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The First Mission of the Twelve Apostles: 1835

Maclane Elon Heward

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts

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Religious Education
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ABSTRACT

The First Mission of the Twelve Apostles: 1835

Maclane Elon Heward
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The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is an administrative and ecclesiastical quorum. The Church, first organized in 1830, did not organize the Quorum of Twelve Apostles until 1835. When it was organized, Joseph Smith outlined the quorum's responsibilities through revelation. The Twelve were assigned two unique and specific responsibilities: to take the gospel to the nations of the earth and to form a traveling high council for the regulating of the Church outside of its stakes. The first opportunity for the Twelve to fulfill their responsibilities was in May 1835 when they were assigned to travel to the eastern United States and southern Canada. There they both preached the gospel and regulated the branches of the Church.

This mission represents not only the first time the Apostles fulfilled their assigned responsibilities but the only time that they filled their responsibilities as an entire quorum. It is surprising that more secondary literature on this mission is not available. This thesis seeks to commence an academic conversation regarding this mission and its impact both on the quorum's development and on the Church in its outlying areas.

Chapter 1 details the preparation of the individual members of the Twelve to fulfill this mission. It discusses the preparation of the Twelve prior to their call to the apostleship. It also discusses the training that took place between their call and the commencement of this mission.

As an administrative body for the membership of the Church, the Twelve spent the majority of their time on this mission with the members of the Church. Chapter 2 identifies the unique purpose of the Twelve on this mission and how that purpose was fulfilled.

Joseph Smith originally laid out the geographic framework for this mission, which sent the Twelve into Canada and throughout much of the northeastern United States. Chapter 3 identifies the locations of the Twelve based on available records and seeks to provide an answer to how the Twelve decided which areas to preach in.

Many individuals were baptized during this five-month mission. Chapter 4 identifies what the Twelve taught and the sources that they used. It also discusses the reaction of the people they taught. The concluding chapter summarizes the thesis and identifies areas for further research.

Keywords: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Latter-day Saints, Mormon, apostles, mission, evangelism, Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, William E. McLellin, Parley P. Pratt, Luke S. Johnson, William Smith, Orson Pratt, John F. Boynton, Lyman E. Johnson

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Introduction

The early stages of the recently formed United States of America provided a fertile soil for the expansion of religious thought and the creation of newly formed groups of worship; this period, from 1790 to 1870, is referred to as the Second Great Awakening. One religion founded during this time period has survived and flourished from its creation to the present day.¹ This Church is now known as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and was officially organized according to New York state law on April 6, 1830.² Even prior to its official organization, word began to spread about this new religion.³ Because of its rapid growth, the Church was constantly reforming and expanding its organizational structure. One foundational addition to its organizational structure was the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

Organized on February 14, 1835, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was given, among other things, specific responsibility to “open the door by the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus

¹ Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Cornell University Press, 1950), 138. “The Mormon Church, having survived and grown in the last hundred years as did none of its companion novelties, interests the present generation far more than any other aspect of Burned-over District History.”

² From this point on, the name “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” will typically be shortened to “the Church.” When I refer to a church or churches in general, *church* will not be capitalized. However, in accordance with style conventions, I capitalize *Church* when referencing “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.” Quotations will be left as the original author wrote them, so “Church” may be lowercased if the original author wrote it as such. It is also important to note that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was not the original name of the Church, nor was it the name of the Church during this 1835 mission. The current name was solidified on April 26, 1838, as recorded in the Doctrine and Covenants 115:4 (See also citation for Joseph Smith Papers listed below, where Joseph Smith records this revelation in his journal). The official name of the Church in 1835 was “THE CHURCH OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS.” See “The Outrage in Jackson County, Missouri,” *Evening and Morning Star*, May 1834, 160. For more information on the history of the name of the Church, see Brent Lee Metcalfe, “Changes in the Name of the Church: A Brief Historical Analysis, 1981,” Americana Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT. See also, Mark Ashurst-McGee, Dean C. Jessee, Richard L. Jensen, eds. *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals Volume 1:1832–1839*, vol. 1 of the Journals Series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, ed. Ronald K. Esplin, Dean C. Jessee, Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2008), 258. See also Richard Lloyd Anderson, “What Changes Have Been Made in the Name of the Church,” *Ensign* January 1979, 13–14.

³ For examples of missionary work performed prior to the organization of the Church see Larry C. Porter, “‘The Field is White Already to Harvest’: Earliest Missionary Labors and the Book of Mormon,” in *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith*, ed. Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988).

Christ” to all nations (Doctrine and Covenants 107:34–35, 18:26–27).⁴ In fulfillment of this direction, the Quorum was commanded, shortly after its creation, to take a five-month mission through New England and “Upper Canada.”⁵

This mission was a unique and important step in the development of the Church, although little has been written about it. It will, therefore, be the purpose of this thesis to establish the following five aspects of this mission within the context of the historical development of the Church: (1) preparation, (2) purpose, (3) travels and locations, (4) teaching, and (5) reaction.

Historical Context

Prior to the heightened level of religious excitement that was characteristic of the Second Great Awakening, the religious climate was similar to a barren wasteland. This religious low followed the Revolutionary war, and a time of great migration. “In the period of the Revolution, and in the years immediately following, religious and moral conditions of the country reached the lowest ebb tide in the entire history of the American people. And it was in the very midst of this period of moral and religious depression that the great western migration began.”⁶ William W. Sweet has argued that the immigrant population left more than just their homes to travel to

⁴ The Doctrine and Covenants is a collection of documents brought forth by Joseph Smith as revelation directing the establishment of the Church. Some of these were given to the Church generally and others were for individuals in the Church. From this point on, the Doctrine and Covenants will typically be shortened to D&C. Citations will also be given in the Joseph Smith Papers volumes. Robin Scott Jensen, Richard E. Turley Jr., Riley M. Lorimer, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, vol. 2 of the Revelations and Translations Series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, ed. Ronald K. Esplin, Dean C. Jessee, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2011), 394–395, 49.

⁵ “Upper Canada was the more westerly English Settlement, literally ‘up’ the St. Lawrence River from Montreal, and had become the home for the Loyalists and other English-speaking settlers.” See Richard E. Bennett, “A Study of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Upper Canada, 1830–1850” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975), 3.

The mission was assigned to the quorum on March 12, 1835. They departed that same year on May 4 and returned September 26. See *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 2:209, 222, 283.

⁶ William Warren Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth and Decline* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1944), 117.

this new land—they left their “manners and morals.”⁷ Hundreds of thousands of people migrated from the Eastern Seaboard to the western side of the Allegheny Mountain Range. In addition to this, much of the New England population shifted from farmland to cities, which created across the nation a “moral and religious depression.”⁸

“Immorality, drunkenness, barbarism, and all kinds of vice were rampant.”⁹ College campuses, which have been described as “microcosms of our culture,” evidenced that society was sinking into increased religious depravity.¹⁰ Princeton was known to the previous generation for its evangelical climate, but in 1782 only two students claimed to be Christian.¹¹ At Yale College, eleven undergraduates were members of the college church in 1795. In 1799, only four or five were associated with the church, and on one occasion that year there was only one student at communion.¹² The religious and moral scene at the collegiate level depreciated to the point that one historian referred to college dormitories as “secret nurseries of every vice and the cages of unclean birds.”¹³

⁷ Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, 2. Sweet argues that anytime a people has been transplanted to a “New World” there has been a loss of the moral roots of its previous society which has led to the degradation of its manners and morals. He cites examples from ancient and modern societies from Lot, Abraham’s nephew, to “the Greeks, the Carthaginians and the Romans. Similar results are also seen in the story of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements of Central and South America.” Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, 1–21.

⁸ Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, 115, 117.

⁹ Paulus Scharpff, *History of Evangelism: Three Hundred Years of Evangelism in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America*, trans. Helga Bender Henry (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), 96.

¹⁰ David L. McKenna, *The Coming Great Awakening* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 51.

¹¹ Micah Reid Davidson, “The Role of Youth in the Great Awakening of North America from 1720 through the Civil War” (PhD diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2003), 83. See also, Bob L. Eklund, *Spiritual Awakening* (Atlanta, GA.: Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 1986), 19.

¹² Davidson, “The Role of Youth in the Great Awakenings,” 84. See also Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement Down to the Present Time* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1888), 376.

As bad as the collegiate religious climate was, the rest of the nation was not well churched either. When the United States Constitution was ratified, less than ten percent of the population was members of a church.¹⁴ The lack of church attendance and the decrease in overall morals are surprising. One historian quotes a missionary reporting from the Western Reserves of Ohio as saying that the “people of the region, though coming from ‘a land of bibles and Sabbaths and ministers and churches,’ ‘now act like freed prisoners.’ They find themselves in a country ‘where they can fight against God without fearing man.’ In New England they walked the courts of God’s house; ‘they deny Christ in this land of sinful liberty.’”¹⁵

Historians link the decline of religious and moral character during this period to a number of different factors. War “had disrupted the normal patterns of church life.”¹⁶ The spread of rationalism and deism also influenced churchgoers negatively.¹⁷ Other possible influencing factors have been identified as a “preoccupation with materialism,” “home-made whiskey,” and expansion into new areas causing individuals and families alike to leave behind the moral identity of their past situations.¹⁸ This abandonment of moral identity led the people to replace their former righteousness with riotous living.¹⁹

¹³ John A. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636–1976* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 41.

¹⁴ Shelton H. Smith, Robert T. Handy, and Lefferts A. Loetscher, *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1960), 1:519.

¹⁵ Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, 117–118.

¹⁶ Smith, *American Christianity*, 519.

¹⁷ Smith, *American Christianity*, 519.

¹⁸ Davidson, “The Role of Youth in the Great,” 80. Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, 118. “The greatest single curse of the whole country at this period, and especially of the raw frontier, was home-made whiskey.”

¹⁹ Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, 1–14. Sweet argues that “It takes a long time for a transplanted society to sink its own roots into a new soil . . . and the things of the mind and spirit are always the last to take root. Of the one hundred and one colonists who came over in the *Mayflower*, only a mere dozen constituted the membership of the

Whatever the cause of this religious and moral decline, its influence was nullified quickly. Within a few decades a powerful spirit of spiritual awakening brooded over this newly formed country. Men of influence, such as Francis Asbury, James McGready, Barton Stone, Timothy Dwight, Charles Finney, and Lyman Beecher, brought tens and perhaps even hundreds of thousands into church congregations around the country.²⁰ When Francis Asbury arrived in the colonies, for example, there were only six hundred American Methodists. Less than ten years later, there were over 8,500. A decade after that there were over 57,000, and by 1803 there were over 126,000 members.²¹ Asbury is credited for the establishment and organization of the Methodist circuit riding system and the “districts” in which they would serve.²² Although “the century which was just closing . . . threatened to close with dark and dismal prospects, [it] was destined to leave behind it a brighter record. A new era had dawned.”²³ From the results achieved and the work accomplished, the American church went from a barren religious wasteland to one of its most productive periods.²⁴

first church; scarcely a fifth of the Massachusetts Bay settlers who founded Boston, and the other settlements about the bay, were even professing Christians.”

²⁰ Sidney Ahlstrom argues that “no other figure sums up in his own life the many facets of the Second Awakening and its enormous consequences for American History” than Lyman Beecher. See Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 421.

²¹ Davidson, “Youth in the Great Revivals,” 89. See also, Timothy K. Beougher, “Did You Know? Little-Known and Remarkable Facts About Camp Meetings and Circuit Riders,” *Christian History* 45, (1995): 2–3. And Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 436–37.

²² The circuit riding system was the Methodist way of organizing preaching and missionary work. Ministers would travel through their “district” in a set route and preach to Methodists and potential Methodists.

²³ E. H. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1864), 1:299.

²⁴ Frank G. Beardsley, *A History of American Revivals*, 2nd ed. (New York: American Tract Society, 1912), 107. See also, Davidson, “Youth in the Great Revivals,” 130. Not all historians believe that the time period during and immediately following the Revolutionary War was the point in which the churches in America had reached their lowest level of vitality. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark argue that these ideas stem from one individual, Lyman Beecher, who was biased in his opinion. Finke and Stark argue that Beecher’s “claims about religious decline were as much a reflection of his contempt for Methodists and Baptists and their style of worship as they

The churches in America had experienced a great rebirth and the climate of the country was increasingly becoming a “paradise of heterodoxy.”²⁵ Gone were the days described by individual churches as “the epoch of the lowest spiritual vitality . . . ever experienced.”²⁶ New theologies as well as new methods of preaching began to arise. Charles Finney was among those whose differing ideas attracted attention. Perhaps his “most notable theological innovation was the emphasis he placed on the human rather than the divine role in effecting religious transformation.”²⁷ Joseph Smith was another whose ideas and proposed theology was not only different but also attracted attention, both from followers and persecutors.

A New Religion Is Born

From an early age, Joseph Smith was the product of an era of heightened religious activity. When just a young man of fourteen, he retired to the woods to supplicate the almighty God “to know which of all the sects was right, that [he] might know which to join.”²⁸ Joseph Smith claims to have received a divine manifestation in which God and his son, Jesus Christ, spoke to him in the form of men and declared their will. In response to Joseph’s question as to which of all the sects was right, he was directed to join none of them. He was later visited by a

were a reflection of his awareness of the problems besetting Congregationalists and Episcopalians in this era.” Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776–2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*, 2nd ed. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 55–60.

²⁵ J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah: Or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1870), preface.

²⁶ Williston Walker, *A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1916), 319. “The excesses and excitement of the Great Awakening had been followed, as early as 1744, by a period of spiritual lethargy which made the era of the Revolutionary struggle the epoch of lowest spiritual vitality that our churches have ever experienced.”

²⁷ Davidson, “Youth in the Great Revivals,” 134.

²⁸ David J. Whittaker, Karen Lynn Davidson, Mark Ashurst-McGee, Richard L. Jensen, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844*, vol. 1 of the History Series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, ed. Ronald K. Esplin Dean C. Jessee, and Richard Lyman Bushman, (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2012), 214. See also Joseph Smith—History 1:18.

“messenger sent from the presence of God” whose name was Moroni.²⁹ Joseph claimed that this messenger led him to retrieve and translate an ancient volume of holy scripture known as the Book of Mormon. With these and other experiences, Joseph Smith claimed to have restored the ancient gospel of Jesus Christ once again to the earth.

In a culture where differing ideas were the commonplace, Smith and his followers began to preach and gain converts. Missionaries were already sharing Joseph Smith’s doctrine and history even before the Church had been officially organized.³⁰

In 1835 the membership of the church had reached over 8,000 people scattered in hundreds of locations.³¹ There were two main bodies of Saints: one in Kirtland, Ohio, and another in Jackson County, Missouri. Other groups of believers were scattered mainly throughout the northeastern United States. The increased membership induced the necessity to regulate Church doctrine and practices.

In order to facilitate the “unity of the faith” (Ephesians 4:13) in the central locations of Ohio and Missouri, two groups of twelve men, known as the High Council, were formed—one in each location of the main body of Saints. These men were “appointed by revelation for the purpose of settling important difficulties which might arise in the Church” (D&C 102:2).³² There was, however, no organization to regulate the necessary items in the outlying regions of the

²⁹ Whittaker, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844*, 222. See also, Joseph Smith–History 1:33.

³⁰ For examples of missionary work performed prior to the organization of the Church see Porter, “The Field is White Already to Harvest.”

³¹ Rodney Stark, “The Basis of Mormon Success: A Theoretical Application,” in *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion*, ed. Eric A. Eliason (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 208. “By 1835 there were 8,835 Latter-day Saints. It is appropriate to pause here to justify use of such detailed numbers on LDS membership. Because from the very first the church has kept detailed records on every person who ever joined (as well as all their relatives, and, eventually, their ancestors), the LDS Church today can provide the name and biographical information for nearly every Latter-day Saint, ever.”

³² Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:406.

Church where membership was less densely populated. Though members were given a charge to evangelize after their baptism, the preaching was generally unregulated and unorganized. Many heeded the call to preach their new found faith, but none were given the specific responsibility to “Go ye into *all the world*, and preach the gospel to every creature” (Mark 16:15, emphasis added). These two duties—namely, the settling of important difficulties and the preaching of the gospel to nations outside of the United States—were responsibilities not taken lightly by the newly forming Church. In order to accomplish these mandates believed to be given of God, a quorum of “Twelve Apostles” was organized.³³ This organizational structure, though significant in Christ’s early church, was a new method in the nineteenth century. It was introduced by Joseph Smith.

Joseph Smith knew that this quorum was to be organized as early as June 1829 when he identified Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer to “search out the Twelve” (D&C 18:37).³⁴ It was not, however, until almost six years later that the quorum was organized. Less than a month after the first members of the quorum were called, Joseph Smith assigned them to fill their first

³³ *History of the Church*, 2:181. The *History of the Church* contains the notes from the meeting in which the Twelve were selected, ordained, and instructed. For information detailing the responsibility of the Twelve, see Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:394 (ll. 7–12, 38), 395 (l. 17), and 396 (ll. 23–44). See also, D&C 107:23–24, 33–39, 58–67, and 77–84. These were the twelve men called: Lyman E. Johnson, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, David W. Patten, Luke S. Johnson, William E. McLellin, John F. Boynton, Orson Pratt, William Smith, Thomas B. Marsh, and Parley P. Pratt. This ordering of the names does not reflect either the order in which they were ordained or their eventual hierarchal order but rather the order recorded in the *History of the Church*. See *History of the Church*, 2:187.

³⁴ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:483 (l. 45). Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer were early converts and had aided in Church development prior to its official organization. Martin Harris was later included in the group given responsibility to choose the Twelve. These three men were known as “the Three Witnesses.” They were given the responsibility to “testify that [they had] seen [the gold plates]” upon which was recorded the Book of Mormon. In D&C 18, where the Three Witnesses are given direction to search out the Twelve, Martin Harris was not specifically mentioned. When section 18 was given, Martin had need of repentance in order to once again be identified with those who would choose the Twelve. See Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:481, 484–486. See also, the introduction to D&C 19 and verses 1–9, 19. In the Book of Mormon, see Ether 5:2–4, 2 Nephi 11:3, and 2 Nephi 27:12.

evangelical mission together. That mission would be unique in that it would be the first and only mission in which the Twelve would travel and teach together as a complete quorum.

This thesis establishes the 1835 mission as a unique and influential mission in the Church. Chapter 1 includes information regarding how the Twelve were prepared for this mission. Chapter 2 discusses what their unique purposes or objectives were and how they influenced their missionary structure and journey. Chapter 3 focuses on where the Twelve traveled and taught. Chapter 4 discusses what the Twelve taught and how they were received. Chapter 5 serves as a brief conclusion to summarize findings and suggest further opportunities for research.

Literature Review

The literature review details six types of sources: (1) the general histories of the Church, (2) the primary and secondary literature on this mission, (3) the biographical information on each member of the Twelve, (4) other scholarly works written about the Twelve, (5) regional histories of the areas in which the Twelve taught and traveled, and (6) the secondary literature on missionary work outside the Church, particularly studies on Methodist circuit riders.

General Histories of the Church

The two most comprehensive histories of the Church were compiled for similar reasons. B. H. Roberts wrote *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, and Joseph Smith wrote *History of the Church. A Comprehensive History of the Church*. B. H. Roberts history was first released in magazine format in the *Americana* journal published by the American Historical Society located in New York. Later it was published in book form for the centennial celebration of the Church on April 6, 1930.³⁵ Both histories were written as a place to find “a faithful and complete history of

³⁵ B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: Century I* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1930), 1:v.

the facts” concerning the origin of the Church.³⁶ Although the histories were written for similar reasons, they have significant differences.

The *History of the Church* is predominately a compilation of records written at the time of events. According to the preface, the work is “more of the nature of annals than of history.”³⁷ In connection with the first mission of the Twelve Apostles, it has pertinent and important information, mainly from the quorum’s point of view. It is advantageous to read this information in the *History of the Church* because the mission can be seen as a part of a larger historical framework.

However, many of the original records, from which the history was taken, were summarized, and as a rule, summaries must filter content to a greater or lesser degree. This additional step increases the likelihood of error. Due to this, the original hand-written account of the first mission of the Twelve, written by the Twelve, has been compared with the history and is used in cases where important meaning has been lost through filtering.³⁸

A Comprehensive History of the Church is a history in which events and details have been collected and arranged to help the reader understand the history of the origin of the Church. It contains very little information on the first mission of the Twelve and is therefore minimally cited.³⁹ What little information it does contain is predominately on the calling and ordaining of

³⁶ *History of the Church*, 1:iii.

³⁷ *History of the Church*, 1:iv.

³⁸ The changes and errors are small and seemingly very innocent; in-depth review shows that they are, indeed, accidental. More information about this record is listed in the next section

³⁹ *A Comprehensive History of the Church* covers a century where the *History of the Church* covers only 25 years. The 1835 mission seems to be overlooked in terms of its relevance and importance in the development of the Twelve specifically and of the Church in general.

the Twelve, with some information regarding what they were taught about their calls. The record contains only a brief sentence on the fact that this mission happened.⁴⁰

It is important here to mention the work that is currently being done by the *Joseph Smith Papers* project. The work is incredibly extensive in scope and depth. The research and findings of this project are incredible and will eventually replace the other histories of the Church. There is no doubt that future *Joseph Smith Papers* volumes will shed additional light on this mission. For now, the volumes most cited in this work are *Revelations and Translations: Published Revelations*, *Histories: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844*, and *Journals: 1832–1839*. *Revelations and Translations: Published Revelations* is used extensively to cite what the Apostles were being taught and what they understood about their responsibility as a quorum. *Histories: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844* and *Journals: 1832–1839* relate Joseph Smith’s story in his own words and the interactions that he had with the Twelve. These two volumes also show the importance of history to the Mormon people and what the Church was doing as a whole to keep a record. The *Joseph Smith Papers* also has a website where many original Church documents are scanned. They are accessible to the public in high quality reproductions.

In March 1831, it was directed that “John [Whitmer] should write and keep a regular history” (D&C 47:1).⁴¹ Whitmer, like Roberts, gives very little information regarding this mission, saying, “you will find record in the history kept by the Twelve.”⁴²

⁴⁰ “Following the organization of the quorum of the Twelve, steps were immediately taken to begin their official labors in the ministry, and an extended tour was projected throughout the branches in the eastern states, to extend to the Atlantic Ocean. At a meeting on the 12th of March it was decided that the Twelve should leave Kirtland on this mission on the 4th of May, with a conference to be held at Kirtland two days earlier.” Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 1:382.

⁴¹ John Whitmer, *From Historian to Dissident: The Book of John Whitmer* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1995). See Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:126.

⁴² Whitmer, *From Historian to Dissident*, 142.

Primary and Secondary Literature on this Mission

The Twelve kept a record during their mission. This is one of the most valuable records containing information about this mission. The Twelve kept this record because Joseph Smith had directed them to do so. It was written by Orson Hyde and William E. McLellin.⁴³ On February 27, 1835, less than two weeks after the Twelve had been called and ordained, Joseph met with the quorum in his home to “lay before the council an item which would be of importance.”⁴⁴ Joseph told the Twelve that if he “had in [his] possession, every decision which had been had upon important items of doctrine and duties since the commencement of this work, [he] would not part with them for any sum of money.”⁴⁵ He expressed regret that this information was lost. He explained that if that record had been preserved it would have clarified “almost every point of doctrine” and would have increased the Church’s ability to bear a more powerful witness to the world. Joseph then counseled the Twelve to keep a record. He promised them that although it may not be of particular worth to them at the time, it would prove of “infinite worth” to them as well as to their brethren in the future.⁴⁶

Joseph was correct when he said the Twelve’s record would be invaluable.⁴⁷ This record gives detailed description of the quorum’s actions. Whereas other records kept by individual

⁴³ Ronald K. Esplin and Sharon E. Nielsen, “The Record of the Twelve, 1835: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles’ Call and 1835 Mission,” *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (2012): 5.

⁴⁴ *History of the Church*, 2:198.

⁴⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:198–99.

⁴⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:199. Joseph goes on to explain to the Twelve that if they do not record this information “the spirit may withdraw and God may be angry; and there is . . . a vast knowledge, of infinite importance, which is now lost.” Joseph then prophesies that if they do not keep a record that they “will fall by the hands of unrighteous men.” He explained that if they can prove what they were doing in a court of law then their enemies will not be able to destroy them. He finished by saying that this record “will be one of the most important records ever seen.”

⁴⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:198–99.

quorum members detail accounts of their personal work, no other record gives information verifying the involvement and importance of the quorum as a unified body. Though brief, it contains important information regarding the quorum's development. This record gives strong evidence that the Twelve had not "failed in the outset to fill their great and important mission."⁴⁸

In addition to the record kept by the Twelve, Oliver Cowdery also kept a record which was later transcribed into a book that has been designated as "Minute Book 1." This record contains "minutes of four meetings pertaining to the calling and instruction of the Quorum of the Twelve in February 1835."⁴⁹ This record, like the record of the Twelve, also contains information about a May 2, 1835 meeting of the Twelve just prior to their departure. Oliver Cowdery records the calling and ordaining of some of the Twelve on February 14 and 15. On February 21 he recorded his "charge to the Twelve," and on February 27 he recorded information about a meeting held with the Twelve and Joseph Smith.⁵⁰ Although the Twelve did not record information given during Cowdery's "charge," that information was given in the *History of the Church*.⁵¹ "These [records] supplement the Record of the Twelve. For other meetings and for the mission itself, the Record of the Twelve is not only the official but the only institutional account."⁵²

⁴⁸ *History of the Church*, 2:239. This quote comes from a letter in which Joseph reprimands the Twelve. Joseph had received word from Warren Cowdery, a leader in an area where the Twelve traveled and taught, that the Twelve had not been fulfilling the purposes that they were assigned. The issue was eventually resolved and the Twelve were absolved from guilt. More information can be found on this topic in chapter 1 under the heading "Temple Moneys Gathered."

⁴⁹ Esplin, "The Record of the Twelve, 1835," 10.

⁵⁰ Minute Book 1, 86–88, 147–64, online at <http://josephsmithpapers.org/>.

⁵¹ Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:194–198. See also, *History*, 1838–56, Volume B-1, 569–75, online at <http://josephsmithpapers.org/>. Also known as the Manuscript History of the Church or MHC B-1, p. 569–75.

⁵² Esplin, "The Record of the Twelve, 1835," 10.

As the Twelve traveled and met in conference, they took notes that were included in the record of the Twelve. Orson Hyde and William McLellin, the clerks of the quorum, also wrote reports of the conferences held by the Twelve, and they sent these reports to Kirtland to be published in *The Latter-days Saints' Messenger and Advocate*. These reports were summaries of what took place in the conferences and what was written in the record of the Twelve. Reports can be found in the May, July, August, September, and October 1835 issues of the *Messenger and Advocate*.⁵³

Generally speaking, George Ellsworth's study on early missionary work is still the foundational scholarship on Mormon missions.⁵⁴ He was the first to describe the evolution of Mormon preaching, i.e. how the evangelism from the Church's early days of informal preaching grew into the more organized missionary efforts coordinated through the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. He identifies some unique aspects of the 1835 mission and how it changed the Church's evangelical program.

Biographical Information on the Twelve

The biographical information available on each member of the Twelve ranges in its quality and quantity. The most beneficial source to this work is the personal account of William E. McLellin, written in his journal. This information can be found in *The Journals of William E.*

⁵³ William E. McLellin Orson Hyde, "For the Messenger and Advocate," *The Latter Day Saint's Messenger and Advocate* I, no. 8 (1835): 115- 116. "Conference Minutes of the Traveling High Council," *The Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 10 (1835): 153. Orson Hyde, "From the Letters of the Elders Abroad We Make the Following Extracts:," *The Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* I, no. 11 (1835): 167. David W. Patten, "Minutes of a Conference Held at Black River," *The Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* I, no. 12 (1835): 186. William E. McLellin Orson Hyde, "Letter of the 'Twelve'," *The Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* II, no. 1 (1835): 204–207.

⁵⁴ Samuel George Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830–1860" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1951). See David J. Whittaker, "Mormon Missiology: An Introduction and Guide to the Sources," in *The Disciples as Witness: Essays on Latter-Day Saint History and Doctrine in Honor of Richard Lloyd Anderson*, ed. Richard Lloyd Anderson, Stephen D. Ricks, Donald W. Parry, Andrew H. Hedges (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies, 2000).

McLellin, edited by Jan Shipps and John W. Welch.⁵⁵ McLellin, a former school teacher, took incredibly detailed notes on his daily activities. He mentions how long his sermons were, what he preached from the Bible, the reactions of the people, names of individuals who allowed him to stay with them, and so forth. His account contains a treasure chest of information that helps to unlock the experiences of this first mission. If his account has a weakness, it is that he doesn't record much information about what happens during the conferences held with the members of the Church, leaving this to the record kept by the Twelve.⁵⁶ His detailed description and educated background may be the reason he was chosen as one of the two clerks for the quorum, assigned to take notes on the happenings of each meeting.⁵⁷ The supplemental material provided by Jan Shipps, John Welch, and others is beneficial to understanding who McLellin was as a missionary.

Orson Pratt's journal is another contemporary source containing invaluable information about this mission.⁵⁸ Orson Pratt, like McLellin, records valuable information, only Pratt does not record the information with as much detail as McLellin. He, like McLellin, does not add much detail to the events of the conferences held by the quorum.

One group of important sources is located in the archives of the *Deseret News*, the oldest Utah-based newspaper. The *Deseret News* began publication three years after the Mormons entered the Salt Lake Valley. During the first decade of publication, the newspaper began

⁵⁵ William E. McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin* (Provo, Urbana and Chicago: BYU Studies and University of Illinois Press, 1994). Pages 170–96 contain McLellin's account of what happened during this first mission.

⁵⁶ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 175. On Friday, May 9, 1835, McLellin attends the first conference held outside of Kirtland and says that "the minutes of our consultation are kept in our Apostolic record therefore I shall not insert any of them in this journal."

⁵⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:200.

⁵⁸ Orson Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, ed. Elden J. Watson (Salt Lake City: 1975).

publishing firsthand accounts of the early leaders of the Church. Many members of this original quorum would not remain in the quorum due to death or apostasy. Due to this, not all of the histories of these Apostles were written by themselves. Some were compilations from their journals and some were summaries of their lives written by others. These articles contain varying levels of significant information about this first mission of the Twelve. Brigham Young's history contains the most information on this mission, although there are less than ten paragraphs directly on the subject. He gives the basic outline of the quorum's missionary activities and an anecdotal story that gives insight both into whom the Twelve may have sought out to teach and the reaction of those whom they taught.

Heber C. Kimball, in his *Deseret News* history, gives about the same amount of information on this mission as Brigham Young does, and his specific contribution is similar to Brigham's. He gives details that help to identify why the individual members of the quorum taught in the locations they did. He also gives specific information about the physical hardships of this experience. In Luke S. Johnson, Orson Hyde, and others *Deseret News* history, they state simply that they went on the mission. Some information is given on their responsibilities, and some of the Apostles mention places where they taught.

This is a list of other works on the individual members of the original Quorum of the Twelve Apostles:

Thomas B. Marsh

Anderson, A. Gary, "Thomas B. Marsh: The Preparation and Conversion of the Emerging

Apostle," in *Regional Studies in Latter-Day Saint Church History: New York*, ed. Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman, Jr., and Susan Easton Black (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1992).

———, “Thomas B. Marsh: Reluctant Apostate,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-Day Saint Church History: Missouri*, ed. Arnold K. Garr and Clark V. Johnson (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1994).

Lichfield, Walter C., “Thomas B. Marsh: Physician to the Church” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1956).

Esplin, Ronald K., “Thomas B. Marsh As President of the First Quorum of the Twelve 1835–1838,” in *Hearken, O Ye People: Discourses on the Doctrine and Covenants* (Sandy, UT: Randall Book, 1984), 167–90.

David W. Patten

Whiting, Linda Shelley, *David W. Patten: Apostle and Martyr* (Springville, UT: Cedar Fort, 2003).

Wilson, Lycurgus A., *Life of David W. Patten: The First Apostolic Martyr* (Charlston: Forgotten Books, 2012).

Brigham Young

Arrington, Leonard J., *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1985).

Black, Susan Easton and Larry C. Porter, eds., *Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life and Service of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1995).

Hirshson, Stanley P., *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young* (New York: Knopf, 1969).

Young, Brigham, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young: 1801–1844*, ed. Elden Jay Watson (Salt Lake City, UT: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968).

Lyman E. Johnson

Shepard, William, “Lyman E. Johnson: Forgotten Apostle,” *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 1 (2010):

Heber C. Kimball

Kimball, Stanley B., *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1981).

Whitney, Orson F., *Life of Heber C. Kimball: An Apostle, the Father and Founder of the British Mission* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967).

Orson Hyde

Hill, Marvin S., “An Historical Study of the Life of Orson Hyde, Early Mormon Missionary and Apostle from 1805–1852” (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955).

Luke S. Johnson

Andrew Jenson, “Luke S. Johnson,” in *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, ed. Andrew Jenson (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901).

William E. McLellin

McLellin, William E., *The William E. McLellin Papers, 1854–1880*, ed. Samuel J. Passey and Stan Larson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007).

John F. Boynton

“John Farnham Boynton,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 28, no. July (1937).

Orson Pratt

England, Breck, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985).

Pratt, Orson, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, ed. Elden J. Watson (Salt Lake City: 1975).

William Smith

Bates, Irene M., “William Smith, 1811–93: Problematic Patriarch,” in *Mormon Mavericks: Essays on Dissenters*, ed. Susan Staker and John Sillito (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).

Parley P. Pratt

Pratt, Parley P., *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, (Provo, UT: Stratford Books, 2005).

———, *Writings of Parley Parker Pratt: One of the First Missionaries and a Member of the First Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952).

Other Scholarship on the Twelve

Key works written on the Twelve contain valuable information about the Twelve generally and this first mission specifically, the most valuable of which is Ronald K. Esplin’s dissertation entitled “The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841.”⁵⁹

Esplin’s dissertation provides explanation and background to the preparation of the Twelve for their mission. He details the organization of the Twelve and how events on this mission seemed to solidify the authority of the quorum as a group second only to the First Presidency, the highest governing body of the Church. He provides a look at the Twelve from the vantage point of their leadership structure. He focuses on how this mission adds an important and incrementally advancing step in developing the quorum and its leadership structure.

⁵⁹ Ronald K. Esplin, “The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841” (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1981). The most valuable chapter pertaining to this mission is entitled “Brigham Young and the Apostles: the Quorum Experience, 1835–1836,” 150–223.

Another work of interest is an honor thesis by L. Todd Dudley.⁶⁰ In this study, Dudley explores a statement given by Joseph Smith that “of the Twelve Apostles chosen in Kirtland, and ordained under the hands of Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and myself, there have been but two but what have lifted their heel against me—namely Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.”⁶¹ In over two hundred pages this thesis establishes the conflict that would prove, in the subsequent years, to spark a contention that ended in the permanent disenchantment of a few of the Twelve. Dudley identifies the circumstances of the conflict and gives details about its effects as well. His work is beneficial in understanding how the different personalities among the Twelve fit together and reacted in different situations.

Although there is little information about this first mission contained in *The Duties and Responsibilities of the Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1835–1945*, Wilburn D. Talbot gives an overarching view of the quorum’s different phases and transitional periods. His work identifies important issues and conflicts that concerned the fledgling religion and how the duties and responsibilities of the Twelve helped to stabilize the occasionally turbulent Church.

This list includes other sources of interest:

Allen, James B., Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission; 1837–1841, The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992).

Dana, Bruce E., *The Apostleship: From the Original Twelve to the Latter-day Apostles* (Springville, UT: Cedar Fort, 2006).

⁶⁰ L. Todd Dudley, “All but Two: The Dissaffection of Ten of the Original Twelve Modern Apostles” (honors thesis, Brigham Young University, 1994).

⁶¹ *History of the Church*, 5:412.

- Flake, Lawrence K., *Prophets and Apostles of the Last Dispensation* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2001).
- Fluhman, J. Spencer, “1835: Authority, Power and the ‘Government of the Church of Christ,’” in *Joseph Smith, the Prophet & Seer*, ed. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Kent P. Jackson (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2010), 195–231.
- Hartley, William G., *My Fellow Servants: Essays on the History of the Priesthood* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2010).
- Quinn, D. Michael, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994).
- , “The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1976).
- , “The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church,” *Journal of Mormon History* 1, no. 1 (1974): 21–38.
- , “Organizational Development and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: A Prosopographical Study” (master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1973).
- , *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997).
- Talbot, Wilburn D., *The Acts of the Modern Apostles* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Randall Book, 1985).
- Turley, Richard E., “The Calling of the Twelve Apostles and the Seventy in 1835” in *Joseph: Exploring the Life and Ministry of the Prophet*, ed. Susan Easton Black and Andrew C. Skinner (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005).

Regional Histories

The author found the most success concerning the regions where the Twelve traveled and taught by looking up county information. The following chart identifies the counties where conferences were held. The footnotes indicate histories of these counties.

Table A: Conference Locations with County Information	
Conference Location by City	Conference Location by County
Kirtland, Ohio	Geauga County ⁶²
Westfield, New York	Chautauqua County ⁶³
Freedom, New York	Cattaraugus County ⁶⁴
Lyons, New York	Wayne County ⁶⁵
Pillar Point, New York	Jefferson County ⁶⁶
Loughborough, Ontario, Canada	Frontenac County ⁶⁷
St. Johnsbury, Vermont	Caledonia County ⁶⁸
Bradford, Massachusetts	Essex County ⁶⁹
Saco, Maine	York County ⁷⁰
Farmington, Maine	Franklin County ⁷¹

⁶² Albert G. Riddle, *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio: With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Pioneers and Most Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: Williams Brothers, 1878). In 1840 with the establishment of Lake County, Kirtland was placed in Lake County. See Arthur Orville Beamer, *A Natural History of Lake County, Ohio* (Lake County, OH: Lake County Centennial, 1940).

⁶³ Andrew W. Young, *History of Chautauqua County, New York: From Its First Settlement to the Present Time; with Numerous Biographical and Family Sketches* (Buffalo: Printing House of Matthews & Warner, 1875).

⁶⁴ Franklin Ellis, *History of Cattaraugus Co., New York: With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1879).

⁶⁵ W. H. McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York: With Illustrations Descriptive of Its Scenery, Palatial Residences, Public Buildings, Fine Blocks and Important Manufactories* (Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign & Everts, 1877).

⁶⁶ Hough Franklin Benjamin, *A History of Jefferson County in the State of New York, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Albany: Sterling & Riddell, 1854).

⁶⁷ Bryan Rollason, *County of a Thousand Lakes: The History of the County of Frontenac, 1673–1973* (Kingston, NY: Frontenac County Council, 1982). See also, John De Visser Alec Ross, *Kingston and Frontenac County* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 2009). Loughborough later became known as Sydenham: see *Sacred Places: New England and Eastern Canada*, ed. A. Gary Anderson, LaMar C. Berrett, Donald Q. Cannon, Larry E. Dahl, Larry C. Porter (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999), 151.

⁶⁸ Edward T. Fairbanks, *The Town of St. Johnsbury, Vt.: A Review of One Hundred Twenty-Five Years, to the Anniversary Pageant, 1912* (St. Johnsbury: The Cowles Press, 1992). William H. Jeffrey, *Successful Vermonters: A Modern Gazetteer of Caledonia, Essex, and Orleans Counties: Containing an Historical Review of the Several Towns and a Series of Biographical Sketches of the Men of Mark Who Have Won Distinction in Their Several Callings, and Who Have Become Conspicuous in the Professional, Business, and Political World* (East Burke, VT: The Historical Pub. Co., 1904).

⁶⁹ D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Essex County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1888).

⁷⁰ W. W. Clayton, *History of York County, Maine: With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1880).

⁷¹ Thomas Parker, *History of Farmington, Maine from Its First Settlement to the Year 1846: With Sketches of the History of Other Towns in Franklin County* (Farmington, ME: J. S. Swift, 1875).

State histories of note include: John S. Abbott, *The History of Maine* (Augusta: E. E. Knowles and Co., 1892); Jeremy Belknap, *The History of New Hampshire* (New York: Arno Press, 1972); and Charles T. Morrissey, *Vermont, A Bicentennial History* (New York: American Association for State and Local History, 1981).

Other notable sources regarding the history of Mormonism include: Richard E. Bennett, “A Study of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Upper Canada, 1830–1850” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975); Larry C. Porter, “A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania: 1816–1831” (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1971, repr. 2000); and Richard S. Williams, “The Missionary Movements of the Latter-day Saint Church in New England, 1830–1860” (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969).

Secondary Literature on Non-LDS Missionary Work with an Emphasis on Methodist Circuit Riders

Most of the non-LDS literature will be focused on Methodism, because its system of evangelism (i.e., the circuit riders) is the one most similar to the organization of contemporary Mormon missionary work. Sources on the history of the Methodist Church in America are vast. There are many multiple volume sets available. Some comprise only a couple volumes, while others comprise seven or eight volumes. These volumes all approach Methodist missionary work. One such set of volumes is that of *The History of American Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), with twelve editors and 44 different writers—the work is, to say the least, expansive. Other works include the following:

Asbury, Francis, *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury* (London: Epworth, 1958).

- Baker, George Claude, Jr., *An Introduction to the History of Early New England Methodism, 1789–1839* (New York: AMS Press, 1941).
- Cleveland, Catherine C., *The Great Revival in the West, 1797- 1805* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1959).
- Cross, Charles C., *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826–1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).
- Curtiss, George L., *Manual of Methodist Episcopal Church History: Showing the Evolution of Methodism in The United States of America* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892).
- Johnson, Charles A., *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1955).
- Gillett, E. H., *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1864).
- Handy, Robert T., *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (Oxford University Press, 1977).
- Noble, William Francis Pringle, *1776–1876, A Century of Gospel Work: A History of the Growth of Evangelical Religion in the United States* (Philadelphia: H. C. Watts, 1876).
- Noll, Mark A., *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: William G. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992).
- Porter, James, *A Comprehensive History of Methodism* (Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1875).
- Richey, Russell E., *Early American Methodism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).
- Roston, Harley E., "The Lifestyles and Preaching Styles of the Early Methodist Circuit Riders in Ohio," (master's thesis, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 2006).

Scharpff, Paulus, *History of Evangelism; Three Hundred Years of Evangelism in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America* (Grand Rapids: Eardmans, 1966).

Scudder, M. L., *American Methodism* (Hartford: S. S. Scranton & Co., 1867).

Strickland, Arthur Barsalou, *The Great American Revival: A Case Study in Historical Evangelism with Implications for Today* (Cincinnati: Standard Press, 1934).

Sweet, William Warren, *Methodism in American History*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1961).

Taylor, Mendell, *Exploring Evangelism* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1964).

Weisberger, Bernard A., *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and their Impact on Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958).

Wigger, John H., "Holy, 'Knock-'Em-Down' Preachers," *Christian History*, 45 (1995).

The foundational history of New York during this time period is *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* by Whitney R. Cross (Cornell University Press, 1950). For lack of a more appropriate place to reference this work, it has been placed here because of its religious focus. In many ways, Joseph Smith and his religion were a product of the forces at work in the Burned-over District of New York.⁷² Many of the early converts of the Church originated from this state, and the Twelve spent a significant portion of their mission in New York. Cross argues that "neither the causes of the Civil War nor the origins of national prohibition . . . can be thoroughly understood without reference to the Burned-over District."⁷³ Cross gives a detailed explanation of the forces that made New York an attractive place for early settlers. He describes economic situations and movement trends that help us gain an understanding of the time and place. He explains in depth the religious climate, and the thoroughness and breadth of sources are phenomenal. He dedicates

⁷² Cross, *The Burned-over District*. Cross defines this area as west of the Alleghenies.

⁷³ Cross, *The Burned-over District*, vii.

a chapter to the origination and growth of early Mormonism because it “survived and [grew] in the last hundred years as did none of its companion novelties”; therefore, it should “interest the present generation far more than any other aspect of Burned-over District history.”⁷⁴

Cross details the events that led the Smith family to New York and indicates that the Smiths were a very average family for the area, contrary to some “prejudiced testimonials . . . collected by one hostile individual whose style of composition stereotypes the language of numerous witnesses.”⁷⁵ Cross details the rise of the Church but says nothing of specific missions and their results.

⁷⁴ Cross, *The Burned-over District*, 138.

⁷⁵ Cross, *The Burned-over District*, 141.

Chapter 1

Preparation

The Twelve were prepared for this mission in a way that was involved and unique. Typically, future missionaries prepared for service in the Church through ordination to the office of an Elder. After the ordination, these men left their home and family and went to preach and baptize. Many men left within days of their ordination, leaving little time for training or preparation. In contrast, the experiences that prepared the Twelve were much more involved. It is difficult to assess how much of that preparation was training for the call to the Apostleship and how much of it was specifically designed to help them succeed on this first mission. However, considering that the Apostles were “called to go into all the world to preach [the] gospel unto every creature” (D&C 18:28), distinguishing why their training took place is unnecessary since training for the Apostleship would have also been training for this mission.¹

The Twelve had been prepared for this mission both before and after their call to the apostleship. Prior to their call, most were prepared in four different ways: they served other missions as members of the Church; they participated in one of two high councils; they participated in the School of the Prophets and/or the School of the Elders; and they performed a military march known as Zion’s Camp. As Apostles, they were also trained by Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and others in formal meetings prior to their departure.

¹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 49.

Prior Mission Experience

The first Quorum of the Twelve Apostles consisted of men who were familiar with

Apostle	Mission Prior to 1835 Mission of the Twelve
Thomas B. Marsh ²	-Summer- Jan 1831-32, Mo. -Spring-1832 Kirtland -Summer-Fall 1832, N. Y.
David W. Patten ³	-June-Short Season 1832, Mich. -Oct.- Oct. 1832, Kirtland -Nov. 9-Feb. 25, 1832-33, East -March 25-Aug. 1833, Jefferson Co. -Sept. 12, 1834, Upper Mo.

missionary work. Some had served as evangelists for other denominations prior to their baptisms and all had been missionaries for the Church before their calling to the Twelve.⁴

² Thomas B. Marsh, "History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh: (Written by Himself in Great Salt Lake City, November, 1857)," *Deseret News*, March 24, 1858.

³ David W. Patten, "History of David W. Patten: (Compiled Principally from His Own Journal)," *Deseret News*, March 24, 1858.

⁴ Orson Hyde is the best example of this. With the death of both of his parents at an early age, Orson was left on his own in regards to religious beliefs. While living in Kirtland, Ohio in 1823, he attended a "Methodist camp meeting" and "became a convert to that faith. . . . Not long after that, the Campbellite doctrine began to be preached." Orson was "forcibly struck by the doctrine . . . and became a convert to this new faith."⁴ He felt that one day he would be asked to become an advocate for the religion and thought it beneficial to gain an education. He served a Campbellite mission and was then appointed the pastor of a congregation that he created. Just a few months after his appointment as pastor, a few men came preaching the "golden bible [and] Mormonism." After reading just a portion of this "golden bible," he was decidedly against it. After preaching one particular sermon against Mormonism, Orson became "pretty strongly convicted in [his] own mind that [he] was doing wrong." He decided that he must explore the matter more thoroughly and in a place where he could learn "without embarrassment." After a thorough investigation of the Church, he was baptized and very soon after, left on a mission as an advocate of Mormonism. See "History of Orson Hyde," *Deseret News*, May 5, 1858, and May 12, 1858.

Although it would not be accurate to describe all of the Twelve as the best missionaries in the Church, it can be said that they were accustomed to the work. William E. McLellin, for

Table 1.2 Missions of Young, L. E. Johnson, Kimball, Hyde and L. S. Johnson- Served Prior to 1835	
Apostle	Mission Prior to 1835 Mission of the Twelve
Brigham Young ⁵	-Sept.- Oct. 1832, Kirtland -Dec.- Feb. 1832-33, Kingston Upper Canada -April-July 1833, Canada
Lyman E. Johnson ⁶	-Nov. 1831, Ohio -1832, Eastern States -Nova Scotia
Heber C. Kimball ⁷	-Spring 1832, Genesee, Avon and Lyonstown, NY. -Sept.-Oct. 1832, Kirtland
Orson Hyde ⁸	-Fall 1829 Loraine Co., Huron Co., Ohio -Oct. 1831 Loraine Co., Huron Co., Ohio -1831 Elyria, Florence, Ohio -Spring –Dec. 1832, Eastern states, NY., Me., Mass., R.I. -Spring – Summer 1833 Erie Co. Pa., Ohio -Winter- Spring 1834 Penn.
Luke S. Johnson ⁹	-Southern Ohio -New Portage, Pittsburgh -Jan. – Feb. 1832-33, Ohio, Va., Ky.,

example, was baptized on August 20, 1831. He left on a mission five days later on August 25 and did not arrive home until February 25, 1832. At this time, McLellin began questioning his

⁵ “History of Brigham Young,” *Deseret News*, 27 January–24 March, 1858, p. 385–386. During his mission to Canada, Brigham states that he “organized the West Lobo and other branches.” This is the Loughborough branch.

⁶ “History of Lyman E. Johnson,” *Deseret News*, June 16, 1858.

⁷ “Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball,” *Deseret News*, April 7 and 14, 1858. Heber also mentions that Zion’s Camp was also a “mission.” He attended the School of the Elders during the winter of 1834–35.

⁸ “History of Orson Hyde.” His first mission was performed with Sydney Rigdon as a Campbellite. Soon after his conversion to Mormonism ,he went to the very people he had converted to the Campbellite faith and was rejected.

⁹ Luke Johnson, “History of Luke Johnson: (by Himself),” *Deseret News*, May 26, 1858.

faith. A “query” arose in his “mind as to whether man or the fountain of all wisdom had called [him] to preach . . . [He] determined to cease proclaiming until [he] was satisfied in [his] own mind.”¹⁰ That satisfaction came by, if not before, August 1832 when McLellin wrote to his

Table 1.3 Missions of McLellin, Boynton and O. Pratt-Served Prior to 1835	
Apostle	Mission Prior to 1835 Mission of the Twelve
William E. McLellin ¹¹	-Aug. 25-Feb. 25, 1832 -Jan.-May 1833 -July 9-April 17, 1834-35
John F. Boynton ¹²	-1832, Erie Co. Penn., -Jan. 16- Oct. 1833 Me. (Saco)
Orson Pratt ¹³	-Dec.- 1830 Colesville, Ohio -Spring 1831 -1831, Rome, Thompson, Ohio -June- Aug. 1831, Ohio, western Mo., Ill. -Oct. 1831, Mo. to Ohio -Jan. 1832, Hiram, Lorain Co., Ohio. -Feb. 3-Feb. 17, 1832-33, Eastern States, Ohio, Penn., N.J., N.Y., Vt., N.H., Conn. -March 26- Sept. 28, 1833 N.H., Vt -Nov. 27- Feb. 13, 1833-34, Eastern Churches -Feb. 26- April 24, 1834, East, N.Y. -Aug. 21- April 26, 1834-35, East, Mo., Ill., Ind.,

“beloved relatives” about his new found faith.¹⁴ He would again take leave in January of 1833 to preach the gospel, not returning until May of the same year.¹⁵ McLellin was asked next to go east. He left July 9, 1834 to preach and to “[gather] up the strength of the Lord’s house”¹⁶ in

¹⁰ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 34, 36, 73.

¹¹ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 36–169.

¹² “History of John F. Boynton,” *Deseret News*, June 16, 1858.

¹³ Orson Pratt, “History of Orson Pratt: (Written by Himself, March, 1858),” *Deseret News*, June 2 and 9, 1858.

¹⁴ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 79–87.

¹⁵ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 89–123.

¹⁶ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 131.

anticipation for the Zion’s Camp march. This mission would last until April of the following year. McLellin was so dedicated to missionary work that even when he was not traveling as a missionary, he found opportunities to preach in the areas surrounding his home. McLellin spent years serving as a missionary prior to his call to the Quorum of the Twelve.

In the quorum, McLellin was not alone in the level of his involvement in proselyting. Every member of the quorum fulfilled multiple missions prior to their call to the apostleship, with the one exception of William Smith. Most were ordained to the office of an Elder in the Church shortly after their baptism, and with the ordination to be an Elder came the specific responsibility to preach.¹⁷

Heber C. Kimball was baptized by Alpheus Gifford on April 15, 1832. Immediately after his baptism, he knelt and Gifford “laid his hands upon [Heber’s] head and confirmed [him] a

Table 1.4 Missions of Smith and P. P. Pratt- Served Prior to 1835	
Apostle	Mission Prior to 1835 Mission of the Twelve
William Smith ¹⁸	-December 1832, Penn.
Parley P. Pratt ¹⁹	-Autumn 1830, Columbia Co. -Oct.- March 1830-31, NY, Mo., Ohio, Kan., -March-June 1831, Kirtland, Ohio area -June- Oct, 1831, Kirtland, Ohio to Mo. -Feb- May, 1832, Mo. to Kirtland -Summer 1832, Pittsburg, Penn. -Winter- June 1833, Mo., Ill. -Feb- April 1834, Mo., N.Y., Ohio, -Oct- Feb 1834-35, New Portage, Ohio

¹⁷ Jessee, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals Volume 1:1832–1839*, 1:471. The name of the ministerial training school was the “Elders School” or “School of the Elders.” This title shows the connection between the office of an Elder and the responsibility to teach. For more information, see the section entitled “School of the Prophets and School of the Elders.”

¹⁸ “History of William Smith,” *Deseret News*, May 26, 1858.

¹⁹ “History of Parley P. Pratt,” *Deseret News*, May 19, 1858. Parley was baptized in September 1830 and “from that time forth I began to minister.”

member of the Church of Jesus Christ, and said unto [him], “In the name of Jesus Christ and by the authority of the holy Priesthood, receive ye the Holy Ghost.” “[B]efore [he] got up off [his] knees, [Gifford] wanted to ordain [him] an Elder; but [Heber] plead with him not to do it, as [he] felt unworthy of such a calling, and such an office.”²⁰ Heber’s trepidation kept him from his ordination and from filling a call to preach his newfound faith. After a time, however, Heber was ordained an Elder by Joseph Young and immediately left with Brigham Young on a mission where he baptized many and build up the Church.

William Smith seemed to lack the missionary experience of his fellows in the quorum. He was baptized a month after the Church’s official organization and was later ordained to be a Teacher and a Priest—ordinations less demanding than that of an Elder. It would be two and a half years until he would be ordained an Elder. After his ordination on December 19, 1832, he left to serve a preaching mission and to call Elders to attend a leadership and evangelical preparation school known as the School of the Prophets. The school began January 1833, giving William perhaps a month to become acquainted with missionary service.²¹

In contrast with William’s lack of experience, others in the quorum would serve four or more missions in the few years of membership prior to their call. David W. Patten was baptized on June 15, 1832, and was ordained an Elder just two days later. He immediately started his missionary service and completed four missions prior to his ordination as an Apostle.²² Luke

²⁰ “Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball,” March 31, 1858.

²¹ See L. Todd Dudley, “All But Two: The Dissaffection of Ten of the Original Twelve Modern Apostles” (Honors Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1994), 95. For more information on William Smith, see Calvin R. Rudd, “William Smith: Brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973). See also Irene M. Bates, “William Smith, 1811–93: Problematic Patriarch,” in *Mormon Mavericks: Essays on Dissenters*, ed. Susan Staker John Sillito (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987). William was “to preach the Gospel and call the Elders to Kirtland to attend a school of the Prophets.” “History of Brigham Young,” *The Latter Day Saints’ Millennial Star*, January 7, 1865, 7.

²² Patten, “History of David W. Patten: (Compiled Principally from His Own Journal),” March 24, 1858.

Johnson served missions constantly prior to being appointed as a member of the first High Council of the Church in February 1834. He baptized several hundred in a three-year period.²³

The members of the quorum had varying levels of missionary experience; however, they each learned to preach. Each one showed “by their desires and their works” that they were prepared for the calling of Apostle and for the subsequent call to fill this mission (D&C 18:37–38).²⁴ Although they were all prepared to preach, they would face other assignments that would be unfamiliar. One of these would be the responsibility of a traveling high council.

High Council

The Church began to grow, and with it grew the necessity to regulate the Church and to settle difficulties that were arising. This responsibility was given to a group of twelve men who were organized as the High Council. The High Council was first organized in Kirtland for the Saints located in that area.²⁵ In 1835, there were two stakes: one located in Kirtland and the other located in Missouri. These stakes each had a “standing [high] council” established “for the purpose of settling important difficulties which might arise in the Church” (D&C 102:2).²⁶ The High Council formed a type of governing body to enforce standards of conduct among the members of the Church.

²³ Johnson, “History of Luke Johnson: by Himself,” May 26, 1858.

²⁴ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:50.

²⁵ This High Council was established to officiate in the Stake of Kirtland. A unit or congregation of the Church, in this time period, was referred to as a “branch” or individual “Churches;” several branches or Churches formed a “stake.” A collection of branches in the less-dense areas of the Church was referred to as a conference. For more information, see Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 149–151.

²⁶ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:406.

The original council was established in Kirtland on February 17, 1834 (see D&C 102).²⁷ Two of the members of this standing high council later became members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, namely Orson Hyde and Luke Johnson (see D&C 102:3).²⁸ The second high council was formed on July 3, 1834, in Clay County, Missouri.²⁹ This council contained four individuals who would later be called to the Twelve Apostles: William E. McLellin, Thomas B. Marsh, Parley P. Pratt, and Orson Pratt.³⁰

Thomas B. Marsh	Missouri
David W. Patten	NONE
Brigham Young	NONE
Lyman E. Johnson	NONE
Heber C. Kimball	NONE
Orson Hyde	Kirtland
Luke S. Johnson	Kirtland
William E. McLellin	Missouri
John F. Boynton	NONE
Orson Pratt	Missouri
William Smith	NONE
Parley P. Pratt	Missouri

The organization and purpose of these two high councils were the same. Both groups consisted of three presidents and twelve high councilors. Joseph Smith ordained both groups of councilors and gave them instruction relative to their callings. He stressed the importance of prayer and judging according to the Spirit. The revelation that gave direction to both High

²⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:28–33. See also Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:405–408.

²⁸ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:406.

²⁹ *History of the Church*, 2:122.

³⁰ *History of the Church*, 2:123.

Councils was read a few times and adopted unanimously.³¹ Each man ordained was given a promise that he would have “wisdom and power to counsel in righteousness upon all subjects that might be laid before [him].” Joseph also prayed for their deliverance “from those evils to which they were most exposed, and that their lives might be prolonged on the earth.”³²

Both High Councils faced issues that helped prepared the six future members of the Twelve to fill the responsibilities they would have as a “traveling high council” that would “go abroad and regulate all matters relative to the different branches of the Church.”³³ Where there existed a “standing high council,” the Apostles were given no authority; but, in the outlying areas of the Church, the responsibility to “regulate all matters relative to the different branches of the Church” rested squarely on the shoulders of the twelve members of the Twelve Apostle who made up the “traveling high council.”³⁴ The six members of the quorum with experience in the responsibilities of a High Council would have understood, through experience, that the High Council was to work according to the revelation.³⁵ With that knowledge, they would have been

³¹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:405–5.

³² *History of the Church*, 2:31–32. Most details about establishing of the second High Council were left out, but Joseph does indicate that the High Council in Clay County, Missouri was organized “agreeable to the revelation and pattern given at Kirtland.” See also *History of the Church*, 2:122.

³³ One example of the issues facing the High Council is found in *History of the Church*, 2:34–35. The High Council in Kirtland dealt with the case of members of the Church refusing to participate in the ordinance of the Sacrament because the Elder administering the ordinance had not followed the Law of Health, revealed to Joseph Smith in February of 1833 (D&C 89), known as “the Word of Wisdom.” See Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:517–18. A decision was made following the pattern identified in Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:405–8, also found in D&C 102. In the same meeting of the High Council, members were sent by the High Council to Canada in order to teach the gospel. See Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada,” 147 and *History of the Church*, 2:220. More will be said about this responsibility when the purposes of this mission are identified later in this chapter.

³⁴ *History of the Church*, 2:220. Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 147. Ellsworth gives a good, brief description of the organization of Church including details about missions and districts. For more information, see Ellsworth’s dissertation pages 147–151. See also William G. Hartley, *My Fellow Servants: Essays on the History of the Priesthood* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2010), 324–25. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 57–60.

an invaluable resource for the other members of the quorum as they sat in judgment with the Church membership throughout the east.

The Twelve, during this first mission, organized six different conferences, or groups of branches. Each of these six conferences would have had claim on the traveling high council for the settling of affairs in the Church on this mission and in the future.

School of the Prophets and School of the Elders

At the end of 1832, Joseph and a group of high priests met together in order to understand the direction the Church should move “concerning the upbuilding of Zion and for the benefit of the Saints and for the duty . . . of the elders.”³⁶ The response to their inquiry was direct: “[It is given] unto you, who are the first laborers in this last kingdom . . . that you assemble yourselves together and organize . . . prepare . . . [and] teach one another. . . . That ye may be prepared in all things when I shall send you again to magnify the calling whereunto I have called you, and the mission with which I have commissioned you” (D&C 88: 74–80).³⁷ This direction was clarified just a week later when the “first laborers” were given instructions on the establishment of the School of the Prophets, organized to instruct those who had been “called to the ministry.”³⁸

These “first laborers” were to be taught a variety of subjects including “things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad; the wars

³⁵ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:405–8.

³⁶ “Kirtland Minute Book,” in *Kirtland Revelation Book* (Salt Lake City: Church History Library, December 27, 1832). As quoted in Steven C. Harper, *Making Sense of the Doctrine & Covenants: A Guided Tour through Modern Revelation* (Salt Lake City: deseret Book Company, 2008), 313.

³⁷ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:414.

³⁸ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:414. See also D&C 88:127.

and the perplexities of the nations, and the judgments which are on the land; and a knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms.”³⁹

This curriculum in the School of the Prophets covered a variety of topics to help individuals preparing for the ministry. Studying a variety of subjects in ministerial preparation was not uncommon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, nor was it uncommon to refer to a ministerial school as a school of the prophets. Many protestant denominations had established schools for the training of the ministry and referred to them as a schools of the prophets. Yale and Harvard were among these schools. Students at these institutions were taught subjects from logic and politics to ethics and astronomy. The curriculum also commonly included grammar, composition, ancient languages, and scripture. During the first and second great awakenings (1730–50, 1790–1870), these schools became increasingly more common.⁴⁰ By the mid eighteenth century, critics began scrutinizing these institutions for their “lack of emphasis on piety and experiential conversion.”⁴¹ Jonathan Edwards said, “It has been common in our publick Prayers, to call these Societies *the Schools of the Prophets*; and if they are schools to train up young Men to be *Prophets*, certainly there ought to be extraordinary care there taken to train ‘em up to be *Christians*.”⁴²

In response to these criticisms, individuals such as Gilbert Tennent created their own school of the prophets along the colonial frontier. They sought not only to prepare individuals in

³⁹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:405. See also D&C 88:79–80.

⁴⁰ Joseph F. Darowski, “School of the Prophets: An Early American Tradition,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (2008): 3–4.

⁴¹ Darowski, “School of the Prophets,” 5.

⁴² Jonathan Edwards, *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England, and the Way in Which It Ought to Be Acknowledged and Promoted, Humbly Offered to the Publick, in a Treatise on That Subject* (Boston: 1742). As quoted by Darowski, “School of the Prophets,” 6.

secular learning and doctrine, as the other schools had, but to also focus on piety and experiential conversion. One scholar estimated that over 500 graduates from these schools of the prophets entered the ministry within a seventy-five year period from 1750 to 1825.⁴³ It was in this social climate that the Latter-day Saints received direction to establish their own school of the prophets for the training of their ministry.⁴⁴

The Latter-day Saint school was similar to other previously established schools. The Latter-day Saints' School of the Prophets aligned with other schools of the prophets established in that time period in its "name, the ostensible purpose, and the basic curriculum."⁴⁵

The first school session for the 'first laborers' officially began on January 23, 1833, and ended sometime between April 13 and 21. The Saints planned to reconvene the school the next year.⁴⁶ When the time to reopen the school arrived, they were occupied organizing relief for the oppressed Saints in Missouri and the school was postponed.⁴⁷ The following year, the plans to reconvene the School of the Prophets were altered. Joseph Smith, the chief teacher at the School of Prophets, transformed the institution into beginnings of the school of the elders. The school of

⁴³ David W. Kling, "New Divinity Schools of the Prophets, 1750–1825: A Case Study in Ministerial Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (1997). As quoted in Darowski, "School of the Prophets," 7.

⁴⁴ Peterson indicates that "the school was also to sanctify the elders and prepare them for the endowment, heavenly visions, and spiritual blessings." Orlen Curtis Peterson, "A History of the Schools and Educational Programs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Ohio and Missouri, 1831–1839" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), 21. The three additional purposes mentioned by Peterson should be seen as steps to improve the 'first laborers' ability to evangelize.

⁴⁵ Darowski, "School of the Prophets," 9. It may be for this reason that more information was not given to the Saints regarding how to run their school.

⁴⁶ The top level of the Kirtland temple was designated as the location for the next session of the school. Because of lack of building materials, temple construction was postponed and new plans were made to build a school.

⁴⁷ Peterson, "A History of the Schools and Educational Programs of the Church," 31–32. According to Peterson "The two main purposes of the Kirtland Temple were to have a house of worship and a classroom for the School of the Prophets."

the prophets would not be reconvened until many years later in Utah. Until that time, the School of the Elders would fill a similar purpose as its predecessor.⁴⁸

Though the School of the Elders was similar to other schools of the prophets, one marked difference was the student participation in ordinances. Entrance into the school consisted of two ordinances: the washing of feet and the sacrament. The washing of feet was a type of initiation at the beginning of a student's involvement in the school and demonstrated their commitment to each other and to the purpose for which the school had been established. This commitment was re-affirmed by a formal greeting at the beginning of each class.⁴⁹ Students usually arrived in a spirit of fasting and prayer. School began about sun up with the recitation of an oath which included a promise to follow God. Students were instructed until about four o'clock in the afternoon. They concluded the day of learning and fasting by partaking of the sacrament.⁵⁰ Orson Pratt summarized the activities of the school by indicating that everything was done to help the participants learn about "the operations of the Spirit upon the mind of man."⁵¹ The lessons learned in this setting would become an important aspect of their evangelism.

Joseph Smith expressed his feelings about the success of the school when he said, "Great joy and satisfaction continually beamed in the countenances of the School of the Prophets . . . on account of the things revealed, and our progress in the knowledge of God."⁵² It seems, according

⁴⁸ Peterson, "A History of the Schools and Educational Programs of the Church," 32–33. The Hebrew school did not begin until the winter of 1835–36. See also, Jr. Milton V. Backman, *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-Day Saints in Ohio 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1983), 265. Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 213.

⁴⁹ *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), s.v. "Schools of the Prophets."

⁵⁰ Backman, *The Heavens Resound*, 265.

⁵¹ Backman, *The Heavens Resound*, 266. As cited in Minutes of the Salt Lake School of the Prophets, "Minutes of the Salt Lake School of the Prophets, 1883," October 3, 1883.

⁵² *History of the Church*, 1:334.

to Joseph Smith, that the main purpose of the school—preparation for the ministry—had been fulfilled.⁵³ Although the school of the prophets had performed its function, only a few of the original Twelve Apostles were able to participate. Of the 21 to 25 original members, 18 are identified as participants and only four later became part of the original quorum: Lyman E. Johnson, Orson Hyde, William Smith, and Orson Pratt.⁵⁴

The school of the prophets was held for only one session prior to the Twelve leaving on their mission. For those who participated, this training was an ideal preparation for their missions, for the others, more training was yet to come. The first session of the School of the Elders was held in Missouri during the summer of 1833.⁵⁵ This school was also for the training of the ministry and was virtually identical to the School of the Prophets. At the School of the Elders, no ordinances were performed and more individuals were allowed to attend, which made the school even more similar to the school of the prophets organized by other denominations. In the first session, approximately 60 elders participated.⁵⁶ The next session did not begin until December 1834 in Kirtland. Joseph Smith states that at his time “no month ever found [him] more busily engaged than November” as he made preparations for the School of the Elders to begin. The Elders began arriving as early as October, and by the first day of December the School of the Elders was “well attended [T]he classes, being mostly Elders, gave the most

⁵³ Davidson, 2:654–55.

⁵⁴ *History of the Church*, 2:322. Although it is certain that these four individuals participated, others of the Quorum may have participated considering there are three to seven unknown participants.

⁵⁵ It is difficult to identify the division between the School of the Elders and the School of the Prophets. Joseph Smith used the terms somewhat interchangeably. It seems that this Missouri school session embodied the transition between the two schools. Peterson labels it as a School of the Elders. In the Joseph Smith Papers collection, it is simple labeled as a “similar school” to that of the School of the Prophets. The 1833 Missouri school will therefore be labeled as a School of the Elders. Peterson, “A History of the Schools and Educational Programs of the Church,” 36. Davidson, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844*, 2:655.

⁵⁶ Parley Parker Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, ed. Parly P. Pratt Jr., Scot Facer Proctor and Maurine Jensen Proctor (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2000), 113.

studious attention to the all-important object of qualifying themselves as messengers of Jesus Christ.”⁵⁷

Although it is certain that at least four of the Twelve participated in the School of the Prophets, and two in the School of the Elders, it is possible that more members of the Twelve participated in the School of the Elders. The second session of the school was held in Kirtland in the winter of 1834–35. William McLellin was appointed to teach the Kirtland School of the Elders. He and gave a report to the “trustees” of the school that there were as many as 130 who attended the school.⁵⁸ There are no records available that detail the attendants at this session, nor is it clear when the school closed. It is clear, however, that many of the Twelve were in, or close to, Kirtland during this time.

In February 14, 1835, a meeting was called to assemble all those who journeyed on Zion’s Camp.⁵⁹ The members of the Quorum of the Twelve were chosen from among the men at this meeting. Ten of the twelve men were ordained shortly thereafter, evidencing their close proximity to Kirtland.⁶⁰ These ten members of the quorum may have been aware of the school and its purpose to prepare the elders to “qualify themselves as messengers of Jesus Christ, to be ready to do His will in carrying glad tidings to all that would open their eyes, ears and hearts.”⁶¹ The school did not officially end until the last week in March, which was six weeks after the

⁵⁷ *History of the Church*, 2: 169–170, 175–176.

⁵⁸ *History of the Church*, 2:200. McLellin had responsibility to teach in the school and therefore was asked to give an accounting of it. Heber C. Kimball was one of those 130 participants. See Bruce Kelly Satterfield, “The History of Adult Education in Kirtland, Ohio, 1833–1837” (PhD diss., University of Idaho, 2002), 88.

⁵⁹ *History of the Church*, 2:181.

⁶⁰ Ten of the Twelve were in Kirtland. Orson Pratt and Thomas B. Marsh were serving missions. Orson Pratt attended the School of the Prophets and it is possible that Thomas B. Marsh did as well. Thomas B. Marsh said that after his first mission ended in Missouri he went to Kirtland. “Sometime in January, 1832, Bishop Partridge having furnished me with an Indian pony, I returned to Kirtland.” He stayed in that area “until the summer opened.” Marsh, “History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh,” March 24, 1858.

⁶¹ *History of the Church*, 2:176.

Twelve were called. The Apostles had time to attend school and further their preparations if they so desired.⁶² It is possible, but unlikely, that all of the Twelve participated in either the School of the Prophets or the School of the Elders. The table at the end of this section shows seven members of the Twelve that were documented to have attended. The others may have attended, but their attendance is not documented.

During this school session in Kirtland, a series of theological sermons were given. These sermons consisted of seven lectures “on the doctrine of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints” and were “designed to unfold to the understanding the doctrine of Jesus Christ.”⁶³ These lectures gave the Twelve the doctrinal foundation they would need for their fast approaching mission.

⁶² Heber C. Kimball attended the grammar school six weeks. See Heber C. Kimball, “Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball,” April 14, 1858.

⁶³ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:385.

Table 1.6 Attendance at a School of the Prophets/Elders Prior to 1835 Mission⁶⁴	
Name	Attendance
Thomas B. Marsh	Not Verified
David W. Patten	Not Verified
Brigham Young	Not Verified
Lyman E. Johnson	Yes (1832-33)
Heber C. Kimball	Yes (1834-35)
Orson Hyde	Yes (1832-33)
Luke Johnson	Not Verified
William E. McLellin	Yes (1834-35)
John F. Boynton	Not Verified
Parley P. Pratt	Yes (1833)
William Smith	Yes (1832-33)
Orson Pratt	Yes (1832-33)

Zion's Camp

Less than a year before the Quorum of the Twelve was organized, nine of the would-be Apostles made a 1,000 mile journey that strengthened their trust in Joseph Smith and prepared them for the difficulties they would face on their mission.⁶⁵ In 1833, the Church membership in

⁶⁴ It is difficult to assess who took part in the School of the Prophets in 1832–33 because of lack of available information. Peterson identifies that not divulging information about the School of the Prophets was one of the rules for the group. With the School of the Elders, it was so large that a record of who attended was not kept. The Author assumes that all individuals who could attend the school did. Brigham Young was in Kirtland in the winter of 1834–35 and even worked on the school building, but he did not mention attending the school. “I tarried in Kirtland during the fall and winter, quarrying rock, working on the temple, and finishing off the printing office and schoolroom.” Was it an oversight that Young did not mentioning his attendance at the school, or did he really attend but just not mention it in his record? We are left to wonder. See, Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 8. Luke Johnson attended the Hebrew school that was first held during the winter of 1835–36. From his record, he did not attend school prior to the 1835 mission of the Twelve. Luke Johnson, “History of Luke Johnson: (By Himself),” *Deseret News*, May 26, 1858. Thomas B. Marsh attended school when he got back from his mission in the winter of 1835–36. Thomas B. Marsh, “History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh: (Written by Himself in Great Salt Lake City, November, 1857),” *Deseret News*, March 24, 1858. See also, Satterfield, “The History of Adult Education in Kirtland,” 54–96. See also, Peterson, “A History of the Schools and Educational Programs of the Church.”

⁶⁵ The nine member of the Twelve that traveled in Zion's Camp were: Lyman E. Johnson, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, David W. Patten, Luke S. Johnson, Orson Pratt, William Smith, and Parley P. Pratt. The three who did not travel with the Zion's Camp were: William E. McLellin, John F. Boynton, and Thomas B. Marsh. Roger D. Launius, *Zion's Camp: Expedition to Missouri, 1834* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1984), 168.

Missouri faced severe persecution (see D&C 57:1–3; 101:1–2).⁶⁶ The persecution increased until the Saints were eventually driven from their homes and forced to either settle in adjacent counties or leave the state entirely. Many fled Jackson County, Missouri, for nearby Clay County, Missouri.

When the leadership of the Church in Missouri informed Joseph Smith about the persecutions, Smith gave word that it was time to obtain “companies to go up unto the land of Zion” in order to re-establish the Saints to their lands (D&C 103:30).⁶⁷ Zion’s Camp, a military movement, was established for that purpose.⁶⁸ The camp left Kirtland in May, 1834, and headed towards Missouri. They traveled more than 1,000 miles in a month and a half, and were then told that they would not fight to reclaim the Saints to their lands. Although the march was physically demanding, the biggest hardship for the participants was that Zion would not be redeemed as a result of their efforts.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Many members of the Church had settled in Jackson County, Missouri with the hope of staying there permanently to establish the headquarters of the Church. For the Saints, Jackson County, Missouri, was more than just a place to gather and live in peace: On July 20, 1831, Joseph recorded a revelation in which Jackson County, Missouri was identified as “Zion.” “This is the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion.” Joseph taught the Saints that the land had been “appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the Saints” and that a temple would be built there. See Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations Published Revelations*, 464. See also D&C 57:1–3. Unfortunately, the Saints in Zion were “afflicted, and persecuted, and cast out from the land of their inheritance . . . in consequence of their transgressions.” Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations Published Revelations*, 545. See also D&C 101:1–2.

⁶⁷ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations Published Revelations*, 2:648. See also D&C 103:30.

⁶⁸ A careful reading of the “revelation” received by Joseph prompting the establishment of Zion’s Camp does not explicitly say that the Saints would retain their lands. It does say that they would “establish the children of Zion upon the laws and commandments which have been and which shall be given...” Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations Published Revelations*, 2:649. See also D&C 103:35. In one sense this idea is fulfilled because much of the leadership of the Church comes from this group that travel to Missouri. Although D&C 103 does not say that Zion’s Camp will restore the Saints to their land, that is what the Saints and the Elders marching in the camp understood the revelation to mean.

⁶⁹ George Albert Smith, a member of the camp, explained that he had learned to “strain wrigglers [through his] teeth” the water was so bad. They woke up at 3:00 a.m. and walked until midnight, causing “the blood [to] be heard in [their] boots and shoes,” Brigham Young remarks in his Manuscript history that the Camp averaged 40 miles a day. It is no wonder that they could hear the blood in their boots. Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of*

Some members of the camp became bitter and angry about not fulfilling the original intent of this march: others, however, became more loyal to the cause. Brigham Young, a member of the camp that later became an Apostle, gave this responded to individuals who thought the march was useless: “I told those brethren that I was well paid—paid with heavy interest—yea, that my measure was filled to overflowing with the knowledge that I had received by traveling with the Prophet.” He remarked, “I would not exchange the knowledge I have received this season for the whole of Geauga County.”⁷⁰

Both the difficulties faced during the march and the opposition faced afterward refined the character of many members of Zion’s Camp, making the march a defining event. Many of the original Twelve intensified their commitment to the Church and Joseph by “[taking] every opportunity to be in his company.”⁷¹ “Such moments were more precious to me,” said Brigham, “than all the wealth of the world. No matter how great my poverty . . . I never let an opportunity pass of hearing what Joseph had to impart.”⁷² Later, Young wrote, “I had but one prayer, and I

Brigham Young: 1801–1844, ed. Elden Jay Watson (Salt Lake City, Utah: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968), 9. See also Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership*, 108.

⁷⁰ Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 10:20. See also Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership*, 121. Brigham Young was asked “What have you gained by this journey?” he responded “Just what we went for; but I would not exchange the knowledge I have received this season for the whole of Geauga County; for property and mines and wealth are not to be compared to the worth of knowledge.” He then explained “Ask those brethren and sisters who have passed through scenes of affliction and suffering for years in this Church, what they would take in exchange for their experience, and be placed back where they were, were it possible. I presume they would tell you, that all the wealth, honors, and riches of the world could not buy the knowledge they had obtained, could they barter it away.” Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols., vol. 2 (Islington, London: F. D. Richards, 1855), 2: 10. See also Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership*, 122.

Gauga County was the county where Kirtland was located in 1835. T. Jeffery Cottle, Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, *Old Mormon Kirtland and Missouri* (California: Fieldbrook Productions, Inc., 1991), 8. See also, Riddle, *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio: With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Pioneers and Most Prominent Men.*, (Philadelphia: Williams Brothers, 1878).

⁷¹ Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership*, 125.

⁷² Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 12: 269–270. “No matter how great my poverty—if I had to borrow meal to feed my wife and children—I never let an opportunity pass of hearing what Joseph had to impart.” See also Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership*, 125.

offered it all the time. [It] was that I might be permitted to hear Joseph speak on doctrine and see his mind reach out untrammelled to grasp the deep things of God. . . . I would constantly watch him and, if possible, learn doctrine and principle beyond which he expressed. . . . An angel never watched him closer.”⁷³ For Young and others, a commitment to Joseph was developed during Zion’s Camp.

One way to sense the value of Zion’s Camp is to compare the faithfulness of Apostles who went on Zion’s Camp and those who did not. Nine of the first Quorum of the Twelve traveled on Zion’s Camp. Of the nine that travel with the prophet, three—or one third—of the quorum apostatized and lost their place in the quorum; the remaining six stayed.⁷⁴ Of the original nine apostles who travel on Zion’s Camp, only two were not members of the Church when they died.⁷⁵ Of the three who did not attend Zion’s Camp, all lost their place in both the quorum and the Church, and only one died a Church member.⁷⁶

⁷³ Richard S. Van Wagoner, ed., *The Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*, 5 vols., vol. 4 (Salt Lake City: The Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2009), 2383. This discourse was given on October 8, 1866.

⁷⁴ The three that lost their place in the Quorum are Luke and Lyman Johnson and William Smith. Luke Johnson eventually returned but William Smith and Lyman Johnson did not. Esplin argues that “Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Pratt experienced difficulties with Joseph Smith, but returned within a few months and continued in their Apostleship” (see Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve*, 147, n. 107). Other authors have argued that all but two of the original Twelve fell away from Joseph Smith at one time or another. L. Todd Dudley argues that “these rifts varied in nature and depth; some returned to the fold, while others wandered ever after.” See L Todd Dudley, “All But Two,” introduction, i.

Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball stayed true to the prophet, but even David W. Patten had a “brief incident” of difficulty with the prophet (See Dudley, “All But Two,” i). Although Esplin does not mention this “brief incident,” Joseph, in the *History of the Church*, does include Patten among those who had “lifted their heel against” him. Joseph says “Of the Twelve Apostles chosen in Kirland, and ordained under the hands of Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and myself, there have been but two but what have lifted their heel against me—namely Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball”; see, *History of The Church*, 5: 412.

⁷⁵ Luke Johnson eventually made his way back into the church but was not restored to his place in the Quorum. See Dudley, “All But Two,” 176–77.

⁷⁶ “Thomas B. Marsh, John F. Boynton and William McLellen, the non-veterans, all broke with Joseph Smith during the difficulties of 1837-1839, although Marsh later returned to the Church” (See Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve*, 129).

Table 1.7 Participation in Zion's Camp and Church Status at Death⁷⁷			
Not Zion's Camp Participant	Apostatized	Died as Member of the Twelve	Died as Member of the Church
Thomas B. Marsh	YES	NO	YES
William E. McLellin	YES	NO	NO
John F. Boynton	YES	NO	NO
Zion's Camp Participant	Apostatized	Died as Member of the Twelve	Died as Member of the Church
David W. Patten	NO	YES	YES
Brigham Young	NO	YES	YES
Heber C. Kimball	NO	YES	YES
Orson Hyde	YES	YES	YES
Orson Pratt	YES	YES	YES
Parley P. Pratt	NO	YES	YES
Luke S. Johnson	YES	NO	YES
William Smith	YES	NO	NO
Lyman E. Johnson	YES	NO	NO

The three members of the quorum who did not attend Zion's Camp were still involved in it. William McLellin and Thomas Marsh played a prominent role in Church administrative affairs as residents of the Missouri Mormon community. John Boynton did not travel on Zion's Camp or live in Missouri, but he played an instrumental role in gathering money for the camp from the Saints in the east.⁷⁸ Although they were each involved, they did not experience what those on Zion's Camp did, and therefore did not learn the same lessons. Roger Launius indicates that, "All the necessary ingredients were present in the Zion's Camp episode to

⁷⁷ For information about the Apostasy of individuals, see Dudley, "All but Two." Dudley's thesis explains a statement made by Joseph that all but two of the original Apostles were at odds with him at one time or another. These conflicts varied dramatically. Orson Hyde was dropped from the Quorum but not the Church. Orson Pratt was dropped from the Quorum and Church. Parley P. Pratt and David W. Patten were at odds with Smith sometimes, but these situations were relatively minor.

⁷⁸ Launius, *Zion's Camp*, 163.

create . . . a dramatic conversion.”⁷⁹ The participants had left their familiar surroundings, embarked on a journey with an unknown ending, and experienced extreme conditions which “created an experience conducive to conversion.”⁸⁰ The experience created a bond between the camp members, the Church they were defending, and Joseph Smith, on whom they had relied for their safety and lives.⁸¹ They had learned to obey Joseph, their leader, and to be loyal to him and their faith. As camp members improved their relationships with Joseph, the Church, and each other, they increased their ability to fulfill a united mission. On their mission, the Twelve would face difficulties with each other, the Church, and Joseph, but through their experiences on Zion’s Camp they were prepared to overcome those difficulties.

Joseph Smith connected their participation in Zion’s Camp with preparation for the ministry. He said, “God had not designed [the trials and sufferings of Zion’s Camp] for nothing, but he had it in remembrance . . . [It] was the will of God that those who went to Zion, with a determination to lay down their lives, if necessary, should be ordained to the ministry, and go forth to prune the vineyard for the last time, or the coming of the Lord.”⁸²

In February of 1835, a series of meetings were called in which the Church leadership structure was expanded by the addition of two new quorums. These two quorums were the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the Quorum of the Seventy. Joseph Smith met with Brigham Young and Joseph Young on February 8, 1835. He indicated that two new quorums were to be organized and he asked Brigham Young to notify the necessary individuals of the

⁷⁹ Launius, *Zion’s Camp*, 168.

⁸⁰ Launius, *Zion’s Camp*, 168. Launius connects the conversion environment that these men go through with the experiences that Martin Luther goes through in the monastery as described by Erik Erickson in Erik Erickson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1962).

⁸¹ Launius, *Zion’s Camp*, 168.

⁸² *History of The Church*, 2:182.

meeting that was to take place a week later, February 14. Brigham Young was to specifically invite all those who had “journeyed last season to Zion for the purpose of laying the foundation of its redemption.”⁸³

Joseph Smith had received revelations that included, among other things, information regarding the organization of two new quorums, and this February 14 meeting was designed as a venue to organizing these quorums and address a few important matters.⁸⁴ Because of what Joseph said in that meeting, it appears that negative feelings still existed among the veterans of Zion’s Camp. Joseph tried to reconcile those still upset, saying, “Brethren, some of you are angry with me, because you did not fight in Missouri; but let me tell you, God did not want you to fight. He could not organize His kingdom with twelve men to open the gospel door to the nations of the earth. . . . with seventy men under their direction. . . . unless He took them from a body of men who had offered their lives, and who had made as great a sacrifice as did Abraham.”⁸⁵ After some remarks “on the subject of choosing the Twelve,” the congregation sang a hymn, Hyrum Smith prayed, and the meeting was “dismissed for an hour.”⁸⁶ When the meeting was reconvened, the first item of business was for the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon to call the Twelve.⁸⁷ The Witnesses were to select the Twelve by “their desires and their works” (D&C

⁸³ *History of the Church*, 2:181. Although these meetings were specifically for those who had traveled on Zion’s Camp “as many other of the brethren and sisters as were disposed to attend” were welcome.

⁸⁴ It is not entirely known how many revelations Joseph received in relation to the organization of the Twelve. There is record of at least two. See, Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:46–51. See also *History of the Church*, 2:181. Joseph Smith calls the revelation a “vision,” not to be confused with his supposed vision of God, the Father, and Jesus Christ, the Son.

⁸⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:182. This is quoted from Joseph Young’s account of meetings held after the organization of the Quorums. A similar sentiment is shared on February 14 as recorded in the *History of the Church*, 182. See Also Joseph Young, *History of the Organization of the Seventies* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment, 1878), 14.

⁸⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:185–6.

18:38).⁸⁸ The Twelve were to have the desire to take Christ’s name upon themselves, evidenced through their yearning to preach the Gospel to every land and people, Jew or Gentile.⁸⁹ Three of the Twelve were ordained on February 14. By February 21, ten of the Twelve had been ordained. Thomas B. Marsh and Orson Pratt were fulfilling missions and were not ordained until April 25 and 26.⁹⁰

Training and Preparation Received as Apostles

“The period intervening till the fourth of May, when their first mission was entered upon, was a veritable Pentecost to the newly chosen Twelve.”⁹¹ Eight known meetings took place during the period between the ordination of the Twelve and when they departed for their mission—a time frame of less than three months.

The first meeting. During the first meeting, when the Twelve were called, Joseph Smith gave some “remarks on the subject of the choosing of the Twelve” and also indicated that Zion’s Camp had been a training ground for the members of the new quorums.⁹² Three of the Twelve

⁸⁷ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:50 (ll. 10–11). See also D&C 18:37. This revelation gives Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer responsibility to choose the Twelve and the *History of the Church* gives “The three witnesses, viz., Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris” (1:187) the responsibility. Neither source explains why these three were given the responsibility. In the Doctrine and Covenants Martin Harris is not mentioned as one of those who where to choose the Twelve. This is presumably because of his losing the 116 manuscript pages of the Book of Mormon, for which he fell under condemnation.

⁸⁸ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:50.

⁸⁹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:49–51. See also D&C 18:26–47.

⁹⁰ *History of the Church*, 2: 193. For information regarding the ordinations of each of the Twelve, see *History of the Church*, 2:187–194. Orson Pratt relates that while on his mission he saw a man passing and “felt impressed to speak to [him]. He was a Saint, and the only one in the city.” Orson went to his home and read an edition of the Church’s newspaper entitled *Messenger and Advocate*, and found out he had been selected as one of the Twelve and that he was to be back in Kirtland on April 26. See Pratt, *The Orson Prat Journals*, 56.

⁹¹ Lycurgus A. Wilson, *Life of David W. Patten: The First Apostolic Martyr*, (Salt Lake City, Utah, The Deseret News, 1904) 33, <http://archive.org/details/lifeofdavidwpatt00wilsrich> (accessed March 2, 2013).

⁹² *History of the Church*, 2:185, 182.

were ordained at this time. Six more were ordained the following day. Just a week later, Parley P. Pratt became the tenth member of the quorum to be ordained.⁹³

The second meeting. In the second meeting, during which not all of the twelve were present,⁹⁴ Oliver Cowdery set forth the “General Charge to the Twelve.” He commenced by giving “a few remarks respecting [their] ministry,” and told them to “preach the gospel to every nation,” indicating that all the nations of the earth have claim on them as a way to receive the gospel. He warned that if they “in the least degree come short of [their] duty, great will be [their] condemnation.”⁹⁵

The Twelve were further instructed to “never cease striving until [they had] seen God face to face” so they could bear the same testimony that was borne by the prophets and apostles of old.⁹⁶ This responsibility was taken very seriously, as recorded by William McLellin on May 14. McLellin and Orson Hyde spent the day “in the woods in prayers and contemplation endeavouring to obtain an open vision, but [they] did not altho. . . . [they] drew very near to God.”⁹⁷

⁹³ These three events have been lumped into one because no significant teaching or training happened in or after these first meetings. The last two meetings were simply meetings to ordain the Apostles. The *History of the Church* records specific details of each of the ordinations, 2:188–194

⁹⁴ It is difficult to assess the specific day that this meeting took place. When looking at the *History of the Church*, Ronald Esplin assigns the meeting to February 21, 1835. Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young*, 153. It seems probable that the meeting took place between the time the Twelve were called on February 14 and the meeting they had with Joseph Smith on February 27. For quotations about the charge given by Oliver to the Twelve, refer to *History of the Church*, 2:194–198.

⁹⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:195.

⁹⁶ For a discussion on Oliver’s direction to “never cease striving until [you] have seen God face to face” and how that charge developed throughout the decades of Church history, see D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 1–2 (1–20). Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 57–58 (57–67).

⁹⁷ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 177.

The responsibility to do a work “that no other men [could] do” came with a few warnings about what the Twelve would face in the future. Cowdery warned that they would receive the persecution of all nations, and that those nations would seek their lives. “You are therefore to be prepared at all times to make a sacrifice of your lives.” Because of the opposition they would face collectively as well as individually, Cowdery counseled them to pray for each other and to “create an affection for each other, stronger than death.”⁹⁸ This counsel was tested throughout their mission and specifically during the Pillar Point Conference. William McLellin presided at the conference and called for a five o’clock meeting. During the intermission between a morning and afternoon meeting, Elder Pratt and others came to William and told him they “had not been so tried with any president since [they] had started on [their] mission.” Despite their statement, William commenced with the meeting and preached. The next day, due to the conflict, Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten revoked William’s right to preside. William felt as though “the counsellors had forsaken [him] or at least they thought that [he] had erred much in making the [appointment].” Although it seemed the issue was resolved, McLellin did not travel and preach (besides at conferences) with any of the Twelve who attended the Pillar Point Conference.⁹⁹

Oliver further taught the Twelve that they needed to cultivate humility and to understand that they were not superior to anyone. The Twelve were also instructed to “tarry at Kirtland until [they were] endowed with power from on high.”¹⁰⁰ To conclude this charge, Oliver took each of

⁹⁸ *History of the Church*, 2:197.

⁹⁹ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 185–196. McLellin does preach with Brigham Young in Canada and travels with William Smith in September, but each of these men were in Kirtland testifying in a trial for Joseph Smith at the time of the Pillar Point Conference. In the following days, four individuals came to William and specifically asked for him to baptize them.

¹⁰⁰ *History of the Church*, 2:197. The endowment may have been a reference to an ordinance performed in the temple being built in Kirtland. The Twelve would meet in the temple even though it was not finished or dedicated. As the temple already used for meeting, was it also used for the purpose of ordinances? In the Deseret News history of David W. Patten, Willford Woodruff is quoted as saying that Patten “returned from Tennessee to

the Twelve separately and asked, “Do you with full purpose of heart take part in this ministry, to proclaim the Gospel with all diligence, with these your brethren, according to the tenor and intent of the charge you have received?”¹⁰¹ All responded in the affirmative.

The third meeting. On February 27, 1835, the third meeting of the Twelve took place in Joseph Smith’s home. Joseph met with the quorum to “lay before the council an item which would be of importance.”¹⁰² Joseph told the Twelve that if he “had in [his] possession every decision which had been had upon important items of doctrine and duties since the commencement of this work, [he] would not part with them for any sum of money.”¹⁰³ He then counseled them to keep a record of their dealings, which they did.¹⁰⁴

Next, Joseph asked the Twelve what was unique about their specific calling. After some discussion, Joseph taught the Twelve that they were “a traveling high council [called] to preside over all the Churches of the Saints among the gentiles [where] no presidency [was] established.” He directed them to travel and preach to the Gentiles first and, when commanded, to the Jews second. Joseph charged them to “unlock the door of the kingdom of heaven unto all nations and

Kirtland in the spring of 1835, and received his blessings in the Temple in Kirtland.” David W. Patten, “History of David W. Patten.” In June 1834, at a council of the High Priests, ten men were called to “go up to Kirtland and receive their endowment with power from on high.” Smith, *History of the Church*, 2: 112–113. McLellin was called to go up to Kirtland at about the same time. We do not, however, have a record of the specific wording of his call. His record of his call is simply that he was to “gather up the strength of the Lord’s house.” McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 131.

¹⁰¹ *History of the Church*, 2: 198.

¹⁰² *History of the Church*, 2:198. Joseph Smith does not record this meeting in his journal, but during the month of February he published an account of his history. In the opening paragraph he said “many items which would be interesting to those who follow, are forgotten.... I plead an apology.” Karen Lynn Davidson, ed., 54–60. Davidson, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844*, 54–60.

¹⁰³ *History of the Church*, 2:198–199. For more information about what Joseph counseled the Twelve to do in this meeting see the Introduction of this thesis under the heading “Primary and Secondary Literature on this Mission.”

¹⁰⁴ Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, “Record, 1835 Feb. –Aug., 1835.”

preach the Gospel unto every creature . . . for no man [could do] that thing but [the Twelve Apostles].”¹⁰⁵ Thus concluded their third meeting.

The fourth meeting. Just over two weeks went by before the Twelve met for the fourth time. Joseph Smith asked that they take their “first mission through the eastern states to the Atlantic Ocean and hold conferences in the vicinity of the several branches of the church.” He proposed that “the Twelve should leave Kirtland on the fourth of May, which was unanimously agreed to.”¹⁰⁶ It seems that no instruction was given during this meeting; the purpose of the meeting was extending the call to serve.

The fifth meeting. On March 28, the Twelve “met in council,” for their fifth meeting “and had a time of general confession.”¹⁰⁷ They felt they had treated their callings lightly and decided to ask forgiveness from the Presidency of the Church and from their God. As their mission was fast approaching, they asked the Prophet to solicit God for “a revelation of His mind and will concerning [their] duty the coming season, even a great revelation, that [would] enlarge [their] hearts, comfort [them] in adversity, and brighten [their] hopes amidst the powers of darkness.”¹⁰⁸ The response came the very same day.¹⁰⁹

The revelation taught the Twelve that the priesthood is the governing power of the Church and all other offices are appendages to it. The revelation identified three distinct quorums: the “Quorum of the Presidency of the Church,” the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles,

¹⁰⁵ *Minutes of the Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1835–1893*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Privately Published, 2010), 2.

¹⁰⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:209.

¹⁰⁷ *History of the Church*, 2: 209.

¹⁰⁸ *History of the Church*, 2:209–10.

¹⁰⁹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:392–396. See also D&C 107:1–58.

and the Quorum of Seventy (D&C 107:22).¹¹⁰ The revelation suggested a hierarchy of authority between these quorums. It specified that all quorums would have equal authority to make decisions, but that the Seventy were to act “under the direction of the Twelve” and the Twelve were to act “under the direction of the Presidency” (D&C 107: 33, 34).¹¹¹ The revelation left no doubt as to the relationship between these quorums. It was, however, ambiguous about the relationship between the Twelve and the standing High Council in Kirtland—a point that would lead to later conflict.¹¹²

The sixth meeting. Finally, with the arrival of Orson Pratt and Thomas B. Marsh, the quorum met as a whole on April 26 for their sixth meeting. They gathered “in order to receive [their] charge and instructions from President Joseph Smith Jun. relative to [their] mission and duties.”¹¹³

The seventh meeting. Just two days later on April 28, the Twelve met for “the purpose of prayer and consultation.” William E. McLellin proposed that they “forgive each other every wrong that has existed among [them]” and that they love each other as directed previously by Oliver Cowdery. They decided to leave Kirtland on Monday, May 4, 1835, at 2:00 a.m.¹¹⁴

The eighth meeting. In their final council with Joseph Smith, the Twelve were instructed to rotate the responsibility to preside at different conferences they were to attend. Joseph stressed that the Twelve should not regulate the affairs of stakes with a standing High Council in that

¹¹⁰ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:394 (ll. 6–7). See also D&C 107:22.

¹¹¹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:394 (ll. 39–40, 44–45). See also D&C 107: 33, 34.

¹¹² See Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve*, 158.

¹¹³ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 3. No other information about the details of this meeting is recorded in the *Minutes of the Twelve*, the *History of the Church* or the *Record book of the Twelve*.

¹¹⁴ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 3.

area; instead, they were to travel to the outlying areas of the Church and regulate the affairs in those areas. Smith instructed the Twelve that “when [they] are all together or a quorum of them in any church, they have authority to act independently of the church and form a decisions and those decisions will be valid, but where there is not a quorum of them together, they must transact business by the common consent of the church.”¹¹⁵ This situation happened in the Upper Canada conference where only six of the Twelve were in attendance. The membership standing of two men—Henry and Jacob Wood—were decided by the consent of the Church in that area. Both men lost their Church membership when “the conference lifted their hands [to vote] against them.”¹¹⁶ Finally, in this last meeting and under the direction of Joseph Smith, the council resolved to “never give up the struggle for Zion until it [was] redeemed altho’ [they] should die in the contest.”¹¹⁷

These meetings taught the Twelve about their individual and collective responsibilities. Individually, they were to seek the face of God and meet adversity with faith. Collectively, they were to regulate the difficult matters that arose in the Church outside of its stakes. They were also to preach and remain unified. The next time the Twelve met, they commenced their mission to perform the responsibility that was uniquely theirs.

Conclusion

Much happened to this group of men since their baptisms, and much was yet to come. They each came in contact with the Church in various ways and decided to unite with it. They were set apart as Elders and served as advocates for their newfound faith. They became

¹¹⁵ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 3.

¹¹⁶ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 7.

¹¹⁷ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4.

acquainted with the message of their faith and had experiences teaching it. Each one experienced successes and failures as missionaries.¹¹⁸

Half of the Twelve served on standing High Councils and had experience “settling important difficulties” that arose in the Church.¹¹⁹ These six would help the remainder of the quorum learn the “revelation and pattern” that the Traveling High Council was to operate under.¹²⁰

At least seven of the Twelve—and perhaps all of them—participated in either the School of the Prophets or the School of the Elders and were trained as “messengers of Jesus Christ . . . in carrying glad tidings to all that would open their eyes, ears, and hearts.”¹²¹

Nine of the Twelve were willing to give up their lives for the redemption of Zion. Those same nine chose to stay close to the prophet amidst the opposition at the conclusion of Zion’s Camp. They learned to handle adversity and were prepared to “cheerfully receive what [would come].”¹²²

“[The Twelve] held councils frequently, in which [they] received much instruction from the Prophet pertaining to the duties of [their] calling.”¹²³ During this preparatory period, they

¹¹⁸ Although the Twelve all had experience as missionaries, and they may have been among some of the best missionaries, it would not be accurate to say that all of them were the best missionaries that the Church had. Perhaps one reason that Mormons would give for these men being selected is a belief in a premortal state. Mormons believed that God had foreknown them prior to their birth, and at times even foreordained them to perform certain tasks in this life. When seeking out the Twelve, the Three Witnesses united in prayer and were given a special blessing in order to receive the inspiration from God to know who should be selected. See *History of the Church*, 2:187. Joseph Smith taught, “Every man who has a calling to minister to the inhabitants of the world was ordained to that very purpose in the Grand Council of heaven before this world was. I suppose that I was ordained to this very office in that Grand Council.” (*History of the Church*, 6:364).

¹¹⁹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:406. See also D&C 102:2.

¹²⁰ *History of the Church*, 2:122.

¹²¹ *History of the Church*, 2:175–76.

¹²² *History of the Church*, 2:197.

faced opposition, gained experience, and were prepared to accomplish the purposes of their mission.

¹²³ Young, "History of Brigham Young," Feb. 10, 1858.

Chapter 2

Purpose of the Mission

From the earliest references to the Twelve Apostles, it was apparent that evangelism would be a primary responsibility of the Quorum. When Joseph Smith instructed Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer to “search out the Twelve,” he directed them to choose the Twelve from men who had the “desire to . . . go into all the world to preach [the] gospel unto every creature” (D&C 18:28).¹ It therefore came as no surprise that the Twelve’s first mission commenced so soon after the Quorum was completed. The speed of the call and the objective of the mission were not unique; but its purposes were. These unique purposes shaped the mission and the experiences the Twelve had while completing it. Previously, most missions focused primarily on accomplishing one task: preaching. The Twelve, however, had at least five main areas of focus.² Unlike previous Mormon missions, the Twelve’s mission dramatically expanded the ecclesiastical structure of the Church with regards to outlying Mormon “branches.” Where earlier efforts had simply brought new converts into the fold, this one pushed the nascent movement into a more fully realized administrative framework. In short, this early apostolic venture helped create a Latter-day Saint *Church*.

Their five key responsibilities on this mission were: (1) gathering funds to build the Kirtland temple, (2) appointing “Wise Men”³ to gather funds to buy land in Zion for the

¹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, published Revelations*, 2:49–50. See also D&C 18:27–28, 37.

² One example of a missionary focusing on multiple tasks was William Smith. He was called to preach and to gather individuals for the School of the Prophets. “History of Brigham Young,” 7.

³ *Church Historian’s Office. History of the Church, 1839–circa 1882 CR 100 102*, Volume 9, Pages 497–516, February 21, 1835–May 9, 1835 Pg. 517 May 11, 1835, <http://ldsarch.lib.byu.edu.erl.lib.byu.edu/CD%20Volume%201/Disc2/v9/contents.htm>. (accessed February 19, 2013).

gathering of the Saints, (3) “strengthening . . . regulating and putting [the branches] in order,”⁴ (4) acting as a traveling High Council to initiate Church discipline as needed, and (5) preaching the gospel in the communities of the Saints.

On March 12, 1835, Joseph Smith held a meeting to call the Twelve on this mission to “hold conferences in the . . . branches of the Church for the purpose of regulating all things necessary for their welfare.”⁵ Their specific focus required them to spend their time and effort with Church membership in pre-existing branches. Even though the Twelve were experienced missionaries, the responsibilities they undertook on this mission were different than what they had experienced previously. The report of the mission printed in the *Messenger and Advocate* summarized, “The Nature of our mission to the east was peculiar, and required us to spend most of our time among the various branches of the Church.”⁶

In the same March meeting, Joseph designated the Twelve to hold eleven conferences, starting in Kirtland, Ohio, and ending in Farmington, Maine. During their first conference held in Kirtland, the Twelve were trained on their specific responsibilities. Because the Twelve were given responsibility only for situations outside the jurisdiction of a “Standing High Council,” they did not attend the Kirtland conference to preach or fulfill their purpose, but to be trained by Church leaders.⁷ During the course of the mission, two of the scheduled conferences were canceled. “The appointment for our conference at Dover, New Hampshire, was recalled on account of the small number of disciples in that place.”⁸ The Lyons, New York, conference was

⁴ Hyde, “History of Orson Hyde,” May 12, 1858.

⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:209.

⁶ Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 204–7.

⁷ Joseph Smith taught the Twelve that they would “have no right to go into Zion, or any of its stakes, and there undertake to regulate the affairs thereof.” See *History of the Church*, 2:220.

also canceled as a result of “there being so few of the brethren in that region.”⁹ Taking into consideration the cancelling of two of the conferences, as well as the fact that they were in Kirtland to learn from the High Council, the Twelve fulfilled their purpose at eight conferences.

Temple Money Gathered

The only recorded instruction Joseph Smith gave regarding the Twelve’s primary purpose as missionaries came in the form of a letter of rebuke. “Did we not instruct you to remember first the house?” Joseph queried.¹⁰ Joseph explained the importance of this objective when he said: “the Elders [the Twelve] failed in the outset to fill their great and important mission, as they know the Lord has commanded us to build a house, in which to receive an endowment Knowing that the committee were to journey for the express purpose of soliciting donations, they have failed to hold them up and set forth this first important thing; and in consequence God has not blessed them as He otherwise would Attend to the first things first.”¹¹

This letter was prompted by a complaint from Warren A. Cowdery, Oliver Cowdery’s older brother. In November 1834, Joseph Smith had specified Warren Cowdery as “a presiding high priest over [God’s] Church, in the land of Freedom and the regions round about” (D&C 106:1)¹² Just a little over a month after this direction, the Twelve held a conference in Freedom, New York. Sometime after the Freedom Conference, Elder Jared Carter “called on this church . . . on his way east, soliciting donations and subscriptions for finishing the” temple.¹³ Cowdery

⁸ *History of the Church*, 2:242.

⁹ *History of the Church*, 2:225.

¹⁰ *History of the Church*, 2:240. Joseph Smith’s focus on the temple is evident in his Journals. See Jessee, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals Volume 1:1832–1839*, 55-61.

¹¹ *History of the Church*, 2:239–41.

¹² Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:555.

was surprised by the request. He had not known that missionaries were being sent to gather money for temple construction. Cowdery said, “although the subject of such a mission . . . had been mentioned . . . as no other method had been taken to impress the subject on our minds . . . we were in some degree taken on surprise. To the recollection of any of the Church, neither the Twelve, the Bishop, nor any others clothed with authority have ever mentioned this subject to us, except incidentally. It surely was never made a subject of public instruction.”¹⁴ This letter disturbed the First Presidency, who thought the Twelve “failed in the outset to fill their great and important mission” of raising money for the construction of the temple.¹⁵

The First Presidency wrote the Twelve a letter on August 4, 1835.¹⁶ At this point in their mission, the Twelve had three more conferences to attend: Bradford, Massachusetts; Saco, Maine; and Farmington, Maine. As their record shows, they had not yet specifically recorded having taught about the temple or about raising money for it.¹⁷ Most likely, the Twelve did not receive the First Presidency’s letter until the Saco, Maine, conference held on August 21.¹⁸ In the minutes of this conference contains the only explicit reference of the Twelve teaching about the temple. “The council gave instruction on the redemption of Zion, the building of the Temple in

¹³ *History of the Church*, 2:239.

¹⁴ *History of the Church*, 2:239.

¹⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:239–41. This letter came from the First Presidency’s meeting in Kirtland on August 4, 1835. It would have been sent to the Twelve soon after as they attended the previously appointed conferences.

¹⁶ Joseph Smith, Kirtland, OH, to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, 4 Aug. 1835, in JS Letterbook I, 91.

¹⁷ The Dover, New Hampshire, conference was originally planned during this time, but it was cancelled due to “the small number of disciples in that place.” See *History of the Church*, 2:242.

¹⁸ The Bradford Conference was held on August 7 approximately 530 miles away. It is unlikely that word would have reached the Twelve from the First Presidency by that time. The Twelve preach to the members of the Church in this area; unfortunately, records contain little information on what was taught. The *History of the Church*, it is records that “the people in this region were generally hard and unbelieving, and but little preaching [was] called for, except by the Church.” See *History of the Church*, 2:241–42.

Kirtland, and the printing of the word of God to the Nations, etc., etc.; and some were added to the Church during their stay.”¹⁹ One possible reason for this specific reference was the arrival of “a certain letter which they received from the presidency of the high council in Kirtland, while attending a conference in the East State of Maine.”²⁰ In the minutes of the Saco conference, the scribe took extra care to note that the Twelve taught about the building of the temple.²¹

Following the conference in Saco, Maine, the Twelve met in Farmington, Maine. Little is known about the Farmington conference. Soon afterwards, the Twelve met back in Kirtland to report to the First Presidency.²² In Joseph’s journal on September 26, 1835, he recorded, “This, evening, the twelve . . . returned from the east. . . . [W]e met them, and conversed upon some matters of difficulty which were existing between some of them. . . . [A]ll things were settled satisfactorily.”²³ The *History of the Church* gives slightly more detail on the matter. “Council of the Presidency of the Church . . . met to consider the case of the apostles who had previously been reprov’d in consequence of certain letters and reports coming to the ears of the Council. First the items contained in Warren A. Cowdery’s letter, in connection with certain other reports, derogatory to the character and teaching of the twelve, were considered; and from the testimony of several witnesses (the Twelve) it was proved before the Council that said complaints

¹⁹ *History of the Church*, 2:252

²⁰ The word “East” was crossed out in the original journal. See, Dean C. Jessee, ed. *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, Provo: Deseret Book, Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 165.

²¹ It seems that it was the Saco Maine Conference in which the letter arrived because the record of the proceedings contain the first reference to instruction about the building of the temple and the time periods involved. *Minutes of the Apostles*, 8.

²² The *History of the Church* indicates that the conference was held. It indicates the name of the branches belonging to the conference, how many members were in each branch and that all members were in good standing (*History of the Church*, 2:253). The *Minutes of the Apostles* states that they also gave instructions “as the nature of [their] mission and ministry required” (*Minutes of the Apostles*, 8). This would have included the gathering of money for the temple.

²³ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 85.

originated in the minds of persons who were darkened in consequence of covetousness, or some other cause, rather than the spirit of truth . . . all things were satisfactorily settled.”²⁴

The matter had been resolved only in the minds of the First Presidency. Four months later, the Twelve brought up the matter again in council. “Particular stress was laid upon a certain letter . . . in which he [Warren A. Cowdery] preferred charges against them which were false The remarks of all the 12 were made in a verry forcible and explicit manner yet cool and deliberate.”²⁵ Joseph replied, “I have sometimes spoken [too] harsh from the impulse of the moment and inasmuch as I have wounded your feelings brethren I ask your forgiveness, for I love you . . . and I will now covenant with you before God that I will not listen [to] any credit, any derogatory report against any of you, nor condemn you upon any testimony beneath the heavens, short of that testimony which is infallible, until I can see you face to face and know of a surety and I do place unlimited confidence in your word . . . [A]nd I ask the same of you.”²⁶

Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams also apologized. Rigdon mentioned that he would speak with Warren Cowdery about the matter “if [the Twelve] desired him to do so.”²⁷ This did not take place until March 5, 1836, when the Twelve brought up the charge in the presence of Warren Cowdery and his brother Oliver Cowdery. In Oliver Cowdery’s journal, he explained that his “brother confessed his mistake . . . and was willing to publish that they were not in the fault, but that he was satisfied they delivered those instructions which he had supposed

²⁴ *History of the Church*, 2:283. From the author’s perspective, Warren Cowdery’s accusation may have been founded if the Twelve did not emphasize this purpose enough. Perhaps Warren Cowdery was not present during the brief period when the Twelve were instructing the Church relative to their duty in raising funds for the building of the temple.

²⁵ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 166.

²⁶ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 166–67. Warren Cowdery was the individual that accused the Twelve of not teaching about gathering funds for the building of the temple in Kirtland. This was the accusation the Twelve referred to.

²⁷ Jessee, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals Volume 1:1832–1839*, 159.

they had not.”²⁸ Warren Cowdery explained that “the ‘Twelve’ while on their mission . . . received a letter from the Presidency of the Church in which they were censured for neglecting to teach the Church in Freedom . . . the necessity of contributing of their earthly substance for the building of the House of the Lord in [Kirtland] . . . The undersigned [had] since become satisfied from the best of evidence, that, that particular item in their instructions was not omitted as he had represented, he, therefore, most deeply regrets . . . that he was the cause (although innocent) of wounding the best of feelings, and depressing spirits buoyant with hope, while in a field of useful labor.”²⁹

The Twelve were therefore cleared of the accusation. However, if the Twelve had taught the necessity “of contributing . . . earthly substance for the building of the House of the Lord in [Kirtland],”³⁰ why didn’t they record this as a focus of their teaching among the branches of the Church? It is possible that they did not teach this subject with as much focus as they should have.

Another explanation may be that they were protecting the contributors as well as themselves from potential persecution, something they had done previously. Two revelations Joseph Smith received in 1832, which were eventually placed in the Doctrine and Covenants, originally used code names for the individuals named in the revelation because “it was not always desirable that the identity of the individuals whom the Lord addressed in the revelations should be known by the world” (D&C 78, section heading, 82).³¹ Both of these sections give

²⁸ Leonard J. Arrington, “Oliver Cowdery’s Kirtland, Ohio ‘Sketch Book,’” *BYU Studies* 12, no. 4 (1972): 418.

²⁹ *Messenger and Advocate*, 2:263.

³⁰ *Messenger and Advocate*, 2:263.

³¹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 514, 529–530. In total, code names were used in seven sections of the Doctrine and Covenants. “The earliest of these revelations is dated March 1, 1832, and the last is dated June 22, 1834.” David J. Whittaker, “Substituted Names in the Published Revelations of Joseph Smith,” *BYU Studies* 23, no. 1 (1983): 104. See also Harper, *Making Sense of the Doctrine*

individuals in the Church a stewardship over such things as the “storehouse for the poor” (D&C 78:3).³² Since these stewardships represented goods and commodities that were of substantial worth, the stewards’ names were concealed.³³ Mobs had previously tried to steal items of value from Church members, so the codenames were designed to protect them against such persecutions.

Three years after the 1832 revelations where names were concealed, the Twelve were given the assignment to collect money for temple construction. If the Twelve were not careful in the way they taught this principle and to whom they taught it, they knew they could excite persecution and perhaps even mob violence. This is a possible explanation for why the Twelve made only one record of when they taught about gathering money to build the temple.

There is evidence that the Twelve might have taught about gathering money for the temple in previous conferences. For example, in the Freedom conference, the Church “met to take into consideration the redemption of Zion.”³⁴ Zion was to be a place for the Saints to gather, and where they would build a temple and stay until the coming of Jesus Christ in his millennial reign. Joseph *reminded* the Twelve in his letter of rebuke that “Zion could not be redeemed until” the temple was built in order for them to “receive an endowment.”³⁵ Without the temple, Zion could not be redeemed. When the Twelve taught about the redemption of Zion, they should

and Covenants, 277–278. See also Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 514–515, 529–530. See D&C 78, 82.

³² Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:514. See also D&C 78:3.

³³ In 1854, Orson Pratt said, “[I]t was considered best to substitute fictitious names for the real names contained in certain revelations relative to a stewardship or firm; & this was done that their creditors in Cainhannock (New York) should not take advantage of this church firm.” He also said this precaution was “on account of our enemies, who were seeking every means to destroy the prophet and the Church.” Whittaker, “Substituted Names in the Published Revelations of Joseph Smith,” 105–6.

³⁴ *History of the Church*, 2:224.

³⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:239.

have, of necessity, also instructed about the building of the temple. Before the Twelve left for their mission, Joseph and the Twelve determined that they would “never give up the struggle for Zion until it [was] redeemed altho [they] should die in the contest.”³⁶ The building of the temple, the receiving of the endowment, and the redemption of Zion were dependent on each other. Zion could not be redeemed until an endowment was given, and the endowment could not be given until the temple was build. Evidence of this dependence is found in the *Minutes of the Apostles*. In the Saco, Maine conference, the Twelve recorded that they taught “the redemption, the Building of the house of the Lord in Kirtland, and the printing of the word of God to the nations; and also various other *topics connected with the welfare of the saints*.”³⁷ Each conference received instruction on “topics connected with the welfare of the saints,” and so it is possible that each of the conferences received instruction on the building of the Kirtland temple and the collection of donations to finance it.

The *Messenger and Advocate* indicates that the soliciting of donations was done on a promise of a future contribution. Upon completion of their mission, the Twelve published a summary of their journey in the *Messenger and Advocate*. Interestingly, the very next entry asks those who promised to donate to the temple to fulfill their promise. The entry reads, “the [Building] Committee have instructed us to call upon the saints abroad, such as mean to assist, and such especially as have promised to subscribe, and assist in the building the house, and say to them, *Now is the time to do good*, and fulfil your promises. Those who have subscribed are earnestly requested to pay the amount of the subscriptions as soon as they reasonably can.”³⁸ The

³⁶ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4. See also Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve*, 162.

³⁷ “The printing of the word of God to the Nations” is mentioned this one time in the record of the Twelve and in the letter of rebuke sent by Joseph Smith. See *Minutes of the Apostles*, 8, emphasis added, and *History of the Church*, 239–40.

³⁸ “The House of the Lord,” *The Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate* II, no. 1 (1835): 207.

Twelve may have collected some donations for the building of the temple while on their mission but the majority of the donations seem to have been promises of future support.³⁹

“WISE MEN” Buying Land for Gathering Saints⁴⁰

There are many occasions in the revelations recorded by Joseph Smith where a word or phrase used in one context is used very differently in another revelation or passage. One such example is the phrase “wise men.” The phrase is used in the Doctrine and Covenants at least three different ways: (1) supporting wise men for secular offices; (2) the wise men who, under the hand of God, established the Constitution of the United States; and (3) wise men who were called to gather money from the members in their branch for the purchasing of land in Zion.⁴¹

The phrase “wise men” was first used December 16, 1833, in connection with the acquisition of land, and is now recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 101:73. Previous to this

³⁹ It is difficult to track donations from individuals who were influenced to donate by the Twelve. Hyrum Smith and Jared Carter were given the responsibility “to labour on the House of the Lords to gether Subs[c]riptions in order in that [they] might accomplish the work that [God] had Comanded us to perform.” Smith and Carter traveled to the members of the Church and their branches to solicit “subscriptions” or donations for the Kirtland temple building fund. Sometimes those donations would come in the form of horses or food. These items would then be sold and the money would be donated to the temple building fund. Smith kept record of some of the donations received and the money spent on temple construction. He does not specifically mention money received either by the Twelve or by individuals that were influenced by them. Due to lack of available information about donations, it is difficult to assess how successful the Twelve were in accomplishing this purpose, but as is stated in the conclusion of this chapter, the Twelve felt as though they accomplished this purpose, although others may not have agreed. See Hyrum Smith, “Ledger Book,” Hyrum Smith Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

⁴⁰ In the original hand-written copy of the History of the Church (held by the Church Historians Office), these two words, “wise men,” are written in significantly bigger text with quotations around them. This seems to indicate that there is importance in the appointment of wise men in connection with the mission of the Twelve. The appointing of “wise men” is a common subject taught in the conferences. We know at least some of what the Twelve taught in five of the eight conferences that took place. Of the five, three were taught about the appointing of wise men. (Selected Collections from the Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *Church Historian’s Office. History of the Church, 1839–circa 1882 CR 100 102*, Volume 9, Pages 497–516, February 21, 1835–May 9, 1835 Pg. 517 May 11, 1835, <http://ldsarch.lib.byu.edu.erl.lib.byu.edu/CD%20Volume%201/Disc2/v9/contents.htm>. (accessed February 19, 2013). Appointing wise men was for the express purpose of sending them as agents for the local members of the Church to buy land in the member’s behalf in preparation for their gathering to Zion. Selected Collections from the Archives of The Church, Pg. 520 June 19, 1835.

⁴¹ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:527 (l. 4), 549 (ll. 1, 23), 647 (ll. 25–26), 652 (ll. 25–26).

revelation, Jackson County, Missouri, was appointed as Zion on July 20, 1831. Joseph Smith recorded that the saints had been persecuted and “cast out” of Missouri due to transgression. He went on to give direction and “commandment . . . concerning [the land of Zion] . . . to purchase all the lands . . . which [could] be purchased . . . in the region round about the land which [the Lord had] appointed to be the land of Zion, for the gathering of [the Lord’s] Saints.”⁴² Joseph Smith also recorded how the land acquisition would take place: “Now, verily I say unto you, let all the Churches gather together all their money; let these things be done in their time, but not in haste; and observe to have all things prepared before you. And let honorable men be appointed, even wise men, and send them to purchase these lands” (D&C 105:28).⁴³

The direction to buy lands and gather to Zion came with increasing emphasis each time it was repeated. First in 1833, at the time when the Saints were driven from their homes in Jackson county, they were instructed that “these things be done in their time, but not it haste.”⁴⁴ In February of 1834, they were to “send up wise men with their moneys.” In June the direction turned into a command: send up wise men “to fulfill that which I have commanded.”⁴⁵ The Twelve were even more direct. As a quorum they “resolved unanimously—that this conference go to, immediately, and appoint ‘wise men,’ and gather up their riches, and send them to Zion to

⁴² Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:548 (ll. 37–42).

⁴³ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:548 (l. 44), 549 (l. 2). This command was repeated just over a year later on February 24, 1834 in D&C 103:23 and again on June 22, 1834, as recorded in D&C 105:28.

⁴⁴ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:548 (ll. 45–46).

⁴⁵ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:647 (ll. 26–27), 652 (l. 27).

purchase land, according to previous commandment, that all things be prepared before them in order to their gathering.”⁴⁶

This assignment, which the First Presidency gave prior to the Twelve’s departure, indicated not only what the Quorum’s assignments were but specified their priority. Their second priority was the “cause of Zion.”⁴⁷ “It is [God’s] will that these lands should be purchased; and after they are purchased that my Saints should possess them according to the laws of consecration which I have given.”⁴⁸

The Twelve taught the gathering of Zion with the goal of persuading the Saints to commit to act. Of the three conferences where the teaching of this doctrine was recorded, all participants agreed to live what was taught. They appointed wise men and sent them as an Elias to Zion. The members of the Westfield branch “covenanted before the Lord” that they would follow what the Twelve had taught them.⁴⁹ In Pillar Point, “the conference unanimously acquiesced in the teachings of the council.”⁵⁰ In the St. Johnsbury conference, the Saints heard the doctrine and “readily agreed” to live by it.⁵¹ Clearly, the Twelve were men with a predesigned mission. The *Messenger and Advocate* published a summary report of the Twelve that said, “[They] failed not to instruct the Saints . . . in all those matters relative to their present and eternal well being.”⁵² The instruction given by the Twelve for the well being of the Saints was, in part, fulfilled when they taught about the gathering of the Saints to Zion.

⁴⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:223.

⁴⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:240.

⁴⁸ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 652 (ll. 30–34).

⁴⁹ *History of the Church*, 2:223.

⁵⁰ *History of the Church*, 2:225.

⁵¹ *History of the Church*, 2:239.

⁵² Hyde, *Messenger and Advocate*, 2:206.

Strengthening, Regulating, and Ordering the Branches⁵³

When the Twelve left, without “purse or scrip,”⁵⁴ to begin their mission, Joseph Smith gave them parting instructions. He reminded the Twelve that they had “no right to go into Zion, or any of its stakes, and there undertake to regulate the affairs thereof, where there is a standing council; but it is their duty to go abroad and regulate all matters relative to the different branches of the Church.”⁵⁵ Under Joseph’s direction, the Twelve became responsible, as a High Council, to discipline Church members, resolve issues of Church membership, and correct the doctrines of the Church, thus helping to establish an ecclesiastical structure for the benefit of the outlying branches.

The Twelve’s first opportunity “to regulate all matters relative to the different branches of the Church” was in Westfield (the location of the first conference after their departure from Kirtland).⁵⁶ All the elders of the Church seemed to be in good standing in regards to their teaching, except Elder Joseph Rose. His teaching “was ‘that the Jewish church was the sun, and the Gentile church was the moon, etc.; when the Jewish church was scattered, the sun was darkened: and when the Gentile church is cut off, the moon will be turned to blood . . .’ [H]e was shown his error, and willingly made a humble confession.”⁵⁷

At the conference held at Pillar Point, John Elmer was charged with teaching false doctrine. He was reportedly teaching “that the Spirit of God sometimes took him and threw him down, and that he could die the death of the righteous, and of the wicked; and in order to show

⁵³ Hyde, “History of Orson Hyde,” May 12, 1858.

⁵⁴ Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 36.

⁵⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:220.

⁵⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:220.

⁵⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:223.

his power with God, he also stated that he had passed through a kind of death so as to become immortal, and would exist forever without any other death or change He persisted in these things, and would not receive teaching from the council, therefore was cut off.”⁵⁸

As shown in these accounts, the infant Church was still establishing its doctrinal identity. These misconceptions about Church doctrines were resolved by the Twelve while they acted as the Traveling High Council.⁵⁹ This function of the Twelve was incredibly valuable for the branches and the members in outlying areas of the Church. The need for a Traveling High Council is evidenced in the following example from the Bradford Massachusetts conference held on August 7.

Elder Gibson Smith, from Norfolk, Connecticut, wrote to Kirtland complaining about Elder Gladden Bishop. Because of this written complaint, Elder Bishop was suspended from his duties and the matter was put on hold until the Twelve could resolve it at the Bradford conference. Since no one came to the conference to substantiate the claim against Elder Bishop, he was acquitted. “But upon further inquiry, it was proved that he had erred in Spirit and in doctrine.”⁶⁰ The [Twelve] therefore took his license from him, until he became more instructed.”⁶¹ No further discipline was given. He was simply not allowed to teach the doctrines of the Church until he could learn them more completely. The strength and growth of the Church depended on the purity of the doctrine taught and heard by its members.

⁵⁸ *History of the Church*, 2:226.

⁵⁹ *History of the Church*, 2:220.

⁶⁰ *History of the Church*, 2:220. Elder Bishop was also “was considerably inclined to [excessive] enthusiasm, and much lifted up.”

⁶¹ *History of the Church*, 2:241. Elder Bishop was told that he needed to “also get his Spirit and feelings more amalgamated with his brethren” on account of his being too enthusiastic and much lifted up.

Table 2.1 What was Taught During Different Conferences⁶²	
Name of the Conference	What was taught
Westfield, New York	Church Government, General Principles (assume Word of Wisdom), Necessity of Sending Wise Men
Freedom, New York	Word of Wisdom, Gift of Tongues, Prophesying, Spiritual Gifts, etc. Redemption of Zion, Gathering
Lyonstown or Rose, New York	Preaching- Topic Unknown
Pillar Point, New York	Principles of Church Government, Nature and Exercise of Spiritual Gifts, Word of Wisdom, Necessity of Sending Wise Men
Loughborough, Upper Canada	Principles of the New Covenant, Knowledge of God ⁶³
St. Johnsbury, Vermont	Principles of Faith and Action, Necessity of Sending Wise Men, Principles of Truth and Salvation
Bradford, Massachusetts	Preaching- Topic Unknown
Saco, Maine	Redemption of Zion, Building of the Kirtland Temple, Printing of Word of God, other topics connected with Saints Welfare
Farmington, Maine	Such instructions as the nature of their Mission required.

The First Presidency and other Church leaders emphasized the value of the teachings in these conferences. Oliver Cowdery said, “we have expressed our opinion upon the great utility of conferences, heretofore, and would again recommend to all the elders, the propriety of

⁶² This table shows the different subjects that the Twelve identified as sermon topics. As the table demonstrates, preaching to the members of the Church was a significant part of the Twelve’s responsibility. Information obtained for this chart was found in *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4–8. The Word of Wisdom is a reference to a revelation received by Joseph Smith giving specific direction on the use and misuse of substances like tobacco, and “strong drinks.” For more information about the specific revelation, see Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 517–518. See also D&C 89. During the Westfield Conference, it is assumed that the Word of Wisdom was taught because the Twelve explain that some of the members were “rather low in spirit in consequence of a neglect to keep the ‘work of wisdom.’” The Twelve go on to teach about general principles. *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4. The sending of “wise men” was a reference to the branches appointing “wise men” and sending them with money to purchase land in Missouri for the branch members.

⁶³ When the Twelve arrived in Loughborough, they found the Church there “uninformed in the principles of the new covenant, not having had an opportunity for instruction, being under another government and aside from general course of the travelling Elders: But [they] endeavored to instruct them faithfully in the knowledge of God.” Specific details that clarify what the new covenant and knowledge of God were are not made clear. *Minutes of the Apostles*, 7. McLellin said they “had a good time with the Saints here.” McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 188.

embracing every opportunity to obtain instruction in the great and glorious principles of the religion we profess.”⁶⁴

As Cowdrey indicated, the Twelve instructed the branches of the Church in the specific doctrines and practices that would give them the greatest benefit.⁶⁵ One specific doctrine that the Twelve taught frequently was a law of health known as “the Word of Wisdom.”⁶⁶ As shown in the records of the Westfield conference, the Twelve were concerned that the branch members neglected to keep this law. “The Lavona branch numbered twenty in good standing, but lacking in the enjoyment of the Spirit in consequence of a neglect to keep the Word of Wisdom.”⁶⁷ Thus the Church in this area received teaching on “general principles” from the Twelve. It is likely that one of those principles was the Word of Wisdom.⁶⁸ The Twelve taught the Word of Wisdom in three of the six conferences where specific teachings were given.

Often, the Twelve also taught “the propriety of choosing wise men and sending them with money to purchase lands in Zion, *so that [the saints] might not gather in confusion.*”⁶⁹ This topic was taught in at least three of the conferences. The Twelve and First Presidency were aware that gathering to Missouri would be challenging; the process had not been easy for the Saints who had already gathered. Anticipating some of these challenges, the Twelve were sent to help “regulate” the branches as they prepared for the transition to Zion. If the 800 or more

⁶⁴ “Faith of the Church of Christ in These Last Days,” *The Evening and Morning Star* 2, no. 23 (August 1834): 179–80.

⁶⁵ For a more in-depth discussion of what was taught and how the teaching was received, especially individuals who were not members of the Church, see chapter 4 of this thesis.

⁶⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:223.

⁶⁷ Lyman D. Platt, “Early Branches of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1830–1850,” *Nauvoo Papers*, (1991): 25. Platt indicates that Lavona and Livonia are the same place, see Livonia entry, 25. *History of the Church*, 2:223.

⁶⁸ *History of the Church*, 2:223.

⁶⁹ *History of the Church*, 2:225; emphasis added.

migrating Saints had received no prior preparation or regulation for the transition to Zion, the results could have been disastrous⁷⁰ Through the counsel and teaching of the Twelve, the members covenanted to appoint wise men to purchase land on their behalf to ensure that the transition to Zion was as smooth as possible.

“Traveling High Council”

The Church organized the High Council fifteen months before the Twelve departed on this mission. With the High Council in place, the Church had an organized system to handle Church discipline within its two stakes. With the creation of the Traveling High Council, the branches in the outlying areas of the Church now had access to Church discipline as well. The purpose and procedures of Church discipline were “unanimously adopted and received for a form and constitution of the High Council of the Church.”⁷¹ The Twelve, acting as a Traveling High Council, was involved in the discipline of only nine individuals, but this interaction was significant for the Church and for the Twelve. Of the nine individuals, four needed correction on doctrinal issues and five needed discipline for inappropriate conduct.

Elder James Patten of North Providence, Rhode Island, attended the Bradford Massachusetts conference. Patten was “excommunicated for improper conduct . . . by the authority of two witnesses.”⁷² The Bradford Conference was approximately 65 miles from

⁷⁰ About two thirds of the Conference reports in the *History of the Church* contain the amount of members located in each branch. The average amount of members in those branches is almost 18. If all of the branches averaged 18 members, the number of members migrating to Zion could have been 860 or more. *History of the Church*, 2:222–226, 235, 238, 241–242, 252–253. *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4–8. For a more in depth discussion about branches, their creation, preparation to gather and the process of gathering, see Matthew A. Crawford, “Branches of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: 1830–1834” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 2007), 85–96.

⁷¹ *History of the Church*, 2:31.

⁷² *Minutes of the Apostles*, 8. There is a discrepancy between the *Minutes of the Twelve* and the *History of the Church* on this point. The *History of the Church* indicates that because Patten refused to give up his license to preach he was excommunicated. The *Minutes of the Apostles* indicate that he was excommunicated and then refused to give up his license. Because of that “he was ordered to be published in the ‘*Messenger and Advocate*’” (*Minutes*

Patten's home. The distance that he traveled in order to attend this conference represented a significant sacrifice which emphasizes the importance of these conferences and the Twelve's involvement as a Traveling High Council.⁷³

Two other individuals also received discipline at the Bradford Conference for improper conduct. "Elder Chase had his license and membership taken from him because of gambling for money and then breaking bread to the Saints before he confessed his sins."⁷⁴ Elder Holmes also had his license taken from him "in consequence of a disagreement between him and his wife which was of long standing."⁷⁵

During the Twelve's fifth conference, located in the Loughborough branch in Upper Canada, two brothers were "cut off."⁷⁶ "Brothers Henry and Jacob Wood, who had been suspended, had a rehearing."⁷⁷ The fact that these brothers had a rehearing indicates that the leadership of the Church was already aware of the situation prior to the Twelve's mission departure. Joseph Smith would have been familiar with these issues of the Church in each of the areas defined by different conferences.⁷⁸ Because he understood the situation, Joseph sent the

of the Apostles, 8). It is most likely that the record of the Twelve is the accurate account. It was a firsthand account of the proceeding of the conference made during the conference. The *History of the Church* was a compilation of different accounts put together years later.

⁷³ Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions," 150–152. The first day or two of the conferences were set apart "being occupied with Church business, and the day following. . . was given over to public preaching and baptizing." If Patten were to walk the distance it would have taken, at twenty miles a day, approximately six days total. Then if he stayed the two days for the conference followed by the public preaching day, he might have sacrificed upwards of nine days to attend this conference—a significant sacrifice. If he went by horse or stage, he may have shortened his time to three days. Either way, it was a significant sacrifice.

⁷⁴ Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, "Record, 1835 Feb.–Aug.," 17.

⁷⁵ Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, "Record, 1835 Feb.–Aug.," 17. The Twelve then established that "if a man cannot preserve peace in his own family, he is not qualified to rule the Church of God."

⁷⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:235.

⁷⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:235.

Twelve to act as the High Council where there was none. The Twelve focused on this important responsibility in each conference they attended.⁷⁹

In the Westfield, New York conference (the first conference held) the Twelve set a precedent for the order of operations for future conference meetings. The first item was to establish the limits and name of the conference. The second item was to inquire “into the standing of all the Elders within the bounds of [the] conference.”⁸⁰ As notes from the conference show, the standing of each Elder at the conference was assessed. The fourth item done in each conference was “to inquire into the conduct, teaching, and faithfulness of all the traveling Elders who [had] recently travelled through.”⁸¹ The conference following Westfield was held in Freedom, New York, and a report was given concerning the “labors and teachings of the Elders in the conference;” they were assessed to be “good.”⁸² The conference following was cancelled on account of “there being so few of the brethren in the region.”⁸³ In the next conference,

⁷⁸ This assumption is based on the fact that Joseph received letters and communications in the past about disciplinary actions needed.

⁷⁹ McLellin may have been referring to this responsibility in his personal journal when he recorded that a major objective of this mission was to “regulate the things that [were] wanting.” McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 171.

⁸⁰ *History of the Church*, 2:223. *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4.

⁸¹ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4. The Twelve differentiated between Elders and Traveling Elders. Elders seem to have responsibility to one congregation; Traveling Elders were the Elders with the responsibility to preach the gospel both to the Saints and to individuals not in the Church.

⁸² *History of the Church*, 2:224.

⁸³ *History of the Church*, 2:225. It is unclear whether this reference to “the brethren” is a reference to the Twelve as a quorum or the Elders in the branches that make up the conference. There is one other example of a conference being cancelled. The reason stated was “on account of the small number of disciples in that place, and no business of importance to be transacted” (*History of the Church*, 2:242). Looking at the difference in word usage, there seems to be a case for the argument that this is in reference to the Twelve. An interesting note is that Brigham Young, in the previous conference held in Freedom, was to “go immediately from this place to the adjacent tribe of the remnants of Joseph” (*History of the Church*, 2:224–225. See also the notes of the meeting where the Twelve are called on March 12, 1835, in *History of the Church*, 2:209. Brigham Young is called to fill the responsibility of opening “the door of the Gospel to the remnants of Joseph.”).

**Table 2.2 Disciplinary councils presided over by the Twelve
from May 9 to August 28, 1835⁸⁴**

<u>Conference</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Cause/ Accusation</u>	<u>Verdict</u>
Westfield, New York	Joseph Rose	Teaching false doctrine	Made humble confession (no disciplinary action taken)
Westfield, New York	Lloyd L. Lewis	Baptized without church being informed/ knowing if they would accept him	It was not Bro. Lewis' fault but the fault of the administrator (no disciplinary action taken)
Pillar Point, New York	John Elmer	Teaching false doctrine	Would not receive teaching, was cut off
Loughborough, Upper Canada	Henry Wood	Uncertain—had a rehearing	Was cut off
Loughborough, Upper Canada	Jacob Wood	Uncertain—had a rehearing	Was cut off
Bradford, Mass.	Brother Chase	Gambling then breaking bread without confessing	License and membership taken away (was cut off)
Bradford, Mass.	Brother Holmes	Long lasting disagreement with wife	License taken from him
Bradford, Mass.	Gladden Bishop	“Erred in Spirit and Doctrine, . . . excessive enthusiasm, and lifted up.” ⁸⁵	License taken from him
Bradford, Mass.	James Patten	Improper conduct and refusing to give up license	Excommunicated (was cut off)

“reports of the Churches”⁸⁶ were heard, immediately followed by the Church disciplinary council of John Elmer.

During the eight conferences, the Twelve corrected doctrine, disciplined where needed, and “inquired into the standing of all the Elders.”⁸⁷ Thus, the Twelve accomplished the

⁸⁴ This chart details the conference where discipline was needed, the person who needed discipline, and the reason the disciplinary actions were taken. It shows that this part of the duty of the Twelve was significant, more so in some conferences than in others. All information for this chart taken from *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4–8.

⁸⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:241.

⁸⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:225.

⁸⁷ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4.

“regulating [of] all things necessary for [the Church’s] welfare”⁸⁸ in the areas outside of the stakes of Zion.

Preach the Gospel

The primary responsibility given the Twelve was fulfilled within the branches of the Church; however, the Twelve were also to preach to individuals outside the Church. “The Twelve and their traveling associates divided up either to visit Churches by assignment or preach” from place to place, traveling in the general direction of the next conference and preaching as they went.⁸⁹ Their focus was not only to teach and exhort in the Church, but also to teach others. “Behold I send you out to testify and warn the people, and it becometh every man who hath been warned to warn his neighbor” (D&C 88:81).⁹⁰ At the St. Johnsbury conference in Vermont, this warning voice was heard by approximately 164 members of the Church, but there were more than a thousand individuals not of the faith who came to the conference.⁹¹ Nine were baptized during the conference and others may have followed.

In the March 1835 *Messenger and Advocate*, members of the Church were notified of the conference dates. They were also told they could “expect public preaching on the two days following each conference, and they [were asked] to see that the appointments [were] made at the most convenient houses.”⁹² The Elders were also instructed that it was their duty to attend the

⁸⁸ *History of the Church*, 2:209.

⁸⁹ Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve*, 164.

⁹⁰ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:414 (ll. 29–31). See also D&C 88:81.

⁹¹ “The St. Johnsbury branch numbered forty-one members; Danville, twenty-three; Charlton, twenty-one; Jay, eleven; Dalton, fifteen; Landaff, four; Littleton, ten; Andover, Vermont, fifteen; Beneeon, seven; and Lewis, New York, seventeen.” *History of the Church*, 2:238. See also Crawford, 160, 167, 185-186. John F. Boynton visited the Dalton New Hampshire branch in July 1834 to petition for funds to build the Kirtland Temple. Crawford, 160.

conference.⁹³ After the conference adjourned, “the Twelve went various ways preaching and keeping individual appointments” as the members had organized.⁹⁴ After the conferences, the Twelve would stay with members of the Church who would help set up teaching appointments in the area. The Elders would also help the Twelve travel in the neighboring community. The conferences were a place for the Twelve to identify areas where the members had previously organized preaching opportunities.

Successful meetings were held on a number of different occasions. On May 10 in Westfield, “Elders Marsh and Patten preached to an attentive congregation of about five hundred” and afterwards “five persons desired baptism, [and were] attended to by Elder M’lellin.”⁹⁵ The very next day, “after preaching by Elder Young . . . seven individuals were baptized.”⁹⁶ Although the Twelve canceled the conference held in Rose, or Lyonstown, New York, they still “preached several sermons in the vicinity,” which were likely arranged by the members upon the request of the Twelve in the *Messenger and Advocate*.⁹⁷ In the “Pillow Point” conference, “five were baptized, and [the] public meeting closed.”⁹⁸ In “Loborough, Upper Canada,” “a number were added to the Church during [the Quorum’s] stay,” signifying the

⁹² *Messenger and Advocate*, 1:90. See also Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830–1860,” 158.

⁹³ Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 158.

⁹⁴ Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 162. This request was realized at differing levels depending on, first, the tenacity of the members in the branches in setting up teaching appointments and second, the hearts of the people in the area, whether they were teachable, humble and willing to listen.

⁹⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:223.

⁹⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:223. The Baptism was performed by Orson Hyde.

⁹⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:225.

⁹⁸ The “Pillow Point” conference was actually held at Pillar Point, New York. *History of the Church*, 2:225–26.

effectiveness of public preaching.⁹⁹ At the conference held in St. Johnsbury, Vermont “[the] public meeting was attended by more than a thousand people, and during [the] conference nine were baptized.”¹⁰⁰ Brigham Young recorded that 144 carriages were counted and that they estimated attendance at the public meeting in St. Johnsbury was between two and three thousand people.¹⁰¹ Contrasting the St. Johnsbury conference, Bradford, Massachusetts, was a region “generally hard and unbelieving, and but little preaching called for except by the Church.”¹⁰²

Thus, the Twelve accomplished their purpose in teaching the doctrine to the members of the Church, and the members of the Church also did their job by setting up teaching appointments for the Twelve.

Conclusion

It is difficult to say whether or not the Twelve accomplished the multi-faceted purpose of their first mission. When the Twelve concluded their mission, they printed a summary in the *Messenger and Advocate* of their journey as well as a brief description of the occurrences. Each of the five purposes of their mission was mentioned. The Twelve spent their time (1) teaching and (2) disciplining the members, and “by [their] teaching and exhortations, the several branches of the church were strengthened.”¹⁰³ They also (3) called “upon the inhabitants [of the east] publicly, and from house to house, to repent and prepare for . . . the coming of the Lord Jesus

⁹⁹ *Sacred Places: New England and Eastern Canada*, ed. A. Gary Anderson, LaMar C. Berrett, Donald Q. Cannon, Larry E. Dahl, Larry C. Porter (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999), 151. Loberough is the current city of Sydenham. The proper spelling of Loberough is actually Loughborough. *History of the Church*, 2:235.

¹⁰⁰ *History of the Church*, 2:238.

¹⁰¹ Esplin, “The Emergence of Brigham Young,” 165.

¹⁰² *History of the Church*, 2:242.

¹⁰³ *Messenger and Advocate*, 2:205.

Christ, which [was] nigh at hand.”¹⁰⁴ They (4) found some congregations already preparing for the gathering of the Saints to Missouri and instructed others “to become liberated from their temporal encumbrances, that . . . they might have nothing to impede their course in gathering with the Saints to the place of deliverance.”¹⁰⁵ After the Twelve returned, Saints who had made promises to contribute to the (5) building of the temple where “earnestly requested to pay the amount of their subscriptions as soon as they reasonably [could].”¹⁰⁶ One of the most explicit remarks about the Twelve accomplishing their purpose came from Heber C. Kimball. He wrote, “We feel as though . . . we had done as the Lord commanded.”¹⁰⁷ Although there was controversy as to whether the Twelve had accomplished their mission, and despite the fact that Joseph did send a rebuke that he later acknowledged was “expressed in too harsh language,”¹⁰⁸ all things were “settled satisfactorily.”¹⁰⁹ Joseph later remarked that he had “not lost confidence in them” and that he was determined that “neither hights nor depths principalities nor powers things present or to come nor any other creature [would] separate [Joseph] from [the Twelve].”¹¹⁰

Both the First Presidency and the Twelve learned valuable lessons for the future. The Twelve had been strengthened as they worked through opposition towards the accomplishment of their purposes. They had grown individually and collectively. Their relationship with the First

¹⁰⁴ *Messenger and Advocate*, 2:205.

¹⁰⁵ *Messenger and Advocate*, 2:206.

¹⁰⁶ *Messenger and Advocate*, 2:207

¹⁰⁷ Heber C. Kimball, Papers. LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah. See entry before August 31, 1835. As Quoted by Esplin, *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership*, 166.

¹⁰⁸ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 167.

¹⁰⁹ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 85.

¹¹⁰ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 167.

Presidency was beginning to solidify. They laid a framework for the branches to stay connected and aligned with the main body of the Church, and a foundation for their second mission to England. A long and difficult road lay before them, but they had started the journey.

Chapter 3

Location of Preaching¹

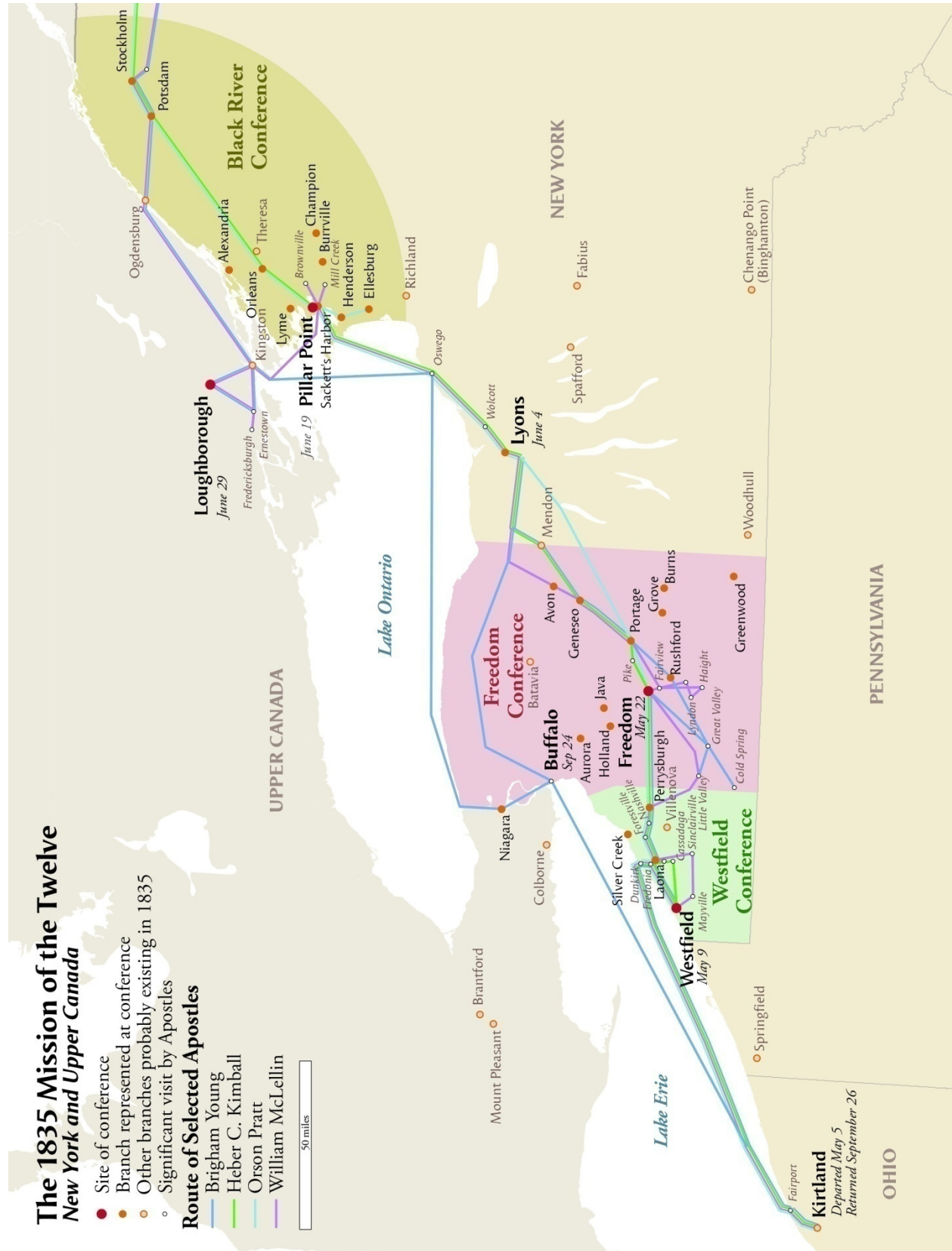
The Twelve traveled mostly in pairs throughout New England and Upper Canada.² Some of them may have traveled as much as 3,000 miles or more during this five-month mission.³ Most of the miles traveled were on foot, with occasional wagon or horse rides from members living in the area. Some used donations to buy passage on canal boats and railroads.⁴ Within limits, the Twelve were at liberty to decide their own routes and preaching locations. This chapter seeks to answer this question: how did the Twelve decide where to travel and teach during this mission? It begins with a brief discussion on leadership and its impact on teaching locations and ends with individual reasons the Twelve chose specific routes.

¹ Dr. Brandon Plewe deserves acknowledgement and the authors deep gratitude for the creation of the maps found in this chapter. He was given the information about where the twelve traveled by the author and he created the map. They are beautiful and the Author is very appreciative to him for his expert help.

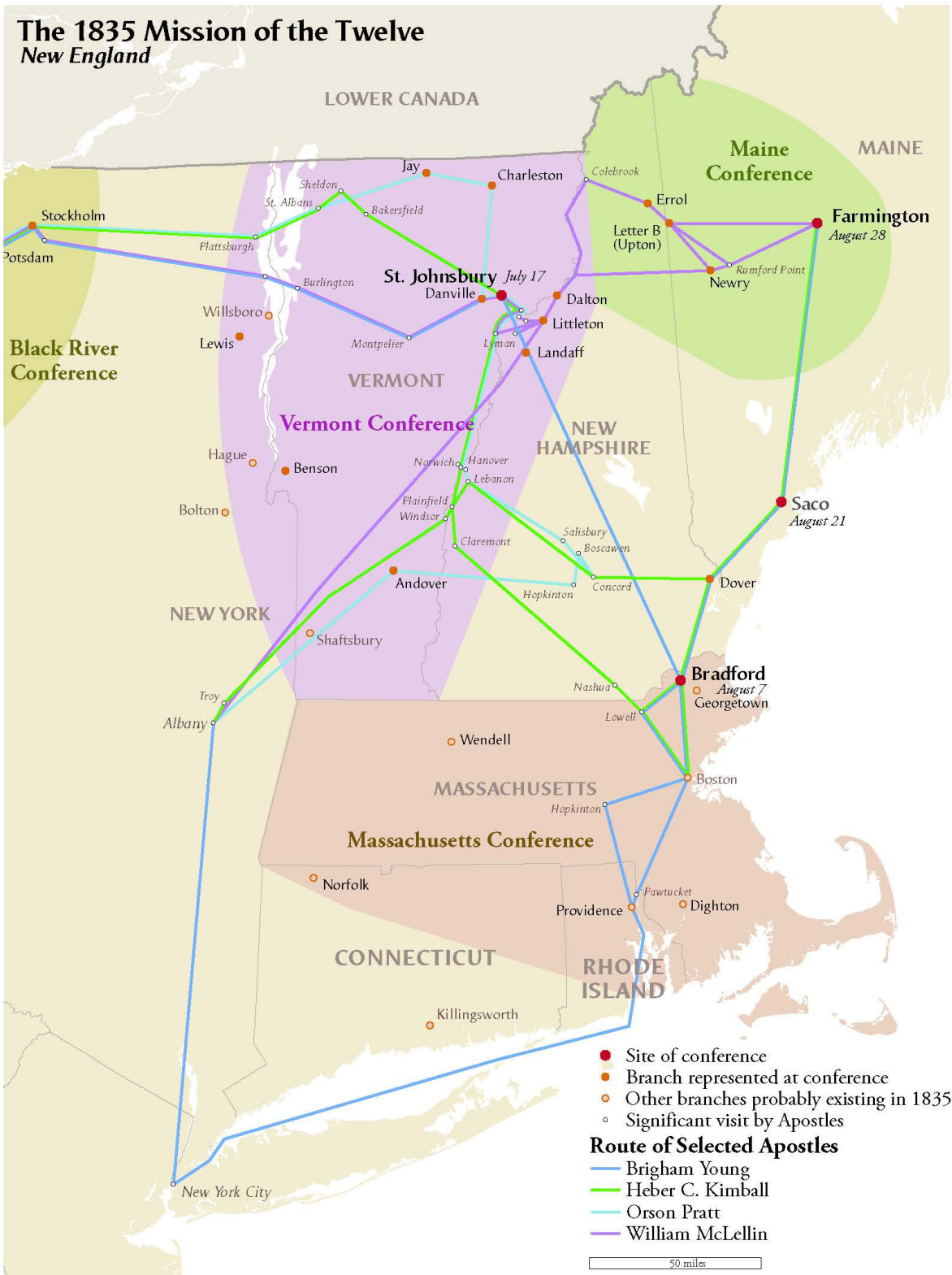
² From 1791 to 1841 Canada was divided into two providences, Upper and Lower Canada. “Lower Canada was the more easterly, French settlement, where the cultural influence of the French and the Roman Catholic Church was dominant . . . Upper Canada was the more westerly English settlement, literally ‘up’ the St. Lawrence River from Montreal, and had become the home for the Loyalists and other English-speaking settlers.” Bennett, “A Study of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Upper Canada, 1830–1850,” 3.

³ Brigham Young recorded in his journal that in all he traveled 3,269 miles. See Young, Journal, September 3, 1835.

⁴ Young, Journal, September 14, 1835. Brigham Young mentioned that he traveled by steamboat and by railroad. William E. McLellin recorded that he was brought by a member of the Church in a horse-drawn wagon; see McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 187. Heber C. Kimball received money that enabled him to pursue his journey by canal boat and railroad; see Heber Chase Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers, 1842–58,” 29. See also Esplin, “The Record of the Twelve, 1835: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles’ Call and 1835 Mission,” 17, 50.



Map 3.1—The 1835 Mission of the Twelve: New York and Upper Canada



Map 3.2—The 1835 Mission of the Twelve: New England

Leadership of the Twelve

During the three months before the Twelve left on their mission, the leadership of the quorum was shared among different individuals, none of whom was a member of the Twelve.⁵ In the end, Joseph Smith's leadership of the quorum had the most dramatic influence on the locations where the Twelve taught and their overall geographic range.

The Twelve, according to Joseph Smith, were “to open the door . . . of the gospel” to the nations of the earth (see D&C 107:33–35).⁶ This mission represented the first time Mormonism had been preached by an Apostle outside of the United States.⁷ For Joseph Smith, preaching the gospel in other nations was a significant responsibility for the Twelve. He taught them of its importance just two weeks after their call. Smith said, “In the first place God manifested himself to me and gave me authority to establish his church, and you have received your authority from

⁵ According to a March 1835 revelation, “the twelve are a traveling, presiding high council.” See Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:394. See also D&C 107:33. The organization of the Twelve was patterned after the high councils that were organized both in Kirtland, Ohio, and in Missouri. The high councils were to consist of “twelve high priests, and one or three presidents, as the case might require.” See Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelation*, 2:405–6. The role of “President” of the Twelve is filled by a number of individuals. The Twelve were originally called by “The Three Witnesses, viz., Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and Martin Harris.” See *History of the Church*, 2:187. The Twelve were also ordained by these men and Joseph Smith, Jr. Oliver Cowdery delivered the “Apostolic Charge” to Parley Pratt and also the “General Charge to the Twelve.” See *History of the Church*, 2:187. When some “important items of instruction to the Twelve” were given by Joseph Smith on February 27, the presidency of the Kirtland High Council was present and none of the “Three Witnesses” were present. See *History of the Church*, 2:198. It was the High Council of Kirtland and its presidency that met on August 4, 1835, to discuss what actions needed to be taken with the Apostles who had, from the Kirtland High Council's perspective, varied significantly from their original purpose. See *History of the Church*, 2:241–43. Because of how leadership roles changed between the Presidency of the Kirtland High Council and the three witnesses, it is difficult to identify a “Presidency of the Twelve.” It is clear, however, through meetings with the Twelve, that Joseph Smith played a significant leadership role. It is not as clear whether the leadership of the Twelve included the other members of the Kirtland High Council Presidency or the Three Witnesses.

⁶ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:394–95.

⁷ For a more detailed look at the introduction of Mormonism to Canada see Bennett, 26–41. “The proselyting efforts of the Young brothers in these areas after their conversion from the Reformed Methodist Church to Mormonism not only was a source of their own personal satisfaction but it had a far-reaching consequence to Latter-day Saints. The Young's success was evidence to Mormon leadership that the new gospel could indeed transcend national bounds. If Mormonism could succeed in Canada, it was plausible to think that eventually it could succeed in other foreign lands” (Bennett 40–41).

God through me; and now it is your duty to go and unlock the kingdom of heaven to foreign nations, *for no man can do that thing but yourselves*. Neither has any man authority or a right to go to other nations before you; and you, twelve, stand in the same relation to those nations that I stand in to you, that is, as a minister; and you have each the same authority in other nations that I have in this nation.”⁸ This must have been at least part of the decision for Joseph Smith to send the Twelve to Canada.

On March 12, 1835, the “twelve assembled, and the Council was opened by President J. Smith Jun. and he proposed that we take our first mission through the Eastern States [and Upper Canada] to the Atlantic Ocean, and hold conferences in the vicinity of the several branches of the Church for the purpose of regulating all things necessary for their welfare.”⁹ Later in the same meeting specific locations and dates for the designated conferences were given by Smith and agreed upon by the Twelve.¹⁰

It was the designated conferences that formed the geographic framework of this mission. For the Twelve, a conference was both a meeting and geographic region.¹¹ In all but one of the

⁸ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 2, emphasis added.

⁹ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 2–3.

¹⁰ “It was proposed that the twelve should leave Kirtland on the 4th May which was unanimously agreed to. It was then proposed that during their present mission, Elder B. Young should open a door to the remnants of Joseph who dwelt among the Gentiles which was carried. It was motioned and voted that the twelve should hold their first conference in Kirtland, May 2nd. In Westfield, N. York May 9th. In Freedom N.Y. May 22. Lyonstown N.Y. June 5. On Pillow point June 19. In West Loboro U.C. June 29. In Johnsbury Vt. July 17. In Bradford Mass. Augt. 7. Dover N.H. Sept 4th Saco Me Sept 18th Farmington Me. Oct. 2nd. —Orson Hyde, W. E. McLellan Clerks.” See “Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, ‘Record, 1835 Feb.-Aug.’” 4, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT, CR 2 178.

¹¹ For another reference discussing the use of the word “conference” in the Church, see Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 147–51, especially footnotes 4 and 5. The term conference was used by John Wesley to describe “the first assembly of his preachers, when he met with them to confer on various points of doctrine and discipline; and it has since embraced the various bodies composing the Methodist judicatories, such as the ‘General Conference,’ the ‘Annual Conference,’ and the ‘District’ and ‘Quarterly Conference.’ This name has been retained by the different bodies of Methodism however organized, and is also the designation of the highest ecclesiastical body in the Free-will Baptist Church.” This term was also used in the Methodist Church to denote a geographic area. “Maine Conference, M. E. Church, was organized by the General Conference in 1824, and its bounds were defined

conference meetings the Twelve identified the geographic boundaries and the name of each conference.

Their first conference set the precedence for the other conferences and helped establish the use of the word conference for both a location and a meeting. The Twelve “held a *conference* May 9th in order to transact such business as should be found necessary . . . [and] resolve[d] that the limits of this *conference* extend South and west to the line of Pennsylvania, North as far as Lake Erie and East as far as Lodi, embracing the branches of Westfield Silver-creek Perrysburgh, and Laona, to be called the ‘Westfield *Conference*.’”¹² It was Joseph Smith who sent the Twelve to the specific conference locations and it was Smith who told the Twelve that they were to “take [their] first mission through the eastern States to the Atlantic Ocean and hold conference in the vicinity of the several branches of the church.”¹³ Smith played a significant role in the general locations of this first mission by establishing the conference locations and overall mission direction, but what was the impact of leadership within the Quorum?¹⁴

so as to ‘include all the State of Maine, and that part of the State of New Hampshire lying east of the White Hills, and north of the waters of Ossipee Lake.’” *Cyclopaedia of Methodism: Embracing Sketches of its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition, with Biographical Notices and Numerous Illustrations* (Philadelphia: Everts & Steward, 1878), s.v. “Conferences, Maine Conference M.E. Church.”

¹² On May 22, the Twelve established the “Freedom Conference.” On June 9, they met at “Rose or Lyonstown N.Y. . . . Conference being opened, no business of importance was presented, there being but a few disciples in these regions, Resolved therefore, that it is not necessary to establish a conference here.” On June 19, they established the “Black River Conference” at “Pillow-Point N.Y.” The West Loberough conference was held on June 29, but they did not establish a set name for it. On July 17 in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, they established the “Vermont Conference.” On August 7 in Bradford, Massachusetts, they established the “Massachusetts Conference.” The conference originally set for September 4 in Dover was recalled “in consequence of the small number of disciples.” The Saco Main Conference was moved to August 21 when the Dover Conference was canceled but no official name or boundaries were set. The Twelve established the Maine Conference in Farmington, Maine, on August 28. See *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4–8, emphasis added.

¹³ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 2.

¹⁴ After this mission was completed, Joseph Smith made statements which indicate that prior to the Twelve leaving on their mission, there was confusion about who was to govern the council. “An attempt was made in the foregoing Council to criminate the Twelve before the High Council,” Smith explains, “but the attempt totally failed.” Smith then commits to governing the Twelve differently than it had been done in the past. “I decided that the High Council had nothing to do with the Twelve, or the decisions of the Twelve. But if the Twelve erred they

Table 3.1 Conference Information¹⁵			
Conference Name, Place, Date, (Geographic Limits)	Branches in Conference	Represented by	Members
Westfield Conference, Westfield, New York, May 9 (southwest to Pennsylvania, north to Lake Erie, east as far as Lodi).	Westfield, NY	Elders Geo. Babcock and James Burnham (Presiding Elder John Gould)	75
	Silver Creek, NY		
	Perrysburgh, NY		
	Laona, NY	Elder Edmond Fisher	20
Freedom Conference, Freedom, New York, May 22 (Lodi Avon, south to Pennsylvania, north to Lake Ontario). Presiding Elder W. A. Cowdery.	Freedom, NY	Elder W. A. Cowdery	65
	Rushford, NY	F. Eaton	28
	Portage, NY	Priest W. Marks	
	Grove, NY	Priest W. Marks	
	Burns, NY	Priest W. Marks	30
	Geneseo, NY	Not Represented	
	Avon, NY		
	Java, NY	Not Represented	
	Holland, NY	Elder P. P. Pratt	15
	Aurora, NY	Elder P. P. Pratt	4
Greenwood, NY	Not Represented		
Niagara, NY	Elder Jacobs	4	
Rose or Lyonstown, New York Conference Canceled, June 4.			

were accountable only to the General Council of the authorities of the whole Church, according to the revelations.” This helps establish the fact that there was confusion about who was to give direction to the Twelve. See *History of the Church*, 2:285.

¹⁵ Information gathered from *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4–8. No official name was given to the conferences in Loughborough, Upper Canada, or Saco, Maine. The Kirtland Conference is not listed because it was not under the jurisdiction of the Twelve, but the Kirtland High Council. No specific information was given about the limits of the Massachusetts Conference. Since it is called the Massachusetts Conference, it is assumed that the conference encompasses the state of Massachusetts. In the *Minutes of the Apostles*, it mentions that Elder Smith from Norfolk, Connecticut, brought a charge against another Elder. It is also mentioned that Elder Paten from North Providence, Rhode Island, was excommunicated. These assumptions were used to map the conference boundaries on the maps provided. See *Minutes of the Apostles*, 7–8. Branches that were specifically identified as “not represented” were labeled with that designation. Those branches that simply did not contain information about who represented were left blank.

Table 3.2 Conference Information Continued			
Conference Name, Place, Date, (Geographic Limits)	Branches in Conference	Represented by	Members
Black River Conference, Pillar Point, New York, June 19 (all of northeast New York).	Pillar Point, NY	Elder Thomas Dutcher	21
	Sackets Harbor, NY	Elder Calvin B. Childs	19
	Burvila, NY (Burrville)	Elder Ducher	7
	Champion, NY	Elder Ducher	6
	Ellisburgh, NY	Elder James Blakeslee	33
	Henderson, NY	Elder James Blakeslee	4
	Alexandria, NY	Elder Ira Patten	4
	Lyme, NY	Elder Ira Patten	4
	Orleans, NY	Elder Ira Patten	2
	Stockholm, NY	Elder Fuller	6
Potsdam, NY	Elder Fuller	3	
West Loughborough, Upper Canada	West Loughborough, Upper Canada	Presiding Elder Frederick M. van Leuven	25
Vermont Conference, St. Johnsbury, Vermont, July 17 (Vermont).	St. Johnsbury, VT	Presiding Elder Gardner Snow	41
	Danville, VT	Elder John Badger	23
	Charleston, VT	Elder William Snow	21
	Jay, VT	Elder William Snow	11
	Andover, VT	L. B. Wilder	15
	Littleton, NH	L. B. Wilder	10
	Dalton, NH	L. B. Wilder	15
	Landoff, NH	L. B. Wilder	4
Massachusetts Conference, Bradford, Massachusetts, August 7 (Massachusetts).	Benson, VT	L. Adams	7
	Lewis, NY	L. Adams	17
Dover, N. H. Conference Canceled			
Saco, Maine, August 21.	Saco, ME	Priest	57
	North Dover, NH	Elder Boynton	8
Maine Conference, Farmington, Maine, August 28.	Farmington, ME	Elder S. B. Stoddard	32
	Letter B (Upton), ME	Elder Daniel Bean	22
	Newry, ME	Elder Daniel Bean	25
	Errol, NH	Elder Daniel Bean	20
Total: 8 (2 canceled)	44 Branches		703

When the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was first called there was no structured leadership found within the quorum. The Twelve councilors were of equal authority and had no president among them.¹⁶ This structure in the quorum was maintained until a meeting on May 2, 1835, in which Smith appointed a type of rotating president of the quorum. “After the conference was opened, and the Twelve had taken their seats, President Joseph Smith, Jun., said that it would be the duty of the Twelve, when in council, to take their seats together according to age, the oldest to be seated at the head, and preside in the first council, the next oldest in the second, and so on until the youngest had presided; and then begin at the oldest again.”¹⁷ This established a rotating leadership where all had equal authority and rotating responsibility. The equality among the quorum members began to change at some point during this mission.¹⁸ The lack of

¹⁶ The Quorum of the Twelve, as a traveling high council, maintained the same organization as the first high council and acted under the leadership of three presidents, the First Presidency. Because the Twelve Apostles were originally established as a traveling high council, Joseph Smith’s direction regarding the structure of the high council also applied to the Twelve. See Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelation*, 2:405–408. See also D&C 102.

¹⁷ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 3. See also *History of the Church*, 2:219.

¹⁸ When the Twelve met in conference on Friday, June 19, 1835, it was Orson Pratt’s turn to preside. Since he was not at the conference, William McLellin presided. Saturday morning, June 20, was spent continuing conference business. At 11:00 a.m. public preaching was called for and the elders took their turns preaching until 1:30 p.m. McLellin, as the presiding officer at this conference, called for another meeting at 5:00 p.m. He thought that prior to the next session the individuals attending the conference would go home, eat, and rest, but instead the people “stood round talking, waiting with anxiety for 5 to come.” During this intermission, Parley Pratt came to McLellin while McLellin was teaching the elders their duty and expressed “that his feelings had not been so tried with any president since he had started on his mission . . . for his greatest fault was that [McLellin] had made an app. when there was no need of one.” McLellin decided to call to order the meeting immediately, and after Elder Thomas B. Marsh declined his “regular turn” to preach, McLellin preached for two hours on the “Priests Hoods to the general satisfaction and edification of all present even to the brethren who had opposed [him].” See McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 185–86.

Despite the positive end to the meeting, McLellin felt “as though all the counsellors had forsaken [him].” The next day two individuals chose McLellin to baptize them, which he saw as vindication of his actions. He also called a council of the Twelve together to assess whether he had done the right thing. It was decided that he had, but that Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten would take over presiding during the remainder of the conference. Patten and Marsh, as the oldest in the quorum, felt to revoke McLellin’s right to preside the remainder of the conference. Patten and Marsh thus established their authority above other members of the Quorum, and also established a type of Quorum hierarchy in a group of previously equal men. Later, they would be solidified as the presidents of the quorum. This event precludes a more formal leadership structure that was established in the quorum in the months following this mission. By January 16, 1836, Thomas B. Marsh was being referred to as the “President of the Twelve.” This was a dramatic change from the previous months and the direction received before the Twelve left on their mission. See *History of the Church*, 2:372.

consistent leadership during this mission allowed the Twelve great levels of flexibility in choosing for themselves the different routes they traveled and the locations where they spent the bulk of their ministry.¹⁹

The Twelve embarked on their first mission as a group but would soon separate into companionships to travel and preach. They left from Kirtland on “Monday morn. at 2 Oclock . . . obtain[ing] a passage” on the steamboat Sundusky for Dunkirk, New York. Upon arriving in Dunkirk they “took council among [themselves] to separate for a few days and preach the Gospel in the region,” and meet in conference at Westfield on Friday, May 9.²⁰ Each group of two chose a differing path to travel and preach as they headed towards their first conference. Brigham Young stayed with and preached to one of his relatives.²¹ William McLellin, not having relatives nearby and not knowing the area, “took Luke Johnson . . . and started south inquiring by the way who was worthy or who would open their doors and appoint a meeting for [them] . . . [they] heard that there were some brethren living about two miles distant and being anxious that [those brethren] should hear of the mee. [meeting] we went to see them but Elders Orson Hyde and Lyman Johnson had found them and were going to preach among them.”²²

¹⁹ Although the leadership in the quorum was not solidified, this does not mean that the quorum was not aware of the locations of its quorum members. There is evidence that the quorum members knew, at least in part, where the Twelve went to preach in between conferences. This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

²⁰ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 171. Much of the language and structure of Mormonism was derived from Methodism, a sect with which Joseph Smith felt inclined to unite prior to his 1820 vision in which he professed to see God the Father and his Son, Jesus Christ. See Davidson, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844*, 212–17. See also Joseph Smith—History 1:8, 17. The Methodists employed the use of both “conferences” and “branches,” see Rev. Enoch Mudge, “History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church,” in *History of American Missions to the Heathen, from Their Commencment to the Present Time* (Massachusetts: Spooner & Howland, 1840), 532. The Mennonites and Congregationalist also used these terms. See Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 150, n. 4.

²¹ Young, Journal, May 4–9, 1835. See also Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young: 1801–1844*, 11–12. McLellin’s quotation emphasises that the Twelve did not always have a preplanned route in mind when they left each other’s company. They also did not always know where the other members of the quorum would be teaching. There is evidence, however, that at times they did know where the quorum members would be preaching. More will be discussed later in the chapter.

The routes of the Twelve and their reasons for choosing those routes varied widely. Sometimes the Twelve were in different states or even in different countries at the same time. Because of their varied routes, some of the Twelve found themselves far away from the predetermined conferences and unable to attend. The Twelve chose their individual preaching routes for three different reasons: (1) their unique and multifaceted purposes, (2) previous missionary experience, and (3) family and personal connections.

The Mission’s Purpose Dictated Preaching Locations

The purpose of this first mission was much more expansive than just preaching. The summary report of the mission printed in the *Messenger and Advocate* stated that “the Nature of our mission to the east was peculiar, and required us to spend most of our time among the various branches of the Church. . . .”²³ Their specific responsibilities included (1) gathering funds to build the Kirtland temple, (2) appointing “Wise Men” to gather funds for purchasing land in Zion for the gathering of the Saints, (3) “strengthening . . . regulating and putting [the branches] in order,” (4) acting as a traveling high council to initiate Church discipline as needed, and (5) preaching the gospel to the Gentiles in the communities of the Saints.²⁴ Because much of the purpose was focused on the membership of the Church, the eleven conference locations were important destinations for the Twelve.²⁵

²² McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 171–75.

²³ Hyde, “Letter of the “Twelve”,” 2:204–07. Also found in Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 169.

²⁴ For a more complete discussion of the multiple and varied purposes of this mission, see chapter 2. The Church needed to be prepared for the gathering of the Saints to Missouri and the building of the Temple. See *Church Historian’s Office. History of the Church, 1839–circa 1882 CR 100 102*, Volume 9, Pages 497–516, February 21, 1835–May 9, 1835 Pg. 517 May 11, 1835, <http://ldsarch.lib.byu.edu.erl.lib.byu.edu/CD%20Volume%201/Disc2/v9/contents.htm> (accessed online, February 20, 2013). See also Orson Hyde, “History of Orson Hyde,” 115–16.

²⁵ The Twelve only accomplished their purpose in eight of the eleven conferences. Two conferences were canceled and the opening conference held in Kirtland did not allow them to fulfill their purpose because Kirtland

One mission purpose that influenced the conference locations was the need for Church discipline. The leadership of the Church was aware of the necessity for Church discipline in at least two of the different conferences. In the Upper Canada Conference, two brothers, “Henry and Jacob Wood, who had been suspended, had a rehearing” and were “cut off.”²⁶ The fact that these brothers had a rehearing indicates that the leadership of the Church was already aware of their situation prior to the Twelve’s mission departure. A responsibility of the Traveling High Council was to make decisions on cases like this.²⁷ During the Bradford Conference, the Twelve met to determine whether Elder Gladden Bishop could maintain his “license” to preach. “A letter of complaint was written to Kirtland by Elder Gibson Smith of Norfolk Conn. against Elder Gladden Bishop, upon which he was suspended and referred to the conference at Bradford for his trial.”²⁸ These two examples emphasize that the leadership of the Church was aware of issues in the Church requiring discipline from an official Church governing body and thus, the Twelve were sent to these areas to regulate these situations. Conference locations were selected based on where the Twelve’s official responsibilities were needed.²⁹

Another responsibility of the Twelve was to strengthen, regulate, and put the branches in order. This affected the preaching locations of the Twelve. Although the overall framework of

was under the jurisdiction of the Kirtland High Council and not the Twelve. The eleven originally planned conferences still set the geographic framework of the mission. The conference in Lyons, New York, was cancelled after the Twelve had already arrived at Lyons and therefore the cancellation of the conference had no bearing on the geographic framework of the mission. The conference in Dover, New Hampshire, was also canceled. See *History of the Church*, 2: 225, 242.

²⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:235

²⁷ For more information on this specific responsibility of the Twelve, see chapter 2 under the heading “Traveling High Council.”

²⁸ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 7.

²⁹ Some of the conference locations were places where other conferences had been held in the past. *The Evening and Morning Star*, August, 1834. This edition of *The Evening and Morning Star* contains conference information for a conference in Saco, Maine, in 1834. Conference headquarters were also locations central to the branches that fed into the conference.

the mission of the Twelve was set by the conferences, the individual traveling and preaching routes of the Twelve were influenced by the location of the branches and their membership. During each conference an inquiry was made “relative to [the elders’] labours and teaching . . . and also the inquiry was extended concerning all those who lived in the bounds of [the] Conference.”³⁰ The “inquiry” was given to assess the well-being of the members and branches, and as often as available, a report was given during the conferences. These reports were given by an elder in the branch or by an elder representing the branch and occasionally by one of the Twelve. The “Holland branch [was] represented by Elder P. P. Pratt to be 15 in number who had suffered much from false teaching by hypocrits and knaves.”³¹ On another occasion, “Elder Boynton represented a little branch in Dover N. Hampshire consisting of eight members in good fellowship.”³² When the Twelve traveled between conferences, they visited the branches to teach them and assess their strength and as they met at the conferences they gave their report. The locations of the branches influenced the travels of the Twelve, as evidenced by Elders Boynton and Pratt representing these branches.

The travels of Orson Pratt also evidence the impact of branch locations on the personal preaching routes of the Twelve. Many of the towns where Pratt chose to teach were places where branches were located and where his teaching would build up the members of the Church. Pratt

³⁰ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 5. The term “elders” used here is not referencing one of the Twelve Apostles, who were, at times, also referred to as elders. Apostles were referred to as elders because, like the elders of the Church, their primary focus was on teaching the gospel. Their calling and responsibility, however, was administrative as well as evangelistic. See Max H. Parkin, “Kirtland, a Stronghold for the Kingdom,” in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, ed. F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1973), 71.

³¹ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 5.

³² *Minutes of the Apostles*, 8.

preached in Porthee, New York; Portage, New York; Potsdam, New York; Jay, Vermont; Charleston, Vermont; and Danville, Vermont.³³

Spending time in the branches also allowed Church membership to impact the preaching locations of the Twelve. In the March 1835 *Messenger and Advocate*, the membership of the Church was notified of conference dates and locations. Concurrently they were also instructed to “expect public preaching on the two days following each conference, and they are requested to see that the appointments are made at the most convenient houses.”³⁴

Brother David Millens fulfilled this request for William McLellin. McLellin expressed his feelings for Millens and his home by saying that “bro David Millens . . . made me as welcome as if I had been at home—And I really felt as though this was my home in this place.”³⁵ Millens’s hospitality extended far beyond providing McLellin with a place to sleep. McLellin preached in Millens’s home to a congregation of nine. Millens rode with him to teaching appointments, organized appointments, and even collected donations for him. McLellin made Millens’s home his headquarters for approximately twenty days. During this time, Millens acted as his personal secretary, appointment scheduler, and chauffeur, which all greatly influenced McLellin’s preaching locations.³⁶

Other members of the Church also took part in assisting McLellin in his travels. McLellin arrived at Millens’s house shortly after the St. Johnsbury Conference. He was escorted there by

³³ Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 64–67. This list is not meant to be comprehensive. The maps included at the beginning of this chapter give an indication of how important the branches of the Church were in helping the Twelve to identify their preaching routes. Notice how often the Twelve are heading towards or staying around areas where there was a branch of the Church. See Platt, “Early Branches of the Church.” See also Crawford, “Branches of the Church.”

³⁴ *Messenger and Advocate*, 1:90. See also Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 158.

³⁵ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 194.

³⁶ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 191–94.

two members of the Church who brought him approximately thirty-six miles. Elder Snow took him “in a one horse wagon *in order to meet* Col. Miles’ stage . . . and staid over night with bro. Miles and in the morning his wife gave me two shirt . . . Bro. Miles brought me up to Littleton about 14 mls. to brother D. Millen’s.”³⁷ McLellin’s journey to Millens’s home was planned, as is evidenced by his meeting different Church members “in order to” arrive at his destination. Millens had taken seriously the invitation to prepare for public preaching in his area. He had not only arranged for public preaching in this area but had also arranged for McLellin’s safe travel from the St. Johnsbury Conference to his home.

The conferences were the meeting places for the members of the Church to solicit the preaching of the Twelve in their local areas. Members had prearranged for the travel and preaching of the Twelve in their areas so that the Twelve could fulfill their purpose in strengthening the Church through their teaching. The Twelve taught at the members’ prearranged meetings when they were solicited.³⁸ These conferences were places for the members of the Church to inform the Twelve of their needs and an opportunity for the Twelve to “[regulate] all things necessary for [their] welfare.”³⁹ This was exemplified during the Freedom Conference when “a few brethren liveing in Mansfield and round about were represented by Elder J. Murdoch as wanting instruction.”⁴⁰ Also, in the Black River Conference held at Pillar Point, New York, the members of the Church in Orleans were “very anxious to have Elders call on them and add to their numbers.”⁴¹ These requests would have been followed by a member of the

³⁷ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 190–91, emphasis added.

³⁸ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 190–91.

³⁹ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 3.

⁴⁰ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 5.

⁴¹ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 6.

Twelve directing his preaching route to allow him to instruct those who were “wanting instruction” in Mansfield and Orleans.

The experiences of McLellin and Pratt further evidence the relationship between members of the Church and the traveling routes of the Twelve. David Millens brought William McLellin twenty-seven miles to Dalton where they met with other members of the Church who took William an additional twenty-seven miles. After being dropped off, McLellin, knowing where the next member’s home was, walked an additional fifteen miles to stay with Isaac Aldrich for two days.⁴² Orson Pratt’s experiences were similar to William McLellin’s. As Orson was “preach[ing] in the regions around [Dunkirk],” he went to Mr. Lilley’s home whose “wife and one of his children belonged to our society . . . [and] gave out an appointment for evening. The people came together and we preached.”⁴³ As they stated about their purpose, the Twelve focused on strengthening the members of the Church and this meant teaching in their homes and in the regions where they lived. The members directed the Twelve to other members’ homes and even, at times, escorted them all or part of the way.

Another aspect of the Twelve’s purpose that may have had some bearing on their preaching locations was their responsibility to raise money for the building of the temple in Kirtland.⁴⁴ William McLellin made one comment in his journal that may indicate that the Twelve were conscious of this purpose as they chose areas in which to preach. McLellin and Brigham Young traveled and taught in what McLellin called “one of the wealthiest

⁴² McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 194. A branch of the Church existed in Dalton, New Hampshire. See Crawford, “Branches of the Church,” 160, 199.

⁴³ Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 60–61.

⁴⁴ Joseph Smith mentions that gathering money for the temple was their most important responsibility. They were, however, accused of not fulfilling this responsibility by the Presiding Elder (Warren A. Cowdery) in the conference at Freedom, New York; see *History of the Church*, 2:239–40. For more information on this specific purpose of the Twelve, see chapter 2 under the heading “Temple Moneys Gathered.”

neighborhoods in Canada.”⁴⁵ Brigham Young acted as their guide in Canada and led them to this area that they considered the wealthiest of anywhere they could have traveled and taught.

Perhaps the reason for their preaching in Canada was to fulfill their purpose in raising money for the temple.⁴⁶

Another city visited, perhaps for its wealth, was Boston. Brigham Young, Thomas B. Marsh, and Orson Hyde traveled to Boston after the conferences in St. Johnsbury, Vermont; Bradford, Massachusetts; Saco, Maine; and Farmington, Maine.⁴⁷ In total they spent twenty-three days in Boston. Maybe they spent so much time in this city of wealth where there were few members and no branch so they could raise money for the temple.⁴⁸ The members of the Church

⁴⁵ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 189.

⁴⁶ There exists a rumored story in Mormon lore that Brigham Young was told by Joseph Smith to travel to Canada, baptize one of Young’s acquaintances, Artemus Millet, and have him settle his affairs and bring 1,000 dollars to Kirtland to keep the temple land from being repossessed. See Lloyd D. Newell, and Keith A. Erekson, “The Conversion of Artemus Millet and His Call to Kirtland,” *BYU Studies* 41, no. 2 (2002): 77. Although it is difficult to know the truth of the details of this story we do know the truth of some of the facts. Artemus Millet came from the area in Canada that McLellin described as one of Canada’s wealthiest. See McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 189. Millet was converted by Brigham Young. Young and McLellin did meet a man named “Bro. Millet” in Canada who gave them a four dollar donation. See McLellin, 189. It is difficult to be sure that Artemus Millet was the same man that Young and McLellin met, but assuming it was, Young may or may not have known that Brother Millet would be in Canada at that time to settle his affairs. Young did, however, know where Millet was from and the supposed providence of the area. It is likely that Young’s perception of the wealth of this area influenced his decision in their travels. Young, having just returned from Kirtland after being a witness in a trial of Joseph Smith, may have known about Millet’s trip from Kirtland to Canada. If it was Artemus Millet, it is possible that Young could have influenced and at least talked with Millet about the necessity of financing the temple building as he would have been aware of Millet’s rumored business success and may have understood Millet’s purpose in traveling to Canada to sell his property. Nevertheless, the point is that Young and McLellin felt this was the wealthiest part of Canada. Young and McLellin did call for financial donations while there. McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 189.

⁴⁷ Young, Journal, July 28–September 5, 1835. This reference gives Young’s record of all three visits to Boston. Besides Orson Hyde and Thomas B. Marsh, Young also mentioned that Parley Pratt was in Boston preaching during their second and third visit. Young does not specifically mention which Pratt brother came to preach during their second visit but he did mention that it was Parley Pratt that came during their third visit and it is therefore assumed that it was Parley that came on the second visit as well. Heber C. Kimball also mentions preaching with Thomas B. Marsh and Brigham Young in Boston. See Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 27–29.

⁴⁸ In the journal accounts describing their missions, the apostles typically refer to “Bro.” and “Sis.” in regards to members of the Church and “Mr.” or “Ms.” as those not yet baptized. In Boston, those who gave the Apostles new suits of clothing were referred to as “Sisters Fanny Brewer, Polly Voce and others.” This seems to indicate that they were members of the Church. See Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball: An Apostle, the Father and Founder of the British Mission*, 82. The Boston branch was not organized until March 9, 1842. Previous to that,

in this area were kind and generous to the Apostles and gave them each a “new suit of clothes.”⁴⁹ This generosity (and perhaps the wealth in the surrounding areas) convinced the Apostles that the purpose of their mission could be fulfilled in this city of industry and wealth.

Previous Missionary Experience Dictated Preaching Locations

Three Youngs led the first successful Mormon proselyting efforts into Canada before the 1835 Apostolic mission: Phineas, Joseph, and Brigham.⁵⁰ Both Phineas and Joseph had been Reformed Methodist preachers from 1830 to 1832 and had spent time preaching Methodism on a circuit in Canada.⁵¹ After substantial consideration and consultation between Brigham and Phineas, they were ready to join the Mormons through baptism.⁵² Brigham Young traveled to

seventeen individuals were baptized by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young in August 1836. See Platt, “Early Branches of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1830–1850,” 7. See also, Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer*, 37.

⁴⁹ Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball: An Apostle, the Father and Founder of the British Mission*, 82.

⁵⁰ Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Freeman Nickerson also went to Upper Canada to preach but this was in October and November 1833, seventeen months after the Young brothers’ first Mormon mission to Canada. Smith, Rigdon, and Nickerson traveled to Mt. Pleasant, a significant distance from where the Twelve went on their first mission. Mt. Pleasant is approximately forty miles southwest of the southern tip of Lake Ontario. Kingston, Upper Canada, where Brigham and his brothers preached and where the Twelve later went, is approximately 260 miles on the far north end of Lake Ontario. Therefore, Smith would not have preached in the same areas as the Twelve. Although Smith’s preaching in Upper Canada emphasizes that Smith was aware of the people in Canada, he had not personally taught in the areas where he sent the Twelve. Jessee, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals Volume 1: 1832–1839*, 12–16.

⁵¹ There were two Methodist church circuits in the Kingston area in the 1830s. These two circuits may or may not have been the same for the Reformed Methodist movement. The Bay of Quinte District consisted of Kingston, Kingston West (near Earnestown), Bay of Quinte, Hallowell (presently Picton), Belleville, Cobourg, Sidney, and Murray. This specific area is where the Young brothers were most familiar and is definitely where Brigham spent most of his time, both before and during the 1835 Apostolic mission. The Augusta District, located further to the east, consisted of Brockville, Augusta, Matilda, Rideau, Perth, Crosby, and Cornwall. See Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada*, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908), 1:411. See also Bennett, 37. John P. Greene, Brigham Young’s brother-in-law, was also a circuit riding preacher; see “History of Brigham Young,” *Millennial Star* 25, July, 4, 1863, 424.

⁵² In April 1830 Phineas was traveling home after preaching when he stopped for dinner. While eating and conversing with the Tomlinson family, “a young man came in, and walking across the room to where [Phineas] was sitting, held a book towards [him], saying,--’There is a book, sir, I wish you to read.’” He identified himself as Samuel Smith and Phineas Young promised him to “search out the errors, and . . . expose such.” See “History of Brigham Young,” June 6, 1863, no. 25, 360–61. To his surprise “[he] could not find the errors [he] anticipated, but felt a conviction that the book was true.” See “History of Brigham Young,” 361. He then lent the book to his father and sister, who both declared it a revelation. Late in the summer of 1831, Joseph Young called upon Phineas Young

Canada to inform Joseph Young of their desire to be baptized, while Joseph Young was fulfilling his duties as a Methodist circuit preacher. By the end of April, 1832, all three had been baptized as members of the Mormon Church.⁵³ “It is significant that within a very few months of their conversion, the Young brothers were back in Canada teaching their new gospel to their old Reformed Methodist friends whom they knew so well,” and they were having much success.⁵⁴

In June 1832, Phineas Young, along with three others, journeyed to Canada to preach Mormonism as ordained elders. “[They] labored in Canada about six weeks with great success, raised the first branch in British America, and returned home.”⁵⁵ Unbeknownst to them, they had prepared Canada for the preaching of Mormonism as Reformed Methodist ministers.

Mormonism grew quickly in Canada because of the Young brothers’ previously established relationships, the trust that they had acquired, and their knowledge of the social, religious, and physical landscape. In December 1832, Brigham and Joseph left for a short mission to Canada, a mission which helped Brigham to establish relationships with the same people who had come to trust his brothers. With the help of a friend, they baptized forty-five people. They created the “West Loboro” branch and returned home in February 1833.⁵⁶ Brigham Young returned to

to accompany him to again teach Methodism in Canada. On their journey to Canada, they visited a friend named Solomon Chamberlain, who introduced Joseph Young to Mormonism and their book. See Bennett, 34. Phineas Young, originally more affected with the message of Mormonism than Joseph Young, found it difficult to preach due to the fact that he “could think of but little except the Book of Mormon and what [he] had heard of Mormonism.” See “History of Brigham Young,” June 13, 1863, 374. Having tried to “tie Mormonism to Methodism” and having failed, he left his preaching in Canada prematurely. See “History of Brigham Young,” June 13, 1869, 375. When he arrived at home he was approached by his brother Brigham Young about Mormonism and they both decided to join with this new faith.

⁵³ “History of Brigham Young,” 376. See also Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young: 1801–1844*, 2.

⁵⁴ Bennett, 35.

⁵⁵ “History of Brigham Young,” June 13, 1836, 376.

⁵⁶ Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young: 1801–1844*, 5. History of Brigham Young in *Millennial Star* July 11, 1863. Loboro, as it is said here, is the current city of Sydenham. The proper spelling of Loboro is

Canada on April 1, 1833, and stayed until July of the same year. The influence of Brigham Young's older brothers on his 1833 mission to Canada is evident in his attendance at a Reformed Methodist Quarterly meeting. Brigham Young had not been a minister of the Reformed Methodist church, but he had been influenced by his older brothers. He had attended meetings, and "no doubt such a tactic increased the scope of his contacts among the people and may have even supplied him with some of his very best preaching opportunities."⁵⁷

Brigham Young's special connection with Canada led him to be one of six members of the Twelve who traveled to Canada to attend the West Loughborough Conference.⁵⁸ Young's love for the people was manifest as they traveled from Kirtland, Ohio, to Kingston, Upper Canada.⁵⁹ After a long day of travel, Young and Hyde lay down and fell asleep. "The boat United States came in and went out before we waked. Brother WM Smith, D. Wood and WM Draper went and left us." Young, having to wait one more day to return to his friends in Upper Canada, recorded his feelings by saying that he "felt really bad for a spell."⁶⁰ Brigham Young loved the people and the people responded to Brigham Young.

Brigham Young's impact on the people during the conference is evident in the proceedings in Loughborough. Brigham Young and Orson Hyde arrived in Loughborough, Upper Canada, four days after the other quorum members. The other Apostles had spent the

actually Loughborough. In subsequent references, this place will be spelled correctly with the exception of quotes where the original spelling will be included. See *Sacred Places: New England and Eastern Canada*, 151.

⁵⁷ Bennett, 37.

⁵⁸ The six members of the quorum who attended the conference were Thomas B. Marsh, Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, William E. McLellin, William Smith, and Parley P. Pratt. "The business of necessity was done by common consent of the church a majority of the Twelve not being present." *Minutes of the Apostles*, 6–7. Prior to the departure of the Twelve on May 4, they were instructed that when "there is not a quorum, they will have to do business by the voice of the Church." *History of the Church*, 2:220.

⁵⁹ "Brigham Young, Orson Hyde and William Smith returned to Kirtland, as witnesses in a certain case wherein President Joseph Smith, Jun., was concerned before the county court." *History of the Church*, 2: 225.

⁶⁰ Young, "Journal of Brigham Young," June 26–27, 1835.

previous days preaching but it was Brigham Young's sermon that produced the fruit of baptism. After hearing just one sermon from Brigham Young, three individuals asked for him to perform their baptism.⁶¹ No other baptisms are recorded to have taken place in Canada during this mission of the Twelve. Young had an unusual ability to impact the people in Canada, at least in part because of the time that he had spent among them.

Young's past experiences also influenced his route chosen to the next conference. After the conference proceedings were concluded, Young, along with William E. McLellin, decided to stay in Canada and preach on their way to their next appointed conference in St. Johnsbury, Vermont.⁶² Young and McLellin were the only two members of the Quorum to preach in Canada, and it is evident, thanks to their journals, that Young took the lead in travels and teaching.⁶³ He chose to visit the locations where he previously taught, the same locations where his brothers taught as Methodist circuit riding ministers.⁶⁴

If it had not been for the Young brothers, there would not have been a branch of the Church located in Canada in 1835. Without a branch the Twelve would not have traveled there on this mission. It was because of the Youngs that the Church was in Canada, and it was because of them that this first Apostolic mission went to Canada.

⁶¹ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 187.

⁶² Young, "Journal of Brigham Young," July 1, 1835. McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 188–89.

⁶³ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 188–89. See also Young, Journal, June 28–July 6, 1835. William McLellin is very descriptive in his journal of the locations in which he travels and teaches. If he is aware of the town or location name he gives it. In Canada, he gives no location or town names—only names of individuals that he meets. Brigham Young, on the other hands, gives both names of locations and people. Brigham Young also takes the lead in teaching. He at times teaches three times longer than McLellin.

⁶⁴ These locations include Earnestown, Kingston, and also Loughborough. Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young: 1801–1844*, 4–5.

The “Lyonstown” New York Conference was also a familiar place for Brigham Young.⁶⁵ In his history he indicates, “April 1, 1833, I started on foot for Canada again, arrived at Lyon’s-town, where my brother Joseph and I had preached. I remained preaching, and baptized thirteen and organized a branch of the Church.”⁶⁶ On the 1835 mission the conference at “Rose or Lyonstown N.Y. . . . [had] no business of importance . . . presented, there being but a few disciples in these regions, [the Twelve] Resolved therefore, that it is not necessary to establish a conference here.”⁶⁷ Young arrived late to the conference after it had already been canceled and learned that he had been summoned back to Kirtland to be a witness in a trial for Joseph Smith. Young was more anxious about those familiar friends he had baptized in years past than he was about attending Smith’s trial. He spent an additional two days in Lyons preaching and only traveled back to Kirtland after “[finding] the Brethren all well and in good spirits.”⁶⁸ His previous experiences and relationships again had influence on his preaching location.

Many others of the Twelve taught in the same or similar areas as they had in the past. Orson Pratt and Heber C. Kimball traveled together from the Pillar Point Conference towards the St. Johnsbury Conference. They remained companions until Pratt wanted to visit the areas where he formerly preached and Kimball wanted to teach his family and friends. In 1832 Pratt had spent about forty-five days preaching in the towns of Jay and Charleston, Vermont. He baptized twenty-five in Charleston and eighteen in Jay. “In these parts the Lord wrought by our hands

⁶⁵ The official name of the city is Lyons, New York but in the *History of the Church* it is referenced as “the Lyonstown, New York Conference”; see *History of the Church*, 2:209.

⁶⁶ Brigham Young, “History of Brigham Young,” *Millennial Star* 25, (1863): 439. See also Young, Journal, April 30, 1835.

⁶⁷ *Minutes of the Apostles*, 6.

⁶⁸ Young, Journal, June 7, 1835.

many miracles of healing.”⁶⁹ Orson Pratt again traveled back to Charleston in January, 1833. Now he had the chance to travel through the same area where he had formerly preached and baptized. Going substantially out of his way, Orson Pratt managed again in 1835 to “visit the Church in Charleston.”⁷⁰

Table 3.3 Missions to the East Completed by Selected Apostles Prior to the 1835 Mission⁷¹	
Apostle	Mission Prior to 1835 Mission of the Twelve
Brigham Young ⁷²	December–February 1832–33, Kingston Upper Canada April–July 1833, Canada
Lyman E. Johnson ⁷³	1832, Eastern States Nova Scotia
Heber C. Kimball ⁷⁴	Spring 1832, Genesee, Avon, and Lyons, NY
Orson Hyde ⁷⁵	Spring–December 1832, Eastern States (NY, ME, MA, RI)
John F. Boynton ⁷⁶	January 16–October 1833 Saco, ME
Orson Pratt ⁷⁷	February 3–17, 1832–33, Eastern States (NJ, NY, VT, NH, CT) March 26–September 28, 1833 NH, VT November 27–February 13, 1833–34, Eastern Churches February 26–April 24, 1834, East NY August 21–April 26, 1834–35, East MO, IL, IN

After Heber C. Kimball’s baptism in April, 1832, he “was ordained an Elder by Joseph Young, and in company with himself and his brother Brigham, [Heber C. Kimball] labored in

⁶⁹ “History of Orson Pratt,” *The Deseret News*, June 9, 1858.

⁷⁰ “History of Orson Pratt,” *The Deseret News*, June 9, 1858.

⁷¹ This table only references six of the original Twelve. From available records, these six were the only individuals who traveled east on missions prior to the Twelve’s 1835 mission.

⁷² “History of Brigham Young,” *The Deseret News*, February 10, 1858. During his mission to Canada Brigham states that he “organized the West Loboro [Loughborough] and other branches.”

⁷³ “History of Lyman E. Johnson,” *The Deseret News*, June 16, 1858.

⁷⁴ “Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball,” *The Deseret News*, April 7, 14, 1858

⁷⁵ “History of Orson Hyde,” *The Deseret News*, May 5, 1858. His first mission was performed with Sydney Rigdon as a Campbellite minister.

⁷⁶ “History of John F. Boynton,” *The Deseret News*, June 16, 1858.

⁷⁷ “History of Orson Pratt (Written by himself, March, 1858),” *The Deseret News*, June 2, 9, 1858.

Genesee, Avon, and Lyonstown, where we baptized many and built up churches.”⁷⁸ Just three years later, on the 1835 mission, Heber C. Kimball was asked to preside over the conference in Lyons, New York. Although the conference was canceled, he stayed in the area teaching for two days.⁷⁹ After Kimball was baptized, he found it difficult to keep his excitement about his newfound faith to himself. As he shared his new beliefs with his friends, neighbors, and associates, he began to be persecuted, which eventually caused him to settle his debts and move. He went back to the area to preach again to the people with whom he had originally shared his faith.⁸⁰ Clearly, the past evangelical experiences of the Twelve were one of the determining factors for them as they chose their individual preaching routes on their first Apostolic mission.

Family and Personal Connections Dictated Preaching Locations

The Twelve made sacrifices by traveling long, difficult, lonely distances in order to teach in places that were significant to them personally or that played a role in the history of their families. Heber C. Kimball exemplified this. Between the Freedom and Lyons Conferences, Kimball traveled “to the town of Mendon, the place of my former residence” where he preached a few sermons and “many came out to hear.” He, in company with Orson Hyde, was then treated very poorly by a Baptist priest who instructed them to “go home.”⁸¹ Even after being treated

⁷⁸ “Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball,” *The Deseret News*, April 7, 1858.

⁷⁹ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 25.

⁸⁰ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 24–25. Heber Kimball said that he again was treated very harshly and in consequence they “came to a pure stream of water, and there cleansed our feet bearing testimony against him, as the Lord commanded.”

⁸¹ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 24. As they left this area, they cleansed their feet in order to bear testimony against them. Orson F. Whitney quotes Heber as saying to the Baptist priest, “if he did not repent of his sins and be baptized for the remission of them, he would be damned, which made him angry.” This is not in his original hand written account, although the remainder of the quote is there in its entirety. Because of this discrepancy and the lack of citation from Orson Whitney, it is difficult to place confidence on whether or not Kimball told this Baptist priest that he was damned. See Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball, an Apostle, the Father and Founder of the British Mission*, 3d ed. (Salt Lake City,: Bookcraft, 1967), 80.

harshly in the “place of his former residence,” Kimball continued to travel and preach in areas where he or his family was familiar.

Kimball traveled very frequently with a companion and never preached alone until late in June. Kimball and Orson Pratt left the company of four other Apostles to teach and travel between the Pillar Point Conference and the St. Johnsbury Conference. At the end of June or in the early part of July, Kimball had his first experience having an “appointment to attend being without a comrade.”⁸² Orson Pratt, wanting to preach in the communities of his former converts, traveled on. The primary reason for Kimball to part ways with his “comrade” was to preach in the area where he was raised and among his “youthful playmates.”⁸³ His aunt also lived in a neighboring community where he spent most of a week “declaring the truth to them as the Lord gave me utterance. Here I held one public meeting and my friends here believed my testimony and acknowledged the truth of it but did not obey the ordinances.”⁸⁴ Kimball, having spent almost two weeks among friends and relatives, was under the necessity of traveling the fastest route to the St. Johnsbury Conference. He made the decision to travel over the Green Mountains and “had no company but wild vermin and screeching owls.”⁸⁵ To Kimball this was a sacrifice willingly given in order to teach those with whom he had a special relationship.

Kimball’s entire journey is littered with purposed interactions with family and friends. Within the first few weeks of May, Kimball had taught in Pike Hollow, New York, “where resided many of [his] wife’s relatives,” and Mendon, New York, “the place of [his] former

⁸² Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 26.

⁸³ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 26.

⁸⁴ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 26. Heber mentions that “the inhabitants of this country generally are bigoted and superstitious against this work; on account of a false prophet by the name of Davison, who went through the country deceiving the people with pretended miracles.”

⁸⁵ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 27.

residence.”⁸⁶ In late July, Kimball made his way to “Plainfield, [New Hampshire,] where I had connections residing and where my mother was born and brought up. I staid there a few days and visited my relations, teaching the gospel from house to house; I found considerable opposition even among my own kindred.”⁸⁷ In September he visited his cousin in Plainfield, New Hampshire, and his sister in Canandaigua, New York. He then proceeded to Mendon, New York, “to visit some of [his] friends,” and continued on to Byron, New York, where he spent some time with another sister.⁸⁸ Inviting these connections to learn of his relatively new faith gave Kimball direction and purpose as he traveled and taught.

Brigham Young’s mission was also significantly influenced by the locations of his relatives. Like Kimball, Young recorded that within the first few days of this mission he spent time with a relative, Julius Moreton. Less receptive than he had hoped, Young was kindly received but his message was not accepted. “To avoid calling on me to ask a blessing at table, he asked the blessing himself, probably for the first time in his life.”⁸⁹

Once again, like Kimball, Young spent some of his final days in the mission field with his relatives, showing significant sacrifice on his part. In the first part of August, Young was teaching his “friends and cousins” in Boston.⁹⁰ He traveled from there to the Bradford Massachusetts Conference, back to Boston, then to the Saco and Farmington Conferences. Then,

⁸⁶ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 24.

⁸⁷ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 27.

⁸⁸ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 29–30. Canandaigua was the home of his sister Melvina (Mrs. James M. Wheeler) and Byron was the home of his sister Abigail (Mrs. Jesse Mum). Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball: An Apostle, the Father and Founder of the British Mission*, 84.

⁸⁹ Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young: 1801–1844*, 11–12.

⁹⁰ Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” August 3, 1835.

feeling the desire to again teach his relatives, he traveled, for the third time, back to Boston.⁹¹ In total Young traveled approximately 450 miles leaving Boston and then traveling back to teach his relatives.⁹² After spending some time in Boston, he traveled approximately thirty miles outside of Boston to Hopkinton, a town where more of his relatives, including his maternal grandmother and cousins, resided.⁹³ “I was received with much rejoicing. I found Grandmother alive and comfortable well for her. She expressed great joy for the privilege of seeing one of mother children once more. I arrived their [*sic*] about half past eight in the morning. I tarried there that day and night.”⁹⁴ Although his journal lacks detail of his family’s level of reception to his message, he does indicate on his first meeting with his cousins that he found “some believing.”⁹⁵ For those of the Twelve with family connections in the East, this no doubt altered the places where they preached and the time that they preached in different communities.⁹⁶

Conclusion

Although it the Twelve largely dictated the path that they chose to travel, there is strong evidence to suggest that the quorum was at least partially aware of the location of others of the Twelve at different times. During the conference in Bradford, Massachusetts, the Twelve

⁹¹ Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” August 14, 1835–September 7, 1835.

⁹² The approximate distance Brigham would have traveled from Boston to and from the Bradford Conference and then from Boston to and from the Saco and Farmington Maine Conferences is 450 miles. This emphasizes the fact that Brigham was drawn to spend significant amounts of time with his relatives. The wealth of the area may have also influenced Young’s decision to spend so much time in Boston; see section entitled “The Mission’s Purpose Dictating Preaching Locations.”

⁹³ Young, Journal, August 7, 1835.

⁹⁴ Young, Journal, August 7, 1835.

⁹⁵ Young, Journal, August 3, 1835.

⁹⁶ While much is said in the journals of Heber C. Kimball as well as of Brigham Young about visiting relatives, nothing is noted in the journals of Orson Pratt and William E. McLellin. For McLellin and Pratt, their ministry locations must have been dictated by other reasons.

decided to move the date of the Farmington Conference from its original date on October 2 to August 28.⁹⁷ Three of the Twelve did not attend the Bradford Conference and therefore had to be notified of the change.⁹⁸ William McLellin, having not attended the Bradford Conference, indicated that “while picking Blue berries Elder Danl Bean came and brought me word that the Farmington Conference would be held the ensuing Friday and the Twelve had sent word that they wished me to attend it.”⁹⁹ During the previous conferences the Twelve must have communicated with the membership of the Church about what preaching the members had pre-arranged. That discussion must have also included the individual desires of the Twelve to teach in areas where they had personal connections. The collective group, knowing which Church members took which Apostles, would have also known the general areas where the Twelve would be preaching and the members of the Church that would be with them. Knowing this information allowed them to send word to William McLellin and others of the Twelve about the changing of conference dates.

There were a variety of differing reasons for the Twelve to choose the preaching routes that they did. Overall, Joseph Smith was the main architect of the mission, with each member of the Quorum of the Twelve bringing individual adaptation to his routes. In its infancy, the Twelve’s leadership structure did not have much impact on the geography of this mission except allowing the Twelve freedom to choose their own preaching routes. In the future, the quorum leadership would play a much more significant role. The Twelve had been given a purpose by Joseph Smith and they had come to learn that he was very serious about their fulfilling that purpose. The accomplishing of their purpose led them to constantly be in the area of the

⁹⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:242, 253.

⁹⁸ *History of the Church*, 2:241.

⁹⁹ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 195.

members and branches of the Church. The members of the Church had played a significant role in the locations of the Twelve as they prearranged public preaching in their local areas and, at times, organized the travels of the Twelve. The Twelve had plenty of past experience that considerably influenced where they preached. They had family and personal connections, from childhood friends to grandparents that had not been visited in an extended amount of time. In short, the Twelve had great influence on their travels and locations within the conference framework established by Joseph Smith.

Chapter 4

Teaching and Reaction

Oliver Cowdery gave the “General Charge to the Twelve,” in February of 1835. He instructed the Twelve that “the Lord gave us a revelation that, in process of time, there should be twelve men chosen to preach His Gospel to Jew and Gentile.”¹ The Twelve did preach at every opportunity they were presented. They taught the members of the Church in the conference setting as they sought to “regulate the things that [were] wanting.”² Much of what the Twelve instructed specifically to the members of the Church is discussed in chapter 2. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, will be to discuss what was taught to individuals not of the Mormon faith. This chapter will begin with an introduction to the time period, discussing the evangelical setting in which this mission took place. It will then consider the Twelve’s approach to their evangelism, the sources that they used, and finally what the reaction was among those they taught.

Introduction to 1830s Evangelism

As the Twelve began their mission, America was experiencing a time period of unique religious thought and heightened religious excitement. In the 1830s, these new ideas and unique excitement created a situation ideal for the preaching of the Mormon faith. According to one, America was “the paradise of heterodoxy.”³ The time period was characterized by varied ideas and opinions and by the fervor in which these ideas were felt and expressed. Among those thoughts was the feeling that the millennial reign of Jesus Christ was imminent. Some, including the Mormons, felt that they had “laid upon themselves the responsibility to hasten the

¹ *History of the Church*, 2:195.

² McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 171.

³ J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1870), preface.

Millennium . . . [and] prepare a kingdom for the King,” an obligation that they fulfilled through preaching.⁴ For many, this millennial conviction was more than a mere belief, it was a war cry. Still others believed the millennium had already begun. One historian remarked that “the ardor of religious awakening . . . was very much increased about the year 1830, by the hope that the millennium had now dawned, and that the long expected day of gospel glory would very soon be ushered in.”⁵

Some successful preachers of millennialism were Alexander Campbell and William Miller. Both preached that the coming of Jesus Christ in his millennial glory and reign was fast approaching. Alexander Campbell believed that as the church was restored back to its original form, as in the days of the mortal ministry of Christ, a period of peace would ensue. William Miller “relied on his reading of Revelation to ascertain an exact date for Christ’s return in 1843.” Both of these men accumulated a “vast following” of believers.⁶

Unknowingly, Alexander Campbell and his fellows prepared the way for the success of the preaching of the Latter-day Saints, who preached of a complete restoration of Christ’s church. Campbell taught that divine help was required in order for the church to be brought back in its fullness as it once was in the days of Christ. “Do not the experience of all the religions—the observations of the intelligent—the practical result of all creeds, reformations, and

⁴ Timothy L. Smith, “The Book of Mormon in a Biblical Culture,” *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980), 17–18. See also, Grant Underwood, “Early Mormon Millenarianism: Another Look,” *Church History* 54, no. 2 (1985): 227.

⁵ A. S. Hayden, *Early History of The Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio; With Biographical Sketches of the Principal Agents in their Religious Movement* (Cincinnati: Chase and Hall, 1876), 183. Grant Underwood details many of the scholarly works on Mormon millenarianism in the following article. Grant Underwood, “Early Mormon Millenarianism: Another Look,” *Church History*, Vol. 54, no. 2 (June 1985): 215–29. See also, Leonard I. Sweet, “Millennialism in America: Recent Studies,” *Theological Studies* 40 (1979): 510–531. For a look at the beginnings of academic study on millennialism, see also Hillel Schwartz, “The End of the Beginning: Millenarian Studies, 1969–1975,” *Religious Studies Review* 2 (1976): 1–15.

⁶ Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 67.

improvements—and the expectations and longings of society—warrant the conclusion that either some new revelation, or some new development of the revelation of God must be made, before the hopes and expectations of all true Christians can be realized . . . ?”⁷ Mormonism claimed that message! “New revelation” was one of the earliest claims of Mormonism whose founder reported to have had many visions and revelations.⁸ While Campbell was teaching that a new revelation was required in order to have Christ’s full church on the earth again, Mormonism was preaching that the revelation had happened and that the Church had been restored.

One of Campbell’s fellow ministers, Walter Scott, also believed that the restoration of truth by divine help was required prior to the millennium. His specific message helped to legitimize the presence of Mormon “Apostles.” Scott “contended ably for the restoration of the true, original apostolic order which would restore to the church the ancient gospel as preached by the apostles. The interest became an excitement; All tongues were set loose in investigation, in defense, or in opposition. . . . The air was thick with rumors of a ‘new Religion,’ a ‘new Bible.’”⁹

These beliefs were shared by the Latter-day Saints, and beyond that, the Latter-day Saints felt as though their restored Church had fulfilled these beliefs by restoring a “new revelation,” “a new Bible,” and “the original apostolic order.” The message of the Latter-day Saint missionaries was so similar to the millennial themes of other missionary-minded sects that they did not stand out in an already crowded Christian field.¹⁰ More detrimental, however, was that they were

⁷ Alexander Campbell, *The Christian System, in Reference to the Union of Christians, and a Restoration of Primitive Christianity, as Pleaded in the Current Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Pittsburg: Forrester and Campbell, 1840), 234.

⁸ Davidson, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Joseph Smith Histories*, 1832–1844, 1:208–39.

⁹ A. S. Hayden, *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio*, 121. “Scott’s sermons gave a mighty impulse to the work.”

¹⁰ Terryl L. Givens *Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 60–75. This is also referenced in Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, 64.

mistaken for other religions.¹¹ So similar was their message that even “the Saints had difficulty in differentiating themselves from other Christians who were in the field at the same time.”¹² In order to establish themselves as separate and unique from the other sects of the day, the missionaries had to focus on what made the Church different, which put them in a situation that jeopardized their very survival. Overemphasizing their deviance from the norm could lead to destruction and underemphasizing of it could lead to oblivion.¹³ What differentiated them from other restorationist sects was not so much the uniqueness of their message but how that message was evidenced.

Mormon Evangelism and the Book of Mormon as Evidence

The Latter-day Saints focused their teaching in part on the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, the first principles of the gospel, and the Holy Ghost, and the gathering of scattered Israel. What was unique about their message was that they carried with them what they saw as physical evidence that the millennium was close and that Christ had restored the “only true and living church upon the face of the whole earth” (D&C 1:30).¹⁴ That physical proof was the coming forth of a book, “out of the ground” with a “familiar spirit” (Isaiah 29:4) like the Bible. It was the

¹¹ Jan Shipps, “Another Side of Early Mormonism,” in William E. McLellin, *Journals*, 5–6.

¹² Jan Shipps, “Another Side of Mormonism,” in William E. McLellin, *Journals*, 5–6. “In particular, [the Mormon missionaries] often faced the demanding task of distinguishing themselves from the followers of Thomas and Alexander Campbell, Barton Stone, and other [restorationists], who had somehow managed to take possession of the name Christian.” The journals of William E. McLellin record an experience when McLellin and Parley P. Pratt were ready “to baptize in the faith of the Church of Christ.” Just as the ordinance was about to be administered an individual raised a concern to one prepared for baptism calling to her, “Sister . . . [and] urged her to not throw herself away or out of the church of Christ, as he called it.” She was still baptized despite the confusion. The following year the members of the Church began referring to themselves as Mormons so as to alleviate the confusion between the “Christians” (the term which Campbell, Stone and others, had taken for their own title) and the “Mormons.”

¹³ R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 38. Terryl L. Givens in his *Viper on the Hearth* argues that this emphasis on how Mormonism was different was necessary or “they risked oblivion if they did not” (62). He mentions the delicate balancing act between overemphasizing of difference leading to destruction and underemphasizing of it leading to oblivion in an age where heterodoxy reigned supreme.

¹⁴ Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translation, Published Revelations*, 2:17, line 32–33.

Book of Mormon. Early Church members saw the coming forth of the Book of Mormon as the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecies concerning the millennium. Thousands of converts clung tightly to this as evidence of prophecy fulfilled.

“The Book of Mormon was the element that fulfilled prophecy even as it alerted the world to the imminence of momentous events at last unfolding . . . It is important to recognize . . . that the book was more important . . . as a sign than as a theological document.”¹⁵

The Twelve rarely cited the text of the Book of Mormon. Instead, they used its physical presence as evidence of the restoration of Christ's church. The Book of Mormon was new even to the members of the Church. They still relied on the Bible for their theology. The Book of Mormon was used by missionaries to evidence their claim as Christ's original Church restored by him, the same Church which would prepare the world for his eventual millenarian reign.¹⁶

In the records kept by the members of the Twelve, collectively or individually, they do not mention that they were giving or selling the Book of Mormon, although that is exactly what other missions during this time period were doing.¹⁷ Benjamin Brown, baptized by William McLellin on May 10, gained his faith in the Mormon Church through reading from a copy of the Book of Mormon that he had previously obtained. He mentioned that the book “evidences the

¹⁵ Terry L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, 66, 70.

¹⁶ Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 96.

¹⁷ Hyrum Smith and Jared Carter sold copies of the Book of Mormon on a mission that they went on during the summer of 1835. Hyrum Smith and Jared Carter were given the responsibility to “to labour on the House of the Lords to gether Subs[c]riptions in order in that we might accomplish the work that [God] had Commanded us to perform.” Smith and Carter would travel to the members of the Church and their branches and solicit “subscriptions” or donations. They sold copies of the Book of Mormon in order to raise money for the Kirtland Temple. On this mission during the summer, Hyrum recorded selling 6 copies. Hyrum Smith, “Ledger Book,” Hyrum Smith Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT. The Twelve do not record selling or giving any copies of the Book of Mormon to anyone.

truth of the faith of the Latter-day Saints.”¹⁸ Interestingly he did not mention that he heard preaching from the book, but it was the book that led to his conversion.

The Mormon faith found itself in a unique situation of benefitting from the ideas of other faiths while trying to maintain its uniqueness. That message was shared with those not of the Latter-day Saint faith and prompted a variety of different reactions.

Sources Used in the Public Preaching of the Twelve

Although the Twelve spent the majority of their time during the 1835 mission with members of the Church in their respective areas and branches, they also focused on preaching to individuals not of the faith. They partially fulfilled their purpose of “strengthening . . . [the branches]” by adding to their number and being in their midst to teach the gospel to the members’ friends and families.¹⁹ The members acted as advisors who set up teaching appointments and directed the Twelve to the best locations for their ministry.

Information regarding what the Twelve taught and what was used as the source of their sermonizing is sparse. William E. McLellin and Orson Pratt kept the best record of what was taught during this mission. In general, McLellin and Pratt do not record the events and sermon topics taught during the conferences to members of the Church, both ascribing to the idea that “the minutes of our consultations [with the members of the Church during the conferences] are kept in our Apostolic record therefore I shall not insert any of [them] in this journal.”²⁰ Although

¹⁸ Benjamin Brown, “Testimonies for the Truth: By Benjamin Brown,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star* 44, no. 3 (1882): 36.

¹⁹ Orson Hyde, “History of Orson Hyde,” *Deseret News*, May 12, 1858.

²⁰ William E. McLellin, *Journals*, 175. Orson Pratt does include a little more information about what was taught during the first conference but does not continue in that pattern in the remaining conferences. Of the Freedom Conference he says that the Twelve “proceeded to do such business as came before [them]”; see Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 64. He briefly mentioned the conference at Pillar Point. He said of the St. Johnsbury Conference that “the twelve sat in council and transacted such business as came before us.” He did not attend the conferences held

McLellin and Pratt do not record information about what was taught during the conferences, they do record in great detail what was taught during their individual teaching. McLellin and Pratt record some two hundred sermons in all, with approximately forty percent of them representing sermons taught by members of the Quorum other than themselves. The information in McLellin's and Pratt's journals, therefore, represent what the collective Twelve taught to individuals not of their faith.²¹ While Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball's journals contain information about the reactions of the people to their preaching they contain almost no information about the topics taught and the sources used.

Surprisingly, these sermons lack both scriptural citations and descriptions of what scriptures were used. Of the 146 sermons where a topic or topics are known, thirty-two percent give specific information regarding scripture being used.²² Much more surprising is the sources of scripture being used. Although the Book of Mormon is a relatively frequent topic of sermonizing, it is not actually referenced as a source of the sermons taught. The topic of the Book of Mormon was the second most sermonized subject referenced by McLellin and Pratt.²³ Even though the Book of Mormon was talked about frequently, only two sermons record having actually read from the Book of Mormon as a source of teaching. During the public preaching

after the St. Johnsbury Conference; see Pratt, *The Journals of Orson Pratt*, 66–67. Although Pratt and McLellin don't record what is taught during the conferences, the *Minutes of the Apostles* and the *Record of the Twelve* do.

²¹ Orson and William made reference to two hundred sermons preached. The topics of the sermons were recorded seventy-three percent of the time (i.e., for 146 sermons). The writer of the journals recorded 62.5% of the sermon topics that they themselves preached. The other 37.5% were sermons given by other members of the Quorum (McLellin and Pratt recorded seventy-five sermons taught by other members of the quorum). Because of the amount of sermons recorded by individuals other than Orson and William, this sample of sermons is used to represent what was taught by the quorum as a whole.

²² From the journals of William and Orson, forty-seven sermons referenced scriptural passages. Orson and William mention topics on 146 sermons. Some of the sermons, however, mentioned more than one sermon topic.

²³ The topics of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and the evidences of it were taught twenty-four times. The only other sermon topic taught more frequently than that was the simplicity of the gospel, which was taught thirty-six times.

following the conference at Westfield, Brigham Young read “a portion of the Saviour’s teaching in the book of Mormon [and then] spoke about 1 ½ hours contrasting the religions of the day with the **truth**.”²⁴ Orson Pratt, in the latter end of the mission, “preached . . . upon the coming forth of the book of Mormon, the blessings on Joseph, 48, 49 Gen., 33 Deut., 1 Chron 5, Isaiah 29., Ezk. 37, the two sticks, read 12 chap. of 2 Nephi and the ministry of Christ to the Nephites, his teachings concerning the manner of baptism.”²⁵ These two situations stand in stark contrast to the other sermons which the Apostles clearly give citations for preaching doctrine from the Bible more than preaching from the Book of Mormon. Of the sermons that record scripture references, the Bible is used ninety-eight percent of the time whereas the Book of Mormon is used just four percent of the time.²⁶ Essentially, the Twelve taught about the Book of Mormon and not from it.²⁷ Why would the Twelve teach so much about the Book of Mormon but rarely teach from it? Perhaps the answer is more obvious than has been hypothesized. The 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon contains no verse breaks and has extremely long chapters compared with the Bible.

²⁴ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 176. The word *truth* was boldface in the original. The 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon was formatted differently than the current edition. There were no verses identified and the chapters were longer. 2 Nephi 12 in the 1830 edition is actually 2 Nephi 28–30 in the current edition.

²⁵ Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 69. The passage of scripture from the Book of Mormon is currently located in 2 Nephi 28–30. Joseph Smith, Jr., *The Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon, Upon Plates taken from the Plates of Nephi* (Palmyra, NY: Printed by E. B. Grandin, for the Author, 1830), josephsmithpapers.org (accessed March 9, 2013), 112–118.

²⁶ The Bible is used in forty-six of the forty-seven sermons where scriptures were referenced and the Book of Mormon was only specifically referenced twice. One sermon referenced both the Book of Mormon and the Bible, which is the reason that the percentages add up to more than one hundred. See Smith, “The Book of Mormon in a Biblical Culture,” 3–21.

²⁷ Grant Underwood, “Early Mormon Millenariansim: Another Look,” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1981), 8. Underwood here discusses the fact that the Book of Mormon was not the source of doctrine for the Latter-day Saints. Another source discussing the academic writings of Mormon millenarianism is Grant Underwood, “Early Mormon Millenarianism: Another Look,” *Church History* 54, no. 2 (1985): 215–29. This source is dated, but as the author points out, the 1870s and 1880s were the academic high point for most authors dealing with the topic in regards to Protestantism. Underwood is a scholar that has published many articles and a book on Mormon millenarianism.

Perhaps a more logical reason why the Twelve were not citing the Book of Mormon is simply because of the difficulty of remembering the book and chapter that specific teachings were located in. From the graph below, and from the experiences of the Twelve, it seems that they are teaching doctrine from both the Book of Mormon and the Bible but because of the difficulty of citing chapter and verse in the Book of Mormon, only the Bible references were listed. This idea is further evidenced in the *Orson Pratt Journals*. On August 22, Pratt “preached at the [the schoolhouse near Deacon True’s] upon the means for the gathering of Israel (Gen. 16, Isa. 48) Isa. last chap., the standard spoken of by Nephi, the sign spoken of by the Savior in the Book of Mormon.” Notice that Pratt references applicable chapters in the Bible, but it would have been impossible to reference verses in the Book of Mormon since there were none. The chapters in the book were so long that it would have also been challenging to cite even a chapter.²⁸

Although the Book of Mormon text was rarely cited in their teaching, it was a powerful tool in early missionary work, specifically on this mission of the Twelve. Many of the sermons taught by the Twelve focused on eschatologically rich doctrines that they felt showed that Mormonism was in fact the kingdom of Christ reestablished preparatory to his millennial reign. With the restoration of the Gospel, the long awaited gathering of Israel could now commence in preparation for the coming of Jesus Christ in millennial glory. The physical presence of the Book of Mormon witnessed the reality of the message of the Twelve as they taught subjects like the rise of the government of the church of Christ, gathering and scattering of Israel, the kingdom of

²⁸ The first book of Nephi in the current Book of Mormon contains 22 chapters. In the 1830 edition it had 7. See Smith, *The Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon, Upon Plates taken from the Plates of Nephi*, 112-118.

Christ, etc. Remembering that “the book was more important... as a sign than as a theological document,” its physical presence gave validity to the message and invitation of the Twelve.²⁹

Analyzing the topics of sermons taught by the Twelve reveals that perhaps their main message to potential converts was that the Church was fulfilling the role of preparing the world for Christ’s return.³⁰ The presence of the Book of Mormon was the evidence that their message was true because it evidenced that Christ had again spoken to men on earth, as Campbell had predicted.³¹ Millennial themed sermons were taught sixty-six percent of the time and would have been validated by the presence of the book of Mormon.³² So prominent was the role of the Book of Mormon as a focal point of teaching and a powerful evidence of their claim that the lack of reference to the Book of Mormon became more striking than the presence of it in preaching. A prime example is the experience of two of the Twelve just four months before they were called to the quorum. John F. Boynton and William E. McLellin fulfilled an appointment to preach in Richmond, Ohio, on Friday, November 12, 1834. McLellin related that “Bro. J. preached to them from Gal 1. 6–10 about an hour. It was a fine discourse but he never mentioned the book of mormon once.”³³ “Galatians 1:6–10 is a scripture commonly used by Mormons as evidence of

²⁹ Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, 70.

³⁰ For information regarding what was taught from the Book of Mormon in the early days of the Church, see Grant Underwood, “Book of Mormon Usages in Early LDS Theology,” *Dialogue* 17 (Fall 1984): 35–74. Underwood argues that when the Book of Mormon was used to teach the “restoration of Israel” preparatory to the coming of Christ (see page 39). See also, Grant Underwood, “The Earliest Reference Guides to the Book of Mormon: Windows into the Past,” *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985): 69–90.

³¹ Campbell, *The Christian System*, 234.

³² Some of the topics seen as “Millennial” are the rise of the government of the Church of Christ, judgment, the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, millennium, “Gathering and Scattering of Israel,” and the redemption of Zion. These and other millennial themed sermons were taught 116 times out of the 167 known sermon topics. This number, 167, is the number of known sermon topics excluding what was taught to the members of the Church during conferences. Some sermons have multiple topics and therefore were double counted, being listed under both topics. This is the reason that there are 167 known sermon topics but only 146 sermons where information is known about the topic.

apostasy and, hence, the need for a restoration by angels of the same gospel originally taught by Jesus and his apostles.”³⁴ The shock to McLellin came when his companion taught an eschatologically rich doctrine without referencing the power of their unique position as missionaries for the only church with physical evidence of that reality. It is likely that the Twelve, as some of the most practiced and accomplished missionaries of the Church, would not often miss the opportunity to evidence their message through the presence of the Book of Mormon. If the Twelve did in fact make reference to the Book of Mormon in each sermon taught with a millennial theme, then sixty-six percent of the sermons included a focus or at least a reference to the Book of Mormon.³⁵

Another point of interest regarding the teaching of the Twelve is how often they reference scripture in their teaching. The Twelve recorded scriptural passages in connection with preaching only thirteen percent of the time. Of the sermons where they record a topic, twenty-two percent reference scripture.³⁶ Did the Twelve teach from scriptural passages only twenty-two percent of the time? A more likely situation is that the Twelve simply did not record how frequently they

³³ William E. McLellin, *Journals*, 148. The spelling and punctuation are included as they have been put into the journals as edited by Jan Shipps and John Welch. They maintained, as much as possible, the original spelling and punctuation of the original text of the journals. See William E. McLellin, *Journals*, xvi–xvii.

³⁴ As explained by Jan Shipps in William E. McLellin, *Journals*, 162, n. 55.

³⁵ The Book of Mormon was printed in 1830 and would have been available for the Twelve to carry with them. They also would have had the Bible. There were sixty-five revelations received by Joseph Smith that were printed in 1833 in the *Book of Commandments*, but due to mob violence and destruction of both the printing press and most of the copies, the widespread distribution of the book was never realized. An additional printing with expanded content was printed in 1835. Evidence suggests that the Twelve had at least partial access to the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. In a letter written by Joseph Smith to the Twelve, Smith cites a specific part of this edition of the book. See Jensen, *Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:307, n. 42. See also Joseph Smith, Kirtland, OH, to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, 4 August 1835, in JS Letterbook I, 91. The Twelve also may have carried with them copies of some of the revelations that were printed in the Latter-day Saints newspaper which was entitled *The Evening and Morning Star*. For information about what revelations were printed and when they were printed see Jensen, *Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:ix-xvi.

³⁶ There were a total of 206 sermons taught with known topics and it was only recorded that scriptures were used in forty-seven of them. This number includes sermons that were taught during conferences to the members of the Church.

were using the scriptures to sermonize. In the journal account of William McLellin, his first sermon is “on the subject of the gospel from 1 Thes 1–5.”³⁷ He teaches that same subject another seven times throughout this mission but only makes reference to the scripture passage one other time. Orson Pratt does a similar thing. He preaches thirteen times on the subject of “spiritual gifts” but only twice references 1 Corinthians 12 as the scriptural foundation for his teaching.³⁸ It is not only possible but probable that these men were using these passages of scripture to teach more than is specifically recorded in their journals. Table 4.1 depicts sermons categorized into different subjects and if scriptures were ever referenced in connection with the sermon topic. As is evident in the table, it is very rare for an individual member of the Twelve to teach something that they were not at least able to reference in scripture. The sermons recorded that never reference a scriptural passage in connection with the topic amount to less than three percent of the total sermons taught. If the Twelve referenced the scriptural passage that their sermons were based on, they were referencing the scriptures during ninety-seven percent of their sermons.³⁹

As the Twelve traveled and preached to individuals that were not of the Mormon faith, they seem to be using the Bible as the main source of their teaching. They were using the Bible, however, to teach doctrines that focused on how the Church was Christ’s church antecedent to Christ’s millennium reign, a message evidenced by the presence of the Book of Mormon.⁴⁰

³⁷ William E. McLellin, *Journals*, 174.

³⁸ Orson Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 67.

³⁹ There are only five sermons that do not ever mention a scripture in connection with the topics taught.

⁴⁰ All or much of what the Twelve taught was used to evidence the Church as Christ’s restored church. One example of this is the gifts of the spirit. The gifts of the spirit were seen as indicators that Christ’s presence was in the Church and it was therefore his Church. Orson Pratt, in his journal, indicated that he “Preached . . . upon the gifts given to the true church.” He is representing that “true church” and the gifts present in the Church give witness that Mormonism was Christ’s true church. See Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 69.

Table 4.1 Sermons, Scriptures used and Total Preaching⁴¹		
Topic	Scripture attached at times	Number of references
Scattering, Gathering, Apostasy, Prophecies, Restoration, Evidence of Truth, Book of Mormon, Second Coming, Zion, Judgment	Genesis 16, 48–49; 1 Chronicles 5; Isaiah 11, 29, 48, 66; Jerermiah 31:31–33; Ezekiel 37; Daniel 2; Matthew 24:3; Mark 13:21–22; John 10; Romans 11; 1 Corinthians 2:13; Galatians 1:8; 2 Nephi 28–30; 3 Nephi 11 ⁴²	62
The Gospel, First Principles, Simplicity	1 Thessalonians 1–5	40
Priesthood, Offices, Government of Kingdom of Christ, Covenants, Ordinances	Hebrews 12:14; 2 Peter 1:1; Mark 1:15; John 5:30, 3	30
The Holy Ghost, Gifts, Powers, Effects, Gifts given to true Church	John 14:26; Romans 8; 1 Corinthians 12–13; Ephesians 4	21
Nature of Perfection/ Life and Immortality/ Nature and power of Resurrection	Genesis 17:1; Psalms 37:37	6
Faith	Hebrews 11	5
The Vision (of Joseph and Sidney) ¹		3
Superfluous Dress		1
Testimony		1
Total Sermons: 170	Sermons never referencing scripture: 5	

Reaction to the Preaching of the Twelve by Non-Mormons

The Twelve were almost entirely dependent on the kindness of the people to whom they preached. Most of the people that interacted with these traveling strangers treated them kindly. Many did not believe their message to the point that they were baptized but were cordial to their preaching. According to available records, the Twelve were treated harshly only approximately

⁴¹ Information for this chart was collected from Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” May 4–September 26, 1835. Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 23–30. McLellin, 171–210. Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 59–72. The first section under the heading of “Topic” covers a wide variety of subjects. The author found that these missionaries often taught these subjects together and pointed the listener to the concept that Christ’s church had been restored as evidenced by the Book of Mormon.

⁴² The Book of Mormon passages listed were only listed associated with one sermon. 2 Nephi 28–30 seems to be used to teach the gathering of Israel and “the Millennial Judgment.” 3 Nephi 11 is not specifically mentioned but Orson does say he taught “the ministry of Christ to the Nephites, his teachings concerning the manner of baptism. Christ’s teachings to the Nephites is found from 3 Nephi 11–28. The section on baptism is found in 3 Nephi 11. See Orson Pratt, *Journal*, 69.

sixteen percent of the time.⁴³ Individuals either accepted their message and were baptized, or they did not.

From the available records, one hundred individuals were baptized on this mission. Little is known of most of these individuals. It is virtually impossible to calculate how many remained active in the Mormon Church. The gender of those baptized is known approximately forty percent of the time. From this information it is clear that women joined the Church far more than men. It is difficult to understand why this overbalance occurred, but almost seventy percent of the baptisms of which the gender is known were female. These statistics may have been part of the reason that some accused the Twelve of “whoring after the women.”⁴⁴

⁴³ Among the four journal accounts of this mission, reactions were recorded 122 times. There were only nineteen instances that were very negative reactions. The other 103, or eighty-four percent, of the reactions varied from apathy to excitement to baptism.

⁴⁴ Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” July 23, 1835. The accusation of the Twelve whoring after the women was recorded just once. This accusation raises the question of whether or not the Mormons were already practicing and being accused of polygamous marriages. It is more likely that, because more women were being baptized, rumours started about the Mormons and their supposed moral deviance. It is interesting to note that Orson and Parley Pratt both married individuals baptized on this mission. Orson Pratt married Sarah Marinda Bates one year after he met her on this mission; see Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 66. Mary Ann Stearns later became the wife of Parley P. Pratt; see Wilson, *Life of David W. Patten: The First Apostolic Martyr*, 40. William E. McLellin had an experience where he and a member of the Church, Elder VanLuwen, were riding in a two horse wagon and “Margaret Boice an acquaintance desired to to go with us to Loborough. we took her in and she rode on my lap and I became sorry for it was an uneasy ride for me and it also brought fresh to mind my younger days”; see McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 187. In October 1831, Joseph Smith recorded a revelation that rebuked McLellin for his involvement with adultery, saying “Commit not adultery, a temptation with which thou hast been troubled.” This, it seems, is what McLellin was referring to when he said that having Margaret Boice ride on his lap “brought fresh to mind my younger days.” See Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations, Published Revelations*, 2:179, 514. There is no evidence that the Twelve were involved with “whoring after the women.” Yes they did baptize more women than men. Two would later marry individuals that they baptized, but not while on this mission.

Total Baptized	100
Name known	41 (41%)
Gender Known	40 (40%)
Males Baptized	13 (32.5%)
Females Baptized	27 (67.5%)

Most of the individuals who heard the preaching of the Twelve rejected their message. Some rejected the Apostles based on misinformation and others took doctrinal objections to their message. At the end of July 1835, Brigham Young found himself being interrupted by a woman who said that “we were proud deceivers and a whoring after the women and money.”⁴⁶ Young reacted by “testifying against the spirit that they had.”⁴⁷ Just a few days prior to this experience Young and Thomas B. Marsh “came a foot . . . to a tavern in Swain by the name of M. Fawley and asked him to give us brackfast as we ware travelin Preachers and went without money but he would not and sed that he was abondentle able [abundantly able]—but sed that we ware impoisters [imposters].” Young responded to this mistreatment by washing his “feet in testament a ganest [against] him.”⁴⁸ These experiences show that the prejudice of the people played a part in dissuading individuals from the accepting the message of the Twelve. Although some were

⁴⁵ Information for this chart was taken from McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 170–96. Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” May 4–September 26, 1835. Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 60–72. Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 23–30. Wilson, *Life of David W. Patten: The First Apostolic Martyr*, 40. *Minutes of the Apostles*, 4–8.

The names of three individuals are known without knowing their gender: B. Elliot; Chapman; and N. Johnson. See, Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 71 and McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 181, 194. Orson Hyde “immersed 2 females” on May 24 but no names were recorded. McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 179. The statistics of males and females baptized were calculated using the known gender information. One of the male baptisms was the child of one of the women. No information was given about a husband or the father.

⁴⁶ Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” July 23, 1835. The language of this quote has been adjusted to make it readable. The original reads, “a woman got up and apset him and sed that we ware prud decevers and a hoering after the wiming and money.”

⁴⁷ Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” July 23, 1835.

⁴⁸ Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” July 11, 1835.

discouraged from listening to the Twelve, at times as many as three thousand came to hear their unique message.⁴⁹

Heber C. Kimball experienced opposition in the form of general skepticism about religion. He described the people in Bakersfield, Vermont, as “bigoted and superstitious against this work.” He found that the people’s trust had been betrayed “on account of a false prophet by the name of Davison, who went through the country deceiving the people with pretended miracles.”⁵⁰ In Oswego, New York, Kimball was clearly upset when twelve houses rejected to help him.⁵¹ Kimball may have been mistreated in some places, but he, along with all the other Apostles, was treated very well by most. In his first two meetings, “there was not a dog to move his tongue against us.”⁵² At another time a host family, not seemingly Mormon, “bade us God speed and gave us money.”⁵³

Some ministers of other faiths were doctrinally opposed to the Twelve. Orson Pratt taught a sermon where three such Methodist priests stood and opposed him on points of doctrine. He “answered them one by one [and] after the meeting the people generally were more believing than what they were before.”⁵⁴ William E. McLellin had an individual, not Mormon, stand up to

⁴⁹ Brigham Young mentioned that he had experiences where individuals rejected his message forthright; he also had opportunities to teach thousands. During this experience, he said, “their were between 2 and 3 thousand People their was 144 cariges that was counted by the brethren.” Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” July 19, 1835. Orson Pratt mentions that at this particular conference “a large number of brethren and officialy members were present from all the surrounding branches.” See Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Jouranls*, 67. McLellin records that the group contained 1500 people. He recorded preaching to another group of “probably seven hundred” on Sunday, May 24. See McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 179, 190. The *Minutes of the Apostles* indicates that the Twelve’s public preaching was “attended by a vast concourse of people, say over One Thousand,” (see page 7).

⁵⁰ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 26. William E. McLellin also encounters a superstitious group. He said of them that “they were most of them superstitious and very illiterate.” McLellin, 185.

⁵¹ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 25.

⁵² Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 23.

⁵³ Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 25.

⁵⁴ Pratt, *The Orson Prat Journals*, 69.

a Reformed Methodist preacher who interrupted his sermon. The minister was “silenced by the man of the house.”⁵⁵

As the Apostles experienced opposition to their preaching they most commonly reacted with the New Testament tradition of washing their feet.⁵⁶ The experiences that required them to wash their feet were fortunately few.

Conclusion

As the Twelve taught the gospel “during [a] time of great excitement” where ministers of many different faiths were crying out for converts, they, like many other faiths, focused on the coming apocalypse.⁵⁷ Their message was unique, however, in that they carried with them what they saw as physical evidence that their message was true. They did not teach from the Book of Mormon nearly as much as they taught about or towards it. They taught about their uniquely reorganized Church and its doctrine and held up the book as evidence of the validity of their message. Some accepted their message, and some rejected it due to general prejudice against religion or specifically against Mormonism. Despite opposition, this mission was relatively uneventful in terms of conflict. Most heard their message and did not accept it, though they were cordial. In the situation of those that were baptized, they had a difficult road of faith ahead of

⁵⁵ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 188.

⁵⁶ After being ridiculed by a minister from his home town, Heber C. Kimball said, “We then passed on until we came to a pure stream of water, and there cleansed our feet bearing testimony against him, as the Lord commanded.” See Kimball, “Heber C. Kimball Papers,” 25. William E. McLellin and Brigham Young also make reference to the practice of washing feet or shaking the dust from their feet. These were done “as a testimony against them”; see McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 174. See also Young, “Journal of Brigham Young,” July 11, 1835.

⁵⁷ Joseph Smith described the time period using these words. He also described the situation as a “war of words, and tumult of opinions.” Smith related his difficulty in choosing a religion because of the “contests of these parties of religionists.” Soon after the official organization of the Church, however, the Mormons suited up as contestants in the “contests” that were raging. Davidson, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844*, 1:209–10.

them; their baptism by one of the Twelve would not ensure their long term commitment to their new faith.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ The only two journal accounts the author could find about individuals baptized on this mission were those of Sarah M. Bates and Benjamin Brown. At the end of their lives their faith in Mormonism is significantly different, though their beginnings were incredibly similar. Sarah M. Bates was baptized by Orson Pratt and about a year later was married to Pratt. See Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 66. Sarah Bates Pratt became disenchanted with the Church after what she felt was years of neglect from her husband who had married multiple women and served many missions. In her later years she would refer to herself as “formerly a member of the Mormon Church. . . . I have not been a believer in the Mormon doctrines for thirty years, and am now considered an apostate, I believe.” See “Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1875,” Archived History, January 22, 1875, Church History Library. As quoted by Richard S. Van Wagoner, “Sarah M. Pratt: The Shaping of an Apostate,” in *Mormon Mavericks*, ed. John Sillito and Susan Staker (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 75. In 1877 she admitted to raising her children so that “they should never espouse the Mormon faith.” See Sarah M. Pratt, “The Utah Theocracy,” *New York Herald*, May 18, 1877. As quoted by Van Wagoner, 69. Sarah succeeded; of the six children that made it to adulthood only one was an active member of the LDS faith. Sarah died of heart failure on Christmas day, 1888. It was reported that she exclaimed on her death bed that “if Mormonism is not true then there is no truth on earth.” See T. Edgar Lyon, “Orson Pratt-- Early Mormon Leader” (University of Chicago, 1932), 155. See also Van Wagoner, 78.

Benjamin Brown was baptized by William E. McLellin after about a year and a half of contact with the Church. He delayed his baptism hoping that his wife would join. He was eventually baptized without her, although she followed shortly after him. Benjamin Brown, “Testimonies for the Truth: By Benjamin Brown,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star* 44, no. 4 (1882): 49–50. Brown stayed true to Mormonism. On September 15, 1852, Benjamin left Salt Lake to fulfill a mission to Europe. On this mission he constantly made reference to miracles and that he felt the “power of the spirit” working through him in teaching and in miracles. See Benjamin Brown, “Missionary Journal, 1852–1854,” box 1, fd., 1, Benjamin Brown Family Collection. Brown consistently paid a tithe throughout his life. See Brown, “Missionary Journal,” box 1, fd. 6, 7, 8. He performed the role of a bishop in northern Utah many for years. His children were also active in their faith, performing work for deceased ancestors in the St. George temple. See Brown, “Missionary Journal,” box 1 fd. 9. His son wrote him a letter asking for information about deceased ancestors to perform proxy temple work for them in the St. George temple.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The Mission Ends

The Twelve were originally planning on finishing their mission in October, 1835, holding their final conference in Farmington, Maine, on October 2. This, however, was changed during the conference in Bradford, Massachusetts, on August 7. At the end of this conference, “it was decided that, in consequence of the small number of disciples at Dover N.H. and no business to attend to of much importance, our conference in that place should be recalled, and also that the conferences at Saco & Farmington should be altered so as to close our last conference at Farmington just one month earlier than the former appointment and we sent letters by mail to inform them of the alteration in time for the news to be circulated.”¹ Notification letters must have been sent to both the members of the Church in the conferences affected by the change as well as to the three members of the Twelve, who, for whatever reason, did not attend the Bradford Conference.² William E. McLellin received a letter from a traveling elder named

¹ Apostles, “Record, 1835 Feb.-Aug.” 18. On August 4, the Kirtland High council sent a letter to the Twelve rebuking them for not remembering their primary purpose of raising money for the building of the temple. The receiving of this letter was not the reason that the Twelve canceled the Dover conference and moved up the remaining conference dates. In the letter the Twelve were counseled to continue on their mission. “This alteration [of conferences], the counsel was dictated to do by the Spirit of God.” *Minutes of the Apostles*, 8. Also it is recorded that they received this letter while in the “State of Maine.” The letter is JS, Kirtland, OH, to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, 4 August 1835, in JS Letterbook I, pp. 90–93, <http://josephsmithpapers.org> (accessed February 21, 2013). See, Jessee, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals Volume 1:1832-1839*, 1:178. See also *History of the Church*, 2:239–40. For a more in-depth discussion about the subject see chapter 2 under the heading “Temple Moneys Gathered.”

² The three that did not attend the Bradford Conference were David W. Patten, William E. McLellin, and Orson Pratt. See *Minutes of the Apostles*, 7. It was necessary to contact the Church in Dover and the surrounding areas because the members of the Church were asked to arrange for public preaching. This letter gave them opportunity to cancel appointments. The members “are requested to see that the appointments are made at the most convenient houses.” *Messenger and Advocate*, 1:90. See also Ellsworth, “A History of Mormon Missions,” 158.

Daniel Bean on August 25 informing him “that the Farmington conference would be held the ensuing Friday and the Twelve had sent word that they wished me to attend it.”³

Following their last conference in Farmington, Maine, the Twelve were to meet at Buffalo, New York, so as to travel back to Kirtland together. Elder Orson Pratt “recieved a letter from elder Boynton stating . . . that the council had agreed to meet at Buffalo on the 24th of Sept. at sunrise in the morning without fail.”⁴ The morning of September 24 found some members of the Twelve waiting for Heber C. Kimball in the street, apparently worried that he would not arrive in time to take the “steamer United States.”⁵

Their travels towards Kirtland were not without surprise. “She [the steamer United States] ran aground and sprung a leak. She then made her way for Erie where she arrived with difficulty; but we were under the necessity of running upon a sand bar to save the boat from sinking. Here we tarried on the boat 24 hours, and then another came along and we moved on to it and in a few hours arrived in Fair Port.”⁶ They arrived in Kirtland on September 26. “The Presidency of the Church . . . met to consider the case of the Twelve who had previously been reproved in consequence of certain letters and reports coming to the ears of the council. . . . All

³ McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 195. Orson Pratt also mentions receiving a letter. “Sept. 8th. Recieved a letter from elder Boynton stating that it was necessary to return to Kirtland as soon as possible, that the council had agreed to meet at Buffalo on the 24th of Sept. at sunrise in the morning without fail.” See Pratt, *The Orson Prat Journals*, 71.

⁴ Pratt, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 71.

⁵ Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball Papers*, 28–30. “Heber spent much of the last month (September 3, to the 24) with friend and family located between Dover, New Hampshire, and Buffalo, New York. He took stage for Buffalo where [he] arrived just one hour previous to the time appointed to meet [his] brethren. [He] found some of them in the streets waiting for [his] arrival.”

⁶ Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball Papers*, 30.

things were satisfactorily settled.”⁷ The mission had been brought to an end approximately a month early than first originally planned.⁸

Synopsis

Their mission had been fulfilled, a mission which they began preparing for long before they were called to the quorum and, for some, even before they had been baptized into the Mormon faith. They had served other missions, participated in high councils, were educated in the School of the Prophets, and marched in Zion’s Camp. After ordination to the Apostleship they had been trained in multiple meetings led by Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery.⁹ Their preparation was fully realized as they accomplished their multifaceted purpose. They solicited donations for the building of the Kirtland Temple; they appointed wise men to gather funds to buy land preparatory to the Saints gathering to Zion; they strengthened, regulated, and put the branches in order; they acted as a traveling high council; and they preached the gospel in the communities of the Saints.¹⁰ Their conferences and preaching routes on this mission covered much of the northeastern United States from Ohio to the Atlantic Ocean. They preached from

⁷ According to the *History of the Church*, the “Presidency of the Church, [consisted] of Joseph Smith, Jun., Sidney Rigdon, David Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, John Whitmer, Hyrum Smith, and Oliver Cowdery.” There were two items that needed to be resolved. First, the report given by Warren A. Cowdery who sent a letter to Kirtland accusing the Twelve of not teaching about gathering money to build the Kirtland Temple. Second, William E. McLellin sent a letter in which he “expressed dissatisfaction with President Rigdon’s school.” *History of the Church*, 2:283. Things were apparently not completely settled with satisfaction for some in the quorum. The same issues “resolved” in this meeting were reconsidered on January 16, 1836; see Jessee, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals Volume 1:1832-1839*, 1:178–83. The Kirtland High Council Minute book contains the same information. Kirtland High Council Minutes, December 1832- November 1837, <http://ldsarch.lib.byu.edu.erl.lib.byu.edu/CD%20Volume%201/Disc19/MS%203432/contents.htm> (accessed February 19, 2013).

⁸ With the cancelation of the conference in Dover, New Hampshire, the end of the mission was moved up by a month. “It was decided that, in consequence of the small number of disciples at Dover N. H. and no business to attend to of much importance, our conference in that place should be recalled, and also that the conferences at Saco & Farmington should be altered so as to close our last conference at Farmington just one month earlier than the former appointment.” *Minutes of the Apostles*, 8.

⁹ See chapter 1, “Preparation.”

¹⁰ See chapter 2, “Purpose of the Mission.”

conference to conference with individual preaching routes being determined by their mission's purpose, past missionary experiences, and the location of family and friends.¹¹ These conferences helped to establish a dramatically elaborated ecclesiastical structure for the outlying branches. Earlier missions had simply brought converts into the Church; this mission, however, pushed the Mormon Church into a more fully realized administrative framework, where disputes and Church issues were formally resolved by this Traveling High Council. In short, this early apostolic venture helped create a Latter-day Saint *Church*.¹² The quorum, too, began solidifying a more formal structure within itself which would change the way the Twelve interacted with other Church governing bodies as well as how it would approach its future missionary assignments.¹³ This nascent group had finished their first and only mission as a complete quorum, and they had been introduced to their Apostolic responsibility of taking the gospel to "all the nations of the world."¹⁴

Areas for Further Research

This thesis has sought to be the beginnings of academic conversation regarding this first mission of the Twelve and its impact. Many have overlooked this mission perhaps due to lack of available secondary sources on the subject. It is hoped that this work will introduce a new appreciation for the first mission of the Twelve Apostles. This work is by no means exhaustive and creates opportunities for additional research on many subjects contained herein.

One subject briefly mentioned that is deserving of a closer look is the leadership structure of the Twelve Apostles and its transition from a rotating leadership to that of a president.

¹¹ See chapter 3, "Location of Preaching."

¹² See chapter 2, "Purpose of the Mission."

¹³ See chapter 4, "Preaching and Reaction."

¹⁴ *History of the Church*, 2:195.

Similarly, a study focusing on the relationship between the Twelve and other leadership groups, including the Kirtland High Council and the Three Witnesses would be beneficial.¹⁵ There is much room for further research into this mission as it prepared the Twelve to fulfill later missions, both collectively and individually. What impact, if any, does this mission have on missionary activities in the future for these men? How does this mission prepare the Twelve to open the gospel to the entire world?¹⁶ Is the leadership role between the Twelve and the conferences that were established one that remains intact and functional after this mission? How often, if ever, do the Twelve visit the conferences and their branches after this mission? Early Mormon missions seem disjointed and sporadic; does this mission signify a change toward a more institutional evangelical structure?

The second chapter of this thesis seeks to identify the multifaceted purpose of this mission. What other “missions” of the Twelve, collectively or individually, were conducted that focused on a unique purpose other than that of preaching the gospel and gathering out the elect?¹⁷ One of these missions was performed by the Twelve as they solicited support for Joseph Smith’s presidential candidacy in 1844.¹⁸ Were their similar methodologies used between missions that signified a unique purpose?

¹⁵ Some historical records make mention of a “Presidency of the Church”; see *History of the Church*, 2: 283. This may be another group that an individual could consider in the interaction of leadership groups in the Church.

¹⁶ *History of the Church*, 6:322. Brigham Young said that missionary work would be taken to North and South America.

¹⁷ Oliver Cowdery formally assigned the Twelve the responsibility to gather out the elect from the four corners of the world in preparation for the Lord to destroy the remaining inhabitants of the earth. This is the foundation for the Twelve’s purpose of calling wise men to gather money from the members of the branches so that they can gather to “Zion”; see *History of the Church*, 2:197. “The gathering will be from the nations to North and south America, which is the land of Zion”; see *History of the Church*, 6:322.

¹⁸ *History of the Church*, 6:322, 325.

Much work could be done in connecting Mormon evangelism with that of the Protestant faiths that were active at the time. It seems that the Mormon missionary methodology originates with Methodism. How similar is the Mormon missionary methodology with other faith groups of the day? What originality did Mormonism bring to evangelism, and did other faith groups incorporate that originality?

The Twelve taught primarily from the Bible about the coming of the millennial reign of Christ and evidenced the reality of their message with the presence of the Book of Mormon. In later missions, when the Book of Mormon became more familiar to the Twelve and the overall membership of the Church, did they preach doctrine from the book, or is it still used simply as physical evidence of the truth of their message? More research could be done in regards to the teaching sources of the Twelve on this mission. Was there a reason that the Twelve did not cite the Book of Mormon as a source in their preaching? Perhaps the real reason that the Twelve do not cite chapter and verse as they taught from the Book of Mormon is because the original edition did not have chapter and verse divisions. How influential was the formatting of the book to how often it was cited as a preaching source?

There is much more to understand about this mission, other early missions in the Church, and Protestant evangelism during the period of the Second Great Awakening. Although this mission ended in some controversy regarding the Twelve fulfilling their purpose, one thing is clear: in the minds of the Twelve, they had succeeded. “We feel as though . . . we had done as the Lord commanded.”¹⁹

¹⁹ Heber C. Kimball, “Papers,” Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT. See entry before August 31, 1835, as quoted by Esplin in *The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership*, 166.

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