

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF LEONARD JOHN NUTTALL,  
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PRESIDENTS JOHN  
TAYLOR AND WILFORD WOODRUFF

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Fig. 1.--Leonard John Nuttall, 1888

Taylor and Wilford Woodruff during a period of great difficulty for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. During this same period, from 1877 to 1892, he was active in civic affairs while holding the offices of Chief Clerk of the Utah Legislature and Territorial Superintendent of District

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This biographical study of Leonard John Nuttall emphasizes his contributions to the society in which he lived. He is best known for his association with the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Through his position as private secretary to the First Presidency and legal advisor to the Relief Society, a women's organization in the same Church, he worked closely with the Church leaders for over twenty-five years. He also held important positions of leadership in territorial education and military affairs.

This study begins when Mr. Nuttall immigrated to America in 1852 from England and ends with his death in 1905. Soon after arriving in this country, he contributed to the defense of Utah in the Utah and Black Hawk Wars. He later played a prominent role in the civic and ecclesiastical history of Kanab, Utah, as stake president; then, moving to Salt Lake City, he served as private secretary to President John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff during a period of great difficulty for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. During this same period, from 1877 to 1892, he was active in civic affairs while holding the offices of Chief Clerk of the Utah Legislature and Territorial Superintendent of District



Schools. From 1892 until his death he worked as a legal advisor for the Relief Society, an aid to the Deseret Sunday School Union, and a member of the Church Board of Education.

### Definition of Terms

Church--refers to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Elder--is a title given to ordained members of the Melchizedek, or higher, Priesthood of the Church.

Saint--is a member of the Church with no designation to worthiness.

President--refers to a person, or one of three persons, in charge of various phases of Church activity such as Stake President or one of the First Presidency of the Church.

Quorum--is a unit in the Priesthood such as a High Priest Quorum or the Quorum of the First Presidency.

Ward--refers to a congregation of Church members.

Stake--is an organization of several congregations of Church members.

### Sources

The most valuable source of materials has been Mr. Nuttall's journals and papers in possession of Brigham Young University. A careful study has been made of all these writings. Except for a small diary of one month in 1857, his journals begin in 1875 and continue, with some omissions,

to 1904.<sup>1</sup> Four typed volumes of his journals plus the original twenty-six handwritten diaries are in possession of the Brigham Young University at Provo, Utah.

Being occupied as a secretary on many occasions, Mr. Nuttall was aware of the need for accuracy and his journals and letters are precise in recording details. Because his interest was on family and Church activities, however, there are few entries containing information on civic matters which are not directly connected with the Church.

Three outline histories written by his family have been valuable for the first part of his life. The first two on the life of L. John Nuttall and his first wife, Elizabeth Clarkson Nuttall, were written by his daughter, Clara C. N. Giles. A third account was compiled and written by W. Reed Nuttall in conjunction with three of Mr. Nuttall's grandchildren who knew him personally, Annie N. Baker, Ethel N. Moore, and Christine N. Madsen.<sup>2</sup>

Other sources which have been helpful are the "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," at the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, Nuttall

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<sup>1</sup>One pencil diary recording an expedition to Echo Canyon during the Utah War and other miscellaneous, undated entries is available before his daily journal commences. After 1875 the following portions are missing: parts of 1881, 1882, and 1883; and the period between 1885 and 1887, 1893 and 1899, and 1901 and 1903.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendices A, B, and C.

family genealogical records in possession of W. Reed Nuttall and Floyd Giles in Provo, Provo City records, and the State Board of Education and State Archives in Salt Lake City. Many articles in the Deseret News have also provided valuable primary sources.

In addition to the above sources, personal interviews with people who knew Mr. Nuttall have given the writer several intimate details about his personal life.

### Family Background

Leonard John Nuttall was the son of William Nuttall, a prominent ship builder whose trade led him several places along the coasts of England. William's parents, Richard and Elizabeth Thompson Nuttall, were living in Skerton, a suburb of Lancaster, when he was born on July 19, 1796. In his early life, William lived at Carlyle, Westmoreland, and later established his family at Liverpool where they remained until immigrating to America. His wife, Mary Langhorn, born December 23, 1798, in Skap, Westminster, England, was the daughter of John and Eleanor Taylor Langhorn. William and Mary were married on July 8, 1822.

L. John Nuttall was born in Liverpool on July 6, 1834. He attended the St. Brides School in the same city until the age of thirteen and one-half years, when he was apprenticed as a boat builder. Five years later, Elder John Taylor, then an Apostle in the Mormon Church, came to

Liverpool during his mission to France from May, 1850, to March, 1852. An acquaintance established at this time between L. John and Brother Taylor, whose mother was a sister to Eleanor Taylor, grandmother of L. John, developed into a lifelong brotherhood which ended only with the death of Elder Taylor in 1887 at Kaysville, Utah, while he was President of the Mormon Church.

With the prospect of producing sugar in Utah, John Taylor had studied the sugar beet industry in France and secured machinery for a processing plant to be established among the Saints. On his visit to England in 1850, he taught the gospel to his relatives. William's family, who were cousins to Elder Taylor, responded favorably, as William E., his son, joined the Church in September that same year at Liverpool. On October 6, 1850, the remainder of his family embraced the gospel, as he and his wife and two remaining sons, L. John and Joseph, were also baptized.

Being faithful to the call to "gather to Zion," William was ready to sail for America in 1852 with his family aboard the steamer, "Rockaway," with approximately twenty-five other Saints. On board ship was also some expensive equipment for the sugar industry in Utah which belonged to the newly organized Deseret Manufacturing Company. After sailing from Liverpool on March 6, 1852, the steamer docked at New Orleans in April. From this city the Nuttall family followed the route of the sugar machinery as it was

shipped up the Mississippi River to St. Louis and transferred to small boats for its journey to Ft. Leavenworth on the Missouri River.<sup>3</sup>

According to Thomas DeLaMare, ". . . the machinery was left in the care of Elias Morris and the Nuttall brothers."<sup>4</sup> This was while it was brought across the plains. The pioneer company experienced great difficulties in their trek to Utah because the equipment was heavy and many of the wagons were constructed of unseasoned lumber. At the Sweetwater River they ran into snow and sub-freezing weather, and the supplies were so low that some of the cattle had to be slaughtered for food.<sup>5</sup>

Although some of the equipment had to be left on the plains en route to Utah, the remainder was brought to the banks of the Provo River near the present outskirts of Provo City in November. William and Mary made their home at Provo this same month and remained there for the rest of their lives. William died on March 4, 1864, in Provo, but Mary lived to be eighty-two years of age and died in the same

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<sup>3</sup>Clara C. N. Giles, "History of L. John Nuttall" (unpublished, four-page MS. in possession of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah), p. 1. (Typewritten.)

<sup>4</sup>Thomas DeLaMare, "Sugar Machinery Brought to Utah," in Kate Carter (comp.), Treasures of Pioneer History (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1952), I, 451.

<sup>5</sup>"William and Mary Nuttall" (unpublished MS. in possession of W. Reed Nuttall, Provo, Utah).

city on April 19, 1880.<sup>6</sup>

At eighteen years of age, L. John thus came into an area of new beginnings. Provo City had gained its charter in January, 1851, and the Utah Stake had been organized two months later. George A. Smith, prominent church and civic leader, made his residence in Provo in August, 1852; and the first meeting house was begun the same month. It was also during this year that the settlers in Provo were moving from the forts to the location where the city now stands.<sup>7</sup>

It was not long before L. John participated in some of these beginnings. According to his daughter, Clara Giles, he assisted William W. Allen, Henry White, and Elizabeth Roper in organizing the first Sunday School in Provo at the log meeting house during the fall of 1853, and served in a local militia against the Indians the same year.<sup>8</sup> He later demonstrated his faithfulness to the Church by serving in many of its offices continuously throughout his life.

On Christmas day, 1856, L. John married Elizabeth Clarkson who had also come from England with her parents, Thomas and Kitty, and sister, Ann, in 1852. Her father was

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<sup>6</sup>"Family Records" (unpublished genealogical records in possession of Floyd Giles, Provo, Utah).

<sup>7</sup>Utah Writers' Project, Provo, Mormon Pioneer City (Portland, Oregon: Binfords and Mort, 1942), p. 67.

<sup>8</sup>Giles, p. 2.

born August 14, 1800, in Hull, Yorkshire, England, and worked as a shoemaker. Kitty was born on September 25, the same year as her husband.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Clara C. N. Giles, "History of Elizabeth Clarkson Nuttall" (unpublished, three-page MS. in possession of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah), p. 1. (Typewritten.)

## CHAPTER II

### MILITARY, CIVIC, AND CHURCH ACTIVITIES TO 1875

#### Utah War

In the year of 1857 the Nauvoo Militia was reorganized for protection against the Indian depredations in Utah. In response to General Order Number Two, from the Headquarters of the Nauvoo Legion in Salt Lake City,<sup>1</sup> a mass meeting was held in Provo on April 25, for the purpose of electing officers. The organization taking place under the supervision of Peter W. Conover, Brigadier General and Commander of the Provo Militia since the Walker War, fifty-six officers were chosen. William E. Nuttall was one of eight Captains selected and he commanded Company C., Infantry. L. John served as Adjutant of the same unit.<sup>2</sup> On July 6, the organization of the Provo Military District was finished as William B. Pace was elected Commander. Four battalions were created, commanded by four Majors, and the Colonel's staff

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret News (Salt Lake City), April 1, 1857.

<sup>2</sup>"Record of the Provo Military District" (unpublished MS., official record of the district during the Utah War, from April 25, 1857, to May 17, 1858, in possession of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah), April 25, 1857. Hereafter referred to as "Provo Military District."



was completed. John was then assigned as Adjutant in this staff.<sup>3</sup>

In 1857 rumor reached Washington that the Mormons were participating in unlawful activities. President James Buchanan, acting without adequate investigation of the reports, issued orders in May of 1857 for an army to be assembled at Ft. Leavenworth and march to Utah as soon as possible. They were to accompany new federal officers taking the place of Governor Brigham Young of the Territory and other territorial offices.<sup>4</sup>

On August 3, Colonel Pace received a communique from General Daniel H. Wells, General Commander of the Nauvoo Legion in Salt Lake City, that a "tolerably well authenticated" report had been received of a United States Army approaching the Utah Territory from the East. The orderly record of the Provo Military District, written in L. John's handwriting, indicates that this unit was on the alert continually until the winter snows made it impossible for "Buchanan's Army" to enter the Territory. The Provo division received several communiques from General Wells detailing them to gather all available firearms, select and prepare shelters for grain storage in the mountains, assist the

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., July 6, 1857.

<sup>4</sup>Joseph Fielding Smith, Essentials in Church History (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1924), pp. 494-510.

immigrant trains coming to the valley, explore and guard all possible entries to Utah Valley from the East, watch for spies on the Spanish Trail, assist the settlers with the harvest of their crops, and escort the Saints in the Carson Valley Mission back to Utah.<sup>5</sup>

Then on October 9, at eight a.m., Colonel Pace received orders directly from Governor Brigham Young to send one hundred and fifty men immediately to Salt Lake City for further orders. Responding instantly, the Provo unit assembled a sufficient number of men within one-half hour to fill the detail. L. John accompanied this Eastern Expedition to Echo Canyon, leaving Provo on October 9 and returning after fifty-seven days of hardships.<sup>6</sup>

In his personal diary, John stated that the men were ordered to march to Echo Canyon on October 14, and proceeded thereafter to a camp on the Weber River near the mouth of Weber Canyon, where they were placed under the command of Colonel Nathaniel V. Jones.<sup>7</sup>

The men commenced to build a stone battery near the

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<sup>5</sup>"Provo Military District," August 3 to December 10, 1857.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., October 9, 1857.

<sup>7</sup>"Pencil Diary of L. John Nuttall" (unpublished MS. containing miscellaneous data, in possession of Brigham Young University), October 14-16, 1857. The pages are not numbered and many entries are not dated. Where dates are missing for footnote references, the pages will hereafter be placed in brackets.

third crossing of the creek on the pioneer trail but soon moved to Lower Cottonwood Grove, where entrenchments were constructed. After Colonel Jones had been ordered to Great Salt Lake City, Colonel Pace moved his men to the eighth crossing and there "proceeded to dig three ditches on the ridge and side of the canyon" where, he states, "under two of these the road runs near the foot of the hill." On the 29th the camp moved to the eleventh crossing and "set several men to work on the points building batteries on each side of the road leading to big mountain." A heavy storm in November forced the militia to suspend their construction of defenses and begin work on breaking roads over the mountains to enable supply trains to reach the troops.<sup>8</sup> Arriving back from Salt Lake City, Colonel Jones ordered the men to proceed three miles up Echo Canyon, where they camped.

These men remained in the canyon as Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston of the United States Army bolstered the morale of his men upon taking command of the Utah Expedition at Black's Fork in Wyoming. There were approximately 2,500 men in the defense area east of Salt Lake, but as the crisis passed and it was ascertained that Colonel Johnston did not intend to force his way through the canyon that fall, the

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<sup>8</sup>Letter from Colonel Pace to George A. Smith, November 27, 1857, in "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (day-by-day account of events of the Church recorded in the Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah).

men were released the first week in December.<sup>9</sup>

Although the men suffered in the inclement weather, John made no complaint in his personal diary. He did not describe the work of the group in detail, but it is evident that he was spiritual-minded and took great care to record the inspirational messages that various Church officials delivered as they visited the men. His spiritual feelings were demonstrated in another way, for among these trying circumstances in the mountain retreat, after being blessed because of sickness, and then recovering, he could feel to say, "it made me rejoice in the goodness of God."<sup>10</sup> On December 1, the command of Colonel Pace began their return journey home; and upon arriving in Provo, they were met by many of the town people "accompanied by the brass band."<sup>11</sup>

Although Nuttall's records are silent for the next spring, the Provo Military District aided considerably in protecting cattle against the Indians in Provo Canyon. They worked closely with the citizenry by patrolling the area and building corrals so the cattle would not stray and give the Indians an opportunity to steal them.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Andrew Love Neff, History of Utah (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), pp. 480-481.

<sup>10</sup>"Pencil Diary," November 22, 1857.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., December 4, 1857.

<sup>12</sup>"Provo Military District," p. 50.

Nuttall was one of the men who was ordered to destroy Salt Lake City by fire in the spring of 1858 if the Utah Expedition were to enter the valley.<sup>13</sup>

### Exploring Uintah Valley

In the fall of 1861, John accompanied Colonel Pace and ten other men on a Uintah Valley Expedition. Responding to this duty on September 3, twelve men left Provo to explore the valley. They traveled by way of Heber, down Strawberry Valley, and up the Duchesne River, covering forty-three miles by September 5. After going down Strawberry Valley, the men decided to send an express to President Young. This conservative report estimated that thirty families might find good farming land in Uintah. The company returned by the same route and arrived home September 17, to find all was well.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Interview with Annie Nuttall Baker, May 24, 1962. Andrew Jenson also states this fact and gives the total number of men for the assignment as one hundred and ten. See Andrew Jenson, L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia (4 vols.; Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901), I, 355. In 1857 the Church leaders had decided to destroy all property in the mountain valleys if the army overcame the militia resistance. After a council of war in 1858, these leaders changed their plans and talked of leaving the valley and fleeing to a place of refuge which Brigham Young believed existed in the southwestern part of the Territory. The Saints began evacuating the city in March, but word was received early the next month that an appointee for Governor of the Territory, Alfred Cumming, was making his way to Salt Lake without a military escort. An understanding was soon reached between the federal officers and Mormon leaders, and the Saints returned to their homes. See Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (6 vols.; Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), IV, 360-361.

<sup>14</sup>"Pencil Diary," August 31 to September 17, 1861.

The Black Hawk War

Utah became involved in the Black Hawk War just at a time when it appeared that peace would be established with the Indians. Misunderstandings which began at Manti in April, 1865, spread through the southern part of the territory and caused fighting which continued through the summer of 1869. John was again to be active in military affairs and associate with Colonel Pace, who faced Black Hawk himself at Gravelly Ford, a crossing of the Sevier River between Salina and Richfield, Utah. During this war, L. John experienced his most notable military achievement, as he was appointed a Colonel in the First Brigade in the Second Division of the Nauvoo Legion.

As the warm weather approached in the spring of 1866, Indian raids began afresh in the Territory of Utah. Because the government had neglected to keep its promises made at the Treaty in Spanish Fork, the previous year, the situation was serious. Orders were issued for the mustering of militia men in portions of the northern part of the territory, around Provo and Salt Lake, to aid the local units in the south.<sup>15</sup>

On May 8, the Utah County Military District was organized into a division under Major General Aaron

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<sup>15</sup>Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (4 vols.; Salt Lake City: Cannon and Sons, 1892), II, 195-196.

Johnson, commanding; William Pace was elected Brigadier General of the First Brigade, and L. John Nuttall, Colonel of the First Regiment under him; Colonel Washburn Chipman commanded the Second Regiment. Pace left Provo in May and participated in the campaign in Sevier County.<sup>16</sup> He sent several letters back to the First and Second Regiments which describe the unfortunate circumstances of the settlers and difficulties of keeping his men in supplies for the forty-day volunteer period. Responding to orders from General Wells, Major General Aaron Johnson supplied sixty more men from his division on July 1. Twelve of these came from Nuttall's regiment. During this time, the regiments in the Provo area were ordered to care for the soldiers' families and protect the city and property from any surprise attack. Colonel Pace returned on July 10, and another platoon was sent from Colonel Nuttall's regiment to Gunnison on the day of the Brigadier General's return.<sup>17</sup>

On August 15, Colonel Nuttall began the Sevier County Expedition. After meeting the remainder of the detachment at Payson, which was comprised of units from Springville, Spanish Fork, Provo, and Payson, the company

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<sup>16</sup>"Brigade Record of the First Brigade, Second Division, Nauvoo Legion" (unpublished MS., official record of the First Brigade, in possession of Brigham Young University), May 8, 1867.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., May 8 to July 10, 1867.

was completely organized. On August 21, Nuttall and his men scouted the hills east of Manti as some unidentified "moving objects" had been seen there. Upon entering Salina, he stated that the houses had been vacant for some time; and after going to the east of town, he had this interesting comment to make about the notorious Indian chief:

Here's where Black Hawk and his indians after driving away all the cows of the settlers, stood on a round mound above the town and taunted the people when they arose in the morning, and insultingly told them to come to the indians now for milk for their children. We are virtually on the seat of war.<sup>18</sup>

Colonel Nuttall never saw the war, however, only the battle sites. As his company passed Gravelly Ford of the Sevier River where Colonel Pace encountered Black Hawk, he stated, "good service was done by the boys, showing they meant business: but the odds were greatly against them."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>"Expedition to Sevier County, August 15, 1866" (unpublished, five-paged MS., in possession of Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah), August 21, 1866. (Written in L. John's hand.)

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., August 22, 1866. Historians have a different view of the service Pace performed at Gravelly Ford. Dr. Andrew L. Neff stated, "Here was a golden opportunity to strike a decisive blow to terminate the war, by killing or bagging the war-lord and his braves. The military purpose, however, was not to risk an engagement which must needs sacrifice militiamen, but rather to recover the livestock and incidentally administer such punishment as occasion offered without undue exposure. . . . A skirmish of three hours ensued with slight advantage to the whites. Suddenly a cloud of dust heralded the approach of reinforcements, presumably natives. Without waiting to ascertain the facts, General Pace surrendered the field, only to discover that the newcomers were pursuing Fillmore cavalry, seventy strong, who alone felt capable of coping with the enemy. In prematurely



From here the regiment camped on the Sevier River that same day, after having met Captain Page and his men. The next day he recorded that this captain left in "fond spirits leaving us the defenders of Sevier Valley."<sup>20</sup> Colonel Nuttall graphically recorded the suffering at Richfield as he stated:

Arrived to see the people in most destitute conditions. A cloud had burst on the West Mountain that afternoon and had flooded the town, filling the dugouts with mud and water. . . . Women were bailing out the places where their beds, clothing etc were under water.<sup>21</sup>

The regiment moved camp to where Prattsville was located so a good lookout could be kept between Richfield and East Mountain.

As autumn approached, Colonel Nuttall and three other men escorted Elders Orson Hyde and James A. Allred back to Provo after attending conference in Richfield. Of the seventy-two men under Colonel Nuttall's command, thirty-one returned on September 23, seven on October 6, and five on October 24.<sup>22</sup> Thus ended a twenty-four day expedition of

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and weakly yielding the field and undoubted victory, General Pace allowed the one and the only one splendid opportunity to slip by to administer the enemy and the enemy cause a death-blow. Black Hawk, profiting from the fortuitous confusion, effected an escape from the death-trap, even without sacrificing his booty, though it was said that a bullet had, partially at least, diminished the efficiency of the celebrated chieftain. Neff, p. 403.

<sup>20</sup>"Expedition to Sevier County," August 23, 1866.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>22</sup>"Muster Roll of the First Regiment, First Brigade, Utah County, Military District" (unpublished MS. in Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah), October 24, 1866.

one hundred and forty miles to Richfield; the Master Roll contains a summary of the expedition's achievements by stating that the men guarded the settlements of Richfield,



Fig. 2.--Officers of the Sevier County Expedition Commanded by Leonard John Nuttall, August, 1866. "Expedition to Sevier County," p. 5.

<sup>25</sup>Deseret News, August 20, 1872.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., August 21-22, 1872.

one hundred and forty miles to Richfield; the Muster Roll contains a summary of the expedition's achievements by stating that the men guarded the settlements of Richfield, Alma (now Monroe), and Glenwood, and scouted in the nearby mountains.<sup>23</sup>

Colonel Nuttall, perhaps unknowingly, gave an indication of the effectiveness of his leadership on the men as he stated, "Every wish I could have was always anticipated. If I wanted a detachment to go and scout a certain section of country there was always twice as many would volunteer as were needed."<sup>24</sup>

In 1872 Nuttall accompanied General Marrow, Colonel Pace, and Colonel A. K. Thurber to Spanish Fork Canyon for a conference with fifty to seventy-five Indians who had left the Uintah Indian Reservation. He stated that through the efforts of Colonel Thurber and others, the "co-operative herd has been secured and driven out of Spanish Fork Canyon /sic/, also the herd out of Hobble Creek Canyon /sic/, and are well guarded."<sup>25</sup> Eight chiefs signed their mark on an agreement to return to the Uintah Reservation at another meeting two days later,<sup>26</sup> and this incident marked the last Indian difficulty after the Black Hawk War.

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid.      <sup>24</sup>"Expedition to Sevier County," p. 5.

<sup>25</sup>Deseret News, August 20, 1872.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., August 21-22, 1872.

Civic and Church Service

Soon after the Utah War ended, Nuttall became prominent in Provo and territorial civic affairs. He was elected Councilor in Provo City from 1861-1862, and 1866-1868; Alderman in 1864, 1872, and 1874; City Recorder and Auditor every year from 1861 to 1875 except 1863; and City Attorney in 1866.<sup>27</sup> His faithful attendance at Council meetings is indicated by the fact that all the records are in his handwriting from 1861 to 1872, except 1863, and a very few occasions when a deputy clerk assumed the responsibility. Throughout these years, John was active as he served on numerous committees regarding city business. On several occasions he also participated in initiating Council action. In March 1864, Judge Zerubbabel Snow appointed him Probate Clerk of Utah County. He held this position continuously until September of 1875.<sup>28</sup> At this time he was in Europe on a mission for the Church.

The first territorial positions came to Nuttall in 1872. During this year, he was appointed Chief Clerk of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Utah, and he again held this position in 1874 and 1878.<sup>29</sup> In February of 1872

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<sup>27</sup>"Minutes of the Provo City Council, 1861-1872" (official, unpublished city records in the Provo City Offices, Provo, Utah).

<sup>28</sup>"Probate Records of Utah County" (unpublished MS. in County Clerk's Office, Provo, Utah), March 21, 1864.

<sup>29</sup>Salt Lake Herald, January 12, 1874; "Journals of the Legislative Assembly," January 8, 1872, as contained in "Journal History," January 8, 1872; Deseret News, January 14, 1878.

he was also elected assistant-secretary of the Constitutional Convention in Salt Lake City.<sup>30</sup> This was the fourth attempt of the Territory to obtain statehood. Although ordinance number five of the proposed constitution appealed for guidance from Congress regarding any requirements which were necessary to admit Utah, no reply was given.<sup>31</sup>

Besides holding civic offices, John participated in many public affairs. For example, he was Marshall of the Day in the Provo celebration on July 24, in 1860 and 1865. At the same holiday event in 1868, 2,000 people were assembled to hear "original songs by L. John Nuttall and Henry Maiben, accompanied by choruses /sic/ and choir. . . ." <sup>32</sup>

He displayed efficient and interesting literary talent as he wrote several articles for the Deseret News and Salt Lake Herald. They treated such topics as the advancement of the Timpanogos University during its first term, the dedication of the Provo meeting house in 1867, and a description of the cornerstone ceremony of the Timpanogos Woolen Factory in 1873.<sup>33</sup> These articles are well organized and thorough in treating the developments under consideration.

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<sup>30</sup>Salt Lake Herald, February 20, 1872.

<sup>31</sup>Whitney, II, 694-721.

<sup>32</sup>Deseret News, August 1, 1860; August 2, 1865; August 4, 1868.

<sup>33</sup>Salt Lake Herald, July 8, 1870; Deseret News, August 24, 1867, and June 5, 1873.

John was also active in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. On February 22, 1857, Bishop E. H. Blackburn ordained him to the office of a Teacher in the Aaronic Priesthood of this Church. William Carter and Seely Owens conferred the Melchizedek or higher Priesthood upon him on May 19, 1857, as he was ordained a Seventy in the Twentieth Quorum. Elder Nuttall was sustained as a member of the High Council during the dedication of the Provo meeting house mentioned above; and accordingly, he was ordained to the office of a High Priest and set apart as a member of said council. He was also set apart as clerk of the High Council on the same day.<sup>34</sup>

Brother Nuttall served as secretary in various organizations, both civic and ecclesiastical. As the Provo School of Prophets was organized by President Brigham Young in Provo on April 15, 1868, John was sustained as assistant secretary. This institution met regularly on a weekly schedule until January 7, 1871.<sup>35</sup> He was again chosen as secretary when a

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<sup>34</sup>"Pencil Diary" [pp. 137-140].

<sup>35</sup>"Journal of the Provo School of Prophets," April 15, 1868 (unpublished MS. in the collection, "Old Utah Stake Papers," on microfilm in possession of Brigham Young University Library). The minutes end in January 7, 1871, and it has not been determined in this study if this was the last meeting. The records do not indicate that the school was discontinued at that time, but no further records have been found.

group of Provo Saints voted to live the United Order in April, 1874.<sup>36</sup>

Mr. Nuttall was active in business affairs, as he was secretary in the Provo Co-operative Institution which was organized on December 4, 1868. The establishment of this institution caused the Salt Lake merchants to finally respond to President Young's advice and organize Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution. The President had continually encouraged the Saints to trade only with members of the Mormon Church, but this policy was not followed extensively and, as a result, many gentile merchants prospered in Utah.

In the October Conference of the Church in 1868, a resolution was adopted that members of the Church should not trade with "outsiders."<sup>37</sup> President Young also advocated the establishment of the co-operative system, as it later emerged. Salt Lake merchants accepted the plan to buy from wholesale houses in the East, ship the merchandise to Utah, and distribute it to small branches of the organization at cost. They also effected an organization with Brigham Young as President, but they were slow to act. After the Provo institution was organized with sound

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<sup>36</sup>Utah Writers' Project, p. 117.

<sup>37</sup>Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses (London: Albert Carrington, 1869, litho. 1956), XII (October 8, 1868), 285.

financial backing by Provo merchants and President Young, the businessmen in Salt Lake City realized that if no action were taken the Provo store would be the main supplier of eastern goods. Before connection with the eastern outlets was established, precipitous action occurred in Salt Lake. Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution was established, and the Provo organization became a branch of the co-operative system in Utah.<sup>38</sup>

#### His Mission Call

An interesting telegram from Provo, signed by James E. Daniels to B. Tanner in Payson on May 22, 1874, states: "If you are going to Goshen tomorrow tell Nuttall he is appointed on a mission to England."<sup>39</sup> A note addressed to L. John in Provo on this same day announced his call by saying, "You are appointed on a mission to England it will be necessary for you to signe [sic] the factory bonds before leaving."<sup>40</sup>

In a letter to his Provo Sunday School class dated June 14, Brother Nuttall gives expression of his attitude toward this calling:

To my young friends and associates in the Provo Sabbath School.

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<sup>38</sup>Whitney, I, 276-285.

<sup>39</sup>"Papers of L. John Nuttall" (collection in Brigham Young University Library, 1948), Folder 31.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.



It is with pleasing thoughts and reflections that I refer to the good times of our association and meetings in class since we have been organized as a class in the Provo Sabbath School, and in as much as I have been called to leave you for a time to bear the glad tidings of the Gospel of Life and Salvation to the Nation of my birth and to speak of the Goodness of God to his people in these Valleys of the mountains and the good that is being brought about in the instruction imparted by the Elders of Israel and many of the worthy sisters to the youth and rising generation of the Latter day [sic] Saints at home.

I expect to take great pleasure in so far filling the Mission that has been assigned me - and I trust I shall ever be remembered in your prayers and that I may accomplish all that my heart can desire to righteousness and return in the own due time of the Lord to again mingle with you . . . prosecute your labors continue in the faith until Zion shall be redeemed and the just reign triumphant upon the earth.<sup>41</sup>

Caring for a family of nine children was a sacrifice for Elizabeth as L. John left her in Provo. Having lost between five and six thousand dollars worth of real estate and personal belongings as their home had burned completely four years earlier,<sup>42</sup> Elizabeth found additional reasons to be industrious as her husband left for Great Britain in company with David McKenzie, John Henry Smith, and Peter Sinclair on June 29. He was first assigned to the Durham and New Castle Conference under the Liverpool Office by President Joseph F. Smith; but within two months after this first assignment, Nuttall was appointed to labor in the Millennial

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<sup>41</sup>"Letter to the Provo Sabbath School," June 14, 1874.

<sup>42</sup>Millennial Star (Liverpool, England), August 11, 1874, p. 505.

Star Office,<sup>43</sup> where he worked for the remainder of his mission. The leaders of the Church had called him on this short mission of nine months to assist in secretarial work at the mission headquarters, so he did but a limited amount of proselyting. He did visit his relatives in Lancaster, however. Although they received him well and helped to gather genealogical data, none would accept his gospel message.<sup>44</sup>

John displayed a wholesome attitude toward his mission through his writings. In a letter to President Joseph F. Smith, recorded in the Millennial Star, Brother Nuttall gave an optimistic view of the work. After attending an appointment in London, he wrote:

We had a splendid meeting, quite a number of strangers present who seemed much interested in the remarks made. This (the North London) is one of the live Branches, and the saints are enjoying their religion and feeling well. . . . The work is progressing favorably in this conference.<sup>45</sup>

His happiness in the work is noted as he stated, "I can assure you I have felt well in my labors, as I have always done in the discharge of my duty. . . ."<sup>46</sup> In his report to the Church officials in Salt Lake City after his

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 555.

<sup>44</sup>Interview with Annie Nuttall Baker, May 24, 1962.

<sup>45</sup>Millennial Star, April, 1875, p. 252.

<sup>46</sup>Deseret News, March 31, 1875.

return, "he stated that the Church in the British Isles is in the most flourishing and glorious condition. . . ."47

Notice was given on May 3, 1875, of Elder Nuttall's release from his labors in the Millennial Star Office to return to his home in Utah.<sup>48</sup>

Nuttall returned aboard the "Wyoming," which sailed May 13 and arrived in New York on May 24, 1875.<sup>49</sup> Elders Hugh S. Gowans and Henry Hughes traveled in company with him along with one hundred and eighty-six "souls" who were immigrating to Utah from Great Britain. Many new converts saw President Young for the first time as he and Daniel Wells met the party in Farmington, Utah, on the train before arriving in Salt Lake on June 3.<sup>50</sup>

Soon after arriving home from his mission to England, Nuttall took Sophia Taylor as his second wife in a plural marriage relationship as practiced by the Mormon Church at the time.<sup>51</sup> Born at Salt Lake City on July 14, 1849, she

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<sup>47</sup>"Journal History," June 18, 1874.

<sup>48</sup>Millennial Star, May, 1875, p. 280.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., June, 1875, pp. 377-378.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., July, 1875, pp. 458-459.

<sup>51</sup>Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon Church in 1830, is revered as a prophet among the Saints. He claimed to have received a revelation, in 1831 or 1832, wherein he was told that the doctrine of plural marriage as practiced by certain Old Testament patriarchs was given by the Lord. He

was the daughter of President John Taylor and Harriet Ann Whitaker Taylor. She and L. John were married on August 31, 1875, at Salt Lake City.<sup>52</sup>

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later reported that he was commanded to begin the practice of polygamy. It was later lived by some few of the Church leaders secretly until 1852 when the Church announced to the world its belief in the principle and practice of plural marriage. A small percentage of men who were in good standing with the Church and financially able were assigned by the President to support additional wives.

<sup>52</sup>"Nuttall Family Records" (in possession of Reed Nuttall, Provo, Utah).

## CHAPTER III

### CHURCH AND CIVIC LEADER AT KANAB

#### Background of Kanab

Kanab was first inhabited by Mormon settlers in the late 1850's, but trouble later arose during the Black Hawk War as a band of Indians made a raid on the settlement in 1865. As the depredations occurred the following summer and Indian relations continued to be unsettled, the town was abandoned in April of 1867. Jacob Hamblin performed effective work in the area for the Mormons by making friends with the Indians. By 1870 a sufficient number of pioneers had resettled in Kanab to organize a ward of the Church. Hamblin described the visit of President Young to Kanab as follows:

In the Spring of 1870, President Brigham Young, his counselor George A. Smith, Apostle Erastus Snow and other leading men of the Church, came to Kanab, accompanied by twenty men as a guard.

As we had been notified of this visit, we had things in as good order as possible. The Piutes, seventy in number, washed off the dirt and paint which besmeared their persons, and put on a fair appearance for Indians.

President Young at first objected to sending out the animals of the company to feed under an Indian guard but afterwards consented to do so. He expressed himself well satisfied with my labors and policy on the frontiers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin, A Narrative of His Personal Experiences, as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1909), p. 102.

A manuscript history of the Kanab Stake at the Church Historian's Office records the organizing of the ward on this same visit:

In September 1870, President Young and party visited Kane County, travelling to St. George via Pipe Springs. On September 10, 1870 President Young selected the site for the town of Kanab and on the following day (Sun. Sept. 11, 1870) he organized the Saints at Kanab into the Kanab Ward and ordained and set apart Elder Levi Stewart as Bishop.<sup>2</sup>

In nearby Long Valley the original settlers came from the Muddy River Mission in Nevada, which was founded in the 1860's. When Brigham Young visited the Muddy settlements in 1870, he advised them to return to Utah; and the next two years saw many of these pioneers settle in Long Valley and later establish a United Order<sup>3</sup> with headquarters at Mt. Carmel. Another newly founded town was Glendale. Only a few months after the Mt. Carmel Order was established, almost half of the members withdrew from the organization. The ecclesiastical leaders then advised those who wished to continue

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<sup>2</sup>"History of the Kanab Stake" (MS. history in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), September 10, 1870.

<sup>3</sup>The first United Order in Utah was established by President Brigham Young at St. George in 1874. Its purpose was to lead the Saints to a closer spiritual union and consecration of property. The United Orders which were later established were not uniform. They varied from a strict community life in some areas to a single family-like organization which owned all things in common, as founded at Orderville. The Orders experienced many difficulties, and practically all of them were dissolved after a decade from the founding of the St. George Order. See Roberts, V, 488-489.

living the United Order to move a few miles up the valley, and it was these settlers who incorporated as the United Order of Orderville in July, 1875. All their property was deeded to the community corporation, and each member solemnly covenanted to abide by certain rules suggested by Brigham Young.<sup>4</sup>

### Second Bishop of Kanab

Nuttall began an important career in his life after a two-day conference of the Utah Stake held at Provo where "thousands of the Saints" were assembled as President Brigham Young officiated. On the first Sunday in August, 1875, John was ordained Bishop of Kanab Ward in southern Utah and assigned to coordinate the six wards in the area and lead the United Order of Kanab.<sup>5</sup>

Soon after November 16, when the Nuttall family arrived in Kanab in company with Daniel H. Wells' party,

. . . a meeting of the Board was held with Church authorities President Daniel H. Wells, Edward Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow of the twelve apostles and other

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<sup>4</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization, Utah State Agricultural College Monograph Series, II, No. 2 (March, 1954), 7-9.

<sup>5</sup>Deseret News, August 4, 1875. The six wards in the area were Pahreah, Johnson, Kanab, Orderville, Glendale, and Mt. Carmel. These were all located in Utah, but the stake also included a few smaller settlements in Arizona which were thought to be in the Territory of Utah.

visiting Elders, among whom was Bishop L. John Nuttall of Provo. A letter from Brigham Young was read releasing John R. Young and Levi Stewart from their offices as president and bishop and uniting the duties of both under L. John Nuttall as bishop. The purpose was to 'unite the hearts and feelings of the brethren and consolidate the interests of the people.'<sup>6</sup>

This Kanab Order had been founded the April before Nuttall arrived, but its inception was not well organized:

Elder L. John Nuttall who had been appointed successor to Bishop Levi Stewart as Bishop of Kanab met with the people for the first time Sept 19, 1875. Soon after that a branch of the United Order was more perfectly organized at Kanab with the new Bishop as President. Most of the people now joined the order and worked in it a couple of years, after which it was dissolved by mutual consent.<sup>7</sup>

One other entry concerning the Kanab United Order appearing early the next year gives a good indication of its auspicious beginning:

Jan. 3, 1876 Election took place at Kanab for Board of united Order officers. Fifty-nine of our Seventy five heads of families have declared themselves and all they possess, as subject to the rules and principles of the United Order.<sup>8</sup>

Although Nuttall's daily journal began two days before the above entry, and he commented on various transactions of the Order, there is no comment on the organization's progress or dissolution.

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<sup>6</sup>"Minutes of the Kanab United Order," as quoted in Elsie Chamberlain Carroll (ed.), History of Kane County (Salt Lake City: Kane County, Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1960), p. 63.

<sup>7</sup>"History of Kanab Ward" (MS. history in the Church Historian's Office), September 19, 1875.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., January 3, 1876.



Dedication of the St. George Temple

After serving as Bishop of Kanab Ward for one year, Nuttall went to St. George for the dedication of the lower story of the temple, which was completed sufficiently for use in baptism and ordinance work for the dead.<sup>9</sup>

He dramatically described the inspirational speeches given in the first Latter-day Saint Temple in the western United States, and the impact of the event on Nuttall was evident as he recorded on leaving the temple:

. . . feeling that this has been the best day of My life and desiring to have a determination to press onward in the great work of the last days in the redemption and salvation of myself, wives, children and human family. . . .<sup>10</sup>

He began a long career in secretarial work for the leaders of the Church as he corrected President Young's dedicatory prayer to be published, and assisted Elder Wilford Woodruff in copying the proceedings of the dedication in his journal for the Church history. This did not end his labors in St. George, however, for he was among nine

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<sup>9</sup>N. B. Lundwall (comp.), Temples of the Most High (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1960), p. 63. The Mormon Church constructs temples in which ordinances for the dead, such as baptism and eternal marriage, are performed by proxy for those ancestors of the Saints who have not been baptized by those holding the Priesthood as claimed by the Mormon Church. The St. George Temple was completed in 1877 at a cost of about \$500,000, being approximately 141 feet long and 93 feet wide.

<sup>10</sup>"Journal of L. John Nuttall," January 1, 1877. Hereafter referred to as "Nuttall Journal."

people who were named to assist in ordinance work in the temple.<sup>11</sup> Beginning this new work but a few days later, he was recorder for the first baptisms performed in the temple on January 9, 1877.<sup>12</sup> His duties were not consigned only to recording, for he spent many hours with President Young planning and writing methods of procedure, devising forms to be used in recording ordinance work accomplished, copying letters of instruction from the President to missionaries, recording any new instruction to the people, and doing physical work on the temple building and grounds. Nuttall remained in St. George until after April 6, when the remaining portion of the temple was dedicated by Daniel Wells, counselor to President Young, as the General Conference of the Church was held in the temple. After the meetings, L. John traveled to Kanab in company with John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow, and Orson Pratt.

#### Kanab Stake Organized

April 18, 1877, was an important day in the history of Kanab and in L. John's life. The Kanab Stake was

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Nuttall participated personally in these ordinances on March 23 and 28, of this same year, when he was sealed in marriage to two women who died without being married. These two persons, sealed respectively on the above dates, were: Sarah Allman, who was born in England, and Ann Harrison, daughter of William and Elizabeth Harrison, born July 8, 1816, and died on July 8, 1857. (See "Nuttall Family Records," in possession of Reed Nuttall, Provo, Utah.)

organized by John Taylor, and Nuttall was announced as president from the "names selected by President B. Young."

Brother Taylor set Nuttall apart, and Lorenzo Snow did the same for the two new counselors, Howard O. Spencer and James L. Bunting. As Taylor also read the names of those who were called to the High Council and presidents of the Priesthood Quorums in Kanab, unanimous consent was given by the congregation.<sup>13</sup>

A second important meeting of the day commenced as,

Elder E Snow invited all the brethren to assemble in front of the Meeting House at which time he said it was desirable to revive our Militia organization & proposed L. John Nuttall as Colonel of the 2 Reg St. George Military dist who unanomously /sic/ sustained also H. O. Spencer as Lt Col. Wm D Johnson as Reg Adjts.<sup>14</sup>

In contrast to his earlier active participation in military affairs, John made no further mention of this organization's activities.

The organization of the stake continued rapidly at first, as on the next day, H. B. M. Jolley and Thomas Chamberlain were set apart as members of the Stake High Council in Orderville, and the other new stake leaders were sustained in the same town. At quarterly conference in Orderville, the following August, Erastus Snow presented the following men as Bishops, all of whom were unanimously sustained: Thomas Chamberlain of Orderville, James

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<sup>13</sup>"Nuttall Journal," April 18, 1877.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., April 18, 1877.

Leithead of Kanab, Henry B. M. Jolley of Mt. Carmel, and Richard Robinson as presiding Elder of Upper Kanab and settlers above the saw mill in Long Valley.<sup>15</sup>

Through his position as President of the Kanab Stake, Nuttall became a leader over interesting communal types of living along with the typical Mormon ward organization. Both types of organizations were but newly founded in Kane County. He worked closely with Orderville, as all important decisions in the United Orders were made through the direction of the Kanab Stake, Apostle Erastus Snow, who was living in St. George, visiting leaders of the Church, and the First Presidency.<sup>16</sup> Most of these leaders being inaccessible much of the time, however, Nuttall played a significant role in directing the Order. Characteristic of his duties were arbitration of disputes within the Order, property settlement with those who withdrew, sale of land, receipt of tithing produce, and transfer of some limited manufactured goods for the convenience of the Order.

Nuttall proved to be an able administrator in ecclesiastical and community affairs. He found very early that it was difficult for people to live the "Orderville Experiment," for three days after assuming leadership of the new state, he wrote that the Order was "mixed in affairs

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., August 15, 1877.

<sup>16</sup>Arrington, p. 25.

hope to get them straightened out."<sup>17</sup> He always encouraged the development of the United Order principle as a necessary part of the gospel. Speaking on this principle in St. George, he had said earlier, "We must work into the United Order sooner or later . . . it is the practice of what we preach that will save us."<sup>18</sup> Allen Frost, who accompanied Levi Stewart to Kanab in 1870, stated that Nuttall gave the "most powerful Order sermon I ever heard."<sup>19</sup> He seemed to enjoy instructing the people in public meetings and realized his position, for he often spoke of having "good freedom" in speaking and administrative duties, and, as he stated, "the spirit of my calling upon me."<sup>20</sup> His letters indicate clear thinking in making administrative decisions.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>"Nuttall Journal," April 23, 1877.

<sup>18</sup>"Journal History," May 14, 1876, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup>"Diary of Allen Frost, 1838-1901" (MS. copy at Brigham Young University Library), January 23, 1876. (Type-written.)

<sup>20</sup>"Nuttall Journal," June 26, 1877.

<sup>21</sup>An example of his understanding of good human relationships is shown as Bishop Thomas Chamberlain of Orderville asked about building a grist mill for Long Valley. Nuttall's advice was that only one was really needed, "it follows necessarily that to expend measures in building a new mill and keeping two Millers, each only half employed will be a waste of capital and labor, which is unwise & not the way to get rich." He continued that to build another mill would also do injustice to Bishop Leithead, who built his under the council of the authorities in Southern Utah. (See Letter to Thomas Chamberlain, April 26, 1878.)

Typical of the close union of Church and territorial affairs in Utah, Nuttall was active in developing the community of Kanab. A number of his early proposals were accepted by the citizenry and became town policy. Some of these actions were the fencing of Kanab, so the livestock would not destroy the crops, starting a night herd for cattle and horses, taxing the residents for construction and maintenance of water ditches, removing the corral from the public square, and driving the stock around the field to the canyon. In addition, he was elected to head the organization for the official townsite of Kanab to be legalized, president of the stockholders of Kanab Tannery, and Assessor of Kane County. He was influential in county elections as he nominated city officers for Kanab in 1877, and the following year served as chairman of the caucus for election of two delegates to Kane County. After being called to labor in Salt Lake, he continued to instruct his two counselors, Spencer and Bunting, regarding persons to be nominated in various offices.<sup>22</sup>

Although a co-operative store was not established in Kanab until after Nuttall had moved to Salt Lake, he actively encouraged its organization before leaving and directed the nature of its incorporation by correspondence with Bishop Johnson.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>"Nuttall Journal," August 1, 1879.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., August 1, 1879.

Call to Work on Church Trustee in  
Trust Accounts

After the death of Brigham Young, Nuttall and his two wives traveled to Salt Lake to attend the General Conference of the Church in October, 1877. As the authorities of the Church were sustained by the general membership, he recorded, "I never experienced such pleasurable sensations in my life as the voting was progressing."<sup>24</sup> Stopping temporarily at Provo en route home, Nuttall was unexpectedly called into meeting with Abraham O. Smoot, President of Utah Stake, Wilford Woodruff and Erastus Snow. He recorded:

Bro Woodruff enformed me that I was wanted at Salt Lake City to assist himself - Bros E Snow & Jos F Smith as the auditing Committee of the Trustee in Trusts accounts and Books - commence forthwith. . . . I asked for 1 month to take my family home and regulate Matters at home - but Prest Taylor had insisted on the Matters being commenced right away.<sup>25</sup>

Displaying great faith in his Church leaders, Nuttall sent his family on the long journey to Kanab and returned immediately to the Church headquarters in Salt Lake City. This was the beginning of several difficult, long assignments in the Church Offices away from family and stake responsibilities. The first mission ended nine months later in June. In April of the next spring, 1879, he was again

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<sup>24</sup>Letter to William D. Johnson, August 21, 1880.

<sup>25</sup>"Nuttall Journal," October 13, 1887.<sup>78</sup>

requested to return to Salt Lake to assist in the same work. From this time until his release as Stake President in 1884, practically all of his administration was accomplished by correspondence as he was unable to visit personally in the area except for a few occasions.<sup>26</sup>

The year after first being called to Salt Lake, Nuttall went on a six-weeks tour of the Mormon communities in Arizona in company with Orson Pratt, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and John T. Taylor of the Council of Twelve Apostles, plus a few other men. Reporting on the tour to the Deseret News in several lengthy articles, Nuttall gave an optimistic view of conditions in Arizona. On November 25, he wrote from Kanab:

There are many desirable places for homes for faithful Latter-day Saints who will devote their lives to lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of Zion.<sup>27</sup>

At a conference held in Kanab on the return route to Salt Lake, the speakers all commented on the progress made in the settlement. Special mention was made of the

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<sup>26</sup>"History of Kanab Stake," 1878-1884. (Nuttall is named as being present at only four of the thirteen conferences held between June 9, 1878, and the same day in 1884. According to the manuscript history, he was present in June and November, 1878; November, 1881; and September, 1883. On the first date above he reported, "The brethren at Kanab had recently built 1700 rods of fence, enclosed about 1100 acres of land and concluded about four miles of water ditch. The young peoples associations were in a flourishing condition as well as the Sunday and day schools.")

<sup>27</sup>Deseret News, November, 1878.



"Commodious new brick school" which had been recently completed.<sup>28</sup>

It was a great strain to be in Salt Lake City away from family and loved ones. To Elizabeth, L. John said:

. . . for I am heartily sick of being here and more especially since I left you in Provo to go home without me. but I will do my best and trust in the Lord. You ask me to pray for you, I never forget you in my prayers.<sup>29</sup>

One of very few expressions of despair stands out during the October of 1879 when Nuttall's family left him alone in Salt Lake City after a visit from Kanab:

. . . feeling much depressed in spirits as I would rather have continued South to see My Folks home in Safety & all the children there also attend some duties in a stake capacity that are much needed.<sup>30</sup>

During this fall he talked with President Taylor about returning to Kanab on at least three occasions. At first, "after hearing me he said he would like me to continue for the present if I could only feel to do so but gave me no satisfaction as to the time I shall be needed here." Next, Erastus Snow encouraged Nuttall to plan on permanent residence in Kanab. Ten days later, however, President Taylor explicitly stated he must not return to

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid. See also October 15, 19, and 30, 1878, and November 16, of the same year.

<sup>29</sup>Letter to Elizabeth Nuttall, October 21, 1879.

<sup>30</sup>"Nuttall Journal," October 12, 1879.

Kanab before arranging the office affairs and would be released from stake leadership if it would be necessary.<sup>31</sup>

It was at the height of this period of anxiety when Nuttall wrote the following to Erastus Snow who was visiting in Southern Utah:

I cannot personally present these things to Prest Taylor any more forceably than I have done and have felt from our conversation while here and just before you left for home, to rely on your explaining matters when in the South, so that he could take it up and consider it as you represent the emergency: although it seemed that you did say and do personally all that could be said or done when here, It was with this view that I telegraphed you to please telegraph him direct, so that if favorable action is had I can make the necessary arrangements to meet you as you suggest. . . . I feel to be in your hands and the hands of the Priesthood, willing to be used to the best good, and desirous to meet and fill the requirements placed upon one by those whose right it is to direct: I do not want to be considered as murmuring or that I was not in the right place, but these Stake Matters do have weight on my mind, and I feel the responsibilities of them. . . .<sup>32</sup>

One sees a great loyalty in Nuttall's character as he is torn between two areas of responsibility. Despite the unfavorable circumstances, he continued writing to Snow in the same letter, "Whatever steps you may feel to take will be acceptable to me, and all favors and many kindnesses received at your hands are gratefully appreciated."<sup>33</sup> He

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<sup>31</sup>"Nuttall Journal," October 2, 10, and 20, 1879.

<sup>32</sup>Letter to Erastus Snow, October 14, 1879.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

remained in Salt Lake.<sup>34</sup>

The last years of his administration were difficult, as the communal group in Orderville experienced misunderstandings and divisions arose in the stake. Several members withdrawing from Orderville made it difficult for those who remained to prosper. Bunting saw this cause of trouble in January of 1882, as he wrote:

We have been visiting most of the Wards and districts of this Stake of Zion and knowing your interest in the welfare of the Saints we take this opportunity of reporting to you. . . .

We now feel it to be our duty to speak plainly of Matters in Orderville - There is quite a difference of opinion and feeling between us and the Board of Directors of the U.O. We are sorry to say some of the Members are becoming dissatisfied and drawing out of the Order in consequence of the pressure that is being brought upon the people who are very destitute of underclothing, furniture and cooking utensils [sic] etc. etc.

We called the Board of Directors together and spent several hours with them trying to get them to see the necessity of giving attention to advice and suggestions made to them by the Apostles and the presidency of the Stake.

Bro Spencer has been suggesting to the Bp and Board of Directors for a year or more past to make things a little more safe and comfortable at home - to try and keep the different branches of home industry going and not spread too fast and too far. But no notice is taken and no attention paid to these Matters. . . .<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Two years later Nuttall gave expression to the same feeling. He stated to Bishop William Johnson, "I do not know at present when I shall be released to return home, as I am kept quite busy, and nothing satisfactory is said to that effect, at least in my presence, yet I am not without hope." (Letter to William D. Johnson, April 30, 1881.)

<sup>35</sup>Letter from Joseph L. Bunting, January 20, 1882.

Nuttall still believed that the Order should continue as he stated later the same year,

. . . unity of action among the Saints must be encouraged, especially at Orderville; for they have started in an experiment which must be maintained. They have done exceedingly well and struggled against adversity and powers of the destroyer, and are now becoming comparatively comfortable. It appears a more liberal spirit might exist. . . .<sup>36</sup>

During these troubled times at Orderville, additional pressure was put on Nuttall to visit the stake as a flood came sweeping down the Kanab Canyon and the county election results were unfavorable for the Mormons. Bunting wrote to Nuttall:

On Sunday last just as the people were coming from Ward meeting in the afternoon a tremendous /sic/ flood of water suddenly rolled down the Kanab Canyon sweeping every thing before it that stood in the way. You can form some little idea of the magnitude of the flood when I tell you it filled the kanyon reaching from cliff to cliff spreading over on both sides of the old creek channel to a distance of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile and when it reached the field below town it was from 3 to 4 feet deep and covered the entire bottom and sweeping away nearly all the wheat raised in the upper field as it stood in the shock . . . all the Hay and Meadow held in the field and canyon is completely covered up. . . .<sup>37</sup>

Nephi Johnson from Kanab commented on the flood and elections as he stated:

We have just completed our ditch which the late flood washed away at a cost of about twelve hundred dollars and people are now gathering in their grain and

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<sup>36</sup>Letter to Howard O. Spencer and Joseph L. Bunting, June 30, 1882.

<sup>37</sup>Letter from Joseph L. Bunting, August 6, 1883.

hay that was left by the flood. On election did not go off as quietly as usual. Certain parties at Kanab Mt Carmel Glendale and Upper Kanab got up what they call an opposition ticket as they scratched off a portion of the names of those who were nominated by the County Convention for County officers and placed other names in their place. . . .<sup>38</sup>

Being enabled to visit the Kanab area in September of 1883, Nuttall met with Spencer and settled claims of three men who were leaving the Order. Although making settlement was difficult, Nuttall formulated a plan which was accepted by the Orderville congregation as the future procedure for determining the amount of property each leaving party was entitled to inherit on departure. A committee of three members was to be chosen each year to take an inventory on the first of January and determine the total assets of the Order. Ten per cent was deducted in favor of the Order for expenses, losses were subtracted, and improvements added to the total value of community property.<sup>39</sup>

Bishop Thomas Chamberlain of Orderville wrote to Nuttall the next year informing him that so many people were leaving the Order it was seriously decreasing their movable stock. He explained plans to sell all the property to the stockholders except the factory, sheep and sheep ranches, tannery, and saw mill because, as he explained it, the situation "does not give Satisfaction . . . those who leave will

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<sup>38</sup>Letter from Nephi Johnson, August 17, 1883.

<sup>39</sup>"Nuttall Journal," September 11 and 12, 1883.

continue to keep those who stay in Straightened circumstances, and will not give satisfaction to either party."<sup>40</sup> As late as April 28, 1884, President John Taylor encouraged the Order to continue, but then advised dissolution in 1885, a year after L. John was released from President of the stake. All the property was auctioned off to the stockholders except the tannery, woolen factory, and sheep enterprises which were left in hands of the unincorporated company until 1889, when they were sold.<sup>41</sup>

Although Nuttall made very few comments in regard to his personal relationship with general stake membership, it appears that a close bond of friendship existed with them. These feelings were expressed as he visited the area after being called to labor in Salt Lake City in 1877. On Christmas Eve of this year, a program was held in his honor at Kanab. After being escorted from his home with his two wives and children to the meeting house by Bishop Johnson, Nuttall stated:

. . . on our arrival at the door the assembly arose to their feet in welcome. . . . Bp Johnson stated the object of the gathering and expressed appreciation in behalf of all present. . . . I responded in acknowledgment of the good feelings expressed and now made manifest thanked and blessed them. After which sister Lucy Johnson read a poem composed by herself for the occasion. . . . The house was as well filled as I ever saw

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<sup>40</sup>Letter from Thomas Chamberlain, August 14, 1884.

<sup>41</sup>Arrington, p. 37.

it and a goodly number present who I had not seen out for a long time . . . at the head of the hall My likeness was placed over a prominent Motto. "God bless our President." . . . a good spirit prevailed.<sup>42</sup>

Coming back to Kanab in 1881 for a short visit, Nuttall wrote: "I met many of the Saints who expressed their pleasure at meeting me."<sup>43</sup>

This good relationship was marred in one way as the Kanab Irrigation Company sold part of Nuttall's stock to pay delinquent assessments. He believed that the company had dealt unfairly in his absence, but he could not travel to Kanab at this time while he was in retirement with President Taylor to evade the federal officers on charges of polygamy.<sup>44</sup>

A change in the Kanab Stake leadership occurred in September of 1883 and January of the next year. As Nuttall visited Kanab on the former date,

H. O. Spencer and J. L. Bunting resigned their positions as counselors to L. John Nuttall, who had for some time spent most of his time at the President's Office in Salt Lake City.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>"Nuttall Journal," December 24, 1878.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., November 16, 1881.

<sup>44</sup>"Notice," Kanab Irrigation Company, April 13 and 15, 1887 (Box 3, Folder 30). (There are two notices: the first states an assessment of \$179.04 on stock valued at \$100.00; the second notice gives an assessment of \$95.00 on field water stock valued at \$246.00.)

<sup>45</sup>"History of Kanab Stake," September 9, 1883.

Soon after the first of the year, Edwin D. Woolley was set apart as the second President of the Stake because Nuttall,

. . . for some time past has been engaged in a very responsible position in the Church at Salt Lake City where his labors were still needed.<sup>46</sup>

On January 9, 1884, when Nuttall was released from stake leadership, his wives and children were all in Salt Lake City except for his oldest son, Leonard John, then twenty-five years old. He remained with his family in Kanab to run the farm until 1887, when he moved to Salt Lake City to work on the temple.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., January 9, 1884.

<sup>47</sup>Interview with Annie Nuttall Baker, May 24, 1962. (Mrs. Baker is the oldest child of Leonard John, and oldest grandchild of L. John.)



## CHAPTER IV

### SECRETARY TO PRESIDENT JOHN TAYLOR

#### A Judicial Crusade in Utah

When Nuttall assumed the duties of secretary at the Church Offices in 1879, the first in a series of federal acts opposing polygamy had been passed. The wave of the judicial crusade crescendoed to a high peak in the 1880's when two discriminating laws, the Edmunds and Edmunds-Tucker Acts, were passed disfranchising the Church members, replacing territorial officers by a federally appointed five-man commission and disincorporating the Church.

Although it appears ostensibly that the cause of the campaign by the federal government against the Church was polygamy, historians writing on the subject see deeper reasons. Dr. Richard D. Poll states,

. . . it must be noted that polygamy was not the only factor which produced friction between the Mormons and their Gentile (non-Mormon) contemporaries. Perhaps it was not even a major one, particularly in the minds of those directly interested in promoting national concern over the Mormon Question.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Richard D. Poll, "The Twin Relics, a Study of Mormon Polygamy and the Campaign by the Government of the United States for Its Abolition, 1852-1890" (unpublished Master's thesis, Texas Christian University, 1939), p. 60.

Polygamy made its appearance as an issue on the American political scene after being made a part of the Republican Platform, accepted in June, 1856. Part of this platform read:

Resolved: That the Constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism--Polygamy, and Slavery.<sup>2</sup>

Six years later, being a decade after the Mormons made public their belief in the practice of plural marriage, the first legislation against it was passed by the national government in the Anti-bigamy or Morrill Act of 1862. This law defined bigamy as a crime punishable by not more than \$500, three years imprisonment, or both. Although President Lincoln signed the bill, no effort was made to enforce it, and the provisions of the bill itself prohibited its ability to be enacted.<sup>3</sup>

No convictions were made against the Mormons until after the second law was passed opposing them, the Poland Act of 1874. Restricting the powers of local courts and abolishing the offices of Territorial Marshal and Attorney General, this law paved the way for Mormons to be indicted

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<sup>2</sup>Platform of the Republican Party, adopted at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, quoted in Kirk H. Porter (ed.), National Party Platforms (New York, 1928), p. 48.

<sup>3</sup>See Poll, p. 115, for a thorough discussion of the provisions of this act.

in Territorial Courts of Utah. The Mormon people saw this act as a violation of the right to trial by jury--a right to be tried by one's peers.

Both the Mormons and gentiles desired that the legality of the Anti-bigamy Law be tested; and as four Saints were arrested in 1874, George Reynolds, private secretary to President Brigham Young who was indicted by the Third District Court of Salt Lake City, voluntarily appeared before the said court.<sup>4</sup> After the Supreme Court of the Territory of Utah dismissed his case on ground of the jury being called illegally, he was indicted a second time in October of the next year. On this occasion the Territorial Court upheld the decision of the District Court, and an appeal was made to the United States Supreme Court. When the case was adjudicated, to the surprise of the Mormons, Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite upheld the decision of the Territorial Court and the legality of the Anti-bigamy law of 1862 by his decision in January, 1879.<sup>5</sup>

The Mormons had justified the breaking of the Morrill Act in believing that it would be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. As this basic premise was shattered in 1879, reasoning changed among the Saints as many believed it a lesser transgression to break the laws of the land than covenants made with God.

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<sup>4</sup>Roberts, IV, 58-59.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., V, 442, 468-470.

Assignment as Secretary to President  
John Taylor

Two months before Reynolds was to leave for imprisonment in Lincoln, Nebraska,<sup>6</sup> Nuttall received a telegram from Erastus Snow saying, "Pres Taylor as well as ourselves think you had better come as soon as convenient."<sup>7</sup> Upon arriving in Salt Lake City from Kanab, Nuttall was informed by Snow that he was called to audit the Trustee in Trust Accounts for the past year and draft a new system for "keeping track" of tithing and general Church business. It appears, however, that there were additional reasons for his being called to Salt Lake City, for as Reynolds was leaving, "Pres Taylor directed Geo Reynolds to inform Elder L. John Nuttall as to the business of the Presidents and Trustee in Trust offices . . . should he Reynolds not receive Executive Clemency in his Case now before Prest. Hayes and be called to go away."<sup>8</sup> Two days later, Nuttall, for the first time, "attended the duties of the office as Private Secretary to Prest Taylor." He was to associate closely with the leading council of the Church during the judicial crusade described above, this

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<sup>6</sup>Jenson, I, 209. Jenson stated that after Reynolds left by train for the state penitentiary in Lincoln, Nebraska, on June 17, he served for only a short time there. He was allowed to finish his sentence in the Utah State Penitentiary.

<sup>7</sup>"Nuttall Journal," April 22, 1879.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., June 14, 1879.

being one of the greatest crises of the organization's history. It was 1892 before he was released as secretary--two years after the Church bowed to the authority of the government by issuing an "Official Declaration" generally called the Woodruff Manifesto.<sup>9</sup>

Commencing his work for John Taylor at the Church headquarters, Nuttall became intimately associated with the man who had baptized him in England over twenty-five years earlier. "Very liberal in his Views also very correct as to his policy of conducting affairs--not moving in haste but careful and sure--and safe,"<sup>10</sup> were the words describing President Taylor immediately after L. John began his new assignment.

His first work in Salt Lake consisted of auditing the books, over which he found "a feeling of insecurity by the Auditing Comty & Prest Taylor as the Manner in which the Church Books & Accounts are kept & the necessity of a more thorough system."<sup>11</sup> Before beginning his work, Nuttall recommended that each department of the Church Offices take

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<sup>9</sup>Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1960), pp. 256-257. Besides denying charges that plural marriages had recently been performed by the Church, President Woodruff assured that none would be solemnized in the future, and that he would use his influence to persuade members of the Church to follow the same course.

<sup>10</sup>"Nuttall Journal," October 19, 1877.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., May 8, 1879.

an inventory and begin a more adequate system of bookkeeping. This was accomplished rapidly, as he received cooperation from Bishop Hunter and other members of the staff.

Many hours were spent by Nuttall locating original deeds for Church property,<sup>12</sup> for at this time the estate of the late President Brigham Young was in dispute resulting from a suit against the Church and President Taylor, as Trustee in Trust for the corporation of the Church, by some dissatisfied heirs. Nuttall also assisted in miscellaneous ways for the preparation of a counter suit by the Church beginning in August, 1879.<sup>13</sup>

L. John met regularly with the Council of the Twelve Apostles of the Church, keeping their official minutes. In this work he was conscientious to a degree that some of the brethren considered him officious. Nuttall, not being present at a meeting of the council when this charge was made, reported that Erastus Snow defended him as speaking "only when it was necessary so that proper action might be taken to give the facts."<sup>14</sup>

A very close bond existed between Nuttall and President Taylor, father of Sophia, John's second wife. He reported many conversations with the President both at the

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<sup>12</sup>"Nuttall Journal," April 5, 26, and 30, 1878.

<sup>13</sup>Roberts, IV, 524-531. The settlement was reached during the latter part of 1879.

<sup>14</sup>"Nuttall Journal," October 6, 1889.

office and in his home, where he also enjoyed many social gatherings. Attending stake conferences with President Taylor and the other leaders was almost the rule rather than an exception as Nuttall accompanied him to most stake centers and individual wards in Utah, some of which were visited several times.

### Council of Fifty

Historically speaking, Nuttall wrote an important letter to George Q. Cannon in 1880 while the latter was in Washington, D.C.:

Dear Brother: At the last meeting of the Council of Apostles, the propriety of calling together the Council of Fifty was considered. On inquiring as to the whereabouts of the records and names of the members, it was understood that you have the custody thereof, upon which I was directed to write to you for such information as will put the Council in possession of said records, preparatory to calling the members together. . . .<sup>15</sup>

A second letter, also to Brother Cannon, acknowledged the receipt of the requested information: "Dear Brother, Yours enclosing the key of small box came safely to hand; we have also obtained the box and records in good shape."<sup>16</sup> Three days after the second letter was written, Nuttall recorded in his journal, "We went this morning with Elder F. D. Richards at his office and examined the records of the

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<sup>15</sup>Letter to George Q. Cannon, March 3, 1880.

<sup>16</sup>Letter to George Q. Cannon, March 20, 1880.

Council of 50 or Kingdom of God and made out lists of members now living."<sup>17</sup> Nuttall must have joined this council in 1880 as it was reactivated, for the surviving minutes of the organization, dated April 10, 1880, listed him as one of the new members.<sup>18</sup>

Nuttall demonstrated a great capacity to sacrifice for the cause he believed to be most important in life--the building of the Kingdom of God.<sup>19</sup> His strong belief in this cause

<sup>17</sup>"Nuttall Journal," March 29, 1880.

<sup>18</sup>"Minutes of the Council of Fifty," April 10, 1880. Because of the important part this council played in the economics and politics of the history of the Mormon Church, there has been considerable interest by historians to study its functions. Its influence, however, has remained somewhat of a mystery because neither the minutes nor many records are available, especially after 1849. The Nuttall papers give valuable information as they pick up the records again in 1880. See Klaus Hansen, "The Theory and Practice of the Political Kingdom of God in Mormon History, 1829-1890" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), p. 97.

<sup>19</sup>The Mormons' literal interpretation of the Bible accepts the Biblical prophecy in the second chapter of Daniel, regarding the establishment of a Kingdom of God on the earth before the Advent of Christ, as a tangible organization. The Council of Fifty, organized in 1844, was the agency through which the Saints hoped to establish this kingdom, over which Jesus Christ would eventually reign in person. It is not to be confused with the ecclesiastical Church organization, but it is a separate government. In theory there was a separation of church and state, but as one writer has stated, ". . . in spite of all the theories of a separation of the political Kingdom from the Church, which seems to have been partly inspired by the separation of church and state under the constitution, it is difficult to visualize such separation in practical operation." (Hansen, p. 97.) The truth of this statement is verified by the fact that first Joseph Smith, then Brigham Young was president of the Kingdom, and the Twelve



is nowhere more clearly shown than as he prayed in a lonely spot in Independence, Missouri, where the Church had earlier dedicated a lot for future construction of a temple before the apocalyptic ending of the world.<sup>20</sup> Nuttall recorded,

I offered up my prayer and thanks given for the great privilege of standing on this sacred ground, praying that it might be preserved . . . until the Lord should give it to His chosen people to erect thereon a Holy Temple to his name. My soul was filled with Joy, and a desire to live to see that day when Zion shall triumph.<sup>21</sup>

These deep religious convictions, plus a sense of loyalty to the Church leaders, enabled Nuttall to doggedly pursue his course as a member of the Council of Fifty and secretary to President Taylor and Wilford Woodruff through deprivation of family, friends, and the comforts of a home as the Church was directed by leaders in retirement for six years.

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Apostles were influential members. Therefore, in reality, the power of the Priesthood that governed the Church also controlled the State.

The constitution of the Kingdom, similar to the United States Constitution, was patterned after a revelation reported by Joseph Smith. It was based on pure law which he believed would be taught by the Priesthood in the Church, and eventually, through peaceful means, would become independent. According to President Young, speaking after the Saints had been in Salt Lake Valley for eleven years, "We have a nation here in the mountains that will be a kingdom by-and-by, and be governed by pure law and principles. What do you call yourselves? Some may ask. Here are the people of the Kingdom of God. It may be some time before the Kingdom is fully developed, but the time will come when the Kingdom of God will reign free and independent." (Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses, October, 1858, p. 329.)

<sup>20</sup>The lot was dedicated by Joseph Smith, August 3, 1831.

<sup>21</sup>"Nuttall Journal," January 2, 1890.

The Council of Fifty played an important role in the history of the Mormon exodus to Utah. President Young stated it was organized to devise "the best manner to settle our people in some distant and unoccupied territory; where we could enjoy our civil and religious rights . . . as well as obtain redress for wrongs inflicted by the federal government and study the foundation of true principles of government."<sup>22</sup>

The Council's influence did not diminish after the Saints settled in the Great Basin, for its domination over territorial government was pronounced. Dr. James R. Clark stated that it was

. . . the policy-making body of the Kingdom of God. It was the body from which policies for the civil government of men on the earth were to emanate. It was the policy-making body: the legislature of the State of Deseret was the legislative agency required to put these policies into law.<sup>23</sup>

It is difficult to determine the extent of Nuttall's activities as a dual member in territorial capacities and the Council of Fifty as only three of his letters,<sup>24</sup> two being

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<sup>22</sup>Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," Millennial Star, 1844, p. 328, as quoted in James R. Clark, "The Kingdom of God, the Council of Fifty, and the State of Deseret," Utah Historical Quarterly, April, 1958, p. 140.

<sup>23</sup>Clark, p. 141.

<sup>24</sup>Nuttall wrote a letter to Bishop Johnson of Kanab in which he said, "In regard to the admission of more members to the C    L - I do not think it would be advisable at present. In a short time we may organize another, then changes and other admissions may be made. What instructions you may have

previously cited (page 56), mention the body or allude directly to it. His appointment as a candidate for the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools for Utah in 1881 as John Taylor resigned, to be discussed later, and his sudden emergence in the world of corporation directorships after 1879 give credence to the fact that the Council members entered important areas of territorial activities. Speaking of the dual position many members had in various civic offices, Dr. Clark stated:

This system of interlocking chairmanships and directorships permitted the Council of Fifty or the General Council to know what each of the agencies of government --civic, political, economic, or educational--was planning and to influence their decisions without having identical personnel in the governing bodies of all these civil agencies of government.<sup>25</sup>

As late as 1877 Nuttall asked President John Taylor if there was some employment in Salt Lake City as he "was anxious to work and earn his own living."<sup>26</sup> This work came two years later as he was elected as one of the eight directors of Zion's Savings Bank and Trust Company and chairman of the election of stockholders for the same institution. At the request of President Taylor, he became a director of

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to impart to those brethren named, can be done in the usual manner." (Letter to William D. Johnson, January 5, 1881.)

<sup>25</sup>Clark, p. 144.

<sup>26</sup>"Nuttall Journal," October 10, 1877.

Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. Later the same year he was elected to the executive committee of the Deseret Telegraph Company.<sup>27</sup>

Nuttall's continued direction of economic developments and elections in Kane County after he moved to Salt Lake City occurred logically as President of the Kanab Stake as well as a member of the Council of Fifty. In 1880 he assisted William D. Johnson, Bishop of Kanab, in establishing the first co-operative store in Kanab.<sup>28</sup> He, working in conjunction with Erastus Snow, who was living in St. George, continued to influence the course of elections in the county.<sup>29</sup> In 1881 he wrote to Howard O. Spencer:

As regards your first experience in meeting in convention to select names to be put in nomination for our offices . . . When our brethren will work for the general good and leave self out of the question a better state of affairs will exist on such occasions. . . . Suggest the leading brethren; Select good, efficient reliable men, represent them.<sup>30</sup>

As late as 1887, three years after being released from the position of Stake President, Nuttall still influenced economic activities as he directed correspondence with

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., September 25, 1879; March 24 and September 16, 1881.

<sup>28</sup>Letters to William D. Johnson, June 28 and August 21, 1880.

<sup>29</sup>Letter to Erastus Snow, July 8, 1880.

<sup>30</sup>Letter to Howard O. Spencer, August 27, 1881.

Z.C.M.I. in Salt Lake City and advised them not to finance a second general co-operative store in Kanab.<sup>31</sup>

### Retirement of the Church Leaders

The severe Edmunds Act of 1882, besides attaching penalties for plural marriage, barred a polygamist, or one living in co-habitation with more than one woman, from holding any public office, declared all territorial offices vacant, and placed the duties under a five-man commission appointed by the federal government. Thus the Mormon hold on the territorial government through elective offices was fatally weakened. Believing that the government was violating the right of freedom of worship by unconstitutional laws, however, the Church leaders were determined not to abandon their cause. After the Edmunds Law was passed, President Cannon's remarks revealed the brethren's determination:

It is this principle of freedom . . . we are determined to maintain; we shall contend for it to the very uttermost as long as life remains. . . . We cannot renounce our religion; we cannot throw it aside; we cannot trample upon the commandments of God; but we can endure the penalty of obeying God's Law, even if it be imprisonment. It is part of the contract. We know what others had to endure for the religion of Jesus, and if we expect to obtain the same glory as they, we must be prepared to endure the same consequences.<sup>32</sup>

The First Presidency was equally set on avoiding

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<sup>31</sup>Letter from T. G. Webber, February 8, 1887.

<sup>32</sup>George Q. Cannon, Journal of Discourses, June, 1882, p. 44.

arrest or fighting with the federal authorities by choosing to lead the Church while in hiding. Two members of the Presidency of the Church, Brothers John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, went into retirement on February 1, 1885,<sup>33</sup> while Joseph F. Smith, second counselor, was in the Hawaiian Islands. B. H. Roberts stated that the exiled party consisted of John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, L. John Nuttall as secretary, and Charles H. Wilkins as guard,<sup>34</sup> but Nuttall lists a fifth person, H. C. Barrell.<sup>35</sup>

President Taylor's description of the administration's travesty on law revealed his justification for avoiding federal authorities. He answered the question, "What would you do?"

Would you resent these outrages and break the heads of the men engaged in them and spill their blood? No, avoid them as much as you can. . . . What! won't you submit to the dignity of the law? Well I would if the law would only be a little more dignified. But when we see the ermine bedraggled in the mud and mire, and every principle of justice violated, it behooves men to take care of themselves as best they may. But when men tamper with your rights and with your liberties . . . when little children are set in array against their fathers and mothers and women and children are badgered before courts and made to submit . . . when such conditions of affairs

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<sup>33</sup>Letter to Daniel H. Wells, May 19, 1885. Nuttall states that retirement technically began for Cannon and himself on January 20, as they were obliged to remain concealed in the Church Office Building until the evening of February 1, 1885.

<sup>34</sup>Roberts, IV, 124.

<sup>35</sup>"Nuttall Journal," February 1, 1888.

exist, it is no longer a land of liberty, and it is certainly no longer a land of equal rights, and we must take care of ourselves as best we can, and avoid being caught in any of their traps.<sup>36</sup>

Nuttall gave more light on the attitude of the Church leaders toward avoiding federal officers in hiding as he wrote to Brother Daniel H. Wells in Liverpool, England:

The Spirit plainly manifested that these brethren should Keep out of the hands of the enemy, for the present at least. . . . There has not been one day from that time to the present but what we have been enabled to attend to the general duties, just as though we had been in the office, with the exception of conversing orally with the brethren and holding public meetings. . . . We have not felt it as any disgrace to hide from the fury of the storm while it rages and while we can be so blessed as we have been. We also feel undismayed at the prospects before us. . . .<sup>37</sup>

The prospects before Nuttall were not pleasant, however. He suffered traumatic experiences at the death of President Taylor. After 1887 his health was so poor he found it necessary to leave the Territory for more freedom, and hiding was so essential that he found it necessary to remain completely concealed from his children, at least on two occasions, while they were playing on the lawn in front of the home where he was staying.

#### Death of President Taylor

It is difficult to trace the activities of Nuttall for the first twenty-nine of the thirty months in exile

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<sup>36</sup>Deseret News, February 25, 1885.

<sup>37</sup>Letter to Daniel H. Wells, May 19, 1885.

before the death of President John Taylor in 1887, for no journal is available for the period, January, 1885, to June, 1887. The diary of Samuel Bateman, guard to President John Taylor, whose account begins in August, 1886, and continues until the death of the President in July of the next year, indicates that Nuttall spent considerable time with the exiled party as his name occurs twenty-two times from September 5, 1886, to June 24, 1887, where Nuttall's account commences again.<sup>38</sup>

It is clear that Nuttall spent the last month completely with President Taylor at the home of Thomas F. Rouché in Kaysville, Utah, writing correspondence and administering to his needs. The agony of Nuttall's beloved leader is vivid and pathetic as he traces his physical condition each day. Despite the President's weakness, Nuttall commented on his "iron will" early in July and stated, as they saw some men approaching the house who were thought to be federal spies, that the President shouted, "Stand them off boys, stand them off, we have our rights and will maintain them."<sup>39</sup> But his

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<sup>38</sup>"Diary of Samuel Bateman" (MS. copy in Brigham Young University Library, Provo), August 26, 1886, to June 24, 1887. (Typewritten.) It is interesting to note that although Nuttall's diary indicates he was with the President's party continually after June 24, the Bateman records make no more appreciable allusions to him than before Nuttall's diary again picks up the record.

<sup>39</sup>"Nuttall Journal," July 1, 1887.



strength gradually waned during the last part of July until he was confined to his bed. Correspondence on Church business continued to receive Brother Taylor's personal attention until a few days before his death. Nuttall's writings reveal that delegations from the Apostles visited the home in Kaysville at least once each week to attend to urgent affairs. Nuttall was constantly with President Taylor until July 25, when he:

. . . failed all afternoon until 5 minutes to 8 o'clock p.m. when he breathed his last, passing away without a pang or movement of limb. His bed was surrounded by his wives Mary O and Maggie Y Taylor, Prests Geo Q Cannon and Joseph F Smith, Elders L. John Nuttall, and Samuel Bateman, James Malin, H. C. Barrell, Brother & Sister Rouche and their daughters Josephine & Elizabeth Baily, all of whom were with the President during his last moments. Thus passed away one of God's Noblemen, driven into exile . . . during which time he faithfully stood to his post and performed the labors of his High and Holy calling . . . his spirit will have a happy and joyous meeting with his brethren the Prophets Joseph & Brigham & those who have gone before including his beloved wives.<sup>40</sup>

Six months after President Taylor's demise, Nuttall still felt the moment of the occasion as he recounted,

Three years ago tonight Prests Taylor & Cannon & myself . . . went into exile so as to be able to attend to the duties devolving upon the brethren in the interest of the church. Many scenes have transpired since that day which will be written by the future Historian. I have done, by the blessing of the Lord, a good deal towards it.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>"Nuttall Journal," July 25, 1887.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., February 1, 1888

Nuttall suggested that there might have been a way for the Church to change the government policy which caused the leaders to retire. Speaking about a delegation of Church authorities who were visiting Mexico in search of a place of refuge for persecuted Saints, he stated:

I am greatly in hopes that a favorable report will be made by these brethren /Erastus Snow, Brigham Young, Jr., John W. Taylor/ who are there that . . . truly a city of Refuge may be established for the faithful saints. When the United States find that they have not got us in a corner, and cannot make a prey of us, they may see that the business of crushing out Mormonism is not likely to be so successful as they had anticipated, and the Democratic administration may be made to see that by their policy they are likely to destroy the Democratic party (Mormons) and play into the hands of the Republican party.<sup>42</sup>

On two occasions Nuttall considered giving himself up to the courts so he could enjoy his freedom after enduring whatever punishment might be inflicted. In both instances, however, the brethren advised against this move. In October, 1888, on the first occasion, Church suits were pending in the Territorial Courts, and in February three years later, George

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<sup>42</sup>Letter to William D. Johnson, August 9, 1885. The Church did spread to Canada and Mexico during the judicial crusade in Utah. The first colonist entered Mexico from Arizona in 1885 and settled in Northern Chihuahua. After settlement was made, President Diaz of Mexico gave a delegation from the Church Apostles permission to settle there, and several prosperous settlements were founded soon after. William D. Johnson, former Bishop of Kanab during the seven years Nuttall was Stake President, was called to be the first Bishop in Mexico over the Diaz Ward in 1886. These settlements continued until the chaotic government conditions beginning in 1911 forced the Mormons to vacate the area. Many have since returned. See Roberts, VI, 259-274.

Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith instructed that he "must not do it at present." Nuttall's recorded thought concerning the matter was, "This was quite satisfactory to me as I hope to be always willing to observe the command of my brethren as I have been in the past."<sup>43</sup>

Retirement compelled Nuttall to conceal himself behind a window curtain of homes in Salt Lake City on two distressing afternoons as he saw his children playing on the lawn. Of the latter experience he wrote:

I saw my two children through the window, but they did not see me. They have not seen my face in over a year. This is some of the Liberty guaranteed to me by the great Magnanimous Nation. My own children not permitted to behold my face.<sup>44</sup>

Nuttall's wives visited him occasionally, Elizabeth from Provo, and Sophia from Salt Lake City. After Leonard moved to Salt Lake City in 1884, Elizabeth visited with L. John at his home most week ends. Annie Nuttall Baker recalled many occasions when President Taylor accompanied her grandfather to her father's home. She reported that Brother Taylor and Nuttall were "great friends."<sup>45</sup> Nuttall lived in many homes for a short time during the early part of his exile, but resided at the Gardo House for most of the

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<sup>43</sup>"Nuttall Journal," February 11, 1891.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., November 11, 1888.

<sup>45</sup>Interview with Annie Nuttall Baker, May 24, 1962.

time the last three years of retirement. Special precautions were taken to avoid being seen with Sophia and keeping her out of sight to avoid an indictment for unlawful cohabitation.<sup>46</sup>

In May, 1891, Nuttall gradually let himself be seen in public. During this month he attended a sacrament meeting in Provo, the first one in six years, and was overjoyed at the thoughts of being free. On July 3, Nuttall talked with Hiram B. Clawson and C. H. Wilkin, who assured him he could safely come out of hiding. On his birthday three days later, he triumphantly took a train to Provo, where he found his family "much surprised to see me walking to the house in the day time."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>"Nuttall Journal," April 19, 1889.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., July 6, 1891.

## CHAPTER V

### PRIVATE SECRETARY TO WILFORD WOODRUFF

#### Beginning His Work

Ten days after the death of President John Taylor, Brother George Q. Cannon and Wilford Woodruff, who was then president of the Twelve Apostles, informed Nuttall that he was to take his place as secretary "at the office and attend to the business." As Brother Nuttall was broken in health after a confined retirement and needed recuperation, he could not fill these duties. After visiting Sophia in Riverdale, Utah, and spending some time in the mountains with Elizabeth and children, Nuttall found a way whereby he could be employed and enjoy considerable freedom. He was to act as a secretary to John T. Caine, delegate from Utah Territory, and accompany him to Washington, D.C. This was his first major assignment as secretary to President Woodruff.

#### First Trip to Washington, D.C.

A Thursday evening in November of 1887 Nuttall wrote in his journal:

This evening Bro John T. Caine, accompanied by Geo A Shumway called on me Bro Caine said that he had some conversation with Prest Woodruff and Cannon about my

accompanying him to Washington this Winter and had come out to see me to learn my mind on the matter.<sup>1</sup>

Four days later George Reynolds brought a letter from the First Presidency informing Nuttall he was "called to go to Washington, D.C., with Hon. John T. Caine, Delegate from Utah." The next day he was set apart for this assignment, given a missionary certificate to the Eastern States Mission, and blessed for better health by the Presidency of the Church. He left Salt Lake City on a baggage car to avoid being seen by federal officers, and on the train in Woods Cross near Salt Lake City, he met Mr. Caine, his wife, and Edwin G. Woolley, who was also assigned to assist the congressman.<sup>2</sup>

John T. Caine was active in the People's Party in Utah during the 1870's, and became a delegate from the Territory of Utah in 1882 as George Q. Cannon was denied a seat because of practicing polygamy. An important phase of his career began as he was elected chairman of a constitutional convention at Salt Lake City in 1887. Nuttall accompanied him to Washington as Caine left to present a memorial for statehood to Congress. Although section twelve of this proposed constitution prohibited the practice of plural marriage without

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<sup>1</sup>"Nuttall Journal," November 17, 1887.

<sup>2</sup>Judith Ann Roderick, "A Historical Study of the Congressional Career of John T. Caine" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), pp. 74-75. Differing from Nuttall's account, she states the delegation left in December, and that Franklin S. Richards and William W. Riter were in the party.

further legislation being necessary, and made it impossible to change this provision without the approval of Congress, the delegation was unable to succeed in achieving statehood.<sup>3</sup>

Nuttall was engaged in letter writing and other miscellaneous secretarial work immediately after arriving. Two weeks before the memorial for statehood was presented, he spoke of Caine's procedure:

. . . it was decided to not present the presentation of the constitution & Memorial at present, but the brethren will see as many of the Senators as possible and learn their views, as it is deemed best to present the matter in the Senate first.<sup>4</sup>

Nuttall's writings, however, reveal no interest in or propensity for politics as he neglected to make special mention about three of the most important happenings on Caine's trip: when the memorial for statehood of Utah was presented in the Senate by Caine; when the Caine Bill, appealing for admission of Utah, was introduced; or as Franklin S. Richards was questioned by a subcommittee in the Senate to determine whether the Church was sincere in its pledge to support a state constitution which outlawed plural marriage.<sup>5</sup>

One happening caused Nuttall to comment on the political scene in Congress. This action was a resolution against

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<sup>3</sup>Roberts, VI, 155-156.

<sup>4</sup>"Nuttall Journal," December 6, 1887.

<sup>5</sup>See Roderick, pp. 78-81, for a discussion of Caine's activities during this trip.

the Church by an anti-Mormon, Fred T. Dubois, Republican delegate from Idaho. Nuttall stated, "Mr Dubois made remarks for 16 minutes full of vituperation and falsehoods about the Mormons."<sup>6</sup> On this occasion Nuttall also gave his only recorded thoughts about the effectiveness of Caine's work by writing:

. . . he [Caine] was granted unanimous consent to have his remarks printed in the Records - He received marked attention and a good feeling prevailed - some of the Republican Members went over to the Democratic side so as to be near him to hear his remarks - and was willing to give him more time. I think much good for our people will come out of this days work.<sup>7</sup>

Nuttall's work in Washington was suddenly brought to an end in September, 1888. He received a telegram to the effect, "I [Nuttall] was needed at Salt Lake immediately - and asking if I could be spared - and when I could start."<sup>8</sup> In Salt Lake City he was informed that George Q. Cannon was being indicted on charges of unlawful cohabitation and he,

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<sup>6</sup>"Nuttall Journal," August 25, 1888.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., August 25, 1888. Speaking of Caine's congressional career, one writer has said, "In part due to his consistent work in behalf of his constituents, Congress was able to secure the passage of only one bill directed towards the destruction of the political rights of the Mormons during his five successive terms of office. The one measure passed was the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act. . . . Caine should be recognized as one of the dominant forces in the eventual achievement of statehood." Roderick, pp. 127-28.

<sup>8</sup>"Nuttall Journal," September 15, 1888.



Nuttall, was needed at the office to take Cannon's place.<sup>9</sup>

Duties as Secretary to President Woodruff

Nuttall's responsibilities were somewhat different under President Woodruff than his earlier experiences were with President Taylor. While traveling extensively with Woodruff, Nuttall was, after this time, left in charge of managing the offices as the brethren attended the outlying stakes, except for some few excursions and a trip with President Woodruff to Portland, Oregon, for the latter's health. The responsibility of signing recommends allowing the Saints to enter the St. George or Logan Temple was performed regularly by Nuttall, as he affixed his signature for the First Presidency of the Church.<sup>10</sup>

Upon his release from the Utah Penitentiary, George Reynolds again worked in the Church Offices answering correspondence, and Nuttall continued as before in the position of private secretary to the President.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Finding greater clemency under the Cleveland administration than formerly, several violators of the anti-bigamy law surrendered to federal authorities. After forfeiting a bail in 1886, Cannon surrendered himself to United States Marshal Dyer in Salt Lake City two days after the above telegram was sent. Receiving a fine of \$450.00 and sentence of 175 days, he was released on February 21, 1889.

<sup>10</sup>In November, 1892, this policy was changed so that Stake Presidents and Bishops were the only ones required to sign.

<sup>11</sup>"Nuttall Journal," October 20, 1890.

After amnesty was granted to President Joseph F. Smith in September of 1891, Nuttall was given the direct responsibility of collecting all the official Church records of the Historian's Office which had been concealed during the persecutions. He was to put them in order and see that there were no gaps in the Church history. He recorded that the leaders "expressed their entire confidence in my ability to do this, as none had been more familiar with this matter and the records than myself."<sup>12</sup>

One example of Nuttall's assisting the President in an advisory capacity occurred when President Woodruff became involved in the investigation of the dispute between the Hedrikites and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints over possession of a temple lot in Jackson County, Missouri. Brother Woodruff asked Nuttall to accompany him to the Templeton Hotel in Salt Lake City for a hearing.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., June 30, 1891.

<sup>13</sup>The Hedrickite Church was founded by Granville Hedrick, who had belonged to the Mormon Church in Illinois before the death of Joseph Smith but later became connected with various apostate groups. He was chosen as the true prophet of the Church of Christ in 1864. The group purchased a part of the plot of land that Joseph Smith had designated for the temple site in the future city of Zion he believed would be built. In 1893 the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, founded in 1860 by men who had also been members of the Mormon Church, entered suit against the Hedrickites for possession of the temple lot on grounds that they were the true successors of the original Church from which they came. The Hedrickites were able to keep possession of their titled property.

After a forenoon of the trial, Nuttall stated:

. . . he [President Woodruff] asked me in regard to the persistant questioning as to presenting revelations received by the Prophet Joseph Smith to the Saints for their acceptance etc. and wondered what they wanted. I told him they did so, for the purpose of proving by him that the Revelation on Celestial Marriage was not valid, because it had not been accepted by the Saints in his life time, and it was not even made public. He was more on his guard in the afternoon and gave them some strong testimony.<sup>14</sup>

#### Estate of President John Taylor

While in retirement in Kaysville three weeks prior to his death, President Taylor discussed his will with his sons, George J. and John W. Taylor, in company with Nuttall and Cannon, and the first three named became the executors of the estate. Nuttall recorded that "A plot of the same was submitted which had been proposed, and lines for an equitable division drawn on the same by Bro Nuttall . . . which was examined by the President and brethren and the President expressed his approval of the same."<sup>15</sup>

Nuttall wrote several letters to heirs of the estate, but it was difficult for him to complete his work as one of the executors while in hiding and laboring in Washington, D.C., part of the time. There is no indication that he was able to perform much additional work to that which was accomplished

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<sup>14</sup>"Nuttall Journal," March 21, 1892.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., July 3, 1887.

two or three months immediately after President Taylor's death, until November of the next year when A. Bruce Taylor, one of the heirs, filed a motion on the Probate Court in Salt Lake City to have Nuttall released from his executorship.

Taylor affirmed:

. . . That L. John Nuttall is incompetent to act as such executor for the reason that he is on the underground and is in concealment to avoid the service on him of criminal process from the Court of this District. That the offense that the said John L. Nuttall [sic] is charged with as affiant is informed and believes is the crime of polygamy. That the said John L. Nuttall by persons interested in the said estate except by previously arranged meeting in some secret place and only after much delay. That said John L. Nuttall has wrongfully neglected said estate and has long neglected to perform any such act as such executor. Wherefore affiant asks that powers of said executor be suspended and that he be cited to appear and show cause why his letters should not be revoked.<sup>16</sup>

Three days later Nuttall recorded in his journal:

Bro Moyle [James H.] asked me what kind of an answer I wished to make to Bruce Taylor's complaint. I said I had assisted in getting the property of the Estate into its present position, that I left the Territory nearly one year ago for my health and was away several months, and was willing to do all that lay in my power to carry out the feelings of the majority of the Heirs as to whether they wished me to continue as one of the Executors. I am quite willing to be relieved from that duty if they wish it. Prest Taylor put me there and if the heirs did not want me or wished a change they say so and I would vacate.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>A. Bruce Taylor, "Complaint," sworn before Probate Judge Elias A. Smith at Salt Lake City on November 10, 1888. See "Nuttall Journal," April 1, 1889, for copy of the Complaint.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., November 17, 1888.

Nuttall did not appear before the Court, but he did express his willingness to continue as an executor of the estate. He answered the Probate Court Order in a letter dated November 24, 1888:

To the Honorable the Probate Court in and for the County of Salt Lake, Territory of Utah.

I L. John Nuttall, one of the executors of the last will and testament of John Taylor, deceased, being ordered to show cause why the letters testamentary heretofore issued me, in the matter of the said estate, should not be revoked, respectfully represent: That after having qualified as such executor I performed my duties as such to the best of my ability; that I assisted in the preparation of the inventory filed giving of Notice to creditors, and the adjustment and settlement of the affairs of said estate, until the month of November 1887 when my health completely failed me, and upon the advice of my physician. I left the Territory of Utah for a change of climate, it being absolutely necessary to do so. That while it is true that I did so leave the Territory and was absent therefore for some months there after, I am now, and have been for sometime, laboring for the interests of the said estate, and the settlement thereof, and but for the order made herein, suspending my letters testamentary. I would have joined in the rendering of the account which the executors of the said estate are about to file. That I am now prepared, and willing to act as such executor, and to perform my duties as such, to the best of my ability. However, I am not desirous of further participating in the administration of the said estate, if the heirs therein object to the same, and if the Court, from the premises thinks it not meet for me to act.<sup>18</sup>

Nuttall made no comment regarding his retirement, which did make his participation in public matters difficult. The appeal to other heirs was disappointing to Nuttall, for many wished him to vacate his position as executor. He was,

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<sup>18</sup>Letter to the Salt Lake County Probate Court, November 24, 1888. See "Nuttall Journal," April 1, 1889, for copy.

accordingly, relieved of this position the latter part of November, 1888.

The Woodruff Manifesto

The question of abolishing the practice of plural marriage by the Church had been raised several times in Utah before the "Manifesto" was presented to the Saints and accepted by their vote at General Conference, October 6, 1890. As early as 1865, when the Colfax party talked with Brigham Young, they received the impression that polygamy might be given up if proper pressure were brought to bear.<sup>19</sup> The constitutional convention of 1872 in Salt Lake City considered an ordinance, number five, which would indirectly bring the question of the practice of plural marriage before Congress as a condition of the admission of Utah to the Union. Although this section was not accepted as part of the document presented in Washington, several leading Mormons supported the move. As mentioned previously (pages 71-72), the proposed constitution of 1887 made emphatic provisions for outlawing plural marriages.<sup>20</sup>

Nuttall was one who opposed this trend of stopping plural marriage. He stated, "I do not see how such a thing could be done consistently with our covenants."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Roberts, V, 178-179.      <sup>20</sup>Ibid., V, 462.

<sup>21</sup>"Nuttall Journal," December 19, 1888.

That considerable pressure was put on President Woodruff to stop the practice of plural marriage in the Church is verified by an entry in Nuttall's journal. As Presidents Cannon and Smith of the First Council of the Church, and John W. Young, one of the Apostles, considered the matter of formulating an official statement on the doctrine of blood atonement,<sup>22</sup> Nuttall stated that Brother Young felt it would be a proper time "to state in Court that instructions have been given by the Presidency that no more plural marriages shall be solemnized."<sup>23</sup> But since Elder Cannon felt that President Woodruff was the only one who had the right to make such a decision, and at the request of Young, it was decided to refer the matter to President Woodruff before further action. The next day Nuttall made this significant entry:

Bro D R Bateman called for me with a buggy this evening & took me to the Gardo House. I found Pres Woodruff there. He with Pres Geo Q Cannon had met this afternoon with Bro John W. Young. Legrand Young, Jas H Moyle & R W Young to consider the matter as presented & talked upon yesterday, and the question was left with Pres Woodruff to decide. The President told me of this & said that he had made the subject a matter of prayer and by the voice

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<sup>22</sup>"Manifesto of the Presidency and Apostles," Salt Lake City, December 12, 1889, as quoted in George Q. Cannon, "The History of the Mormons: Their Persecution, and Travels, 1891" (unpublished MS. in Brigham Young University Library). Pertinent sections are also quoted in Roberts, IV, 136-137. This statement repudiates the idea that the Church has a belief in or practices the shedding of blood of those who apostatize from the Church to save their spirits in the next life.

<sup>23</sup>"Nuttall Journal," November 23, 1889.

of the spirit he was directed to write after he had concluded . . . he asked me to copy a Revelation which he had received - I did so.<sup>24</sup>

A copy of this message, which President Wilford Woodruff believed came directly from the Lord, appears in Nuttall's diary.<sup>25</sup> Part of it states:

Let not my Servants who are called to the Presidency of the Church deny my word of my law, which concerns the Salvation of the Children of Men. Let them pray for the Holy Spirit, which shall be given them to guide them in their acts. . . . Let my servants who officiate as your Counselors before the Courts, make their pleadings as they are moved upon by the Holy Spirit, without any further pledges from the Priesthood, and they shall be justified. I the Lord will hold the Courts, with the officers of the Government, and the nation responsible for their acts toward the inhabitants of Zion.

Nuttall continues the same entry by saying,

Having heard Bro J. W Youngs reason, I felt very much worked up in my feelings for I did not feel that as a church we could assume the position in regard to Celestial Marriage which he seemed to desire should be taken, and when Pres Woodruff commenced talking to me this evening I felt that he had become converted to Elder Young's thinking? and actually trembled, for I knew such had not been the Prest Woodruffs feelings before, but as I wrote at his dictation, I felt better all the time and when complete I felt as light and joyous as it is possible to feel, for I was satisfied that Pres Woodruff had received the word of the Lord. When Pres Jos. F. Smith returned and read the revelation he was moved to tears and expressed his approval and acceptance of the word of the Lord to His Servants & Saints.<sup>26</sup>

The effect was much the same on President Cannon the next day as, upon hearing this message, he "expressed his satisfaction

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>See Appendix D for copy.

<sup>26</sup>"Nuttall Journal," November 24, 1889.



at the mind of the Lord as given to Prest Woodruff in the matter spoken of. . . ."27

Nuttall's change of view in regard to President Woodruff's motives for issuing the "Manifesto" appears more understandable as the writings of the President emphasize that he did not yield to the demands of the federal government until being personally convinced it was the will of the Lord. He stated in 1891:

The Lord showed me by vision and revelation exactly what would take place if we did not stop this practice. If we had not stopped it . . . you would have no use for Brother Merrill, for Brother Edlefsen, Brother Roskelley, for Brother Leishman, or for any of the men in this temple at Logan; for all ordinances would be stopped throughout the land of Zion. Confusion would reign throughout Israel, and many men would be made prisoners. This trouble would have come upon the whole Church, and we should have been compelled to stop the practice.<sup>28</sup>

Two years later he said at the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple:

The Devil still has power; and the Son of God knew full well if something was not done in order to check this persecution all these things I have referred to would have come to pass. Yes, I saw by vision and revelation this Temple in the hands of the wicked. I saw our city in the hands of the wicked. . . . Therefore, the Son of God felt disposed to have that thing presented to the Church and to the world for purposes in his own mind. . . .<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., November 25, 1889.

<sup>28</sup>Discourse of Wilford Woodruff, November 1, 1891, as quoted in G. Homer Durham (ed.), Discourses of Wilford Woodruff (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Co., 1946), pp. 213-217.

<sup>29</sup>Durham, pp. 217-218.

Nuttall demonstrated a capacity to accept the teachings of his Church leaders in the issuing of the "Manifesto." He made no further adverse comment on the change of thinking and accepted the spirit of the change in his personal life after the document was made public a year after the above revelation. The depth of feeling between Mr. Nuttall and Sophia is seen as he stated:

I find there is much feeling among the people in regard to the testimony given by Prest Woodruff & Cannon in the Manifesto before the Master of Chancery. Sophia feels all right & I gave her all the encouragement I could to keep her quiet & we would trust in the Lord to help us do our duty to each other & to the Church. We did not feel that the Lord wished us to abandon our covenants or fail in doing our full duty; but to trust in Him and do right, for we were joined together in Holy bonds of Matrimony according to His revelation & we could not repudiate our position & condition in life.<sup>30</sup>

#### Second Trip to Washington

The same month that Nuttall returned from Washington, D.C., Brother Caine requested that he be allowed to return again for assistance. However, almost a year passed before he returned on a similar mission as the first trip. Upon arriving in Washington, Nuttall recorded an interesting entry about the "Manifesto":

Arrived in Washington went with Brother Caine . . . talked over matters and mailed the "Official Declaration of the Presidency and Twelve" to the Members of the U. S. Supreme Court.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>"Nuttall Journal," October 26, 1891.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., January 4, 1890.

During Nuttall's second stay at the Capital City, Caine fought against the Cullom-Struble Bill. In 1890 the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the Idaho law, opposing the Church, which required that anyone wishing to vote must take a "Test Oath" to determine if he were disqualified by believing in or belonging to a church which taught the principle of plural marriage. The enemies of the Church in Utah were encouraged by the Supreme Court's action and attempted to establish the same kind of oath requirement in Utah through the Cullom-Struble Bill, authored by Robert N. Baskins of Utah and sponsored by Senator Cullom of Illinois and Representative Struble of Iowa.<sup>32</sup> Caine opposed the bill through pressure from the influential businessmen in the nation,<sup>33</sup> and the bill was not passed. After the "Manifesto" was issued, the reasons for its creation were abolished.

Although Nuttall assisted Caine in his personal correspondence, as on his first trip, he made no significant comment on congressional activities. Elizabeth and her son, Wilford, joined Mr. Nuttall in Washington in mid 1890 and remained until he was released to return home in October of the same year.

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<sup>32</sup>Roberts, VI, 211-212.

<sup>33</sup>Roderick, p. 121.

Dedication of the Salt Lake Temple

At the services for laying the capstone of the Salt Lake Temple on April 6, 1892, a resolution was accepted by the Saints in attendance to provide sufficient funds to dedicate the temple in one year. Nuttall assisted in following the resolution to a conclusion as he was appointed a member of a fact-finding committee of five persons to "make an apportionment to Several Stakes and wards Funds yet needed to finish the Salt Lake Temple."<sup>34</sup> After the proposed assessments to the stakes were accepted by the First Presidency, \$150,000 was assigned to thirty-two stakes.<sup>35</sup>

The fund-raising project being a success, the temple was ready for dedication exactly one year after the capstone services. Sitting with Presidents of Stakes on the Melchizedek Priesthood stand, Nuttall's intense feelings were vividly portrayed in simple language:

President W. Woodruff spoke and afterwards offered the Dedicatory Prayer in 34 minutes. President Lorenzo Snow led in offering the Shout of Hosannah, Hosannah, Hosannah to God and the Lamb . . . my heart and soul were so full of the spirit of the Lord, that I could scarcely contain myself. . . . Prest Joseph F Smith spoke 12 minutes very feelingly, the congregation melted to tears at his words and spirit. I never felt so well in my life. I cannot express my feelings.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>"Nuttall Journal," September 13, 1892.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., September 14 and 20; October 20, 1892. The last entry includes the form letter sent to stake presidents.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., April 19, 1893.

The significance of the dedication of the temple, which had been under construction forty years, is seen by the fact that the services were repeated approximately twice daily from April 6 to April 18, so all the Saints from surrounding areas could attend. Nuttall was present at six of these repeated services with his family and friends.

The day following the final dedicatory exercises, a special meeting was held in the temple by the First Presidency with the Twelve Apostles, Seven Presidents of Seventies, Stake Presidencies, Presiding Bishopric, and eight other men. Nuttall, being one of these eight men, expressed his feelings in a formal way as people within the group were speaking as they desired to arise:

L. John Nuttall said, "I have been astonished many times in the mercies of the Lord to me, in that I have been called to labors I have been in this church and Kingdom. I have had no other desire than to know the mind and will of God through the Presidency of the Church and then to do what I have been called to do to the best of my ability. I am satisfied the Lord has accepted our Temple in its dedication and I feel to uphold and sustain the First Presidency of the Church for they have my love and I have full confidence in them."<sup>37</sup>

Later this same month Nuttall was called to be a temple worker in the new sanctuary, and began his labors on May 23, 1893.<sup>38</sup> He was to spend many hours at this work until his death twelve years later.

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<sup>37</sup>"Nuttall Journal," April 19, 1893.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., April 25, 1893.

Although the bond between Nuttall and President Woodruff was not as personal as between him and John Taylor, he occasionally indicated a harmonious brotherhood. On one occasion when President Woodruff was ill, Nuttall recorded:

While I was sitting with him he very pleasantly referred to our labors together in the St. George Temple also whilst in the underground & expressed his confidence in me & my integrity for which I was thankful.<sup>39</sup>

Suffering from poor health in 1892, Nuttall was assigned a different kind of work which would enable him to travel and receive more exercise. He experienced better health and remained active as a legal advisor to the Relief Society and member of the Deseret Sunday School Union Board and Church educational system until his death.

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., May 6, 1893.

## CHAPTER VI

### TERRITORIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF DISTRICT SCHOOLS

#### Mormon Education in Utah

The Mormon theology emphasizes the importance of education, and significant accomplishments were realized by the Church up to the time of Nuttall's administration, beginning in 1881.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to development of educational machinery in the territory, the year 1852 was made important in the history

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<sup>1</sup>Doctrine and Covenants 88:78-79. Three years after the Church was organized, schools were begun in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1833. After the Saints were driven from this state, they planned a temple in Missouri to be used for worship and education, but persecution hindered its construction. In Nauvoo, Illinois, however, the Church obtained a liberal City Charter which provided the City the right to establish a university. Consequently, the University of Nauvoo was founded in 1841. Being controlled by a board of trustees which consisted of a chancellor, registrar, and twenty regents, the Church dominated the institution. All lower schools were branches of this mother institution. The University of Deseret, founded in Utah during 1850, was patterned after the one of Nauvoo. The period from 1847 to 1868 may be considered a time of "Mormon monopoly" of education in Utah, as the Church dominated elective offices. Dr. James R. Clark characterized five types of schools in Utah before 1869: voluntary private, which was open to all; private venture schools, operated by teachers for additional income; ward schools sponsored by bishops; territorial public or common, controlled by the legislature to 1865; and a variety of schools. See James R. Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah" (unpublished Ed. D. Dissertation, Utah State University, Logan, Utah, 1958), pp. 141-143.

of public education in Utah by the legislature. Section one of "An Act in Relation to Common Schools" provided that county courts were authorized to create school districts in their areas. Sections two, three, and four made provision for district officials and defined their duties.<sup>2</sup> Dr. J. C. Moffitt stated this act "provides a legal foundation upon which all schools might become public. . . . It recognized the territory as the source of government and extended local organization and administration to the people as an extension of that government."<sup>3</sup> Another step had been taken forward as a public Superintendent of Primary Schools for all of Utah was appointed by the Regents of the University of Deseret as early as 1851.<sup>4</sup> He remained under the control of said board. But in 1865 the legislature passed an act which required a Superintendent for Common Schools to be elected and submit annual reports to that body.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Laws of the Territory of Utah, 1852, sec. 1-4 of "An Act in Relation to Common Schools."

<sup>3</sup>J. C. Moffitt, The History of Public Education in Utah (Salt Lake City, 1946), p. 70.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>5</sup>Laws of the Territory of Utah, 1865, "An Act Consolidating and Amending School Laws." Nuttall was the third person to hold this elective office, from 1881 to 1887, and the last Mormon before statehood in 1896.



Work as Superintendent of District Schools

Mr. Nuttall became involved in this important area of the history of Utah following a conversation with John Sharp on Main Street in Salt Lake City in 1881. Sharp said:

I have just received the resignation of Hon John Taylor to the nomination of Territorial Superintendent of District Schools . . . and have thought to put your name in nomination, will you accept if I do? /Nuttall answered in the affirmative/ . . .<sup>6</sup> he said, 'that will do,' and we went each on our way.<sup>6</sup>

Nuttall worked energetically in the office of superintendent during a difficult period of Mormon and "Gentile" relationships in Utah.<sup>7</sup> Beginning work in the latter part

<sup>6</sup>"Nuttall Journal," July 28, 1881.

<sup>7</sup>As Nuttall was elected to the office of Territorial Superintendent of District Schools for Utah, there was a growing rivalry between the non-Mormon "Gentiles" and Mormons for control of Utah and public education. Dr. Clark stated that this contest for control of schools by non-Mormons began in Corinne, Utah, with opposition centering in what was called the "Ring" by the Mormons. They were able to elect a gentile to the office of Superintendent of Public Schools for Tooele County in 1874, the first non-Mormon to be elected to any important office in education in the territory. John Taylor carried every county but Tooele three years later, and the election of 1879 also indicated growing opposition by the non-Mormons. In 1881 Nuttall polled 13,268 votes, John Taylor 929, and Reverend J. M. Cayner, a prominent Protestant educator in Utah, 259. (Executive Records, 1872-1886, Book C, on file, Utah Division of Archives, Salt Lake City, as quoted in Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education," p. 221.) Some Mormons evidently were not informed of Taylor's resignation, for Nuttall gave his consent to be nominated only seven days before election on August 4. It was four days before election that the Deseret News posted the People's Party Candidates where Nuttall's name appeared for the first time in public as a candidate. See Deseret News, August 1, 1881, and Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education," p. 221.

of 1881, he was somewhat acquainted with this supervisory position as he had previously assisted John Taylor on several occasions with compiling reports and revising school law. One week after receiving his certificate, he began an extended tour of ten counties in Southern Utah.<sup>8</sup> Again in 1883 he commented on his travels: "I have personally travelled through most of the counties of the territory and visited many district schools."<sup>9</sup>

His philosophy of education expressed the importance of common schools, for he stated in his report that,

Much has been said and written, and with good results, about common school education, and it is necessary for these things to be, inasmuch as we hold to the opinion that the common schools, properly conducted, form the basis of our success and prosperity, and he that suggests the best plan of laying the foundation of true education is the best friend society has.<sup>10</sup>

Nuttall's suggestion to the legislature in his bi-annual report seems practical as one considers the lack of funds and facilities. He recommended that evening classes be held in district schools so that adults might profit from vocational training, that an institute be held for teachers to improve their professional techniques, and he worked for the revision and creation of many forms to expedite office procedures. Carefully outlining the qualifications of

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<sup>8</sup>L. John Nuttall, "Territorial School Reports, 1880-1881," p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 1882-1883, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

teachers, he wrote that they must teach good moral lessons, and suggested that this area be taught as a course of study required for all teachers. Perhaps the most important qualification of a good teacher was a liberal education which he could teach by supplementing the textbooks.<sup>11</sup>

One of the duties of the superintendent was to decide on the selection of textbooks for the territory by holding a convention of county superintendents together with the president and faculty of the University of Deseret. The first convention was held at Salt Lake City in 1882. The superintendent's reports state that several different textbooks had been used indiscriminately throughout the territory so that no uniformity had existed in the use of books prior to this time. By April of the next year, however, ten books selected at the convention were being used in all schools.<sup>12</sup>

The University of Deseret and Brigham Young Academy submitted reports to Nuttall, but they were not responsible to him for funds. Karl G. Maeser wrote many letters to Nuttall, recognizing him as superintendent in the territory and in which he sent reports. Perhaps the more significant aspect of their correspondence, however, was Nuttall's role as a "go-between" for Maeser and the First Presidency of the Church. This period was a time of great difficulty for Maeser in

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<sup>11</sup>"Territorial School Reports," pp. 3-9.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

keeping the academy at Provo in operation.<sup>13</sup> He wrote Nuttall in 1836 that:

There is no need to allude again to the deplorable financial condition of the Academy, which places the whole burden to carry the institution upon the shoulders of the teachers, some of whom, like myself, have already lost more than one half of their last year's salary, and cannot afford another sacrifice of that kind, but I report to you that I have made one last desperate effort to save the Academy from breaking up next Christmas.<sup>14</sup>

As the financial condition continued to grow worse a few months later, one sees the great burden Maeser bore:

Dear Brother:

Sometime has elapsed since I have written to you the last, but my silence has been neither the result of indifference to you personally nor of lack of important matter for discussion, but was forced upon me by the undeveloped and uncertain state of affairs. Referring to my former communication to you in regard to the condition of the B. Y. Academy at Provo, I have to add that thus far nothing has been accomplished for the putting of the institution upon a safer basis . . . the teachers must know what they can depend on for the future, as besides our salaries due us from last school year, the Academy is falling behind with us during the present year very badly, so that we cannot see our way clear in the future;

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<sup>13</sup>The Brigham Young Academy, forerunner of the Brigham Young University, was founded at Provo on October 16, 1875. It was the first academy established in Utah by the Church. The next year Karl G. Maeser followed Warren W. Dusenberry as the second principal. Speaking of the effective work of Maeser, M. Lynn Bennion stated that during the early years the academy ". . . survived its vicissitudes and apparently thrived on them . . . due in large measure to the genius of Karl G. Maeser." He served as principal until 1891, and was then elected Superintendent of Church Schools. See M. Lynn Bennion, Mormonism and Education (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1939), p. 150.

<sup>14</sup>Letter from Karl G. Maeser, August 21, 1836.

especially in my case the outlook is dark, if our enemies should commence their persecution with me also.<sup>15</sup>

Nuttall encouraged the brethren in Salt Lake City to appropriate funds to the institution; and although the money was not forthcoming, Maeser acknowledged his interest, as he wrote early in 1887:

Your favor of January 29, has come to hand, and I thank you kindly for your words of encouragement which I have stood in need of lately more than at any other time since I am in Provo.<sup>16</sup>

#### Growth of Gentile Control over Education

In 1882 a five-man commission was sent to Utah to regulate territorial affairs as provided in the Edmunds Law, section nine. Dr. Clark, in speaking about this period of education, explains that the political situation in the territory caused the Mormon effort to maintain control, to be a futile effort:

The Mormons were fighting a losing battle and they fully realized this situation both as to general political control of the Territory and the equally vital control of the public school attended by their children. If they were to head off the complete loss of control and be forced to surrender to the "Gentile" minority, they should do so by seeking and gaining admission into the union as a state which would restore majority rule.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Letter from Karl G. Maeser, November 20, 1886. See his letters from January 22, February 22, and May 4, 1887, for further comments on the academy's difficult financial condition.

<sup>16</sup>Letter from Karl G. Maeser, February 22, 1887.

<sup>17</sup>Clark, "Church and School Relationships in Education," p. 234.

The territory did seek admission through a constitutional convention the same year the Edmunds Law was passed by the national Congress, and the proposed constitution provided that schools be freed from denominational control, but admission was again delayed.

Because of these unsettled conditions in the territory, Nuttall found it necessary to tread lightly in his work. This caution is seen before the election of district superintendents in 1883, when Nuttall asked the commission by correspondence if they held the "opinion" that the Edmunds Law meant that elections should not be held for the said superintendents.<sup>18</sup>

The next year a struggle arose between the commission, the Mormons, and "Gentiles" over who controlled these district school elections. While the commissioners appealed to the United States Attorney General for direction, Ely H. Murray, Governor of the Utah Territory from 1880 to 1886, appointed William M. Perry, mine owner and patron of the Presbyterian Westminister College in Salt Lake City, as Territorial Superintendent of District Schools. He was not, however, accepted by the commission or the Mormons. When a reply came from the Attorney General a few months later, the question was still unresolved, for although the governor was

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<sup>18</sup>Letter to the United States Commission for Utah Territory, June 15, 1883.

given power to nominate a candidate, the commission was required to make the appointment.<sup>19</sup>

On a second appointment, Governor Murray was eventually successful, as the office of superintendent was later taken from the Mormons by making it an appointive rather than an elective office. The new appointee, Parley L. Williams, was also a prominent non-Mormon in Utah. Because of not being recognized by the county district superintendents for some time, his work was difficult. Nuttall's letters indicate that he received most, if not all, of the district reports for the year rather than Williams. John R. Parks, President of the University of Utah, while speaking of certificates from county superintendents, stated in September of the same year, "I can not however recognize any but those coming from you."<sup>20</sup> Some county superintendents were still reluctant the next year to cooperate until being advised to do so by Nuttall.<sup>21</sup> Williams wrote bitterly of the failure of school officers to cooperate by saying they refused him as the legal agent and submitted the reports to Nuttall for the years 1886 and 1887.

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<sup>19</sup>Clark, "Church and School Relationships in Education," p. 243.

<sup>20</sup>Letter from John R. Parks, September 14, 1886.

<sup>21</sup>Letter from George H. Brimhall, June 4, 1887.

His biannual reports were therefore incomplete for these two years.<sup>22</sup>

Williams' active opposition to Mormon control of elective offices reached its height in 1886. At that time he received a court order against William M. Stewart, county superintendent of Salt Lake, for refusing to submit his annual report to the bona fide officer previous to the first-week deadline in October.<sup>23</sup> Stewart had refused on the grounds that he had already sent the said report to Nuttall, whom he recognized as the legal officer. An appeal for dismissal of the case by the Church attorneys, Franklin S. Richards, LaGrand Young, and Lyn Meyers on the grounds that Williams had not made a request directly to Stewart for the school reports, was denied by the court.

During the proceedings, the attorneys pleaded with

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<sup>22</sup>Parley L. Williams, "Territorial School Reports," 1886-1887, p. 1. The United States commission opposition to Mormon control of education was again made apparent in 1887 as they suggested to the Department of Interior that non-Mormons were responsible for any educational accomplishments in the Territory. A resume of denominational school activity is given in their report to demonstrate Utah achievement in education for the year; Mormon accomplishments, on the other hand, are ignored. Recommendation number six of the same report advised that the commissioner to locate university lands and county superintendents of district schools be subject to confirmation by the commission before the candidates assume office. See Report of the Utah Commission to the Secretary of the Interior, 1887 (Salt Lake City: Tribune Print, 1887).

<sup>23</sup>"Court Order," Deseret News, October 16, 1886. See also October 23, 25, and 30, 1886.



Nuttall to appear in court, stipulating that he was a polygamist and had been out of the territory during the controversy. This action would disqualify Nuttall as superintendent, and according to the Church attorneys, prevent stirring up an issue over polygamy. The council for the Church reasoned that the opposing lawyers would quiz Stewart in court and bring many members of the John Taylor family to testify about Nuttall's marriage to a second wife, Sophia. But Nuttall curtly answered Meyers, Young, and Richards that he would not jeopardize his family by appearing in court although his future social status regarding polygamy was promised to be unaffected by this case. He suggested that it was easy for men to recommend such action when they had nothing to lose, and informed the lawyers they would have to proceed as best they could in the Stewart case without him.<sup>24</sup>

The anomalous position of Nuttall was revealed as he wrote to Meyers:

Since the passage of the Edmunds Case regarding the holding of office, etc. I have felt that . . . [if?] I could honorably deliver the office to my legal successor I would gladly do so. . . . I have only continued to hold office because I could not honorably give it up.<sup>25</sup>

Important changes in the educational system of Utah occurred soon after Nuttall's administration. The head

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<sup>24</sup>Letter to Franklin S. Richards, November 12, 1886.

<sup>25</sup>Letter to Lyn Meyers, November 6, 1886.

office of education in the territory was relinquished to the "legal seccessor" as the Utah Commission appointed Parley L. Williams Territorial Commissioner of Schools on April 2, 1887, for a term of two years.<sup>26</sup> In 1890 legislation was passed establishing free public schools and providing for their support. After statehood, the title of the office was changed a second time as John R. Park became the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1896.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Williams, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>Moffitt, p. 83.

## CHAPTER VII

### SCATTERED FAMILY LIFE

#### Elizabeth Clarkson Nuttall

The Nuttall family life is an example of high ideals in devotion and sacrifice. After L. John and Elizabeth made their home in Provo in 1856, she soon experienced hardships as her husband was active in civic affairs. He participated in the Utah War the year after they were married, and the Black Hawk War in 1866. Next came a mission to Great Britain for the Church in 1874. A daughter said of her:

She was left to care for the children, the aged parents, and home and farm. All this she did in a happy, uncomplaining way. It was, however, not always a pleasant work and she told of a walk she had one day nearly around the lake looking for the oxen that had strayed away.<sup>1</sup>

She displayed considerable talent and industry as her husband became the Bishop and then Stake President of Kanab. As first Stake Relief Society President in the Kanab Stake, she served her Church and community until the family moved to Salt Lake. John complimented her on her work at one stake conference by saying "much good instruction was given by Sister Nuttall."<sup>2</sup> She also augmented the family income at

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<sup>1</sup>Giles, "History of Elizabeth Clarkson Nuttall," p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>"Nuttall Journal," December 6, 1878.

Kanab by making and selling hats and other articles:

. . . she would select the straw, braid and dye it, shape the hats, make the flowers she used and trim the hats. . . . During this time she also made gloves of different kinds for men and women, also wax flowers. She tanned the hides of the coyote, some of which she made into a robe which was given to President Wilford Woodruff.<sup>3</sup>

It was a strain to care for a family of eleven children while her husband was called to Salt Lake City in auditing the Church books. Elizabeth visited him occasionally but the long trip was difficult. Finally she moved to Salt Lake City with her children in the early 1880's and lived there for approximately five years. While residing in this city, she studied obstetrics and became a practical nurse, helping in several cases.

Mrs. Giles recorded that it was in 1885 when Elizabeth returned to live in Provo so the children could attend Brigham Young Academy.<sup>4</sup> She moved the same year that Mr. Nuttall went into retirement with the Church leaders. During this period of exile, which lasted until 1891, she was able to see her husband only infrequently. As her husband could not be seen in public, it was necessary for her to come to Salt Lake on most occasions and spend only a few hours together under precarious conditions. Two times during periods of her husband's ill health, Elizabeth was able to remain with him for a few days.

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<sup>3</sup>Giles, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

As long as Elisabeth lived, her home was a place of gathering for the family. Mr. Nuttall's birthday was a big event for the children, for he loved to entertain and talk to them. Mrs. Ethel Nuttall Moore, granddaughter of L. John,



Fig. 3.--Nuttall Home in Provo, Utah  
July 4, 1902

Interview with Mrs. Ethel Nuttall Moore, Salem, Utah, May 6, 1902.

"Nuttall's Journal," April 26, 1853.

Letter to William D. Johnson, August 18, 1902.

As long as Elizabeth lived, her home was a place of gathering for the family. Mr. Nuttall's birthday was a big event for the children, for he loved to entertain and talk to them. Mrs. Ethel Nuttall Moore, granddaughter of L. John, stated that on such occasions "my impression was always one of dignity. . . . He was one of the kindest men that ever lived. You felt that."<sup>5</sup>

Nuttall spoke highly of Elizabeth as he paid tribute on her birthday:

This is the 52nd anniversary of my Wife Elizabeth's birthday - I feel to bless her with every blessing for she has been a true and faithful wife to me and Mother to her children. I pray that she may be spared for many years to enjoy life when we have that freedom which belongs to us.<sup>6</sup>

Elizabeth remained in Provo until her death on July 18, 1902. After her demise one can see the pathos of Nuttall's loneliness as he wrote to William Johnson, former Bishop of Kanab:

I have of course been very much engaged . . . on my public also my private affairs as 46 years of married life with my wife cut off so suddenly made many changes. . . . [I] have been reconciled as far as possible and feel to acknowledge the hand of the Lord in our treatment. She was a noble, good, loving and affectionate wife and mother and useful to her husband.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Interview with Mrs. Ethel Nuttall Moore, Salem, Utah, May 6, 1962.

<sup>6</sup>"Nuttall Journal," April 28, 1888.

<sup>7</sup>Letter to William D. Johnson, August 18, 1902.

Sophia Taylor Nuttall

After L. John and Sophia's marriage in 1875, she moved to Kanab for three years before returning with her husband to her place of birth, Salt Lake City, in 1878. Two children died in infancy between 1879 and 1881, and these were extremely sad occasions for L. John as well as Sophia. After convincing himself that the second child, named John, would survive his illness upon receiving a father's blessing, Nuttall's affection for his second family is recorded in his statement, "My wife Sophia very much effected, my own feelings were also much wrought upon."<sup>8</sup>

Nuttall shared a close relationship with President Taylor, his father-in-law, and attended many social and private gatherings at his home with Sophia. At the dedication of the Logan Temple in 1884, she was the first female to be baptized for the dead, while Franklin D. Richards had the honor of performing the same first ordinance for a male person.<sup>9</sup>

Sophia had no home of her own in Salt Lake City and found it necessary to live in several places with her children. Accordingly, Nuttall stated in 1887:

I had a conversation with President Woodruff this afternoon and related to him my circumstances, how my

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<sup>8</sup>"Nuttall Journal," June 26, 1881.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., May 21, 1884.

self & family had lived during the past 9 years most of the time without any home of our own & very much scattered.<sup>10</sup>

Although Nuttall purchased a home for Sophia on West Temple Street across from Temple Square "for a residence," she was unable to enjoy it for two years as she remained in hiding to protect her husband.<sup>11</sup> It was difficult to find suitable living quarters and avoid being seen in public, so she returned to her home in April, 1889, at a risk of being exposed. She was, however, never apprehended. Along with providing a home, Nuttall supported Sophia financially as he provided a monthly allowance and invested in stock in several companies. Although not always on an equal basis, the interest of both wives was represented as investments were made.

On Sophia's birthday Nuttall gave her a complimentary tribute, as he recorded in Washington, D.C.:

I feel to bless my wife on this day for she has been true and faithful in passing through her trials with much fortitude and perserverance, especially in her inexperience of such a life and the many bereavements she has had during this time. . . . It is my prayer she may be spared and permitted to enjoy life with myself and family when we shall have that freedom which is our right,<sup>12</sup> and to have an eternity of joy in the world to come.

Sophia was active in the Presidency of the Seventeenth Ward Relief Society in Salt Lake City for several years. She

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., August 16, 1887.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., April 19, 1889.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., July 14, 1888.



then served as one of the twenty-seven lady missionaries who assisted the General Board of the Relief Society between 1897 and 1912 in visiting various stakes. This was the only period in the history of the Relief Society when this procedure was followed.<sup>13</sup> By nature she was quiet, unassuming, and faithful in the Church.<sup>14</sup>

After her death at Salt Lake City on March 20, 1909, the Deseret News said of her:

Throughout her entire life she had been an earnest worker in the church organizations, in the Sunday School and Mutual Improvement Associations as a girl in the Fourteenth Ward, and later in the Relief Society of the Seventeenth Ward and as a General Relief Society Board missionary. This work however, never interfered with her home duties, for to her home and children she always gave her first allegiance, and as a kind and devoted mother who will never be forgotten by those who knew her.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>A Centenary of Relief Society, 1842-1942 (Salt Lake City: General Board of the Relief Society, 1942), p. 34.

<sup>14</sup>Interview with Eva Jenson Olson, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, March 10, 1962.

<sup>15</sup>Deseret News, March 22, 1909.

## CHAPTER VIII

### LAND AGENT FOR THE CHURCH

#### Escheatment Proceedings

The most severe legislation of the federal government against the Church was the Edmunds-Tucker Law of 1887 which dissolved the Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on March 3, 1887. It gave the Attorney General of the United States the power to escheat all Church property over \$50,000, except that used for worship purposes, to the United States Government.

Before the death of President Taylor in 1887, the Church worked through legal advisement to avoid losing any property which might be saved by establishing local corporations that could claim certain property. These legal bodies were of two types: ward corporations which claimed realty corresponding to their nature, and other local non-ecclesiastical organizations which claimed real estate that a ward could not. General Church property in Salt Lake City and other centers was deeded to a corporation formed by individuals in the Presiding Bishopric of the Church. When the first escheatment case was brought against the Church on July 30, 1887, by provisions of the Edmunds-Tucker Law, the

leaders stated that some of the property claimed was in violation of the provisions mentioned above. Appealing to the Supreme Court of the United States, the Church received another setback by the judiciary as the constitutionality of the Edmunds-Tucker Law was upheld in this case when it was adjudicated in 1889.

It was later decided that Church property duly escheated to the United States be used for education in the territory; but before any funds were expended, the Woodruff Manifesto had been issued and Congress passed a resolution to restore the said property to the Church. It was after statehood in 1896 that the real estate was restored to the Church.<sup>1</sup>

#### Land Agent

Because of financial strain upon the Church through the proceedings described above, it was necessary for the leaders to economize in 1892. As a result, several lawyers were dismissed and the Church Office staff assumed additional responsibility. In February of this same year Nuttall wrote:

I was appointed today by Pres W Woodruff & Jos F Smith to take charge of the business . . . as attorney in attending to the Incorporation of Church Ward Associations and Church land matters.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Roberts, VI, 193-200.

<sup>2</sup>"Nuttall Journal," February 24, 1892.

The next month his official appointment came as President Wilford Woodruff wrote:

Dear Brother: You are already aware that Bro I. M. Waddell has been notified that his services as land attorney for the church would be no longer needed after the last of this month and that he has been requested to turn over to you all books and papers he may have in connection with the work he was retained to do: You will, therefore, please see Brother Waddell for the purpose of learning from him all such papers, and whatever information he may have to communicate in relation to this business.<sup>3</sup>

The following day Nuttall recorded, "Pres Woodruff told me to take full charge of the business ward incorporation."<sup>4</sup>

A comparison of Nuttall's qualifications to assume these responsibilities in handling Church realty with his ability to exercise the duties of Territorial Superintendent of District Schools is interesting to note. As mentioned (pages 90-91), he had considerable experience in education before being elected superintendent. A similar situation existed in 1892, for since coming from Kanab to Salt Lake in 1877, he aided not only in the acquisition of a legal town site for Kanab, and obtained it, but also found several original deeds to Church property and legalized others for Church property in Provo and Salt Lake City.<sup>5</sup> He therefore began

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<sup>3</sup>Letter from President Wilford Woodruff, March 10, 1892.

<sup>4</sup>"Nuttall Journal," March 11, 1892.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., April 5 and 10, and May 3, 1892.

this work with an appreciable knowledge of the legal procedures involved.

Waddell assisted Nuttall in incorporating Mt. Pleasant Ward in March, and Nephi Ward and Sevier Stake Wards soon after, but ward incorporation stopped here until after a meeting with the First Presidency, Relief Society officers, and Church attorneys at the next General Conference of the Church in October. A question had arisen over the election of ward trustees and Relief Society incorporation. Unofficially, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith decided Nuttall should also "take the Matters of Incorporation of Church academys & Schools in hand and attend to them."<sup>6</sup>

While waiting for a more clearly defined method of procedure for ward business, Nuttall legalized the Logan Temple Association and began investigating minor land purchases for the Church. Soon after these beginnings, he prepared for large scale incorporation by gathering data through questionnaires to all the stakes which requested necessary statistical information.<sup>7</sup>

#### Relief Society Reorganization

Two important happenings occurred in the history of the Relief Society at the next conference of the Church in

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., June 24, 1892.

<sup>7</sup>See "Nuttall Journal," April 19, 1892, for copy of questionnaires sent to the stake presidents in the Church.

October, 1892. The National Women's Relief Society was effected,<sup>8</sup> and a plan was laid for a legal incorporation of ward Relief Societies which would parallel the ecclesiastical organization. This defensive procedure of incorporating the societies grew out of an attempt to avoid a repeat performance of persecutions under the Edmunds-Tucker Law. Zina Young, President of the Relief Societies for the Church in 1893, explained the purpose of incorporating the societies when she stated:

. . . some have supposed this new organization was merely an appendage to the Relief Society, which is not the case, and they do not consider it in its true light, being for the better security and welfare of the Relief Society and to enable its members to transact their own business affairs, to attend to their testimony and work meetings just the same as they have always been doing, to own and hold their real estate and personal property in their own right, and be secured under the laws of our Territory and rulings of the courts therein from any questions which might arise pertaining to the mission and work of our Sisters in the Relief Society. For such we understand the reorganization to mean. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Nuttall's responsibilities were now clear--to incorporate the Relief Society associations, ward organizations, and Church academies. To assure that the corporations were properly established, it was necessary for him to travel throughout the entire Church. The law required that at least three persons must enter into an agreement with the local

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<sup>8</sup>Deseret News, October 7, 1892.

<sup>9</sup>Letter from Zina Young to Mrs. J. E. Dillman and Ellen Karren, March 4, 1893.

probate judge to serve as officers of each corporation. They must state the following terms: location of the corporation, length of time for it to be incorporated, accurate description of real estate owned, and a complete explanation of the organizational structure of the association.<sup>10</sup> The nature of these incorporation procedures changed Nuttall's church work completely after this conference; until his death in 1905 he traveled extensively in Utah, Idaho, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico. Besides these travels in the United States, he also made two trips to Mexico and one to Canada.

At least one reason for Nuttall's assignment over Church land matters is clear--a need for a change in work to improve his health. Suffering occasionally from poor health in Kanab, his condition grew worse during the judicial crusade in Utah during the eighties. It reached a climax at the death of President John Taylor when Nuttall was under strain and deprivation of adequate physical freedom. After going to Washington, his health improved, but it grew worse in the late eighties and early nineties, causing him to retire several times to his home with Elizabeth in Provo. His activities after 1892 were impressive, however. No further reference to ill health was given in his writings, nor did it stop his labors until immediately before his death.

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<sup>10</sup>Compiled Laws of Utah, II, 1888, Statutes of the United States Locally Applicable and Important (Salt Lake City: Herbert Pembroke, 1888), Ch. 1, sec. 2268.

Ward and Relief Society Incorporation

Uintah Stake officers witnessed the nearly clock-like incorporation procedure which Nuttall employed for the next decade. After traveling by team over rough roads from Provo to attend the stake conference in Vernal, he incorporated the ward Relief Societies of Vernal, Mill, Glines, Mountain Dell, Riverdale, and Merrill Wards in three days. He was also present in each ward and spoke in stake conference two days. After working in Vernal, Nuttall next incorporated societies in Utah Stake. He then began an extended tour of Northern Utah and Idaho, going as far north as Rexburg, Idaho.

In 1893 Nuttall began a two-month trip to Mexico to clarify certain deeds to Church property in Diaz. A question had arisen over the propriety of putting the deed of a colonization company in the name of one individual instead of the company. After settling the issue, he incorporated the Relief Societies in the area and returned home the end of January. He was again to return to Mexico on Church business six years later while still working as a legal advisor for the societies, but at this time he had another responsibility--as an aid to the Deseret Sunday School Union Board.

Aid to the Deseret Sunday School Union Board

The first Sunday School in Utah was established by Richard Ballantine in 1848. Numbering approximately fifty members the first year, it grew rapidly until its influence



was felt sufficiently in 1867 to cause the First Presidency to direct a more unified system. George Q. Cannon was selected as President of the central organization, named the Deseret Sunday School Union Board. Ten years later a more thorough structure was established, creating better coordination between local units. On October 3, 1897, Nuttall was called as an aid to the Board, which consisted of fourteen members, eight aids, and a general superintendency of five persons.<sup>11</sup>

Two years after Nuttall joined the Board, a Jubilee Sunday School Convention was planned to "infuse new life into every department." He acted as chairman of a "Committee of Subsistence and Information" for the large conference held in 1899.<sup>12</sup>

### Church School System

During his declining years, Nuttall became a member of the Church School System. This educational arm of the Church was organized as it became apparent that the Church was losing control over education in Utah. The First Presidency issued a call for a separate Church education system to be organized in 1886, but no action was taken. A request

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<sup>11</sup>Jubilee History of the Latter-day Saint Sunday School, 1849-1899 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1900), pp. 1-5, 52.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

was again made after the Edmunds-Tucker Law was passed, which precipitated action. Part of the epistle from the First Presidency in 1887 stated:

The duty of our people under these circumstances is clear: it is to keep their children away from the influence of the sophisms of infidelity and the vogaries of the sects. Let them, though it may possibly be at some pecuniary sacrifice, establish schools taught by those of our faith, where, being free from the trammels of State Aid, they can unhesitatingly teach the doctrines of true religion combined with the various branches of general education.<sup>13</sup>

In 1890 the First Presidency announced the establishment of their Church-wide school system and week-day religious classes. Nuttall assisted in organizing these classes, which were held in or adjacent to the public schools, one hour each week before or after school time.<sup>14</sup>

The first journal entry available which tells of Nuttall's activities as an aid to the Sunday School Board and members of the Church School System occurs in 1899 as he traveled via Great Falls, Montana, to Lethbridge and Cardston, Alberta, Canada. In company with Karl G. Maeser, who was Second Assistant General Superintendent of the Board, he met with various Relief Societies, Sunday Schools, and organized

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<sup>13</sup>Deseret News, October 12, 1887.

<sup>14</sup>Because of the difficulties involved in producing an effective religious educational system from this inconvenient schedule, the results have been overshadowed by the seminary system of the Church. This released-time program was begun at Granite High School at Salt Lake City in 1912. See Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education," p. 293.

Religion Classes in the area. According to Nuttall's journal, an unusual experience occurred in Cardston as Sister Elizabeth Hannar of the Alberta Stake gave a blessing to Nuttall and Maeser by the laying on of hands; she spoke in a tongue unknown to those present. After the blessing was completed, he stated that Zina Card, who was the wife of Charles Ora Card, interpreted the message into English.<sup>15</sup>

Nuttall recorded that he traveled a total of 10,271 miles in 1899 and held seventy-nine meetings. His writings also indicate that he continued to be active in the three areas explained above until his journal ended six months before his death.

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<sup>15</sup>"Nuttall Journal," August 7, 1899. The Seventh Article of Faith in the Mormon Church states, "We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc."

## CHAPTER IX

### DEATH AND FUNERAL

#### Salt Lake Services

A life of devoted service to the Church and country ended the evening of February 23, 1905, as Leonard John Nuttall passed away peacefully at his home on West Temple Street in Salt Lake City, at the age of seventy-one. Although he became ill a year before his death and never fully recovered, he had continued to be active and his death came as a surprise. At the announcement of his death, the Deseret News printed:

With the death of Leonard John Nuttall . . . the community loses a useful, just and true man, one whose life and labors are known throughout the entire Rocky Mountain region. . . . few men were better known or more loved than the deceased.<sup>1</sup>

The Deseret Sunday School Board presided at the funeral the following Sunday as Seymour B. Young conducted the services. The services were held at four p.m. in the Assembly Hall on Temple Square, and the music was furnished by the temple choir. Elder Anthony H. Lund described Nuttall as a man:

. . . who always engaged in doing good. He loved to work and his study was to make it successful. He spent

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret News, February 24, 1905.

his life in trying to build up the work of the Lord upon the earth and the Lord blessed him for his efforts. He was a lovable man, ever affable and had a pleasant greeting for all.<sup>2</sup>

Several speakers commented on an industrious quality possessed by Brother Nuttall. George Reynolds, with whom he labored as a secretary to the President of the Church for several years, told the assembly that Nuttall was a man who could "always be depended upon to respond to every call made upon him." This same newspaper account which reported on the address of John Winder, who was a counselor to Joseph F. Smith, said "the speaker knew of no man better prepared to go than brother Nuttall."

The deceased was honored by the presence of the First Presidency, several of the Twelve Apostles, and members of the Sunday School Board. President Joseph F. Smith spoke highly of him:

He was a man among men, always faithful, always to be trusted. . . . He was a true, honest, and faithful servant of the Lord. He never made a misstep so far as his devotion to the Church was concerned, and he passed away, fully entitled to a crown of righteousness.<sup>3</sup>

### Provo Funeral

A second funeral was held for Brother Nuttall at Provo the next Monday. He had many friends and relatives

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., February 27, 1905.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., February 27, 1905.

there, for he had resided in the city for over twenty years, and Elizabeth had returned for the last seventeen years of her life. Four boys in this first family were pallbearers. Many "old time friends" came to the Provo services, including veterans of the Black Hawk War with whom Nuttall had served. Some of them sang "The Memorial Ode," and the other music was furnished by the tabernacle choir of Provo, of which L. John was a member for many years in his earlier life. The First Presidency of the Church were again represented by Anthony H. Lund, who spoke for the second time. The stand was "tastefully draped in white and bunting vines and decorated with plants and flowers. In front of the stand was placed a large photograph of Elder Nuttall and beautiful floral offerings covered the casket."<sup>4</sup>

In addition to Brother Lund, other speakers were John Smith, who was patriarch in Provo, Seymour B. Young of the Sunday School Board, Bishop Ralph Poulton of Provo, and Elder Samuel S. Jones and William A. Morton. These men spoke of:

. . . the useful, upright and honorable career of the deceased, and made fitting reference to his integrity and faithfulness of the principles of the gospel.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Deseret News, February 28, 1905.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

APPENDIX A

WILLIAM AND MARY LANGHORN NUTTALL

Compiled by Reed Nuttall

## APPENDIX A

### WILLIAM AND MARY LANGHORN NUTTALL

Compiled by Reed Nuttall

William Nuttall was a shipbuilder, born at Skerton near the city of Lancashire, England. His trade led him up and down the West Coast of England, living for a while at Carlyle in the County of Westmoreland and later establishing his family at Liverpool. It is not known if his trade led him out to sea, but he did become fairly well fixed while he lived at Liverpool. The Nuttall family originated at Bury, Lancashire, Eng. The name was first spelled Nuthalgh which means nutfield. It is thought that the people who lived on the lane that went from Bury to the field of nuts near the town were first called John, George, William or Richard of Nuthalgh Lane. Soon it was shortened to Nuttall. There is still a road leading out to Bury called Nuttall Lane. Tradition has it that the early members of the family were weavers. We think William's grandfather Richard moved North to better his condition and have some evidence that his and his wife's bodies were returned to Bury after their death for burial in the Old Church of that city.

William's wife Mary Langhorn Nuttall, a beautiful lady, kind and good, was descended from some of the finest of Northern England's families and her lineage traces back to England's early kings. She was a cousin of John Taylor who later became President of the Church.

William and Mary, their three sons, William Ephriam, Leonard John and Joseph, and William Ephriam's sweetheart Rosamond Emily Watson joined the Church and were baptized in 1850 by John Taylor who was in Europe at the time to purchase machinery for the manufacture of sugar from beets grown here in the West. The machinery was purchased in the fall of 1851 and left in charge of Elias Morris and the Nuttall Brothers. March 6, 1852 they sailed from Liverpool on the ship "Rockaway." Capt. Philip de la Mare and a Capt. Russell had preceded (sic) them to the States to purchase special wagons and oxen to haul the heavy machinery as some of the largest pieces weighed over 16 tons. About the 25th of April they arrived at New Orleans and all was transferred to river on smaller boats that took the machinery and the accompanying Saints up the Missouri to Ft. Leavenworth. The first fifty wagons they bot were made in St. Louis after the great fire. The lumber was green and unseasoned and the wagons soon began breaking down under the terrific loads that were placed in them. These were given to



Saints with lighter loads and forty-two great Santa Fe wagons were purchased of Charles H. Perry. Only about thirty Saints had sailed from England on the "Rockaway," but by the time they left Ft. Leavenworth the company had been joined by many Saints and it became the longest wagon train to cross the plains up to that time.

It was now about the first of July and the real hardship of the journey began. To haul such loads over the rough prairie trails, across rivers great and small, climb steep mountain canyons, thru all kinds of weather, was an undertaking that tried mens souls. At Sweetwater River they experienced the first severe snow storm, two feet of snow and zero weather. During the night of the storm many of the cattle got away, some were never found. Supplies ran low and some of the cattle had to be killed to eat. Farther along the Wyoming trail they were met by Joseph Horne and later at Fort Bridger by Abraham O. Smoot with flour and supplies. At Bear River more storm forced them to leave some of the heaviest wagons, which were brot on to Salt Lake City the next Spring. They crossed the Bear River, travelled on down thru Emigration Canyon to Salt Lake City, then on to Provo. It was now late in November having taken five months to travel over 1200 miles from Fort Leavenworth to Provo.

Their women were no less brave and worked right along with their men. William Ephriam had married Rosamond Emily Watson before they left England. She had been disowned and kicked out by her family because she had joined the church of the hated Mormons. On the trip to Utah she became pregnant with her first son and truly experienced the hardship and inconvenience of those times. We modern folks can hardly conceive of the trials the pioneer women endured, sleeping on the ground with never enough bedding, taking the few baths they got in some cold river at night so no one would embarrass them, going days with scarcely enough water to drink, let alone to wash with. The constant chore of meals prepared over camp fires, oftimes made only of Buffalo chips, the everlasting mending of worn out clothing, the cheering of their exhausted men, the consoling of tired and weary children. The bearing and caring for babes, tending the ill and laying away loved ones who could no longer sustain life in those trying days.

On the banks of the Timpanogos (Crooked Rocky River as it was called by the Indians), later named Provo River, Rosamond Emily had her child in a wagon bed. They had camped near the precious machinery to watch it thru the winter. The bed of the wagon had been set off the running gears so William Ephriam could use them to haul logs for their first home. This baby boy was born the 4th of March 1853, about four inches of snow on the ground and the weather cold. He was named William George. . . .

Leonard John Nuttall was born at Liverpool, England. He attended St. Brides School of that city. When he was 16,

he, his parents and two brothers joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He was a diligent and studious lad and the wonderful doctrines of the restored Gospel made a deep impression on him. He was one of the stalwarts on the trip to Utah, sharing the hard work and suffering of that momentuous (sic) journey. Soon after arriving in Utah he joined the Nauvoo Legion and participated in many of the skirmishes with the Indians as well as the evacuation of the Saints at the time of the Johnston's Army. He became one of the leading officers of the Legion before it was disbanded, achieving rank of Colonel.

Soon after coming to Utah he fell in love with a lovely English lass, Elizabeth Clarkson and they were married at Provo. He taught school, farmed and was active in Church and Civic affairs. He was sent to Kanab as Stake President when that area was settled. He was the first recorder of the St. George Temple. He was a beautiful writer and penman. Much of his writing was written so fine it is difficult (sic) to read it without a magnifying glass. He kept an extensive diary most of his life. Several dates and points in Church History were cleared up thru information from his diary.

About the time John Taylor became President of the Church he selected L. John as his personal secretary and as such he accompanied the Church leaders to Washington, D.C. when they went to plead for the Church about polygamy. He was one of the leaders in trying to get justice for the people of the Church during the trials and troubles about Polygamy. He was custodian of the Church property for a while and also served as secretary for President Wilford Woodruff. He returned to his native England on a Mission and was privileged to visit and preach the Gospel to many of his relatives.

His second wife was his second cousin, Sophia Taylor, daughter of John Taylor and Harriet Whitaker. He and his two families established a number of homes in Utah, living at various times at Salt Lake City, Kanab, St. George, and several places in Provo. He also built the first Log Cabin in Spring Lake. . . .

Joseph Nuttall was the youngest of three brothers. He was 14 when he joined the Church. He too joined the Nauvoo Legion soon after his arrival in Utah and served many years quelling Indian raids and helping to keep order in the Territory. He also attended St. Brides School in Liverpool. His first wife Emily Isabelle Chesley died without issue and he later married Susan Amelia Saunsoosee. . . . They lived most of their life in Provo, farming, taking part in church and civic affairs of the town. Joseph was called on a mission to England where he served two years. . . .

APPENDIX B

THE HISTORY OF L. JOHN NUTTALL

by Clara C. N. Giles

## APPENDIX B

### THE HISTORY OF L. JOHN NUTTALL

by Clara C. N. Giles

In Liverpool, England July 6, 1834 was born a little boy who was named Leonard John. This was my father. His parents were William Nuttall and Mary Langhorn. Both branches of the family were well known for their professional and business ability.

His early education was had at St. Brides school in Liverpool, and at the age of 13 1/2 he was bound an apprentice as a ship and boat maker.

He and his parents and brother Joseph were baptized in Liverpool Oct. 8, 1850 by Apostle John Taylor; his brother William had been baptized one month earlier. The family composed of the parents and the three boys emigrated (sic) to Utah in 1852. They sailed across the Atlantic in the ship Rockaway, starting March 6, 1852 and landing in New Orleans the latter part of April.

This same ship carried the machinery for the first beet sugar factory that was built in America.

The company arrived in Salt Lake City Oct. 10, 1852 and in November moved to Provo where they made their home and took a part in the early development and building up of that city.

The same year the Nuttall family arrived in Provo another family of four came from Hull, England. This was composed of Thomas and Kitty Clarkson and two daughters Ann, and Elizabeth. Leonard John met and wooed Elizabeth and they were married Dec. 25, 1856. To them 12 children were born, nine of whom were living at the death of our parents.

It was in July 1853 that he first took part in the suppression of the Indian outbreaks, which resulted in such hardships to the saints in Utah and Sanpete Counties. During the fall and winter, from August to Sept., 1857, as Regimental Adjustant (sic) of the First Regiment, Utah Military District he took an active part in defending the rights of the people in what was known as the Bucannan War. He was in the mountains, exposed to the perils, hardships and winter weather, and was one of the 110 men detailed in case the order should be given, to destroy Salt Lake City, and make it a barren, desolate waste.

He was elected colonel of the First Regiment, First Brigade, Utah Military District May 8, 1866 and received his

commission from Governor Charles Durkee, and he left Provo Aug. 15, 1866, in command of a detachment of cavalry, consisting of 71 men on an expedition against the Utah Indians, the expedition was part of the Black Hawk War. The command was made up mostly of young men from Utah County only eight of whom were married.

In the church he was ever an energetic member. In the fall of 1853 he associated with William W. Allen, Henry White and Elizabeth Roper organizing the first Sunday School in Provo, classes were held in the first log meeting house, those I have named officiating as officers and teachers. He received the ordinations to the Priesthood in their order. Aug. 31, 1867 he was ordained to be a High Priest, and set apart as a High Councilor in Utah Stake and as the clerk of the High Council. He also remained active in Sunday School and was the leader of the Tabernacle choir for many years. He was appointed to take a mission to Great Britain and left home June 29, 1874 in company with Elder David McKenzie, John Henry Smith and Peter Sinclair. He labored in the Durham and Newcastle conferences and in the Liverpool office.

Upon his return home he was called to Southern Utah and was set apart as Bishop of the Kanab Ward. He left Provo with his family in November 1875 and went to his new field of labor. In Dec. 1876 he went to attend the dedicatory services of the St. George Temple; here he was called by Pres. Brigham Young to labor and was recorder for over three months. Having been called to preside in the Kanab Stake, he left St. George in company with Apostles John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow and Erastus Snow for Kanab, and on April 17, 1877, the Kanab Stake of Zion was organized, with L. John Nuttall as president, Howard O. Spencer and James L. Bunting counselors. He magnified his calling and continued in this position until June 14, 1879 when he was honorably released having been called to labor as private secretary to Pres. John Taylor, Elder George Reynolds who had been the secretary having been sentenced to prison for conscience sake. My father served in this position for eight years; he was with Pres. Taylor during the years of his exile and was at his bedside at the time of his death July 25, 1887.

He continued as secretary to Pres. Wilford Woodruff until the spring of 1892 when, in consequence of ill health, he was released to perform other duties that would give him more outside exercise. He was appointed by Pres. Woodruff to take charge of the church and ward real estate matters and to look after the legal interests of the Relief Society of the Church. In this work he was actively engaged until the time of his death.

In the civil history of Provo he was also prominent. He was elected to the city council of Provo in 1861 and was also appointed recorder and auditor of the city in the same year, these offices he held until 1875.

He was probate and county clerk of Utah County and took the oath of office Mar. 21, 1865, holding this office for ten years.

He was interested in the organization of the cooperative stores and the Woolen Mills in Provo. In Feb. 1870 L. John Nuttall did the first printing performed in Utah County at Provo City on his own printing press.

On Sunday morning Sept. 3, 1870 while my father was at Springville attending Sunday School, his home and all his household effects were destroyed by fire. The citizens were called out of meeting to save what they could but all: home, household property, hay and grain were destroyed in a short time, the loss being estimated at from five to six thousand dollars.

He served two terms in the legislature of Utah as chief clerk. He also served as a regent at the University of Deseret for several years. From 1881 to 1885 he was the superintendent of district schools for Utah Territory. And he was a director in several of the leading mercantile establishments.

My father spent three years in Washington D.C. in company with the Hon. John T. Caine, the delegate from Utah assisting him in his labors.

My Grandfather William Nuttall died in Provo March 18, 1864 age 67 years. My Grandmother Mary Langhorn Nuttall died at Wallsburg, Utah, April 17, 1880, age 81 years and 4 months.

My father, L. John Nuttall, was a busy man both religiously and civilly and discharged every duty imposed upon him with that zeal and fidelity which characterizes God's faithful servants.

He passed to his reward in Salt Lake City, February 23, 1905 at the age of 70 years and 4 months.

APPENDIX C

PARENTS AND FAMILIES OF LEONARD JOHN NUTTALL

APPENDIX C

PARENTS OF LEONARD JOHN NUTTALL

WILLIAM NUTTALL

Father: Richard Nuttall  
Mother: Elizabeth Thompson  
Birth: 19 July 1796 at Skerton, Lancaster, England  
Death: 4 March 1864 at Provo, Utah

MARY LANGHORN

Father: John Langhorn  
Mother: Eleanor Taylor  
Birth: 23 December 1798 at Skap, Westminster, England  
Marriage: 8 July 1822 at Lancaster, England  
Death: 19 April 1880 at Provo, Utah

CHILDREN:

1. William Ephraim Nuttall (1825-1899)
2. Leonard John Nuttall (1834-1905)
3. Joseph Louis Nuttall (1836-1912)



## FIRST FAMILY OF LEONARD JOHN NUTTALL

## ELIZABETH CLARKSON

Father: Thomas Clarkson  
 Mother: Kitty McCoy  
 Birth: 28 April 1836  
 Marriage: 25 December 1856 at Provo, Utah  
 Death: 18 July 1902 at Provo, Utah

## CHILDREN:

1. Elizabeth Ann Nuttall  
 Born 1 April 1858 at Provo, Utah  
 Married George Shumway, 9 April 1879, eight  
 children  
 Died 2 February 1933
2. Leonard John Nuttall, Jr.  
 Born 5 December 1859 at Provo, Utah  
 Married Christina Little, 11 March, 1880, four-  
 teen children  
 Died 17 October 1949
3. Thomas Clarkson Nuttall  
 Born 19 October 1861 at Provo, Utah  
 Married Harriet G. Self, 6 December, 1883, four  
 children  
 Died 1 December 1920
4. Joseph William Nuttall  
 Born 16 December 1863 at Provo, Utah  
 Unmarried  
 Died 8 December 1917
5. Mary Clarkson Nuttall  
 Born 27 December 1865 at Provo, Utah  
 Married Alma Holdaway  
 Died ?

6. George Albert Nuttall  
Born 24 September 1867 at American Fork, Utah  
Married Olivia Berg, 28 May 1889, one child  
Died 25 January 1954
7. Eleanor Clarkson Nuttall  
Born 2 September 1870 at Provo, Utah  
Married Malin M. Warner, 8 November 1892, four  
children  
Died 30 April 1955
8. A Daughter (Stillborn)  
Born 10 October 1869 at Provo, Utah
9. Leanora Clarkson Nuttall  
Born 12 February 1873 at Provo, Utah  
Died 2 November 1874
10. Clara Clarkson Nuttall  
Born 25 March 1875 at Provo, Utah  
Married Joseph Giles, 25 June 1902, eight  
children  
Died 25 October 1955
11. Heber Clarkson Nuttall  
Born 5 May 1877 at Kanab, Utah  
Unmarried  
Died 5 May 1897
12. Wilford Clarkson Nuttall  
Born 29 March 1878 at Kanab, Utah  
Married Della Lowe, 29 June 1899, four children  
Died 13 April 1935

#### SECOND FAMILY OF LEONARD JOHN NUTTALL

#### SOPHIA TAYLOR

Father: John Taylor  
 Mother: Harriet Ann Whitaker  
 Birth: 14 July 1849 at Salt Lake City, Utah  
 Marriage: 31 August 1875 at Salt Lake City, Utah  
 Death: 20 March 1909 at Salt Lake City, Utah

## CHILDREN:

1. John Taylor Nuttall  
Born 14 August 1876 at Kanab, Utah  
Died 26 June 1881
2. Harriet Taylor Nuttall  
Born 12 April 1879 at Salt Lake City, Utah  
Died 27 September 1879
3. Sophia Elizabeth Taylor Nuttall  
Born 9 February 1881 at Salt Lake City, Utah  
Died 7 October 1882
4. William Taylor Nuttall  
Born 2 March 1883 at Salt Lake City, Utah  
Married Olive Marie Christensen, 16 June 1909,  
two children  
Died 28 October 1918
5. Lenora Taylor Nuttall  
Born 14 March 1885 at Riverdale, Utah  
Married George B. Andrews, 14 March 1908,  
no children  
Died 29 November 1911
6. Mary Taylor Nuttall  
Born 16 July 1889 at Salt Lake City, Utah  
Married Hyrum J. Christiansen, 2 June 1909,  
six children  
Died 26 November 1941

APPENDIX D

REVELATION TO PRESIDENT WILFORD WOODRUFF

NOVEMBER 24, 1889

## APPENDIX D

### REVELATION TO PRESIDENT WILFORD WOODRUFF NOVEMBER 24, 1889

Thus Saith the Lord, to my Servant Wilford, I the Lord have heard thy prayers and thy request, and will answer thee by the voice of my spirit. Thus Saith the Lord, unto my Servants, the Presidency of my Church, who hold the Keys of the Kingdom of God on the earth. I the Lord hold the destiny of the Courts in your midst, and the destiny of this Nation, and all other nations of the earth in mine own hands; all that I have revealed, and promised and decreed concerning the generation in which you live, shall come to pass, and no power shall stay my hand. Let not my Servants who are called to the Presidency of my church, deny my word of my law, which concerns the Salvation of the Children of Men, Let them pray for the Holy Spirit, which shall be given them to guide them in their acts. Place not yourselves in jeopardy to your enemies by promise; your enemies seek your destruction and the destruction of my people. If the Saints will hearken unto my voice, and the counsel of my Servants the wicked shall not prevail. Let my servants, who officiate as your Counselors before the Courts, make their pleadings as they are moved upon by the Holy Spirit, without any further pledges from the Priesthood, and they shall be justified. I the Lord will hold the Courts, with the officers of Government, and the nation responsible for their acts towards the inhabitants of Zion. I, Jesus Christ, the Savior of the World, am in your midst. I am your advocate with the Father. Fear not little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom. Fear not the wicked and ungodly. Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of me; also those revelations which I have given to my Servant Joseph, and to all my Servants since the world began, which are recorded in the records of divine truth. Those revelations contain the judgments of God, which are to be poured out upon all nations under the heavens, which include great babylon. These judgments are at the door, they will be fulfilled as God lives. Leave judgment with me, it is mine saith the Lord. Watch the signs of the times, and they will show the fulfillment of the words of the Lord. Let my servants call upon the Lord in mighty prayer, retain the Holy Ghost as your constant companion, and act as you are moved upon by that spirit, and all will be well with

you. The wicked are fast ripening in inequity, (sic) and they will be cut off by the judgments of God. Great events await you and this generation, and are nigh at your doors. Awake, O Israel, and have faith in God, and His promises, and He will not forsake you. I the Lord will deliver my Saints from the dominion of the wicked, in mine own due time and way. I cannot deny my word, neither in blessings nor judgments. Therefore Let mine Anointed gird up their loins, watch and be sober, and Keep my commandments. Pray always and faint not; exercise faith in the Lord and in the promises of God; be valiant in the testimony of Jesus Christ. The eyes of the Lord and the Heavenly Hosts are watching over you and your acts. There-fore be faithful until I come. I come quickly, to reward every man according to the deeds done in the body, even so. Amen.

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A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF LEONARD JOHN NUTTALL,  
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PRESIDENTS JOHN  
TAYLOR AND WILFORD WOODRUFF

An Abstract of  
A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Department of History  
Brigham Young University

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

by  
Clarence G. Jensen

July, 1962

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to provide a biography of Leonard John Nuttall. Special emphasis has been given to his contributions to Church and civic affairs.

He was born in 1834 in England, and after joining the Church in 1852 he immigrated to Utah and settled at Provo. Nuttall became active in military, civic, and Church affairs while residing in Utah County. He served as Adjutant to Colonel Pace in the Utah War and Colonel in the Black Hawk War as he led an expedition to Sevier County against the Indians. He was elected Alderman, City Counselor, and City Recorder in Provo, Probate Clerk of Utah County, and Chief Clerk of the Utah Legislature. He also helped to organize the first Sunday School in Provo, and served as secretary of the Provo United Order and School of Prophets, Clerk of the High Council in the Utah Stake, and missionary to Great Britain.

In 1875 Mr. Nuttall was called by President Brigham Young to be Bishop of Kanab Ward in Kane County and preside over the Wards and United Orders in the area. In 1877 he was set apart as Stake President when the Kanab Stake was organized. During his residence in Kanab, Elder Nuttall was prominent as he helped to advance community and ecclesiastical affairs.

In 1877 John Taylor called Nuttall to Salt Lake City

to assist in auditing the Church financial records. Two years later he and his family moved to this city, and he directed the Kanab Stake through correspondence and occasional visits to the area until being released in 1884.

The same year Nuttall moved to Salt Lake City he began serving as private secretary to President John Taylor. He was also Territorial Superintendent of District Schools from 1881 until 1886. He accompanied the Church leaders in hiding in 1885 and remained with President Taylor until his death. Nuttall served as a member of the Council of Fifty after 1880, and his records give valuable information on this topic.

President Woodruff also assigned Nuttall to be his secretary in 1887. In addition, he accompanied John T. Caine to Washington, D.C., on two occasions. Nuttall's writings contain a revelation President Woodruff claimed to have received on the "Manifesto" and comments about the Apostles' feelings toward this issue.

In 1892 Nuttall was released as secretary to President Woodruff and served as an advisor to the Relief Society for incorporation and other legal matters. He was also an aid to the Deseret Sunday School Union and member of the Church Educational System until his death in 1905.

ABSTRACT APPROVED BY:

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