1988

Thomas Bullock: A Man Doing His Duty

Jerald F. Simon

Brigham Young University - Provo

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd

Part of the Cultural History Commons, and the Mormon Studies Commons

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/5111

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.
March 14, 1988

David J. Whittaker
5030 HBLL
BYU Campus

Dear David:

I am happy to report that Jerry Simon’s manuscript "Thomas Bullock as an Early Mormon Historian" has been accepted for publication in BYU Studies. We expect to publish it in volume 28, which will bear the date of 1988.

Sincerely,

Edward A. Geary
Editor
THOMAS BULLOCK: A MAN DOING HIS DUTY

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

© Jerald F. Simon 1988

by
Jerald F. Simon
August 1988
This thesis by Jerald F. Simon is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the Master of Arts.

David J. Whittaker, Committee Chairman

Dean C. Jessee, Committee Member

4-19-88
Date

Paul B. Pixton, Department Chairman
Thomas Bullock was intimately associated with leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for more than twenty-five years. He served twenty-one years in the Church Historian's office and also clerked in many city, county, and territorial positions, acting as scribe, clerk, and personal secretary to Joseph Smith Jr., Brigham Young, Willard Richards, and the Twelve Apostles. During this time he was privy to important events of late Nauvoo and early Utah Mormon history. His was a critical role in not only recording the history, but also in the gathering and preservation of historical documents. As a clerk Bullock frequently referred to himself as a man who was "doing my duty," and he surely fulfilled in his life the revelatory injunction: "It is the duty of the Lord's clerk, whom he has appointed, to keep a history, and a general record of all things that transpire in Zion." This essay will focus on how well Thomas Bullock fulfilled the duties he was given, particularly as they relate to his contributions to Mormon historiography.

A Biographical Sketch

When Joseph Smith Jr., was celebrating his eleventh birthday, across the ocean in Leek, Staffordshire, England, Thomas Bullock was born, December 23, 1816, the ninth child of Thomas Bullock and Mary Hall. Very little is known about his early childhood. It is known that he attended school and was considered to be the second best scholar in his class when he
left school at age 13 to become a clerk in the law office of John
Cruso, in 1830.4 Bullock worked there until 1838 when he was
hired as an Excise Officer. In this capacity he inspected and
rated articles liable to excise tax, sometimes referring to
himself as "One of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria's Officers of
Excise."5 He was small in stature and sometimes was referred to
as "little Tommy Bullock."6.

Thomas married Henrietta Rushton, also of Leek, on June 23,
1838, after at least five years of courting.7 They were baptized
into the LDS Church three years later on November 20, 1841.8
Bullock continued as an exciseman and labored as a lay missionary
for the Church before departing for America on the ship Yorkshire
in March of 1843. Enroute to America, Bullock who supervised
the eighty-three emigrating Saints, prophesied that
"the hull of the vessel" would carry them safe to New Orleans.
After a severe storm at sea, the vessel nearly capsized as the
masts snapped in two, leaving nothing but the hull, fulfilling
Bullock's prophecy.9 At New Orleans they boarded the steamboat
Amaranth, and they arrived at Nauvoo, Illinois on May 31, 1843.10

In the late Fall of the same year Bullock was employed as a
clerk to Joseph Smith. He served as a letter copiest, clerk of
the April 1844 General Conference, clerk of the steamboat, Maid
of Iowa, and clerk of the Nauvoo lodge of the Masonic Order. In
Nauvoo he later labored as Deputy City Recorder, clerk to Church
Historian, Willard Richards, and as clerk of the Council of
Fifty, a position he held from 1846 to 1882.11 As a trusted
observer, Bullock was assigned by Brigham Young to remain and
record the events of the last days in Nauvoo after the main body of Saints departed during the frozen February 1846 exodus.

In Nauvoo, on January 25, 1846, Thomas married a second wife, Lucy Clayton, sister of William Clayton, another noted clerk, recorder, and secretary to Church leaders. The recent acquisition of Bullock's 1845-46 Nauvoo diary clearly depicts the dismal demise of the "city beautiful." In the Fall of 1846, after the remnants of Nauvoo had been driven to the western banks of the Mississippi River, it is Thomas Bullock's pen that recorded in greatest detail the miracle of the quail and the westward migration of the "Poor Camp."

When Bullock arrived at Winter Quarters he continued his duties for Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles. Thomas was chosen as clerk of the vanguard company of pioneers which departed for the Great Salt Lake Valley in April 1847. In August of the same year, he continued as clerk for the company returning to Winter Quarters. The following Spring he served as a clerk of the camp headed by Brigham Young.

In the Salt Lake Valley Bullock was kept busy by doing the following: He drew plats of the city for the Land office, assisted in the establishment of the monetary system used in the valley, and was the first proof-reader for the Deseret News. He recorded for the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Co., was Chief Clerk of the Territorial House of Representatives, acted as census taker, Recorder for Salt Lake County, clerk for Brigham Young's exploration parties, and secretary of the Nauvoo Legion of Utah (He rose to the rank of Lt. Colonel in the Nauvoo
Legion prior to his mission call to England). He authored an Emigrant's Guide, was Inspector of Liquors for the Territory, was President of the Twenty-Seventh Quorum of Seventies, helped divide the valley into wards, was instrumental in copying and creating maps of the region, and continued clerking for Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles. In addition to these responsibilities, Thomas helped organize the first Utah Library, was a member of the Deseret Theological Institute, and Home Secretary of the Deseret Horticultural Society. He was frequently consulted on horticultural matters, a scientific area in which many considered him an expert. He was also involved with the pioneer theatre as a prompter, was an ardent reader, served on the Board of Regents of the Deseret University and was appointed by the Board to examine school teachers.14

Thomas married a third wife, Betsy Prudence Howard, on December 9, 1852.15 From 1856 to 1858 he served as a missionary in his native land of England. He was the father of twenty-three children, though only thirteen lived to adulthood.16 After his mission he continued working in the Historian's Office until 1865 when he was assigned to work in the courts and county government in Summit County. He served as Summit Stake Clerk, Historian, and General Recorder from 1879 to 1885.

On February 10, 1885, Thomas Bullock passed away at his Coalville home without prolonged illness, at the age of sixty-eight.17

American Historiography Before 1860
Before examining Thomas Bullock's role as a Mormon historian, it would be well to briefly review American historiography from 1840 to 1860, when Bullock's main contributions were rendered. Thus, his work can be interpreted against the backdrop of this era.

The earliest attempts at historical writing in the New World were initiated by the Puritan religious leaders. A strong sense of dependence upon and acknowledgement of Divine intervention were prevalent themes in the seventeenth century. After the time of the Revolutionary War, European historical writers were being influenced more by the new awareness as fostered in the ideas of the age of enlightenment, the advance of machines, particularly printing presses, and the initial beginnings of humanism.

Early nineteenth century American historians however, were men fired with a patriotic zeal and love for their land. As feelings of Nationalism and Manifest Destiny swelled, their pens were instrumental in forging a unique history of America. From about 1775 to 1830, some American historical writers were affected by the Germanic influence of Historicism which was the belief "that anything in the present must be understood primarily in terms of its historical development, the belief that the past makes and is the primary means of understanding the present." Another German influence was Volksgeist, which was the idea that "a distinct history created a distinct people." American historians such as Jared Sparks, Francis Parkman, Washington Irving, William H. Prescott, and George Bancroft combined these ideologies with a concern for the relatively short
time period of American History they wrote of, which resulted in historical writings emphasizing stronger patriotic bonds and neglect of most history outside of the New World. These historians believed in common sense and maintained a sense of God in their writings, a style which "never fully embraced Enlightenment skepticism."20 Most of these historians wrote for the benefit of mankind: they had a sense of service or a meaningful mission to perform. Historians of this era have since been referred to as Patricians, because patriotism was in part the purpose of their preservation of the past.

American historians of the early nineteenth century were interested in making their histories read as smoothly as the novels of the great authors of the era, particularly emulating the likes of Sir Walter Scott of England. Historical editors were generally college educated, mature men with time and leisure. Besides history, some of their reading interests were poetry, novels, and plays. Character development was an essential function of their writing. History as an academic study was a fledgling field and college educated historians would not emerge in America until the late 1800's. To many of the early nineteenth century historians, money was not a motivating factor in their historical writing.21 They espoused the virtues of honesty, accuracy, and thoroughness, yet in contrast, practiced plagiarism, used literary license to alter or conjure up events to make the story flow.22 Compilers in this era gave great detail to minutiae, often writing vivid scenes in a simple, natural use of words, filled with much expression. It
was common to write long flowing sentences. Not only were long sentences the standard, but reviewers of histories "began to talk of a documentary history as the only real way in which history was written." 23

The people of the new nation seemed to thrive on discovering portions of the past. Historical books became best sellers, newspapers frequently carried chronicles of yesteryear, and Historical and Genealogical societies grew and flourished, particularly after 1836, the year the ancient prophet, Elijah, was said to have visited the Prophet Joseph Smith in the Kirtland Temple restoring the Keys of "turning the hearts of the children to their fathers." 24 Antiquarianism, the collecting and studying of historical documents, rose dramatically. Historical editors, in reality, were compilers and creators of literary histories, not necessarily rooted in total factual accuracy. These editors not only corrected grammatical errors, but sometimes developed speeches or comments from fragments of phrases to portray the historical figure in what they thought the best way possible.

Until the time of the Civil War, "people trusted that a careful editing not only made documents more interesting to the reader and fairer to the original author but also more accurate in recreating the past." 25 There was little perceived difference between the work of an author and that of a compiler or editor.

The Beginnings of Joseph Smith's History

When the Church was organized on April 6, 1830, it was revealed "there shall be a record kept among you." 26 This was more easily said than done, as persecution, moving to Ohio,
Missouri, and Illinois, going on missions, building temples, providing for basic needs and avoiding mobs were but a few of the numerous intrusions that deterred the work. Keeping in line with the practice of the time, Joseph Smith called on various clerks, who functioned as literary or historical editors. When John Whitmer was designated to "keep a regular history" in March of 1831, and assist Joseph Smith, unlike other historians of the day, the Church history was to "be given him, inasmuch as he is faithful, by the Comforter."27 Eight months later Whitmer was told to "continue in writing and making a history of important things...writing, copying, selecting, and obtaining all things which shall be for the good of the Church and for the rising generation."28 Similar counsel was rendered in November 1832, which expanded the scope of the clerk's "duty" to include keeping records of "apostates who apostacize after receiving their inheritances." Church clerks would know what to record because it would again be given by "the still small voice, which whispereth through and pierceth all things."29

As the practice of baptism for the dead was commencing in Nauvoo, it was revealed "let there be a recorder, and let him be eye-witness of your baptisms...That in all your recordings it may be recorded in Heaven."30 To Joseph Smith the command to "keep a record" took on additional meaning after 1835, when he stated, "If I now had in my possession, every decision which had been had upon important items of doctrine and duties since the commencement of this work, I would not part with them for any sum of money."31 After the Liberty jail experience of the winter of
1838-39, Joseph demonstrated a renewed sense of urgency for the compilation of his personal history. A month before his death, he commented on one of his concerns about the history. As recorded by Thomas Bullock, Joseph said:

For the last three years I have a record of all my acts and proceedings; for I have kept several good, faithful, and efficient clerks in constant employ; they have accompanied me everywhere, and carefully kept my history, and they have written down what I have done, where I have been, and what I have said; therefore my enemies cannot charge me with any day, time, or place, but what I have written testimony to prove my actions, and my enemies cannot prove anything against me.

Not only is a reason for employing the various clerks, outlined, but this quotation contains 86 words which could possibly have been stated in four separate sentences. Keeping with the style of the day, however, Bullock wrote a lengthy flowing sentence.

Many of Joseph's clerks apostatized or died in office, which resulted in problems of continuity. Calling Willard Richards as a personal secretary and Church Historian, brought a man with a sense of purpose and direction who had an indefatigable drive and dedication to completing Joseph's history. Shortly after Richards began his work on the history, twenty-seven year old Thomas Bullock would significantly assist him.

Thomas Bullock arrived in Nauvoo in the Summer of 1843, bringing with him not only the professional training of a law and Customs clerk, but also spiritually prepared to sit at the feet of the leading men of the Kingdom. He seemed to thrive on accurate accounts and had a penchant for precision which perhaps was acquired as a law clerk and exciseman. Before emigrating to America, Bullock had risen to the position of Supervisor in his
profession. He referred to himself as a former High Churchman in
the Anglican Church, who when 22 years of age was praying that
his family "may together be making so our calling and our
election sure." Furthermore he said, "I always pray to my God,
so to direct and govern me that I may likewise so govern and
direct my family in the right way to heaven."35

Within five months of his arrival in Nauvoo, Bullock was
clerking for Joseph and Willard. The clerks involved in
the compilation of the "History of Joseph Smith" took a very
active role in collecting materials, and contributing to the
written history. Herein lies perhaps Thomas Bullock's most
significant contribution to Mormon historical writings.

Thomas Bullock as a Record Keeper/Historian

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had been in
operation for thirteen years before Thomas and Henrietta Bullock
and their three children came to Nauvoo. Though Thomas only
served nine months as a scribe to the Prophet Joseph, his records
are some of the most valuable ones written before the martyrdom.
By nature of his position as clerk for Joseph, he was frequently
with the Prophet. Later, when the history was continued after
Joseph's death, Church Historian, Willard Richards, and his
successor, George A. Smith, relied heavily on Bullock's memory
and notes.

Bullock's 1845 journal entries show him collecting, copying,
and filing items for the history, sometimes spending an entire
day or week working on nothing else. On March 15, 1845
Thomas stated briefly, "I have written fifty-six pages the
last seven days—finished the year 1839." One week later he penned: "I was writing history all day—finished 1840."37 Ten of Richards' journal entries between February 22, 1845 and April 30, 1845 simply said "History."38 By August 20, 1845 the "manuscript history of the Church" was completed through 1842.

Previous to Willard Richards' appointment as Church Historian, a total of 157 manuscript pages of Joseph's history were written. In the six months before Bullock arrived in Nauvoo Richards penned 114 pages. By the time Bullock began clerking for Joseph, Richards had written a total of 394 pages, and at the Prophet's death he had tallied 655 pages. After the martyrdom on June 27, 1844 until February 4, 1846, Bullock had completed 674 pages of the Church's history.39 Richards and Bullock wrote over eight times as much material in a little over half the time that the previous clerks had written on the history.40 Often Richards and Bullock spent twelve or more hours a day in this marathon writing routine.

When the Historian's office papers and books were packed on February 4, 1846, previous to the exodus, Bullock not only assisted in the packing process, but indexed and inventoried the materials leaving with Richards. In May of 1848 as Brigham's company left Winter Quarters for the Salt Lake Valley, Bullock drove the "Big Wagon" carrying the Church records. When the load was too heavy, he helped cache some of the records, which would later be brought by another company. As the records were unpacked in the Salt Lake Valley by Willard Richards, Bullock was
again there to assist him. In the Salt Lake Valley, Bullock and Richards had so many responsibilities it was not until December 1, 1853 that Richards "wrote one line of the History being sick at the time—and was never able to do anymore."41

From 1854 to 1856, Church Historian George A. Smith, his chief clerk, Bullock, and five other clerks constantly compiled and rigorously wrote in the history. Although the final years of the manuscript of the History were in the handwriting of clerks Robert Campbell, Jonathan Grimshaw, and Leo Hawkins, George A. Smith noted in a letter to Wilford Woodruff that he had "filled up all the reports of sermons by President Joseph Smith and others from minutes or sketches taken at the time in long hand by Dr. Richards, Wilford Woodruff, Thomas Bullock, William Clayton, Miss Eliza R. Snow & c." Furthermore, Smith indicated "there were mostly only two or three words (about half written) to a sentence." From these accounts they produced "878 pages, averaging 700 words to a page, written in the large History Books."42 He mentioned to Woodruff the vital role Bullock played in this compilation.

Thomas Bullock acted with me as chief clerk, being a clerk in the history office previous to, and at the time of Prest. Smith's death, and has continued in it ever since. His pen wrote the principal part of the rough manuscript from my dictation, and his acquaintance with all the papers was of great assistance to me.43

Joseph Smith's history, later published as The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, has come under fire from both Mormons and non-Mormons. Some argue that the "History" is totally defensive history that only portrays the Mormon perspective. This defensive history is more easily
understood when considered that the work on the history came immediately after the Missouri persecutions and one of the functions of the history was to "disabuse the public mind, and put all inquirers after truth in possession of the facts, as they have transpired," because "evil-disposed and designing persons" had persecuted members and authors wrote "against its character as a Church." 44

Another problem surfaced when B. H. Roberts inserted the phrase "History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet: By Himself," 45 as part of the title page of the "History." These words fueled the fire of Church opponents and has misrepresented Joseph Smith ever since. The history was not written by Joseph Smith, but rather was compiled according to historical methods commonly practiced in the early nineteenth century: that is, historical editors, such as Willard Richards, George A. Smith, and Wilford Woodruff assembled the "History of Joseph Smith." The Prophet somewhat supervised the writing and compiling, and explained his methodology to Howard Coray, a clerk employed to work on the History in 1840. Joseph would provide all the resource material and "our business, was not only to combine, and arrange in chronological order, but to spread out or amplify not a little, in as good historical style as may be." 46 At the time of the Prophet's death, the history had only been compiled to August 5, 1838. It was ten years after Joseph's death that work on the history resumed. These men were writing of events that transpired up to sixteen years before, using the Joseph Smith diaries as the basis for the text they produced. Modern
researchers have ferreted out the sources of much of the material in the "History," and little, other than the documents cited in the history, can be said to be from the Prophet Joseph himself. A consequence of all this, revealed in The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith, edited by Dean C. Jessee, is a less arrogant and more sincere Joseph with each unfolded "personal writing."47

Just previous to the Martyrdom, another historical method of compilation used by the Prophet involved his dictating to Willard Richards what to write, and then allowing Richards to expand according to his literary skill and style. In Carthage jail, just before his death, Joseph instructed Willard how to assemble the remaining history. Richards and Bullock, then after Richards death, George A. Smith and Bullock, were invited to read the rough manuscript to Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and others of the Twelve, sometimes from early in the morning until late at night, seeking their suggestions, comments, and approval, though it was usually accepted as written or with slight modification.48

The "History of Joseph Smith" in many other ways was fashioned according to the style of the era. Yet its shapers desired that it do more than merely chronicle the life of the Prophet. Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff were ever impatient that more was not being done on it. At Winter Quarters in 1846, Wilford Woodruff said "he felt a great interest in this history, being a book of Books, and the one he should have to be judged out of." Orson Pratt convinced his brethren of the Twelve "that a sufficient percentage be levied upon the property to support the historian for his services."49 Bullock recalled Willard Richards having said, "A man must have his mind free, who
writes a history that is to last for time and thro' all Eternity, and not bothered with other cares." Wilford Woodruff further stated, "It is the duty of the H.[igh] C.[ouncil] to let the Dr. have a box to put the papers in, to find wood, beef, and etc... I rejoice that we have a ready writer. Let the Dr. go to work and save the Church History." The early shapers and compilers of the "History" had a similar attitude as their nineteenth century historical counterparts which regarded historians as humanitarians rendering a tremendous service to mankind. However, unlike many of the noted historians of the day, the Mormon historical compilers were not independently wealthy and had more than the historical frontier to pioneer.

Thomas Bullock in some ways contributed as much as Willard Richards or George A. Smith to the "History of Joseph Smith." Though he was not the immediate author of the manuscript, his journals and memory were extensively drawn on. He wrote the final or rough draft of the manuscript for each year from 1839 to 1844 in the "History." His participation in the history spanned from nearly the beginning of the work until it was completed in 1856, something neither Richards or Smith could claim. In this clerking capacity it appears that Thomas Bullock not only fulfilled his duty, but in a way more significant than has hitherto been revealed.

While clerking for Joseph Smith, Bullock was assigned as clerk of the steamboat, Maid of Iowa, which was used extensively by the Church and city of Nauvoo. By January of 1844 it was apparent to Captain Dan Jones, half owner with Joseph Smith, that
the clerk of the little steamer, a man named Derby, was gambling away funds from the "Maid," which caused financial woes.52 Shortly after this time, Thomas Bullock's name was mentioned in connection with the steamship, and on May 13, 1844 Joseph instructed Thomas "to take charge of the books of the Maid of Iowa and go on board as clerk."53 Almost every time the Maid of Iowa departed from Nauvoo she returned before the Sunday meetings, enabling Bullock to record Joseph's final sermons.

The position of clerk on the Maid of Iowa was important because most of the crew were members of the Church and portions of some of the crew's salaries were deducted as tithing for the Temple. Joseph emphasized work on the Nauvoo Temple. With potential tithing funds being gambled away, his intent may have been to get Bullock on board just long enough to straighten out the clerking problems. Many of the steamboats on the Mississippi were also used for electioneering. Since Joseph was running for President of the United States, he might also have wanted Bullock not only to clear up the financial records, but also to clerk for him in not only prophetic but also Presidential pursuits.

Bullock had studied a little of Pitman's phonography but never fully developed the skills and techniques employed by it. He did however devise a modified version of shorthand that allowed him to record as Dr. Ronald K. Esplin has noted "Precise Phrases" when sermons were delivered.54

Bullock's clerking responsibilities during Joseph Smith's presidential campaign of 1844 expanded to include being a copiest of the political pamphlets "Views on the Powers
and Policy of the Government of the United States,"
"The Voice of Innocence From Nauvoo," and "Pacific Innuendo."55

As a letter copiist, Bullock's handwriting appears in some
of the important last letters sent by Joseph to Governor Thomas
Ford of Illinois, Presidential candidate John C. Calhoun, and
various Church leaders such as President John Smith, Charles C.
Rich and Wilson Law.56

In compliance with the eighty-fifth section of The Doctrine
and Covenants regarding a clerk's duty toward apostates, Bullock
served as secretary for the court martial of Major General
Wilson Law and detailed anti-Mormon activity in the area.57
He recorded Joseph's final three sermons in Nauvoo and
eleven days before the Prophet's death, Bullock was transferred
into his personal office. Perhaps Bullock's single most
significant contribution while clerking for Joseph Smith was
recording the King Follett Funeral Discourse delivered on Sunday,
April 7, 1844, at the General Conference of the Church held in
Nauvoo, Illinois. Dissenting Church members had hoped on this
Sunday to proclaim Joseph a fallen prophet. In this swirl of
negative sentiment, Joseph delivered one of his most glorious
theological gems, much to the dismay of the Church dissidents.58

Four of the most capable penman in Nauvoo, Willard Richards,
Wilford Woodruff, William Clayton, and Thomas Bullock recorded
Joseph's sermon. Donald Q. Cannon, in a valuable article
published in BYU Studies, has noted that Bullock's "official
conference minutes were by far the most nearly complete made on
the King Follett discourse."59 The first published version of
this talk, which appeared in the *Times and Seasons* in September 1844, was made by combining Bullock's and Clayton's notes only. In 1855 Jonathan Grimshaw, a clerk in the Historian's office, published a version of the discourse using elements from all four of these leading scribes. Recently, however, Stan Larson has differed with Grimshaw's method and used the following procedure to prepare his new amalgamation.

The account of Thomas Bullock was used as the basic running text. William Clayton's version was then superimposed, adding a number of refinements such as extra clauses and clearer development of ideas. Afterwards, the parts recorded by Willard Richards were compared with what already had been developed; generally the Richards account merely confirmed various parts, though it added a number of new elements also. Finally the Wilford Woodruff account was considered, and its new material was added, with the understanding that his material may not be as likely to represent the words actually spoken by Joseph Smith, though the basic meaning would likely be preserved.

Larson indicated he chose the Bullock account because it was the longest, "and there are indications that it was written down at the very time that Joseph Smith was speaking." Thomas Bullock usually sat at a desk near the stand when the brethren spoke. Of the 1844 General Conference, Bullock said, "These were the greatest, best, and most glorious five days that ever were." Howard Searle, in his dissertation "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons 1830-1858," listed the number of words recorded in each scriber's account. Bullock wrote 3,990 words, Clayton 2,596, Wilford Woodruff 2,486, Joseph Smith's Diary contains 1,443, the *Times and Seasons* account 4,760, and the *History of the Church* account 6,636.

Without Bullock, a knowledge of Joseph Smith's final public discourses, particularly the King Follett Discourse, could still
be ascertained. However, with his recorded accounts the understanding of Joseph's declarations is greatly expanded and deepened. His document has served as the blueprint from which to reconstruct this significant sermon.

Another important dimension of Thomas Bullock's historical works are the journals and diaries he kept. Many of these records are available for modern historians at either the LDS Church Archives, the BYU Library, or the Utah State Historical Society Library. Although the various diaries and journals bear the name of Thomas Bullock, many of these were written while he served in clerking capacities for the Church or Territory. As the keeper of so many various diaries and journals, sometimes it was difficult for Bullock to keep a separation of Church and State and family, hence his personal journals sound like a defense for the Church, some of his Church entries sound more personal, and his territorial papers might be a combination of all three. This was not uncommon for the various scribes who were engaged in clerking at many levels. Perhaps it says something about Bullock as a man, in the sense that he still kept personal records while engaged in full-time writing for the Church and Territory of Utah; it also tells us how corporate his approach was to the Mormon community. Although not a member of the Twelve Apostles or the General Authorities, Bullock was intimately involved with the inner circle of ecclesiastical, city, and Territorial leaders from 1843 to 1865.

For the sake of illustration, some of Bullock's 1845-48 Nauvoo diaries and plains journals will be examined.

Thomas and his family were not among the main body of Saints
departing from Nauvoo in February 1846 because he was left behind to record the fateful end of an era on the Mississippi. While other skilled clerks were writing for Brigham Young in the westward migration, Bullock labored "for more than seven months, without receiving one cent for pay."64 By July, Brigham had written Thomas requesting him to join them at Winter Quarters as he "was always in need of good clerks,"65 but Bullock and his family were sick with ague and barely able to tend to their basic needs. He expressed frustration that he could not record more, yet his accounts of the last months in Nauvoo are unparalleled.66 Since Bullock had been in the inner circle of leadership in Nauvoo, the mobbers came looking for him in September of 1846. On one occasion he and other sick Saints were "carried into the tall weeds and woods, [surrounding Nauvoo] while all who could, hid themselves." With nightfall Bullock and his family returned to the shelter of George Wardle's home. The next morning about thirty men "armed with guns and bayonets fixed, pistol in belt, the Captain with a sword in his hand, and the stripes and stars flying about," approached Wardle's home. Bullock was raised from his bed and led outdoors, supported by his sister-in-law and the rail fence. He remembered:

The captain then stepped out to within four feet of me, pointing his sword at my throat, while four others presented their guns with bayonets within two feet of my breast, when the Captain told me, "If you are not off here in twenty minutes, my orders are to shoot you." I replied: Shoot away for you will only send me to Heaven a few hours quicker, for you see I am not of this world many hours longer." The captain then told me, "If you will renounce Mormonism you may stay here and we will protect you." I replied, "This is not my house, yonder is my house (pointing to it) which I built and paid for, with the gold that I earned in England. I never committed the least
crime in Illinois, but I am a Mormon, and if I live, I shall follow the Twelve."

The captain said he was sorry to see Bullock and his family sick, but warned them that he had his orders and if they were not gone in a half an hour he was to kill every Mormon in the place. A short while later Thomas, Henrietta, and their four young children departed by wagon to the Mississippi River where they were transported by flat boat to Iowa.

Bullock's 1845-46 Nauvoo diary further depicts the desolate appearance of the once noble Nauvoo. The persecution by the mobs, the anti-mormon attacks on the Temple, and a sense of the lonesome, left-behind sojourners is well depicted. When Bullock finally left Nauvoo, he physically was more dead than alive. As small as he was, his sickness reduced him further to an appearance of just skin and bones. In addition, he had his head shorn as the recommended cure for ague and was truly a pathetic sight as he departed Nauvoo. The records he brought with him, by contrast, were magnificently meticulous.

As a plains crossing diarist, Thomas Bullock detailed the accounts of four major migrations from 1846 to 1848. The trained eye of an exciseman who possessed a keen wit illuminated the dark and dreary as well as the joyous and tender moments. In the latter three treks, the 1847 vanguard journey to and from Salt Lake Valley and the 1848 company headed by Brigham Young, Bullock's handwriting appears on nearly every letter signed by Brigham Young and Willard Richards. Bullock kept the minutes of presiding priesthood inner circle meetings and conscientiously took census of each of the camps. Many of the pioneer trail
letters left for following camps were written by Bullock and during July of 1848, Bullock himself was writing Epistles in the name of the President of the Church and the Twelve Apostles.68 Other leading diarists on the trek benefited from Thomas Bullock's journal keeping assignment. William Clayton mentioned that he had "the privilege of copying from Brother Bullock's journal."69 In turn Clayton allowed Howard Egan to copy from his journal as a trade for doing Clayton's laundry.70

Bullock's camp journals consist of brief phrasing; usually short condensed statements, giving a sense of urgency to his work. He sensed the historic impact of the treks and wanted his journals to reflect his best efforts. Though what he wrote is insightful and comparable to other leading diarists, his 1847 vanguard journal is not what it could have been, probably because he had been assigned to drive a team of oxen and tend to the cattle in addition to his writing assignment. All of the men in the company had specific responsibilities, such as taking their respective turns at guard duty, but most of the men could perform their assigned duties during the day and as night fell, the time was theirs. Bullock not only had to tend the cattle, but clerked for Brigham Young, Willard Richards, kept the camp journal, and minutes of all of the meetings of the Twelve Apostles and the First Presidency. In this light, his two camp journals, each indexed, seem to be a large contribution considering everything else he accomplished.

One of the most evident characteristics of Bullock's writing style was his sense of humor. On one occasion after a group of hunters returned with their bounty, Bullock boasted of
his own hunting skill by stating that he had killed a mosquito. Another time he wrote of Porter Rockwell and three others who left camp searching for two horses stolen by a band of Pawnees. After finding the trail and traveling almost the entire distance the camp traveled that day, Rockwell got off his horse and levelled his pistol at what he thought was a wolf, "which brought up the resurrection of 15 Pawnee Indians." When the company was returning to Winter Quarters in the Fall of 1847, Bullock noted the cries of the wolves more than in the Spring. "At night we have a Grand Solo, Quartette and Chorus from the Throats of a very musical band of Wolves." His wit very naturally blends into the tapestry of history he wove.

Bullock's diaries and journals show evidence of an honest man who wrote what he felt. He did not withhold material as one might do if he thought some future descendant would one day be embarrassed by reading the diary. Along with many of the pioneers he recognized the historic impact of their pioneering experience. In some of the official diaries he kept for the Church he directed scribes who later would read these church papers for future compilation of the Church history to other minutes of his or other notable clerks. When Brigham Young decided to bring William Clayton along with the vanguard company in 1847 to "assist Brother Bullock in keeping minutes, etc.," Bullock hoped that future historians would not only use his Church records, but would also draw from other leading diarists, specifically citing Clayton as a key writer. In a sense, he was very similar to his historical contemporaries of the era
by allowing Clayton to copy from his journals because historians
"felt flattered rather than insulted when their words were used
by another"75 to compile a better history.

Bullock's polished penmanship in finished form was used by
the Church and Territory of Utah when petitions, certificates, or
official papers were needed. Much of the correspondence to
Washington D.C. during Winter Quarters and the early settlement
of Salt Lake City are in his handwriting. When petitioning for
territorial status in 1849, Brigham called on Thomas who
diligently copied the names of those who signed the petition.
His personal journal entry mentioned, "Thomas Bullock attaching
signatures to the Petition which was 22 feet long and contains
2270 Signatures and resigned, headed by Brigham Young, Heber C.
Kimball, and Willard Richards."76 Similarly, the Constitution
of the State of Deseret and other official papers were written
in finished form by Bullock.

Bullock's participation in writing the Constitution of the
State of Deseret further defines him as a man who fulfilled his
"duty," for as Peter Crawley has pointed out in a valuable essay
entitled, "The Constitution of the State of Deseret,"77 there
apparently never was a constitutional convention. Crawley
concludes that the concocted convention resulted because there
was a shift in emphasis from application for Territorial to State
status in July of 1849. There was very little time to formally
convene and still convey to the United States Congress their
intent. Since the Saints had been governed by their own, and
the will of the people had previously voiced to the follow the
lead of the First Presidency and the Twelve as they saw fit, in
the essence of time, no convention was held. However, detailed
minutes in the handwriting of Thomas Bullock accompanied the
Constitution to Washington D.C. Bullock's involvement in this
episode (which in later time might be labeled a hoax) should be
viewed as one who was "doing his duty." Though he usually wrote
what he saw transpiring, no mention of this convention is in his
journal. Perhaps in this case, the desire of the saints "to be
governed by their own" spawned hasty action, directed by the
First Presidency which all of the leading men of Deseret were
directly or indirectly a part of.

Thomas Bullock's writings for the Church, city of Nauvoo
and the Territory of Utah are voluminous. Some of the many
Nauvoo records in which his handwriting appears are:
Nauvoo Legion Minutes, Nauvoo Municipal Court Records, Nauvoo
City Council Proceedings, letters, sermons, presiding quorums,
The Maid of Iowa Steamboat Records, pamphlets, Patriarchal
Blessings, General Conference Minutes, personal journals as
instructed by Brigham Young to keep for the Church, Temple
Proceedings, Presidential pamphlets, maps, church courts, and the
Manuscript History of the Church. Much of his work in Nauvoo
was either recording what transpired or assisting in gathering
and cataloguing various documents from which the history would be
compiled. In the plains crossing experience Bullock's role
expanded more to include composing letters and epistles for the
First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles. There also he
contributed by preserving and transporting many valuable
documents from the early history of the Church. After the
experiences of the trek he continued in many of the above mentioned activities and seemed to solidify his position of intimacy with the leading brethren of the Church. Bullock was to Brigham Young from 1847 to 1856 what William Clayton was to Joseph Smith in the early 1840's.

Other valuable resources for further understanding Thomas Bullock's historical contributions are the numerous letters he wrote to his first wife, Henrietta. Most of what is known about his preparatory development as a clerk and religious seeking man in England comes from these sources. He was very much in love with her and wrote lengthy letters.80 These letters not only help to develop further the character of Thomas Bullock, but also clarify several other important historical issues. His letters from Nauvoo to Willard Richards in Winter Quarters superbly blend his wit and witness. His 1857 letters as a missionary in England demonstrate the British reaction to Johnston's Army.81 In his letters to the LDS Millennial Star he refutes the false allegations made by Judge Drumond. When considering Bullock as an historian, his letters too are noteworthy. He had a keen awareness of the world about him and an eye for detail. His letters to Henrietta, in particular, are extremely revealing, as he "could hold nothing back" from her. 82

While in England on his mission, his determination for detail is revealed as he wrote Henrietta about the British reaction to Johnston's Army.

The Newspaper Editors in London are either very ignorant of Geography west of the Mississippi, or they believe and publish lies rather than truth; for instance,
the past fortnight. One day they publish Brigham Young arrested by Col. Sumner and on his way to Washington guarded by troops. in a day or two they publish he is gone on a secret tour to hide away from the rebellious Mormons. in a day or two after that we hear he is in Russian America establishing a new colony. Next he is at the head of the Utah troops within a 100 miles of Omaha City come to fight the U.S. Troops. in a day or two after we learn he is in Council with Col. Van Vleit in the Social Hall, threatening to burn every house in the Valley and go into the Mountains leaving all a desolate waste. and today I learn that a large company of Mormons dressed as Indians, have killed 500 U.S. Soldiers somewhere in Minnesota. such conflicting statements appear, and they are all believed to be true. no apology for the previous lies, no qualification for the rapid change of events. no telling how time and distance is annihilated or how he has the power to be in several places hundreds, yea thousands of miles apart at one time.83

After Bullock returned from his mission, he was gradually eased from the inner circle of power. He had a home in Summit County, and in 1862 Brigham began giving him assignments there, until 1865 when he was called to work in the probate courts and as County Clerk. Perhaps Bullock had diminished in the favor of Brigham. Or maybe Bullock was too popular in the eyes of Governor Cummings who was impressed with how well the records of the Territory had been kept, and appointed Bullock as Clerk of the Territory. Maybe Brigham wanted to remove the old regime of clerks either because they were getting too old or too attached to the office.84 Suffice to say his clerking days were not yet over.

Bullock's final years in Summit County reveal an interesting development in his handwriting. His once minuscule and meticulous penmanship was giving way to larger and somewhat less legible print, surely a sign of either eye trouble or a less sure hand due to his age. While there, though he still rendered a fine service to the stake and the county. When the stake leaders
questioned if he should be released as Stake Historian, they felt that even in his advancing age no one else was as qualified to record the history of the Stake. They knew, as few people today know, that Thomas Bullock was instrumental in forging and shaping the History of the Church. He was one who not only was professionally trained and spiritually prepared, but had a firm commitment and resolve to "do his duty." Without a doubt, Mormon history is much richer because of the work of Thomas Bullock.

1 Thomas Bullock to Henrietta Rushton Bullock, 30 July 1857, Thomas Bullock Collection, a collection of personal papers, letters, appointments, journals and documents, microfilm copies or original documents on file in the Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Salt Lake City, Utah) hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives. While serving as a missionary he wrote Henrietta the following about doing his duty. "I am doing right and enjoy the good Spirit in prayer, in preaching, in writing, I am not forgotten there- My Pastor and President are pleased with me, the visiting Elders, Pres. Benson & John Scott, & Miles Romney are pleased with me- The Saints are pleased with me, and last of all I am pleased with myself. so if I had credit by being out of sight I cannot help it. I am doing my duty and can do no more." Thomas Bullock to Henrietta Rushton Bullock, 30 July 1857, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives. See also Thomas Bullock to Henrietta Rushton Bullock, 25 November 1857, Thomas Bullock Collection.

2 Doctrine and Covenants 85:1-2, The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1981). Hereinafter cited as D & C.

3 Andrew Jensen, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia, 4 Volumes, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1901-1940), II:559.

4 James Turner letter of recommendation, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

5 Thomas Bullock to Henrietta Rushton Bullock, microfilm of letters for 1839, Thomas Bullock Collection and Henrietta Rushton Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.
6 Howard Clair Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830-1858," (PhD. dissertation, UCLA, 1979), p. 96. Hereinafter cited as Searle. Searle gave Bullock's weight as 116 pounds. In a letter to the editor commenting about the death of Bullock found in The Salt Lake Daily Herald, 12 February 1885, he was referred to as "little Tommy Bullock." Also in the Thomas Bullock Journal, 27 June 1848, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives, Bullock mentioned Heber C. Kimball calling him "little Tommy." The coat Bullock wore crossing the plains in 1847 is on display in the Daughters of the Utah Pioneer Museum in Salt Lake City. It appears that it would fit a slight man, approximately 5'2" to 5'6" in height, weighing about 110-140.

7 Thomas Bullock to Henrietta Rushton Bullock, 12 January 1856, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.


10 HC 5:415.


13 In December of 1987 Brigham Young University acquired this journal. See Thomas Bullock 1845-46 Diary, Thomas Bullock Collection, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

14 Most of the appointments can be found in the Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives. See also Despain, pp. 61-72, 92-98. Bullock also wrote poetry and particularly enjoyed reading novels. See his 1839 letters to Henrietta, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

15 Carter, pp. 289-291.

16 Family genealogical files in the possession of the author.
The Salt Lake Herald, 12 February 1885.


19 Callcott, p. 8.

20 Ibid., p. 15-16.

21 Ibid., p. 47.

22 Ibid., p. 123. The classic example of historical editors making up speeches is found in the works of George Washington compiled by Jared Sparks.


24 See Malachi 4:5-6 for the prophecy, and D & C 110:13-16 for the fulfillment of Malachi's prophecy. Also see Callcott, pp. 20-47 for a thorough description of the early nineteenth century historian. Callcott demonstrates that genealogical and historical societies indeed did grow after 1836. The first historical Society in America was the Massachusetts Historical Society founded in 1791. By 1800 there were five such societies. In the 1830's there were 45 societies. By the 1850's over 111 historical societies were established in the United States, and now the number of historical and genealogical societies is in the thousands.

25 Callcott, pp. 129-130.


27 D & C 47:4. Whitmer's history was not published until the twentieth century.


29 D & C 85:1-6.

30 D & C 127:6-7, 128:3.

31 HC 2:198-99.
32 After his incarceration at Liberty Jail during the Winter of 1838-39, Joseph Smith gave a greater emphasis to the injunctive to "keep a history." Previously his clerks had assisted in the translation of the Book of Mormon, the bringing forth of the Book of Commandments, and had kept numerous local Church records and personal papers in Kirtland and Missouri. In 1839 Joseph began dictating his personal history to clerk James Mulholland.


34 Many of Thomas Bullock's sentences averaged 50-100 words. Sometimes he wrote nearly a half a page before ending with a period.

35 Thomas Bullock to Henrietta Rushton Bullock, 23-24 October 1839, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.


37 Ibid., 22 March 1845.

38 Willard Richards Journal, 22 February - 30 April 1845, LDS Church Archives. Richards and Bullock's relationship was so intimate, that when the Law of Adoption was revealed, Thomas and his family were sealed to Willard's. For further information concerning the Law of Adoption, see Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830-1900," BYU Studies 14 (Spring 1974):291-314.

39 By nineteenth century standards, Bullock's spelling, vocabulary, and penmanship were superb. If he had a fault in his writing, it was in the punctuation and capitalization of hastily penned items. Finished copies, certificates, or final drafts of reworked shorthand notes were elegant. After studying the various clerks that were employed either by Joseph Smith or Brigham Young, Bullock's handwriting was not only distinctive, but usually as precise and legible as any of the other clerks. His precision writing prompted Dr. Kenneth Godfrey in a personal conversation to note that "It makes you wonder why they invented typesetting."

40 Jessee, p. 468.

41 Ibid., p. 470.

42 George A. Smith Letter to Wilford Woodruff, 21 April 1856, "Historian's Office Letter Book, 1" (September 16, 1854-December 5, 1861), MS in LDS Church Archives. Smith indicated how the compilation came to be when he stated: "The greatest care has been taken to convey the ideas in the prophet's style as near
as possible; and in no case has the sentiment been varied that I know of; as I heard the most of his discourses myself, was on the most intimate terms with him, have retained a most vivid recollection of his teachings, and was well acquainted with his principles and motives...The plan of compiling the history of Joseph Smith from the Journals kept by his clerks, Willard Richards, William Clayton, Wilford Woodruff, and Thomas Bullock, was commenced by himself, extracting items of necessary information in regard to general and particular movements from the Times and Seasons, Millennial Star, Wasp, Neighbor, and other publications, extracts from city councils, Municipal courts, and Mayor's dockets and Legion Records, which were all kept under his direction; also the movements of the Church as found in Conference Minutes and High Council records, and the records of the several quorums. Together with letters and copies preserved on file; also noted remarkable occurrences throughout the world, and compiled them under date of transaction, according to the above plan which he while in prison just previous to his murder requested Elder Willard Richards to continue...A large amount of testimony has also been written from the verbal statements of individuals, which was afterwards embodied in the manuscript of the History; also affidavits taken for the same purpose."

43 Ibid.

44 Joseph Smith—History 1-4, The Pearl of Great Price, (Published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1981) p.47.

45 HC, Cover page.


47 Ibid.


49 Thomas Bullock Journal, 17 December 1846, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

50 Willard Richards Journal, 17 December 1846, Willard Richards Collection LDS Church Archives.

51 Bullock's contribution to the "Manuscript History" of the Church spans almost the last 300 pages of volume three and most all of volumes four through seven from the currently published seven volume set. George A. Smith did labor for approximately 70 days in Nauvoo with Willard Richards, so he was somewhat acquainted with Richards' system for writing the history.

52 Donald L. Enders, "The Steamboat Maid of Iowa: Mormon Mistress of the Mississippi," BYU Studies 19 (Spring 1979):
53 HC, 6:377.

54 Dr. Ronald K. Esplin, in a personal conversation with the author in March 1987, made these comments when comparing the notes of Bullock as secretary of the Twelve from 1846-1856, and the printed works of George D. Watt in the Journal of Discourses. Esplin said the flavor and color of the speakers were found in Bullock’s records. He called Watt’s wording “Polished Phrases” and Bullock’s “Precise Phrases.” George D. Watt was also a British convert who introduced phonography to the Church. He was President of the Phonographic Society of Nauvoo and also an adopted son of Willard Richards. For more information on Watt and Phonography see, Ronald G. Watt, “Sailing ‘The Old Ship Zion’: The Life of George D. Watt,” BYU Studies 18 (Fall 1977).

55 Joseph Smith Presidential Pamphlets, 1844 papers, particularly, February 7, 1844, reel 4 of F 312, Joseph Smith Collection, LDS Church Archives.

56 Personal Writings, pp. 507-9, 568-70, 589, and 689. Also see HC, 6:523-24.


61 Larson, p. 193.

62 Thomas Bullock Journal, 7 April 1844, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

63 Searle, p. 277. Searle estimated Joseph Smith could have actually spoken in excess of a minimum of 15,000 words in the King Follett Discourse. Bullock’s record accounts for about 26% of what possibly was spoken.

64 Thomas Bullock Journal, 25 September 1846, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.


66 Thomas Bullock Journal, 1845-1846, Thomas Bullock

68 Thomas Bullock Journal, 16 July 1848, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives. In part Bullock said, "President Young came to my wagon about 2 P.M. and gave me instructions to write an Epistle to the Saints in the Valley. He told me I had been a copyist long enough and from thenceforth I must write all the Epistles and Letters and told me to dive right strait into the Spirit of it. I accordingly commenced with the Epistle to the Valley. At 4 Read what I had wrote to him."


70 Clayton, 23 May 1847 and 10 August 1847. While researching the "Journal History," it was evident that the Historian's Office compiled the history for the 1846-1848 treks after 1915 when Egan's journal was printed, but before 1921, when Clayton's was typeset. Egan was quoted everyday, Clayton hardly ever, and Bullock's official records were used somewhat. It appears that Egan copied from Clayton for the duration of the vanguard trek.

71 Thomas Bullock Journal, 27 April 1847, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

72 Thomas Bullock Journal, 5 and 9 October 1847, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

73 Clayton, pp. 104-105.

74 Thomas Bullock Journal, 23 April 1847, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

75 Callcott, p. 136.

76 Thomas Bullock Journal, 1 May 1849, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.


78 Ibid., p. 21

79 Thomas Bullock's handwritten materials will not only be found in collections pertaining to his various clerical assignments, but also can be found in the following personal collections in the LDS Church Archives: Joseph Smith Collection, Brigham Young Collection, Willard Richards Collection, Thomas Bullock Collection, and the Henrietta Rushton Bullock Collection.
80 See the letters in the Henrietta Rushton Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives. Bullock wrote so small that often a single page of his handwritten material requires one or two single space typewritten pages. Often in his letters he would squeeze notes above his salutation or added lengthy post scripts when he had room left on the paper.

81 See Thomas' letters to Henrietta during 1857-58 as a missionary in England. These can be found in the Henrietta Rushton Bullock Collection or the Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

82 Thomas indicated to Henrietta in the 1839 letters that he could hold nothing back from her. His letters to Henrietta serve as very reliable sources.

83 Thomas Bullock to Henrietta Rushton Bullock, 25 November 1857, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

84 Searle felt that Bullock was released in 1865 due to illness. See Searle, p. 101. Wilford Woodruff felt Bullock was released because Joseph Young complained to his father, Brigham Young, that Bullock was getting too possessive of the materials in the Historian's Office. Brigham thought Bullock would take items from the office that were not his. Woodruff felt Bullock was a man of integrity. See Wilford Woodruff Journal, 26 March 1862 and 22 January 1865, Wilford Woodruff Collection, LDS Church Archives.
THOMAS BULLOCK: A MAN DOING HIS DUTY

Jerald F. Simon
Department of History
M.A. Degree, August 1988

ABSTRACT

Thomas Bullock played an important role in gathering historical documents and preserving history for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1843 to 1865. His professional and spiritual development in England prepared him for the historical contributions he made. Bullock's two greatest contributions regarding the Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr., were recording the King Follett Discourse and his subsequent work reconstructing the History of Joseph Smith. As one commissioned to record the demise of Nauvoo and as clerk of Brigham Young's 1847 and 1848 treks, Thomas Bullock wrote concisely and clearly. His plains crossing diaries and minutes for the Twelve Apostles were an important contribution during Brigham Young's tenure as Church President.

In many ways, he was similar to his contemporary historians of the nineteenth century, and espoused many of their ideals, practices, and techniques. The records he detailed reflect an honest, sincere man who was "doing his duty."

COMMITTEE APPROVAL:

David J. Whittaker, Committee Chairman
Dean C. Jessee, Committee Member
Paul B. Pixton, Department Chairman