

**“They Might Have Known
That He Was Not a Fallen
Prophet”—The Nauvoo
Journal of Joseph Fielding**

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Transcribed and Edited by Andrew F. Ehat

In the early spring of 1836, Heber C. Kimball told his fellow apostle Parley P. Pratt to

Arise, . . . go forth in the ministry. . . . Thou shalt go to Upper Canada, even to the city of Toronto, the capital, and there thou shalt find a people prepared for the fulness of the gospel, and they shall receive thee, . . . and from the things growing out of this mission, shall the gospel spread into England, and cause a great work to be done in that land.¹

With this specific direction, Parley took leave of his wife and went to Canada. He soon found John Taylor, a Methodist preacher in Toronto, and Isabella Walton, a devoted follower. They introduced him to Joseph, Mary, and Mercy Fielding, emigrants from England who had arrived in Canada only within the previous four years.² Initially cold to the apostle and his message, the Fieldings soon accepted it and were baptized into the Church on 21 May 1836.

Joseph Fielding was indeed “prepared for the fulness of the gospel” and was soon to become the key person in fulfilling Heber C. Kimball’s prophecy concerning the opening of the English Mission. During the next year Joseph’s knowledge of the newly restored gospel increased, and he desired to teach his family and friends in his native England. With the encouragement and aid of his sisters, Mary and Mercy, and of his friend John Taylor, Joseph wrote to his older brother, the Reverend James Fielding, who was a Methodist minister in Preston, England. His letters expounded the doctrine of the Latter-day Saints, and Reverend Fielding, by reading the letters to his congregation, unwittingly prepared them for the beginning of Mormon missionary successes in England. During this time, Joseph Fielding moved to Kirtland and there received his missionary call from the Prophet Joseph Smith. On 13 June 1837, in company with Elder Willard Richards and Apostles Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde, Joseph Fielding went on the first LDS mission to England. He was forty years old and a priest in the Aaronic Priesthood.

Eight days after they arrived in Preston, Reverend James Fielding lost eight of his congregation to baptism by these Mormon missionaries. Although the Reverend himself was never baptized into the Church, the

baptism of these members of his congregation began the phenomenal growth of the Church in England. Nine months later, on 8 April 1838, as the apostles prepared to return to the United States, they ordained and set apart Joseph Fielding as “Presiding High Priest” over the Church in England. He remained busy in this significant position for the next twenty-seven months and served tirelessly as president except for a brief one-week rest following his marriage to Hannah Greenwood on 11 June 1838. Even though some of the Twelve came to England in January 1840, Joseph Fielding continued to act in his position as president until his release on 6 July 1840. This release granted him the freedom he yearned for to do missionary work in his native place of Bedford and Huntingdon counties. Over the next thirteen months, he filled various missionary assignments until he was asked to begin preparations in August 1841 to lead a company of two hundred Saints to Zion. The trip from Liverpool to Nauvoo took two months and included stops at the port of New Orleans and the Mississippi river towns of St. Louis and Warsaw.

During the four-and-a-half years Joseph Fielding spent in England, he became one of the leaders of Mormonism. He recorded these years in meticulous detail in four volumes of his diary. When Joseph arrived in Nauvoo, being destitute of personal belongings and having to care for his wife and two young children, he did not take the time to record the monotonous struggle to provide basic necessities—a struggle which made him equal with all who were in Nauvoo.

But December 1843 marked the beginning of a new chapter in his life—a month that he would long remember. On 9 December, Joseph Fielding, in company with William W. Phelps, Levi Richards, and Cornelius P. Lott, received his endowment.³ These sacred ordinances, introduced by the Prophet Joseph Smith, were to have been administered in the Nauvoo Temple after it was dedicated. But the Prophet sensed that he might not live to see the Temple completed. He therefore felt justified in administering these ordinances to a small group of faithful individuals who would be competent to officiate in the temple ordinances whether or not he lived to see the Temple completed.⁴ These ordinances were conducted by the Prophet Joseph Smith in the private homes and buildings in upper rooms dedicated to that purpose. Joseph Fielding was the twenty-third of thirty-six men who received the endowment during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. Hannah, his wife, received her endowment a month earlier on Wednesday, 1 November 1843, in company with Jennetta Richards, Leonora Taylor, Mary Ann Young, and Vilate Kimball, wives of apostles. Sister Kimball and apparently these other women received their anointings that evening in the Mansion House from Emma Smith, wife of the Prophet Joseph.⁵ Commenting in his journal on these events, Joseph Fielding says:

I have felt well increasing in Light and Knowledge and also in Joy having the Good Will and Confidence of my Brethren and feeling myself to be one with [them] in these things I feel myself blessed and honoured. [Pp. 22–23]

Others, such as Sidney Rigdon and William Law of the First Presidency, did not manifest the faith in Joseph Smith which Joseph Fielding did.

Joseph Fielding was thoroughly converted to the mission of Joseph Smith. He believed that the Prophet's introduction of the ordinances of endowment and of marriage for time and eternity (including plurality of wives) and his establishment of the "Kingdom of God" (viz. the Council of Fifty) were divinely inspired. Joseph Fielding's documentation of these developments is most significant owing not only to its very broad treatment of these subjects, broader than any other available journal, but also to the fact that most of this explicit treatment was penned in the lifetime of Joseph and Hiram Smith. His record is neither a product of years of reflection nor a response to contrary claims; rather it is an extremely significant contemporaneous account.

While his journal contains strong sentiments in support of Joseph Smith written while the Prophet was alive, Joseph Fielding similarly expressed his belief that the Twelve Apostles had genuine right to lead the Church following Joseph's martyrdom. He could see that because the Twelve constituted the highest quorum of priesthood in the Church who had received the fulness of the ordinances of salvation and exaltation that they were the qualified body empowered to supervise the performance of those ordinances in the Nauvoo Temple. In comparing the ordinances as performed in the Temple by the Twelve Apostles with those which Joseph Smith had administered to him, Joseph Fielding testified:

On Friday, the 12th [of December 1845] I and my Wife received our Endowment having formerly received it in the Days of Joseph and Hiram but it is now given in a more perfect Manner because of better Convenience, the 12 are very strict in attending to the true and proper form. . . ministering in the Temple and teaching the way of Life and Salvation. [Pp. 75, 77]

His spontaneous and unsolicited witness is valuable confirmation that the Twelve were "very strict in attending to the true and proper form" that the Prophet had previously laid down in private councils.

Joseph Fielding's journal clarifies Joseph Smith's calling as a prophet and also offers a specific yet sweeping survey of key moments in the Nauvoo era in their context. It affords us first-hand glimpses of the struggle for survival in Nauvoo; of the unlawful seizure of Joseph Smith near Dixon; of the growth of opposition to the Prophet's leadership by the Fosters, the Higbees, and the Laws and the results of that opposition; of the Martyrdom and general and personal grief that followed; of the Church's rejection of Sidney Rigdon's "guardianship" proposal; of the initiation of ordinance

work in the Nauvoo Temple; of the abandonment of the Temple with the forced Exodus of the Saints from Nauvoo and of the “Battle of Nauvoo” which completed that expulsion. All these events are recorded by a man full of faith in the gospel and devotion to the latter-day work.

All five volumes of Joseph Fielding’s journals are preserved in the archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah. The first four volumes cover Fielding’s 1837–1841 mission to England, and Volume 5 covers his years in Nauvoo and briefly his life in the West through 1859. The first 104 pages of that journal are transcribed here as they appear in the original, including all parentheses. Editorial additions to aid the flow of ideas are bracketed.⁶ Page numbers, as Joseph Fielding numbered them in the journal, appear in the text in brackets before the first word of that page. Where Joseph Fielding did not number a page, I have supplied the number in parentheses within brackets as, for example, [(2)]. As the journal measures only four inches wide and 6¼ inches high, page numbers appear frequently. The asterisk (*) indicates a change in ink color.⁷ Additions written between the lines are included as they appear in the journal. Cross-outs are also left as they appear.

Nauvoo Dec th, 1843⁸

It is now two years since I came to this Place and since I wrote any by way of Journal⁹ the Reasons for this Neglect are my being so throng[ed] in providing for my Family and the Inconvenience under which I have labored, and as to myself I have had but

1841

little to write I landed in New Orleans early in November [^] at the head of about 200 Saints having had Peace and a good Passage, but at this Place I had a Fall from a Bridge, or Warf near 10 Feet onto the hard Ground

[(2)] which broke one or two of my Ribs and hurt my Knee very much I had just been to charter a Steam Boat and was returning to the Ship, this Fall was the severest hurt I had ever sustained I felt determined to make but little of it but I was long before I could rise from my Bed of myself, but the Master of the Boat was very kind letting me occupy one of the State Rooms for myself and Family we reached St Louis in eight days here we saw some poor faithless Saints something like Spiders Webs

[(3)] set to catch flies they came to us with fair Words as our best Friends, but their Council was that of Enemies, but did not prevail to stay any of our Company except two most of them had been to Nauvoo but had not Faith enough to live there, We took a Boat to Warsaw, the Water being too low to admit the Boat further, on our Way there, on Sunday, at Bro- G Millar,s Request I again spoke to the People; till we landed there (at Warsaw) the Weather was fine but while we waited the coming of some of the 12¹⁰ the Weather

[(4)] broke* and the Winter set in with a Snow Storm, so that in 2 or 3 Days we came to Nauvoo in a Sleigh, some of our Company came on feeling anxious to see this Place and the Prophet; the Council of our Brethren of the 12 Brother Willard Richards and others was that some of us should stop at Warsaw thinking at that time of forming a

Branch there accordingly some remained there, but afterwards that Place was given up on account of the unfriendly disposition of the People there

[5] ~~We paid~~ Lorenzo Young¹¹ for 4 Dollars brought us to Nauvoo, the Day was very cold as we rode over the Prairy, we were compeled at times to get out and walk to warm ourselves, but it was with great Pain that I got off and on the Sleigh on account of my hurt Bro L. Young had kindly took me and my Family to his House soon after we landed in Warsaw he and his Wife were very kind to us—when we came within 2 Miles of our Journey,s End, we began to see the Effects of that Industry for which the Saints

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[6] are so remarkable Fences of Rails [^] of Pickets, Houses and gardens on the Edge of the Prairy, such as we [had] not before [^] seen, This said Bro Y[oung]. is Nauvoo, but we had two Miles to go yet, so extensive was this Settlement of the Saints, become in so short a time! We soon passed the sacred Place, and Foundation of the Temple, the Arches of the Vault Windows were not all finished, The Sight of this though by the Light of the Moon only gave me peculiar feelings, the Idea that it was done at the special Command of the Almighty was a new thing in this Age, it seemed to fill the mind [with] Solemnity, and to give a sacredness to the

[7] whole Place, how many Houses of God as they were called have I seen in building, but there is none in the whole World except the one in Kirtland¹² and this one that was built at the Command of God, This Thought at once leads the Mind back through the long Darkness which has covered the Earth since the Days of the Apostles wherein God

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has not spoken to Men either [^] Visions or by Dreams, or by Urim or by Prophets, the Seers and Prophets have been covered, and to the Promises of God, that he would renew the Covenant, gather Israel, and establish his Kingdom on the Earth, no more to be destroyed

[8] We soon reached the House of my Sister now Widow Thompson Her Husband R B Thompson¹³ had departed this Life in the August of that year, in expectation of my coming he had prepared a House for me but had not finished it, and instead of finding in him a Friend on my arrival I found a Widow that stood in need of a Friend, I was still so unwell as not to be able to cut the smallest Stick, and Business was then dul and but little to do, and I, with my Family found myself in but poor Circumstances, not having had

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[9] Mony sufficient to bring me here; as soon as [^] could I began to busy myself in doing little things for my Sister and when the River had froze I got an Ax and went onto the [^] as I could well

Island to cut Wood for I could not live in Idleness, but it was as ~~en~~ much [^] do to cross the River and return, with Pain and Weariness I cut 3 or 4 Cords but before I could get it sold or get it away it was taken away; so my Labor was vain. I wrought some Days for Bro Hyrum,¹⁴ who proposed to let me have some of his Land to

[10] farm on Shares, he to find a Team &c and have half the Produce, and as nothing better opened for me I undertook this, and on the first of April 1842 we left Sister Thompson,s and went to live in a small log House near the Land I had to occupy, for Labor done for Bro Hyrum he furnished us with some Flour and Pork, we soon began to plant Potatoes, Beans &c and thought that with care and economy we would do till we could [have] Corn of our own, Bro. Hyrum found my Team with Corn &c till we got some of our own.

[11] It was late when I began to plough the Work was bad and far off from the House (ie) the further Part of it, and the Plough was bad, and I must say I felt discouraged at having thus to begin the World again as we say, in such different Circumstances to what I was in when I left it to go to England, I sowed 8 Acres with Oats which grew finely but as it was late when they were sown Rain came on just [as] they got ripe and beat them down so my half did not pay me for trouble in gathering them

[12] But early in Summer we received a Loan of Money to some Amount from my Wifes Brother, George Greenwood in England, entirely unasked for and unlooked for ~~for~~ and soon after another Sum of the same Amount, in all several hundred Dollars at first we felt troubled at this not knowing how we could lay it out so as to secure it to him who sent it but it was in great kindness that [he] sent it and in Mer[c]y that the Lord led him to send it, for we should have been poorly of[f]

[13] if it had not been so—With this i purchased 20 acres of Land on the Prairie in its Wild State at Eight Dollars per Acre with a Tax Title, I engaged a Brother in the Church to furnish me 1200 Rails for fencing it at three Dollars per 100 to be good ones, and delivered on the Land, and to be paid for in Cash, which is not common here, some of the Money I paid before hand, but the Rails were far from being good ones At this [I] felt grieved and refused to pay the same Brother for 2 or 3 Days Work done for me by his Lad & Oxen

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[14] at this he felt agrieved, I told him if 2 Men would lo^ok at the Rails and should then say that I ought to pay him, I would do it at once but this he would not allow, and so the Matter stands I soon after bought other Rails (far better) at 2 Dols to be paid in only part Cash this I think was the first thing in which I ever differed with a Brother—There being some Demur about the Title of my Land I did not begin to build upon it that year but continued on Brother Hyrums

[15] Land another year, but the question about the Title being settled, in the year 43 I got a House up on the Land, and dug a good Well 21 feet deep and got abundance of good Water and towards the Summer got into it for want of more Means I had some difficulty in get[ting] it so that we could live in it, I had lent 20 Dollars to the Committee of the Nauvoo House¹⁵ the year before to be returned at the time I should need it, in Lumber, but this was not to [be] obtained, so I had to get brick to fill in my Frame, this was a Loss to me, this is nothing strange for there seems to be a Power or Influence exerted against every

[16] thing the Saints take in hand to do but we felt thankful to get in to our new House even before the Doors or Windows were fixt we soon found it far more comfortable than the old Log House and we spent the Winter comfortably On the 20th of July 1843 our Son was born whom we named Heber¹⁶ for so it was spoken before by the Apostle Heber C. Kimball, that this should be the Name of our first born Son, and that he should be a mighty Man and a Prophet soon after his Birth, I asked Bro Hiram Smith to bless him but he told me to do it myself and the

[17] Spirit should come upon me to bless him with great Blessings I did so Bro W^m Moss joining with me, and truly the Spirit of God was with us, to confirm upon him all that Elder Kimball had spoken, several were present and we were all melted into tenderness and Tears before the Lord; Hitherto I have not transgressed against God so that I feel to claim for myself & my Family all the Blessings promised—In the Spring of this year 43 our Prophet Joseph Smith was seized while on a Visit to his Wife,s Relatives,¹⁷ by two Men having a Bill against him

[18] from the Governor of Missouri They draged him from his Family got him into a Cariag with the design of taking him at once to Missouri but the Lord delivered him, the Driver would stop at Dixon to feed his Horses, and so the Matter got out and the People were ready to [de]liver him, he then got a Writ against the two Men for their unlawfully taking him (ie) by threat of Arms, and by a Writ of Habeus Corpus obtained right to have his own Case tried at the nearest Municipal Court. all started to go to some certain Place I forget the Name,¹⁸ but in

[19] a short time they were met by a Company of the Saints 50 of whom had been dispatched from Nauvoo mounted on Horses and privately armd, when our Prophet saw them he told those with [him], he was [Mayor of?] Nauvoo, and seeing such a Company of his Friends his Persecutors durst make no resistance, A little before they reached here they were met by our Band and hundreds of others in haste to congratulate our beloved Head, and leader on his Escape from the Hands of the Wicked, I suppose so great tokens of Respect and Honor had never before been manifested towards him, and although it was attended

[20] with considerable Expense yet it was a Day of great Rejoicing with us, to see our beloved Prophet instead of being taken a Prisoner into the Hands of those that thirsted for his Blood riding on his Horse, his Brother on one side and his Wife on the other and hundreds or thousands of his Friends and a Band of Music in ful Play as though he had been a mighty Monarch returning from some glorious Victory, and all this in the Sight of his Enimies. (this is according to the best of my Knowledge) Several Events have transpired which I have not stated, but will merely record, such as the Aposta-

[21] sy of John C Bennett,¹⁹no description of this Man,s Characture could be to bad, he was a vile Man—Some trouble about Orson Pratt²⁰ arrising from said Bennett,s Crime Com with his Wife—Elder Hydes Return from Jerusalem,²¹ Elder P P Pratts Return from England²² Porter Rockwell taken Prisoner to Missouri on a Charge of having been bribed by Joseph Smith to kill Boggs Governor of Missouri, and his return home,²³ Brother Joseph sought for by the Enimies on the same Charge, was hid for some time,²⁴ Nightly Watch set for the Safety of the City—2 Steam Mills built, and many large Houses

[22] Many have joined the Masonic Institution²⁵ this seems to have been a Stepping
+this I have also seen and rejoice in it
Stone or Preparation for something else, the true Origin of Masonry,²⁶+ this Winter there was much Preaching through the City much saidon the Subject of the Coming or Spirit of Elijah,²⁷ there has been great Light poud out upon the Saints of Late, and a great Spirit of hearing I have been called to preach several times and felt much of the Spirit in general I have felt well increasing in Light and and Knowledge and also in Joy having the Good Will

[23] and Confidence of my Brethren and feeling myself to be one with [them] in these
same

things I feel myself blessed and honoured, On the 7[th] [^] of March a Meeting²⁸ was called and several Addresses delivered by the Prophet and others on some Evils in the City, Several received a severe Exposure in the Church and out,* of the latter was the Brother of R. D. Foster, he asked in the Congregation if Mr. Hiram Smith alluded to him in his Remarks but did not get a direct Answer he then asked Mr. Jos^h Smith if he

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meant him Bro J. S. asked why he though

so

[24] but he repeated the question and said if you will not hear me you soon shall hear from me, Did you allude to me? when Bro J. S. answered, you say it, and bid the Officers to take him and fine [him] 5 or 10 Dol^s. I forget which his Bro R. D. [Foster] then

~~and~~
spoke to justified him and clear him of Sensuer [censure], and after exchanging a few Words Bro J. S. told him to hold his Tongue or he would fine him too; thus it ended for the time, but the Reproof and Exposure which he and several others had received stirred up feelings that could not be suppressed, A few Weeks after this

[25] Our Prophet told us from the Stand, by the Wall of the partly build Temple that a Conspiracy was formed by the two Foster,s the Laws C. Higby and J H Jackson and others against himself and all the Smiths by some of them it was declared that there should not be one of the Smith Family alive in a few Weeks many Accusations and threats of this kind were uttered; all this the Prophet had had from a Mr. Heaton and another, the testimony was credible,²⁹ they had formed a Caucus and had invited others to join it but much of this was found to be the false Statement of the said

[26] Joseph H Jackson, [who] proved to be as corrupt and guilty as a Man could well be yet it was partly true I do not know to what extent; but this I do know Jackson quickly left the Place, and W^m - Law his Brother Wilson Law the former one of the first Presidency, and the latter Major General of the Legion of the City, R. D. Foster and others revolted from the Church, saying that Joseph was fallen, the same as all the Apostates have said, such as Parish, Cowdery, Hanis and Russel³⁰ &c; They formed a Church³¹ of themselves appointed one as their Prophet or Head and held Meetings

[27] in the House of the Laws, got up all the Affidavits they could expecially from the Sisters against the Conduct of the Prophet, to publish to the World, they object to Doctrine of a Plurality of Wives and of Gods³² I was present when the two Laws the Wife W^m and R D Foster were cut off from the Church.³³ The feeling as to their Conduct was very unanimous except that Bro^f Marks did not raise his Hand against Sis Law,³⁴ their Principle Charge against Joseph is that he has and seeks to obtain other Women or Wives and has taught the same to others who have done
the same³⁵

[28] As to me I have evidence enough that Joseph is not fallen, I have seen him after
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giving as I before said the origin of Masonry, organ[^]ze the Kingdom of God³⁶ on the Earth and am myself a Member of it in this I feel myself highly honored but I feel grieved that at this time of the greatest light and the greatest Glory and Honor, Men of so much Knowledge and Understanding, should cut themselves off April 6th—44 Our anual Conference bigan and continued 4 Days Joseph,s Discourse on the Origin of Man, the Nature of God and the Resurrection was the most interesting Matter of this time

[29] and any one that could not see in him the Spirit of Inspiration of God must be dark, they might have known that he was not a fallen Prophet even if they thought he was fallen.³⁷ Elder Rigdon³⁸ also spoke of Persecution he and Joseph passed through at the Commencement of the Work; many were appointed to go out through this Nation particularly on the Subject of the electing of Joseph to the Presidency of the United States³⁹—I have attended the Grand Council⁴⁰ as I will call it, Elder Woodworth has returned from Texas the Prospect of our obtaining Room to form a Colony⁴¹ there is fair

[30] At the last Grand Council I attended W^m and Wilson Law R D Foster and those in Connection with them were by the Voice of the Council delivered up to the Buffittings of Satan, after having been visited in all kindness, by 2 of the Brethren On Sunday the

13th of May Joseph spoke on the Gospel of the Kingdom and shewd that when God set up his Kingdom on the Earth Satan always set up his in Opposition alluding to Appostay at this [time] working in this Place, I never felt more delighted with his Discourse than at this time, It put me in Mind of Herod when they said at his Oration It is the Voice of a

[31] God and not of a Man,⁴² The Circumstances were widely different, he also spoke some on the Resurrection⁴³—The same Day I and my Wife attended the Grand Quorum as I shall call it when W^m Smith and Alman Babbit were taken into it in the legal form⁴⁴ 17[th] of ƒ [the “J” was blotted out] May. A Convention was held here on the Subject of Josephs, Election⁴⁵ Several false Charges are brought against Joseph and sworn too by W^m Law, Foster and others,⁴⁶ on Sunday 26 Joseph spoke of it in the Congregation, and shewd them to be purgered Men, plainly thus he is still harrassed by his false Friends, his Brutus,⁴⁷

[32] June 12–44 As to myself I seem to have but little to write⁴⁸ I am employed in cultivating my little Farm for the Support of myself and Family, have had nearly half of it to plant twice with Indian Corn owing to the wetness of the Season, much of the first Planting was destroyed I have labored hard to keep the Land dry, Now and then I go to lay my hands on the Sick, in which I take Pleasure and I mostly get a Blessing I often preach to my Wife and endeavor to inspire her with Faith her Mind has been troubled at some things in the Church

[33] the Subject of Spiritual Wives⁴⁹ so much talked [about] at this time, and other things, an Expression of Elder Lyman Wites⁵⁰ that if a Woman complained of being insulted by any Man she ought to be set down as a Strumpet on the ground that no Man would do it unless she gave him some liberty, This she knew to be a false Notion from

her own Experience, in this she [is] of correct the Expression ^{of} Bro. Wite was spoken publicly in our hearing and she thinks it hard if a Female is to be insulted as she has been and to have no redress I take [it] as an instance of Man,^s

[34] Weakness to hold forth such a Sentiment, and for the Elders to smile at it, is no proof of their approval of it, but I see nothing in all that is going on that troubles me at all, but the Way in which Subjects for the celestial Kingdom are selected is not understood, or not considered I do not boast, but I am thankful for the Ideas which God has given me on this Subject, and long to teach the same to others, but I have but little

Chance of doing it but to my Wife—I beli^eve that all things shall work together for Good to them [that] love God, and all is well

[35] I tell my Wife I mean to hold on to the Truth at any Cost and the greatest Cost would be to lose her but her unbelief shall not stop us, I feel as though I can in spite [of] this bear her along; Our Children are healthy and in every Way promising, and we hope they will be [in] Glory in a future Day

The Subject of the Apostasy of W^m Law and others has caused some little Excitement; they lately purchased a Press &c and printed the first Numbers of the “Nauvoo Expositor” which was designed to publish all they could find against Joseph & others

[36] but this first N^o was of such a kind that the City Council on mature deliberation according to the Law of the Land condemned the Press and Paper and ordered the

Whole to ~~burnt~~ ^{be} burned, which ^{was} accordingly done on the 10th of this Month June, but the Party made no Resistance⁵¹

June * 22 An Order came from the Governor at Carthage for Joseph Hiram and the rest of the City Council to appear at Carthage or rather they were informed of this by Letter by ~~the~~ 2 or 3 who went there to see him, the Prospect now looked very dark and threatening and they were much perplexed, and after

[37] holding Council together most of the Night Joseph and Hiram and one or two more left the City before Day, early in the Day a Company of Men arived with an Order from the Governor, but as they could not be found all but one of them returned leaving one to see if they could be found and would go, they were found by the Brethren but they refused to go, the prospect however was so dark, and seemed to threaten entire
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Destruction to our City, the Governor saying if they refused to go our City [^] upon Keggs of Gun Powder and a small Spark would blow it up, and the Officers saying that we should be put under Martial Law till they should

[38] be delivered up if it took 3 years these things together with a recollection of the horrid Senes of Missouri and also a firm trust that God would deliver them, induced
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many of [^] Saints, and of Joseph,s Friends to wish them to go,⁵² yet it was some time before they consented, which they finally did,* on Monday Morning Joseph, his Brother Hiram, Willard Richards John Taylor the only 2 of the 12 at home, with several others started for Carthage, of Course with solemn feelings, and it appears that Joseph in particular anticipated the

[39] fatal result in Part but said he wished at any Rate that Hiram might be saved to stand in his Place, he expressed himself to this Effect, that he should die for this People, and if so he should be murdered in cold Blood; sometime before they reached Carthage they met a Company of Men with Orders from the Governor of the State to take our public Arms (ie) the Arms belonging [to] the State, the Captain of this Company was polite and friendly and gave the strongest Assurances

[40] of their Safety and it was agreed upon that the ~~should~~ Brethren return with them to Nauvoo, I was down in the City when they came in, and was in Bro Hyram,s Company in his own House he was in better Spirits by far than when he left, he told me he thought that all things would go well, &c and as soon as the Arms could be collected they again took their leave of their Wives and Families—alas for the last time, and came to

[41] Carthage (from henceforth of cursed Memory[]), the Governor it appears treated [them] respectfully and took them to his own Lodgings, till as he said for fear of the People he desisted and after having had a trial in part they were unexpectedly and unlawfully thrust into the jail, they went to Carthage on Monday Evening the 24 of June 1844 on Thursday the Governor left them and with a Company of Men came to Nauvoo having left a Guard at the Jail, but of the Carthage Greys who had just before been in a State

[42] of Mutiny, yet as all the troops had pledged themselves to the Governor to abide by the Laws, these were entrusted with the Care of the Prisoners it seems that a Party of the Mob had come to Golding,s Point⁵³ on their way to Nauvoo, and that Messengers were sent to them to order them to disperse, at this their Leader Collonal Williams⁵⁴ ordered all who were not willing to go to Carthage and kill the Smiths to lay down their arms, ~~the~~ and the rest to step out together, saying now is

[43] the time or never this was soon done, and the Murderers disguised themselves by blacking their Faces and started on their way to shed Blood, and came to the Place

about 5 o'clock in the Evening of the 27, A young Man named Daniels⁵⁵ who had given up his gun, went with them, as he said to see what they would do, and was an Eye Witness to all that passed, heard Wills say he had shot Hiram this Wills was one of the Company of Saints (an Irish Man) who came with me from England with his Wife &

[44] two Children, he was an Elder in the Church it is understood that he received a the

Wound in [^] Arm from a Bullet by Bro Joseph, it took his wrist and ran up by the Bone, of which wound he soon after died A Ball passed through [the] Door and entered Brother Hiram on one Side of his Nose just below his [eye] when he exclaimed I am a dead Man and fell at which Joseph cried out to Hiram; as he lay another entered under his Chin, Bro John Taylor attempted to get out at a back Window, but a Ball met him, which it

[45] seems threw him back into the Room owing to its taking his Watch which beat in the Watch thereby giving the exact time at which it occurred he had received 4 Balls before he was taken by Brother Willard Richards and put under the Bed, he suffered much but survived, a living Martyr, Joseph too endeavored to escape by the same Window but the Mob quickly met him there he fell from the Window, and was taken by the Mob and was set against the Well Curb and 4 Men shot him

[46] in the upper Part of his Body, Williams then said take his Head off but at this Moment as Daniels states a Light shone between Joseph and the Mob which so affected them that they had no Power to touch him,⁵⁶ and the 4 Men dropped their Arms and had to be carried off by their companions, the whole then ran off leaving their victims weltering in their Blood, thus the Earth was once more stained with the Blood

[47] of the Saints, even the annointed Servants of God and their Blood echoes the Cry of former Saints for Vegence to be taken on the Wicked that the Earth may be cleansed from the Blood of the Righteous; their Bodies were washed from Blood and put into Boxes and the next Day were conveyed in 2 Waggon under a guard to Nauvoo, this was the most solemn Sight that my Eyes ever beheld I had often red of the Martyrs of old but now

[48] here I saw 2 of the greatest of Men who sealed the Truth which they had held and t

taugh [^] with their Blood, is this an Earnest of what has to take Place in this Last Dispensation, is the Blood of the Sheep again to be shed like that of the Shepherd as in former Days, Father if it be possible let this Cup pass from us, but if not let thy Will be done and let us be strengthened to endure to the End Joseph and Hiram Smith were of large Stature well proportioned and

[49] had a Noble Appearance and this Appearance was by no means lost in Death as they lay Side by Side, for what can make Men more noble than to hold the Truth of God against his own Intrest (temporally) to be at War with the World, for the Salvation of the upright in heart, and finally seal that Truth with their Blood—when I think of them and write of them I feel as though I want to ask their for-

[50] giveness that I have not mourned for them more deeply—Joseph had been brought before Rulers and Judges scores of times but was never convicted of any Crime neither Hyrum, and although the Governor said the burning of the Printing Press was unlawful yet the Persecutors said they knew the Law would not reach him but Powder and Ball would.⁵⁷ so that they justly are ranked with the

[51] Martyrs of Jesus Christ my Consolation in the midst of this Affair was that all had been done Joseph and Hiram had done all that they could have done and the

Foundation of the great Work of the last Days was laid so that it could be finished by the 12 Apostles who had been instructed in all things pertaining to the Kingdom of God on the Earth, Some also beside the 12 had received their Endowment, which was expected at the completion of the Temple

[52] I myself and my Wife had had this Privilege granted us in part, I also believed that

as Joseph was the only one that had had the Keys of the Priesthood of [the] Kingdom of God on the Earth since the Days of Peter and the other Apostles,⁵⁸ he must not only minister the same on Earth but also to the whole World of Spirits who departed from this Life in the time of the broken Covenant, even as Jesus did to those before him to the Flood, that those who had died without the

[53] Priesthood must remain so until it should be restored to the Earth, but it is necessary that they as well as we who are now alive should be made acquainted with the Ordinances, Signs and Tokens of the Priesthood and the Terms of Admission into the Kingdom in Order that they may come forth with those who have received it here, so that Joseph was as much needed there as here, and perhaps more so, these Reflections in a great measure

[54] took off the Edge of the Grief that I might else have felt, for I thought that [he] had so fulfilled his own Purposes, and I felt willing to say amen to it, Their Wives had been [blank space; sealed to] them on account of certain Principles that had been revealed through Joseph, this seemed to make their lives a [blank space] to them—It seems as though the Lord had pushed things forward rather prematurely on account of the shortness

[55] [of] Joseph's Time, I allude in particular to the Doctrine [of] Women being sealed to Men for Eternity⁵⁹ It seems that several have had Women sealed to them, and it appears in general to have given great Offense to the Wife, in some instances their Anger and Resentment have risen to a very high pitch, saying it is Abomination, Whoredom, &c this is a strong Charge against Joseph especially, and Hiram, and now as they are gone it is aimed at the 12, A Passage in the

[56] Book of Mormon is quoted in opposition to this Doctrine where it is said that a Man should have but one Wife and no Concubines,⁶⁰ I feel sorry for our Women for it is plain that if this be of God as I believe it to be, their Conduct in the Matter is very wrong, and but for the sealing Power and Ordinance by which they are sealed to their Husbands many would cut themselves off from the Kingdom, my Wife is much opposed to it, I desire to [do] the Will of God and to obtain all the Glory I can

[57] some say that it was because of this Abomination that Joseph and Hiram were cut off I understand that a Man's Dominion will be as God's is, over his own Creatures and the more numerous they greater his Dominion,⁶¹ but how true that straight is the Gate and narrow is the Way that leadeth unto the Exaltation and the eternal Duration of Lives and few there be that go in thereat.⁶² Not * long after the Death of these Men Elder Sidney Rigdon who had long been [one] of Joseph's

[58] Counsellors came here from Pitsburg,⁶³ and informed the Saints that he had had an important Vision after long and earnest enquiry of the Lord, in which it was shewn him that Joseph had died holding the Key of this Kingdom, that he still held it and would continue to do in Eternity, that we as a People must build up the Kingdom to Joseph, if we did not we should be damned, and that he himself stood next in Authority and he was in haste to get the assent of the Saints in this Matter as he said he must be in

[59] Pittsburg in a short time, this all seemed right to some but many felt as though it was not the Voice of the Spirit, I felt doubtful about it partly because I considered he had not been faithful in his Office a long time, and partly because the Spirit did not bear witness to it, but there was a general desire that the 12 might come home first (ie) before they gave a Decision [on] the Subject and so it came to pass which soon gave a new face to things A Meeting was called and Rigdon again addressed us but seemed to have

[60] no Liberty or Power after which Elder Brigham Young spoke to [the] People he said he saw here a hurrying Spirit, shewd the true Organization of the Church and called a Meeting again when all the Quorums of the Church should be placed in proper order he said that if the People wished Elder Rigdon to be their Guardian and Leader they were quite at liberty to take [him], but it must be passed in a regular and legal Manner, by the

[61] separate Quorums, he had much Liberty and the Power of the Spirit in speaking and at the said Meeting he shewd that Rigdon if he were to take his Place as Councillor to Joseph he must go beyond the Vail where he was gone, and the Saints soon began to see how things were and that the 12 must now hold the Keys of Power and Authority according to the Revelation which says the 12 are equal with the first Presidency before this he asked the Church if they wished to choos themselves a Guardian, but they did not

[62] raise their Hands, and it was now no hard thing determing who should lead the Church it was also shewn that Joseph had told the 12 after he had instructed them in all things that on them would rest the Responsibility and the Care of the Church in Case he should be taken away,⁶⁴ They invited Rigdon to their Council but he did not attend and he soon began to use threatening Language against the 12, Joseph &c to say that he had known for some years that Joseph had not been led by the Spirit of God [and gave this] as the Reason why he did not attend with

[63] him as his Councillor he soon so far committed himself that his License was demanded by the 12 but he refused [to] give it up, he seemed in no haste now to get to Pittsburg, but labored hard to raise a Party to himself and succeeded in some degree, some few clove to him, and were in a short time cut off from the Church along with him among the [party] were Samuel Bennett, Leonard Soby, Samuel ~~Samuel~~ James, Wm Cottier &c when Rigdon had thus selected a Party, he [~~he?~~] they held Meetings and he taught them those things which he had learned in the Quorum

[64] as it is called (ie) a Company on whom Joseph had conferred the Endowment,⁶⁵ being clothed in [blank space] Garments and received the last that Instructions that Joseph could give them, being washed and anointed &c these things were to be kept sacred, as it was not to become a general thing till the Temple be finished Rigdon was admitted there a short time before these troubles took Place,⁶⁶ almost the last that was admitted, and when he became thus cut off if not before, he

[65] began to teach those things to his Party and to ordain them Prophets Priests and Kings⁶⁷ though it appears that he obtained some things from Wm Marks⁶⁸ one of the Quorum and the President of this Stake but he and his Party soon left Nauvoo and went to Pittsburg, where they began to publish a Paper chiefly to expose the Corruptions of the Church, but I soon began to hear but little of them so I leave them for the present, It seems that Joseph had not looked upon Rigdon as his Councillor

[66] for a long time, yet as the Church with Brother Hiram, seemed willing to continue him in that Office he was not openly dismissed therefrom Joseph said he had carried him till he was [sick] of it, He wanted one that would stand by him in Danger and Peril, and at all times but it appears that Joseph had chosen Bro Hiram and Amasa Lyman in the stead of Rigdon and Wm Law⁶⁹

[67] In October (44) a Conference was held and was very numerously attended, much Instruction was given by Elder B Young on the Priesthood &c and the High-Priests were appointed to seek out new Locations (ie) many of them, all through the Country, and make gatherings of People together they came forward readily in Expectation of going out at once but Bro Young told us they need not be in a Hurry about it, and it appears they will not go out till the Temple is finished⁷⁰

[68] but he felt a burden on him and he wished to get it off, I never attended a better Conference for union and Business A number of 70s were also organised, and a good feeling prevailed⁷¹

The * Saints had all through the Senes which had transpired since the Death of our Brethren been strongly exhorted to refrain from a Spirit or Conduct of Revenge and Bro Richards had pledged his Life that there should be no Revenge

[69] taken on our Part, and it had been carefully observed but when Elder Lyman White [Wight] came home from Washington where he and Elder Kimball had gone on the Business of Joseph,s Election as President, he began to exclaim against the governor calling him a little pusylanimous Devil, and said that Joseph was pleading with God for his Damnation, said curse the Te[m]ple, and represented Matters as though Nauvoo was of no importance any longer

[70] and as Joseph had given Bishop G[eorge] Miller the liberty to locate the Black River Company (ie) those Men who had [been] cutting Pine for the Temple, according to their Discretion, he⁷² got them and what he could besides with all the Means he [could] muster, and left this Place and went up the River to locate there, he seemed to consider that we were too corrupt for them to keep the Commandments of God amongst us, this is

[71] stated by one of his Party, his Conduct was contrary to the Mind of the rest of the 12 and was reproved by them, he left us and took all he could of Men and Means just at a time when it was necessary to stand firmly together, but at the Conference ~~it was~~ several bore witness to his excellent Properties and he was continued in his Place as one of the 12 in Bro D Patten,s⁷³ stead James Emmett⁷⁴ also led off a small Party I know

[72] not whither, these with Rigdons Party besides other Individuals, has caused some to say that Nauvoo has had a Mighty Puke, and it is the bad Stuff that is thrown up— Soon after the Death of Joseph and Hiram the building of the Temple was resumed with great Vigor and proceeded more rapidly than it had ever done before so that before the next Winter⁷⁵ all the Faces of the Capitals were up and all but six of Windows

[73] turned, so that we began to feel encouraged, and~~h~~ to anticipate the Completion of the Work of which Joseph laid the Foundation, the Work of building Houses also in the City has of late gone [well], and our City is becoming large and populous, we have also obtained more Arms to defend ourselves with and many of our Men are diligently learning the use of [the] Sword

[74] 1846 * January 4 Since the Death of Joseph and Hiram the Building of the Temple has gone on rapidly, and contrary to the expectation and Prophecy of Sidney Rigdon⁷⁶ and others the Roof has been put on, the Spire put up and beautifully ornamented The Temple is indeed a noble Structure, and I suppose the Architects of our Day know not of What Order to call it Gothic, Dorick, Corinthian or What I call it Heavenly, the upper Room is finished and about the beginning of

[75] December it was dedicated, and the 12 began to give to the Saints their Endowment,
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on the 6 [th of December] I entered it for the first [time] and I truly felt as though I had

gotten out of the World and on Friday, the 12th I and my Wife received our Endowment having formerly received it in the Days of Joseph and Hiram but it is now given in a more perfect Manner because of better Convenience,⁷⁷ the 12 are very strict in attending to the true and proper form, on Sunday the 21st 986 had received their Endowment,⁷⁸ My Sister Mercy

[76] R Thompson is regularly employed there washing &c at this time strong Attempts are making to take the 12 it seems as tho Earth and Hell are mad to see the Work of the Priesthood proceeding so rapidly the United States Martial has been here for some time searching and laying in wait for the 12 and some others, he searched the Temple through but in vain the Brethren have had to disguise themselves and conceal themselves to escape them, the Charge is Treason

[77] you may see the 12 &c wherever they go with six shooter Pistols,⁷⁹ in their Pockets but thus far they have been preserved and are ministering in the Temple and teaching the way of Life and Salvation. Many hands are employed in the lower Parts of the Temple the Font also is about finished and ready for use.⁸⁰ The Saints at the same time are organised into Companies, and are preparing to leave Nauvoo for some unknown Location in the W[est]⁸¹

[78] having been compelled to promise to leave our homes and our Temple wheather we can dispose of them or not in the coming Spring by the Gentiles around us and the Nation sanction their proceedings, and the Church are hastening to finish the Temple before we leave James Emmet[t]⁸² a short time ago came to Navoo and was taken into the Church again and Bros Sherwood and John Ful[l]mer were sent out to his Company 600 Miles from this Place to instruct

[79] them and baptise them if they desired it which they did they and Lyman White [Wight] and his Company are daily remembered here by the Saints before the Lord, Elder W. Woodruff⁸³ and the Saints in England are also remembered before the Lord, about 2 Months ago Bro Turley⁸⁴ was taken on a Charge of Bogus making at Alton, was kept 4 or 5 Weeks in a wretched Condition in Irons was then taken [to] Springfield tried and let to Bail till next June, but persued before

[80] On* the 3rd of Jany (46) Mary-Ann⁸⁵ received her Endowment in the Temple, Friday the 23 of Jany 1846 we were sealed⁸⁶ in the Temple by Heber C Kimball and on the same Day we were also anointed by Parley P. Pratt⁸⁷

[81] Monday 26 our 4 Children were washed, anointed and Sealed to Josh & Hannah Fielding⁸⁸ And we (Joseph & Hannah) were sealed to Hyrum Smith for time and Eternity by Elders B Young & H. C Kimball⁸⁹

Our 4 Children are Rachel born at Preston, County of Lancaster, England, on the 27- of June 1839

Ellen, born in Preston aforesaid on the 9th of Feb. 1841

Heber born in Nauvoo on the 20 of July 1843

[82] Joseph born at Nauvoo on the 13th of July 1846⁹⁰

Jan*29-46 Last Eve called at the Temple many were receiving their Endowment, and Numbers waiting to be sealed, all things dark around us it is generally expected the County is to be put under Martial Law, Affidavits have been made at Washington by Rigdon or William Smith and Adams or all that we intend to go and bring on the Indians against the Government and the Design is to prevent our going

[83] by putting us under Martial Law, and to hem us in on all Sides and then to torment us with Writs &c it is hard to think of our Brethren ~~the~~ leaving us while (everything) is going so well, especially in the Temple.

Feb.* 18 For about the last 2 Weeks the Saints have been busily crossing the River Mississippi with their Waggon &c and having a great deal of Public Property, such as Cannons, Guns and other Weapons, and Ammunition, Printing Press and other Mechanical

[84] and farming Implements, and the Church Records⁹¹ &c Seed Spring Wheat also intending if possible to put it into the Ground in the Spring; these, with a suitable Supply of Provision, at least as far [as] possible for such an unknown Journey, have taken all the Teams that could be mustered both Horses and Oxen I suppose they have over 200 Teams; they cross the River in Flat Boats; they have about 1½ Mile to go on the Water and it is hard

[85] Work to row them across the Stream, the Wind has often been too strong for them and they were obliged to wait I suppose by this time they are all on the other Side, 6 Days ago I went over to see the Camp which is 5 or 6 Miles from the River, the Camp Ground is by Sugar Creek where they have plenty of Wood and Water, a good Place for such a Purpose on the Night of the 13th the Snow fell and covered the Ground and the 14th was a very Rough Day, snowing all the Day long

[86] I felt much for them some had Tents and some Waggon Covers and some, neither of them; This Day is also rough, snowing all the Day from the North but it is not very cold, when I think that Men, with some Women and Children, should be so exposed—

The * Camp traveled [traveled] slowly, the [road] being bad and Weather rough and cold, sometimes having to put 8 or 10 yoke of Oxen to a Waggon till they came to what they called Garden Grove⁹² about [ms. is blank] Miles from Navoo where they commenced ploughing and planting, and after staying there a While the greater

[87] Part of them moved on a Distance of [ms. is blank] Miles, where they arrived in time to put in other Crops, some of which came to Perfection but some did not, they fenced in a large Field, having Grand River as a Fence on the West Side this Place they [called] Pisgah,⁹³ both of these Places seem to have been very sickly and have proved to be the Home of many of the Saints many of them are there mingled with the Dust, before they had time to reap the Fruit of their Labours the main Part of the Camp again moved westward till they crossed the Missouri River about 3 Miles from which the[y] encamped and went to work at getting Hay for the winter and in the Fall of the Year they moved on to the Bank of

[88] the River, they had been compeled to barter their Property, Horses, Harness, Beds and Cloathing &c to the Missourians for Provision, and made great Sacrifices, Brother Samuel Bent⁹⁴ was left as President in Garden-Grove and Brother Charles C Rich in Pisgah,⁹⁵ but during the Summer the former was called home, having done his work, I believe to the satisfaction of all the Saints, he had long been President of the High-Council—and the Latter was General of the Nauvoo Legion a Man of unblemished Caracture

[89] But to return to Navoo where I spent the Summer for want of Means to get away, I sold my House and 20 Acres of Land for 200 Dols in Trade, taking 2 Horses a Waggon a Coat Cloth and a few (4½ Dol.) in Cash the Land was in good cultivation, 120 Rods of good Rail Fence, a Frame House 16 feet by 24 filled in with Bricks a pretty Garden a Number of Aple Trees, and Peach Trees, just ready to bear Fruit, and an excellent Well 21 feet deep, not 2 Miles from the Temple, I paid for the Land in its wild State 160 Dol^s built the House &c, so that the Price of the whole would not near pay the Cost—one of the Horses I took for the Place I soon found to

[90] be bauky [balky] and I only got in trade for her a small yoke of young oxen, The last Harvest we had in Nauvoo was uncommonly great the Land in general bringing forth in abundance as much as 60 Bushels of Corn to the Acre, I had about 600 Bus on 10 Acres, in short the whole Place was as the Garden of the Lord, for fruitfulness, This was of Course a great Blessing to the Saints, but still it made the Sacrifice appear the greater,—Soon after I sold my Place I removed my Family and goods to the House on my Sister,s Farm

[91] called Brother Hiram,s where my Sister⁹⁶ thought of planting some Grain but we found it to be useless & I did not so much as plant the smallest Garden Stuff—the Enimies all around were breathing out threatenings against the Saints, till at one time as eight Men were reaping Wheat for [one] of the Members of the Church (Siro Davis)⁹⁷ about 12 Miles from Nauvoo a Company of about 80 armed [men] in Carriages and on Horses came upon them took them one by one a short Distance to the Place where one of their Friends had been killed the year before and they supposed of Course the Saints had killed him, and there gave each of them a severe whipping took some of their Guns off and broke others of them

[92] the weight made the best of their way to Nauvoo and as soon as they had made the matter known, the new Citeizens,⁹⁸ (they being the Officers of the City) in union with
to

the saints, determined at once \wedge endeavour to bring the Ring leaders of the Mob to justice and the next Day towards Evening a Posse left Nauvoo and went to the House of Captain M^cCalla in the Night and took him and 2 others and a Gun which they found in his House whith they had taken from the Eight Men and brought them home
the

to Nauvoo to take their Trial but in a few Days we were informed that \wedge Mob had kid-napped 4 of our Brethren and one of the new Citeizens, 5 in all, and

[93] that they had them in a Place called Pontusuck⁹⁹ 14 Miles off the Sunday after, about 50 Horse and foot Men, armed, formed a Posse left Nauvoo in the Evening trav-iled, in the Night and came to Pontusuck by Day-Light in the Morning, I was one of them, the first thing we saw was a couple of mounted Men as a Picket Guard, some of our Party chased them for some distance, one of them sprang through the Brush and got into the Field, but the other they pursued and overtook him ~~the~~ said there were about as many of them together in the Vilage as there were of us A little before we came to the place—we saw Men,s Heads starting up

[94] in the Brush wood on the Side of the Road, and we could not tell how many there might be concealed, we halted and and Brother W^m Anderson the Captain of the Posse called out and told them ~~their~~ his Authority, ~~that~~ he had been legally authorised and sent with a Posse to apprehend such as were not subject to Law,—We had been vety private about coming to this Place but still our Comming was expected there, and just as we got to the Vilage we were in loud voices commanded to halt, and we beheld a Body of Men partly concealed in the Brush, some of the foremost of them called

us to

[95] out to \wedge halt or they would instantly fire upon us, we were then within gunshot of them each of us had his gun cocked and ready to return the Fire if they fire, but Wm Cutler—one of our Captains told them our Authority &c, and no Gun was fired, some of them were very mad and swore bitterly, and we began taking some of them Prisoners, and finally we to[ok] 14 of them and after searching several of the Houses to find the Captives we brought them to Nauvoo, on the Way we were joined by a small Company who had left Nauvoo in the Morning

[96] to come to our Assistance if we should need it, we brought them [to] Nauvoo and there was some Rejoicing in the City the next Day we went off in a Posse in Search of the five Captives, and that night we Slept on the open Prairy, the Night was cold and we had nothing to cover us or but little at one the next Morning we started, divided into two Companies and searched several Houses to find if possible either the Captives or those that took [them], but the former were taken off by those that held them, for fear we should find them at the time we went to Pontusuck they had them within hearing of us, a little out of the Vilage, but on finding that

[97] we were there they marched them off, but we found their Stuff, a double horse Waggon containing Flour &c belonging to Phineas Young, who was on his way home from the Mill, and a Buggy, these we took home, the Names of the Captives were Phineas Young and Brigham his Son James Standing [ms. is blank] Balentine, and¹⁰⁰ [blank line]

When we then went out in a Posse it put all of them [in] fear and we could scarcely find a Man at his home by Day or by Night we did not return home till Saturday Eve, but our Labor was in vain, the Mob Party took every way they could to deceive us and lead us on the wrong track, as we learned afterwards they were taken from Place to Place every Day through the woods &c, having eight Men to guard them

[98] who hurried through the woods some of them being Sick with Ague, but they were often told that if they faltered or stopt they would instantly shoot them, several times they had fixt a time and Place to do it, and were on the Point of it but were prevented through fear through the Mercy of God we searched for them all this week and most of the next week going as far as 30 or more Miles, some times going all Night and sometimes [with] but little to eat, our Horses were much reduced, and we were weary, this was just in Wheat Harvest and so [much] were the people in fear of us that many large fields of wheat were destroyed for want of cutting, for the[y] durst not be seen, but some of them said they would wait upon [until]

[99] after Harvest After being in Captivity over 2 Weeks they all returned safly home, being let go by a fresh Guard to whom they had committed ~~th~~ the old to ones attended

to

a Meeting in Carthage, they were gladly received home [^] their wives and Friends, indeed it was far more than we expected ever to see them again, not long after this the Mob began to collect and to threaten us with destruction, first at Golding,s Point to the Number of 200 or 300 from whence they dispersed through fear, but soon began to gather again near Carthage where they lay encamped a number of Weeks to the N^o of 900 as far as I can gather untill early in September they marched into Nauvoo, My two Sisters Smith and Thompson and myself with our Families

[100] had just got over the River (Missisipi) with all our goods except two Boat Loads before they came in Contact with the Citiezens, they came and encamped on the Farm that I had just left, they took this Course to avoid any Ambushment that might be laid for them, from thence they sent Balls into the City but before they came near the Temple they were met and repulsed but I shall not attempt to record the whole of [that]

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Scene of Outr[^]ge the poor Saints had to flee, sick or well, they hastened to [the] River but the Citiezens judged it not best to let men leave when they were so much needed but the Sick the Women and Children got over as fast as they could I went down to the Bank of the River and found many of the Saints in distress, some had left their goods and were destitute of Food and Clothing, others had left their husbands in the

[101] Battle, the Cannons roared tremendously on both sides for several Days¹⁰¹ but [the] Mob as it seems to [me] found themselves losers and [a] Plan was got up to prevent their own destruction € A Committee came from Quincy professing to be Friends to both Sides, and Proposed to put a stop to the fighting on turms which the Saints thought it best to accept as the Mob increased daily and they the few Saints, (I suppose not more in Numbers than 150) were almost forsaken of the new Citizens, the number slain of the Mob is not well known, but it is probable that 150 fell in Battle and altho their Numbers was so great and that of the Saints so small, the former said to be not less than 1100 yet but three of the Saints were slain, Brother Anderson and his Son, and a Brother Norris, this is truly surprising¹⁰²

[102] the turms of Peace were of Course such as would suit the Mob,¹⁰³ and as soon as the Saints had agreed to lay down their Arms they had to flee but many of their Arms were taken from them, the Mob found themselves in Possession of the City and they proceeded to capture, rob, and plunder in the most fiend like and unlawful manner they rendivouzed in the Temple, we had guareded it by Night and Day a long time feeling unwilling to leave it in their Hands, but they now had it to themselves, they even Preached in it and cursed the Saints but did no great Damage to it thinking it would add to the Value of their Property they treated the Saints with various kinds of Indignity some they pushed over the River in haste some they took and tried some they baptized &c—but in the midst of this some more

[103] humane from Quincy brout up a quantity of Clothing and Provision for the Poor as they got over the River, where the poor Saints were in great Numbers here also the Lord sent upon them as it were a Shower of Quails,¹⁰⁴ they came in vast Flocks, many came into the Houses w[h]ere the Saints were settled on the tables, and the Floor and even on their Laps so that they caught as many as they pleased thus the Lord was mindful of his people, and it was truly a Matter of Astonishment that in all this Persecution &c only 3 of our Brethren lost their lives, the trustees still stayed in the City, (Viz) John S. Fulmer Alman Babbit and Joseph L Heywood,¹⁰⁵ as soon as this unlawful Proceeding was staid we (my Sisters and myself[]) started on the Way to the Camp of the Saints

[104] having 9 Waggons, 6 of them Sister Smith,s, 1 Sister Thompson,s and 2 my own, in Sis Smith,s Family 6 Men, 5 Women besides one Sister that came with her 4 Children—Sis Thompson one little girl—in my Family 2 Men 2 Women and 5 Children and we had together besides our Teams 21 lose Cattle, as Cows, &c 43 Sheep . . .

Andrew F. Ehat is a researcher with the Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University.

1. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, ed. Parley P. Pratt, Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1938), pp. 130–131.

2. Joseph Fielding, the fourth son and child of John and Rachel Ibbotson Fielding, was born at Honidon, Bedfordshire, England, 26 March 1797. Mary, the sixth child, was born 15 April 1801, and Mercy Rachel, the ninth child, was born 15 June 1807. Joseph and Mercy emigrated to Canada 25 March 1832, and Mary followed two years later. They settled near Toronto, where Parley P. Pratt found them in 1836.

3. Joseph Smith Journal as kept by Willard Richards, 9 December, 1843, Joseph Smith Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter referred to as Church Historical Department).

4. Though the Prophet Joseph Smith expected to administer the ordinances of the endowment only after the Temple was completed (see Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932–51], 4:608; hereafter referred to as *HC*), yet he gave two reasons for introducing the ordinances privately before the dedication. The first reason he gave was that he was commanded of God to introduce the ordinances, and the second was that he had premonitions that he might be dead before the Temple's completion. Evidence for the first reason is found in Doctrine and Covenants 124:95, 97 and George Miller's letter to the *North Islander* dated 26 June 1855 in H. W. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Asilla," *Annual Publications—Historical Society of Southern California* 10 (Los Angeles: McBride Printing Company, 1917):120–21. Evidence for the second reason is found in the minutes of the 28 April 1842 Discourse of Joseph Smith in "A Book of Records Containing the Proceedings of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo," pp. 36–37, Church Historical Department, and Bathsheba W. Smith's recollection of possibly this very Relief Society meeting in "Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1 June 1892): 345; Lucius N. Scovil letter to the Editor, *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, 15 February 1884, p. 2 (see fn. 77 for excerpts from this letter); and the affidavit of Justus Morse dated 23 March 1887 in Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy* (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1914), p. 70.

5. Joseph Smith Journal as kept by Willard Richards, 1 November 1843, and Heber C. Kimball 1840–1845 Journal, "Strange Events," unnumbered p. 114, both in the Church Historical Department; and Helen Mar Whitney, *Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), p. 14. Helen Mar Whitney, a plural wife of Joseph Smith, who received her endowment after the Martyrdom but before the dedication of the Nauvoo Temple, was the one who added the surname *Smith* to *Emma* in the quote from the journal of her father, Heber C. Kimball.

6. Josephine Burton Bagley (a granddaughter of Joseph Fielding), W. Lester Bagley, Roe Barlow Barker (a great granddaughter), and Howard Barker, in 1963, printed in ditto form two hundred typewritten copies of the five journals of Joseph Fielding for use by the family. In that edition, they at times supplied words to clarify the meaning of the text, and in many cases I have included these in the transcription.

7. I have asterisks at points in the original text where ink color changes occur. Pages 1–3 of the journal were written with brown ink. Beginning with the first word of p. 4 the ink changes to a lighter brown color. This light brown color continues until the word "out" on p. 23, where the comma is written in a slightly darker brown ink (not as dark as pp. 1–3). This portion of the text, written 12 June 1844 (two weeks and a day before the Martyrdom, 27 June 1844), continues in the same ink color until p. 36, at the word "Resistance." Here the text ends in the middle of the line, and the 22 June entry begins indented in a new ink color. There are five reasons why I believe the material between pp. 23–36 was written on 12 June 1844. First, the material written up to the beginning of the 22 June entry reveals no knowledge of the impending Martyrdom. Second, on p. 31, when Joseph Fielding was writing the month when William Smith and Almon W. Babbit received their endowments, he began to write "J[une]," the month he apparently was writing in, but he caught himself, and blotted out the "J" and wrote "May." Third, on p. 32, he dates the entry in the same ink color as when he gives, for the first time at this sitting, personal reflection on his activities. Fourth, he uses in the last sentence of this entry the words "which was accordingly done on the 10th of this month June." And fifth, word choice throughout the apparent three writing sessions up to this point argues for the contemporaneous nature of the recording. The text

in p. 36, dated 22 June, continues in the same ink color until the word “did” on p. 38, where the comma begins the text in a lighter ink, grayish brown in color. It is conceivable that this portion was written on the twenty-fourth, after he had seen Hyrum Smith in the afternoon between 2:30 and 6:00. June 22 is the date of the governor’s letter requesting Joseph and the city council to stand trial in Carthage; therefore, Joseph Fielding could not have been writing on that day. Since all the details he writes at this setting could have been obtained from Hyrum on the twenty-fourth when the decision was made to go to Carthage, Joseph Fielding must have used the twenty-second merely as a starting point to describe these events. Certainly, beginning with the comma in the new ink color, indicated on p. 38, the next twenty pages of the text were written after the Martyrdom. The ink color change that punctuates this lamentation of the death of Joseph and Hyrum is at the asterisk on p. 57, where the word “not” is a lighter ink color which continues until p. 68 with the word “thee” in a slightly darker ink color. The entry dated “1846 January 4,” which begins p. 74, is written in a darker brown ink. At p. 79 there is an ink color change in the middle of his discussion concerning Theodore Turley, which he never finishes. Apparently, when he turned to his journal again on 29 January 1846, he decided to leave blank two pages so he could finish the account of the Turley incident and record his family temple ordinance data. Possibly on 13 July 1846 he did this, transcribing his notes on temple ordinance work onto pp. 80, 81, and the first line of 82, for he made the obvious mistake of dating the birth of this youngest son, Joseph as 13 July 1846. Yet the “Book of Adoptions & Sealings of Parents and Children” for the Nauvoo Temple—the official record of these ordinances available in the Church Historical Department—lists the date of Joseph Fielding Junior’s birth as 13 June 1845. The entry dated “Feb. 18” on p. 83 begins the text written in black ink. The remainder of this transcription of the journal, which begins with “The Camp traveled . . .” on p. 86, was written after Joseph Fielding left Nauvoo, while he was on the trek west.

8. Joseph Fielding 1841–1859 Journal, p. 1, Church Historical Department. Apparently, Joseph Fielding first began the journal at the other end of the book. The text begins: “Nauvoo December 1843,” and except for the omission of a few words, it is the same as the first page of the final draft of the journal. There is no apparent reason why he turned the book over and began the journal again.

9. He completed his fourth journal with an entry dated 10 October 1841 while aboard the ship *Tyrian* before his arrival in New Orleans. See Joseph Fielding 20 February 1841—10 October 1841 Diary, p. 86, Church Historical Department.

10. This is an example of the emerging executive role the Twelve Apostles were instructed to assume. Joseph Smith said in August 1841 at a special conference only a few months before the arrival of Joseph Fielding and his company: “. . . the time had come when the Twelve should be called upon to stand in their place next to the First Presidency, and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the Church at the stakes, and assist to bear off the kingdom victoriously to the nations” (*HC*, 4:403). For more detailed discussions of the role of the Twelve see D. Michael Quinn, “The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church,” *Journal of Mormon History* (1974):26–31, and T. Edgar Lyon, “Nauvoo and the Council of the Twelve,” in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, ed. F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards (Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press. 1973), pp. 178–81.

11. This was Lorenzo Dow Young, younger brother of Apostle Brigham Young.

12. The Olive Leaf revelation to Joseph Smith of 27 December 1832 commanded the building of a “house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God” (D&C 88:119). Six months later,

the Prophet received a revelation specifying the size of the structure (See D&C 95). At a conference two days later, 3 June 1833, “Joseph Smith, Jun., Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams [were appointed] to obtain a draft or construction of the inner court of the house” (*HC*, 1:352). The temple was completed in the late winter of 1835–1836 and dedicated to the Lord, 27 March 1836 (*HC*, 2:410ff.).

13. Mercy Rachel Fielding and Robert Blashel Thompson were married 4 June 1837 in Kirtland, Ohio, by the Prophet Joseph, a month before Joseph Fielding left for his mission to England. Thompson was born 1 October 1811 in Great Driffield, Yorkshire, England, emigrating to upper Canada in 1834. He was a scribe of the Prophet at his death 27 August 1841. On 11 August 1843, Mercy Rachel Thompson was sealed to the Church Patriarch Hyrum Smith, the day before he read to the Nauvoo High Council the revelation authorizing such plural relations. See 20 December 1880 Statement of Mercy Rachel Thompson, Church Historical Department.

14. This was Hyrum Smith, brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith. Mary Fielding, Joseph Fielding’s sister, was married to Hyrum 24 December 1837 in Kirtland, Ohio, following the death of Hyrum’s first wife, Jerusha Barden, who died 13 October 1837 after giving birth to their sixth child.

15. The Nauvoo House and the Nauvoo Temple were two structures commanded by the Lord in the 19 January 1841 revelation (D&C 124) to be built. The Nauvoo House was to serve as a place where the rich and rulers of the earth would have lodgings when they came to visit Nauvoo. Though the Temple was completed before the Saints finally left Nauvoo, their dream for the Nauvoo House never came to fruition. (See *HC*, 6:236–37).

16. This prophecy concerning Joseph’s son Heber is like the prophecy of Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt quoted at the beginning of this article. The beginning of Kimball’s declaration to Pratt, which was not quoted, included a promise of a son and that his name would be Parley. See Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, pp. 130–31.

17. They were visiting with Emma’s sister Elizabeth and her husband, Lorenzo D. Wasson (*HC*, 5:431).

18. They first were going to Ottawa, Illinois, and were half way there (Pawpaw Grove) when they found out that the Judge who was to consider the writ of habeas corpus was in New York. So they returned to Dixon and another writ was issued, ostensibly returnable to Stephen A. Douglas at Quincy, Illinois. Joseph H. Reynolds, sheriff of Jackson County, Missouri, and Constable Harmon T. Wilson, of Carthage, Illinois (the two men who had seized the Prophet in an illegal manner), desired to go to Quincy by riverboat and thus avoid Nauvoo. However, the Prophet’s wishes were finally followed and they continued the trip by land. Near Nauvoo it was decided, as was hoped all along, that the writ would be returnable at Nauvoo as the “nearest municipal court”—for that was all that was specified on the document. No doubt the general wording of the order was then much to the chagrin of the two policemen who had seized the Prophet. (*HC*, 5:431–61).

19. John Cook Bennett’s career among the Mormons was meteoric. Within a few months after meeting the Prophet he was an assistant president of the church, the major general of the Nauvoo Legion, and mayor of Nauvoo. When his depraved character became exposed to the Church, he was summarily dismissed, and he soon began a career of lecturing and writing against the Mormons. See his *History of the Saints or an Expose of Joe Smith and the Mormons*.

20. Orson Pratt preferred to believe that when Bennett made sexual advances to Pratt’s wife, Sarah, Bennett was acting with the permission of Joseph. Since Pratt would not recant, on 20 August 1842 he was excommunicated from the Church. When

Orson Pratt realized the truth of the matter and became reconciled with the Prophet, he was, with his wife, rebaptized into the Church, and was reordained an apostle on 20 January 1843.

21. On 15 April 1840, Orson Hyde, one of the apostles, left Commerce (later called Nauvoo) for a mission to Jerusalem to dedicate the land of Palestine for the gathering of the Jews. The dedication took place on the Mount of Olives 24 October 1841. Hyde did not return to Nauvoo until 7 December 1842 (*HC*, 5:200).

22. When those of the Twelve Apostles who had been in Great Britain from April of 1840 decided to return to Nauvoo, Parley P. Pratt was designated to preside over the mission. They arrived back in Nauvoo in July 1841, but Pratt did not return until 7 February 1843 (*HC*, 5:265).

23. Orrin Porter Rockwell, apparently baptized on the day the Prophet's parents were in 1830, just after the organization of the Church, was a long-time confidant of Joseph Smith. When, on 6 May 1842, Lilburn W. Boggs, former governor of Missouri, was found severely wounded from pistol shots of a would-be assassin, rumors were quick to fly that Joseph Smith and Porter Rockwell were accomplices in the bloody deed. Since Boggs, in October 1838, had issued the famous "exterminating order" which drove the Saints from their Zion to Illinois, it was easy for many to believe the deed was the act of the Mormon "Danite," Porter Rockwell. No conviction was ever brought against Rockwell; nevertheless, he languished in jail from 4 March 1843 until his release when he made his way to Nauvoo, arriving in time to be the unexpected guest of honor at the Prophet's Christmas party of 1843.

24. Due to writs for Joseph Smith's arrest in connection with the Boggs assassination attempt, the Prophet kept secluded for most of August and September 1842.

25. The Nauvoo Lodge of Masons had phenomenal growth, a growth uncommon with the Masonic institution, which brought understandable concern to those who supervised the proceedings of the Lodge and certified that all the usages were followed strictly.

26. Joseph Fielding saw the expansion of the Masonic institution among the Mormons in Nauvoo not as an attempt to replace the quorum and social structure in the priesthood brotherhood but as an aid to acceptance of the endowment. While it appears that Joseph Smith encouraged the rapid expansion of Freemasonry among the Mormons, he nevertheless on 4 May 1842 began giving the "true Origin of Masonry" to a select few. On this date, he gave the endowment to nine men and made explanations of its relationship to Freemasonry. Six weeks later, 17 June 1842, Heber C. Kimball, one of the nine, wrote to his fellow apostle, Parley P. Pratt, who was still in England presiding over the mission there, and referred to these developments in the following manner: "Brother Joseph feels as well as I [have] Ever see[n] him. one reason is he has got a small company, that he feels safe in thare hads. and that is not all he can open his bosom to and feel him self safe I wish you was here so as to feel and hear fore your self. we have received some pressious things through the the Prophet on the preasthood that would caus your Soul to rejoice I can not give them to you on paper fore they are not to be riten. So you must come and get them fore your Self.— . . . Thare is a similarity of preast Hood in masonry. Bro Joseph ses masonary was taken from preasthood but has become degenrated. but mennny things are perfect." Kimball to Pratt, 17 June 1842, Parley P. Pratt Papers, Church Historical Department. This testimony of the early introduction of the endowment and its relationship to Freemasonry speaks of the power of the principles advocated by the Prophet. For while Heber C. Kimball had been a Mason since his 1823 Victor Lodge days, his reaction to what might have been considered a blatant adaptation of Freemasonry was one only of awe and respect. Joseph Fielding's reaction appears to have been the same.

27. See, for example, Joseph Smith's discourses in *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, comp. Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1967), pp. 329ff., 335ff., and 356ff.

28. A report of this address may be found in *HC*, 6:226–44.

29. A report of the proceedings of this 26 May 1844 meeting may be found in *HC*, 6:408ff. The affidavits of M. G. Eaton and A. B. Williams may be found in *HC*, 6:278–80.

30. Warren Parrish, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and Isaac Russell, the men referred to here, had said that Joseph had lost his prophetic powers.

31. See *HC*, 6:346–47 for the 28 April 1844 meeting held at Wilson Law's home.

32. See *Nauvoo Expositor* (7 June 1844), p. 2, cols. 1–5, especially resolution 2 in cols. 3 and 4 and the affidavits of William Law, Jane Law, and Austin A. Cowles in cols. 4 and 5.

33. See *HC*, 6:341 for the proceedings of the 18 April 1844 excommunication trials of these individuals.

34. William Marks, the Nauvoo Stake president, was at least ambivalent over Joseph Smith's introduction of plural marriage. William Law could not induce Marks to come out in open opposition to the Prophet's teachings on this subject as Law had induced Marks' first counselor, Austin A. Cowles, to do. But at this trial of William Law, et al., Jack (John) Scott testified that William Law had told him the day before that Joseph Smith had made advances on Jane Law, which accusation the Prophet denied but reportedly later acknowledged. Then Law said that to cover up bad intentions, Joseph Smith had sealed William Law and his wife. While the minutes do indicate that Scott thought "W^m wife lied somewhere," Marks did not agree and, consequently, he could not vote against her. The Prophet was not in attendance at this important meeting; however, at a meeting of those who had received their endowments, Joseph asked for a vote of the men and women to drop William Law from the "Quorum." Though Bathsheba W. Smith did not indicate the member who did not at first vote against Law, it was probably William Marks. The hesitant vote by "one member . . . called forth earnest remarks from the Prophet Joseph. . . . After this explanation the vote was unanimous." Joseph's "earnest remarks" and "explanation" that convinced the unidentified dissenter were probably similar to his explanation of the situation to his German teacher, Alexander Neibaur. On 23 May 1844 William Law testified before the circuit court in Carthage that Joseph Smith had committed adultery (see fn. 46), and the next day Joseph related to Neibaur what he considered were some of the roots of Law's animosity. "Mr Wm Law, wisht to be Married to his Wife for Eternity Mr. Smith said would Inquire of the Lord, Answered no because Law was a Adulterous person. Mrs Law wandet to know why she could not be Married to Mr. Law Mr. S said would not wound her feeling by telling her some days after Mr Smith going toward his Office Mrs La stood in the door beckoned to him more the once did not Know wheter she bekoned to him went across to Inquire yes please to walk in no one but herself in the house. she drawing her Arms around him if you wont seal me to my husband Seal myself unto you. he Said stand away & pushing her Gently aside giving her a denial & going out. when Mr. Law came home he Inquired who had been in his Absence. she said no one but Br Joseph, he than demanded what had passed Mrs L then told Joseph wandet her to be Married to him—" (Alexander Neibaur Journal, 24 May 1844, microfilm of holograph, Church Historical Department. For Jack (John) Scott's testimony, see loose sheet transcript of the 18 April 1844 trial in the Brigham Young Papers, Church Historical Department. Compare this with the Joseph Smith Diary under the same date to ascertain the fact that Joseph Smith was not present. For Bathsheba W. Smith's

statement on the proceedings at a meeting of those who had received their endowments, see “Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (1 June 1892):345. (See fn. 65.)

35. Though Joseph Fielding is silent on the fact, his own sister Mercy Rachel had been sealed as a plural wife to the Prophet’s brother, Hyrum. (See fn. 13, preceding.)

36. The Kingdom of God was a shortened name of the authorized title of the Council of Fifty. The full title of the organization, given in a revelation to the Prophet 7 April 1842, was “The Kingdom of God and His Laws with the Keys and powers thereof and judgment in the hands of his servants, Ahman Christ” (Abraham H. Cannon Journal, 5:24, under date of 9 October 1884, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah). The date that Joseph Fielding became a member cannot be determined precisely by available documentation, though he was probably present at the two Council of Fifty meetings held prior to the excommunication trial of William Law, et al. This would give, at the latest, 18 April 1844 as the day of his entrance into the Council. Fielding reports in his journal for 11 March 1849: “It is five Years to the Day the 11 of March since the Council, now called the Legislative Council, was first formed by the Prophet Joseph Smith.” Speaking earlier of this organization date, he says (sometime in the winter of 1847), “I still hold a Place in the Council of Fifty, and have done from its first organization by Joseph Smith.” (Joseph Fielding 1841–59 Journal. The first quotation is under the date given on p. 149, and the latter quotation is on p. 126.)

37. These remarks are his response to the “King Follett Discourse.” See Donald Q. Cannon, “The King Follett Discourse: Joseph Smith’s Greatest Sermon in Historical Perspective,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978):185–90.

38. Sidney Rigdon, who having become a member of the Council of Fifty on 19 March 1844, thereby gained a renewed devotion and spoke several times at the April 1844 general conference, alluding often to the proceedings of the Council of Fifty. See original minutes of his discourse in the Miscellaneous Minutes Collection, Church Historical Department.

39. See *HC*, 6:355–40 for a listing of the elders called on missions to electioneer for the Prophet Joseph in his bid for the Presidency. See also James B. Allen, “The American Presidency and the Mormons,” *Ensign* 2 (October 1972):46–56.

40. The “Grand Council” was one of his designation for the Council of Fifty. Actually, the Council did go by the title “General Council.” See footnote, *HC*, 7:379, where the manuscript version of the *HC* is cited for the definition: “General Council is the Council of the Fifty.”

41. On March 1844, after the fourth consecutive day of deliberations of the Council of Fifty since its organization, the Council sent Lucien Woodworth on a mission to Texas to ascertain the likelihood that “a colony” of the Mormons would be welcomed there by the staff of Governor Sam Houston. The “colony” of Mormons would have been the “pinery” group who were in Wisconsin Territory cutting lumber to supply materials for building the Temple and the Nauvoo House. The plan was that following the completion of lumbering operations that group from the Black River Falls would move to Texas, dependent on the success Lucien Woodworth had with Sam Houston. When Lucien Woodworth returned and reported to the Council of Fifty on 3 May 1844, the assessment Joseph Fielding gave of a Texas colony was only “fair” (See *HC*, 6:254–64, 350–351, and 356.)

42. The passage referred to is in Acts 12:20–23.

43. Joseph Smith’s discourse on this occasion (which should be dated 12 May 1844) is reported in *HC*, 6:363–67.

44. “Grand Quorum” is Joseph Fielding’s designation for those who had received their endowments from Joseph Smith. Of the titles used by contemporary diarists for this group, the one most often used during Joseph Smith’s lifetime was simply “Quorum.” (See fn. 65.) Joseph Smith’s Diary in the Church Historical Department confirms that on 12 May 1844 William Smith, the Prophet’s brother, and Almon W. Babbitt received their endowments.

45. The State Convention, held at Nauvoo, was run under the chairmanship of Uriah Brown, a Council of Fifty member, as appointed by the Council in the meetings of 25 April 1844. (See *HC*, 6:343 and the Joseph Smith Diary kept by Willard Richards for that date. For a published account of the proceedings of the convention, see *HC*, 6:386–97.)

46. The indictment based on the sworn testimony of William and Wilson Law, filed on 23 May 1844 before the May term of the Hancock Circuit Court, State of Illinois, identifies Joseph Smith’s plural wife, Maria Lawrence, as one with whom the Prophet, from 12 October 1843 to 23 May 1844, “live[d] together . . . in an open state of adultery.” (Copy of original in possession of author.)

47. A report of Joseph Smith’s discourse may be found in *HC*, 6:408–13.

48. While Joseph Fielding at this sitting spent 10 pages writing on events of recent Church history, he had little to write concerning his personal life for the same period. Contrast his recording of his personal life in June of 1844 (on pp. 32, 34) and his writing in late March or April 1844 (on pp. 22–23).

49. Here Joseph Fielding speaks of the term “Spiritual Wives” in a positive sense as used in *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 November 1844):715, rather than in the usual negative sense.

50. Lyman Wight was one of the Twelve Apostles.

51. Actually only the first number of the *Expositor* ever got off the press, though William Law, in an affidavit dated 17 July 1885, says “[Issue] No. 2 we had printed on one side [viz. two pages of a four page issue] when the City Council and Joseph Smith, Mayor, ordered the destruction of the press.” This affidavit was first published in Shook, *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy*, pp. 124–29. See *HC*, 6:430–48.

52. See *HC*, 6:525–60 for an account of Joseph Smith’s leaving the city and crossing the Mississippi and his returning to Nauvoo at the insistence of “his friends.”

53. See *HC*, 6:565 concerning “Golding’s Point.” For a map depicting the whereabouts of Golden’s Point between Nauvoo and Carthage, see the inside front cover of Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy—The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1975).

54. Levi Williams was the accused ringleader of the mob that murdered Joseph and Hyrum Smith (See Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*.)

55. William M. Daniels, for his alleged direct testimony, was the chief prosecution witness at the trial of the Prophet’s accused murderers. (See Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*.)

56. “Daniels account of the wondrous light was never accepted in official Church accounts and has been rejected by responsible Mormon historians” (Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, p. 90 fn. 60).

57. See *HC*, 6:566 for report that William and Wilson Law, R. D. Foster, Chauncy L. Higbee and Francis M. Higbee had said this. In a postscript of a letter to an unidentified correspondent written 1 July 1844, four days after the Martyrdom, Lyman Homiston says, “Mr. Joseph Smith & his brother Hiram were assassinated in Carthage jail while awaiting their trial, on the 27 June in cold blood time will not admit of particulars. The mob were heard to say he was innocent and would be clear’d they must assassinate him, Oh Oh!!!” (Original preserved at the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.)

58. The “Some also beside the 12 [who] had received their Endowment” during the lifetime of Joseph Smith included 25 males and 32 females. One of the Twelve, John E. Page, did not receive his endowment until 26 January 1845, seven months after the Martyrdom. Regarding the conferral of signs and tokens of the priesthood, Brigham Young said 8 July 1855: “Build the Temples of the Lord, that you may receive the endowments in store for you, and possess the keys of the eternal Priesthood, that you may receive every word, sign, and token, and be made acquainted with the laws of angels, and of the kingdom of our Father and our God, and know how to pass from one degree to another, and enter fully into the joy of your Lord. Latter-day Saints, do you live to this, do you seek after it with all your heart? You are aware that the Lord is able to reveal all this in one day, but you could not understand it.” (*Journal of Discourses* [London: Latter-Day Saints’ Book Depot, 1855], 2:315 [cf. *JD*, 2:31; 5:133; 6:63, 154–55; 8:339; 9:25–26, 91; 10:172; 11:27, 163–64; 15:139; 18:132; 19:250].) Although Joseph and Hannah Fielding received their endowments from Joseph Smith, they did not in the Prophet’s lifetime receive the higher ordinances associated with the temple of the Lord. Nevertheless, Joseph Fielding was aware that they had been instituted and knew that the Twelve had received the fulness of those ordinances and was thereby assured that all the keys of the priesthood had been preserved despite the death of the Prophet. (See *fns.* 64, 65.)

59. See D&C 131:1–4, and for the context of this scriptural passage see the Prophet’s remarks to William Clayton in *HC*, 5:391–92. Benjamin F. Johnson, at whose home these remarks were made, states that William Clayton recorded Joseph’s words at that time in his journal (Johnson to Anthon H. Lund, 12 May 1903, Benjamin F. Johnson Papers, Church Historical Department).

60. This passage is found in Jacob 2:23–30 in the present edition of the Book of Mormon. Apparently this was a proof text used by William Law against Joseph Smith and the institution of plural marriage.

61. To Benjamin F. Johnson, Heber C. and Vilate Kimball and others, this was an irresistible argument for the beauty of the principle of a plurality of wives.

62. While this phraseology is similar to the Savior’s teachings in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 7:13–14), yet the use of the words “Exaltation” and “Lives” in this passage suggests that Hyrum Smith may have allowed his twice-over brother-in-law, Joseph Fielding, to read the manuscript of the revelation on Celestial Marriage including a plurality of wives. This important contemporary corroboration of D&C 132:22 is one of many such allusions which support the conclusion that the revelation was received by Joseph Smith rather than Brigham Young. The word “exaltation” is used eleven times in this revelation; except in D&C 124:9 (where clearly used in a different meaning), this word is not used again in any other of the scriptures of the Church.

63. There is no evidence that “Sidney Rigdon had absented himself from Nauvoo much of the time since April of 1843 and had settled at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, returning for visits or a few days to attend the conference meetings at the headquarters of the Church” (see McKiernan et al., eds., “Nauvoo and the Council of the Twelve,” *The Restoration Movement*, p. 193). Actually, Sidney Rigdon did not leave with his family until 18 June 1844, nine days before the day of the Martyrdom, 27 June 1844. See John W. Rigdon affidavit 28 July 1905, printed in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, n.d.), p. 84.

64. Brigham Young, Amasa Lyman, and William W. Phelps on 8 August 1844 testified that Joseph Smith laid such a charge on the Twelve Apostles (see *HC*, 7:232–41).

65. Of the titles used by contemporary diarists to name the group who received their endowments during the lifetime of Joseph Smith (titles such as Holy Order, Quorum of the Priesthood, Quorum of the Holy Order, Council of the Priesthood,

Council pertaining to the High Priesthood, First Quorum, High Quorum, Sacred Meeting, Ancient Order, The Priesthood, Priest Order, Order of Priesthood, Patriarchal Priesthood, and Patriarchal Authority, the title used most was simply “Quorum.” Since the Prophet had bestowed on this special group the keys to inquiring of the Lord regarding all subjects (See D&C 124:95, 97; 128:10–11; 132:40, 45–46; *Times and Seasons* 4 [15 September 1843]: 331 [or reprinted verbatim, as there published in the lifetime of Joseph Smith in *HC*, 6:51–52 or *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, p. 326]; *HC*, 4:604 [or *Teachings*, p. 226]; and *Journal of Discourses*, 19:250), he intended that they hear first his latest revelations and obtain a testimony of them before the revelations went to the general membership of the Church. (See *Times and Seasons* 5 [15 September 1844]:649–50 and [1 October 1844]:665.) Another function of this quasi-quorum is described by Bathsheba W. Smith: I was present when William Law, Joseph Smith’s counselor, was dropped from that quorum by each one present voting yes or no in his turn. He was the first member that was dropped who had received his endowments. One member hesitated to vote, which called forth earnest remarks from the Prophet Joseph. He showed clearly that it would be doing a serious wrong to retain him longer. After his explanation the vote was unanimous.” (“Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” *Juvenile Instructor* 27 [1 June 1892]:345.) That neither of these two types of “Quorum” actions could be considered to be binding in any way on the Church may be shown by the fact that in the former case, the revelations, after having passed the “Quorum” would then be passed through each of the priesthood quorums of the Church in public (as if there were no private forum on the matter). In the latter case, the action was considered merely a dropping of an endowed “Quorum” member, not an excommunication trial. The actual excommunication trial was a separate official action in behalf of the Church by thirty-two male individuals of which at least 16 were present when Law was excommunicated. (See fn. 34.)

66. Sidney Rigdon was invited to a “Quorum” meeting by William W. Phelps and received his endowment 11 May 1844 with John P. Green. W. W. Phelps felt sorry that Rigdon was going on a mission and had not received his endowment. (See *Times and Seasons*, 5 [2 September 1844]:638 and a variant of the same remarks made by W. W. Phelps on 8 August 1844 in *HC*, 7:238. Apparently, the Prophet Joseph was not as sorry, for after Sidney Rigdon received his endowment, Joseph said in the hearing of Wilford Woodruff “that he [Rigdon] came in without his wish or invitation, as he had no confidence in him” (see Wilford Woodruff’s 11 October 1844 letter published in the *Times and Seasons* 5 [1 November 1844]:698).

67. The specific charge against Sidney Rigdon at his excommunication trial, 8 September 1844, was that he had administered the highest ordinances of the Temple to individuals when he had not received them himself. (See Brigham Young’s statement of the charge in *Times and Seasons* 5 [15 September 1844]:648.)

68. Speculation that William Marks was the person who informed Sidney Rigdon of the higher ordinances is supported by the fact that Marks favored Rigdon’s claim for leadership at this time; Marks had received these ordinances during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. (See *Speech of Orson Hyde Delivered before the High Priest’s Quorum, in Nauvoo, April 27th, 1845* [Liverpool: James and Woodburn, 1845], p. 15.)

69. While no formal action of a general conference of the Church had displaced Sidney Rigdon and William Law as members of the First Presidency, nevertheless, Joseph Smith appeared to depend on Hyrum Smith and Amasa Lyman rather than on Rigdon and Law.

70. This decision to appoint high priests to preside over districts was announced in a “Proclamation to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,” dated 1 January

1845, published in *The Prophet* and the *Millennial Star* 5:152. Since the Saints were forced from Illinois soon after the endowments were given in the Nauvoo Temple, they never were able to carry out this decision.

71. The October 1844 conference was a time for a major restructuring of the quorum leadership of the Church. It was the beginning of a year of union and peace among the Saints, a year which saw unprecedented growth in housing and in work on the Temple.

72. Viz. Lyman Wight.

73. Lyman Wight, one of the Twelve Apostles, later to be dubbed by William W. Phelps as the “wild ram of the mountains,” was ordained an apostle in the stead of David W. Patten, one of the original Twelve, who was killed in 1838 in Missouri.

74. B. H. Roberts notes of James Emmett that he “was quite active in the affairs of the church in Missouri; but just a bit uncertain in his conduct. . . . He was always a restless, impatient man and ambitious of leadership which led him into great trouble and final separation from the church.” (*HC*, 7:270 fn.)

75. Viz. December 1844.

76. On 2 September 1844, Sidney Rigdon ordained some individuals “Prophets, Priests and Kings” and taught “that it was not necessary to build the Temple—that it never would be built—that God had rejected the Church” (see *Speech of Orson Hyde, Delivered before the High Priests’ Quorum, April 27th, 1845*, p. 17).

77. Temple ordinances were administered during the lifetime of Joseph Smith in four locations: Joseph Smith’s first home in Nauvoo—the “Old Homestead,” the “Mansion House,” Brigham Young’s home, and the “Red Brick” store. In the first three locations, available space restricted the ordinances. In the “Red Brick” store (the first place where temple ordinances were administered), the large open upper floor of the store was set up as Joseph envisioned the interior of a temple should be. Using canvas, he had the room partitioned into several sections representing the stages of man’s progression from his creation to his future possible place in the Celestial Kingdom. He engaged Shadrach Roundy, Noah Rogers, Dimick B. Huntington, Daniel Carns, and Lucius N. Scovil on 3 and 4 May 1842 to help arrange the room preparatory to giving the endowments. Scovil later testified that “We . . . went to work making the necessary preparations, and everything was arranged representing the interior of a temple as much as the circumstances would permit, he being with us dictating everything. He gave us many items that were very interesting to us, which sank with deep weight upon my mind, especially after the temple was finished at Nauvoo and I had received the ordinances. . . . I can and do testify that I know of a surety that room was fitted up by his order which we finished in the forenoon of the said 4th of May 1842.” (Letter of Lucius N. Scovil to the Editor, *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, 15 February 1884, p. 2.) Brigham Young, one of the nine men who received their endowments on 4 May, recorded: “Joseph divided up the room the best he could. . . . After we completed these ordinances Brother Joseph turned to me and said, ‘Brother Brigham, this is not arranged perfectly; however, we have done the best we could under the circumstances in which we are placed. I wish you to take this matter in hand; organize and systematize all these ceremonies.’ . . . [Each time we performed the ordinances under Joseph’s supervision,] I got something more, so I was able to organize them. When we performed the ordinances in the Temple at Nauvoo I understood and knew how to situate [everything]. We had our ceremonies pretty correct.” (L. John Nuttall Diary, originals in Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, under date of 7 February 1877.) Both Brigham Young and Lucius N. Scovil report that Joseph Smith was concerned that the size of the upper room of the store prevented him from presenting a perfect representation of the interior of endowment rooms for a temple.

However, in the Nauvoo Temple, where there was two-and-a-half times more floor space than in the store, Joseph Fielding asserts that the additional space gave “better Convenience” in presenting the ordinances.

78. Actually by 21 December 1845, only 564 persons had received their endowments. It was not until after activities of Thursday, 26 December, that 986 had received their endowments. It was not until after activities of Thursday, 26 December, that 986 had received ordinances. The figure announced at the Sunday, 28 December, meeting in the Temple was 986. Fielding was present at the meeting of the twenty-first and was probably present at the meeting held the twenty-eighth when he heard the figure, but when writing in his journal a week later, Sunday, 4 January, he most likely projected the number back to 21 December. (Heber C. Kimball, 21 November 1845–7 January 1846 Journal, Church Historical Department, under dates given.)

79. Orson Pratt, while on a mission east, purchased \$400 worth of six-shooters (see *HC*, 7:543).

80. The lower two floors of the Nauvoo Temple were solemn assembly rooms nearly equivalent in design to the Kirtland Temple. There was a basement floor which included the baptismal font used in performing baptisms for the dead. Work continued on these lower floors even after the exodus began. The Temple was completed for a private dedication 30 April 1846 and for a public dedication 1 May 1846—dedications where the Saints expressed their final devotion in building the Temple which the Lord had commanded, but which they would never fully use.

81. In a letter to the United States Secretary of War dated 17 December 1845, less than two months prior to the exodus, Brigham Young stated that the calculation for the move west was for the Church to locate on Vancouver Island. But a month later on 20 January 1846, in a “Circular of the High Council” of Nauvoo, the Church move was contemplated for a “good valley in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains.” A photograph of the 17 December 1845 letter may be found in Russell R. Rich, *Ensign to the Nations* (Provo: Brigham Young University Publications, 1972), p. 53. The circular is copied in *HC*, 7:570.

82. See fn. 74.

83. Wilford Woodruff was called on a mission to England in August of 1844 and left Nauvoo with his family on the twenty-eighth of the month. He did not return until 13 April 1846, in time to help supervise the dedication of the Temple. (Wilford Woodruff Journal, under dates given, Church Historical Department.)

84. Theodore Turley was finally released from this unjust imprisonment and returned to Nauvoo 18 December 1845 (see Heber C. Kimball, 1845–1846 Journal, 18 December 1845 and *HC*, 7:532, 545).

85. Mary Ann Peak, born 29 October 1806 at Bolton, Lancashire, England, was Joseph Fielding’s first and only plural wife. They were sealed sometime before July 1845, giving birth to their first child 22 March 1846.

86. Both Hannah and Mary Ann were sealed in the Temple to Joseph Fielding for time and eternity on 23 January 1846, confirming the previous sealing they could receive only in an imperfect manner outside the Temple.

87. Here he registers that he received the ordinances of the fulness of the priesthood.

88. Since Joseph and Hannah’s four children were born to them before their marriage was sealed by the power of the holy priesthood, it was, according to Mormon doctrine, necessary for their children to be sealed to them for eternity as if they had been born under the promises of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. These blessings pronounced by the priesthood were not promised by ministers nor civil authorities authorized to perform marriages.

89. As Joseph and Hannah's children needed to be sealed to their parents, so also Joseph and Hannah needed to be sealed to "parents" who were worthy of the sealing ordinances. Since Joseph's parents were not members of the Church, he elected to be sealed to Hyrum Smith, his brother-in-law and deceased Patriarch to the Church. The "Law of Adoption" that operated to establish the Patriarchal Order was intended to connect all families who would be exalted in the Celestial Kingdom back to Adam, the first man. (See Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830–1900," *BYU Studies* 14 [Spring 1974]:291.)

90. See fn. 7 on this discrepancy of the birth date of his son Joseph. Joseph was born 13 June 1845 and was present at his sealing to his parents.

91. Inventories of Church records packaged for the trek across the plains are available. In a new supplement to the Newel K. Whitney Papers (Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University), there is an inventory of Church property that was under the care of Whitney.

92. Garden Grove, Iowa Territory, was approximately 145 miles from Nauvoo.

93. Mount Pisgah, Iowa Territory, was located 27 miles northwest of Garden Grove and 172 miles from Nauvoo.

94. Samuel Bent was one of the original members of the Nauvoo High Council and became its president before the exodus from Nauvoo. He died in Garden Grove 16 August 1846.

95. Charles Coulson Rich was actually the second presiding elder over the Saints in Mount Pisgah. He had served as counselor to the first president, William D. Huntington. When Huntington died on 19 August 1846, Charles C. Rich became president.

96. Viz. Mary Fielding Smith.

97. Amos Davis was a captain in the Nauvoo Legion.

98. The "new citizens" were not natives or previous citizens of Hancock County. They had moved into Nauvoo when the Saints vacated the city.

99. Pontoosuc was located 91/2 miles northeast of Nauvoo.

100. The first name of Ballantyne was Richard, and the other unnamed captive was a Mr. Herring (Rich, *Ensign to the Nations*, p. 39).

101. This battle for Nauvoo began 10 September 1846. On the morning of the fifteenth, the Quincy committee interceded as mediators and negotiated the terms of peace which, of course, meant the immediate and final expulsion from Nauvoo of nearly all Mormons. Governor Ford indicates that the forces against the 150 Mormons and their allies were 1400–1500 men strong; eight hundred of these men were armed. (Rich, *Ensign to the Nations*, pp. 42–46.)

102. The number of casualties Joseph Fielding reports suffered by the attackers is far too high. The mob reported that 12 were wounded and that only one had died. Fielding's report of the casualties among the Mormons is accurate. (Rich, *Ensign to the Nations*, p. 43.)

103. The terms of peace may be found in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—Century I*, 6 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 3:15–16.

104. The Visitation of the Quails occurred 9 October 1846, three weeks after the final expulsion from Nauvoo (Rich, *Ensign to the Nations*, p. 46).

105. Three Council of Fifty members, John S. Fullmer, Almon W. Babbitt and Joseph L. Heywood, had been appointed by Brigham Young to remain in Nauvoo as trustees of the Church's property. They were holding out the bleak hope that a reasonable price could be had for property in order to help finance the Saints' trek west. (HC, 7:569.)