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GEORGE REYNOLDS: THE EARLY YEARS

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of Church History and Doctrine

Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirement for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Grant R. Hardy

May 1972

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this writing is to present a biography of George Reynolds from 1842 to 1872, the first thirty years --the early years.

Justification and Delimitation of the Study

Even though George Reynolds was a member of the First Council of Seventy; a prominent Sunday School administrator; private secretary to Brigham Young and John Taylor; secretary to the First Presidency during the administrations of Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, and Joseph F. Smith; the test case on polygamy in the Supreme Court of the United States; and one of the most prolific writers in the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; little has been written concerning his own life.

A thorough biography of his entire life and contribution would be more than the work of any one thesis; so this writing is principally limited to a study of the first thirty years, the years that prepared him for the great contributions he would make for the faith he espoused.

Method of Procedure and
Sources of Data

This study was made using the historical approach of doing research. The primary sources were the "Journal of George Reynolds" and personal interviews with his five living children, some grandchildren, and a few great-grandchildren who were especially interested in his life and this attempt to tell about it.

The "Journal of George Reynolds" is in six volumes, five of which are available. So far it has been impossible to locate the second volume even though many of his descendants have been contacted and asked to help in the search to find it. The dates involved are as follows:

Table 1

The Journal of George Reynolds

Number	From	To
1	May 8, 1861	August 31, 1862
2	September 1, 1862 ^a	June 18, 1862 ^a
3	June 19, 1863	June 13, 1864
4	June 14, 1864	April 26, 1872
5	April 27, 1872	January 20, 1881
6 ^b	January 20, 1881	September 1, 1906

^aThese dates are presumed.

^bThe original of the sixth volume is in the possession of his son Clifford M. Reynolds, Bountiful, Utah, but the Church Historian's Office has a copy of it and the original manuscript of the other four volumes.

The journal starts in May of 1861 when George was nineteen years old and was called on his first mission for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It is a daily diary for the first three and one-half volumes, but on Tuesday, June 6, 1865, when he arrived in America to start his trek West, he wrote:

From this time I kept no regular journal day by day. My journey & other circumstances prevented it but the following are principal incidents of my life from this time to the end of the year as I can recollect them.¹

His journal from this date consists of sporadic entries for the most part. He wrote frequent monthly or quarterly observations and made it a practice to always write up each year of his life as the year closed and he was about to have another birthday anniversary on January 1.

There are two notable exceptions to this kind of year-end summary writing. From May 1871 to August 1872 when he was on his second mission in England, he kept a day by day account again. And during his experience in prison from June 1879 to January 1881, he made careful daily tabulations of visitors, correspondence, and his meditations and activities.

Sometimes, however, it has been difficult to give a date to a reference in this thesis so page numbers in the particular volume have been given in these instances. This

¹George Reynolds, "Journal of George Reynolds," Vol. IV, June 6, 1885, original in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, copy in possession of the writer, hereafter cited as Reynolds.

is especially common in the long introduction and in the last volumes when the entries are extensive and take in an entire year's activity.

The journal ends in late 1906, nearly three years before his death. It was at this time that he became seriously ill and was not able to write or communicate with his acknowledged precision. He died on August 9, 1909.

For a man who spent his life writing and editing, he was very careless about punctuation and capitalization in his private journal. Often he did not punctuate at all and went from one idea to another with no use of periods, semi-colons, or even commas. There is so much of this in the quotes that have been used in this thesis that no attempt has been made to identify the error each time. The same is true of his capitalization. Many sentences do not begin with a capital letter and often words are capitalized within the sentence for no apparent reason. The original has been preserved in all cases. He was more careful in his letters, and in his published writings he was meticulous and took great pains to make them correct.

In the personal interviews with his descendants, three other documents were discovered that are of special interest. A copy of a short "Auto-Biographical Sketch of George Reynolds" written about 1877 or 1878 was found and used for additional information. The original of this document has not been found. A "Biography of George Reynolds" by his daughter Alice Louise Reynolds, now in the

possession of a great-granddaughter, was used as well. One of the grandchildren had a bound copy of the letters he wrote and catalogued while on his second mission to England comprising some 495 pages of correspondence, including many letters to his wife and family. This proved invaluable in getting a more personal impression of the man and how he felt.

The "Emigration Record" in the Church Historian's Library was studied for the period when George was Emigration Clerk for the European Mission. Most other sources were secondary. Even the "Manuscript History of the British Mission" has been composed with many references to the "Journal of George Reynolds" while he was acting president of the European Mission in 1871 and 1872.

It was rewarding to read some of his writings published during this thirty year period. These were found mainly in the Millennial Star and the Juvenile Instructor for both of which he not only served as a contributor but as an editor during the early years of his life that are included in this study.

Definition of Terms

Many terms used in this writing are peculiar to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Some of them are as follows:

The term Church is used in reference to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Stake, Ward, and Branch are terms used to designate ecclesiastical divisions of the Church. Conference is a term used to identify a district in a mission.

The term Mormon, a nickname for members of the Church, is sometimes used in reference to the name of the Church itself, as in the phrase, "The Mormon Church."

Saint, Brother, and Sister are terms used in reference to members of the Church.

Apostle, Patriarch, High Priest, Seventy, Elder, Bishop, Priest, Teacher, and Deacon are terms used to designate ordained offices in the priesthood of the Church.

There is a practice in the Church to use the title of Elder in reference to all offices of the Melchizedek Priesthood. This is done in this work especially when referring to Traveling Elders or missionaries.

President is a title used in reference to the President of the Church in most instances, but in this writing it is also used to refer to the president of the European Mission and branch presidents in that mission.

Council of the Seventy refers to the Seven Presidents of the Seventy who make up the First Quorum of Seventy in the Church.

Quorum of the Twelve refers to the Council of the Twelve, or Twelve Apostles, of the Church.

The First Presidency refers to the highest quorum of the Church consisting of the President of the Church and his counselors.

The President of the Church is the Prophet, Seer,
and Revelator of the Church and is the Presiding High Priest
over it.

Chapter 2

EARLY LIFE, CONVERSION, AND FIRST MISSION

"Here lies an Israelite in whom there is no guile."
With these words President Joseph F. Smith paraphrased the words of Christ about Nathanael¹ in paying tribute to George Reynolds at his funeral.² George Reynolds was dedicated; he was sincere; he sought no personal gain or glory in the building up of the kingdom of God on earth as he served The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from the time he was a boy in London until his death at Salt Lake City in his sixty-eighth year.

His father, George Reynolds, a master tailor in the West End of London, named his second son George after himself.³ In fact, his grandfather had the same name as well.⁴ George was born in Marylebone, London, England, on New Year's Day ". . . the 1st of January 1842 at 20 minutes to 7 in the

¹John 1:47.

²Statement made by Polly Reynolds Hardy, twenty-first child of George Reynolds and mother of the author, personal interviews.

³His first child, a son named Frederick, died three weeks after birth and two years before George was born.

⁴See Appendixes A and B for ancestral line and family names.

morning (Saturday)."⁵ There were nine more children born into this family, some of whom joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints following their older brother's example, but George preceded them into the Church by fourteen years or more.⁶

His first recollections of the "Mormons" came from conversations in his father's shop about them ". . . among the workmen who were sitting, 'tailor fashion,' cross legged, in a circle round a large, upright gas burner on his father's shopboard."⁷ Even as a boy of seven he was disturbed by the facetious flippant attitude they showed toward things some sensed as sacred.

When he was about nine he came to hear of the Church again through someone in his own household. His maternal grandmother, Amelia Sophia Partington Tautz, had a large house in London in which she rented rooms to two elderly women. George lived there most of the time because of the special interest his grandmother took in him, particularly as to his education for his first twelve years. Living there also was a "lady lodger," as he calls her,⁸ who had a

⁵Reynolds, I, 1.

⁶See Appendix C for an analysis of his immediate family and their relationship to the Church.

⁷Andrew Jensen, L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia, I (Salt Lake City: Jensen History Co., 1901-1936), 206.

⁸Reynolds, I, 2.

maid named Sarah White whom they all called Mary.

Now George was a very timid little boy; he had a terrible fear of the darkness, he disliked the moonlight and was in terror of ghosts. One day he summoned up courage enough to speak to Mary, and the first thing he said was, "Mary, are you afraid of ghosts?" The acquaintance thus strangely begun, ripened into intimacy, and George, who was of a strongly religious nature, began making enquiries as to whether Mary went to church. Learning from her that she did, he obtained his grandma's permission to go with her. She took him to the meetings of the Paddington branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and he no sooner heard the principles of the gospel taught by the Elders than he was satisfied of their truth and wished to be baptized. Then war began. He being so young, the brethren would not baptize him without his parents' consent; and notwithstanding all his pleadings and persuasions they remained firm in their refusal, and George had to remain unbaptized for several years. In the meantime, George, by many childish artifices, used to evade his parents' wishes and now and then attend the meetings and visit the Saints whom he had met.⁹

When his parents found out that he continued to defy their mandate that he was not to attend "Mormon" services, they made arrangements when he was twelve for him to continue his education abroad, far away from the influence they felt was so damaging.

In his own words he laments:

I went to the North London Collediate [sic] School for nearly two years where I obtained several prizes (for Arithmetic [sic] Geography & Good Attendance) & 4 Certificates of Merit. From there I was sent to France for which I started in Sept 1854 and remained there till August 1855 at Pension Charpentier Villiers-le-bei Pres Paris. The first months of my life here were wretched in the extreme being sick of fever & bowel complaint not knowing the language, never having been from home before & the unkindness of the boys went to make me perfectly miserable [sic] while there¹⁰

⁹Jensen, I, 207.

¹⁰Reynolds, I, 3.

Upon his return he resumed attending the meetings the next spring, but this time he did not go to the Paddington Branch where he was known; he went to the Somers Town Branch where they did not know of his parents' feelings. It is curious that he should be so anxious at so young an age to join the Church, but Andrew Jensen, who wrote the L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia, commented on this. He knew Reynolds personally and obtained all the information quoted here from talking to him about his conversion.

As the years rolled by, the boy, with the feeling then so prevalent in the Church that the coming of the Savior in glory was "nigh, nigh at hand," made an elaborate mathematical calculation that before he was twenty-one years old Christ would come. Consequently, if he had to wait until he was that age before he could be baptized without his parents' consent he would be outside the Church at the time of that glorious appearing and would be damned.¹¹

This is a revealing insight into the personality of George Reynolds. Even at this early age he was figuring, tabulating, and calculating. (At the age of fourteen he was baptized at the Somers Town Branch on May 4, 1856,) by John Hillier. He was confirmed the next Sunday by George Teasdale, the branch president who later became an apostle. On the last Sunday of that year he was ordained a deacon, just before his fifteenth birthday, and the following May, a year after his baptism, he was ordained a priest and sent out to

¹¹Jensen, I, 207.

preach in the streets.¹²

He worked in London during his early teen years after his return from school in France and served in various places, mostly as a teller or cashier, usually living-in with his employers. At times he worked for his father and lived at home, but George learned independence very early in life. His family finally became resigned to his activity and affiliation with the new church and let him go his way, even to the preaching in the streets.

He was small of [sic] his age, and occasionally some youthful listener about his own age would advise him to get a sheet of brown paper to stand upon so that the people could see him. The first time he went out, a few days after his ordination as a Priest, his companion was Elder Francis Burrell (long since deceased), who chose that well-known London thoroughfare, the Tottenham Court Road, as the place to hold forth. He borrowed a chair, mounted it and began to talk of the kingdom of God; that the kingdom would necessarily have a king, territory, laws and officers. "And here comes one," cried a voice in the crowd. Then a policeman appeared and ordered Brother Burrell to "move on," as no preaching was permitted at that corner. So they moved on. George was not altogether sorry. He used in those days to wear a little round jacket like those we see in the pictures of the boys of Eton and other English public schools. He came to the conclusion that if he bought a coat, he would look more like a man and people would listen to him better. Before the next Sunday he did so, but it was not altogether a success--to use an expression of a facetious friend, "it fitted him like a sentry box, all over and touching nowhere." In plain English it was too

¹²It is interesting to note that he was re-baptized three times later in life--on March 8, 1857, between the two ordinations just mentioned; on July 21, 1865, by George Teasdale in the President's Font, the day before he married his first wife, Mary Ann Tuddenham (Reynolds, IV, 247); and on October 5, 1875, by George Q. Cannon, "at the Endowment House, in accord with the general reformation in the Church" (Reynolds, V, 111). He was confirmed this last time by John Taylor.

large. But it answered its purpose. George felt more of a man in it, and he took great pleasure in bearing his testimony week after week, year after year at the street corners.¹³

In his own short autobiographical sketch, he wrote:

This was one of the severist [sic] trials of my life, being only fifteen years old, quite small of my age, and very timid and bashful, but, trusting for strength in the Lord, I overcame these difficulties . . .¹⁴

He was active in the branch as well, acting even in his early teens as the secretary to the Sunday School there, which began a life-long service to that organization that was almost continuous to his death. He also was secretary and later president of the tract society and finally secretary of the branch, all before he was nineteen, when he was called on a mission.

George Reynolds was ordained an elder on August 30, 1860, at the age of eighteen and continued to preach in the streets of London while still serving in branch positions. Nine months later, on May 8, 1861, when he was nineteen, he was called on a full-time mission and was assigned to the London Conference where he was asked to be the president of the third district. He resigned from his position with A. Webber, Esq., of Berkley Square, for whom he was working at the time, and devoted his complete efforts to what he considered the work of the Lord.

¹³Jensen, I, 207.

¹⁴George Reynolds, "Auto-Biographical Sketch of George Reynolds," written in 1877 or 1878, copy in possession of the writer, whereabouts of the original is unknown, p. 2.

He served under William C. Staines and had responsibility for the proselyting work in his district as well as for the welfare of the branches and members in the west and south of London, of whom there were over four hundred priesthood bearers, as tabulated below:¹⁵

Table 2

Number of Priesthood Bearers in the Third District of the London Conference, July 1861

Name of Branch	Number Holding the Priesthood	Branch President's Name
Paddington	50	Peter Lavey
Chelsea	73	Thomas Clifton
Shepperds Bush	76	James Danzie
Lambeth	159	Joseph L. Barfoot
Walworth Common	62	James Hardy
Total	421	

About three months later Somers Town Branch, where he was baptized and had been active, was added to his responsibility.¹⁶

In this first year of his mission forty-two new members were baptized in the district and eighty saints

¹⁵Reynolds, I, July 9, 1861.

¹⁶Reynolds, I, August 1, 1861.

emigrated. From his journal it appears that Elder Reynolds was very happy in his calling.

On the whole during the past year I have learned much of human character gained much experience in the nature of things and the laws of the kingdom of God. & I believe during no year of my life has my character been so changed as during this past finished¹⁷

By the end of 1861, even with all the emigration considered, there were 577 in the district which was nearly half of the entire London Conference, which recorded 1,294 members.¹⁸

There were the usual joys and disappointments of missionary work along with the preaching, teaching, and office work. Emigration took a great deal of his time and attention, as it was the ". . . principle topic of interest with the saints"¹⁹ at the time. Whole groups of saints from the branches came to London to get passage when bookings in Liverpool, where most embarked, were difficult or impossible. Elder Reynolds helped them with their train schedules, passage by boat, and even with their luggage and supplies for the crossing. He was so busy he did not visit his parents in London more than once a month, lodging most nights with members or sleeping at the district office. The saints were generous and gave him the physical support

¹⁷Reynolds, I, December 31, 1861.

¹⁸Reynolds, I, January 14, 1862.

¹⁹Reynolds, I, February 28, 1862.

he needed, both in money and in clothes, since his family was not in any way converted to his occupation.

His brief impressions of the branches he labored with are revealing: At Lambeth, the largest with about 230 members, he thought the feeling was lively with a large group of priesthood holders. He greatly admired the branch president there, Joseph L. Barfoot, who became a life-long friend even in the years after they both emigrated to Utah. He did not have this warm rapport with or admiration for the branch president of Paddington. He felt he was the best man available, but the branch was small and the members there a little worldly. In Chelsea he found the spirit of brotherly love most gratifying. ". . . they are really one large family who require very little governing. Br Clifton is ably seconded by the great majority of the priesthood" ²⁰
 "Br Danzie the president of Shepd [sic] Bush is a severe commanding man, yet with every desire to do good." ²¹ Elder Reynolds sympathized with the trouble and time it took President Danzie to get his two branches, including the one at Walworth Common at this time, to assimilate.

Some of the problems Elder Reynolds had to grapple with during these years as a very young missionary are interesting. There were fights between brothers and sisters,

²⁰Reynolds, I, July 25, 1861.

²¹Reynolds, I, July 25, 1861.

parents and children, husbands and wives, some even culminating in separations that the branch presidents had to work out, including maintenance payments. Of course Elder Reynolds, who was only nineteen or twenty years of age at this time, was consulted as the district president in these domestic squabbles.

Several cases of fornication and adultery were brought before him for recommendation to disfellowship or excommunicate. One brother would not give up his mistress even though he knew the gospel was true because he felt that leaving her would precipitate her suicide. A sister was seduced by her master for whom she served as a servant girl. Another brother was cut off for "whoredom" but was offered re-baptism if he would repent and go on a mission to Switzerland.

Some of the problems were so ridiculous that they were almost funny. One member stood on the street corners of London with a sign which read: "I am starving." Another man, a visionary, claimed he was Christ and wrote ridiculous letters to other members of his branch. He finally invited one member and his wife to dinner and served a plum pudding baked in the shape of a child over which he proceeded to pour wine. He said the wine was blood and made them kneel down and pray over this preparation. After his excommunication he continued to write letters to the members, still claiming he was Christ and greatly distressing them.

Another sister, Margaret Wright, frequently came to the meetings drunk and started fights. Interestingly enough, the very first mention Elder Reynolds makes of his future first wife, Mary Ann Tuddenham, is in connection with the abuses of this member. It seems she physically attacked Mary Ann, who was only fifteen at the time, and raised a real uproar at the largest meeting they ever had at that branch. Her own brother finally took her away but she returned, even more drunk, to get her husband who was also at the meeting and received much physical and verbal abuse from her. About five months later, and after a fight with still another sister, giving her a black eye, she was excommunicated for staging a violent attack at a branch meeting on young Sister Tuddenham, of whom she was inordinately jealous, this time having pinned her to the wall.

There were spiritual experiences, too. A Sister Moss woke her husband one night, alarmed that she had heard a heavy knock. When they investigated and found no one around, she announced that she knew a certain Sister Hand was going to die. Sister Hand was old and blind and was supported by Brother Moss. Sister Moss rushed over to Sister Hand's home and arrived in time for Sister Hand to die in her arms. There was prophesying in the branches as well as speaking in tongues which was always interpreted. Elder Reynolds blessed oil and anointed the sick on many occasions with great manifestations. But one time he

lamented his inability and lack of influence when a child died sometime after an administration.

He was very anxious about his responsibilities and his ability to cope with them and reported, "fasted from breakfast this day [Saturday, November 9, 1861] to Monday morning 7 meals 48 hours for additional strength of body & manly power."²²

He also turned to phrenological analysis to build his confidence and had several readings made of the bumps on his head. When one considers that he later had three wives and thirty-two children, the following quotation from one is rather amusing:

You are not very partial to the opposite sex, but when you are married you will be a Kind & affectionate husband. You are very fond of children and like to see them play & enjoy themselves. Also you like to fondle with them. You are not inclined to Marry early.²³

He was an introspective and shy young man. His self-analysis is more perspicacious:

With regard to myself I find considerable difficulty [sic] in presiding, being better able to do as I am told than to tell others what to do, feeling my youth inexperience and various other things working against me. I sometimes feel bowed and broken down with responsibilities of my position, yet realizing all the time that I have been placed in it by Gods [sic] servants and to do any less than walk into that position would be dishonouring Him. I know I desire to obey council yet sometimes find a difficulty in guarding my tongue from telling things that should not be told, and find no difficulty in obeying it, but the difficulty lies

²²Reynolds, I, November 9, 1861.

²³Reynolds, I, March 13, 1862.

in governing controlling and bringing my own feelings passions and desires into complete subjection to my will and of making Gods will my will and his spirit my spirit. I find in me to [sic] often a man fearing cringing disposition and to often look upon what my position is as though it was only a man I was working for forgetting that there is "A God in it" . . . I often find my quiet disposition against me as in visiting the saints. I have little to say and let them do the talking. In this I expect to change.²⁴

Throughout his life he was deeply concerned about his public speaking, being timid when "performing." he often commented about the times he felt "free" in his address and how pleasing this was to him that he could feel so. This type of entry is common in his journal during these early years in the mission field.

He admired those who labored with him and especially revered the general authorities who visited and/or presided over the mission. His impressions of the first general authorities he ever met are very interesting. Following is what he wrote of Amasa M. Lyman, Charles C. Rich, and George Q. Cannon:

I may not be here out of place to express my feelings at the present time with regard to myself and those by whom I have been surrounded. Of those who take the immediate charge of the Mission, I can only say that as far as I can judge they are all they can be expected to be "Men of God" . . . Br Lyman when in council can look you through and I believe tell the secrets of your hearts. If I had done wrong I feel as though I could not but confess it . . . Br Lyman of the three does the most of the talking Br Rich the least Br Lyman is very reserved compared with the others. While Br Rich is very conscious [sic], very severe on evil doers, yet kind & affectionate as a husband father or friend. Br

²⁴Reynolds, I, July 25, 1861.

PORTRAITS OF GEORGE REYNOLDS: THE EARLY YEARS



Figure 1
George Reynolds
at Seventeen



Figure 2
George Reynolds
at Nineteen



Figure 3
George Reynolds at
Twenty-three

Cannon is most homely affable & pleasing, and wears a constant smile and you forget the apostle in the friend and brother.²⁵

George Reynolds became secretary of the London Conference as well as being the district president over several branches. His father died November 17, 1862, and he spent some time settling his father's affairs for his mother. He finished this family business by the end of 1862, just in time to be ready for the next calling the mission authorities had for him.

All in all, this first mission was a growing experience for George Reynolds, one that helped prepare him for future service in the Church to which he would devote his life. He summarized his own feelings as follows: "I try to be as kind as I can and want to see the brethren and sisters alive to their positions & callings. There is a general good feeling spread over the mission."²⁶

²⁵Reynolds, I, July 25, 1861.

²⁶Reynolds, I, July 25, 1861.

Chapter 3

MISSION SECRETARY AND EMIGRATION CLERK

Early in the year 1863, George Reynolds was released as a traveling elder in the London Conference and was called to Liverpool to be the secretary to George Q. Cannon and emigration clerk for the entire European Mission. He arrived there on February 17. President Cannon was then the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles and adjacent countries,¹ including Germany, Holland, France, and all of Scandinavia.

George had the privilege of traveling some with President Cannon in the British Isles and throughout Europe as well as fulfilling the duties he had of keeping the books for the mission and the Liverpool Branch. At just twenty-one years of age, he was responsible for the tithing reports, statistical reports, and especially emigration arrangements. His duties became so involved that in December of 1863 President Cannon called an assistant to help him, Robert R. Anderson by name.² Anderson took over the local accounts in the Liverpool Branch and George continued with his responsibilities of the whole European Mission and emigration.

¹This title is used in the "Manuscript History of the British Mission," 1863.

²Reynolds, III, December 26, 1863.

On June 12, 1864, his duties were increased when he was set apart as president of the Liverpool Branch. He enjoyed this responsibility for about one year until he emigrated to Utah. In his journal he reveals that the branch suffered from too much "overshadowing" from the presidency of the mission and frequent visits of general authorities.

One instance in point occurred July 24, 1864, Pioneer Day, when a conference was held at which George Q. Cannon spoke and Orson Pratt also gave several sermons. The announcement of these two speakers drew the largest crowd in the history of the branch. They held three meetings that day, all of which were very well attended. Large crowds of this size could not help but please a branch president, yet George felt the members were not developing as they should.

The Liverpool branch was at one time one of the largest in the Kingdom & in the time of the Presidency of Bro. O. Pratt an attendance of nearly 1000 was the general average on a Sunday evening. But from then it fell off greatly not only in numbers but in spirit. The constant presence of the first presidency instead of proving a benefit to it seemed rather to retard its progress. For these reasons the priesthood had little means of developing themselves in the way of preaching through there being always some of the higher authorities there to instruct the people & the saints being so used to hear these brethren were not willing to give such head [sic] to the teachings of the local priesthood & did not even think of or place so much honor on the visits of the authorities at the other branches who were less highly favored. These things caused a dullness and carelessness in the saints. Again they were not so united as most branches as they came from almost all parts of the Kingdom English Irish Scotch & Welch. they did not amalgamate [sic] as well as most saints do.

Many of them had been in the church very many years and came to Liverpool to try & get emigrated.³

George wrote that he loved the men he worked with even if he did see this problem in the Liverpool Branch caused by their frequent participation. It was in the next month that President Cannon was called back home to Utah.

After carrying his friend's luggage aboard the ship, George had to say a hasty goodbye to this man with whom he had been so closely associated.

I can scarcely say with what feelings of regret I parted with him who had been to me so much of a father, friend & brother. as to my own feelings I can say I loved him much & as to others I do not think it too much to say he was universally beloved, his kind, tender unassuming [sic] disposition, so ready to oblige, so careful of others feelings rendered him an object of affection where ever he went or whatever circumstances he was placed in⁴

President Cannon was to work with George on many more Church assignments and be his life-long friend, but never were they more close than in these first years of acquaintance in the mission laboring together. President Cannon gave George a silver watch before he left that George treasured all his life, attaching it as he did to a silver chain that he inherited from one of his great uncles.⁵

It was President Cannon, representing Brigham Young,

³Reynolds, IV, August 20, 1864.

⁴Reynolds, IV, August 27, 1864.

⁵Alice Louis Reynolds, "Biography of George Reynolds," unpublished account written by his daughter, in possession of his oldest great grandchild, Evelyn Reed Robbins, Springville, Utah, p. 3.

who later asked George Reynolds to be the test case for polygamy. President Cannon was the most frequent visitor, next to George's two wives, while he was in prison after the polygamy trials. George went with President Cannon when the latter called Karl G. Maeser to be principal of the Brigham Young Academy. George also worked for years with George Q. Cannon when both served on the Deseret Sunday School Board. Finally, he filled President Cannon's position as General Assistant Superintendent to the President of the Church when the head of the Sunday School was the President of the Church and the assistants actually did most of the administrating of the auxiliary.

George made up several special reports for President Cannon to take to Brigham Young in August of 1864. One of them is shown in Table 3.

Daniel H. Wells, of the First Presidency of the Church, became the new President of the European Mission on August 18, 1864, just before President Cannon left. Brigham Young, Junior, came with President Wells. It was not long before George, who thought his friend, George Q. Cannon, could never be replaced, said:

In Brother Cannons [sic] departure I lost a valued friend & adviser, and at the time thought his place could not be supplied in my affections, but Pres Wells [sic] continued & never varying kindness has won my love & esteem so that I do not in the least miss bro G. Q. C.⁶

⁶Reynolds, IV, December 31, 1864.

Table 3

Statistics of the European Mission
1855-1863^a

Date		No of Saints in European Mission	No in the British Mission	Europe Baptized	Emigrated	Cut off	Died
Dec	1855	29,249	26,001	2,426	836	2,574	176
	1856	26,307	22,502	3,820	2,465	2,888	289
	1857	19,238	15,220	4,223	1,355	2,714	284
	1858	18,623	14,186	2,564	195	2,722	240
	1859	17,610	13,027	2,132	713	1,764	214
	1860	18,843	13,853	3,222	1,016	686	244
	1861	21,155	14,893	4,132	1,262	550	181
	1862	20,926	14,327	3,687	2,314	863	195
	1863	20,224	13,851	3,979	2,719	1,125	203
				30,185	12,875	15,886	2,026

^aReynolds, III, December 30, 1863.

His friendship with President Wells was also one that lasted a lifetime. It was he who performed the marriage of George to his second wife, Amelia Jane Schofield, and sealed him to five distant cousins who were dead.⁷

At the end of 1864 George reported that there were 19,300 members in the European Mission then under President Wells.

During the administrations of Presidents Cannon and Wells, while George was emigration clerk, the rate of emigration to Zion was unusually high. The spirit of emigration was so strong that some members became overzealous in their efforts to come to Utah. One member, James Moss, died of consumption ". . . working too hard to save up means to gather to Zion."⁸ On the following page is a table showing the companies of saints who emigrated during the three years George was emigration clerk, in 1863, 1864, and 1865.

In 1863 over 3,646 members emigrated in six ships from Liverpool. This is the largest group to ever emigrate during a one year period with the exception of the year 1855 in which over 4,225 left in thirteen ships.⁹

The largest group to emigrate up to 1864 left on a ship called the Monarch of the Sea in Company 127 with 974

⁷See Appendix D for the names of the wives.

⁸Reynolds, I, April 27, 1862.

⁹Information calculated from an analysis of "Church Emigration," in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Table 4
European Mission Emigration, 1863-1865^a

Year	Company Number	Name of Ship (Embarked from)	Date Embarked (Date Landed)	In Charge of the Company	Number of Saints in the Company	Countries from Which Emigrants Came
1863	121	<u>John J. Boyd</u> (Liverpool)	April 30 (June 1)	William W. Cluff	767	Mostly from Denmark and Sweden with some from Norway, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, and America.
1863	122	<u>B. S. Kimball</u> (Liverpool)	May 9 (June 13)	Hans Peter Lund	657	Mostly from Denmark and Sweden with some from England.
1863	123	<u>Consignment</u> (Liverpool)	May 9 (June 20)	Anders Christensen	37	Mostly from Denmark with some from Sweden.
1863	124	<u>Antarctic</u> (Liverpool)	May 23 (July 10)	John Needham	775	Mostly from England and Norway, with a few from eleven other countries: Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, and America.
1863	125	<u>Cynosure</u> (Liverpool)	May 30 (July 19)	David M. Stuart	775	Mostly from England with some from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.
1863	126	<u>Amazon</u> (London)	June 4 (July 19)	William Brammell	895	Mostly from England and Wales with some from Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Austria, and one from Poland.
1864	127	<u>Monarch of the Sea</u> (Liverpool)	April 28 (June 3)	John Smith	974	Mostly from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden with some from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, America, and one from Russia.
1864	128	<u>General McClellan</u> (Liverpool)	May 21 (June 23)	Thomas E. Jeremy	802	Mostly from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales with some from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and America.
1864	129	<u>Hudson</u> (Liverpool)	June 3 (July 19)	John M. Kay	863	Mostly from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales with some from Holland, Switzerland, Germany, France, and America.
1865	130	<u>Belle Wood</u> (Liverpool)	April 29 (May 31)	William H. Shearman	558	Mostly from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales with some from France, Switzerland, America, and eight from India.
1865	131	<u>B. S. Kimball</u> (Hamburg)	May 8 (June 14)	Anders W. Winberg	636	All from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.
1865	132	<u>David Hoadley</u> (Liverpool)	May 10 (June 19)	William Underwood	24	All from England.

^aInformation summarized from volume three of "Church Emigration" in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

members of the Church aboard.¹⁰ Presiding Patriarch John Smith was in charge of this group.

Company 131 which sailed on the B. S. Kimball had a tragic voyage with an outbreak of measles and scarlet fever which took the lives of twenty-four children and three adults at sea.

The group that boarded the Hudson, Company 129, had an unusually long voyage, some forty-six days in crossing. It was on this ship that George Reynolds' fiancée, Mary Ann Tuddenham, emigrated with her parents, one brother, and two sisters. She was then sixteen years old, four years younger than he.

Also aboard was a woman named Sarah Burrell to whom George had been previously engaged when he was nineteen in London. She was twenty-five at the time of her emigration and six years his senior. Sarah was very bitter about his changing his mind and transferring his affections to Polly, as he called Mary Ann. Sarah complained about this to the branch president who had given his approval of her engagement to George. She also complained to President Cannon who had approved George's engagement to Polly. President Cannon advised Sarah to forget this lost love and find someone else to marry. When George emigrated to Utah over a year after

¹⁰Only one other group to leave Europe was ever larger, the one to sail on the Wisconsin July 2, 1873, which had 976 members on it, just two more than the Monarch of the Sea at this sailing.

Sarah, she went to Heber C. Kimball and objected to his telling George to get his endowments with Polly. President Kimball advised George to wait until Brigham Young returned from his trip to Southern Utah before he married. Sarah wrote to Brigham Young about her disappointment.¹¹

Dear President Brigam G S L City

I hope you will not think this a Liberty of me writing thes few lines to you But CerCumstances hav Caused me to do so having been engaged to George Reynolds For two years and a half and him having promest Me at the time to make me his wife and telling me that the Steps that he had had [sic] taken was bearing with him through all eturnity and after all the Covernants that he has maid me I have found out that he wishes to git Maryed to annother

I wanta ask if it is not right for him to fulfill the Covernant that he has maid to me first befor he take annother as I feel my happyness is depending on his trufullness to me--for I Still return that Love for him that I never Can for annother

I remame your Sister
In the Gospell of peace
Sarah Burrell¹²

This letter, dated July, 1865, was delivered when Brigham Young was out of town. George Q. Cannon explained the circumstances when President Young returned and Sarah came to see him about her letter. Brigham Young's reply to her was the same as President Cannon's had been in England at least a year before; he added, however, that she should not follow George about and that she should wait until he wanted her.

¹¹Her letter has so many errors in it that no attempt has been made to identify each one. It is printed here as it is spelled and punctuated in the original.

¹²Sarah Burrell to Brigham Young, July, 1865, located in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

What irritated George most about Sarah was her way of clinging to him and demanding his attention when he was busy with Church affairs which he considered more important. After one such incident, he wrote, "Told her if ever such a thing occurred again, I would break off my engagement to her as the priesthood must with me stand first."¹³ In 1861, he had considered emigrating with her the following year, but he cancelled those plans when he received his first mission call. Although he saw her almost every day, his interest cooled as his mission labors took more and more of his attention. She said she would never give him up, even threatened revenge. However, George never did marry her even though he entered into polygamy later in his life. He married three living women and had six others who were dead sealed to him. She was not one of them.¹⁴

While on his mission in London, George had written a letter to George Q. Cannon that was published in the Millennial Star, but his first really creative effort to be published was in 1863. Many others were to follow, starting a long career of writing that became a dominant interest in his life. These first efforts are listed in Table 5.

Circulation for the Millennial Star at this time was about 5,000. George was called some six years later to edit

¹³Reynolds, I, December 13, 1861.

¹⁴See Appendix D for more information about the nine women who were sealed to him.

Table 5

Articles in the Millennial Star
by George Reynolds
1863-1865^a

Article Title	Year	Vol.	Pages
Real and Imaginary	1863	25	4-6
How Shall We Be Better	1863	25	212-213
Life's Contrasts (A Poem)	1863	25	704
First Impressions	1864	26	36-38
The Supernatural	1864	26	449-451
It Must Be True	1864	26	533-534
The Harmony of the Gospel	1864	26	593-595
Extremes of Character	1864	26	657-660
The Influence We Wield	1864	26	756-760
Post Prophesying	1864	26	819-821
I'll Ask Counsel	1865	27	117-118
The Religion of Every Day Life	1865	27	227
Wisdom and Knowledge	1865	27	260-261

^aInformation gathered from the "Index to the Millennial Star" and the "Journal of George Reynolds" (Beth Oyler [comp.], "Index to the Millennial Star," Part 3, pp. 776, 777).

and publish its pages upon his return to England on his second mission in 1871, but it was while on his first mission that he started to write.

As early as December of 1864, Brigham Young and President Wells were making plans for George to emigrate. President Wells released him on April 26, 1865, but George traveled to Scandinavia until May 15 with President Wells as his last assignment. He gave his farewell address to the Liverpool Branch on May 18, and a man by the name of Hood replaced him as the branch president there. He had already said his goodbyes to his mother and his brothers and sisters in early March. President Wells, Brigham Young, Junior, and their wives came to the ship to see him off. He who had arranged the passage of thousands of saints to America in very large groups traveled alone as the only member of the Church on that ship in May of 1865.

He wrote the following of his feelings at the time:

My departure from England under such favorable circumstances for Zion has greatly added to my Joy & Thankfulness to God my Father for His deliverance. I am thankful that with all my follies, I have the interest of the Kingdom of Heaven nearest my Heart, and hope by the Mercy of Heaven to Continue to increase in Good & beget more useful in the land I am going to than I have yet been. I am now in the 10th year of my history in the church, during which time I have nearly all the while been engaged in some active position in the work and I am now going to Zion, if I know my own heart, to do the Will of God, all the days of my life by the blessing of above that I may be saved with the Righteous.¹⁵

¹⁵Reynolds, IV, May 27, 1865.

Chapter 4

EMIGRATION AND EARLY LIFE IN UTAH

George Reynolds sailed on the Persia from Liverpool Saturday, May 20, 1865, at 3:30 p.m. He had a stateroom to himself, berth 163, and was the only "Mormon" on board. He wrote that he enjoyed the voyage, learned to play shuffle board, and won the lottery in which twenty-five passengers put a pound each and drew numbers. The one who drew the number nearest the mileage for the day, won the "pot." He drew 333 and came the closest.¹

On Wednesday, May 31, they sighted land at 4:00 p.m. but did not disembark at New York until about 10:00 p.m. that night. The crossing took them only twelve days.

The next day, George hired a small boat and went on board the Belle Wood which had sailed from Liverpool on April 29 with 558 members aboard and was anchored in the harbor. This ship had arrived the day before he landed, being at sea thirty-two days. He spent the first few days in the United States helping with the arrangements to get these saints train passage to Wyoming. On the first Sunday he spent in the New World he went to Williamsburg and spoke at the branch meeting there in the Adelphi Hotel.

¹Reynolds, IV, May 29, 1865.

Finally at 6:00 p.m. on Monday, June 12, twelve days after he arrived in America, George started his own trek across the country for Zion. He traveled at first with only one companion, William S. Godbe, who did a great deal of traveling between the East and West on business at this time. They went by way of Niagara, Detroit, and Chicago where he wrote:

. . . we stopped 12 hours, visiting Mr. Schuttler & other merchants with whom Mr. G. did business, in the evening went to Col. Taylors Museum where we saw Lucrecia Borgia performed (?) At midnight started again on our journey passing Quincy at Noon on Thursday (June 15)² and reaching St Loe [sic] on the morning of Friday (June 16) when we immediately started . . . for Nebraska City. we soon ran aground but in the course of a few hours got off again. the voyage was a very slow & tiresome one owing to the vessel being overcrowded with passengers & soldiers (the 8th Missouri, bound for service on the plains). We reached Nebraska City on Sunday morning the (18th of June)³

At the start of their second week of the journey, they were joined by William H. Shearman in Nebraska City and left for Fort Kearney by stage.

. . . arrived at Fort Kearney on Tuesday (June 20) & had to stay the night there being no stage & no probability of one, but one of the line agents happening to wanting [sic] to go forward they started us next morning (Wed. June 21) in a Coach with one side & the top off, for which we were quite thankful as other passengers had had to stay 9 days & only got off the day before.⁴

The three men arrived in Denver the following

²The dates in the parentheses are written between the lines in his journal in another ink and perhaps even another hand.

³Reynolds, IV, 237.

⁴Reynolds, IV, 238.

Saturday, three days later, having had a few Indian scares along the way. There was a Sioux war going on at the time so they were escorted all the way from Fort Kearney to Denver by some of the United States cavalry.

Owing to the great cry about Indian Troubles in front and scarcity of Annimals [sic] through their thefts, we were unable on any terms to get a satisfactory reply as to when we could continue our journey by stage. at any rate we were given to understand we should have to wait a week at least, so bro Godbe determined to get an outfit of his own, & trusting in the Lords protecting care & our own vigilance start by ourselves for our home in Deseret.⁵

They left Denver with their own outfit of a light wagon, two horses, and provisions that same day in the early evening and camped ten miles out. Later they traded one of the horses at Little Laramie for two miles to make travel through the mountains more safe.

There was even more danger of Indian attack as they progressed from Denver to the Salt Lake Valley.

25 head of Horses were carried away by the Indians just after we rolled out, in fact we had Indian Troubles arround [sic] us all the time, but by the protection of our Heavenly father we got through safe without a hair of our heads being injured. Our plan was generally to rise shortly before day break, harness up, drive for 3 or 4 hours, breakfast about 8 or 9, staying 2 hours, on again till near Sun Down, stay for 1 or 2 hours and then drive on for three or four hours stopping shortly before midnight. In this way we evaded indian attacks, stopping suddenly & lighting no fire, picketing out the animals & retiring quietly to bed & being off again before sun rise, this plan enabled us to average about 60 miles a day.⁶

⁵Reynolds, IV, 239.

⁶Reynolds, IV, 240-241.

Around Virginia Dale they were disturbed by Indians in the night, without serious incident, but when they reached Fort Halleck they were not allowed to go on alone. They accompanied the stage and its escort. It was on their way to Sulphur Springs that they came the closest to real danger, being openly chased by the Indians. The three of them were about an hour behind the stage at the time. George was ". . . sick with a head ache through being jolted for so many hours."⁷ He was resting in the back of the wagon and did not realize the danger until it was past and they were safe at the settlement.

On Sunday, July 2, they reached the Green River and came to the settlements along the Weber River on the Fourth of July. The Spring rains had washed out the roads and they spent most of one day trying to clear another in a heavy downpour of rain, up to their waists in water. On Wednesday, July 5, they finally abandoned their wagon about twenty-eight miles from Salt Lake. Godbe went for help on one of the two mules they had, and Shearman and Reynolds packed the other with their trunks.

. . . we left the Mule & Luggage at Hoopers Ranch. I being greatly fatigued & we walked, climbed & forded until we reached the Big Mountain when it was with the greatest difficulty I reached the summit at sun down. half way down the other side we found the gearing of a wagon with a spring board across waiting for us. On this we sat until we reached G. S. L. City about 11 p.m. on the 5th July.⁸

⁷Reynolds, IV, 243.

⁸Reynolds, IV, 245.

Thus George Reynolds made his trek across the plains in June of 1865 in twenty-three days, in some danger but without serious mishap.

The next day after some morning shopping, George went to the President's Office to meet Brigham Young. Several of his friends who had emigrated from England before met him there. He made special note in his journal that he renewed his association with his great friend, George Q. Cannon, one of the Quorum of the Twelve.⁹ Then he was privileged to meet the Prophet of the Church and Heber C. Kimball, his counselor.

That evening George went to see his fiancée Mary Ann Tuddenham who lived with her father John Tuddenham.¹⁰ He had not seen her for over a year. He wrote, "I was pleased to find her well & bearing the same feelings as I had expected towards me as when she left me in the Old Country."¹¹

George had asked Brother Tuddenham if he could marry his daughter two years before, on July 24, 1863, when he was

⁹Reynolds, IV, 245.

¹⁰John Tuddenham, Mary Ann's father and later father-in-law to George Reynolds, was a contractor by profession. He did the work on the old Deseret Gym and Presiding Bishop's Office, Oquirrh, Sumner, and Jackson Schools, the large smoke stack in Murray, Utah, and, among other things, supervised the work on the Church Administration Building and the Hotel Utah. (Information obtained from Maude Martain Ogden, granddaughter of George Reynolds and great-granddaughter of John Tuddenham, personal interview, July 2, 1970.)

¹¹Reynolds, IV, July 6, 1865.

twenty and she, seventeen.¹² About seven months later, after he moved to Liverpool to be President Cannon's secretary, he wrote and asked her to register their names for marriage in London where she lived. She went with her father to do so around the tenth of April, 1864. Then when her father decided to emigrate with his family, there was some discussion as to whether she should go with her father or marry George in England. George consulted with President Cannon before the latter went to London on business and wrote about the advice the president gave upon his return:

Pres Cannon returned from London. He told Me that Mary Ann Tuddenham was so unwell from cough & cold that he feared she was consumptive & that he thought She had better go to Leon where the change of climate would do her good and that we had better not get married. This for a few moments seemed a great blow to my hopes but I realized that I had prayed that God would dictate bro C. to give me such council [sic] as would be for our Good and I accepted his as being for the best & consequently though somewhat dissapointed [sic] that things had gone thus far & had now to be given up I felt cheerful & happy knowing that My heavenly Father had ever overruled all things for the best as long as I continued faithful to him. And thanked him for his mercy & guardian care¹³

The Tuddenhams had emigrated, Mary Ann with them, in June of 1864, and George came over a year later. The only thing that kept them from getting married immediately was the objection of Sarah Burrell who felt George should marry her instead.¹⁴

¹²Reynolds, III, July 24, 1863.

¹³Reynolds, III, April 15, 1864.

¹⁴See Chapter 3 for the details and letter pertaining to this sister's claim.

On July 21, George and Polly, as he usually called Mary Ann, were re-baptized in the President's Font by George Teasdale, who also confirmed their baptisms. They were married the next day, on July 22, 1865, in the Endowment House. Heber C. Kimball performed the sealing for time and eternity.¹⁵ George was twenty-three and Mary Ann, nineteen at the time, both converts and immigrants from London, England. Their second daughter, Alice Louise, commented years later on the circumstances at the time:

Father told me that together they had only fifteen cents. But that was not the whole story for they had paid rent on a little home for six months and had put in a supply of groceries. William Jennings met them at the gate, as he left the temple grounds, and engaged father to be his bookkeeper; so all was well.¹⁶

George started working for Jennings, the largest merchant in the territory, on Monday, July 24, 1865, ". . . being the day of annaversary [sic] of the entrance of the pioneers to GSL Valey [sic]."¹⁷ He was employed by him until December 2 of that same year. He wrote the following of this in his journal:

. . . I left him, it being a good situation in all respects but one & that was Mr. J's irritable [sic] temper caused great unpleasantness to those who worked for him, & his outbursts of passion often Scared me & rendered me very nervous. I however had a situation offered me by Elder G. Teasdale in the Tithing Store which I accepted, and to which I went 4th December. I

¹⁵Reynolds, IV, 247.

¹⁶Alice Louise Reynolds, "Biography of George Reynolds," p. 3.

¹⁷Reynolds, IV, 248.

was however only able to attend 8 days the first week owing to a very large Sty in my Eye which prevented me seeing to write. On the Thirteenth of the month I was moved to the President's Office, to post up the arrears of the books lately kept by bro Thos Ellerbeck, which occupied me for some months.¹⁸

George was not well this whole first winter in America, and his wife also came down with a severe fever. He administered to her and she ". . . afterwards enjoyed better health than she had done previously, since she fell in the family way."¹⁹

Their first child, a boy they named George Tuddenham Reynolds, was born on May 27, 1866, at noon. He was premature, very small, and apparently dead. Jane Atkinson, the midwife, ". . . a very clever woman as well as one of great faith called me to administer to it" ²⁰ This first child of his thirty-two²¹ lived and was blessed on the eighth day after birth, an Old Testament custom which George tried to observe in his own large family.²² He was sickly and retarded for most of the sixteen months of his short life, which ended on September 30, 1867. George wrote, "He so rapidly decomposed that we had to bury him that afternoon

¹⁸Reynolds, IV, 248-249.

¹⁹Reynolds, IV, 250.

²⁰Reynolds, IV, 253.

²¹See Appendix E for more information about his children.

²²Observation made by the author from the entries in the journal made after the birth of each of his thirty-two children.

. . . Home seems very lonely without a baby."²³

George and Polly first lived in the Thirteenth Ward. He was ordained a seventy there, on March 18, 1866, when he was twenty-four. This started a great service in that calling which culminated in his being called to be a general authority, one of the First Seven Presidents of the Seventy on April 10, 1890, a little over twenty-four years later. He served as a general authority among the seventies for nineteen years after that.²⁴

He was appointed as a teacher and the secretary of the newly organized Eighth Ward Sunday School in the Spring before his first child died. He started to build a little three room house with a cellar in the Twentieth Ward area that same year.²⁵

On the 5th August I commenced to build on my lot on the North Bench. It consists of A cellar about 7 ft deep 13x13 (?) A front Kitchen 19x13. A bedroom 13x10 (?) & Pantry. It is made of Concrete, and costs about \$900.00. In shape it is somewhat like this²⁶

²³Reynolds, IV, 264.

²⁴Reynolds, IV, 254, and VI, 77.

²⁵His first family lived in the Twentieth Ward for over thirty years, including his years on a mission, in prison, and in hiding. His third wife moved in after the death of his first wife in 1885 to take care of the first wife's little children. This third wife, Mary, started her family there until they moved to a larger home on Wall Street in 1899. His second wife, Amelia, lived in the Twentieth Ward from the time they were married until her death. Their daughter May stayed there and reared the younger children.

²⁶Here he inserted a small floor plan sketch indicating windows, doors, fireplaces, etc., and then continued.

I moved into it December 7th (Saturday) before it was quite dry but near enough finished to be comfortable.²⁷

The next month, on January 5, 1868, their second child was born,²⁸ and eight days later they named her Amelia Emily Reynolds. Millie, as they called her, was small but healthy and a great joy to her parents who had so recently lost their first-born.

When they first moved into the Twentieth Ward, George was a teacher and the librarian of the Sunday School. He was later called to be the superintendent of the Sabbath School in that ward in December of 1869, two years later.

In 1867 he had joined the Endowment House prayer circle that met on Sundays at 4:00 p.m. and in January of 1869 he worked with President Wells there. He wrote, ". . . I attended the endowment house as recorder, also taking parts in the endowment. I also assisted Bro Wells in the second annointings."²⁹ He had received his own second anointing with his wife Mary Ann on August 5, 1867, under the administration of Daniel H. Wells and Joseph F. Smith.³⁰

Other spiritual experiences came to George in these early days of his life in Utah. He joined the Theological Class of the School of the Prophets at Brigham Young's

²⁷Reynolds, IV, 265.

²⁸Reynolds, IV, 268.

²⁹Reynolds, IV, 277.

³⁰Reynolds, IV, 263.

invitation.³¹ He also had his patriarchal blessing from the hands of John Smith, son of Hyrum the martyr.³²

In the April Conference of 1869, John Tuddenham, George's father-in-law, was called to return to England on a mission. He left on May 20 and was assigned to the London Conference where he worked with George's mother and brothers and sisters to try to get them to join the Church. George's mother became interested and she finally allowed her two youngest sons, George's brothers Charles and Henry Groves, called Harry, to emigrate to America when Brother Tuddenham returned. The three of them left London on the same day George's third child, Heber Tuddenham Reynolds, was born, July 12, 1870.³³

Charles and Harry were baptized on August 31 and lived with George, Polly, and their two children in the three-room house George had built. Charles was fourteen and Harry, twelve at the time, which gave George and his wife the responsibility of caring for them as their own children.

My brothers continued with me during the year. Charles going to night school & doing chores round during the day. Harry going to the 20th Ward Day School. Charly is very phlegmatic, Harry very emotional, passionate and ungovernable. Neither are mentally well developed for their age.³⁴

³¹Reynolds, IV, 267.

³²He recorded the entire blessing, dated April 1, 1867. (Reynolds, IV, 260-262.)

³³Reynolds, IV, 290.

³⁴Reynolds, IV, 295.

George continued his literary pursuits by writing for the new publication, the Juvenile Instructor. In the first volume he wrote thirteen articles in addition to some charades and acrostics.³⁵ He wrote in every number the following year, 1867, and kept the accounts for the editor and publisher, George Q. Cannon, his friend.³⁶ He continued to be a major author for the next few years, making over 111 contributions in the first six volumes. The variety of these articles is impressive. He wrote on natural history, geography, travel, and history, as well as writing religious essays, biographies, and lessons for youth. In style these contributions range from stories, essays, and articles to poems, charades, and acrostics.³⁷

But not all his experience was spiritual. He joined the Territorial Militia in 1866 as a private.

On the 30 Oct. I went out for 4 days Militia Training at the camp over Jordan. I was a private in T Company (Cap S. A. Wooley) 3 Batt. (Major Sheets) 1 Reg (Col Fulmer) 2 Brigade, 1 Division, Nauvoo Legion. Had a real good time, enjoyed myself much & believed it helped my health which had been quite poor during the summer³⁸

He later joined the 3rd Infantry Regiment and became

³⁵Reynolds, IV, 295.

³⁶Reynolds, IV, 259.

³⁷This information was accumulated from a study of the first six volumes of the Juvenile Instructor and an analysis of the index. ("Index, Juvenile Instructor, Vol. 1-20, 1866-1885," compiled by the Brigham Young University Library, 1954.)

³⁸Reynolds, IV, 255.

commissioned as a second lieutenant in Company H. He participated in the so-called "Wooden Gun Rebellion" in November of 1870 at the Twentieth Ward but was not arrested with most of the other officers.³⁹

George Reynolds had the distinction of being elected a regent of the University of Deseret by the Legislative Assembly when he was but twenty-seven years old.⁴⁰ He was appointed to the executive committee of that group and elected to be secretary of this special committee.⁴¹

He also was employed as an assistant editor at the Deseret News part time. The other half of each day he spent in Brigham Young's office keeping the President's individual accounts. George Q. Cannon increased his responsibilities with the paper and had George write local news and editorials. This work became especially involving during April Conference and after into May of 1869.

George's work for Brigham Young as personal secretary, correspondence secretary, and accounting clerk was also demanding. He was employed as one or the other for several months and then he would be changed to the other duty. Some of the entries describing these changes follow:

³⁹B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, V (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 353-357.

⁴⁰The letter of appointment is copied in full. (Reynolds, IV, 277.)

⁴¹Reynolds, IV, 280.

I continued to work at the President's Books until the 26 August [1868] when the President had me in the east office to act for a time as his private secretary --bro. Carrington having gone on his mission to Europe.⁴²

At the end of 1868 the president took bro D. McKenzie to attend to his private correspondence, which released me from those duties to attend to the general accounts in the president's Office.⁴³

Early in May [1870] I was transferred to the Presidents inside office again, changing positions with bro D. McKenzie.⁴⁴

At the commencement of the year [1871], the President being in Dixie, I busied myself arranging his correspondence and answering letters. On his return he changed the positions occupied by myself & bro McKenzie, I attending to the records, principally occupying myself indexing sealings, while bro MCK. went into the Presidents office, though from the fact of his frequent appearance on the boards of our theatre, he was absent a considerable portion of the time when I relieved him at his desk.⁴⁵

George worked in President Young's office for five and one-half years before he received his call in the April Conference of 1871 to fulfill another mission in England. He calculated his salary during that period at \$8,902.41, or about \$1,618.62 per year.

My account at the office was balanced by the President so I left home clear of debt to all men. I had drawn during the 5½ years (- 10 days) I had worked in the office the sum of \$8902.41 This was cancelled by services. Leaving me in debt to the Lord \$210.00 (41 days labor) tithing which I hope to pay when I get back from my mission⁴⁶

⁴²Reynolds, IV, 269.

⁴³Reynolds, IV, 277.

⁴⁴Reynolds, IV, 290.

⁴⁵Reynolds, IV, 299.

⁴⁶Reynolds, IV, 305.



Figure 4

George Reynolds at Twenty-eight

As he prepared to leave for his mission, George resigned from many of his positions.

The remainder of my time was busily occupied settling up my work and resigning the various positions that I had held in the ward and other places:--

As Superintendent of the 20 Ward Sabbath School I was succeeded by Elder William Lambourne.

As Secretary and Treasurer of the 20 Ward Co-operative store I was succeeded by Elder James Sharp.

As tithing clerk of the ward I handed my books & records over to Bishop Sharp.

As Treasurer of the North Bench Water Ditch Co I handed my business over to bro. T. Culmer

As Secretary of the 3rd Regiment [sic] I passed my books over to Adjutant Jas. Sharp.

As Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Board of Regency of the University of Deseret I, by direction of Chancellor Wells, handed my accounts over to Treasurer T. W. Ellerbeck, who directed bro R. R. Anderson to take charge of them⁴⁷

My other positions I did not resign.⁴⁸

What other positions he may have had that he did not resign are hard to determine. One, that of secretary to Brigham Young, is certain, for he returned to his employ fifteen months later, a few days after he came back from his mission to England.⁴⁹

⁴⁷After his return from the mission, he was again elected two years later to the Board of Regents in 1874. (Reynolds, V, 50.)

⁴⁸Reynolds, IV, 302-303.

⁴⁹Reynolds, V, August 27, 1872.

Chapter 5

SECOND MISSION IN ENGLAND

During the annual April Conference of the Church in 1871, Albert Carrington who was President of the European Mission, suggested the name of George Reynolds to help him with the editing of the Millennial Star published at Liverpool. The next day in the afternoon general session, George was called on another mission to England, his home country. The following day, April 10, 1871, he was set apart by Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, and Franklin D. Richards, President Woodruff being mouth.¹

George was twenty-nine at the time and had a wife and two small children living. He was also rearing his two youngest brothers, Charles and Harry, who had joined the Church and moved from England to Zion to live with him. To prepare financially for his departure, he sold part of his lot to buy clothes for himself and a washing machine and a sack of sugar for his wife. He had previously purchased a sewing machine for her so she could support herself while he was gone.

My two younger brothers I got into situations.
Charley went to work for Bro. Tuddenham and was to

¹The blessing is given in full in his journal.
(Reynolds, IV, 300-302.)

receive \$4.00 a week. Harry went to the Museum and Menagerie, under bro. Barfoot to do the chores & he received \$3.00 a week.

The kindness of my brethren & sisters enabled me to leave my wife more comfortably than I expected, and she had prospects of getting considerable work to do on her sewing machine.²

The bishop and his sons gave George some money for his journey as did other members of the ward. He was paid \$100 for his services as secretary of the ward store which also helped him on his way. He wrote:

On the Sunday previous to my departure the children of the 20th Ward Sabbath School presented me with a Silver pen holder & gold pen, and an engraving of Pres. Young framed in walnut with an inscription of affection on the back. The following is a list of some of the boys & girls who donated to this present.³

On Wednesday, May 3, he left on the 5:00 p.m. Utah Central for Ogden. He traveled by Union Pacific to Omaha where he was joined by President Carrington. They spent five days and nights on the train before they reached New York, going by way of Chicago.

After staying in New York for two days, they embarked on the mail-ship Colorado with twenty other missionaries called to labor in Europe. They passed Queenstone, England, on Sunday, May 21, 1871.

It being exactly 6 years to the very day since I passed this port going out to Utah. . . . Every thing in England looks strange, the high houses, the narrow streets, the number of dark children & particularly the office the rooms there only look half their proper size.⁴

²Reynolds, IV, 305.

³Here a list of some forty names is given (Reynolds, IV, 308.

⁴Reynolds, IV, 311.

He visited his mother and family in London and then went on to Liverpool to start his work on the Millennial Star. Number twenty-four in volume thirty-three was then in process. He spent much of his time working with the contributors and printers, editing and managing the publication for over a year. The Millennial Star at that time was a weekly publication and every Monday he made an entry saying he "got out" number so-and-so.⁵ The magazine itself is dated as of every Tuesday, so he must have referred to his own work of proofreading and final editing.

In addition to his work with the Millennial Star, he labored on the fourteenth volume of the Journal of Discourses⁶ and submitted over fifteen articles for the Juvenile Instructor.⁷ Many times during his life he was thankful that he was ambidextrous and could use both hands for writing with equal facility.⁸

Brother Cannon had commissioned him to find pictures to illustrate the last mentioned publication and George visited many printers in London and Liverpool to find

⁵See entries made almost every Monday in his Journal, from June 12, 1871, through June 24, 1872.

⁶Journal of Discourses, XIV (Liverpool, Albert Carrington, 1872), Preface.

⁷The titles are listed in his journal. (Reynolds, IV, December 31, 1871.)

⁸Statement made by Evelyn Reed Robbins, personal interview, July 20, 1970.

suitable cuts from their catalogues. He wrote the following about his calling:

The work in this office is very much like any other kind of work, one day's labor very much resembles that of its fellows. It is like laying up adobies. There is a great sameness. It lacks the interest of going round visiting the saints, proclaiming the gospel, visiting fresh scenes and forming the acquaintance of new faces, particularly here in Liverpool, where the work of the Lord has for several years been at a standstill. It is not considered wise to preach in the open air. We have no week night meetings, and we only get about twenty five saints even to the Sunday evenings meetings. So you see there is not much society or exchange. Still I am well satisfied with my calling and am striving with the aid of the Lord to do my duty and make the 'Star' interesting and instructive, and in that I have much pleasure.⁹

About one week after he arrived in Liverpool, his sister Julia, then twenty-four years old, came from London to emigrate to Utah. She had been baptized in March and George encouraged her to join her two brothers in Zion and live with his wife.¹⁰ She sailed June 21 aboard the Wyoming with 248 other saints.¹¹ This sister was particularly close

⁹George Reynolds to John Tuddenham, June 29, 1871, copy in the possession of Vessa Hood Johnson, granddaughter of George Reynolds, Springville, Utah. Reynolds collected into one volume copies of most of the letters he wrote during this second mission to England comprising 495 pages of correspondence for that year, all catalogued as to the person to whom he wrote, hereafter referred to as Reynolds Letters. Even thirty-four letters to his wife are included along with letters to his mother, daughter, brothers and sisters.

¹⁰He wrote Julia a long letter of advice about how to conduct herself on shipboard, on the railroad, and in general, adding information about the rate of exchange and his concern over whom she might meet and marry. (George Reynolds to Julia Reynolds, Reynolds Letters, June 20, 1871.)

¹¹Reynolds, IV, June 21, 1871.

to him throughout the rest of her life and was the most active in the Church of all his immediate family.¹² She did many of the sealings for their ancestors with George and stood proxy when he himself was sealed to five of their distant cousins.¹³

Not all of his time was spent with his editorial responsibilities. He frequently visited the different conferences to represent President Carrington and speak at their meetings. While on one of these assignments in Manchester, he came down with a severe case of small pox.¹⁴ As the infection got worse, he commented:

The pox continued to increase. I was very sick. Never out of my mind, but my imagination continually ran riot when I did not restrain it. . . . Sister Nancy Bagley who kept the conference house nursed me attentively. Sis Janet Cearns from the Liverpool office also coming for a week when I was at the worst.¹⁵

There seems to have been a general epidemic of small pox in England at this time.

. . . out of about a dozen or fifteen Valley elders, three have had this dread [sic] sickness during the last two months. Certainly the disease has been very prevalent. Whilst I was sick in Sulford there was one street in that borough in which there were said to be 63 cases at one time.¹⁶

¹²She died on February 25, 1894, at the age of forty-seven. (Reynolds, VI, 87.)

¹³See Appendix D.

¹⁴Reynolds, IV, August 27, 1871.

¹⁵Reynolds, IV, August 27, 1871.

¹⁶George Reynolds to S. W. Sears, Reynolds Letters, September 26, 1871.

The continued spread of the Small pox gives some of the brethren a little uneasiness. There is scarcely a town, village or hamlet free from it now in England, Wales or Ireland. In 1870 the deaths from this disease in the 17 large cities of England were something over Twelve hundred, in 1871, in these same cities the deaths amounted to more than Thirteen thousand.¹⁷

Two elders from Utah died and George himself almost succumbed at this time. He lamented that he had lost a lot of his hair which left him "slightly bald,"¹⁸ and that even his eyelashes had come out. He joked about this in some of his letters, quoting some poem he had heard, "My hair and I are quits, d'ye see First I cut it, now it cuts me."¹⁹ It was good that he had a sense of humor about it because "This was one of the most trying periods of his life"²⁰

In his journal he lamented:

I am afraid I shall not be able to go to London between this and then, as I feel bashful at showing my rough, scurvey face in public. But it is getting better each day and I hope in a week or so to be well again. I am still weak, and dreamy. The events of the past month seeming like a horrible dream, everything that took place before my sickness seeming a "heap a way" off. . . . I was in a state of dreamy stupor much of the time, caused I believe considerably by the sleeping draughts I had given me. I can understand now something of the "Reveries of an Opium eater" for my mind was always terribly active, thinking in pictures often strange and beautiful, sometimes shocking and horrible. . . . It took me quite a time for the common place

¹⁷George Reynolds to Brigham Young, Reynolds Letters, January 13, 1872.

¹⁸Reynolds, IV, October 6, 1871.

¹⁹George Reynolds to Charles Sansom, Reynolds Letters, November 21, 1871.

²⁰Alice Louise Reynolds, "Biography of George Reynolds," p. 3.

things around me to assume their real shape. Well it is all over. I am thankful I live.²¹

Upon his return to Liverpool about one month later, on September 22, 1871, the Millennial Star welcomed him back,²² and within a week he had another great responsibility thrust upon him. Albert Carrington was called by telegram to come back to Utah immediately because of the great turmoil and unrest due to the arrest of Brigham Young.²³ Apostle Carrington left the next day, September 29, 1871, on the Manhattan and George was left in charge of the European Mission.

In the Millennial Star President Carrington served notice of George's appointment:

To the Saints and All Whom It May Concern . . .
 Until further advices, Elder George Reynolds is appointed to conduct the Millennial Star and attend to the spiritual and general concerns of the European Mission
²⁴

At this time the European Mission included England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Holland, Switzerland and Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. George served as acting president until Apostle Carrington returned on May 21, 1872.²⁵

²¹George Reynolds to George Q. Cannon, Reynolds Letters, September 25, 1871.

²²Millennial Star, XXXIII (Liverpool: Albert Carrington, 1871), 618.

²³Reynolds, IV, September 28, 1871.

²⁴Millennial Star, XXXIII (October 3, 1871), 632.

²⁵Reynolds, V, May 21, 1872.

George now visited the conferences and branches more frequently and had to take care of the special problems of the entire European Mission. He was often discouraged as shown when he wrote the following:

The mission is not now full of life. The lively faithful folks are mostly gone, and those left are many of them dried up. There may be good reasons for this. Some of them I believe you understand. But it seems to me that the silent contempt and utter indifference of the outside world, and the "hush a buy baby" kind of feeling of many of the saints discourages some of the Missionaries and they feel that they can do but little good. Yet the brethren here now are a fine set of men and buckle too [sic] diligently. Still the deadening influence of carelessness and indifference has the weight with the best. They labor, travel and preach because it is their duty, not that they expect to see any immediate results of their mission, but they cast their bread upon the waters, hoping they may find it after many days.²⁶

The news of the arrest of Brigham Young stirred up a great deal of persecution in England. The "utter indifference of the outside world" that George felt was soon changed into lively interest. Many joyously prophecied the demise of "Mormonism" and others capitalized on the situation supplying sensational reading for the curious. George wrote to Apostle Teasdale, "Our newspapers here are pretty much filled with the 'End of Mormonism.'"²⁷ And to George Q. Cannon he wrote, "My anxiety is, not to print, to write or

²⁶George Reynolds to George Q. Cannon, Reynolds Letters, August 22, 1871.

²⁷George Reynolds to George Teasdale, Reynolds Letters, October 16, 1871.

publish anything unwise, untrue or impolitic, for I feel I might do much harm were I careless in this direction."²⁸

His journals and letters are full of concern during this period of his mission. One man especially seems to have provoked him.

A certain apostate named Franklin has published a penny worth of horrors which he calls his experience in Salt Lake. The Cheshire Salt Mines are the nearest he has been to our Lake. But to make it sell he advertises himself as Dr. J. B. Franklin L. L. D. (Lazy, Lousey Devil--or something worse). This helps to sell his trash, it is largely advertised in the newsvendors windows. "How our fishes swim." How would you like to be on a Mission these kind of times, with all sorts of rumors rife, and no getting at the truth²⁹

Late events have brought little Franklin to the surface. He is hawking about London a book of his experience in Utah?, price a penny, with a naked woman being flogged by Danites. Even respectable newspapers quote from his catchpenny, and one of the brethren in London wrote up a letter to the office, in which from its tenor I should judge he thought Franklin was making a good thin [sic] of it. I should think that if any liar has his part in the lake which burneth etc. there is certainly a place reserved for John Benjamin Franklin --Printer, and that his stay there will be of more than average duration.³⁰

Franklin was not the only one who made money from pandering to the public, for George observed:

I also enclose one of the miserable songs that are hawked and sung about the streets at present. There's no mistaking the drift of that. its climax is 'Five for every week day,' 'and ten for Sunday night.' These

²⁸George Reynolds to George Q. Cannon, Reynolds Letters, October 17, 1871.

²⁹George Reynolds to Charles Sansom, Reynolds Letters, November 21, 1871.

³⁰George Reynolds to John Tuddenham, Reynolds Letters, October 12, 1871.

and others are sung at the Music Halls and other places. At any rate they advertise the Gospel. A few weeks ago at the Coliseum [sic], the lowest theatre in Liverpool they had a play about Mormonism. In which Brigham Young Stabs Orson Hyde in the Temple, where he is himself afterwards shot by United States soldiers.³¹

Many other things occurred during his eight month administration as acting president of the European Mission that are worthy of comment. They are presented here in chronological order.

Commenting on a special approach to missionary work, George wrote to his friend Joseph Barfoot:

This puts me in mind of one of the queerest ways of spreading the gospel I ever heard of. A short time ago a man advertised in about a dozen of the Swiss papers that for 1½ francs he would tell any one how they could be happy, temporally and eternally. The bait took. Numbers wrote. He sent them a printed circular telling them to become Latter-day Saints, and referring them to bro Shoenfeld³² for further information. the brethren as a consequence had numerous calls and were inundated with letters. The press took up the subject and spread the tale, so E. Shoenfeld became quite an object of interest. How this odd idea will end I cannot say. Certainly it will spread a knowledge of our principles, but not in a very dignified manner. I do not know if the brethren were aware of this man's action in advertising, or whether he did it on his own responsibility as a good dodge to make money.³³

It seems that in the edition of the hymn book an error was made that attracted George's attention when he returned from his confinement in Manchester. In one letter

³¹George Reynolds to his wife Polly, Reynolds Letters, December 21, 1871.

³²President of the Swiss Conference.

³³George Reynolds to Joseph L. Barfoot, Reynolds Letters, October 10, 1871.

he observed the following:

When I was taken sick we were getting out a new edition of the Hymn Book. of course the work had to be continued during my confinement to my bed. I find that some errors have crept in. The 2nd verse of the 333rd Hymn, page 401, by Miss E. R. Snow, is, as printed, incomprehensible to me. In our edition it reads

"2. His precious blood He freely spilt--
His life He freely gave:
A sinful sacrifice for guilt,
A dying world to save."

What I do not understand is how Jesus can be called "A sinful sacrifice." If it is correct please explain it to me. If not please send me the true reading so that I may publish an erratta [sic]. When this Hymn was published, with others, in the Star, I changed the word sinful to sinless.³⁴

In November of 1871, another elder by the name of Caleb W. Haws, who had come to England with George six months before, died of small pox. George purchased silk and linen to have his burial clothes made and dressed the body in temple robes. This thirty-three year old missionary left a wife and three small children back in Utah.³⁵ He was buried in a Church of England plot at Barnsley, a town near Sheffield.

George's brother Walter who was nineteen and had been very small and sickly all his life, came to Liverpool to help in the office with the printing as an apprentice. He was baptized on November 30, 1871, shortly after his arrival. George was concerned about him and did all he

³⁴George Reynolds to John Nicholson, Reynolds Letters, October 24, 1871. Compare Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs (15th ed., Liverpool: Albert Carrington, 1871), No. 333 to the Millennial Star, XXXIII (October 3, 1871), 626.

could to be a father and counselor to the boy.³⁶ He wrote, "Walter is getting quite useful in the office. He is a queer stick. So are most of the Reynolds's."³⁷

At Christmastide George went to the Birmingham Conference and spent the holidays with the saints there. At the branch house he became so enthusiastic in one of the games that he split his trousers and did not even know it until he took off his coat later in the evening. "My coat went on again in double quick time, and I danced that set as though a ramrod was down my back."³⁸

At the end of 1871 he compiled the index for Volume thirty-three of the Millennial Star and wrote the preface which follows:

Another year, pregnant with the signs of the times, has passed away, and another volume of the Millennial Star, bearing record of the growth of the kingdom of the Father, and heralding the approach of the reign of righteousness upon the earth, is completed. May its beams, with those of its fellows that have preceded and shall come after it, shed their gleam unto that brighter day when the light of truth shall illumine every heart, and the knowledge of God enlighten every soul.

Urgent business, arising out of the unholy crusade at present being waged against the Saints, necessitated the return of our esteemed President and erudite editor to the Land of Zion, who left with us the conduct of the Star. It has been our earnest desire and constant labor to so fill its pages that the facts, truths and principles therein made manifest should resound to the glory of our Father in heaven, and to the salvation of his children on the earth, and with the hope that,

³⁶See the correspondence to his mother in the Reynolds Letters.

³⁷George Reynolds to Florence Prout, his cousin, Reynolds Letters, February 8, 1872.

³⁸George Reynolds to his wife Polly, Reynolds Letters, December 28, 1871.

according to our humble abilities, we have been measurably successful in accomplishing this object, we dedicate this, the Thirty-third Volume, to all who love the truth. George Reynolds.³⁹

At the end of 1871 twelve of the fourteen conferences reported and he recorded that there were over 7,206 members in the British Mission. Over 594 had been baptized and some 593 had emigrated. In Scandinavia there were 4,907 members with 1,020 baptized and 467 emigrating. The Swiss Mission had 597 members with 40 new baptisms, and in Holland there were only 31 members.⁴⁰

The British Mission had seventeen elders from Zion laboring there. In Scandinavia there were twelve, with five in the Swiss Mission and in Germany. In Holland there was only one missionary at the time.⁴¹

There are also five native Elders engaged in the Ministry: W. White & T. R. Green, Presidents of Conferences, and bro Hutchison, Morley and Werrett, Traveling Elders, of whom bros Hutchison and Morley are the only ones that are entirely engaged in the Vineyard & not self sustaining.⁴²

During his administration, George never did visit the conferences in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, or Scandinavia, but he had frequent correspondence with the elders there.⁴³ He did visit the saints in the British

³⁹Millennial Star, XXXIII, Preface.

⁴⁰Reynolds, IV, December 31, 1871.

⁴¹Reynolds, IV, December 31, 1871.

⁴²Reynolds, IV, December 31, 1871.

⁴³See the Reynolds Letters.

Mission, including England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, on a regular basis. He was not always pleased with what he observed.⁴⁴

"Things are not as they used to be some years ago." Many of the folks have degenerated into good old singalong sectarians. Apparently not a spark of the true living spirit of the gospel with them. They would make mighty good Methodists perhaps. They are always glad to see an elder, will give him something to eat, live good moral lives etc, but there's not the true ring about them, they are so fast asleep you can't wake them up. They have been preached to so much that they are tired of it. Well it's hard work rekindling a dying flame. Again there are quite a number, new members principally or young folks, who are alive in the work, who are interested in their religion, who are desirous of gathering to Zion, but these others lay themselves out to be carried, for they have given up all hope of effecting their own deliverance.⁴⁵

The office of the European Mission and the headquarters for the publication of the Millennial Star for many years was at 42 Islington in Liverpool. Three times in his journals and letters, George referred to a strange thing about the place.

I have a ghost story to tell you. When I was at the Office eight years ago, I heard occasional jokes that the large room on the second floor was haunted, that the servant girls had seen something there. I had also heard that some of the brethren had seen or felt something strange. But lately the ghost has turned up afresh. Walter went into the room one evening to fetch some silkworm eggs and as he stood between the bed and

⁴⁴Many of the entries now recorded in the "Manuscript History of the British Mission" during this period from June, 1871, through July, 1872, are taken from the journals of George Reynolds. One can get more detail and insight from reading his letters and his journal than from any other primary source.

⁴⁵George Reynolds to George Teasdale, Reynolds Letters, January 27, 1872.

the wall he turned round and saw a person sitting at the foot of the bed about six feet off him. Walter took up the Candle and walked out of the room, and he says the spirit turned his head and watched him as he walked out. Last Monday as Carry Brown, the cook, came out of her bed room which is opposite the haunted room, about half past six in the evening she saw what appeared to be a man about my height in the room.⁴⁶ She declares she watched it for two or three minutes, as it stood at the foot of the bedstead but it then advanced toward her and she ran down stairs, frightened. Since then I have been up several times of an evening with and without a light but as yet have seen nothing. I used to sleep in that room before bro. Carrington went away but I never saw anything though I often thought there was a miserable influence in the room, which I did not at all like.⁴⁷

Even after many months George was still not fully recovered from his infections and complications from the small pox. He first complained of a soreness in his left foot, then he began to have spells of dizziness and severe headaches.

I sometimes fancy that the Lord has given the Devil permission to trouble my body with deseases as he did Job of old. For I am scarcely two days at a time without some ailment or another.⁴⁸

Finally when Albert Carrington returned from Utah to resume his duties as President of the European Mission on

⁴⁶George Reynolds described his measurements in detail when he was twenty-nine years old and first appointed as the President of the European Mission acting for President Carrington: Height, 5 feet 6¼ inches, 36 inch chest and 33 inch waist, with a calf of 14 inches. He wrote that he weighed 146 pounds with his great coat on. (Reynolds, IV, October 27, 1871.)

⁴⁷George Reynolds to his wife Polly, Reynolds Letters, March 2, 1872. His brother Walter reported to George another scare about five months later after George had returned to Salt Lake City. (Reynolds, V, July 31, 1872.)

⁴⁸Reynolds, IV, February 29, 1872.

May 21, 1872, George went to a doctor. The doctor advised him to take a full month's rest to rid his body of the lingering poison of the small pox that was still in his system. He made arrangements to go to his mother's home in London.

All the time he had been on his mission, his wife had written to him of the poor health of their son Heber. Sometimes he would improve a little, but most of the time the news was disquieting and worried George a great deal. It is sad how George, having already lost his first son, learned of the death of this second son of his to die.

In the afternoon found a copy of the Deseret News containing a notice of the death of my little boy Heber. He died at 5:45 p.m. on the 4th inst. The funeral took place at our residence at 10 a.m. on Sunday 5th inst.⁴⁹

He received a letter the day after he read this from John Nicholson ". . . to the effect that my little boy died on the 3rd not the 4th inst."⁵⁰ This left his wife with only one living child of the three she had borne, their daughter Millie.

Because of this added tragedy along with his poor health, it was decided that he should be released and return home instead of going to his mother's in London to convalesce. On Wednesday, June 26, 1872, he left England for the last time on the Nevada with about 400 Scandinavian saints who

⁴⁹Reynolds, V, May 22, 1872.

⁵⁰Reynolds, V, May 23, 1872.

were emigrating to Zion. He had worked on the Millennial Star to the finish so he could get out number twenty-six of volume thirty-four before he left.⁵¹

The ship arrived at New York shortly before noon on Tuesday, July 9, after thirteen days at sea. George decided to cross the country with the company of saints to help them. They left Jersey City for the West by train the next day. During a stopover at Philadelphia ". . . a terrible thunder storm raged. the lightning struck the track a short distance behind the train"⁵² As they progressed toward the Utah Territory, three children died and were buried along the way.

. . . at Medicine Bow About 20 indians . . . Sioux (3 of them squaws) with their agent & interpreter came on board about 4 a.m. & rode to Cheyenne . . . on their way to Washington to see about certain treaty stipulations which had not been kept by the U.S. Government.⁵³

The company of saints arrived in Salt Lake City at 11:00 p.m. on July 17, after seven days on the train. There he was united with his wife who was waiting at the station.

A Sweet Word

There's scarce a word so dear to me,
So full of tender thought,
So laden with the bliss of life,
With love and comfort fraught

As wife, that sweet, endearing sound
That wafts my thoughts away,

⁵¹Reynolds, V, June 22, 1872.

⁵²Reynolds, V, July 10, 1872.

⁵³Reynolds, V, July 16, 1872.

To home and little ones and friends
And fondly bids them stay.

And bids my memory paint that scene,
With mountains capped with snow;
Above the brightest azure sky,
The peaceful vale below.

Where thousand streams for ever course
Beside the sun scoarched [sic] roads,
And nestling midst the orchard's shade
Peep out the saint's abodes.

Yet sweet the scene, it's beauties blessed,
Were drear, it's memories dim;
Could not the wife, so loved by me
And babes, be found therein.

George wrote this poem as a postscript to a letter he sent to his wife early in his mission.⁵⁴ He later joked with her in one letter after his salutation of "My Dear Wife," and wrote, "Business before pleasure as the man said when he sat down to dinner before whacking his wife-- Quotation from Uno-hoo."⁵⁵ In another letter, he started with this tender paragraph.

I have been thinking of you Polly all this day long, of many little incidents of our past wedded life and before we were "one flesh." Of the "Yes, George" in Florence St, the parting on the "Hudson," the 22 July 1865, of many endearments, of much love, of the pleasures of home, of the fondness of a wife, of happiness of trust and faith in those who to us are more than all the world beside, and of many other things that fond recollection will no doubt bring to your mind as to mine. Of these joys, I may say with the poet, "Oh had

⁵⁴George Reynolds to his wife Polly, Reynolds Letters, July 23, 1871.

⁵⁵George Reynolds to his wife Polly, Reynolds Letters, December 21, 1871.

I the wings of a dove, how soon I would taste them again." But it cannot be so, so I must not think too much of home, wife and babes, but wait patiently until that day dawns which in the providence of the Lord will restore us to each other.⁵⁶

At last, they were together again.

⁵⁶George Reynolds to his wife Polly, Reynolds Letters, December 28, 1871.

Chapter 6

THE LATER YEARS: AN EPILOGUE

For the first month after George Reynolds returned from his mission, he rested to restore his broken health and attended to family affairs. He accepted his first assignment on August 27, 1872, as recorder at the Endowment House and that same day was asked by Brigham Young to return to his position in the President's Office. The President wanted him to be treasurer of the Salt Lake Theatre.¹ Later in 1872 he asked George to be the general manager and supervisor of the Theatre.

You are hereby appointed to take the general supervision and management of the Theatre, during my absence from Salt Lake City this present winter and until my return, unless otherwise directed by me, and if you want any council [sic] apply to bro H. B. Clawson.²

George commented on this last sentence as follows:

This position of manager of the Theatre I found full of difficulties particularly from the amount of advice that I received from old managers who knew so much more than I did.³

George wrote that he enjoyed this assignment because

¹Reynolds, V, August 27, 1872.

²Brigham Young to George Reynolds, letter copied in the "Journal of George Reynolds." (Reynolds, V, December, 1872.)

³Reynolds, V, December, 1872.

of his great interest in the plays and productions staged there. All his life he had been a frequent visitor to the theatres--in London, in Liverpool, and in Salt Lake.⁴ In April of 1873 Brigham Young sold most of his interest in the Salt Lake Theatre to George and a Mr. Harris,⁵ but in 1878 the Quorum of the Twelve felt that the Theatre should be operated again by the Church. George was appointed as one of the committee of three to supervise it.⁶

In the Fall of 1872, George's mother wrote that she was going to join the Church and come to Utah with her two sons, Walter and Edwin. Already in George's little five-room house were his wife, his daughter, his two brothers, Charles and Harry, and his sister Julia. George arranged with his father-in-law, John Tuddenham, to build five additional rooms to the house, ". . . Two below and three above (one of which will be quite small) and he commenced work thereon on Saturday 26th [October]. It is to be Adobe with rock foundation."⁷

On August 3, 1874, George took a second wife. She was the daughter of the president of the Manchester Branch

⁴There are many entries throughout the five available volumes of the "Journal of George Reynolds" about his impression of some play or entertainment he had attended.

⁵Reynolds, V, June 18, 1873.

⁶The other two were H. B. Clawson and D. M. McKenzie. (Reynolds, V, 160.)

⁷Reynolds, V, October, 1872.

in England whom he had met during his second mission. He wrote:

. . . but being most thoroughly convinced that Plural marriage was the Law of the Lord, to fulfil [sic] that law and escape condemnation and His displeasure, in August 1874 I took a second wife . . . Miss Amelia J. Schofield. This I did conscientiously and to carry out my most deep seated religious convictions.⁸

Not two months elapsed after this polygamous union that George was asked to try that deep seated religious conviction.

On the evening of Wednesday Oct. 21st, I, accompanied by my wife Amelia visited bro Edwin Dowden, on my return, whilst passing the south side of the Temple Block I met bro Cannon, who informed me (in substance) that it had been decided among the brethren of the Presidents Council to bring a test case of the law of 1862 (Anti-polygamy Act) before the court and that it had been decided to present my name before the grand jury.⁹

The grand jury found an indictment against him and he stood trial for his church, representing it as the test case on polygamy. It was intended that this proceeding would be a friendly attempt to get at the justice and constitutionality of the law and that both parties were anxious to be fair. Judge Emerson conducted his court in this spirit. George by agreement furnished all his own witnesses, among them Orson Pratt and Daniel H. Wells. George was found guilty and sentenced to one year in prison and a \$300 fine. When he appealed the case to the

⁸George Reynolds, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. 3.

⁹Reynolds, V, 70.

Territorial Supreme Court, the first trial was declared illegal because the grand jury was composed of twenty-three men instead of the stipulated fifteen.

The second trial was much less amicable. Chief Justice White was determined to humiliate the Church and made odious comparisons of religious fanaticism he considered immoral--such as women throwing their children into the Ganges--to the practice of polygamy.¹⁰ George was found guilty again but this time sentenced to two years at hard labor and a \$500 fine.

The Territorial Supreme Court upheld the verdict and the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. George Q. Cannon, his close friend, went with him to Washington, D.C. President Cannon wrote to John Taylor of his optimism about the public interest and the expected reversal of the higher court.¹¹ On November 14, 1878, the case came before the Supreme Court. When George was found guilty by this highest court in the nation, over 32,000 petitioners from the Utah Territory tried to make their voice heard. George Q. Cannon, who felt personally responsible for this disaster to George Reynolds because he was instrumental in getting Reynolds to consent to be the test case, appealed to President Rutherford B. Hayes, then the President of the United States, to pardon George since

¹⁰Reynolds, V, 119.

¹¹The letter is quoted in Reynolds, V, 146.

his trial was a test case and he should not have to serve a prison term.¹²

None of these appeals was effective. George was sentenced seven months later on June 14, 1879, and went to prison in Lincoln, Nebraska, two days later. His beard was shaved off and his hair cut short. He suffered many other indignities as U.S. Prisoner Number 14 until he was finally transferred to the Utah Territorial Penitentiary about one month later. Here he was more respected, and he himself helped with the control of the other prisoners by starting a school among them which occupied his time and their's more profitably.¹³

But the physical discomfort was intense. In the summer the prisoners sweltered and in the winter they froze. The guards would not allow them a fire because they were afraid the prisoners would burn down the jail--this inhumanity in weather thirty degrees below zero.¹⁴ George often awakened in the morning to find his newly grown beard frozen.¹⁵ The guards did let him walk home on five special occasions for a few hours each during his incarceration: when each of his two wives had a baby and for Christmases in

¹²Reynolds, V, 177.

¹³Reynolds, V, 209.

¹⁴Reynolds, V, 202.

¹⁵Statement made by Maude Martain Ogden, personal interview, July 2, 1970.

1879 and 1880. The fifth time was to attend the funeral of one of the babies he never knew, who had been born while he was in jail.¹⁶ This child, Julia Durrant Reynolds, the eighth child of Polly, was born while he was there and died at seven months while he was still in prison.

He was given six months off of his two-year term for good behavior and was released on January 20, 1881.¹⁷ George was never bitter about this whole ordeal. In his journal he gave the facts of what was happening but never complained. He used his time very studiously in reading, especially the Old Testament and the Book of Mormon, and in writing for the Juvenile Instructor, the Contributor, and other church publications. He started some of his most important writings while in these trying circumstances.

Indeed, it was while he was in prison that he began his monumental work on the Complete Concordance to the Book of Mormon.¹⁸ Later in 1889 he wrote,

In February I finished the work of tabulating the passages from the Book of Mormon, the total being about 154,000. I then commenced to check the passages for errors or omissions¹⁹

This project altogether took him over twenty years to

¹⁶See Appendix E for more detailed information.

¹⁷Reynolds, V, January 20, 1881.

¹⁸Reynolds, V, August 28, 1880.

¹⁹Reynolds, VI, 75.

complete. B. H. Roberts in a special tribute to George Reynolds wrote:

. . . I thank him for his "Complete Concordance of the Book of Mormon." The amount of patient, pains-taking labor required for the production of this magnificent work will never be known to the general reader. Only the close student of the Nephite Scriptures will ever really appreciate it. What Cruden and Young have done for Bible students, Elder Reynolds has more abundantly done for Book of Mormon students. The Elders of the Church through all generations to come will, I am sure, feel deeply grateful to Elder Reynolds for his great work which will stand as a monument to his painstaking habits of thorough application to a task; but what is better still, the work will stand as a monument of his love for the Book of Mormon.²⁰

The great literary legacy George Reynolds left the Church, especially in his Book of Mormon studies, is one of the outstanding accomplishments of his life. In addition to the hundreds of articles he wrote for the Millennial Star, the Juvenile Instructor, the Contributor, the Liahona, and other Church publications, he was a correspondent for the Ohio Bee. He was an associate editor of the Deseret News and the Juvenile Instructor and wrote scores of the lessons for the Sunday School courses while he was associated with that organization for over thirty years.

He wrote six books that are all still published in recent editions. (See Table 6.)

He also assisted several of his associates with their literary efforts, often making major contributions to them. This is true of James E. Talmadge and his work on the

²⁰B. H. Roberts, New Witnesses for God, III (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 560.

Articles of Faith, B. H. Roberts and his work on the New Witnesses for God, and Franklin D. Richards and his work on the Compendium of Doctrines of the Gospel.

Table 6

Books by George Reynolds

Title	Year First Published
The Book of Abraham: Its Genuineness Established . . .	1879
Are We of Israel?	1883
The Myth of the "Manuscript Found"	1883
The Story of the Book of Mormon	1888
A Dictionary of the Book of Mormon	1891
A Complete Concordance to the Book of Mormon ^a	1900

^aIn the first editions this book was called by this title but now bears the title of A Complete Concordance of the Book of Mormon.

He published a comprehensive graph which put the Book of Mormon history in chart form that has been used as the basis for many of the more recent attempts to simplify that story for readers.

In the 1960's, Philip Reynolds, his son, published new editions of his works as well as collected some of his notes and articles on the Book of Mormon and the Pearl of Great Price for several volumes of commentary.

After his return from prison, George again worked as a secretary in the President's Office. His daughter Alice later wrote:

. . . he was secretary from one to a half-dozen things all his life. Golden Kimball tells us that once when he was walking up the steps of the Salt Lake Temple with him, Father said: "Golden, I fancy that when I am entering the pearly gates someone will call out, 'here comes Brother Reynolds. Let's make him secretary.'"²¹

Indeed, George was secretary of many organizations and many people. Some of his secretarial positions are shown in Table 7.

The significant things George did in the later years would make many interesting studies. One would, however, come to appreciate the great contribution this man made after the early years of preparation.

He served the Sunday School cause of the Church for over thirty-one years, administering in the highest offices in that organization with the President of the Church.

(See Table 8.)

He was called as a general authority on April 10, 1890, and served as one of the First Council of Seventy for nineteen years. His position in that quorum was between two close friends, B. H. Roberts and J. Golden Kimball. He traveled extensively, representing the Sunday School and the general authorities during this period. In addition to the many stakes in Utah that he visited, he was assigned to some

²¹Alice Louise Reynolds, "Biography of George Reynolds," p. 2.

Table 7

Some of the Secretarial Positions
Held by George Reynolds^a

General Organization or Place	Specific Organization, Person, or Title	Years Involved
Somers Town Branch	Sunday School	Late 1850s
Somers Town Branch	Tract Society	Late 1850s
British Mission	London Conference	Early 1860s
European Mission	George Q. Cannon	1863-1865
European Mission	Emigration Clerk	1864-1865
President's Office	Personal secretary to the President and secretary to the First Presidency ^b	1865-1909
Eighth Ward	Sunday School	1867
Twentieth Ward	Tithing Clerk	1860s-1871
Endowment House	Recorder	1869 & 1872
Twentieth Ward	Branch Co-operative	1869-1871
Board of Regents, University of Deseret	Executive Committee	1869-1871
Territorial Militia	Third Regiment	1870-1871
Twentieth Ward	United Order No. 1	1874

^aInformation collected from many entries in the five available volumes of the "Journal of George Reynolds."

^bGeorge Reynolds served in many capacities in the President's Office--as personal secretary to the President, as secretary to the First Presidency, keeping accounts, taking correspondence, and traveling with the President. He served with Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, and Joseph F. Smith in this capacity. His office was in the little building between the Beehive House and the Lion House on South Temple Street in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Table 7 (continued)

General Organization or Place	Specific Organization, Person, or Title	Years Involved
Twentieth Ward	Tithing and Temple Clerk	1875
Council of the Twelve	Clerk ^c	1877
Zions Savings Bank	Board of Directors	1877-1892
Gardo House	John Taylor ^d	1881-1887
	Bullion Beck and Champion Mining Co.	1885-1889
	Church Board of Education	1888-1902

^cAfter the death of Brigham Young, George Reynolds continued to work in the President's Office and acted as clerk to the Council of the Twelve although George Q. Cannon was the council's official secretary. (Reynolds, V, 137.)

^dGeorge Reynolds helped President Taylor in his personal writing. He states that he went every morning to the Gardo House at 8:30 a.m. and took dictation. He worked on the completion of Items on Priesthood, then almost finished, and during all of President Taylor's writing of The Atonement. (Reynolds, VI, 2, 6.)

of the more distant stakes, missions, and branches. His travels took him to Idaho, Wyoming, California, Denver, Omaha, Chicago, and even into old Mexico. In 1894 he tabulated his mileage for that one year at over 11,700, some 2,000 of it by team.²²

He served as secretary to the First Presidency for over forty years, working in intimate association with these men whom he considered prophets of God:

I want to bear my testimony that I have been acquainted with the Presidents of this Church intimately for many years--with Presidents Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow and Joseph F. Smith; and though in minor particulars and characteristics they differed very materially, yet they were all the men of God's choice, the men for the hour, the men whom God selected as the leaders of His people, and they all did the work that God required at their hands. They were His mouthpieces, and they accomplished that which He placed them in the position to fulfill, every one of them. They were all prepared of God to do the work assigned them, and they all did it, and did it well. Notwithstanding the differences and peculiarities of their minor characteristics, there were some certain things in which they were all alike, namely, their love for the truth, their faith in God, their willingness to listen to His word, their uncompromising devotion and integrity to God and His work, their full belief in the divine calling of the Prophet Joseph. These characterized them all, and God was with them, and He enabled them to accomplish the work which He called them to do. I want to bear this testimony and I do so because I know it is true.²³

Table 8 gives a short summary of some of the things George Reynolds accomplished in these later years, after the early years of preparation.

²²Reynolds, VI, 91.

²³Liahona: The Elders' Journal, XII (Independence: Zions Press, 1914), 337.

Table 8

Life Chronology of George Reynolds
1874-1909

His Age	Year	Date	Event
32	1874	Aug. 3	Married his second wife, Amelia Jane Schofield, who was twenty-two years old.
		Oct. 23	Was called before the Grand Jury for living in polygamy.
33	1875		Was on the City Municipal Council and served until July of 1879.
		March 31	Stood trial before Judge Emerson but the indictment was set aside.
		Oct. 30	Was indicted again.
		Dec. 9	Stood trial for the second time.
34	1876	April 15	Was elected a director of ZCMI.
		June 13	Took his appeal before the Territorial Supreme Court and the decision was upheld.
			Was called to the Deseret Sunday School Union Board and served as General Treasurer for thirty-one years.
		October	Was appointed a trustee of the Brigham Young Academy in Salt Lake City.
36	1878	Nov. 14	Stood trial before the United States Supreme Court.
37	1879	Jan. 6	Received the decision from Chief Justice Waite.
		June 14	Was sentenced to two years in prison and a \$500 fine.
		June 16	Was imprisoned at Lincoln, Nebraska.
		August	Was moved to the Utah Territorial Penitentiary.

Table 8 (continued)

His Age	Year	Date	Event
39	1881	Jan. 20	Was released from prison after a year and a half.
43	1885	April 26	Married his third wife, Mary Gulliford Goold, who was twenty-six years old.
		Dec. 17	Lost his first wife, Polly, who died at thirty-nine.
48	1890	April 10	Was called to the First Council of the Seventy and ordained by President Lorenzo Snow.
52	1894	November	Was called to the board of directors of the Utah Genealogical Society and served until 1907.
58	1900	Nov. 12	Was called as Second Assistant to the President of the Church in the Sunday School Superintendency.
59	1901	May 9	Was called as First Assistant to the President of the Church in the Sunday School Superintendency and served there until his death.
62	1904	Jan. 12	Testified at the Smoot hearings in Washington, D.C.
65	1907		Had a general breakdown. ^a
66	1908	March 31	Lost his second wife, Amelia, who died at fifty-six.
67	1909	Aug. 9	Died in Salt Lake City, Utah.

^aIt is almost impossible to determine just what this complete breakdown was. At the time, it was diagnosed as a nervous breakdown caused by the great pressures he was under, but many in the family feel that it was a series of strokes, not understood at the time. The incidence of high blood pressure in his descendants is remarkably high and nearly half of his children, at least twelve of them, who grew to maturity died of strokes. Three other children did have nervous breakdowns. (This information is a general consensus from the several interviews conducted with his living children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.)

All his life George was a shy man who avoided public attention and fanfare. He often teased his children in bravado saying that when he died things would be different and there would be bands playing and flags waving.²⁴ This jest came to be a prophecy. The Grand Army of the Republic had its thirty-fourth encampment in Salt Lake City that started on the very day he died. Over 20,000 visitors swelled the city. Bands were playing, flags were waving, and parades thronged the streets all week. Their meetings were held on Temple Square in the Tabernacle and the Assembly Hall; so the family and friends of George Reynolds, one of the general authorities who normally would have had his funeral there, paid their last respects to him in Barratt Hall, across the street. The speakers were his close associates B. H. Roberts, Seymour B. Young, Rulon S. Wells, Joseph W. McMurrin, John R. Winder, Heber J. Grant, and President Joseph F. Smith. The pallbearers were the presidents of the seventies.²⁵

It is hard to say for what George Reynolds will best be remembered--his trial before the Supreme Court of the United States, his service as a general authority, his labors in the Sunday School organization, his close

²⁴Statement made by Polly Reynolds Hardy, personal interviews.

²⁵Deseret Evening News [Salt Lake City], August 12, 1909, p. 1.

association with five presidents of the Church as secretary to the First Presidency, or his literary accomplishments. All of these bespeak his great faith, his complete devotion, and his unwaivering testimony of the divinity of the work to which he gave himself for a lifetime.

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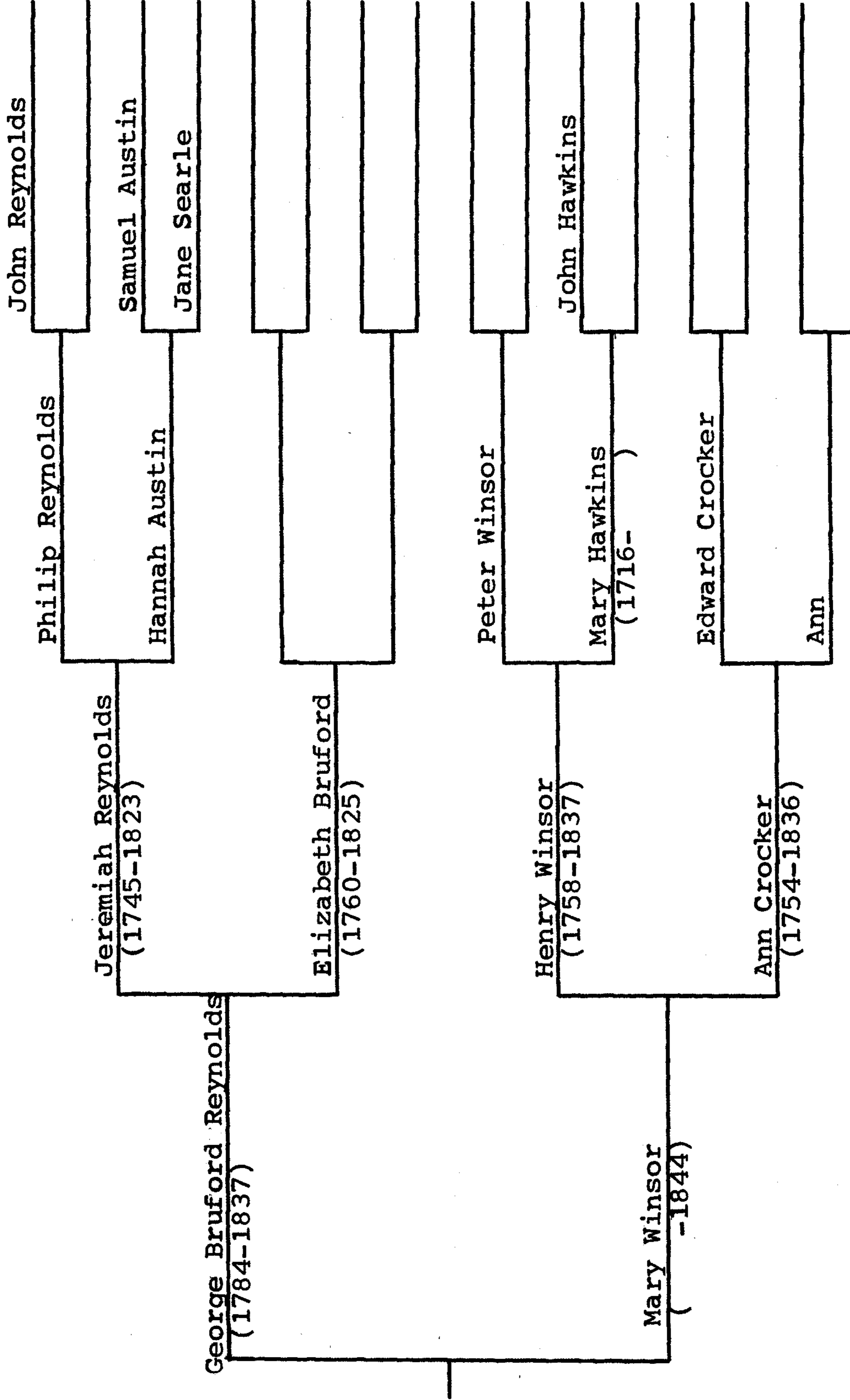
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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

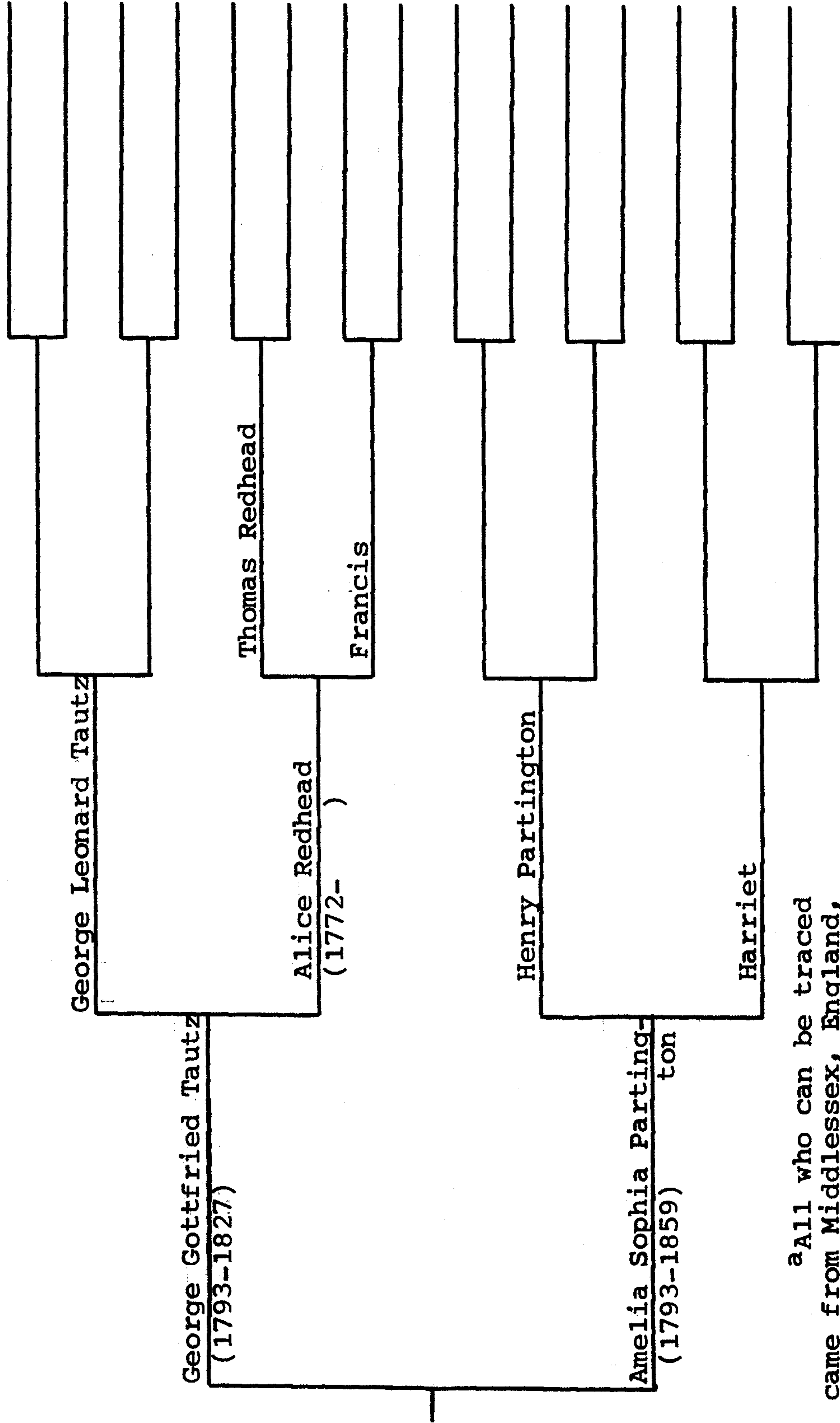
The Ancestors of George Reynolds' Father, George Reynolds^a



^aAll who can be traced came from Totnes, Devonshire, England.

APPENDIX B

The Ancestors of George Reynolds' Mother, Julia Ann Tautz Reynolds^a



^aAll who can be traced came from Middlesex, England, except Alice Redhead, from London, England.

APPENDIX C

The Family of George Reynolds^a

Name of Family Member (Whom Married)	Relation- ship	Date Born (Date Died)	Age at Death	Relationship to the Church
George Reynolds (Julia Ann Tautz)	Father	12 September 1812 (17 November 1862)	50	Never joined the Church. Died six years after his son, George, joined.
Julia Ann Tautz (George Reynolds)	Mother	26 June 1819 (14 July 1881)	62	Joined the Church in 1872 and came to Utah in 1873. Returned to England in 1875 with her two sons Edwin and Harry. Inactive.
Frederick Reynolds	Brother	1840 (1840)	Infant	Died three days after his birth.
George Reynolds (Mary Ann Tuddenham) (Amelia Jane Schofield) (Mary Gulliford Goold)	Subject	1 January 1842 (9 August 1909)	67	Subject of this thesis.
Arthur Reynolds (Eliza Snowdown)	Brother	17 May 1844 (1 July 1912)	68	Never joined the Church or visited Utah.
Julia Ann Reynolds (James Evans)	Sister	19 December 1847 (25 February 1894)	47	Joined the Church and came to Utah in 1871. Active in temple work. Married in polygamy at thirty-six.

Appendix C (continued)

Name of Family Member (Whom Married)	Relation- ship	Date Born (Date Died)	Age at Death	Relationship to the Church
Stephen Reynolds	Brother	17 April 1849 (8 December 1868)	19	Never joined the Church. Died three years after his brother, George, emigrated.
Amelia Sarah Reynolds (Thomas Keep)	Sister	9 March 1850 (10 August 1886)	36	Never joined the Church or visited Utah.
Walter Reynolds (Emma Jane Brown)	Brother	12 December 1852 (1 September 1902)	50	Joined the Church in 1871 and came to Utah two years later with his mother.
Edwin Reynolds	Brother	20 June 1854 (11 October 1883)	29	Joined the Church in 1873 and came to Utah with his mother that same year. Returned with her to England in 1875, but came back in 1882 after she died. He died within a year of his return.
Charles Reynolds (Annie McHolland)	Brother	27 May 1856 (27 December 1923)	67	Joined the Church and came to Utah in 1870.
Henry (Harry) Groves Reynolds (Emma Lancaster)	Brother	4 May 1858 (3 March 1903)	45	Joined the Church and came to Utah in 1870. Returned with his mother to England in 1875, but came back after she died.

Appendix C (continued)

Name of Family Member (Whom Married)	Relation- ship	Date Born (Date Died)	Age at Death	Relationship to the Church
Ann Reynolds	Sister	14 October 1860 (25 December 1862)	2	Died as a small child.

^aInformation accumulated from many entries throughout five available volumes of the "Journal of George Reynolds."

APPENDIX D

The Wives of George Reynolds^a

Name of Wife	Age When Married	Date Married or Sealed (Marriage Performed by)	Special Comments
Mary Ann Tuddenham	19	July 22, 1865 (Heber C. Kimball)	First living wife, who had eleven children by him and one miscarriage.
Rosalie Cundle	Dead ^b	February 24, 1873 (Daniel H. Wells)	Second cousin and childhood sweetheart who was never married in this life.
Alice Tautz	Dead ^b	February 24, 1873 (Daniel H. Wells)	Distant cousin who never married in this life.
Kate Tautz	Dead ^b	February 24, 1873 (Daniel H. Wells)	Distant cousin who never married in this life.
Eliza Ann Tautz	Dead ^b	February 24, 1873 (Daniel H. Wells)	Distant cousin who never married in this life.
Henrette Francis Tautz	Dead ^b	February 24, 1873 (Daniel H. Wells)	Distant cousin who had been married to someone else while living.
Amelia Jane Schofield	22	August 3, 1874 (Daniel H. Wells)	Second living wife who had twelve children by him and one miscarriage.
Mary Gulliford Goold	26	April 26, 1885 (Angus M. Cannon)	Third living wife who had nine children by him and five miscarriages.

Appendix D (continued)

Name of Wife	Age When Married	Date Married or Sealed (Marriage Performed by)	Special Comments
Amelia Ann Goold	Dead ^b	January 25, 1888 (M. W. Merrill)	Sister to his third wife who had requested to be married to him when she became old enough, but she died at age fifteen. Mary Goold was proxy for her sister.

^aInformation obtained from several entries in the five available volumes of the "Journal of George Reynolds."

^bJulia Ann Reynolds, sister to George Reynolds, was proxy and Joseph F. Smith was witness for these five sealings.

WIVES OF GEORGE REYNOLDS



Figure 5

Mary Ann Tuddenham
Reynolds



Figure 6

Amelia Jane Schofield
Reynolds



Figure 7

Mary Gulliford Goold
Reynolds

APPENDIX E

The Children of George Reynolds^a

Order of Child	Given Names (Called)	Name of Mother (Order of Child for Her)	Date of Birth (Date of Death)	Age at Death	Names of Spouse (Date Married)	No. of Children
1	George Tuddenham (Georgy)	Mary Ann Tuddenham Reynolds, hereafter called Polly. (First child)	May 27, 1866 (Sept. 30, 1867)	16 mo.		
2	Amelia Emily (Millie)	Polly (Second child)	Jan. 5, 1868 (July 29, 1943)	75	Ed (John) Hogan ^b (Aug. 27, 1888) Charles T. Martain (Aug. 29, 1896)	10
3	Heber Tuddenham (Heber)	Polly (Third child)	July 12, 1870 (May 3, 1872) ^c	22 mo.		
4	Alice Louise (Alice)	Polly (Fourth child)	April 1, 1873 (Dec. 5, 1936)	65	George Albert Smith (Sealed after her death in 1938) ^d	
5	Florence Mary (Flory or Flo)	Polly (Fifth child)	July 13, 1874 (Nov. 26, 1932)	58	Benjamin Cluff, Jr. ^e (1895 or 1899) ^f	6

Appendix E (continued)

Order of Child	Given Names (Called)	Name of Mother (Order of Child for Her)	Date of Birth (Date of Death)	Age at Death	Names of Spouses (Date Married)	No. of Children
6	Sidney Schofield (Sid)	Amelia Jane Schofield Reynolds, hereafter called Amelia. (First child)	July 6, 1875 (March 3, 1933)	58	Mary Maude Davis (June 26, 1901)	6
7	Amy Tautz (Amy or Am)	Polly (Sixth child)	April 16, 1876 (July 29, 1955)	79	Peter Neal Hood ^b (May 26, 1904) John William Donaldson ^g (1911) Edward Anthon (about 1950)	4 3 0
8	Marion Groves (May)	Amelia (Second child)	Nov. 7, 1876 (Aug. 2, 1952)	76	Charles Woolfipden ^f (1895 or 1907)	5
9	Charles Hewett (Charlie)	Amelia (Third child)	June 6, 1878 (Oct. 31, 1879)	16 mo.		4
10	Eleanor Elizabeth (Nellie or Nel)	Polly (Seventh child)	Sept. 21, 1878 (Jan. 28, 1920)	42	William Harmer (June 10, 1903)	6
11	Julia Durrant (Julia)	Polly (Eighth child)	Dec. 17, 1879 ^h (July 21, 1880) ⁱ	7 mo.		

Appendix E (continued)

Order of Child	Given Names (Called)	Name of Mother (Order of child for her)	Date of Birth (Date of Death)	Age at Death	Names of Spouses (Date Married)	No. of Children
12	Susannah Alberta (Bertie or Bert)	Amelia (Fourth child)	Feb. 9, 1880 ^h (March 31, 1941)	61	John H. Russell (Sept. 20, 1900)	7
13	George Bruford (George)	Amelia (Fifth child)	Oct. 21, 1881 (Jan. 25, 1937)	56	Eleanor Jensen ^j (Dec. 18, 1907)	2
14	John Leslie (John)	Polly (Ninth child)	Nov. 11, 1881 (Nov. 28, 1933)	52	Belva Fisher ^g (June 25, 1909) Elizabeth Wilson (June 22, 1926)	2
15	Edwin Don Carlos (Carl)	Amelia (Sixth child)	Sept. 28, 1883 (Jan. 23, 1937)	53	Violet Goodfellow ^b (Date unknown)	1
16	Harold Godfrey (Harold)	Polly (Tenth child)	Nov. 18, 1883 (April 1, 1940)	56	Ann Amelia Howarth (June 23, 1911)	4
17	Willard Hyrum (Bish)	Amelia (Seventh child)	June 26, 1885 (Nov. 26, 1939)	54	Eve Pyper ^k (June, 1907) ^b	4
18	Herbert (Herbert)	Polly (Eleventh child)	Dec. 11, 1885 (Dec. 12, 1885) ^l	1 day		
19	Georgia Ann (Georgia)	Mary Gulliford Goold Reynolds, hereafter called Mary. (First child)	July 10, 1886 (Jan. 31, 1966)	80	Frank M. Gibson (Aug. 23, 1911)	3

Appendix E (continued)

Order of Child	Given Names (Called)	Name of Mother (Order of child for her)	Date of Birth (Date of Death)	Age at Death	Names of Spouses (Date Married)	No. of Children
20	Nephi Winsor (Nephi)	Amelia (Eighth child)	Aug. 13, 1887 (Oct. 20, 1940)	53	Bertha Hardy (Aug. 17, 1908)	2
21	Polly Anatroth (Polly)	Mary (Second child)	May 11, 1888 (Sept. 5, 1959)	71	T. Fred Hardy (Sept. 25, 1914)	4
22	Ethel Georgina (Ethel)	Amelia (Ninth child)	Aug. 23, 1889 (Aug. 26, 1937)	48	Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr. ^m (Nov. 2, 1908)	9
23	Philip Caswallon (Phil or Cas)	Mary (Third child)	July 24, 1890 (Jan. 12, 1966)	76	Lila Sjudahl King ⁿ (March 19, 1919)	2
24	Josephine Edna (Josephine or Jo)	Amelia (Tenth child)	Aug. 21, 1891 (May 16, 1960)	69	Clarence W. Burningham (Oct. 2, 1914)	11
25	Gwendolyn (Gwen)	Mary (Fourth child)	Dec. 30, 1891 (March 6, 1895)	4		
26	Rosalie Temple (Rosalie)	Mary (Fifth child)	Oct. 5, 1893 (May 15, 1917)	24		
27	Bruford Alan (Bru)	Amelia (Eleventh child)	March 20, 1895 (Oct. 16, 1947)	52	Zella Scott (Sept. 22, 1916)	2

Appendix E (continued)

Order of Child	Given Names (Called)	Name of Mother (Order of Child for her)	Date of Birth (Date of Death)	Age at Death	Names of Spouses (Date Married)	No. of Children
28	Julia Adelaide (Jewell)	Mary (Sixth child)	Aug. 16, 1895 (Living) ^o		Joseph Romney Brain ^b (June 4, 1915)	3
29	George Gordon (Gordon)	Mary (Seventh child)	Sept. 6, 1897 (Living) ^o		Helen Winters (Dec. 29, 1948)	0
30	Olive Gertrude (Gertrude)	Amelia (Twelfth child)	Aug. 24, 1898 (Living) ^o		Harlan M. Adams ^b (Oct., 1931)	0
31	Arthur Reed (Art)	Mary (Eighth child)	May 24, 1900 (Living) ^o		Jannette Cox ^g (Nov. 27, 1920) Charlotte Riter (March 6, 1958)	3 0
32	Clifford Meredith (Cliff)	Mary (Ninth child)	June 22, 1903 ^p (Living) ^o		Lucille Herber ^b (July 1, 1925) Gladys M. Nelson (Sept. 26, 1929)	1 2

Other Interesting Facts

George Reynolds had sixteen sons and sixteen daughters. At the time of his death, twelve sons and fourteen daughters, twenty-six of the thirty-two, were living.

Polly had a miscarriage between her second and third child in 1869.^q

Appendix E (continued)

Other Interesting Facts

Amelia had a miscarriage between her seventh and eighth child in 1886.

Mary had five miscarriages--three before her first child in 1885, one between her first and second children in 1887, and one between her second and third child in 1889.

Polly lost four children in infancy; Amelia, one; and Mary, one.

Seven of George Reynolds' sons fulfilled missions for the Church--Sid, George, John, Harold, Bish, Phil, and Cliff. Also two of his daughters, Nel and Polly, served as missionaries or guides on Temple Square for many years each.

George Reynolds had 104 grandchildren--37 from Polly's family, 49 from Amelia's family, and 18 from Mary's family.

^aInformation gathered from many entries in the five available volumes of the Journal of George Reynolds and from interviews with living children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren who supplied dates and particulars.

^bDivorced.

^cDied while George Reynolds was on his mission in England.

^dInformation obtained from Evelyn Reed Robbins, oldest great-grandchild of George Reynolds (Evelyn is the oldest daughter of the oldest daughter, Mary Martain Reed, of the oldest daughter, Millie, of George Reynolds), personal interview, July 20, 1970. This information was confirmed by an interview with Ruth Hardy Funk, grandchild and daughter of Polly, another daughter of George Reynolds. Polly stood for her deceased sister Alice in the temple as proxy in this sealing to Brother Smith,

Appendix E (continued)

who was then a member of the Quorum of the Twelve and later became the eighth President of the Church.

^eFirst President of the Brigham Young Academy.

^fThe exact date of this marriage was not recorded because it was a polygamous union solemnized after 1890.

^gDied.

^hBorn while George Reynolds was in prison.

ⁱDied while George Reynolds was in prison.

^jDaughter of Andrew Jensen, Church Historian.

^kDaughter of George Pyper, Church musician.

^lPolly, George Reynolds' first wife, died five days later. Herbert was wrapped in a sheet and put out on the window sill so he could be buried with his mother, who it was expected would die because of her very trying delivery. They buried him two days later and then when his mother did die on December 17, 1885, his body was exhumed and buried with her. (Statement made by Mary Gibson Turner, granddaughter of George Reynolds, personal interview, August 15, 1970.)

^mA member of the Quorum of the Twelve at the time, who later became tenth President of the Church.

ⁿDaughter of Janne M. Sjordahl, Church writer.

^oLiving at the time of this writing, Summer, 1971.

Appendix E (continued)

P This last child was born when George Reynolds was in his sixty-second year.

Q George Reynolds made record of miscarriages in his journals as he did of all the births of his children.



Figure 9

George Reynolds on the Anniversary of His Sixty-fifth Birthday
with His Twelve Living Sons