSP.

19. "History, 1838–1856, volume A-1," 440, JSP.

20. "History, 1838–1856, volume A-1," 441, JSP.

21. "History, 1838–1856, volume A-1," 445, JSP.

Thus, on Monday, March 10, 1834, Smith and Pratt preached “to an overflowing house.” After the evening meeting, Smith proposed that “if any wished to obey, and would make manifest, we would stay and administer to another meeting.” A young man from the Methodist church was typical of many who listened to the Zion’s Camp recruiters. He stood and proclaimed his faith in the fullness of the gospel. He wished to be baptized. Smith and Pratt accordingly “appointed another meeting for the next day,” a Tuesday, and baptized the ardent Heman T. Hyde.²²

“In a few weeks,” Samuel Miles Jr. related, “our town was visited by Elders John Murdock, Orson Pratt, and others. A large branch was raised up.”²³ A local history captures some of the consternation the residents of Freedom felt at the “humbug” the Latter Day Saint missionaries were promoting:

[T]he quiet precincts of Fish Lake neighborhood were invaded by Joe Smith, Sidney Rigdon, John Gould, and Parley Pratt. . . . Meetings were held, daily and nightly, in barns and dwelling-houses, and a prodigious excitement pervaded the minds of many people in that immediate vicinity. . . . 30 men and women were induced to join the Mormons, and emigrated with them to Kirtland, Ohio. Some came back and renounced their faith in Mormonism, while others continued with them to the end of their lives.²⁴

Samuel and Prudence Marks Miles and several of their children were among those baptized.²⁵ Prudence’s brother, forty-two-year-old William Marks, visited Freedom at this time and attended meetings. “He became a convert to the truth of the gospel and was shortly afterward baptized,” along with over forty people in the area.²⁶ Warren Cowdery was set apart as president of the Freedom branch.²⁷

22. “History, 1838–1856, volume A-1,” 446, JSP.

23. “Samuel Miles autobiography, circa 1904,” 2, CHL.

24. Franklin Ellis, ed., *History of Cattaraugus: Illustrations And Biographical Sketches Of Some Of Its Prominent Men And Pioneers*, 399.

25. Prudence Marks Miles and some of her children crossed the plains to Utah with the Ezra T. Benson company in 1849.

26. Converts included the Israel Calkins family, the Lyman Calkins family, the Aaron and Mehitabel Cheney family and Aaron’s brother Hurd, Warren and Patience Cowdery, Isaac and Harriet Decker, Ira and Wealtha Hatch, The Heman and Polly Hyde family, the Tilton and Eunice Hyde family, Thomas Graven, Dimon McPherson, the Rufus and Adelia Metcalf family, the Samuel and Prudence Miles family, Nehemiah and Lucy Sparks, and Benjamin and Eliza Wheeler.

27. “Samuel Miles autobiography, circa 1904,” 2, CHL.

An account by Dr. B. W. Richmond, quoted and paraphrased in the *Deseret News* in 1875, establishes William Marks's urbane reputation in the neighborhood of Oak Hill, near Portage, New York, while simultaneously describing the folksy and devout ways of the visiting Mormon preachers. Claiming to be a close associate teaching near Marks's residence in 1833, Richmond identifies Marks as a wealthy farmer of strict integrity. That year, the "strange sect" came into the neighborhood teaching that "theirs was a new and glorious dispensation under the head of a prophet anointed by God." Five or six priests stayed in town for the winter and "drew many respectable persons into the church." Richmond describes "wild scenes of hubbub" such as speaking in tongues, prophesying, visions, and giving revelations and interpretations.²⁸

Because of the Mormon leaders' interest in healing, an impoverished old woman named Mrs. Simmons was brought to Marks's home, perhaps shortly before he joined their movement. There, she was provided with "a good bed, comfortable room, cheerful fire, and good nurses," a testament to the Markses' wealth and good grace. The woman was described as a "nervous and susceptible female" with pale skin and large, intense black eyes. Around her bed "were ranged the [Mormon] priests gifted with heal-

28. "The Prophet's Death," *DN*, 11. This article was originally published in the *Chicago Times* on November 20, 1875. It was reprinted with the same title in *Deseret News* on December 8, 1875. The *Deseret News* explains: "Half a century ago there lived in New York, in the vicinity of Palmyra, where Joseph Smith first became known to fame, a young man named B. W. Richmond, who afterward studied medicine and acquired the title of doctor. He formed Joseph's acquaintance there, and was familiar with the 2 circumstances attending his self-announcement as a prophet. In later years he saw him in Ohio, and observed his course with interest. Still later, he met him in Nauvoo, and was an accidental witness of the scenes incident to, and consequent upon, his tragic death at the hands of an Illinois mob. Ten years afterward, partly in compliance with a request of the prophet, made just prior to his assassination, he wrote a full account of the affair, intending to publish it in book form. Various causes combined to delay the publication, and in 1864, twenty years after the occurrence of the events which he had committed to writing, Dr. Richmond died, leaving the manuscript in the hands of his widow, Mrs. Lucinda Richmond, now residing in McGregor, Iowa, by whom it has been carefully treasured until the present time. Thus The Deseret News does not have all the sub-headings, and prefaces this article with, 'The following, from the Chicago Times, which is in the main correct as concerning the tragedy which is the burden of the article, will be perused with much interest by our readers, coming as it does from a disinterested source—'."

ing, some with hands on her bed, others clasping her hands in theirs, or reverently laying them on various parts of her person, and uttering earnest prayers." They did this three or four times a day while feeding her nourishing food. "Mr. Marks had a large, fine, red young rooster which THEY SLEW IN THE NAME OF THE LORD and the invalid was nourished most tenderly with the broth. Hope beamed into her soul, and, as her care and food became better, her faith increased and added to the earnest prayers of the faithful." In two weeks, the emaciated old lady regained her strength and walked for the first time in months. Richmond remarked, "My friend Marks and myself could never agree whether the benediction of the priests or the nursing and the flesh and broth of the slain chanticleer had most to do with the remarkable recovery of this most helpless case of neglect and debility."²⁹

The Mormon priests earnestly believed they had worked a miracle, and when others were similarly healed, local women "began to fear that the Lord was among the Saints, and to escape the fearful penalties denounced against unbelievers, hastened to join them. . . . Among the persons who joined them in this region were many of good minds and well educated."³⁰ Richmond's account seems to ridicule both the earnest Mormon priests and the intimidated females who joined them, while at the same time wondering at the religion's appeal to the more informed and sophisticated residents such as William Marks.

When Parley P. Pratt came back through Freedom on his way to Kirtland, he was impressed by the branch that had been formed in just a few weeks. Heman T. Hyde went with Pratt back to Kirtland and participated in Zion's Camp. William Marks, father of a large family of sturdy children, remained in the area for the time being to become one of the most stalwart and reliable members in the New York branches. However, throughout the rest of his life, his personal quest for Joseph Smith's concept of Zion would lead him to physical and philosophical places he never could have imagined.

29. "The Prophet's Death," *DN*, 11.

30. "The Prophet's Death," *DN*, 11.

Ordained to Preside Over Kirtland

William Marks was born on November 15, 1792, in Rutland, Rutland County, Vermont, nine months almost to the day after his parents were married on February 13. Cornwell Marks and his wife, Sarah Goodrich, hailed from Glastonbury, Hartford County, Connecticut, a shipbuilding town located on the Connecticut River. In 1785, Cornwell moved to Pawlet, Vermont, as a young man of sixteen. However, he must have maintained ties in Glastonbury, for he returned there to marry Sarah in the Eastbury Church.¹ He brought his bride back to Pawlet, where they raised a family of six children in this compact industrial town in the Taconic mountains.² Cornwell was known as a “kind hearted and exemplary man.” Sarah “was a skillful nurse, and devoted much of her time to attendance on the sick.”³ A history of Pawlet mentions that she was baptized into the Mormon church by Joseph Smith Sr. when he visited and preached in town.⁴ Perhaps this occurred in 1836, when Joseph Sr. went on a mission to the Eastern States with his brother John Smith. Cornwell and Sarah both remained in Pawlet and died there in 1857, at ages 88 and 87 respectively.

Their son William Marks married Rosannah Robinson on May 2, 1813, in Pawlet. The young family soon moved to Nunda (later Portage), Allegany County, New York, where they had nine children between the years of 1814 and 1832. Rosannah’s sister Polly and her husband Prosper Adams had been early settlers of the town. Adams established the first tavern just south of the current “Deep Cut.” Located where the Genesee Valley Canal was cut through the high land, it served as the main hub for business in the town. Around 1821, Adams sold the tavern to his brother-in-law William Marks, who managed the tavern for about fifteen

1. Henry Ernest Woods, ed., *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 387.

2. His children and the year they were born: William, 1792; Prudence/Paulina, 1795; Elisha, 1797; Electa, 1800; Elizabeth, 1802; Ira, 1805.

3. Hiel Hollister, *Pawlet for One Hundred Years*, 213.

4. Hollister, 150. Sarah Marks is not found in Susan Easton Black’s *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848*; nor is it found in her *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*.

2 *Come Up Hither to Zion*

years. Canal workers frequented the establishment, and meetings of various types were held on its premises.

On December 5, 1819, the Reverend Elihu Mason formed a Presbyterian church in Nunda. Six charter members included Richard W. Robinson and his wife Charlotte, who exhibited letters that they were members in good standing from their church in Pawlet, Vermont. These six admitted five additional members, including Richard's cousin Rosannah Robinson Marks.⁵ Her husband, William Marks, was examined and received into the church on April 19, 1822.⁶ From 1820 to 1832, all nine of the Marks children were christened at the Oakland Presbyterian church. One can surmise that the family participated regularly in this church, as the records demonstrate the practice of excommunicating members when they did not attend public worship and partake of the Lord's Supper.

Though the church had one hundred members by 1828, it had no church building proper. Meetings were held in the local school and even in members' barns. On Friday, May 9, 1834, and again on May 20, a general session of the church leadership was held at the Marks home for the purpose of considering an accusation of "the habitual intemperate use of ardent spirits" by their fellow church member, Daniel D. Wells. Both William and Rosannah testified that Wells had purchased "bitters" from them too often, and that they had seen him take too much drink.⁷ It is the first record available where William Marks participated in the judgment of another for their religious behavior. He would find himself called to do this frequently in his future ecclesiastical roles.

William and Rosannah Marks joined the Latter Day Saints at some point in the six months between May 20 and November 3, 1834. The Oakland Presbyterian church kept particular records of when members were admitted and when they left the congregation. It was common that a member was taken off the rolls either by death or by requesting a letter of good standing to present to the next Presbyterian church they intended to affiliate with. In a few cases, members left to join other churches. The records betray the Presbyterians' opinion of these churches. When the parishioner switched their allegiance to Methodism, the records state simply: "joined the Methodists" or "went to the Methodists."⁸ In several other

5. Richard's father, Richard Robinson, and Rosannah's father, Ephraim Robinson, were brothers.

6. "Records of the Oakland Presbyterian Church, 1819–1871," 1–7.

7. "Records," 93–94, 96–99.

8. "Records," n.p.

cases, the records report that members “absconded to Episcopalians,” a sect more dissimilar in doctrine. A conversion to Mormonism was even more intolerable.

In the minutes of November 3, 1834, the Presbyterian deacons and elders expressed concern that some of their members had been baptized by the Mormons.⁹ On November 21, the council, or “session,” named the four members who had united with the Mormons: William and Rosannah Marks, Polly Adams, and Mehitabel Bennett.¹⁰ Thereupon they held a “consideration” of the subject. They resolved that these individuals be called before the session to answer the following charges:

The violation of their covenant obligations by joining the sect commonly called Mormons.

The treating of the ordinance of baptism in this church as though it had no validity, & consequently with contempt.

The promotion of division among the professed prophet ^of God^ in withdrawing from the church.

The treating of the church as if it were not the church of Christ, & in fact rejecting it, by meeting with a sect which profess not to fellowship us as a church.

Representations of this import, that ignorance & prejudice are the grand reason why the members of session & the other members of the church do not become Mormons.

A belief in the following erroneous sentiments or delusions. 1. That some of the Mormons have the gift of unknown tongues. 2. That the Mormons have immediate revelations from God. 3. That some of the Mormons have the gift of healing, & of prophecy. 4. That some of the Mormons have the gift of the interpretation of tongues. 5. That the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit are essential to the purity & perfection of the church. 6. That all wicked things among the Mormons are brought to light by immediate revelation from God.¹¹

This written consideration illuminates how some of the early teachings of the Latter Day Saint church were perceived by other sects, and why join-

9. “Records,” 104.

10. At their meeting on December 4, 1834, the session decided that since “Mehitabel Bennett is in a degree deranged,” her trial could be postponed. Mehitabel died not long after.

11. “Records,” 104–6.

ing the Mormons was viewed differently from joining—or even “absconding”—to other churches.

A trial was held on December 12, 1834, at which the accused did not appear. The moderator of the session testified that he had heard a Mormon preacher say “that the Mormon church is the only church built on the true foundation, & that all other churches are built on foundations of mere human wisdom.” It was also reported that “Mormons do not fellowship other churches.” Mr. and Mrs. Marks and Mrs. Adams had given similar representations and were heard to state “that they had united with the Mormons & been baptized by them.”¹² These bold sentiments were unacceptable to the conservative Presbyterians. After Elder Caldwell and Deacon Totten unsuccessfully visited the three miscreants to admonish them to repent, the session met again on January 1, 1835, and suspended them from the sacraments of the Presbyterian church.¹³ On April 18, the session performed the final rite of excommunication of Polly Adams and William and Rosannah Marks.¹⁴

What would induce this forty-three-year-old, staid, and settled Presbyterian merchant to join the rough-and-tumble, disparaged Mormons? Marks did not leave a written record, but his actions in the second half of his life show devotion to an innovative and aspirational religion. His search for a utopia—a latter day “Zion”—took him from his comfortable surroundings into a maelstrom of frontier life, unique religious doctrines, and charismatic leaders, all with their own versions of “the gathering” to Zion.

During Marks’s break with the Presbyterian church, events were occurring two hundred miles down Lake Erie in Kirtland, Ohio, which would have important repercussions in his life and in the future of Mormonism. A call went forth on a momentous St. Valentine’s Day, 1835, for all those who had participated in Zion’s Camp to assemble in the Kirtland schoolhouse along with “as many more of the Brethren & Sisters as felt disposed to attend.” A year earlier, the Camp’s march to defend the Saints in Missouri had been unsuccessful, disbanding in late July 1834 during a cholera outbreak and in the face of an overwhelming force of Missouri militia men who prevented the Mormons’ arrival into Jackson County.¹⁵

12. “Records,” 108.

13. “Records,” 110.

14. “Records,” 117–18.

15. For information on the members of Zion’s Camp, see Milton Vaughn Backman, Jr., Keith Perkins, and Susan Easton Black, *A Profile of Latter-day*

After a scripture and prayer, “the Bretheren [*sic*] who went to Zion, were requested to take their seats together in one part of the house by themselves.” The Prophet Joseph Smith addressed them, assuring these faithful Saints that their trials and sufferings during the march to Missouri had not been in vain, but that “those who went to Zion, with a determination to lay down their lives, if necessary . . . should be ordained to the ministry and go forth to prune the vineyard for the last time.” They would be endowed with power from on high to assist them in their ministry to prepare for the Second Coming, “which was nigh, even fifty six years, should wind up the scene.”¹⁶

Smith, in his characteristic rousing manner, stirred the congregation to a great excitement for the coming evangelistic work. He called upon those of the Camp of Israel to rise to their feet, which they enthusiastically did. The rest of the assembly was asked if they would sanction the ordinations and endowments, and they all raised their right hands in affirmation. With that, the congregation sang one of the hymns made popular during the march:

Hark! listen to the trumpeters!
 They sound for volunteers!
 On Zion's bright and flowery mount
 Behold their officers;
 Their garments white, their armor's bright
 With courage bold they stand,
 Enlisting soldiers for their King,
 To march to Zion's land.¹⁷

After a one-hour recess, the conference recommenced with a prayer by Joseph's brother Hyrum Smith. Joseph then called forward Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris, who were known as the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon. At the book's publication, they testified in writing “unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people,” that the Book of Mormon was of divine origin and that they had “beheld and

Saints of Kirtland, Ohio and Members of Zion's Camp, 1830–1839: Vital Statistics and Sources.

16. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings, 14–15 February 1835,” 147–49, JSP.

17. Reuben McBride, “Reuben McBride reminiscence,” 2, CHL. The hymn was a version of a Methodist piece which had appeared in hymnals since at least 1811. Stith Mead, ed., *A General Selection of the Newest and Most Admired Hymns and Spiritual Songs Now in Use*, #d40.

saw the plates” from which Joseph translated the work.¹⁸ The growth of the new church across several states necessitated visits from trusted church authorities who could handle administrative issues and perform ecclesiastical ordinances. Therefore, prior to the conference, the three witnesses had been asked to prayerfully choose twelve men “as Apostles to go to all nations, kindred touns [sic] and people.”¹⁹ After the First Presidency blessed the three witnesses by the laying on of hands, they chose Lyman Johnson, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, David W. Patten, Luke Johnson, William E. McLellin, John F. Boynton, Orson Pratt, William Smith, Thomas B. Marsh, and Parley P. Pratt to serve in the newly established Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.²⁰

Over the next two days, the three witnesses laid their hands upon each new apostle’s head and individually set him apart for his ministry with remarkable words of instruction and blessing. For example, Brigham Young was told that he would “do wonders in the name of Jesus . . . cast out Devils, heal the sick, raise the dead, open the eyes of the blind.” As he went forth “from land to land and from sea to sea,” the heathen nations would “even call him God himself, if he did not rebuke them.”²¹

Lyman Johnson was blessed with faith “like unto Enoch,”²² while his brother Luke was told he would “bear testimony to the kings of the earth.”²³ Angels would “waft” Heber C. Kimball “from place to place,” and he would “come into the presence of God.”²⁴ Orson Hyde was blessed to “have power to smite the earth with pestilence, to divide waters and lead through the Saints” and would “be like unto one of the three Nephites.”²⁵ David W. Patten was to “have power over all diseases” and “be able to tear down priest-craft like a Lion.”²⁶ William McLellin would be “a prince and a saviour to God’s people,” and John F. Boynton was blessed to “lead the

18. See “The Testimony of Three Witnesses” included with each edition of the Book of Mormon.

19. A revelation had been given in Fayette, New York, in June 1829 relative to the choosing of twelve apostles. See “Book of Commandments, 1833,” 38, JSP.

20. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings, 14–15 February 1835,” 149, JSP.

21. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings,” 150, JSP.

22. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings,” 149, JSP.

23. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings,” 152, JSP.

24. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings,” 150, JSP.

25. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings,” 151, JSP.

26. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings,” 152, JSP.

Elect triumphantly to the places of refuge.”²⁷ William Smith was told that he would “be preserved and remain on the earth, until Christ shall come to take vengeance on the wicked.”²⁸ Parley P. Pratt, Thomas B. Marsh, and Orson Pratt were not in Kirtland yet, and received their blessings later.

On February 27, 1835, Joseph Smith met in council with the Twelve to give them instructions. During this meeting, he clarified their role as follows:

They are the twelve apostles who are called to a travelling high council to preside over all the churches of the saints among the gentiles where there is no presidency established. They are to travel and preach among the Gentiles until the Lord shall shall command them to go to the Jews. They are to hold the keys of this ministry— to unlock the door of the kingdom of heaven unto all nations and preach the Gospel unto every creature. This is the virtue power and authority of their Apostleship—Amen.²⁹

At the time, there was a presiding, or “standing,” High Council of Zion located in Missouri, and an additional high council located in Kirtland, each composed of twelve men.³⁰ The apostles, or traveling high council, were to have jurisdiction to regulate and set in order those areas of the church which were not presided over by an acting high council.³¹ They had “no right to go into Zion or any of its stakes where there [was] a regular high council established, to regulate any matt[e]rs pertaining thereto.”³² Little did anyone know the importance this sentence would hold at the death of Joseph Smith regarding the question of who would succeed him as leader of the church.

On the evening of March 12, 1835, at the next meeting of the Twelve, Smith proposed a first mission for them in the Eastern States, holding

27. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings,” 153, JSP.

28. “Minutes, Discourse, and Blessings,” 154, JSP.

29. “Record of the Twelve, 14 February–28 August 1835,” 4, JSP.

30. John Dinger, *The Nauwoo City and High Council Minutes*. Joseph Smith put together the first permanent council at his home in Kirtland, Ohio, on February 17, 1834. He called it “the high council of the church of Christ” (LDS D&C 102:1). The high council “of the seat of the First Presidency of the Church” was to be the primary governing body for the church, as well as the appellate court for other high councils that would be organized.

31. The traveling high council, composed of the Twelve Apostles, was initially subordinate to the High Council of Zion. This is evidenced by the presiding High Council of Zion at Far West voting on and filling vacancies in the Quorum of the Twelve in 1838.

32. “Record of the Twelve, 14 February–28 August 1835,” 6, JSP.

conferences in the existing branches of the church and “regulateing [*sic*] all things necessary for their welfare.” It was decided that the Twelve Apostles, as a traveling high council, would leave Kirtland on Monday, May 4, 1835, and visit several New York branches of the church.³³

When the Twelve reached Freedom, New York, on May 22, 1835, they organized the “Freedom Conference,” which included the New York branches of Freedom, Portage, Grove, Burns, Rushford, Geneseo, Avon, Java, Holland, Aurora, Greenwood, and Niagara. The presiding elder, Warren Cowdery, reported sixty-five members in good fellowship in the Freedom Branch. William Marks, a member of the Portage branch, was in attendance at this conference. Having been associated with the church for some months, he had already attained the office of priest, and seemed to be held in high regard, as he reported on behalf of three branches.³⁴ The branch in Portage, he said, followed most expectations to be in good fellowship but did not generally obey the Word of Wisdom.³⁵ The church in Grove was in the same condition as last reported, and the church in Burns consisted of thirty members in good standing.³⁶

The Monday morning after the conference at Freedom concluded, a large company consisting of William Marks, Jonathan Hale, and eight of the Twelve traveled the twenty-one miles east to Portage and arrived that evening at the Marks home. The company stayed for two days before departing for the rest of their circuit.³⁷ No record of the events of these two days exists, but it was not insignificant that Marks was spending time with leaders of the new church who had associated with Joseph Smith. His ma-

33. “Record of the Twelve, 14 February–28 August 1835,” 4, JSP.

34. At a conference held a month earlier, April 4, 1835, at Freedom, the Portage branch of twenty-six members—which had been “raised principally by brother Squires”—represented by William Marks, priest. W. A. Cowdery, “Freedom, April 3, 1835,” *MA*, 101.

35. Apparently this was an issue with other branches as well. At a May 9, 1835, meeting organizing the Westfield (New York) Conference, the Laona branch was described as being “rather low in spirit in consequence of a neglect to keep the ‘word of Wisdom,’” a code of health given as a February 27, 1833, revelation. The code restricted the use of tobacco, wine, “strong drinks,” and “hot drinks,” and recommended a diet of herbs, wheat, grains, and fruits while consuming meat sparingly. See “Record of the Twelve, 14 February–28 August 1835,” 9, JSP; “Word of Wisdom,” JSP.

36. “Record of the Twelve, 14 February–28 August 1835,” 11, JSP.

37. “Jonathan H. Hale reminiscences and journals, 1837–1840,” 6, CHL.

ture age, commodious property, reliable leadership, and social connections would propel him quickly to leadership positions in the fledgling church.

On March 3, 1836, at the age of forty-three, Marks became an elder, an ecclesiastical office authorizing Latter Day Saint men to preach the gospel. His certificate reads as follows:

To whom it may concern.

This certifies that William Marks has been received into the church of the Latter day day Saints, organized on the sixth of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred & thirty, & has been ordained an Elder according to the rules & regulations of said church, & is duly authorized to preach the gospel agreeably to the authority of that Officer. From the satisfactory evidence which we have of his good moral character, & his zeal for the cause of righteousness, & diligent desire to persuade men to forsake evil & embrace truth we confidently recommend him to all candid & upright people as a worthy member of society. We therefore, in the name & by the authority of this church, grant unto this, our worthy brother in the Lord, this letter of commendation as a proof of our fellowship & Esteem: praying for his success & prosperity in our Redeemer & Causes. Given by the direction of a conference of the Elders of said church assembled in Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio, the third day of march, in the year of our lord, one thousand, eight hundred & thirty six.

Joseph Smith Jr. Chairman.

H.G. Williams Clerk.

Kirtland, Ohio, June 1, 1836³⁸

Marks's name also appeared in the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, a Mormon newspaper, along with the 243 others who were elders of the "church of the Latter Day Saints."³⁹

Previous to a second push to gather in Missouri, church members and leaders were encouraged to assemble in Kirtland, the site of their temple, commonly called the "House of the Lord." The edifice was dedicated by Joseph Smith on March 27, 1836, and the ceremony was repeated days later.⁴⁰ Here, they received temple "endowments" of spiritual power to enable them to perform successful missionary work. Warren Cowdery wrote an account that described a theophany and visitation from three Old

38. "Kirtland elders' certificates, 1836–1838," 127, CHL.

39. Thomas Burdick, "List Containing the Names of Ministers of the Gospel," *MA*, 336.

40. Church members in Kirtland increased from 150 on June 25, 1833, to 900 by late 1835, with 200 more living close by. "Journal, 1835–1836," Historical Introduction, JSP.

Testament prophets to his brother Oliver and Joseph Smith in the temple on April 3, an Easter Sunday that coincided with the Jewish Passover. During this vision, “Moses appeared before them and committed unto them the Keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the Earth and the leading of the ten tribes from the Land of the North.”⁴¹

This was an exciting but unsettling time in the history of the young church. Elders were preaching the gospel and making new converts, many of whom moved to Kirtland and the surrounding areas to join their fellow Saints. The displaced members frequently lacked adequate means to set up in their adopted city. An awkward accumulation of small hovels sprang up along the Chagrin River south of the temple. Church leaders struggled to pay debts incurred from the building of the temple, to purchase large contracts of land for immigrating members, and to support widespread missionary work. In a sermon on April 6, 1837, Smith mentioned “the embarrassments of a pecuniary nature that were now pressing upon the heads of the church.”

He [Smith] observed they began poor, were needy, destitute, and were truly afflicted by their enemies; yet the Lord commanded them to go forth and preach the gospel, to sacrifice [*sic*] their time, their talents, their good name and jeopardize their lives, and in addition to this, they were to build a house for the Lord, and prepare for the gathering of the saints.⁴²

Other church members, watching the new population arrive, fervently engaged in land speculation and became precariously prosperous.⁴³

Leaders scrambled to meet the demand for a system of exchange in such a situation. In 1836, the Ohio state legislature twice denied church leaders’ requests for a bank charter. On January 2, plans for the bank were revised to form a joint stock company called the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company.⁴⁴ Feeling that it had been “instituted by the will

41. “Journal, 1835–1836,” 193, JSP.

42. “Discourse, 6 April 1837,” 487, JSP.

43. “We were much grieved . . . on our arrival in Kirtland, to see the spirit of speculation that was prevailing in the Church. Trade and traffic seemed to engross the time and attention of the Saints. . . . Some men, who, when I left, could hardly get food to eat, I found on my arrival to be men of supposed great wealth; in fact everything in the place seemed to be moving in great prosperity, and all seemed to be engaged to become rich.” Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 111.

44. For a thorough overview of the Kirtland Safety Society, see Jeffrey N. Walker, “The Kirtland Safety Society and the Fraud of Grandison Newell: A

& revilations [*sic*] of God,” many members of the community responded to Smith’s invitation to fund the bank by purchasing stock in the company.⁴⁵ The Smith family was the largest investor, and Joseph issued and signed bank notes as treasurer. At first, it seemed that the company bolstered the financial health of Kirtland. However, its capital structure was fragile. As one historian has explained, “The Society would issue notes to land owners and receive in return a mortgage on the land. This mortgage then became an asset against which additional notes could be issued.”⁴⁶ The situation prompted one of the church’s enemies, Grandison Newell, to “drive about the country and buy up all the Mormon money possible, and next morning go to the bank and obtain the specie” in an effort to drain the bank capital.⁴⁷ In March 1837, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were charged with illegal banking. A trial was held in October 1837, and the two were found guilty of illegal banking under the 1816 Act (no longer in force in 1837) and were fined \$1,000 each. They appealed the decision but were forced to flee Ohio before another trial could be held. Additionally, a national bank crisis known as the Panic of 1837 developed in May of that year. Overspeculation and the inability of banks to easily convert their assets into cash caused hundreds of banks to fail and added to the pressure placed upon the Society.⁴⁸ Smith and Rigdon ceased issuing bank notes, focusing on collecting loans that were due as April 1837 arrived. John Johnson, a wealthy Latter Day Saint investor, withdrew his considerable property from the Society, which dealt a considerable blow to the institution in May. Disaffection from the church became rampant throughout the community.

William Marks moved to Kirtland during a time of heated dissent. As Joseph Smith began to withdraw from many of his Kirtland enterprises, he surprisingly transferred his financial interests to the newcomer.

Legal Examination,” 32–148.

45. “Articles of Agreement for the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company, 2 January 1837,” 443, JSP; “Minutes, 3 September 1837,” 236, JSP.

46. Scott H. Partridge, “The Failure of the Kirtland Safety Society,” 440.

47. Arthur B. Deming, “James Thompson’s Statement,” 3.

48. Church leaders made an effort to make the Society a branch or subsidiary of the already chartered Bank of Monroe, Michigan, by effecting a merger or acquisition, as permitted by Ohio law. The owners of the Bank of Monroe sold their controlling interest and Oliver Cowdery was appointed a director and vice president of the Monroe Bank. However, the Panic of 1837 caused its temporary closure. Cowdery resigned as director and returned to Kirtland. Walker, “The Kirtland Safety Society,” 53, 54.

In April 1837, Joseph Smith named Marks proprietor of the Kirtland Printing Office, previously owned by Smith and Sidney Rigdon. The shop dealt in books, stationery, letter and wrapping paper, as well as printed cards, blanks, handbills, checks, notes, drafts, labels, books, and blank books; it also published the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* newspaper. Although Marks was the legal owner of the shop, Smith and Rigdon, "by power of attorney from said Marks," were to "act as his agents for the time being," and Warren Cowdery continued "in charge of the editorial department, to whom all communications, by mail relative to the business of the office, should be addressed."⁴⁹ In June, Warren wrote an editorial in which he blamed "the principal remote causes of distress in our community" on over-trading, the "deranged state of the money market abroad," and "inflated paper circulation at home." He further stated that these calamities were "common to our whole country."⁵⁰ The *Messenger and Advocate* was printed for five months under Marks's proprietorship. The month of August was its last printing, after which the paper gave way to a new publication, *The Elders' Journal*.

On April 10, 1837, Joseph Smith and his wife, Emma, conveyed the Kirtland Temple property to Marks for a consideration of \$500. The grantor reserved "the Market house occupied by Whitmer, Rich & Co. which stands on the above described lot of land."⁵¹ Joseph conveyed six additional tracts of land in Kirtland for \$3,800, and Sidney Rigdon conveyed one tract of land for \$1,500, all to Marks, and all on the same date.⁵² Smith and Rigdon likely transferred ownership of the press, the temple, and other lands to separate the assets of the church from their personal property while undergoing legal proceedings.

It is not clear why Smith and other church leaders chose Marks to transfer their interests to. Marks had been a member of the church for

49. "Notice," *MA*, 496.

50. Warren Cowdery, "The Change of Times," *MA*, 522.

51. Geauga County Deed Records, book 23, p. 536.

52. Marks was active in buying and selling real estate in the Kirtland area during this time. Between the purchases from Smith and Rigdon, Marks also obtained lots no. 17, 18, 19, 29, 30, and 31 of block 99, as well as small parcels of other land. The purchases were significant as lot no. 30 was 144 acres. Geauga County Deed Records, book 23, pp. 535–39. Marks obtained other land as well—he also sold lot no. 15 of block 99 to Oliver Granger for \$25 and lots 1, 2, 3, and 4, of block 111 for \$2,000 to Oliver Granger. "William Marks deed, 1837 August 7," 1, CHL.

three years, an elder for barely a year, and had not completed traveling missionary service. He had just arrived in Kirtland and seemingly only had passing contact with Joseph Smith. However, he was loyal, and may have seemed more stable than many of the Kirtland Saints who were chafing under Smith's direction. He was a man of means and was competent in business and managing people. Marks was also able to fill this role, as he had not invested in the Safety Society. Thus, he avoided both the loss of his capital and any susceptibility to lawsuits.

Once Smith and Rigdon had transferred ownership of the *Messenger and Advocate*, the Kirtland Temple, and several tracts of land to Marks, they pulled out of the Kirtland Safety Society. Following the last ledger entries on June 2, 1837, Smith and Rigdon resigned.⁵³ Warren Parrish, a prominent church member, and Frederick G. Williams, a member of the First Presidency, became disaffected from the church and assumed control of the Society. For a short time, they continued to make loans by issuing more banknotes, resulting in Parrish being accused of forgery and embezzlement. There are many questions surrounding Joseph Smith's actions in regard to the Safety Society and the pending lawsuit. Some contemporaries were confused and angry that a banking enterprise conceived and operated by a person who professed to be a prophet of God would fail. They felt betrayed that Smith removed himself from responsibility for the venture.⁵⁴ In a conference talk on September 3, 1837, Smith countered

53. Joseph Smith's history records, "Some time previous to this [7 July] I resigned my office in the 'Kirtland Safety Society' disposed of my interest therein, and withdrew from the institution... almost all banks throughout the country one after the other have suspended specie payment and gold and silver have risen in value in direct ratio with the depreciation of paper currency." "History, 1838–1856, volume B-1 [1 September 1834–2 November 1838]," 764, JSP. On June 8, Smith and nine other stockholders transferred their holdings to Oliver Granger and Jared Carter. D Paul Sampson and Larry T. Wimmer, "The Kirtland Safety Society: The Stock Ledger Book and the Bank Failure," 428.

54. Warren Parrish claimed: "I have listened to him with feelings of no ordinary kind, when he declared 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 (the Bank of Monroe excepted,) and grow and flourish and spread from the rivers to the end of the earth, and survive when all others should be laid in ruins." Parrish, M. [*sic*, W.], "Kirtland, Feb. 5, 1838, To the Editor," *PR*, 3. Wilford Woodruff wrote: "I also he[a]rd President Joseph Smith Jr. declare in the presence of F. Williams, D. Whitmer, S. Smith, W. Parrish & others in the Deposit Office that he had received that morning the Word of the Lord

that he “had always said that unless the institution was conducted on righteous principles it would not stand.”⁵⁵ Smith’s supporters laid the blame at the feet of Williams and Parrish. One author even suggests the possibility that Smith withdrew to keep his followers from continuing to invest once disreputable agents took control of the Society.⁵⁶

Smith’s financial predicament was not the only cause of disillusionment among his followers. By 1837, rumors were flying about Kirtland that Emma Smith had caught her husband in a compromising position with their young housemaid, Fanny Alger. Talk was so pervasive that it seems likely Marks would have heard the rumors. As a newcomer to Joseph Smith’s complexities, he may not have believed them, whether they suggested adultery or polygamy. There is no evidence that the incident affected his relationship with the prophet or the church at this time. But this was not the case with all Kirtland residents.

On a Sunday in August 1837, when Joseph Smith was out of town, anger and frustration among thwarted investors and disheartened devotees boiled out of control. Warren Parrish, Apostle John F. Boynton, and a group of malcontents armed with pistols and bowie knives staged a takeover of the seat of Mormon power and worship—the Kirtland Temple. Unsuspecting of their plans, the venerable Joseph Smith Sr. rose from his place on the Melchizedek Priesthood pulpits on the west end of the temple to open Sabbath services. Parrish and company, occupying the Aaronic Priesthood pulpits on the east end of the room, loudly and rudely interrupted the speaker. The commotion was so disruptive that Smith Sr. called for the police in an effort to keep order. Eliza Snow reports that at this, the malcontents “rushed down from the stand into the congregation; J. Boynton saying he would blow out the brains of the first man who dared to lay hands on him.” The crowd milled about in great agitation, and some even “tried to escape from the confusion by jumping out of

upon the subject of the Kirtland Safety Society. He was alone in a room by himself & he had not ownly the voice of the spirit upon the subject but even an audible voice. He did not tell us at ^{^that^} time what the LORD said upon the subject but remarked that if we would give heed to the Commandments the Lord had given this morning all would be well.” “Wilford Woodruff Journal, 1833 December–1838 January,” January 5, 1837, CHL.

55. “History, 1838–1856, volume B-1 [1 September 1834–2 November 1838],” 771, JSP.

56. Walker, “The Kirtland Safety Society,” 57.

the windows.”⁵⁷ Since few contemporary journals or letters survive from this jarring period in Kirtland, only late reminiscences describe the awful scene, and we do not know if Marks was present during the brawl. But as the financial owner of the temple, he was closely involved in the incident and its aftermath.

This fraught, potentially deadly melee in the temple was only a scraping of an iceberg that included disaffected members of every quorum of the church. Parrish, Boynton, and Apostle Luke Johnson gathered thirty other leading citizens and formed a group they styled the “Old Standard, or the Church of Christ.” The breakoff sect believed Smith was a fallen prophet and rejected the Book of Mormon and the concept of a restored priesthood. In the seven months leading up to June 1838, fifty leading members of the church were excommunicated, and an estimated two to three hundred Kirtland residents left Mormonism.⁵⁸

This apostasy was Marks’s first experience with large-scale schism in the church. His faithfulness to the prophet at this challenging time advanced him into leadership, which he would staunchly maintain until the end of Smith’s life.

At a conference held on September 3, 1837, in Kirtland, the church surveyed its losses. Seven men on the high council and traveling high council (apostles) were removed, including John Johnson and Martin Harris, who had left the church, and an eighth, John Smith, who had been called to another position. Marks was one of the men chosen to fill the vacated spots on the high council. Each member customarily drew a number to represent the position he would represent in council, and Marks drew number five.⁵⁹ Another high councilor chosen at the time was Oliver Granger, a former Methodist preacher from New York. The following week the council gathered in their assigned numerical arrangement.⁶⁰

57. Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow, One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 21.

58. “John Smith letter, Kirtland, OH, Jan. 1, 1838,” CHL.

59. “Oliver Granger, Henry G. Sherwood, William Marks, Mahew Hillman, Harlow Redfield, Asa[h]el Smith, Phineas Richards, & David Dort, were chosen to fill the place of those objected to, and the seats in the Council which were vacated by reason of Thomas Grover having moved to the west John Smith having been chosen one of the Presidents of the church.” “Minute Book 1,” 237, JSP.

60. “History, 1838–1856, volume B-1 [1 September 1834–2 November 1838],” 772, JSP.

The business transacted by this first high council attended by Marks included the withdrawal of the hand of fellowship from Uriah and Lydia Ann Hawkins “for unlawful matrimony, deceiving, and unchristianlike conduct.”⁶¹ This foreshadowed many such councils Marks would eventually preside over, dealing with a different sort of “unlawful matrimony.” The following day, September 10, 1837, the Kirtland High Council met to discuss rules of the temple and excommunicate members of the Twelve. Marks, a Presbyterian excommunicate himself, was now on the other side of the table.

On September 17, an assembly of the Saints gathered at the Kirtland Temple. Newel K. Whitney, the bishop of the church in Kirtland, addressed the congregation and reminded them of a revelation given five years previous, in September 1832. Whitney felt that the time had arrived that he should travel to other branches as mentioned in the revelation, and he nominated Marks to officiate as “Agent to the Bishop” and transact the business of the bishop at Kirtland in Whitney’s absence. Although Marks was a seasoned man at age 44, he was still new to church service and not readily distinguished from the other members of the high council. However, the nomination was unanimously approved. Sidney Rigdon made some remarks on the duties and responsibilities of the bishop, his agent, and counselors. He called upon them to “stand forth immediately” to dignify their office.

That evening a conference of elders was held in the temple. Duties of the different quorums relating to the gathering of Zion were laid out by Joseph Smith, who remarked that Kirtland was “at this time crowded to overflowing” and that “it was necessary that there be more Stakes of Zion appointed in order that the poor might have a place to gather to.” It was “moved, seconded, and carried by vote of the whole” that Smith and Rigdon would select new stakes and places of gathering and give the elders certificates as to where they would be appointed, signed by the clerk of the church. This action demonstrates that early in the history of the church, gathering in smaller groups and in various places was seen as legitimate. There were 109 elders present at the conference who were “in a situation to travel.”⁶² These were counted out beginning on the south side of the room and moving to the north. Then they were divided by number into eight companies and assigned in turn to travel east, southeast, south, southwest, west, northwest, north, and northeast. If an elder desired to travel in a different direction, he could exchange his assignment with an-

61. “Kirtland, Sept. 9th, 1837,” *MA*, 574.

62. “Minutes, 17 September 1837–B,” 243, *JSP*.

other elder. The different divisions were charged to meet together to make further arrangements for their journeys.

Also at this meeting, Marks was called upon to officially accept the appointment made to him that morning. He rose and said “that he would comply with the request of the Church & the Lord being his helper he would discharge the duties thereof to the best of his abilities.”⁶³ Because this appointment put him in charge of managing local affairs, Marks did not travel with the other elders.

For the next few months, high council meetings were held almost every Sunday and usually once or twice more during the week. They were often held at the Kirtland Temple or at Marks’s home, and generally “at early candle lighting.”⁶⁴ On Sunday, October 8, at 4:00 p.m. in the temple, the high council chose some new members to substitute for those of their company who would be absent in the coming winter.

On a Wednesday night, October 11, 1837, the council met at Marks’s home for an evening of prayer and “instructive conversation some of which was animating and encouraging.” It was enjoyed so much by the members that they agreed to meet again on Wednesday evenings of each week and invite the presidents of the different quorums of the church to meet with them.⁶⁵ Though they did meet on the following Wednesday, October 18, and then again on November 1, the prayer and conversation meetings did not appear to become consistent.

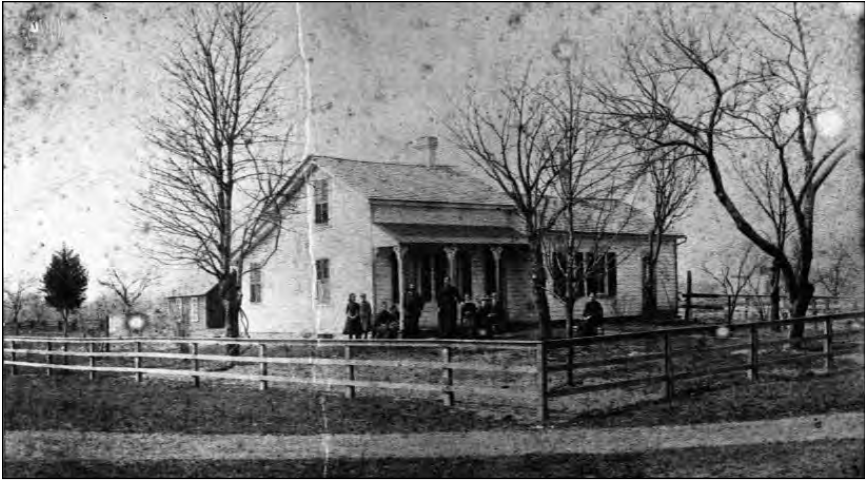
Since the high council had been organized in 1834 “for the purpose of settling important difficulties which might arise in the church, which could not be settled by the church, or the bishop,” they sat in judgment of several different offenses, some mundane and some interesting. On October 30, a hearing was held at the Marks home concerning ten-year-old [James] Colin Brewster who claimed he saw the angel Moroni. This claim was taken seriously enough to be debated by the highest tribunal then existing in the church. John P. Green dramatically declared “that Moroni that appeared to Collin was the Devil in-deed.” Many of the high councilors agreed. “Brother Marks thought it was a spirit that was not of God, and therefore could not be right.”⁶⁶ Notwithstanding the high council’s disapproval, the boy continued his claims and at least some towns-

63. “Minutes, 17 September 1837–B,” 243, JSP.

64. “Minute Book 1,” 250, JSP.

65. “Minute Book 1,” 250, JSP.

66. “Kirtland High Council minutebook, Conference A, 1832–1837,” October 30, 1837, CHL.



Kirtland home of William Marks, undated. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.

people were interested. On November 20, 1837, charges were preferred against Colin, his parents, and nine other people for “giving heed to revelations said to be translated from the book of Moroni by Collin Bruister [*sic*].”⁶⁷ Shockingly, it came out in the meeting that Moses Norris, one of the rank-and-file members of the church, had laid his hands upon Colin and ordained him to be a prophet. Some of the accused manifested a “hard spirit” against the president of the church and the high council and were determined to pursue their own course “whether right or wrong.”⁶⁸ Others were repentant and acknowledged that they may have erred. John Smith, who was presiding over the meeting, told the accused that the council would withdraw fellowship from those who persisted in this disorder.

By January 1838, Marks was the owner of many lots of land in Kirtland, some of which he sold at a profit. For instance, he purchased lots 17, 18, and 19 in block 99 of Kirtland for \$500, and later sold just lot 18 to John Smith for \$500.⁶⁹ He owned a comfortable home and managed many of the financial affairs of the church in his position as agent

67. These were “Z.H. Bruister[,] Jane Bruister[,] Collen Bruister[,] T.H. Austin & wife[,] Moses R. Norris & wife[,] Eliza Norris[,] Samuel Barnet[,] Jonnana Butler[,] O. Duel Butler[,] Roxana Repshill.” “Minute Book 1,” 261, JSP.

68. “Minute Book 1,” 262, JSP.

69. Richard Lyman Bushman, Ronald K. Esplin, Dean C. Jessee, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Journals, Volume 1: 1832–1839*, 390–91; Geauga County Deed Records, book 23, pp. 535–39, and book 24, p. 189.

for the bishop. He served as a judge in Israel over his fellow Saints as a member of the Kirtland High Council. Most of his contemporaries were not so snug. The Twelve and many of the elders of the church were laboring “without purse or scrip” in the mission field. The scattered Saints in Missouri had been provided a segregated county of their own in which to settle and were beginning to gather in Caldwell County, in and around the town of Far West. Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were facing lawsuits and civil action from aggrieved bank investors. On January 12, with the local sheriff planning to arrest him for banking fraud⁷⁰ and accusations of his improprieties with Fanny Alger becoming more strident, Smith told his family that he had received a revelation. “Thus saith the Lord Let the presidency of my Church take their families as soon as it is pra[c]ticable and a door is open for them and move on to the west as fast as the way is made plain before their faces and let their hearts be comforted for I will be with them,” the revelation directed. “Verily I say unto you the time [has] . . . come that your labours are finished in this place, for a season.”⁷¹

In “the dead hour of night” and the cold of winter, Smith climbed into a box nailed on an ox sled and made his escape with Rigdon.⁷² At a safe distance from Kirtland, they climbed on horses and rode fifty miles south to Norton, Ohio. Their families joined them there, and they started for Missouri on January 16. A few days later, Marks, John Smith, and Reynolds Cahoon were “elected and ordained to preside over Kirtland” as the presidency of the stake.⁷³ Due to the conditions and the efforts to elude pursuers, Joseph and Emma Smith and their children did not arrive in Far West until March 17, 1838.

While on the road, the prophet had a vision of Marks, the new stake president. In the vision, Marks was being closely pursued by “an innumerable concourse of enemies [*sic*].” They seemed about to devour him when a chariot of fire intervened. “The Angel of the Lord put forth his hand unto Br. Marks & said unto him thou art my son come here.” Immediately he was caught up in the chariot, and he rode away triumphantly out of the

70. Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 340–41; Fawn McKay Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 207.

71. “Revelation, 12 January 1838–C,” 1, JSP.

72. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations*, 216.

73. “Historical Department journal history of the Church, 1838,” January 19, 1838, CHL.

midst of his enemies. The Lord said to Marks, “I will raise th[ee] up for a blessing unto many people.” Smith wrote the vision in a letter to the presidency of the church in Kirtland on March 29, 1838, in order that they might know “that the hand of the Lord would be on his behalf.”⁷⁴

Hopefully Marks was comforted by this vision as he labored for the absent prophet’s interests. Money was so scarce that on January 16, 1838, the Kirtland printing office was “taken and sold for Joseph’s and Sidney’s debts” to someone Phebe Woodruff identified as Nathaniel Milliken and John Smith described as “black legs.” These dissenters from the church celebrated their acquisition by drinking so much that either by arson or simply through their carelessness, the building caught fire and was destroyed, along with all its contents.⁷⁵ Marks sold eight other Kirtland properties for the church. Furthermore, he and a few others “turned out their farms,” mortgaging them to pay debts left by Smith and Rigdon. As stake president, Marks did his best to liquidate church assets and assist those who were now leaving to gather in the Mormon Zion in Missouri, arranging

74. “Letter to the Presidency in Kirtland, 29 March 1838,” 25, JSP. The historical introduction to this letter in the Joseph Smith papers states: “About two weeks after JS’s arrival in Far West, Missouri, he wrote the following letter to the presidency of the church in Kirtland, Ohio: William Marks, president, and John Smith and Reynolds Cahoon, assistant presidents. In the letter, JS recounted the difficulties of the journey from Kirtland in the middle of winter, his safe arrival in Far West, and information regarding Rigdon and his family, who had stopped traveling for several days because of illness. JS and his family had pushed on, arriving in Far West on 14 March. George W. Robinson, Rosannah Marks’s younger brother and Rigdon’s son-in-law, arrived two weeks later, on 28 March, with news that Rigdon would probably arrive soon.

Joseph Smith’s letter to the Kirtland presidency also reported that the problems with William W. Phelps and John Whitmer, former members of the Zion presidency, had been recently ‘a[d]justed’ by apostles Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten in collaboration with the high council. JS conveyed expressions of friendship for those in Kirtland and relayed a vision he had seen of Marks, which JS interpreted as an indication that God would deliver Marks from his enemies. JS requested that the Saints migrating to Missouri bring seeds for vegetables, fruit trees, and hay and bring well-bred cattle and horses. With the letter, JS enclosed a copy of the ‘Motto of the Church of Christ of Latterday Saints,’ which he had composed for the church upon arriving in Far West.”

75. “Printing Office, Kirtland Township, Ohio,” JSP; “Letter, Vinalhaven, Maine, to Wilford Woodruff, Castline, Maine, March 1, 1838,” CHL; “John Smith letter, Kirtland, OH, Jan. 15, 1838,” CHL.

for them to purchase land that would be ready when they arrived. But the value of property was severely depressed in Kirtland, as expressed by Stephen Burnett in a letter to the former Apostle Lyman Johnson on April 15, 1838. “I was told Luke [Lyman’s brother, also a former Apostle] offered his house And Lot for \$100 Cash, and could not get that— . . . you state in your letter that you have lost six thousand dollars Kirtland paper.”⁷⁶ William Cahoon and his father Reynolds left for Missouri in the spring of 1838. Cahoon wrote: “I left behind me a good lot all paid for, for which I labored very hard to get, also a good seven-room house well-furnished and owned by myself. . . . I could not dispose of it, so I turned the key and locked the door and left it, and from that day to this, I have not received anything for my property which is in the hands of strangers. However, we left it and went on our journey, pitching tents for a house.”⁷⁷

As Smith’s agent, Marks had to do more than simply disposing of property; he also had to insert himself into the legal affairs of Smith, Rigdon, and the church. For example, in early 1837, Samuel Rounds initiated multiple lawsuits against the officers of the Kirtland Safety Society, including Smith. Using an Ohio statute, he won judgments against them, as they had acted as officers of an unauthorized bank. The fines against Smith and these men were paid by Marks as he acted as agent for the church.⁷⁸ Marks also had to act as agent in the case *Patterson and Patterson v. Cahoon, Carter & Co. and Rigdon, Smith & Cowdery*, in which Smith, Rigdon, and Cowdrey had not paid a debt. Certain land was seized and auctioned to satisfy the debt. Marks intervened, purchasing the seized lots and taking title of them.⁷⁹ Handling Smith’s legal and business affairs in the wake of the Safety Society was no small task, and it highlighted Marks’s leadership and business ability.

During these spring months of 1838, many loyal Saints who remained in Kirtland left for Missouri when they had the means to do so. But the poorest and those with various disabilities lingered behind. Church leaders struggled to know how to support these members. Hyrum Smith suggested bringing them to Missouri by steamboat. A few were able to do this, but others felt stranded. A non-member observer describing the Kirtland Saints’ condition wrote:

76. “Letterbook 2,” 65, CHL.

77. Stella Cahoon Shurtleff and Brent Farrington Cahoon, eds., *Reynolds Cahoon and His stalwart Sons: Utah Pioneers*, 85.

78. “Assignment of Judgment, 1 March 1838 [Rounds qui tam v. JS],” 1, JSP.

79. “Docket Entry, Costs, circa 5 June 1837 [Patterson and Patterson v. Cahoon, Carter & Co. and Rigdon, Smith & Cowdery],” 54, JSP.

When their bank failed, all their imaginary wealth vanished; their money was gone; their teams were gone; their provisions were gone; their credit was gone; their store of goods disappeared. No community could be left in more destitute circumstances, and the only alternative was for them to leave—leave their temple, their homes, all that they had held dear, and go to, they knew not where. And how to go was a serious problem.⁸⁰

The high council tried to come up with a plan, but despaired, turning the responsibility over to the Seventy. Zera Pulsipher and about four others of the Presidents of the Seventy were still meeting regularly in the temple. One Sunday during their deliberations they had a notion that if they put all their property together it might be sufficient to finance the eight-hundred-mile journey. “When we had made that calculation we felt a great flow of the spirit of God, notwithstanding the great inconvenience we labored for want of means,” they explained.⁸¹ When others heard of this plan to pool resources, they asked to join the group, until over five hundred Saints had covenanted to go together in one company to Missouri. The Presidents of the Seventy realized that such a large undertaking could only be effected with divine help and the power of the priesthood. The men assembled Tuesdays through Saturdays from March 6 through March 20 to lay an administrative and behavioral framework for what came to be known as “Kirtland Camp.”⁸² As they prayed one day in the temple, Pulsipher saw a divine messenger “like an old man with white hair down to his shoulders.” He spoke in approval of their plan to leave town, saying, “Be one and you shall have enough.”⁸³

Marks supported the undertaking to the best of his ability. On the day the company departed Kirtland, July 6, 1838, he accompanied the ungainly group of five hundred fifteen people, twenty-seven tents, fifty-nine wagons, ninety-seven horses, twenty-two oxen, sixty-nine cows, and one bull on the first leg of their journey—a distance of seven miles down the old Chillicothe road until they reached the town of Chester. There he blessed the leaders of the camp in the name of the Lord and left a blessing with the members in general, “covenanting to uphold them by the prayer of faith.”⁸⁴

80. Christopher B. Crary, *Pioneer and Personal Reminiscences*, 35.

81. “Zerah Pulsipher’s History,” 5, CHL.

82. Gordon Orville Hill, “A History of Kirtland Camp: Its Initial Purpose and Notable Accomplishments,” 10–11.

83. “Zera Pulsipher’s History,” 6, CHL.

84. *Journal History of the Church*, July 6, 1838, CHL. It is likely that some people joined the group soon after departing Kirtland. An official account of



Kirtland Temple, ca. 1900. Courtesy of LDS Church History Library.

During the early summer of 1838, a scaled-back Elders' Quorum met in the Kirtland Temple, where on June 3 and June 10, Marks attempted to fill vacant administrative positions.⁸⁵ But on July 11, after the departure of the Kirtland Camp and the Presidents of the Seventy, he finally bowed to the inevitable and transferred ownership of the temple, or "House of the Lord," to Mead, Stafford & Company of Buffalo for goods purchased in 1836.⁸⁶

Kirtland Camp written by Elias Smith mentions 529 persons in the camp. John Pulsipher put the count at 515 and added other details. "John Pulsipher Journal Vol. 1 (March 1835–October 1874)," 4.

85. Kirtland Elders Quorum Record 1836–1841, CCLA. "President [William] Marks Made some remarks that Elder [John] Morton's Abilities and understanding the business of the Quorum qualified him for this office In Preference to Any other one And had the spirit of prophecy to that effect that Elder Morton should hold the office of President of this Quorum." The office of Elder's Quorum President was soon to be vacated by Reuben Hedlock, who was moving to Missouri with Kirtland Camp.

86. "Deed, William and Rosannah Robinson Marks to Mead, Stafford & Co., 11 July 1837," 212, JSP. The temple property was to revert to Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, Reynolds Cahoon, and Jared Carter upon their repayment of several promissory notes in the amounts of \$1377.00, \$1464.54, and \$1552.22.

Biography

Abbreviations Used in Footnotes

- CCLA — Community of Christ Library and Archives
CHL — LDS Church History Library
DEN — *Deseret Evening News*
DMR — *Daily Missouri Republican*
DN — *Deseret News*
DT — *The Daily Tribune*
EJ — *Elder's Journal*
EMS — *The Evening and the Morning Star*
FR — *Friendship Register*
GH — *Gospel Herald*
HHL — Henry E. Huntington Library
JD — Journal of Discourses
JH — *Journal of History*
JSP — The Joseph Smith Papers
LDP — *The Latter Day Precept*
MA — *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*
MAR — *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* [Rigdon]
MRLDS — *The Messenger of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*
NE — *Nauvoo Expositor*
NN — *Nauvoo Neighbor*
NYDT — *New York Daily Tribune*
PLDT — *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*
PR — *Painesville Republican*
SJ — *Sangamo Journal*
SLDT — *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*
SP — James Jesse Strang Papers
TH — *The True Latter Day Saints' Herald*
TR — *The Return*
TS — *Times and Seasons*
VH — *Voree Herald*
WE — *Women's Exponent*
WL — *Western Luminary*
WS — *Warsaw Signal*
WWP — Wilford Woodruff Papers
ZHBO — *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ*
ZR — *Zion's Reveille*

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Index

A

Abraham (biblical), 90
Adam-ondi-Ahman, xvi, 26–27
Adams, George J., 92, 145, 151, 156, 180
Adams, James, 98
Adams, James M., 141, 146–48, 152, 158–60, 166, 170–82, 220–42
Adams, Polly Marks, 1, 3–4
Adams, Prosper, 1
Adoption, 178, 230
Adultery, 14, 78, 81–82, 86, 92, 94–95, 104, 141–42, 148, 252, 256
Adventist Movement, 181
Akers, Samuel, 135
Albany, Iowa, 171, 237
Aldrich, Hazen, 135–36
Aldrich, William, 188–89
Alger, Fanny, 14, 19, 76
Allen, Reuben, 149
Allred, James, 252, 254
Amboy, Illinois, 189–90, 194–97, 199, 245
Anderson, Blakley B., 203
Anderson, Eliza, 203
Anderson, Mary, 203
Ashtabula, Ohio, 176
authority, 7, 9, 26–27, 47–50, 56, 59, 63, 69, 80, 111–12, 118–22, 126–29, 131, 141, 145, 149, 156, 161–62, 175, 177, 185, 188, 196, 209–10, 215
Ananias and Sapphira, 164
Aurora, Illinois, 152, 177, 228, 230
Avery, Daniel, 67

B

Babbitt, Almon, 51
Badlam, Alexander, 116
Baldwin, Caleb, 37
Baneemy, 157–58, 161, 164, 169–70, 173, 177, 221, 232, 261
Banking crisis, ix, 11, 13, 19–22, 178, 227
Barlow, Israel, 33
Barnett, John T., 58–60
baptism, xv, xvii–xviii, 1, 3–4, 40, 94–95, 151, 176–178, 186, 190, 205, 209, 228, 230

baptism for the dead, 97, 151–52, 200–201
Batavia, Illinois, 165, 224, 259
Beaver Island, 136, 146, 153–56, 162, 178
Beaverton, Illinois, 188
Beloit, Wisconsin, 185
Bennett, John C., 53–56, 62–64, 70, 73, 78–82, 85–87, 97, 99, 142–48, 213, 215, 255–56
Bennett, Mehitabel, 3
Bent, Samuel, 103, 129, 252, 254
Bernhisel, John, 135
Bidamon, Lewis, 187
Bigler's Grove, Iowa, 202
bishop, 16–19, 25, 27, 30–31, 38, 40, 43–44, 57–60, 62, 70, 79, 81, 98, 115–16, 123, 125, 139, 143, 186, 199, 209
Bishop, Francis Gladden, 46, 163
Black Hawk War, 138
Blacks and priesthood, 200
Blackstone, William, 48, 107
Blair, Samuel, 186
Blair, William W., 178, 181–82, 187–90, 192, 194–96, 201–2
Blakeslee, James, 152–53, 158, 165, 182, 259
Bleazard, John, 94–95
Bliss, Daniel, 44
Boggs, Lilburn, 30, 63–66, 155
Book of Mormon, x, xiii–xiv, xvii, 6, 15, 18, 28, 44, 49, 146, 155, 157, 169, 177, 182, 185, 235, 261
Boynton, John F., 6–7, 14–15
Braden, Clark, 88
Brewster, James Colin, 17–18, 46, 159, 177
Briggs, Edmund C., 182, 187–88, 193–95, 213
Briggs, Jason W., 185–88, 195, 198
brothel, 78
Brotherton, Martha, 88
Brunson, Seymour, 49
Bump, Jacob, 143
Burlington, Wisconsin, 194
Burnett, Stephen, 21
Butler, John L., 108, 110
Butterfield, Josiah, 212, 244–50
Butterfield, Justin, 65
Buzzard, Philip H., 141

C

Cahoon, Reynolds, 19, 21, 110, 115–16
 Cahoon, William, 21
 Caldwell County, Missouri, 19, 71
 Campbell, Alexander, 181
 Carlin, Thomas, 64–65
 Carlton, Joseph, 29
 Carrier, Daniel, 252
 Carthage, Illinois, 104–5, 108–9, 114, 261, 263
 cemetery/burial ground, 58–60, 110, 127–28, 135, 202, 205
 Chase, Darwin, 82–83
 Chicago & Galena stagecoach line, 139
 Chicago, Illinois, 137, 208, 233
 Childs, Harry, 161, 163, 167, 223, 258
 Church of Christ (Old Standard), 15
 Churchill Webb, Eliza Jane, 88
 City Council, Nauvoo, x, 53–60, 64–65, 68–69, 78, 84, 99, 101, 107–8, 127, 131, 208, 215, 255
 Civil War, 181, 200
 Clayton, William, 90, 94, 113–17, 121–22, 190
 Cleveland, Isaac, 141
 Cleveland, John [Judge], 37
 Clift, Eliza, 77
 Clift, Mary Ann, 77
 Clift, Robert, 77
 Clift, Sarah Ellen, 77
 Cobb, Rowland, 171
 Colesville, xiv
 Commerce, Illinois, 37–40, 43, 58
 Congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion, ix, 156, 159, 161, 163, 169, 172, 260
 Constitution, United States, 55, 63, 68, 106–7
 cornerstone, 38, 97–98, 112, 216
 Corrill, John, xvi
 Council of Fifty, 102–4, 106, 113–16, 133, 175, 215
 covenants, xiv, 22–23, 30, 100, 117, 130, 158, 164–65, 169–71, 221, 223–24, 235, 252, 258–59, 261
 Cowdery, Oliver, xvi–xvii, 5–6, 10, 76, 177, 230
 Cowdery, Patience, xvii
 Cowdrey, Warren, xvii–xviii, 8, 10, 12
 Cowles, Austin, 91–93, 121–22, 191, 252, 254
 Cutler, Alpheus, 108, 110, 115–16, 118, 129, 175, 203

D

D&C 132 (Plural Marriage Revelation), 90, 106–107, 200
 Daily, Moses, 132
 Danites, 72–73, 94, 255
 David (biblical), 90, 99
 Davis, Amos, 57, 68–69
 Davis Durfee, Elizabeth, 203
 Des Moines, Iowa, 32, 171, 237
 Douglas, Stephen A., 63
 Douglass, Charles, 152
 Durfee, Jabez, 203
 Durfee Anderson Muir, Julia Ann, 202–4
 Durfee, Savilla, 202

E

Edwards, Thomas, 32
 Elliot, John C., 133
 Ells, Josiah, 158, 167
 endowments, 5, 10, 66, 98–100, 120, 141, 156, 161, 164, 178, 207, 244
 Ephraim, 161, 221
 eternal marriage, 75, 85, 89, 97–100, 199–202
 Everett, Elisha, 77
 exaltation, 92, 153, 168, 191, 214, 223, 260
 excommunication
 Austin Cowles, 93
 Brigham Young and Twelve Apostles, x, 140–42
 James Adams, 148
 John C. Bennett, 97, 144–45, 148
 John Gaylord, 178
 in Kirtland, ix, 15–16, 178
 Moses Martin, 49
 in Nauvoo, x, 55, 142
 by Nauvoo City Council, 55
 Polly Adams, 4
 Presbyterian, i, ix, 2, 4, 16
 Rosannah Marks, 4
 Sidney Rigdon, x, 123–25, 215
 Stake President, 127
 William Marks, ix, 4, 126, 153, 209
 William Smith, 148
 extermination order, 30, 155

F

Far West, Missouri, 19, 25–31, 34, 37, 42, 76, 97, 207, 260
 Faulk, Hyrum, 212, 244–50

ferry, 37, 42–43, 46–47, 76, 134–35
 Field, Elvira, 152
 First President/First Presidency, 6, 13, 26,
 31, 42, 47, 49, 56, 60, 62, 82, 92, 98, 106,
 111–13, 117–20, 124, 127, 136, 140–41,
 144–47, 150–51, 162, 186, 196–99
 Flanders, Robert, 211–12
 Ford, Thomas, 65, 108
 Fordham, Elijah, 49
 fornication, 78, 81–82, 104, 141
 Forscutt, Mark, 212–13
 Foster, Charles, 106
 Foster, Robert D., 51, 88, 105–107
 Fox, Illinois, 259
 Freedom, New York, xvii–xviii, xx, 8
 Freemasonry, 26, 73–75, 99, 102–3, 106,
 143, 156, 158, 190, 197, 215, 255
 Fulmer, David, 129, 252, 254
 Fulton City, Illinois, 134–37

G

Galland, Isaac, 32–35, 37
 Galland Purchase, 34, 37, 47
 Galland's Grove, Iowa, 196
 Gallatin, Missouri, 37
 gathering, ix–x, xiii–xvi, 4, 9–10, 16, 19, 21,
 27, 30–35, 38, 40, 44–45, 52, 54, 58,
 70–72, 84, 97, 119, 121, 125, 134, 136–41,
 146, 150–51, 156, 159, 161–83, 197–98,
 204, 207, 209, 215–16, 221–24, 227–28,
 232–33, 236, 245, 251–54, 258, 262
 Gaylord, John C., 141, 178, 180, 182, 188–89
 Glastonbury, Connecticut, 1
 Goodrich, Ira, 152
 Goodrich Marks, Sarah, 1
 Gould, John, xviii, 165, 224, 259
 Granger, Oliver, 16, 26, 37–39, 44
 Great Basin, 208
 Green, John P., 17, 48–49, 255
 Gregory, William, 50–51
 Grover, Thomas, 43, 48, 91, 110, 122, 252, 254
 Gurley, Samuel H., 187–88, 193
 Gurley, Zenos H., 185, 187, 189, 192, 195–96

H

habeas corpus, 53, 63–68
 Hale, Jonathan, 8
 Halcyon Order of Illuminati, 143
 Hamilton, Artois, 110

Hamilton's Hotel, 109
 Hancock County, 45, 47, 98, 104–105, 109, 255
 Hancock, Solomon, xv
 Harris, George W., 45, 252, 254–55
 Harris, Martin, 5–6, 15
 Harvey, Joel, 29
 Hawes, Peter, 105
 Hawkins, Lydia Ann, 16
 Hawkins, Uriah, 16
 Hendrick, James, 45
 Herald House fire, 220
 Hicks, John, 48–49
 Higbee, Chauncey, 79–82, 106
 Higbee, Elias, 33, 252, 254
 Higbee, Francis M., 102, 106, 108
 High Council
 Iowa, 40, 49
 Kirtland, ix, 6, 15–19, 22, 45, 70
 Far West/Zion, 7, 31, 76
 Nauvoo, x, 40–57, 60–62, 68, 69, 73, 76–85,
 91–95, 98–99, 111–14, 118–31, 160–61,
 165, 168, 175, 177, 194, 196, 200, 210,
 215, 244, 251–54, 257, 261–63
 RLDS, 196
 standing/presiding, 7, 111–13 117
 traveling, 7–8, 15, 61, 112–13, 118, 124, 136
 Voree, 140–44, 146
 High Priest, 46, 49, 57, 94, 98, 127, 140,
 142, 156, 176, 178, 182, 190, 196, 235
 Hills, Gustavus, 77, 94–95
 Hodge, Abraham C., 108
 Hosanna shout, 103
 Hotchkiss, Horace, 37, 84
 House of Israel, 154, 169, 221, 235, 260–61
 Hunter, Edward, 59, 104
 Huntington, Dimick B., 41
 Huntington Jacobs Young, Zina, 134
 Huntington, William, 252
 Huntley, Russell, 178
 Hyde, Heman, xviii, xx, 121, 250
 Hyde, Orson, 6, 123, 125, 128, 140, 142
 Hymns, 5, 44, 158, 186, 190, 196

I–J

Iowa City, 171, 237
 Ivins, Charles, 106, 207
 Jackson County, Missouri, xv–xvi, 5, 27, 30,
 38, 66, 198, 204, 221, 245
 Jackson, Joseph H., 88, 107
 James, Samuel, 131

Jerusalem, xiv, 157, 201, 204, 250, 254
 Jews, xiii, 7, 10, 101, 157, 204, 235, 245
 Johnson, Aaron, 48, 243, 252, 254
 Johnson, John, 12, 15
 Johnson, Luke, 6, 15, 21, 46
 Johnson, Lyman, 6, 21

K

Kanesville/Council Bluffs, Iowa, 138, 163–67,
 171, 175, 177, 223–26, 230, 236–37, 240,
 259
 Keller, Alvah, 44
 Kendall, Illinois, 165, 259
 keys/key words, xvi, 7, 10, 99, 102–3, 120,
 158–59, 164
 Kimball, Heber C., 6, 26, 98–99, 118, 123,
 128, 140, 142, 191, 255
 Kimball Smith, Helen Mar, 75
 kingdom, ix, xvi, 7, 98, 102–3, 113, 119,
 124, 134, 141, 153, 164, 175, 223, 232,
 252, 254, 262, 264
 kingdoms of glory, 223
 Kirtland Camp, 22–23, 25
 Kirtland, Ohio, ix, xvi–xviii, xx, 4, 7–28,
 34–35, 38–39, 44–46, 51, 70–71, 75, 97,
 115, 143, 146, 155, 160–61, 164–65, 176,
 178, 180, 189, 207, 215, 234, 243, 260
 Kirtland Printing Office, 12, 20
 Kirtland Safety Society/Kirtland Bank, ix,
 11, 13, 19–22, 178
 Kirtland Temple, 8–10, 12–17, 22–25, 51,
 97, 161, 191
 Knight, Joseph, 45
 Knight, Newel K., xiv, 252, 254
 Knight, Vinson, 37, 40, 62, 255
 Krey Meyer, Christian, 110

L

Lake Michigan, 146, 152
 Landers, John, 178
 Lanphear, C. G., 189
 Lathrop, Asahel, 104, 110
 Law, Jane, 88, 106
 Law, William, 88, 98, 101–102, 104, 106,
 115, 191, 207–209
 Law, Wilson, 59, 104, 106, 191, 255
 Lawrence, Maria, 203
 Lawrence, Sarah, 203
 Letter of Appointment, 136

Liberty Jail, 30–31, 37, 63
 Lincoln, Abraham, 32
 Little, Sidney H., 56, 233
 Littlefield, Lyman O., 82–83
 Louisiana, Missouri, 28–29
 Lucas, Samuel D., 30
 Lyman, Amasa, 49, 94, 120, 123, 130
 Lyon, Windsor, 60

M

Mace, Wandle, 33
 Madison, Phebe, 93
 Magnolia, Iowa, 170, 228, 230, 232, 234–35
 Manifest Destiny, 135, 164
 Manifesto, 130, 169
 Manti, Iowa, 175
 Marks, Cornwell, 1
 Marks, Ephraim, 71, 73–74, 152
 Marks, Henry, 71, 73, 87, 256
 Marks, Ira Goodrich, 71, 155, 202, 250
 Marks, LaFayette, 71, 155
 Marks, Llewellyn, 71, 155, 197
 Marks McHenry, Lucy Ann, 71, 155, 202
 Marks Skidmore, Mary Eliza, 71
 Marks, Rosannah Robinson, 1–4, 27–28, 71,
 87, 100, 128–29, 131, 202, 205, 226, 245
 Marks Shaw, Sophia, 71, 87–89, 155, 202, 250
 Marks, William
 1839 Conference, 38
 1841 Conference, 60–61
 1844 October Conference, 126–27
 1846 Voree General Conference, 139
 1847 Voree April General Conference, 145
 1847 Voree October General Conference, 147
 1849 Voree August Conference, 151
 1852 Solemn Assembly, 161
 1853 April Solemn Assembly, 166
 1853 August Solemn Assembly, 169–70
 1853 December Solemn Assembly, 170–71
 1856 April Conference, 182, 235
 1859 October Semiannual Conference, 191
 1860 April Annual Conference, 195–96
 1860 October Semiannual Conference, 196
 1863 April Annual Conference, 197–98
 1864 April Annual Conference, 199
 1864 July special conference, 199
 1865 April Annual Conference, 199
 1866 April Annual Conference, 201
 accepts claims of Strang, 139–40

- accused of apostasy, 128–34, 190–91,
208–11, 214, 261, 264
- agent to bishop, 16–19, 70
- alcohol, 2, 55, 57
- alderman, 54–65, 69, 99, 127, 139, 210
- Anointed Quorum, 98–100, 112, 191,
207, 215
- apostle under Strang, 151, 209
- associate president to Strang, 151
- assumed debts, 21, 25, 45, 84
- attends first Reorganization meeting, 189–90
- authority over Twelve Apostles, 7–8, 60–61,
112–14, 117–18, 121–24, 129, 131, 136
- baptism, xviii, 2–4, 151, 176–77, 190, 205,
209, 228, 230
- baptism for the dead, 151–52, 200–201
- Beaver Island, 153, 162
- birth, 1
- bishop under Strang, 139, 143, 209
- board of health, 58
- board of regents, Nauvoo University, 70
- board of supervisors, DeKalb County, 153
- burial ground, 58–60, 127
- Carthage, 104, 109
- charity, 45
- city leader, 21, 41, 45, 54–55, 62, 69, 215, 255
- coadjutor/guardian to Joseph Smith III,
144–45, 151
- commanded to Missouri, 26–27
- community affairs, 52, 149, 155, 207, 216
- cornerstone laying, 97–98
- Council of Fifty, 102–4, 113, 133, 175, 215
- crime in Nauvoo, 47–52
- death, 205
- defense of Rigdon, x, 117, 124–25, 215
- donations, 150–51, 169–70, 192, 202
- elder, 9
- elections held in home, 139
- endangered, 101–2
- endowment, 66, 98–99, 161, 207, 244
- epistle, 78–79, 91–92, 103–4, 109, 154,
167–69, 211–12, 225, 253–54, 260
- Evangelical Teacher, 166–67, 171, 225, 260
- excommunication, ix–x, 4, 16, 124, 126,
140–42, 148, 153, 209
- Far West, 26–31, 207
- farmer, xix, 21, 139, 155, 171, 226–27, 237
- family, xiii, xvii, xx, 1–2, 28, 31, 38–41, 71,
87–89, 135, 137, 155, 202, 226, 250
- financial, 83–84, 149, 155, 169–71,
176–77, 226–29, 231, 234–37, 243
- First Presidency under Strang, 144–51
- First Presidency under Joseph III, 198–99, 205
- Freedom Conference, 8
- Freemason, 73, 102–3, 106, 197, 215
- friction with Joseph Smith, 101–2
- Fulton, 134–137
- gathering, ix–x, xiii–xiv, 4, 21, 32–33, 35,
38, 44–45, 70, 121, 134, 151, 161–70,
172–83, 197–98, 204, 207, 209, 215–16,
221–24, 227–28, 232–33, 236, 245,
251–54, 258, 262
- grand jury of Hancock County, 104–5
- habeus corpus*, 53, 63–68
- High Council, Kirtland, ix, 15–19
- High Council, Nauvoo, x, 40–57, 60–62,
68–70, 76, 81–84, 91–95, 99, 112–14,
117, 119, 121–26, 142, 161, 165, 168,
177, 181, 194, 196, 200, 210, 215,
244, 251–54, 257, 261–63
- High Council, Strang, 140–42
- High Council, RLDS, 196, 200
- High Priest, 127, 182, 235
- High Priest, Strang, 140
- High Priest, RLDS, 190
- home in Fulton, 135, 137
- home in Kirtland, 17–19
- home in Nauvoo, 41, 55, 71, 88, 101, 115, 207
- home in Plano, 204
- home in Portage, xix, 2, 8
- home in Preparation, 227
- home in Shabbona Grove, 139, 155, 165,
189–90, 198, 202, 204, 226, 245
- hosts the Twelve in New York, 8
- hymnbook, 44, 190, 196
- influence, 54, 58, 88, 126, 130–33, 152,
162, 169, 198–99, 208, 216, 262
- joins Thompson, 160
- justice of the peace, 54, 60, 64, 66, 108,
127, 139
- Kirtland Camp, 22–23
- Kirtland land dealings, 12–13, 18–23
- Kirtland printing office, 11–13
- Kirtland Temple, 12–17, 23, 25, 191
- leadership, ix–x, 9, 15, 21, 28, 40, 45, 52,
60, 68, 70, 73, 84, 99, 112, 114–17,
135, 139, 161–62, 166, 175, 180–83,
191, 207, 215–16
- leaves Nauvoo, 134–35, 244

- leaves Strang, 153–55, 175
- leaves Thompson, 172–75, 177
- legal agent of church, 20–21
- letters, x, 117, 121–22, 145–146, 160–61, 163, 165–67, 173, 175–80, 182, 193, 209, 211–12, 218–250, 258–59
- liquidation of Kirtland assets, 20–21, 23, 25, 39, 243
- loyalty, ix, 13, 66, 70, 72, 103–10, 121, 129, 210, 214–16
- marriage to Julia Ann Durfee, 202–3
- marriage to Rosannah Robinson, 1
- marriage sealing, 100
- mayoral candidate, 62
- mentors Joseph Smith III, 193–96
- missionary work, 165, 169, 173, 192, 199, 221, 233
- move to Missouri, 25–31, 207
- municipal court, 54–69, 78, 108, 127, 215
- Nauvoo burial grounds, 58–60, 127–28
- Nauvoo Expositor*, 107–8
- Nauvoo Legion, 69–73, 106, 110, 215
- Nauvoo Mansion, 110, 126, 133–34
- Nauvoo temple, 97–100, 115, 121, 169, 202
- New Translation of the Bible, 201–2
- obituary, 207–208
- ordains Joseph Smith III, 196, 208
- Order of Enoch, 151
- overseer of Strang's Quorum of Twelve, 145
- pall bearer, 110
- palsy, 198, 245
- patriarch under Rigdon, 118
- polygamy, ix, xiii, 14, 76, 81, 83–95, 100–101, 104–7, 114, 116, 142, 152–53, 167–69, 175, 192–93, 199–202, 207, 209–16, 244, 256, 260–64
- postmaster, 139
- praised by Emma, 113–15, 188
- Preparation, 165, 167, 170–73, 179, 227, 241, 262
- Presbyterian church, 2–4
- Prophet, Priest, and King, 100, 103–4, 112, 131, 151, 153–54
- priest, 8
- prophecy about, 189, 198
- public ball, 126
- publishing committee, 192, 199
- purchase of Montrose, 32
- Quincy, 31–32, 38–39
- Quorum of Anointed, 98–103, 106, 112, 175, 191, 207, 215
- rejected as Trustee, 115–16
- reluctance to lead, 52, 117, 135–36, 180–83
- removed as Stake President, 126–27, 210
- removed from Council of Fifty, 133
- removed from Nauvoo High Council, 125–26
- reputation, xix–xx, 9, 61, 112, 126–27, 131, 191, 207–8, 210, 214–15
- schools under Thompson, 161, 167, 170–71, 225–26, 260, 262
- second anointing, 100, 112, 126
- Shabbona Grove, 137–39, 145, 148–51, 155, 165, 170, 172, 189–190, 193, 197, 202–5, 219–27, 230–35, 237, 243–44, 259
- stagecoach owner, 139
- stake president at Commerce, 38, 40–41
- stake president at Kirtland, 19, 21, 25, 146, 165, 260
- stake president at Nauvoo, 57, 60–61, 69–70, 91–92, 99, 104, 112, 114, 117, 120–21, 126–27, 142, 152, 165, 194, 196, 208–211, 215, 260, 262
- statement of loyalty, 129–31
- storekeeper, 139
- succession, 111–34, 155, 161, 207, 215–16
- support of Rigdon, x, 117–19, 124–25, 131, 215
- tavern keeper, 1–2, 139
- testimony, 65–66, 148, 168, 192, 254–57
- Traveling Teachers, 161–64, 166, 171, 176, 260, 262
- tried by High Council, 128–30
- University of Nauvoo, 70, 132
- villainized, 190–91, 209–11
- vision, 193, 263
- vision by Joseph Smith, 19–20, 210
- Voree, 139, 142–47, 151, 162, 165, 219
- Voree temple, 147, 150
- voted into fellowship in Reorganization, 189
- Marks, William, Jr., 71, 139, 155, 197, 250
- Marsh, Thomas B., 6–7
- Martin, Moses, 49–50
- Mason, Elihu, 2
- mayor, 53–56, 62, 68, 78–79, 101, 107, 132
- McBride, Martha, 88
- McHenry, Henry, 71, 155, 202
- McLellin, William E., 6–7, 149

McRae, Alexander, 37
 Miles, Joel S., 82
 Miles, Prudence Marks, xvii–xviii, 175
 Miles, Samuel, xvii–xviii, 175
 Miles, Samuel Jr., xviii
 Miller, George, 62, 79, 81, 98, 116, 191
 Miller, Reuben, 141, 144
 Miller, Sarah, 79–81
 Milliken, Nathaniel, 20
 mission work, xv, xvii–xviii, 1, 5, 8, 10, 16–17,
 29, 55, 59, 61, 92, 114, 138–39, 146, 152,
 155, 159, 161, 165–66, 173, 186–88, 192,
 197, 199, 221, 233, 235, 262
 Missouri War, 30
 Monroe, James, 113
 Moon, Margaret, 94
 Morgan Harris, Lucinda Pendleton, 46
 Mormontown, 32
 Morse, Justus, 94
 Moses (biblical), 10, 90
 Muir, James, 203–204
 Mulholland, James, 42
 Murdock, John, xviii

N

Native Americans/Indigenous populations/
 Lamanites, 28–30, 135–38, 154, 157, 164,
 221, 235
 Nauvoo Charter, 53–54, 62–64, 68–69, 106
 Nauvoo Choir of Singers, 44, 79–80, 97
Nauvoo Expositor, 106–8
 Nauvoo House, 110, 133–34
 Nauvoo Legion, 53, 55, 69–73, 97, 102, 106–7,
 110, 215
 Nauvoo Mansion, 105, 110, 126, 131, 133–34
 Nauvoo Municipal Court, 53–54, 60–69,
 77–78, 108, 127, 133, 215
 Nauvoo Temple, 77, 97–100, 106, 114–15,
 121, 157, 175, 178, 203, 251
 Neff Moses, Barbara M., 89
 Nephites, 6, 157, 182, 235
 New Jerusalem, xiv–xvi, 38
 New translation/Inspired translation of the
 Bible, xv, 201–2
 New York City, 176–77, 204, 228, 245
 Newell, Grandison, 11
 Neyman, Jane, 94
 Norris, Moses, 18
 Nunda, New York, 1–2
 Nyman, Margaret, 79–81

Nyman, Matilda, 79–81
 Nyman Miller, Sarah, 79–81

O

Oakland Presbyterian Church, 2–4
 Old Standard or the Church of Christ, 15
 Order of Enoch, 150–51
 ordination, 5, 9, 18–19, 40, 63, 94, 100, 104,
 111–13, 131, 136, 139, 142, 146, 151,
 153, 156, 159, 161–62, 166–68, 176–78,
 186, 188, 190, 193, 196, 198–200, 208–9,
 216, 225–26, 259–60, 262
 Ourbough, Henry, 50

P

Pack, John, 134
 Page, Ebenezer, 148
 Page, Hiram, 146
 Page, John E., 61, 141, 147, 177–78, 180–81,
 209, 230, 233
 Parrish, Warren, 13–15
 Partridge, Edward, 30–31, 33, 35, 40, 44
 Partridge, Eliza, 203
 Partridge, Emily, 203
 Patten, David W., 6–7
 Patten, John, 49–50
 Paw Paw, Illinois, 155, 202
 Pawlet, Vermont, 1–2
 Peck, Washington, 133
 Pemberton, Collins, 141
 Phelps, William W., xvii, 110, 115, 118, 120,
 123, 127
 Phinney Foster, Sarah, 88
 Pitkin, George W., 66
 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 118, 124
 Pittsfield, Illinois, 31–32, 39
 Plat of Zion, 39
 Plano, Illinois, 199, 201, 204, 245
 Pleasant Vale Illinois Branch, 61
 Police, 15, 101, 127, 133, 190–91, 127, 133,
 190–91
 polygamy/plural marriage, ix, x, xiii, 14, 16,
 75–83, 85–95, 100–101, 104–7, 114–17,
 134, 141–44, 148, 152–53, 156, 167–69,
 175, 183–88, 192, 199–200, 203,
 207–16, 256, 260–61
 Pomeroy, Helen, 189
 Pool, Betsy, 94–95
 Pope, Nathaniel, 65–66

Potawatomi, Illinois, 138
 Powers, Samuel, 195
 Pratt, Orson, xviii, 6–7, 86, 88, 118, 164
 Pratt, Parley P., xvii–xviii, xx, 6–7, 31, 66,
 99, 116, 123, 140, 142
 Pratt, Sarah, 43, 88
 Preparation, Iowa, 165–67, 170–73, 179, 227,
 233, 241, 259, 262
 priesthood, 14–15, 22, 60, 76, 90, 98–99, 116,
 119–21, 136, 139–42, 147, 153, 156–59,
 164, 171, 175, 187–92, 195–96, 200, 214
 printing press, 12, 20, 43, 107–8, 169–70,
 225–26, 245, 262
 Pulsipher, Zera, 22
 Pure language, 27, 221

Q

Quincy, Illinois, 30–32, 34, 37–39, 64
 Quorum of Anointed, 98–100, 102–103,
 106, 112–16, 175, 191, 207, 215

R

Red Brick Store, 41
 Redfield, Harlow, 42
 redress petitions, 38, 152
 Relief Society, 86–87, 106
 Reorganized Church, ix–x, 158, 178, 182,
 185–205, 207–13, 216, 245, 250, 263–64
 Reynolds, Joseph H., 66
 Rich, Charles C., 252–55
 Rich, Joseph C., 59
 Richards, Willard, 62, 65, 98, 101, 110,
 114–16, 140, 142, 191
 Richmond, B. W., xix–xx
 Richmond, Missouri, 30
 Rigdon, Nancy, 88
 Rigdon, Sidney, x, xviii, 11–13, 16, 19, 21,
 30–31, 38, 47, 51, 63, 66, 74, 86, 92,
 97–99, 113–25, 129–32, 136, 140, 175,
 197, 248, 257
 Ripley, Alanson, 40, 42, 44, 57
 Roberts, B. H., 210–11
 Robinson, Charlotte, 2
 Robinson, Chauncey, 60
 Robinson, Ebenezer, 48, 81, 126
 Robinson, George, 31, 73, 176, 228, 231
 Robinson, Richard W., 2
 Rockwell, Orrin Porter, 63–64, 67, 216
 Rockwood, Albert P., 34, 70

Rogers, Chandler, 28–29
 Rogers, David W., 32, 46
 Rogers, Israel, 182, 191, 194–95, 201–2
 Rogers, Noah, 28–29
 Rounds, Samuel, 21
 Russell, Isaac, 28–31, 46
 Rutland, Vermont, 1

S

Sagers, Harrison, 93
 Saint James, Michigan, 146
 Salt Lake City, 191, 250
 Sandusky, Ohio, 155
 Savage, Jehiel, 141, 165, 224, 240–41, 259
 Sawmill 165–67, 224, 259
 Schindle, Melissa, 88
 Scott, Isaac, 149, 152
 Second Coming, xvi, 5, 38
 secrecy, 25–26, 29, 49, 51, 63, 72, 77, 79, 87,
 98, 102–3, 106, 117, 133, 143, 152–53,
 168–69, 207, 214, 260
 seventy/seventies, 22–23, 46, 61, 78, 111,
 128, 140, 186, 196
 Shabbona, [Chief], 137–38, 149
 Shabbona Grove, Illinois, 137–39, 145, 148–55,
 165, 170, 172, 189–190, 193, 197, 202–5,
 219, 221, 223–28, 230, 232–37, 243–44,
 250, 259, 264
 Sharp, Thomas, 97
 Shaw, Ella, 155, 202
 Shaw, George, 155, 202
 Shaw, Samuel, 141
 Sheen, Isaac, 192, 195–96, 199, 212, 263
 Shenandoah, Iowa, 203–4
 Sherwood, Henry G., 42, 45, 125, 129, 254
 Shiloh, 165
 Simmons, Mrs., xix–xx
 Skidmore, John, 71
 slander, 47–51, 61, 68, 80–81, 121
 Smith, Aaron, 138, 140, 143–44
 Smith, Don Carlos, 74–75
 Smith Bidamon, Emma, 12, 14, 19, 87, 90,
 100, 113–15, 126, 130, 135, 187–88,
 194–96, 201–2, 245
 Smith, Esther, 77
 Smith, George A., 59, 116, 130, 140, 142,
 188, 191, 209, 255
 Smith, Heman, 209, 220, 241

- Smith, Hyrum, 5, 22, 30–31, 37, 42, 47–50, 57, 61–62, 65–66, 73, 83, 90–91, 98–100, 105–13, 118, 133, 157, 194, 200, 216, 260
- Smith Davis, Inez, 220–37, 240–44
- Smith, Jesse Nathaniel, 31
- Smith, John, 1, 15, 18–20, 40, 50, 94, 126, 162, 176
- Smith, John Aikens, 29
- Smith, Joseph, Jr.,
 accused, 63, 65–67, 79, 245
 arrest, 30, 63–68, 108–9
 banking, 11, 13, 19, 21
 baptism for the dead, 201
 betrayed, 191
 board of health, 58
 body, 110, 216
 burden of the church, 131
 character, 255
 charged, 51, 93, 104–5, 108
 complaint, 68, 81
 cornerstone laying, 98
 Council of Fifty, 102–4
 death, 109–11, 114, 126, 133, 157, 161, 179, 183, 194, 198, 207–8, 210, 232, 260, 263
 D&C 132, 90
 Danites, 72–73
 endowment, 66, 99
 escapes from Gallatin, 37
 Far West, 19
 ferry, 47
 financial affairs in Kirtland, 243
 financial affairs in Nauvoo, 42–46, 83–84
 First Vision, 179
 Freemason, 73, 197
 friction with Marks, 101
 funerals, 74, 216
 Galland purchase, 34–35
 gathering, ix, 34–35, 71–72
 happiness sermon, 74
 incarcerated, 30–31, 63, 67, 161–62
 last charge, 160–61
 lawsuits, 19, 21, 63, 65, 81
 Liberty Jail, 30–31, 63
 loss, 71
 marriage sealing, 99–100
 mayor, 62, 101, 107
Nauvoo Expositor, 107–8
 officiates in Commerce, 40
 ordinance, 68, 78–79
 participates in High Council cases, 44, 50
 plurality of gods, 106
 polygamy, 14, 19, 75–95, 101, 104, 106, 167–68, 186, 192, 200, 207, 212–14, 244, 260–64
 preaches in Kirtland, 5, 14, 16
 preaches in Nauvoo, 80, 101
 preaches in New York, xvii–xviii
 presidential bid, 114
 printing office, 12, 20
 Prophet, Priest, and King, 103–4, 167–68, 260
 publishes Book of Mormon, xiii
 receives golden plates, xiii
 reconciles with Rigdon, 124
 redress petitions, 38
 released, 35, 63–64, 66–67, 108
 revelation, 19–20, 25–27, 90, 126
 ritual, 97, 99
 slander, 51, 81
 Solemn Assembly, 160
 successor, 50, 92, 111–34, 186, 192, 194, 196, 207, 215
 technicality, 66
 theocracy, 106, 153–54
 theology, 71–72
 treason, 37, 63, 66, 109
 vision in Kirtland Temple, 10
 writes to Saints in Quincy, 34
- Smith, Joseph, Sr., 1, 14–15, 66
- Smith, Joseph, III, ix, 112, 134–37, 144–45, 151, 186–88, 193–96, 199–204, 207, 245, 250
- Smith, Lucy Mack, 139
- Smith, Mary, 29
- Smith, Mary Fielding, 34
- Smith, Moses, 141, 144
- Smith, Samuel, 110, 116
- Smith, Silas, 29, 31–32
- Smith, Warren, 102
- Smith, William, 6–7, 116, 138, 145, 148, 159, 175, 178, 180, 185, 234
- Snively, Hugh, 29
- Snow, Eliza R., 15
- Snow, Erastus, 131, 188
- Snyder, John, 110
- Soby, Leonard, 91–92, 102, 122, 124, 252, 254
- Solemn Assembly, 160–63, 166, 169–72, 221–22, 226, 262
- Solomon (biblical), 90, 99

- Spencer, Daniel, 132
 Spencer, Orson, 255
 Spiritualist Movement, 181
 Springfield, Illinois, 65–66
 St. Joseph, Missouri, 163, 203, 223
 St. Louis, Missouri, 27, 30, 156, 163, 166–67, 170, 221–22, 225–26, 262
 Stevens, Richard, 161, 163, 223, 258
 Stone, Barton, 181
 Strang, James
 angelic ordination, 136, 156, 193
 appoints Marks to building committee, 50
 appoints Marks guardian of Joseph III, 144, 151
 anointed, 146
 baptism, 151
 baptism for the dead, 151
 Beaver Island, 136, 146, 153–54, 156, 162, 178
 brings in Bennett, 142–43, 145
 calls Joseph III into First Presidency, 144–45
 claims, 137–39, 143, 146, 175, 193
 community at Voree, ix
 convert, 136
 death, 154, 175
 endorsed by Marks, 140–42
 excommunicates Bennett, 145, 147
 excommunicates the Brighamite Twelve, x, 141
 gathering, 136, 139, 150, 159, 162
 hierarchical organization, 145
 king, 153–54
 Latter Day Saint, x
 letters from Marks, 145–46, 218–19
 letter of appointment, 136
 makes George Adams his counselor, 145
 makes Marks an Apostle, 151
 makes Marks his counselor, 144
 makes William Smith patriarch, 145
 memorial to U.S. government for redress, 152
 missionaries, 165, 188
 murder of, 154
 Order of Enoch, 150–51
 Philadelphia branch leaves, 153
 political office, 154
 polygamy, 146, 148, 152–56, 169, 185–86
 prophet, seer and revelator, 138–40
 publications, 138, 141, 144, 152, 157
 Quorum of Twelve, 145–46, 151, 176–77
 reacts to Bennett's excommunication, 144
 rebukes Marks, 150, 209
 recruits Marks, 139, 150
 redress, 152
 rejected by Thompson, 156
 removes Aaron Smith, 144
 revelation, 144, 150, 209
 secret society, 143
 succession, 136, 164, 186
 sustained president of the church, 151
 Tabernacle on Beaver Island, 153
 Temple in Voree, 147
 theocracy, 153–54
 visits Marks in Fulton, 136–37
 Voree, 136
 Voree plates, 138
 Voree Temple, 147, 150
 Stout, Allen, 133
 Stout, Hosea, 73, 82, 133, 252, 254, 257
 succession, ix, xi, 8, 50, 111–36, 158, 160, 164, 175, 183–88, 192–93, 207–10, 215–16
 Sweet, John, 29
- ## T
- Taylor, John, 28–29, 114–16, 123, 128, 132, 140, 142, 255
 Taylor, Leonora, 28–29
 Tecumseh, 137
 Temple Lot case, 83
 Thatcher, George W., 82
 Thompson, Charles B.
 affiliates with Strang, 156
 Baneemy, 157–58, 161, 164, 177
 Book of Remembrance, 172
 breaks with Brigham, 156
 Chief Teacher, 158, 160, 221, 262
 claims, 155, 193, 221
 Congregation of Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion, ix, 10, 156, 169
 converts, 155
 covenant, 164–65, 170–72, 224
 endowment, 161
 Enoch pseudepigrapha, 170
 Evangelical Teachers, 166–67, 171
 family, 155–56
 financial, 169–70, 172–73, 226
 Freemasonry, 158–59
 gathering, 156, 159–67, 170, 172, 216, 258, 262
 grand key, 158
 high priest in Nauvoo, 156

- house in Kanesville, 163, 169–70, 223, 262
 hymns and poems, 158
 joins the Mormons, 155
 Kanesville, 163–67, 171, 223
 last charge, 160
 Law of Sacrifice, 172–73
 letters from Marks, 58–59, 163–67, 211, 258–262
 letter to Marks, 173, 241
 marriage, 155–56
 missionaries, 158, 161, 164–65
 Missouri, 155
 Nauvoo, 156
 Nauvoo endowment, 156
 Nauvoo High Council, 160–61
 Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, 156
 organizes branch at Sandusky, 155
 organizes Genessee Conference, 155
 polygamy, 156, 168–69
 Preparation, 165–67, 170–73, 179
 priesthood, 158, 171
 publications, 155–59, 162–64, 169–70, 179, 192, 216
 pure language, 221
 rejected by followers, 173, 175
 rejects Strang, 156
 revelation, 156
 schools, 157–61, 163, 170–72, 221
 Solemn Assembly, 160–63, 167, 170, 226
 St. Louis, Missouri, 156
 Strang, 141, 156, 159
 temple/House of the Lord, 157, 170–71, 221
 theology, 157–58
 tithing, 172–73, 237
 wife dies, 155
 witness against the Twelve, 141
 Three Witnesses, 6, 153
 Trail of Death, 138
 Turley, Jason, 77
 Turley, Theodore, 76–77
 Turnham, Joel, 63
 Turpin, Jesse, 78
 Treason, 37, 63, 66, 109
 Twelve Apostles,
 accused by Strang group, 141
 authority, 6–8, 111–13, 117–18, 129, 131
 blessings, 6–7
 campaigning, 114
 chosen in Kirtland, 6–8
 cleans the church, 82
 cut off Rigdon, 123
 disfellowships Bennett, 62
 distrusts Marks, 59
 excommunicated, 15–16, 140–42
 hierarchy, 6–8, 61, 111
 Judas, 101
 missions, 8, 19, 61, 114–15
 Nauvoo Legion, 69–70
 polygamy, 92, 115–16, 169, 213–14
 prevents public ball, 126
 provision for wives, 47
 questions Marks, 128–30
 rejects Marks, 139, 215
 RLDS, 199–201
 second anointings, 112–13
 Strang, 146–47
 succession, 111–136, 193
 Thompson, 156
 traveling High Council, 6–8, 112, 118, 124, 136
 withdraws fellowship from Bennett, 62
- ### U–V
- University of Nauvoo, 53, 55, 70, 77, 132
 Van Dusen, Increase, 141
 “Voice of Innocence,” 87
 Voree Temple, 147
 Voree, Wisconsin, ix, 136, 139, 142–43, 145–47, 151–52, 162, 165, 178, 219
 Voree Plates, 138
- ### W
- Waggoner, David, 50
 Walker, Oliver, 50–51
 Warren, Catherine, 81–82
 Warren, S. B., 139
 Warrington, Benjamin, 107
 Warsaw, Illinois, 97
 Washington, DC, 38, 51
 Wasson, Lorenzo, 103
 Wells, Daniel D., 2
 Wells, Daniel H., 47, 59, 104, 108, 132, 255
 Whitmer, David, 5–6, 175
 Whitney, Newel K., 16, 25–27, 38, 40, 43, 58, 62, 98, 115–16, 123, 125, 132, 191, 255
 whittled out, 134
 Wight, Lyman, xvii, 37, 66, 118, 175
 Williams, Frederick G., 13–14
 Wilson, Lewis D., 252, 254

Woodruff, Pheobe, 20

Woodruff, Wilford, 82, 90, 118, 255

Woodworth, Lucian, 105

Word of Wisdom, 8, 60

Y-Z

Young, Brigham, ix, 6, 31, 45, 66, 94, 98,
101, 112-13, 116-23, 127, 134, 139-42,
144, 156-57, 163-68, 175, 183, 185,
188-91, 195, 208-10, 213-16, 230,
242-43, 250, 255

Younger, Joseph, 141, 237

Zarahemla Stake, 50, 186-88, 193

Zion, ix, xv-xvii, xx, 4-5, 7, 16, 21, 27-28,
30, 38-40, 45, 52, 72, 98, 112-13, 156,
158, 161, 163, 169, 172, 196, 198, 201,
207, 216, 251, 254, 260

Zion's Camp, xvii-xviii, xx, 4-5, 207

Zundel, John, 50