
“Wars and Rumor of Wars”: United Kingdom Latter-day Saints and the Crimean War, 1853–1856

Zachary R. Jones

In this study I examine LDS participation in, and reaction to, the Crimean War (1853–1856) by Latter-day Saint participants from the United Kingdom (UK). In addition to the historical examination, I provide a Mormon theological context as reflected by the conflict.¹

The views of Latter-day Saints in the United Kingdom (UK) relative to the Crimean War in Europe, when compared to LDS perceptions in America relative to the Civil War (1861–1865), provide insight on how decidedly different such perceptions were. Historian Richard E. Bennett has argued that Mormons in the United States viewed the Civil War as primarily a war of “retributive justice,” or a war enacted by God to punish America for its cruelties against the LDS Church in Missouri and Illinois.² However, military conflicts in Europe, and more specifically the Crimean War, were not perceived as wars of retributive justice, but rather as a demonstration of God’s anger against the nations that had failed to accept the LDS missionary message. In addition, the wrath and destruction were viewed as a divine and purposeful chastisement that functioned to increase conversion rates and then push the truly righteous from Europe (i.e., Babylon) to Utah (i.e. Zion), where Mormonism was headquartered. With urgency and zeal during this period, Mormon missionaries in Europe called on Saints and converts to immigrate to Zion or face physical and spiritual destruction.³

The Crimean War

The Crimean War (1853–1856) was between the Russian Empire and the powerful alliance of the British Empire, France, the Kingdom of Sardin-

ZACHARY R. JONES (zrjones@uas.alaska.edu) is a PhD student in Native American Indian history at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. He is the director of the Sealaska Heritage Institute’s Special Collections Research Center at Juneau, Alaska, and is an adjunct instructor of history at the University of Alaska Southeast.

ia (now part of Italy), and the Ottoman Empire (now divided into Middle Eastern, North African, and Southeastern European nations). The conflict resulted in part from a long-running series of imperial ambitions of the major European powers regarding which nations would have influence over the fate of the declining Ottoman Empire's territories and its warm-water ports.⁴

While the genesis of the Crimean War is complex, the conflict began over Russia's territorial advances into the Crimean Peninsula, which theoretically threatened the UK's control of sea-trade routes to British India, but also Russia's need for a warm water-port. Religious ideologies, particularly control over the Holy Land, are also often cited as an additional factor in the hostilities. Combat began in July 1853, when Russia sent troops into the Danubian principalities and secured a series of victories over Ottoman forces. The UK, objecting to the Russian annexation of Ottoman territory, sent a fleet of battleships to the Dardanelles, a key water passage linking the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. France allied with Britain, which in turn entered into a pact with the Ottoman Empire and issued an ultimatum to the Russian Empire. Russia rejected the ultimatum, and France and Britain declared war on March 28, 1854. Later in the conflict, opting for imperial gain, the Kingdom of Sardinia also entered the conflict against Russia. Russia had assumed that former allies like Austria would come to its aid, but a military pact failed to materialize.

Over the next two years the Crimean Peninsula was the seat of most of the conflict, though additional military actions also occurred in western Turkey, the Baltic Sea, the White Sea, and in the Pacific. Scholars have long debated the number of soldiers actually killed in the conflict, but recent figures place the number at 750,000 deaths counting both combat and disease—most of whom were Russian. Most scholars agree that nearly as many soldiers died of disease as from combat, due to deplorable conditions on the front in the Crimean Peninsula and elsewhere.

For historians and military tacticians today the war is often remembered for the epic tactical errors of the land campaign which cost thousands of lives (especially among the British), the use of new military technologies to improve the effectiveness of destroying an enemy, Russia's failed diplomatic negotiations after the war, and for being the first conflict covered widely by journalists and photographers. For historians examining the Russian perspective of the war, it has often been attributed as a war that broke and divided the national spirit, prompting wide-ranging reforms by the new Tsar Alexander II (who ruled from 1855–1881), which eventually led to the emancipation of Russian serfs in 1861. For the British Empire, historians argue that the war helped maintain the so-called balance of power in Britain's favor, while at the same time demonstrated Britain's outdated military tactics, and on some

levels led Britain to focus on economic dominance as opposed to military superiority.⁵

United Kingdom (UK) Latter-day Saints Serving in the Crimean War

Far away from the UK on the various battlefields of the Crimean War, a number of Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and British Mormons serving in the UK's military machine saw combat. While sources are unclear as to exactly how many Mormons actually participated, it appears that the number was not large, likely less than one hundred.⁶ Documentation shows the creation of three separate soldier branches: (1) the Expeditionary Force Branch (most often in Turkey), (2) the Floating Branch (most often at sea), and (3) a branch that seems to have collapsed, consisting of members of the Scottish 76th Regiment. LDS Church leaders in the UK also felt the need to establish religious oversight and priesthood governance among the LDS soldiers, calling a few to serve in three branch presidencies for those deployed to the scene of conflict. James F. Bell, president of the Malta Conference and the LDS branch at Florianna, Malta, had jurisdiction over these branches, and members of the branch presidencies reported to him regularly.⁷ The branch presidencies were regularly reorganized as soldiers came and went due to transfers, sickness, and death. By October 1854, fifty-eight people (soldiers and civilians) had been baptized in the Malta Conference since its inception two years previous, but additional baptisms of soldiers and civilians were occurring. In late 1854, LDS membership in the branches included the following: Florianna (Malta) Branch (a mix of soldiers and civilians)—13 members; Expeditionary Force Branch—23 members; Floating Branch—a scattered membership of about 10 after casualties and death; and the 76th Regiment (deployed at sea)—7. Although these numbers were small, this group of LDS soldiers experienced the war's full fury.

A few letters from LDS soldiers serving in the Crimea were written to Franklin D. Richards, an LDS Apostle and president of the British Mission, who subsequently published them in the *Millennial Star*. Although Richards, and his brother Samuel W. Richards, the previous president of the British Mission, had voiced strong opinions about the war, Franklin D. Richards nonetheless felt that these letters merited publication. The letters provide firsthand information on how LDS soldiers perceived and experienced the war and on how they loathed the dismal conditions of combat and feared for their lives, yet attempted to remain connected to the Church in the UK and fellow LDS soldiers in the trenches. The ugliness of war is uncensored and fully manifest in their correspondence.



Portion of Franz Roubaud's 1904 panoramic painting of the siege of Sebastopol. Latter-day Saint soldiers from the United Kingdom served in the Crimean War and saw action in the Sebastopol campaign.

A number of LDS soldiers were killed on the battlefield, or died later as a result of their wounds or disease, leaving widows and young children behind in the UK. Others narrowly escaped with their lives. During the year-long siege of the Russian-occupied city of Sebastopol (September 1854 to September 1855), troops on both sides experienced high casualties.⁸ John McLean, president of the Expeditionary Force Branch, reporting on the welfare of Mormon men near the front at Sebastopol during the winter of 1854–1855, wrote that he “could not describe the horrors of our situation by letter.” He continued: “We live in a mess of filth and vermin, and cannot get rid of it.” Clean clothing, bathing, and good food were nonexistent. “We sleep within reach of the enemy’s shot and shell,” he wrote, adding that a good night’s sleep was difficult to find, and death was possible at any moment. McLean, and other LDS soldiers as well, expressed their desires to returning home to England and then move to Zion, calling the hellish experience of war a type of prison within “Babylon.”⁹ Five months later he reported that only about twelve or thirteen LDS combat soldiers had survived the fighting in the Crimea, the number being reduced due by death, discharge for wounds or sickness, or transfer to another location.¹⁰

Reports on the wounded and those killed were regularly detailed in their correspondence. Amid the Sebastopol siege in November 1854, McLean reported from the front that he and other LDS soldiers in his regiment had fought in several battles and that the Russians “came against us in immense numbers.” After one battle, McLean’s division was “reduced to a mere skeleton by being killed and wounded.” McLean received a bayonet wound in the left arm in a close-quarter melee. LDS Corporal Peter Hays “had to get his arm cut off above the elbow” after sustaining a serious wound. Another LDS soldier by the name of McDonald sustained three separate wounds, two from artillery shells that exploded near him, and another from a bullet wound to the hand.¹¹ Alexander Downes, a presidency member in the Floating Branch, reported that a Church member with the last name of Burrige was also wounded in the hand and lost three fingers.¹² Henry Russell, another presidency member, reported that Patrick Brodlie of the 41st Regiment (a Welsh regiment) was killed in action on the battlefield and “was noted for his calmness when dying on the field, by his comrades.” Alexander Ross died of sickness, leaving “a wife and two or three children unprovided for.”¹³ The horrors of war and their deplorable conditions contributed to low morale. W. Higgins, an LDS soldier, did not shy from expressing his true feelings. “I wish the war over this month,” he wrote, “for I am sick and tired of it. . . . I hope to see the happy day when the army is returning to England.”¹⁴

The battlefield experiences of the LDS soldiers did not go unnoticed by the Church’s leadership in Utah. British Mission President Franklin D. Richards periodically kept the Mormon leadership apprised of the war situation and LDS men serving. In October 1854, Richards informed Brigham Young of casualties at Sebastopol: “The brethren [LDS soldiers] were in the left wing of the army, which experienced the severest part of the engagement.”¹⁵

Historian Olive Anderson argues that ministerial and missionary activities among the different religious organization groups occurred, but little actual religious conversion took place.¹⁶ The letters from LDS servicemen align with this sentiment. For example, in nearly every letter the Mormon soldiers mentioned their desire to share the gospel message with their fellow servicemen, but most encountered an unreceptive audience. John McLean wrote that “there is a very bad spirit manifested towards the Gospel” when he attempted to proselytize to soldiers in Turkey. “If anything whatever is mentioned concerning the Latter-day Saints or their doctrines, there is nothing can be heard, but cursing and vile abusive language from almost everyone in the tent.”¹⁷ Part of the animosity may have stemmed from the January 1853 announcement in the *Millennial Star* that Mormons embraced and practiced polygamy.¹⁸

There were exceptions, however, and converts were made. In late 1854, the branch presidency of the Expeditionary Force branch in Turkey reported baptizing six soldiers.¹⁹ Writing five months later, Henry Russell optimistically argued that there were additional soldiers interested in joining the LDS Church, but “we have no time to baptize, or our numbers would be increased.”²⁰ A few months later Russell reported to Richards that a soldier and recent convert baptized in Turkey by the name of Valentine had been killed in combat.²¹ While conversion to Mormonism was obstructed by a number of factors, particularly polygamy, and while it may have been relatively unattractive among the general British soldiery, it appears that twenty or more soldiers embraced Mormonism, a significant number, given that fewer than one hundred LDS soldiers from the UK served during the war and helped secure these conversions.²²

LDS soldiers held formal worship services in Crimea, but not regularly. In August 1845, Alexander Ross reported that his branch of twenty servicemen were fortunate to “meet in the woods convenient to camp” on a few rare occasions.²³ As combat intensified on the front, John McLean sought to remain in contact with the LDS soldiers arriving at the front in Sebastopol, but this proved difficult because of combat duties and regulations on troop interactions. “We can hold no meetings,” he wrote, “and it is only by stealth that we can have an opportunity of conversing with one another.”²⁴ A few months later he reported that the high turnover of soldiers and troop movements made it difficult to determine where the LDS soldiers were stationed: “Some of the Saints here are gone away wounded, and others have gone away to Scutari with sickness.”²⁵ In April 1855, Alexander Downes, president of the Floating Branch, reported that two years after his initial deployment from Malta, he had “not been able to meet my Branch even once.”²⁶ Understandably, LDS soldiers moved about with their units or were transferred during the war, and locating them often proved difficult or impossible. In short, most Mormon servicemen were obliged to worship by themselves, and only rarely could they get together for religious exercises. Surprisingly, Mormon servicemen periodically received copies of the *Millennial Star*. McLean reported how eagerly he and other soldiers awaited the arrival of the newspaper, which provided “mental food” and a type of spiritual and as well as psychological escape from the stresses of war.²⁷

Mormon Premillennial Worldview of the Crimean War

As Grant Underwood has demonstrated, nineteenth century Mormonism was saturated with apocalyptic millennial belief. As premillennialists, Latter-day Saints believed the world would be cleansed through destruction

before Christ would return and reign in peace for a thousand years. Mormons also welcomed this apocalyptic event, since “the suffering righteous will be vindicated and their evil oppressors vanquished” prior to Christ’s return.²⁸ Furthermore, the notion of global war, calamity, and wide-ranging destruction also demonstrated God’s power on earth. Since Mormon worldviews were religiously framed, they saw opposing forces as being of the devil, and forces that aided the LDS cause as being divine. And since Mormons perceived opposing “power structures [being] fully controlled by the adversary,” they fully expected “divine intervention . . . to come dramatically, even cataclysmically, as superhuman forces square off in the final showdown of good and evil.” In a real sense, LDS faithful believed “that they would act out Biblical narratives in their own lives” and gather Israel before Christ returned to reign in his millennial glory and power.²⁹

The millennial worldview of Mormonism is aptly represented in LDS narratives that address the Crimean War in premillennial terms. For example, LDS missionary Andrew Ferguson, proselytizing in 1853 in his native Scotland, penned his thoughts on the impending Crimean conflict: “One thing is certain, that war must ensue, before the Lord descends to Earth,” he wrote. “That will come to pass before this generation passes away.” He believed millennial prophecies were “beginning to be fulfilled . . . while we can see war raging” and that the wicked would soon be destroyed.³⁰ Over the coming months Ferguson continued to reflect on the brooding war: “What it will come to no one can tell,” he mused. However, he was also certain that “this war is to precede the coming Lord.” With society “turning upside down between the cry of war” his premillennial broodings generated a need for him and his family to remain vigilant and faithful: “O Lord grant that thy people may be willing & obedient in the day of thy visitation amongst the inhabitants of this Earth, to punish the wicked for the evils, & drive sin from its face thereof, & redeem thy Ancient people Israel, & give me with my family power to continue faithful in thy work, until the faithful day, amen.”³¹ Over the coming months Ferguson’s concerns mounted as the conflict grew and as UK involvement augmented.³²

During the spring of 1854, as the UK became more politically involved in the Crimean, but before war was officially declared, Samuel D. Richards, president of the British Mission (1852–1854) and editor of the *Millennial Star*, began addressing the impending war in premillennial terms in the periodical. The first discussion of the growing crisis by Richards appeared as a three-page article in the March 1854 issue titled “There Shall Be Wars and Rumours [*sic*] of Wars.” Writing with surprisingly erudite knowledge of the political issues at hand, Richards weighed in on political aspects, and then amalgamated politics with his theological worldview. He indicated that “war itself seems

inevitable” and functioned to contest the “balance of power” between Britain, France, and Russia, framing the conflict as a prophetic “signs of the times.” Though he favored Britain in the contest, and argued on behalf of the British and French becoming involved in the conflict, his spiritual worldview dictated his perceptions of the war. If the warfare brought results that favored the allies, Richards argued, such as the liberation of Poland and other occupied nations under Russian dominion, “doors may be opened for the introduction of the gospel” among these nations, adding that if these “nations be divided by internal revolutions, or through the effects of external war,” it would “give the servants of the Lord opportunity to deliver their warning testimony.” Believing that war and conflict would continue to unfold throughout the world, Richards encouraged Europeans to embrace Mormonism, join with the Saints, and flee to “places of refuge” in Zion in Utah Territory, since only in Zion could one find peace and rest from wars and the future destructions of the world before Christ’s millennial return. “The wicked have naught to hope, the Saints have naught to fear,” because God would protect His flock. In his view, “wars and commotions of the nations will forward the gathering of Zion and hasten” the millennium “ten times faster than all the preaching of the Elders to the wicked.” He embraced and welcomed the carnage of the premillennial period: “Let the evil day roll on, and then all hail to the millennial reign of peace.”³³

The following month, only days before the UK officially declared war on Russia, Richards authored another article in the *Millennial Star* which spoke to the looming conflict’s spiritual implications. Referencing Russian advances in the Crimea toward British India, President Richards made the case that if the British government failed to allow more religious freedoms in its colonies, such as India, “British rule must eventually come to an end.” He prophesied—and threatened—that “those who oppose the servants of God, He will overthrow, and, for anything we know, He may as well use Russia for His instrument.”³⁴ Clearly, God stood behind the global advance of Mormonism; and if any government inhibited the spread of the LDS gospel message, heavenly punishment would follow.

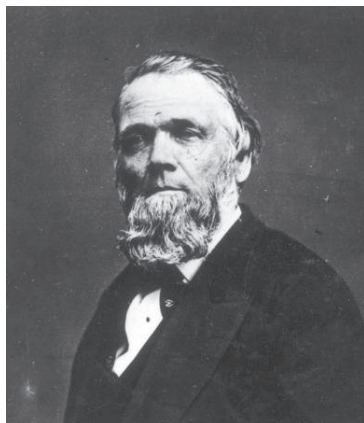


Samuel W. Richards, president of the British Mission, 1852–1854.

After the UK officially declared war on Russia on March 28, 1854, Samuel W. Richards continued writing in the *Millennial Star* about the conflict. One of these articles, “War Declared,” offered predictions on how the war could unfold. Again, siding with the allies, he argued that “Russia must bear the burden of having provoked this war” and lambasted the Tsar “as an unprincipled, treacherous, [and] scheming marauder.” In contrast, Richards praised the diplomacy of Britain and France, because they had “exhausted every means of averting the calamity of war” and remained on the morally correct side of the conflict. The fact that the restored gospel had taken root in Britain demonstrated to him that God was on the side of the UK. “The Saints have been protected in the exercise of religion” in the UK, he said, and as long as this religious freedom continued, the UK “will ride triumphant through the trying scenes that may come” with God’s backing. Speaking further in favor of the UK as a chosen nation, he wrote, “the Saints, generally, in this land, have reason to be thankful, and to think well of their country, and be loyal subjects, obedient to its laws as long as they protect them in the exercise of their undoubted rights.” Aside from his claim that God supported the allies, Richards nonetheless deplored the prospect of war and admitted, perhaps with trepidation, how modern weapons could deal “death and destruction” with precision and speed; and in comparison to the bloody nature of past wars, these new weapons would wreak havoc beyond “any comparison.” Yet improvements in war technology also contained a spiritual component: “Recent scientific improvements in the arts of war will combine to aid and hurry on the dreadful havoc of the destroyer.” As he demonstrated in his earlier writings, mechanized war functioned to usher in the Mormon dogmas of premillennial destruction, the Second Coming, and the millennium.³⁵

When Samuel W. Richards’ term as president of the British Mission expired, he was replaced in June 1854 by his brother, Elder Franklin D. Richards, who immediately took up the pen, authoring a thoughtful and theological article on the war’s significance. Franklin, however, purported differing views of the war and contradicted his brother’s previous assertions. In “The Russo-Turkish War and its Responsibilities,” Richards rhetorically asked several complex questions about the war and responded with a layered theological answer. First he queried, “Which of the contending powers has received the sanction of the Almighty?” In response to the rhetorical question, he discussed at length ancient Israel and its wars in Canaan. He reasoned that these wars remained justified because they came as revelation from the prophet, whereas the Crimean War had not arisen with divine sanction. For him, “if God has not assumed the responsibility of the existing state of things, then that responsibility rests upon the parties engaged.” Richards acknowledged that Christian soldiers and their Christian governments on both sides of the

battlefield were imploring God in prayer for victory on the battlefield. And while he acknowledged that each side was “entitled to all the aid their faith and prayers can secure,” he hoped these prayers would function to bring about a “speedy end” to the conflict. He then articulated what the war meant in God’s plan for the world: “War is said to be a calamity to befall any people, but it is evidently at times a very necessary one,” since conflict functioned “to destroy proud Babylon” and its “Baylorish features” before the “second event of the Messiah.” War, and the prayers for peace, functioned to push God to “hurl every tyrant from his throne” until “pure Gospel truth, becomes free to all.” Once Babylon had been destroyed, and religious freedom enveloped the globe, “then will the supremacy of heaven’s law be recognized, and Immanuel’s reign begin.”³⁶



Franklin D. Richards, president of the British Mission, 1854–1856.

As 1855 dawned and the war continued to rage, Mormons in the UK kept abreast of the conflict in the local papers, in addition to the *Millennial Star*. In February 1855, an article from the *Times*, a secular UK newspaper, was reprinted in the *Millennial Star*, which laid bare the barbaric nature of war by discussing British losses and failed military efforts, and argued that the war was fought for the aristocracy. The article condemned the deplorable state of the war and did not speak highly of the military or the British government, calling the war a “national suicide.”³⁷ The following week a somewhat narrow and unfeeling talk from American-born George A. Smith, a member of the Twelve, given at Salt Lake City, also mentioned the war. Though Smith said he cared little for the outcome of the war, whether or not “Turkey is actually devoured by the Russian bear,” what was important was that the war’s outcome did not affect LDS emigration to Zion and religious freedoms in the UK.³⁸

In March 1855, Franklin D. Richards’ longest article on the Crimean War appeared in the *Millennial Star*—a hefty eight-page essay entitled “How are the Mighty Fallen!” Richards lambasted the failed UK military campaign in the Crimea from a tactical, political, and spiritual perspective. He also inserted a compilation of reports from various secular newspapers discussing the failed campaign to the present, and then remarked how “the world looks with amazement, and England is almost stupefied, at the utter break down

of her eastern expedition.” Clearly, England’s “Crimean enterprise [had] become a byword for incompetency, mismanagement, and maladministration.” He argued that these things happen to nations that “will not serve the Lord,” and attributed to divine punishment the high casualty rates among UK troops at Sebastopol.³⁹

Articulating in detail the LDS doctrine of nations and governments submitting to Mormonism as the future global theocracy, in June 1855, Richards connected his final essay, “God’s Latter-day Church and Kingdom,” to the ongoing war. He opened the four-page essay by quoting Daniel 2:44: “And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.” Elucidating on the scripture, President Richards argued that anyone familiar with the Bible should be aware of its teachings on God’s plan to establish a global theocracy on earth, a government that would oversee the world, which theocracy would “bring into subjection to it every other kingdom, authority, and power.” He next narrated the history of the modern world, the establishment of political institutions, and God’s plan for the world. The Crimean War and past history, he argued, demonstrated that Europe was trapped in the grip of tyranny by its rulers, causing it to suffer from a “frigid illiberality of laws”; therefore it could not function as the legitimate seat of God’s future kingdom. On the other hand, the United States had demonstrated itself as the only power able to “throw off the foreign yoke, and adopt a constitution” that would pave the way for God’s return and reign. Furthermore, “the United States [must] acknowledge the hand of the Lord, and submit to His kingdom,” but the European nations must do so as well. For Richards, Europe was doomed with divine destruction, and the war demonstrated this principle. However, if the combatants, “Britain, France, [and] Russia, . . . voluntarily submit their authority to the Lord, through his prophet Brigham Young, and bring over their nations with them to the Lord’s side, they will save an untold amount of suffering.”⁴⁰

Richards’ final essay on the Crimean War appeared in the *Millennial Star* in May 1856, after the war had ended. “The Results of the Late War, provided a synthesis of the war’s implications to the global religious scene. This essay cynically narrated the loss of life and formulation of belief that the conflict was only a temporary suspension of discord in Europe; additional altercations would most certainly occur, because of human nature’s inclination toward violence, greed, and gain. Richards argued that this petty demonstration of human nature and the general state of mankind in Europe had become “so worthless that the Lord will soon replace the rubbish out of the way,” and replace it with “something better.” Notwithstanding the casualties and

shortfalls of humanity, Richards further detailed the LDS conception of a global theocracy and discussed the prophetic deliverance of the Jews. He made the case that the nations involved in the war, and the peace treaty that resulted, functioned as “instruments for accomplishing His will in opening the door, more effectively, for the deliverance of the Jews and their restoration to the promised land.” From his perspective, Richards perceived that the concluding war had removed political restraints from Jews seeking to return to Jerusalem, and now the Jews had “the privilege and the right to become owners of the land” in the holy capital. This political transformation would allow the Jews to “make rapid advancement to power and nationality,” signifying that the Second Coming was imminent, and that the latter day Zion, or New Jerusalem, would become the “great capital of the world, and Jerusalem an auxiliary city, governing the eastern hemisphere” as a co-balancer of theocratic governance.⁴¹

Conclusion

For Latter-day Saints in the United Kingdom, the Crimean War reinforced the premillennialist worldviews within Mormonism and served as evidence of God’s hand in global affairs. It further demonstrated their personal roles as participants in the Biblical narratives unfolding before them. And while belief in the imminence of Christ’s return failed to materialize, the “wars and commotions of nations,” typified by the Crimean conflict, influenced and interplayed with the Saints’ lives and worldviews in significant ways.

Notes

1. Previous general surveys of Mormonism in the UK have not addressed the Mormon connection or involvement with the Crimean War. See for example, V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987* (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1987); and Richard L. Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1984). The only previous published study on the subject is Wilford H. LeCheminant, “‘A Valiant Little Band’: LDS Soldiers in the Crimean War,” *Ensign* 11, no. 1 (January 1981): 18–21.

2. Richard E. Bennett, “‘We Know No North, No South, No East, No West’: Mormon Interpretations of the Civil War, 1861–1865,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 51–63.

3. I present this same concept in connection with German unification. See Zachary R. Jones, “War and Confusion in Babylon: Mormon Response to German Unification, 1864–1880,” *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 115–49. A similar position is taken by Craig Livingston in “Eyes on ‘the Whole European World’: Mormon Observers of the 1848 Revolutions,” *Journal of Mormon History* 32, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 78–112;

and Craig Livingston, "From Above and Below: The Mormon Embrace of Revolution, 1840–1940" (PhD diss., Temple University, 2002).

4. Historians consider the Ottoman Empire to be one of the longest lasting empires in modern world history, from 1299–1923. At the zenith of Ottoman power, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the empire controlled territory in southeastern Europe, southwestern Asia, and northern Africa. Headquartered and governed from Istanbul, Turkey, during this later period, the empire was dissolved in 1923 with the Treaty of Lausanne.

5. General histories of the Crimean War include Trevor Royal, *Crimea: The Great Crimean War, 1854–1856* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Orlando Figes, *The Crimean War: A History* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2011); and William H. Russell, *The Crimean War: As Seen By Those Who Reported It* (Baton Rouge, LA: University of Louisiana Press, 2009). For repercussions associated with the Russian monarchy see Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006); and Robert Bucholz, *Foundations of Western Civilization* (Chantilly, VA: The Teaching Company, 2006).

6. Documenting the number of LDS soldiers who served in the Crimean War was difficult to determine. The British and European Missions did not keep a detailed log or list of soldiers serving in the conflict, hence evidence is fragmentary. Most of the source information is taken from letters written by LDS soldiers which appeared in the *Millennial Star*. I have documented the names of twenty-eight soldiers—a mix of Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and British. The letters were written in terms of familiarity to Church leaders, so the soldiers were often referred to as Brother (surname), given names often being omitted. The following is a list of names provided in the *Millennial Star* of soldiers who served in the Crimean War, including given names when provided, and information about injuries sustained or those killed in action (KIA). Listed alphabetically by surname: Paul Ballard, Stephen Ballard, Barber (first name unknown), Bonavia (first name unknown), Boynton (first name unknown), Patrick Brodlie (KIA), G. W. Burrige, Caughlan (first name unknown), Culver (first name unknown), Alexander Downes, Peter Hays (wounded), W. Higgins, Hillier (first name unknown), Locke (first name unknown), McDonald (wounded, first name unknown), John McLean, Miller (first name unknown), Pullham (first name unknown), Alexander Ross (died of sickness), Henry Russell, E. Stevenson, Spurr (first name unknown), Thomas (wounded, first name unknown), Trice (first name unknown), Valentine (KIA, first name unknown), W. Walker, and West (first name unknown). Although I have been unable to document this, a few LDS women probably also served in the nursing corps. This most interesting topic requires additional research.

7. In mid-1855, James F. Bell departed for Utah and died in transit apparently from sickness. See "Obituary," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 37 (September 15, 1855): 585–86. See previous mention of J. F. Bell in "The Saints in the Crimea," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 18 (May 5, 1855): 280.

8. Most scholars of the Crimean conflict consider the Sabastopol siege as the turning point of the war resulting in Russia's defeat. Approximately 100,000 Russia soldiers died in the siege. See William C. Green and W. Robert Reeves, trans. *Soviet Military Encyclopedia* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1993).

9. John McLean to E. Stevenson, January 30, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 18 (May 5, 1855): 284.

10. John McLean to Franklin D. Richards, May 21, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 26 (June 30, 1855): 414.

11. John McLean to Franklin D. Richards, November 25, 1854, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 1 (January 6, 1855): 12–14.

12. Alexander Downes to Franklin D. Richards, April 5, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no.

18 (May 5, 1855): 286.

13. Henry Russell to Franklin D. Richards, March 30, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 18 (May 5, 1855): 284–85.

14. W. Higgins to Franklin D. Richards, June 7, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 30 (July 28, 1855): 478–79.

15. Franklin D. Richards to Brigham Young, Liverpool, October 31, 1954, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, LDS Church Library, as cited in LeCheminant, “‘A Valiant Little Band,’” 2.

16. See Olive Anderson, “The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain,” *English Historical Review* 86, no. 338 (January 1971): 46–72. It should be noted that Anderson’s arguments have been supported in more recent scholarship. See Yuval N. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 185.

17. John McLean to Franklin D. Richards, November 25, 1854, *Millennial Star* 17, 1 (January 6, 1855): 13. It should also be noted that Malta Conference President James F. Bell regularly reported on preaching to soldiers at Malta, where soldiers landed and trained before deployment to the front in the Crimean Peninsula. He encountered a similar finding, perhaps of even more lack of reception, though he did glean some baptisms. See “Foreign Intelligence,” *Millennial Star* 16, no. 13 (April 1, 1854): 202; James F. Bell, “The Malta Mission,” *Millennial Star* 16, no. 23 (April 29, 1854): 364–65; James F. Bell to Franklin D. Richards, August 29, 1854, *Millennial Star* 16, no. 40 (October 7, 1854): 636–37; and James F. Bell to Franklin D. Richards, October 15, 1854, *Millennial Star* 16, no. 49 (December 9, 1854): 782–83.

18. See “Revelation,” *Millennial Star* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 1853): 5–8. Following the public announcement, conversion rates in the UK dropped off, and a sizable portion of the LDS membership abandoned the faith. For a discussion on the impact of the polygamy announcement in the UK see Polly Aird, *Mormon Convert, Mormon Defector: A Scottish Immigrant in the American West, 1848–1861* (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2009): 53–62.

19. Alexander Ross to Franklin D. Richards, August 5, 1854, *Millennial Star* 16, no. 38 (September 26, 1854): 605.

20. Henry Russell to Franklin D. Richards, March 30, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 18 (May 5, 1855): 285.

21. Henry Russell to Franklin D. Richards, May 31, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 26 (June 30, 1855): 415.

22. No exact figure is given for conversions, but fragmentary information in the various letters published in the *Millennial Star* estimate the number of convert baptisms to be around twenty.

23. Alexander Ross to Franklin D. Richards, August 5, 1854, *Millennial Star* 16, no. 38 (September 26, 1854): 605.

24. John McLean to Franklin D. Richards, November 25, 1854, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 1 (January 6, 1855): 13.

25. John McLean to E. Stevenson, January 30, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 18 (May 5, 1855): 284. Scutari is the former Greek name for a municipality known today as Üsküdar, Turkey, a municipality near Istanbul. Scutari was an area where many British wounded were cared for during this period of the war.

26. Alexander Downes to Franklin D. Richards, April 5, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 18 (May 5, 1855): 286.

27. John McLean to Franklin D. Richards, May 21, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 26 (June 30, 1855): 414.

28. Grant Underwood, *The Millennial World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 11. See also Malcolm R. Thorp, "Popular Mormon Millennialism in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Mormon History* 31, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 89–111.

29. Underwood, *The Millennial World of Early Mormonism*, 12, 59.

30. Andrew Ferguson, Diary, July 14, 1853, *Trails of Hope: Overland Trail Diaries and Letters, 1846–1869*, accessed online at <http://overlandtrails.lib.byu.edu/>, spelling corrected to enhance readability.

31. Ferguson, Diary, August 11, 1853.

32. For additional early entries discussing the Crimean conflict see Ferguson, Diary, April 29, May 2, July 9, and October 17, 1853.

33. See Samuel W. Richards, "There Shall Be Wars and Rumours [sic] of Wars," *Millennial Star* 16, no. 10 (March 11, 1854): 145–47.

34. Samuel W. Richards, "The Work of God Abroad," *Millennial Star* 16, no. 12 (March 25, 1854): 185. See also Richard Ballantyne to Samuel W. Richards, February 6, 1854, *Millennial Star* 16, no. 15 (April 15, 1854): 238–39.

35. Samuel W. Richards, "War Declared," *Millennial Star* 16, no. 15 (April 15, 1854): 225–27.

36. See Franklin D. Richards, "The Russo-Turkish War and its Responsibilities," *Millennial Star* 16, no. 23 (June 10, 1854): 357–60. In December 1854, two short articles appeared in the *Millennial Star* lamenting the war. In one of these Richards reflected on the casualties of war with empathy: "Many hearts feel desolate from the loss of sons and brothers who have found a grave in that tomb of thousands—the Crimea" Franklin D. Richards, "Review of the Past Year," *Millennial Star* 16, no. 52 (December 30, 1854): 821. See also Franklin D. Richards, "The Times We Live In," *Millennial Star* 16, no. 51 (December 23, 1854): 801–08.

37. "The British Army in the Crimea," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 6 (February 10, 1855): 92.

38. "Address by Elder George A. Smith," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 7 (February 17, 1855): 100. Other Mormons in Utah also followed the Crimean War, such as American-born George B. Wallace. In his diary under the date of December 11, 1855, he wrote: "We also learned that the allies had taken Sebastopol of that the Russians had vacated and burnt and destroyed it and all of the ships in harbor and that 20 thousand French were killed; that the Russians had crossed the river and was fortified on the north side of town." Accessed online at <http://www.georgebwallace.org/Diary%2C-1855.php>.

39. See Franklin D. Richards, "How are the Mighty Fallen!" *Millennial Star* 17, no. 12 (March 24, 1855): 177–84.

40. See Franklin D. Richards, "God's Latter-day Church and Kingdom," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 25 (June 23, 1855): 385–88.

41. See Franklin D. Richards, "The Results of the Late War," *Millennial Star* 18, no. 22 (May 31, 1856): 345–46.