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The Kinderhook Plates, the Tucson Artifacts, and Mormon Archeological Zeal

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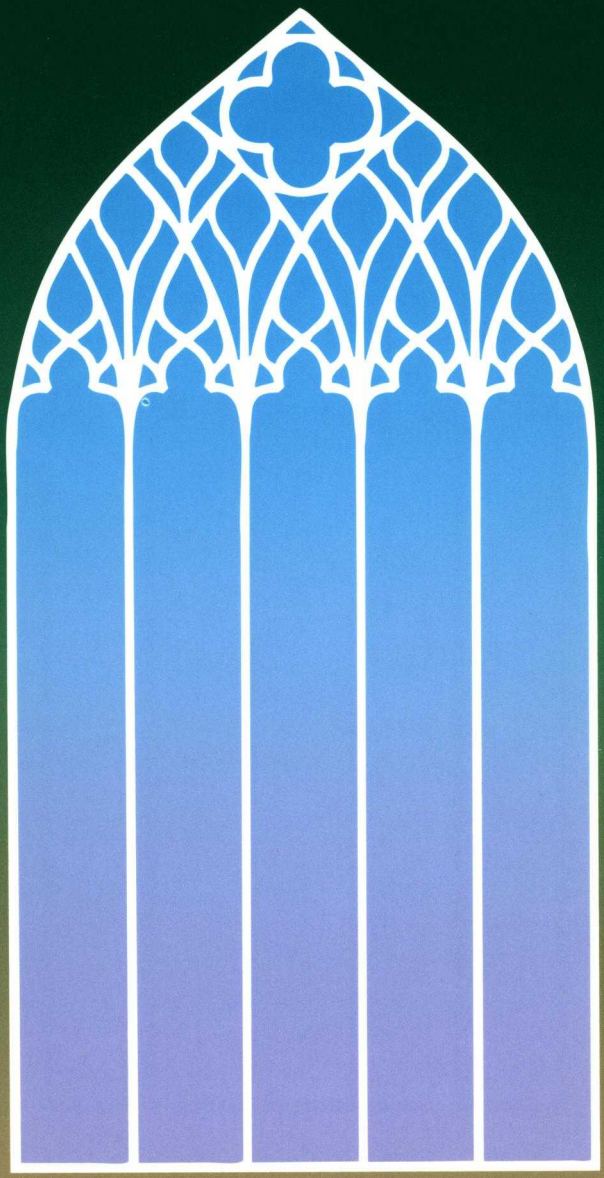

Spring 2005

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Correction: The *Acorn* cartoon of David O. McKay dashing on horseback to the train station (Mary Jane Woodger, "David O. McKay's Progressive Educational Ideas and Practicese, 1899–1922," 30, no. 2 [Fall 2004]: 240) should be dated 1908.[Lavina: I put this where it was in Fall–BC]

COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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The Kinderhook Plates, the Tucson Artifacts, and Mormon Archeological Zeal

J. Michael Hunter

In 1843, Robert Wiley unearthed a set of six brass plates in a burial mound near Kinderhook, Illinois. An iron ring bound the plates together, and each plate contained indecipherable engravings.[1] In 1860, David Wyrick found an inscribed stone in a burial mound ten miles south of Newark, Ohio. Inscribed on all sides was a condensed version of the Ten Commandments in a peculiar form of post-Exilic square Hebrew letters. A robed and bearded figure on the stone was identified as Moses in fanned letters over his head.[2] In 1889, John W. Emmert, a field surveyor for the Smithsonian Institution, found a stone inscribed with Paleo-He-

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[1]Stanley B. Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph Smith Appear to be a Nineteenth-Century Hoax," *Ensign,* August 1981, 66–74; J. G. Barton, "The Kinderhook Plates, Discovery or Deception?" *Ancient American* 3 (1997): 30–33.

[2]See Charles Wittlesey, "Inscribed Stones, Purporting to be in Hebrew from Licking County, Ohio," in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Con-*

brew letters in a burial mound in Eastern Tennessee.[3] In 1890, James Scotford dug up clay artifacts on his farm in Michigan. In-

gress of Americanists (Brussels, Belgium: International Congress of Americanists, 1879); Dana C. Savage Jr., "The Decalogue Tablet, Newark, Ohio," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 7 (1979): 193–99; Robert Alrutz, "The Newark Holy Stones: The History of an Archaeological Tragedy," *Journal of the Scientific Laboratories* (Denison University) 57 (1980): 1–57; Joseph Schenk, *Mystery of the Holy Stones* (St. Louis, Mo.: Pheasant Run, 1982); J. Huston McCulloch, "The Newark Hebrew Stones: Wyrick's Letter to Joseph Henry," *Midwestern Epigraphic Journal* 6 (1989): 5–10; J. Huston McCulloch, "The Newark, Ohio, Inscribed Head—A New Translation," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 19 (1990): 75–79; J. Huston McCulloch, "Annotated Transcription of the Ohio Decalogue Stone," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 21 (1992): 56–71; 117–19; Cyrus H. Gordon, "The Hebrew Presence in Pre-Columbian America," *NEARA Journal* 27, nos. 3–4 (1993): 91–96; Jeff Gill, "The Newark Holy Stones," *Timeline* 17, no. 3 (May-June 2000): 16–25; Jason Frederick Peters, "The Kinderhook Plates: Examining a Nineteenth-Century Hoax," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 96, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 130–45.

[3]Cyrus W. Thomas, "Tennessee Mound Explorations," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1890–91* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 392–94; Cyrus Gordon, *Before Columbus* (New York: Crown, 1971), 175–87; Joseph B. Mahan Jr., "The Bat Creek Stone," *Tennessee Archaeologist* 27, no. 2 (1971): 38–44; Robert R. Stieglitz, "Did Ancient Jews Reach America?" *The New Diffusionist* 5, nos. 19–20 (1975): 54–59; Robert R. Stieglitz, "An Ancient Judean Inscription from Tennessee," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 3, no. 65 (1976): 1–5; Marjorie R. Kling, "New Evidence for Bat Creek (Tenn.) Inscription as Canaanite Script," *NEARA Journal* 13, no. 4 (1979): 75–77; J. Huston McCulloch, "The Bat Creek Inscription: Cherokee or Hebrew?" *Tennessee Anthropologist* 13, no. 2 (1988): 79–123; Betty C. Peterson, "More on Bat Creek," *NEARA Journal* 23, nos. 1–2 (1989): 26–28; Cyrus H. Gordon, "A Hebrew Inscription Authenticated," in *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book/FARMS, 1990); Robert C. Mainfort Jr. and Mary L. Kwas, "The Bat Creek Stone: Judeans in Tennessee," *Tennessee Anthropologist* 16 (1991): 1–19; P. Kyle McCarter Jr., "Let's Be Serious about the Bat Creek Stone," *Biblical Archaeology Review,* July/August 1993, 14–16; J. Huston McCulloch, "Did Judean Refugees Escape to Tennessee," *Biblical Archaeology Review,* July/August 1993, 47–53; J. Huston McCulloch, "The Bat Creek Stone: A

vestigators eventually recovered seventy-five cuneiform tablets, some disks, and several small caskets from the site.[4] In 1924, Charles Manier discovered a series of lead objects near Tucson, Arizona, shaped like crosses, swords, javelins, batons, and paddles. The artifacts contained engravings in Latin and Hebrew.[5] Kentuckians dug up Hebrew coins at Louisville (1932), Clay City

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Reply to Mainfort and Kwas," *Tennessee Anthropologist* 18 (Spring 1993): 1–26. For an intriguing hoax theory, see Lowell Kirk, "The Bat Creek Stone," *The Tellico Times: Online Newspaper for Tellico Plains,* retrieved on June 12, 2002, from http://www. geocities.com/SoHo/Lofts/2712/Batcreek.html.

[4]See Rudolph Etzenhouser, *Engravings of Prehistoric Specimens from Michigan, U.S.A.* (Detroit, Mich.: Rudolph Etzenhouser, 1910); James E. Talmage, "The Michigan Relics: A Story of Forgery and Deception," *Deseret Museum: Bulletin 2,* 1911; John Cumming, "Humbug of the First Water: The Soper Frauds," *Michigan History* 63 (March-April 1979): 31–43; Barry Fell, "The Michigan 'Relics,'" *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 17 (1988): 287–88; Stephen Williams, *Fantastic Archaeology: The Wild Side of North American Prehistory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); David Allen Deal, "'The Mystic Symbol' De-mystified," *Ancient American* 1, no. 5 (1994): 16–24; "James E. Talmage and the Fraudulent 'Michigan Relics,'" *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7, no. 1 (1998): 78; Wayne May, "Christ in North America?" *Ancient American* 4, no. 26 (January-February 1999): 2–4, 6–7, 34–39; Wayne May, "The Michigan Tables: An Archaeological Scandal," *Ancient American* 5, no. 31 (2000): 16–21; Fred Rydholm, "Trashing America's 'Politically Incorrect' Prehistory," *Ancient American* 5, no. 32 (April 2000): 35–39; Rudolph Etzenhouser, "Michigan Relics: Are They Frauds?" *Ancient American* 6, no. 37 (February 2001): 12–19; Edwin Goble, Ken Moore, J. G. Barton, and Wayne May, "Controversial Archaeology in the Hopewell/Adena Sphere," *Ancient American,* Special LDS Edition (2001): 28–37.

[5]There are accounts of this story in numerous newspapers, such as the *Arizona Daily Star,* the *Tucson Citizen,* the *Arizona Republic,* and the *New York Times.* Accounts of this discovery appear in J. M. Sjodahl, "Archaeological Finds in Arizona," *Improvement Era* 28 (July 1925): 813–21; "Possible European Influences in North America before Columbus," *U.A.S. Newsletter* [Society for Early Historic Archaeology at Brigham Young University] 97 (February 16, 1966): 1–8; E. B. Sayles, *Fantasies of Gold: Legends of Treasures and How They Grew* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968); Gaston Burridge, "Riddle of the Lead Crosses," *Fate* 24, no. 2 (February 1971):

(1952), and Hopkinsville (1967).[6] In 1949, Robert H. Pfeiffer of Harvard University made the first known translation of an ancient inscription on Hidden Mountain near Los Lunas, New Mexico. The inscription was the Ten Commandments in Phoenician, Moabite, and Greek.[7] In 1963 and again in 1970, limestone tablets—a total of twelve—containing strange inscriptions unearthed

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48–54; Brad Williams and Choral Pepper, *The Mysterious West* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), 1–9; Cyclone Covey, *Calalus: A Roman Jewish Colony in America from the Time of Charlemagne through Alfred the Great* (New York: Vantage, 1975); *Desert Magazine* (December 1980 and March 1981); Kevin Stanton, *Visitors to America in Pre-Columbian Time* (M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1990), 182–97; Jack Kutz, *Mysteries and Miracles of Arizona* (Corrales, N.M.: Rhombus Publishing, 1992), 1–13. However, some errors have been found in some of these sources. This article relies on the exhaustive 351-page narrative report entitled *The Tucson Artifacts* by Thomas W. Bent, a principal player in the excavations. His report, printed in 1964 and based on his detailed records, contains exact excavation dates and locations, the size and weight of the artifacts, photographs of each artifact, correspondence among scholars concerning the artifacts, and newspaper accounts. Bent gave a copy of this report to the Church History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Bent's report is the source of information for most of the other sources listed. I therefore have attempted to use this original source. Another source of information is the papers of A. E. Douglas, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. Douglas was an on-site participant in the Tucson artifacts controversy.

[6]Gordon, *Before Columbus,* 175; Jeremiah F. Epstein, "Pre-Columbian Old World Coins in America: An Examination of the Evidence," *Current Anthropology* 21, no. 1 (February 1980): 1-20; J. Huston McCulloch, "The Bar Kokhba Coin from Clay City, Kentucky," retrieved on December 17, 2002, from http://www.econ.ohio-state.edu/jhm/arch/barkokhb.htm.

[7]See Welby W. Ricks, "A Purported Phoenician Inscription in New Mexico," in *Papers of the 15th Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Extension Publications, 1964), 94–100; Jay Stonebraker, "A Decipherment of the Los Lunas Decalogue Inscription," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 10, no. 239 (1982): 74–81; Ference M. Szasz, "Pre-Columbian Contacts in the American Southwest: Theories and Evidence," *New Mexico Humanities Review* 5, no. 1 (1982): 43-58; David Allen Deal, *Discovery of Ancient America* (Irvine, Calif.: Kherem La Yah Press, 1984); Barry Fell, "Los Lunas Attracts

near Manti, Utah caused a stir among Utah archaeologists. The twelve limestone tablets contained strange inscriptions. The controversy over the tablets became more intense in 1972, when someone discovered, again near Manti, a lead box containing seven lead plates with indecipherable inscriptions.[8]

What all of these discoveries have in common–besides that most have been declared fraudulent–is that some Mormons have tried to use these discoveries to support the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. Many of these Mormons created connections to the Book of Mormon where no connections actually existed and pushed their theories forward with such zeal that they ignored evidence that undermined their presumptions. As Hugh Nibley once remarked, "True knowledge never shuts the door on more knowledge, but zeal often does."[9] This is not to say that faithful followers of the Book of Mormon willfully distorted the truth with an intent to convince the world of their beliefs. Rather, they were so overcome with zeal that they truly did not see the undermining evidence. Joseph Smith warned against such zeal. Speaking to the Relief Society, "[he] commended them for their zeal, but said sometimes their zeal was not according to knowledge."[10] Speaking of the Kirtland Saints, Joseph Smith said, "Many, having a zeal not according to knowledge, have, no

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Epigraphers," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 13 (1985): 32, 34–41, 43; Phillip M. Leonard and William H. McGlone, "An Epigraphic Hoax on Trial in New Mexico," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 17 (1988): 206-19; Michael Skupin, "The Los Lunas Errata," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 18 (1989): 249–52; James R. Harris Sr., *Southwestern American Indian Rock Art and the Book of Mormon* (Orem, Utah: James R. Harris Sr., 1991).

[8]William James Jr. and Ray T. Matheny, "Archaeological and Cytological Analyses of the Manti Inscriptions," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (Spring 1976): 133-40. For an interesting story about the Manti Cave near Temple Hill containing stone boxes, metal plates, and mummies, see Jared G. Barton, "Secret Chambers in the Rockies," *Ancient American* 4, no. 28 (June–July 1999): 3–4, 6.

[9]Hugh Nibley, "Zeal Without Knowledge," in *Approaching Zion,* edited by Don E. Norton (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book/FARMS, 1989), 71. I am grateful to Norton for directing me toward Nibley's views on zeal.

[10]Joseph Smith, *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph,* compiled and edited by Andrew

doubt in the heat of enthusiasm, taught and said things which are derogatory to the genuine character and principles of the Church."[11] In the minds of the overzealous, the nonexistent connections to the Book of Mormon truly existed.

This article explores the zeal which accompanies archeological discoveries that seem to support the validity of the Book of Mormon. It explores two of the cases mentioned above, one from the nineteenth and one from the twentieth century. One of these cases was definitely a fraud, while the other is still very much a mystery.

The Kinderhook Plates

In April 1843, Robert Wiley, a merchant, began digging in a large mound near Kinderhook, Pike County, Illinois, fifty-five miles south of Nauvoo. According to the *Quincy Whig*, Wiley "dreamed three nights in succession, that in a certain mound in the vicinity, there was treasures concealed–Impressed with the strange occurrence of dreaming the same dream three nights in succession, he came to the conclusion, to satisfy his mind by digging into the mound."[12] Dr. W. P. Harris reported that "quite a number of citizens," including himself, gathered at the mound to help Wiley dig on April 23, 1843. At least two of those citizens–a Mr. Marsh and a Mr. Sharp–were Mormons.[13] The group discovered human bones, rocks that appeared to be burned, and "six plates of brass, of a bell shape, each having a hole near the small end, and a ring through them all,

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F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 110.

[11]Joseph Smith, "To the Elders of the Church of Latter Day Saints," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (September 1835): 180.

[12]"From the Quincy Whig: Singular Discovery–Materials for Another Mormon Book," *Times and Seasons* 4 (May 1, 1843): 186. W. P. Harris, Letter to W. C. Flagg, April 25, 1855, quoted in "A Hoax: Reminiscences of an Old Kinderhook Mystery," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 5 (July 1912): 271–73, has slightly different details: "Robert Wiley, then a merchant of that place, said that he had had a number of strange dreams (as I have learned) that there was something in the mounds near Kinderhook."

[13]W. Fugate, Letter to James T. Cobb, June 30, 1879, quoted in Welby W. Ricks, "The Kinderhook Plates," *Improvement Era* 65 (September 1962): 658. Fugate writes, "On the following morning quite a number of citizens were there to assist in the search, there being two Mormon elders present

and clasped with two clasps, the ring and clasps appeared to be of iron very much oxidated, the plates appeared first to be copper, and had the appearance of being covered with characters."[14]

According to Wilbur Fugate, an eyewitness, "Sharp, the Mormon Elder, leaped and shouted for joy and said, Satan had appeared to him and told him not to go (to the diggings), it was a hoax of Fugate and Wiley's, but at a later hour the Lord appeared and told him to go, the treasure was there."[15] The *Quincy Whig* also found this detail important enough to record: "We learn there was a Mormon present when the plates were found, who it is said, leaped for joy at the discovery, and remarked that it would go to prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon."[16] Fugate reported: "The Mormons wanted to take the plates to Joe Smith, but we refused to let them go. Some time afterward a man assuming the name of Savage, of Quincy, borrowed the plates of Wiley to show to his literary friends there, and took them to Joe Smith. The identical plates were returned to Wiley."[17]

The *Times and Seasons,* however, published a certificate signed by nine people, including Fugate, which attested, "The above described plates we have handed to Mr. Sharp for the purpose of taking them to Nauvoo."[18] In a letter dated "City of Nauvoo, May 2, 1843," Charlotte Haven explained that a Mr. Moore brought the plates to Nauvoo:

> We hear very frequently from our Quincy friends through Mr. Joshua Moore, who passes through that place and this in his monthly zigzag tours through the State, traveling horseback. His last call on us was last Saturday [April 29] and he brought with him half a dozen thin pieces of brass, apparently very old, in the form of a bell about five or six inches long. They had on them scratches that looked like writing, and strange figures like symbolic characters. They were recently found, he said, in a mound a few miles below Quincy. When he

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(Marsh and Sharp)." This letter can also be found in W. Wyl [pseud. of Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal] (1838–98), *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth about the Mormon Leaders from 1830 to 1886* (Salt Lake City: Tribune, 1886), 207–8.

[14]W. P. Harris, "To the Editor of the Times & Seasons," *Times and Seasons* 4 (May 1, 1843): 186.

[15]Ricks, "The Kinderhook Plates," 658.

[16]"From the Quincy Whig: Singular Discovery," 187.

[17]Ricks, "The Kinderhook Plates," 658.

[18]"We the Citizens of Kinderhook," *Times and Seasons* 4 (May 1, 1843): 186.

> showed them to Joseph, the latter said that the figures or writing on them was similar to that in which the Book of Mormon was written, and if Mr. Moore could leave them, he thought that by the help of revelation he would be able to translate them.[19]

Whoever brought the plates to Nauvoo apparently did so because eager Mormons at the scene of discovery suggested Joseph Smith as a worthy translator and suggested that the plates were related in some way to the Book of Mormon. As the *Quincy Whig* reported, "Some pretend to say, that Smith the Mormon leader, has the ability to read them. If he has, he will confer a great favor on the public by removing the mystery which hangs over them."[20]

Once the plates were in Nauvoo, Church leaders took an interest in them.[21] In his journal entry on May 1, 1843, William Clayton, secretary to Joseph Smith, drew a diagram of one of the plates and wrote:

> I have seen 6 brass plates which were found in Adams County by some persons who were digging in a mound. They found a skeleton about 6 feet from the surface of the earth, which was 9 foot high. [At this point there is a tracing of a plate in the journal.] The plates were on the breast of the skeleton. This diagram shows the size of the plates being drawn on the edge of one of them. They are covered with ancient characters of language containing from 30 to 40 on each side of the plates. Pres J. has translated a portion and says they contain the history of the person with whom they were found and he was a descendant of Ham through the loins of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and that he received his kingdom from the ruler of heaven and earth.[22]

Certainly Clayton's entry has some errors. For example, Fugate states that "there were a few bones" and that there "was no skeleton

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[19]Charlotte Haven, "A Girl's Letters from Nauvoo," *Overland Monthly,* 16 (December 1890): 630; also available online at http://www.hti.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/browse.journals/over.html.

[20]"From the Quincy Whig: Singular Discovery," 187.

[21]Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph," 71–72; The plates were apparently in Nauvoo from April 29 to May 3, 1843, a period of five days. They were again returned to Nauvoo in June.

[22]William Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton,* edited by George D. Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 100; James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, A Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 117.

found."[23] The plates, therefore, could not have been "on the breast of the skeleton." Furthermore, the mound was in Pike County, not Adams County. The source of Clayton's information is not clear from the entry.

Whether Joseph Smith actually tried seriously to translate the Kinderhook plates is a matter of controversy beyond the scope of this article.[24] The point here is that the enthusiasm of local Mormons at the scene of discovery brought the artifacts to Church leaders' attention and that some of these leaders responded with similar enthusiasm.

Brigham Young, for example, drew an outline of one of the plates in his notebook on May 3, 1843. Inside the drawing he wrote, "I had this at Joseph Smith's house. Found near Quincy."[25] On May 7, 1843, Parley P. Pratt wrote in a letter, "Six plates having the appearance of brass have lately been dug out of a mound by a gentleman in Pike Co. Illinois. They are small and filled with engravings in Egyptian language and contain a genealogy of one of the ancient Jaredites back to Ham the son of Noah."[26] John Taylor, editor of the *Times and Seasons,* wrote his response to the *Quincy Whig* article, saying, "It will be seen by the annexed statement of the *Quincy Whig* that there are more dreamers and money diggers, than Joseph Smith, in the world, and the worthy editor is obliged to acknowledge that this circumstance will go a good way to prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon."[27]

Word that Joseph had the plates also caused excitement and speculation among the general membership of the Church. The *Quincy Whig*'s May 1 headline read, "Singular Discovery—Material for Another Mormon Book." The article continued, "The public curios-

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[23]Ricks, "The Kinderhook Plates," 658.

[24]For more on this controversy, see Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph," and Mark R. Ashurst-McGee, "Joseph Smith, the Kinderhook Plates, and the Question of Revelation," Paper presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, 1996, photocopy, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections).

[25]Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph," 71.

[26]Ibid., 73.

[27]John Taylor, "Ancient Records," *Times and Seasons* 4 (May 1, 1843): 186.

ity is greatly excited and if Smith can decipher the hieroglyphics on the plates, he will do more towards throwing light on the early history of this continent, than any man now living."[28]

In spite of the apparent unrestrained excitement of some Church leaders and members in general, Joseph Smith remained cautious. Unlike the mummies and papyri associated with the Book of Abraham, which Joseph Smith purchased for $2,400,[29] he did not attempt to purchase the Kinderhook plates. Markedly lacking the eagerness with which he pushed forward the Book of Abraham translation, Joseph apparently gave the Kinderhook plates no more than cursory treatment. Fugate writes, "We understood Jo Smith said [the plates] would make a book of 1200 pages but he would not agree to translate them until they were sent to the Antiquarian society at Philadelphia, France, and England."[30]

When John Taylor printed Wiley's certified account of the discovery in the *Times and Seasons*, he explained:

> The following letter and certificate, will, perhaps have a tendency to convince the sceptical, that such things have been used, and that even the obnoxious Book of Mormon, may be true; and as the people in Columbus' day were obliged to believe that there was such a place as America; so will the people in this day be obliged to believe, however reluctantly, that there may have been such plates as those from which the Book of Mormon was translated.
>
> Mr. Smith has had those plates, what his opinion concerning them is, we have not yet ascertained. The gentleman that owns them has taken them away, or we should have given a fac similie of the plates and characters in this number. We are informed however, that he purposes returning with them for translation; if so, we may be able yet to furnish our readers with it.[31]

In June, the *Nauvoo Neighbor* press published a broadside entitled *Discovery of the Brass Plates.* This broadside contained a reprint of the *Times and Seasons* article with twelve facsimiles, one for each side

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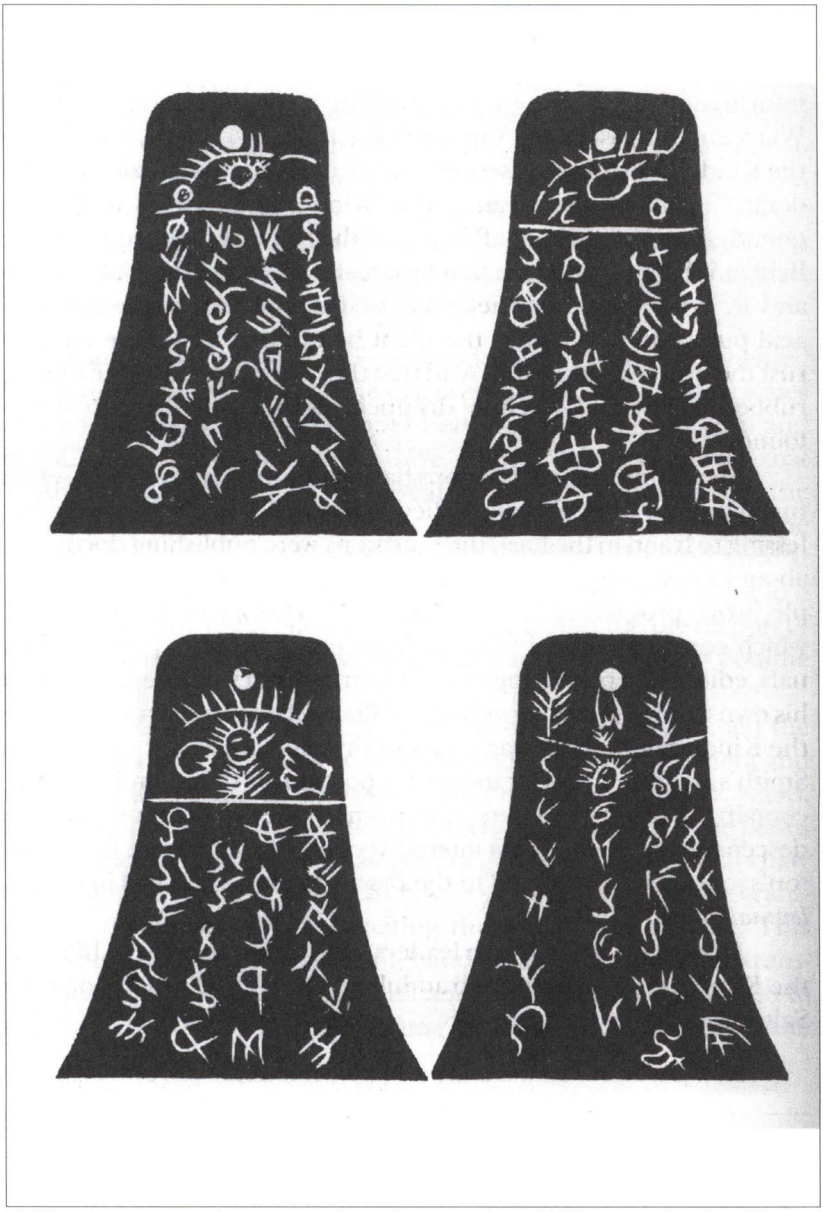
[28]"From the Quincy Whig: Singular Discovery," 187.

[29]Jay M. Todd, *Saga of the Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969), 159–61.

[30]W. Fugate, Letter to James T. Cobb, April 8, 1878, photocopy of holograph in Paul R. Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Kinderhook Plates," 1979, loose-leaf report, Perry Special Collections.

[31]Taylor, "Ancient Records," 185–86.



On June 24, 1843, the Nauvoo Neighbor *published a broadside entitled* Discovery of the Brass Plates. *The broadside contained twelve facsimiles, one for each side of the six Kinderhook plates (sides of only four shown here).*

of the six plates, but the proposed translation never materialized.[32]

In the years following the discovery of the Kinderhook plates, information slowly came forth revealing a conspiracy on the part of Wiley and his associates. On April 25, 1855, Dr. Harris, a witness to the Kinderhook plates discovery, wrote a letter summarizing the incident: "I washed and cleaned the [Kinderhook] plates and subsequently made an honest affidavit of the same. But since that time, Bridge Whitton said to me that he cut and prepared the plates and he and R. Wiley engraved them themselves, and that there was nitric acid put upon [the plates] the night before that they were found to rust the iron ring and band. And that they were carried to the mound, rubbed in dirt and carefully dropped into the pit where they were found."[33]

Meanwhile, most Mormons had abandoned Nauvoo and settled further west in the Salt Lake Valley. While Wiley and others were confessing to fraud in the East, the Mormons were publishing documents about Joseph Smith's alleged efforts to translate the plates. For example, work progressed on the serialized "History of Joseph Smith" which consisted largely of items from other people's personal journals, edited and pieced together to form a history of Joseph Smith "in his own words." An excerpt from William Clayton's diary concerning the Kinderhook plates was recast in first person, as if it were Joseph Smith's words: "I have translated a portion of them, and find they contain the history of a person with whom they were found. He was a descendant of Ham." This altered version of the extract from Clayton's journal was reprinted in the *Deseret News* in 1856 and in the *Millennial Star* in 1859.[34]

However, some Church leaders were aware as early as 1858 that the Kinderhook plates were fraudulent. Dr. W. Wyl, who had visited Salt Lake City by the early 1880s, wrote:

> Now just hear what was told me by a Mormon elder, an eye and ear wit-

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[32]*Discovery of the Brass Plates,* broadside, June 24, 1843, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

[33]Harris, Letter to Flagg, April 25, 1855, 272.

[34]"History of Joseph Smith," *Deseret News,* September 3, 1856–September 10, 1856, 201, 209; quotation split between issues; "History of Joseph Smith," *Millennial Star* 21, no. 3 (January 15, 1859): 40.

> ness: A class of elders, eleven or twelve, of whom I was one, was assembled in the Endowment House in 1858. Apostle Orson Pratt told us that he had been reading a work in which an account was given of the Kinderhook plates. An archeological society had heard of the plates and they wanted to get a reliable account of them. They sent down to Kinderhook, Ill., two men to investigate the matter. These men had been there for two or three weeks without result. At last they learnt the names of the parties concerned, and that the plates were made by a blacksmith; they were told so by the artist himself. Pratt told the class that he was well convinced that the plates were a fraud.[35]

In an 1879 letter, Wilbur Fugate, one of the citizens who helped dig up the plates, wrote that the discovery of the Kinderhook plates was "a HUMBUG, gotten up by Robert Wiley, Bridge Whitton and myself." He went on to explain, "We read in Pratt's prophecy that 'Truth is yet to spring up out of the earth.' We concluded to prove the prophecy by way of a joke."[36] Fugate confessed they had etched the engravings with acid. Because the whereabouts of the plates since at least 1844 were unknown, no one could subject Fugate's claims to a test. However, in 1920, one of the plates came into the possession of the Chicago Historical Society, and direct testing of the plates became possible.

In 1962, "two non-LDS professional engravers" examined the plate and stated that it "was engraved with a pointed instrument and not etched with acid." In an *Improvement Era* article, Welby W. Ricks, president of the BYU Archaeologic Society, commented: "The plates are now back in their original category of genuine. What scholars may learn from this ancient record in future years or what may be translated by divine power is an exciting thought to contemplate. This much remains. Joseph Smith, Jun., stands as a true prophet and translator of ancient records by divine means and all the world is invited to investigate the truth which has sprung out of the earth not only of the

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[35]Wyl, *Mormon Portraits,* 211.

[36]W. Fugate, Letter to James T. Cobb, April 8, 1878, photocopy of holograph located in Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Kinderhook Plates," Perry Special Collections. The quotation is from Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning* (New York: Printed by W. Standford, 1837), 134. Pratt is quoting Psalms 85:11: "Truth shall spring out of the earth."

Kinderhook plates, but of the Book of Mormon as well."[37]

However, in 1965 George M. Lawrence, an LDS physicist, examined the plate and concluded that the "dimensions, tolerances, composition and workmanship are consistent with the facilities of an 1843 blacksmith shop and with the fraud stories of the original participants."[38] Another examination followed in 1980. D. Lynn Johnson, a professor in the Department of Materials Science and Engineering at Northwestern University, performed destructive tests, using a scanning electron microscope to examine the grooves. He concluded that the plate was not of ancient origin but had been etched with acid.[39]

In 1984, Barry Fell, president of the Epigraphic Society, studied the Kinderhook facsimiles and deciphered from all the plates together a hidden message: "W Fugates Fakes. April Fools Day 1843 for Joseph Smith."[40]

The discovery of the Kinderhook plates was one of Mormonism's first encounters with New World archeology. The encounter revealed a belief among early Mormons that the cultures of the Book of Mormon anciently dominated the landscape of the New World. Presumably anything dug out of the ground should relate to the Book of Mormon. Believers in the Book of Mormon apparently supposed that other sacred records like the gold plates were to be found across the American countryside. Brigham Young once spoke to the Saints about these other hidden artifacts:

> There were a great many treasures hid up by the Nephites. . . . I lived right in the country where the plates were found from which the Book of Mormon was translated, and I know a great many things pertaining to that country. . . . Oliver Cowdery went with the Prophet Joseph when he deposited these plates. Joseph did not translate all of the plates; there was a portion of them sealed, which you can learn from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. When Joseph got the plates, the angel instructed him to carry them back to the hill Cumorah, which he did. Oliver says that when Joseph and Oliver went

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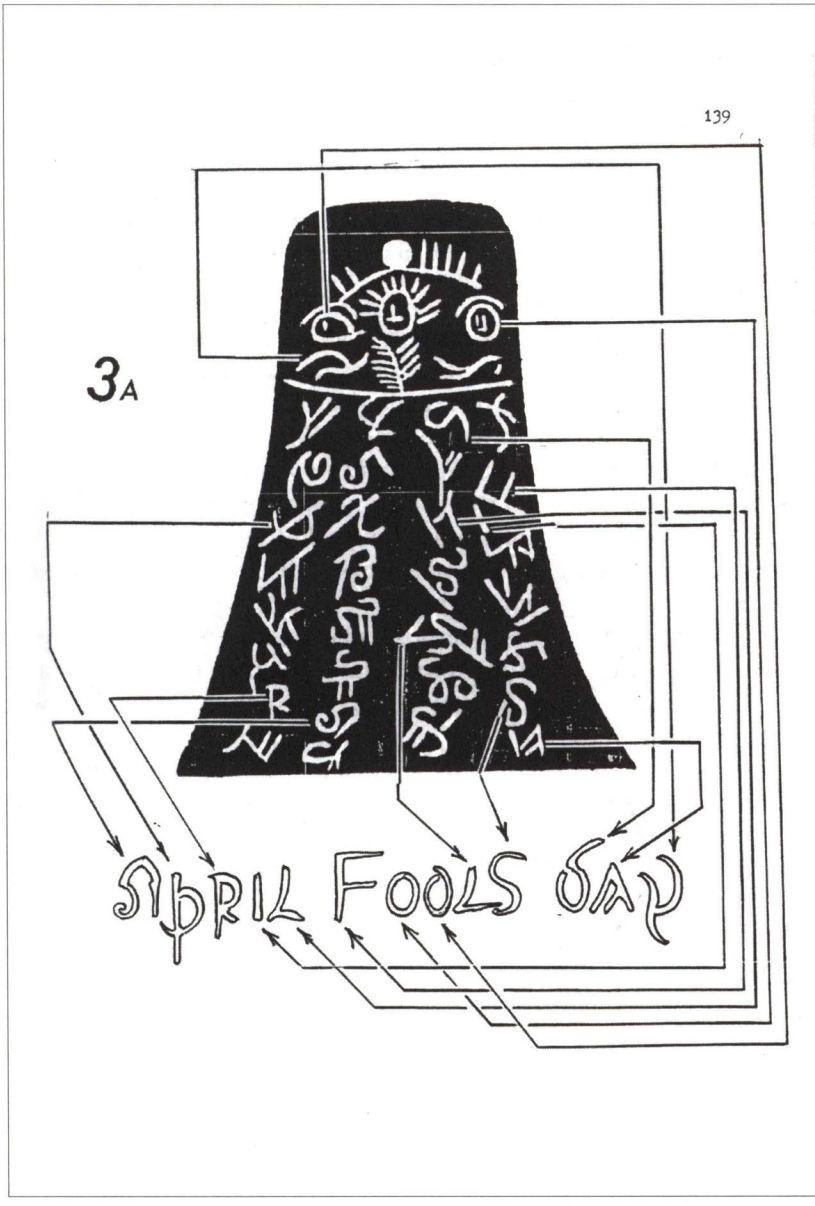
[37]Ricks, "The Kinderhook Plates," 658.

[38]George M. Lawrence, "Report of the Physical Study of the Kinderhook Plate Number 5" (Princeton, N.J.: n.pub., 1966), Perry Special Collections.

[39]Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph," 69–70.

[40]Barry Fell, "The Kinderhook Plates," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications* 12 (June 1984): 136.



In 1984, Barry Fell, president of the Epigraphic Society, found a hidden message in the inscriptions on the Kinderhook plates: "W Fugates Fakes. April Fools Day 1843 for Joseph Smith." Courtesy the Epigraphic Society.

> there, the hill opened, and they walked into a cave, in which there was a large and spacious room. He says he did not think, at the time, whether they had the light of the sun or artificial light; but that it was just as light as day. They laid the plates on a table; it was a large table that stood in the room. Under this table there was a pile of plates as much as two feet high, and there were altogether in this room more plates than probably many wagon loads; they were piled up in the corners and along the walls. The first time they went there the sword of Laban hung upon the wall.[41]

Young indicates that Cowdery told him this story in the early years of the Church. With such stories of "hidden treasures of the earth,"[42] the Saints greeted archaeological discoveries with great zeal, convinced that such things would eventually prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. As the *Times and Seasons* editorialized about the discovery of some stone artifacts near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1845: "Such relics are capital stock for the Latter-day Saints, as well as is the cities, and ruins in Central America, discovered by Mr. Stevens [sic] in the very places where the Book of Mormon left them."[43]

Unfortunately, the Kinderhook plates incident was also one of Mormonism's first encounters with New World archeological fraud. The Kinderhook plates greatly disappointed those Mormons who yearned for them to prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. In a sense, the Mormons' early embrace of the Kinderhook plates backfired, since the incident has been repeatedly used in anti-Mormon literature to support claims that the Book of Mormon is false. The phrase "only a bogus prophet translates bogus plates" has been used again and again.[44] However, this encounter did not stop Mormons from entangling themselves with future archeological finds.

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[41]Brigham Young, June 17, 1877, *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 19:38.

[42]"Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps," *Times and Seasons* 2 (May 1, 1841): 393.

[43]"Another Mormon Witness," *Times and Seasons* 6 (March 1, 1845): 831. "Mr. Stevens" is John Lloyd Stephens (1805–52), a nineteenth-century Maya explorer.

[44]Charles A. Shook supposedly coined this phrase, according to James D. Bales, *Book of Mormon?* (Rosemead, Calif.: Old Paths Book Club, 1958), 98. Shook's phrase is quoted extensively on anti-Mormon websites.

THE TUCSON ARTIFACTS

On September 13, 1924, Charles E. Manier, a resident of Tucson, Arizona, took a drive with his family to visit the famous Picture Rocks in the Tucson Mountains ten miles northwest of downtown Tucson. As the family traveled back home on Silverbell Road, they became interested in some old lime kilns they saw on a hillside west of the road. The decaying lime kilns had once been an important industry in the Tucson area when lime was being used to waterproof adobe homes. Manier stopped the car, and the family walked to the site.

As the family approached the kilns, Manier noticed a peculiar object sticking out of the ground. Thinking it was merely a stone, he struck it with his cane. When it made a sound like a metal object, he tried to use his cane to uncover the object, but it was solidly imbedded in caliche (ka-LEE-chee), a crust of calcium carbonate that forms in arid regions over long periods of time within or on top of a stony soil. Caliche is sometimes as hard as concrete, and dynamite is often needed to break through it. Manier retrieved a pick and shovel from the car and hacked away at the resistant caliche until he uncovered a large lead cross which he later learned weighed sixty-two pounds. The cross appeared to have been cast by pouring molten metal into a rough mold that had apparently been made in the earth. The family thought they had stumbled on a headstone from an old grave.

They took the massive cross home and washed it, discovering that it was, in fact, two crosses securely fastened together by metal rivetlike fastenings. When they pried apart the two pieces of metal, they found the inner surfaces covered with a foul-smelling substance whose texture resembled beeswax. The substance was carefully removed and placed in a glass container.[45] A form of writing, which a neighbor recognized as Latin, had been carved on the metal. The metal was also carved with depictions of three men, under which were the names "Jacobus," "Theodorus," and "Israel." Above these pictures were the words "Britannia," "Albion," "Romani Aetius," and "Gaul Seine." Under the pictures was the inscription: "Councils of great cities with seven hundred soldiers A.D. 800–January 1."[46]

Manier took the cross to Frank H. Fowler, a professor in the Col-

[45]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 1–8; the wax was sent to the University of Arizona for analysis where a student, thinking it was garbage, threw it away.

[46]Ibid., 11–12, 102.

lege of Letters, Arts, and Sciences at the University of Arizona. Fowler did a partial translation, which Covey later gave fuller form:

> We are borne over the sea [to] Calalus, an unknown land [where] Toltezus Silvanus ruled far and wide over a people. Theodore transferred his troops to the foot of the city Rhoda and more than seven hundred were captured. No gold is taken away. Theodore, a man of great courage, rules for fourteen years. Jacob rules for six. With the help of God, nothing has to be feared. In the name of Israel. OL. Jacob renews the city. With God's help Jacob rules with mighty hand in the manner of his ancestors. Sing to the Lord. May his fame live forever. OL.[47]

Later that day, Manier took the cross to anthropologist Karl Ruppert of the Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona. After discussing the find, Ruppert agreed to go with Manier to the site the next day. While excavating further, Ruppert discovered a broken triangular piece of natural caliche with a crudely drawn head and a partial date in Roman numerals. This discovery further stirred Ruppert's curiosity, and he decided to continue working at the site.[48]

Manier next made contact with the owner of the property, Thomas W. Bent. At first, Bent dismissed the find as nothing more than an old tombstone. Determined, Manier returned to Bent's house bringing the cross itself on November 25, 1924. After examining the Latin text and its translation, Bent concluded: "Here was something more than just a headstone from a grave, a real mystery that aroused my intense interest."[49]

Manier and Bent drew up a formal agreement; and on November 28, they drove out to the site. As they began digging, Bent uncovered another cross, this one weighing about twelve pounds. Like the first cross, this cross was in two parts secured with the same rivetlike fastenings. Once the cross was taken apart, the men discovered the same foul-smelling waxy preservative under which was Latin writing. Fowler again translated the text,[50] which Covey's translation later rendered as:

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[47]Covey, *Calalus,* 187. While local newspapers speculated that "OL" was the hoaxer's initials, no one has been able to explain their meaning.

[48]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 12–13.

[49]Ibid., 16.

[50]Ibid., 17.

> From the egg (i.e. the beginning), A.D. 790 [to] A.D. 900. Nothing but the cross. While the war was raging, Israel died. Pray for the soul of Israel. May the earth lie light on thee. He adds glory to ancestral glory. Israel, defender of the faith. Israel reigns sixty-seven years. Israel II rules for six. Israel VII [should be III] was twenty-six years old when he began to rule. Internecine war. To conquer or die. He flourishes in ancestral honor day by day. But for either event our hope is not broken in this day of grace (or: by grace of God). Time having elapsed since the source and beginning of evils, the last day and unavoidable time had come (or: is coming?). I the Lord am with Thee. OL.[51]

On November 30, 1924, Manier and Bent returned to the lime kiln, and Manier uncovered another inscribed cross, crudely made in only one piece. Fowler translated the inscription: "Land of tin. Theodore. James. Romans. We are carried forth over."[52]

In December Bent hired some laborers to help with the work, and the excavating began to progress rapidly. On December 5, one of the laborers uncovered a fifth cross. It was like the first crosses—two pieces riveted together with the same waxy substance between segments.[53] Fowler's translation reads:

> Benjamin ruled the peoples. From the Seine the bravest of the Gauls came to Rome. He came to the aid of the people to lay the foundation for the city. He built a wall around the city to resist the enemy. Mighty in strength, Benjamin. He filled the multitude with religion. He was slain by Thebans. This I heard from my father five hundred years after, behind the mountain. In memory of my father Joseph.
>
> A.D. 880: Israel III, for liberating the Toltezus, was banished. He was the first to break the custom. The earth shook. Fear overwhelmed the hearts of men in the third year after he had fled. They betook themselves into the city and kept themselves within their walls. A dead man thou shall neither bury nor burn in the city. Before the city a plain was extending. Hills rung the city. It is a hundred years since Jacob was king. Jacob stationed himself in the front line. He anticipated everything. He fought much himself. Often he smote the enemy. Israel turned his attention to the appointment of priests. We have life, a people widely ruling. OL.

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[51]Covey, *Calalus,* 187–88. The bracketed correction to III is in Covey's translation.

[52]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 20, 23.

[53]Ibid., 23. See Appendix for a complete list of all thirty-two artifacts.

> A.D. 895. An unknown land. Would that I might accomplish my task to serve the king. It is uncertain how long life will continue. There are many things which can be said while the war rages. Three thousand were killed. The leader with his principal men are captured. Nothing but peace was sought. God ordains all things. O.L.[54]

On January 24, 1925, Eli Abegg, a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from Fort Lowell, Arizona (now part of Tucson), accompanied Manier to the site with Ruppert, Bent, and three laborers. Abegg had heard that the names on the artifacts were similar to some of the names in the Book of Mormon–Jacob, Benjamin, Israel, Joseph, although all of these names also appear in the Bible–and that some dates on the artifacts coincided with dates in the Book of Mormon. Abegg was interested in the account of a devastating final battle. Manier and Bent welcomed his interest. Abegg was well rewarded for his visit. Two more crosses were excavated during his visit. Like most of the others, these crosses consisted of two parts fastened together, with a waxy substance between each part.[55]

The first cross had pictures and symbols on both parts. Its images (right-hand cross) included a crown shaped like the "crown of the Israelites" or a "bishop's cap." Three men were depicted, labeled Judas, Benjaminus, and Isaacus. Benjaminus wore an Egyptian headdress. Under the pictures of the three men was a Roman map, including Rome, Gaul, Briton and Calalus land. The initials *V-O-C* followed the map. The second part of the first cross had a Roman lamp or a Hebrew habdalah, both of which were used in ceremonies and found on Roman and Jewish coins. Under the lamp was found a Roman *R* similar to that found on Roman pictures. This was followed by a picture of a Hebrew temple and the initials *T.O.B.* The second cross depicted two men labeled Josephus and Saulus and the three-forked staff of the Hebrews. All images suggested Roman, Jewish, and Christian cultural influences. The Latin engravings were translated as: "L[audatur]: is praised. Joseph Saul. In memoriam. K[ing]. Joseph is praised."[56]

The Arizona press reported Mormon interest in the Tucson discovery. A local Tucson newspaper recorded: "Are the crosses of metal . . . relics of Mormonism? . . . Eli Abegg, a Mormon Elder who

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[54]Covey, *Calalus,* 188–89.

[55]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 28–34.

[56]Ibid., 106–7.

On December 5, 1924, laborers uncovered this fifth cross near Tucson, containing the most detailed Latin inscription. Courtesy Arizona Historical Society.

lives at Fort Lowell, is aiding Manier and Bent in searching out this theory. At his request Eli Abegg has been supplied with blueprints of the several plates found."[57] Other Mormons soon got involved. The *Arizona Daily Star* reported:

> While laymen and scientists, novice and expert file past the display of artifacts taken from the excavations in the lime kiln near the Silver Bell road, arguing the authenticity of the leaden relics, followers of the Book of Mormon, of which there are about 150 in this community, are the only ones to offer a solution of the mystery. The relics, the Mormons say, bear out the epic tale of their golden book. . . . The parallel, as drawn by Gordon Kimball, first counselor to the presiding elder, A. B. Ballantyne, points out the *definite* resemblance between the inscriptions on the artifacts and the story as told in the

[57]"Inscribed Plate Found Near City May Unfold Story of Early Race Here, Belief Now," *Tucson Citizen,* February 1, 1925, 14.

Book of Mormon.[58]

Eager, even zealous, local Mormons were determined to make a connection between the discoveries and the Book of Mormon. As Bent later put it, "We must admit . . . that some of the [Mormon] membership were rather enthusiastic in their conclusions as to the bearing the artifacts might have on [Mormon] history, and were in a most receptive mood."[59] Some local Mormons tried to pull Church leaders into the mystery. According to the *Arizona Daily Star:* "Heber J. Grant, president of the Mormon Church, positively declined to comment upon the statement by Gordon Kimball, first counselor to the presiding elder at Tucson, carried in Associated Press dispatches tonight, when they were read to him. 'We do not care to make any statement at this time,' said President Grant. He expressed doubt that Kimball was qualified to make an authentic statement regarding Cumorah Hill."[60]

Abegg convinced Manier and Bent to send blueprints of the artifacts to Heber J. Grant, but President Grant remained courteously skeptical, responding: "The plates which have been unearthed by you we think have no connection with the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated."[61] Abegg then sent a letter and photographs of the artifacts to Anthony W. Ivins, Grant's counselor. Abegg wrote, "If I were called upon to make a statement as to whether or not [the artifacts] were genuine, I would certainly say that they were."[62] Ivins responded: "They appear to have no connection with the people referred to in the Book of Mormon, but there is a well established tradition among the Welsh people that at about the time of the date marked on the plates, Prince Madoc of Wales sailed away with twelve ships to America, to which country he had been before, and that nothing was heard from these people afterwards. I am wondering if it is not possible that these plates may have

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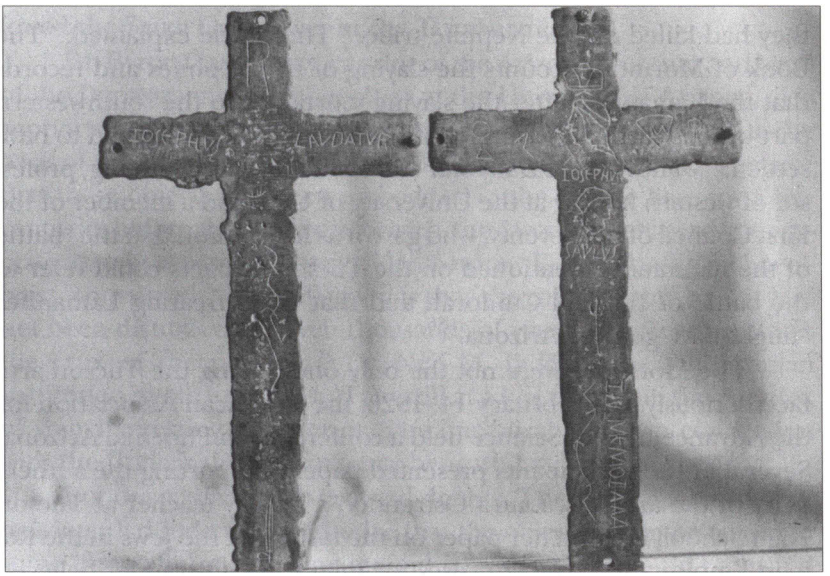
[58]"Tucson Artifacts Bear Out Mormon Tradition Except Dates, Says Elder," *Arizona Daily Star,* December 16, 1925, 1. Kimball was a counselor in the Tucson Branch, which was a unit in the California Mission.

[59]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 196.

[60]"Tucson Artifacts Bear Out Mormon Tradition," 1.

[61]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 189.

[62]Sjodahl, "Archaeological Finds in Arizona," 821.



On January 24, 1925, laborers uncovered this seventh two-part cross and another in the presence of LDS Church member Eli Abegg. Courtesy Arizona Historical Society.

something to do with that expedition."[63]

Ivins shared the information sent to him with the editorial staff of the *Improvement Era,* the Church's official magazine. J. M. Sjodahl used this information to compile an article about the Tucson artifacts for the July 1925 issue. In addition to a historical report of the discovery and excavation, Sjodahl also speculated that the hill or mountain referred to by the artifacts could be the Hill Cumorah, since the dates noted on the artifacts "present an extraordinary coincidence with the chronology of the Book of Mormon."[64]

For the moment, the Mormon connection to the Tucson artifacts continued to play itself out in the media. In 1925, one local Tucson paper seriously asked, "Did the Lamanites settle in Arizona after

[63]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 190.

[64]Sjodahl, "Archaeological Finds in Arizona," 818.

they had killed off the Nephite tribe?" The article explained: "The Book of Mormon recounts the slaying of the Nephites and records that the Lamanites, after the slaying journeyed to the southwestern part of the North American continent, where they were said to have settled."[65] The *Arizona Daily Star* contacted Levi Edgar Young, professor of western history at the University of Utah and a member of the First Council of the Seventy, who gave it as his opinion that the "battle of the mountain" mentioned on the Tucson artifacts could refer to the battle of the Hill Cumorah and that the retreating Lamanites "might have gone to Arizona."[66]

The Mormons were not the only ones taking the Tucson artifacts seriously. On February 14, 1926, the American Association for the Advancement of Science held a conference in Phoenix, Arizona. Several of the participants presented papers supporting the authenticity of the artifacts. Laura Ostrander, a history teacher at Tucson High School, focused her paper on the history of the Jews in the Roman Empire and possible causes for migration. Ostrander believed the find was genuine and that it provided evidence of a Roman Jewish colonization of America seven hundred years before Columbus discovered the new land. She reported from her research that Albion was a district in Cornwall, England (Britannia) in which the Romans worked some tin mines from the fifth century. The Seine River and Seine provinces of France (Gaul) were connected to Rome by one of the Roman roads. Roman writers spoke of the vineyards along the Seine as early as the fourth century. The inscriptions showed both a Jewish and Roman influence. There was, in fact, a Roman Jew named Theodorus who lived sometime between A.D. 550 and 800. Ostrander even suggested that the bearded white man of the Toltecs might be the Israel III mentioned in the artifacts.[67]

Dr. Clifton J. Sarle, a southwestern geologist, focused his paper on the caliche formation, believing it had formed on the artifacts over a period of many centuries. He rejected the idea that the artifacts could have been placed under layers of caliche as a hoax. Dr. Sarle then hypothesized, based on geography and geology, that Roman Jews had voyaged by sea to the coast of southern Mexico, then fol-

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[65]"Inscribed Plate Found Near City," 14.

[66]"Tucson Artifacts Bear Out Mormon Tradition," 1.

[67]"Bearded White Man of Toltecs May Be Israel III of Artifact Fame," *Arizona Daily Star,* February 18, 1926, 8.

lowed the Santa Cruz River to the Tucson area.[68]

Dr. Byron Cummings, curator of the Arizona Museum and head of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Arizona, also supported the authenticity of the artifacts at the conference. "On the basis of the apparent geological evidence," said Cummings, "I believe that these objects had been embedded in the caliche here for a few centuries before they were discovered, but I would not hazard any estimate as to how many centuries." Dr. Andrew E. Douglas, an archaeologist, concurred: "The difficulty is that the caliche looks as if it had not been disturbed for even thousands of years. Caliche constitutes the crux of the problem." Dr. Neil M. Judd of the Smithsonian Institution wrote to Manier, "I am still at a loss to explain the paradox of your interesting discoveries. The inexplicable fact in connection with the finds is their occurrence beneath layers of caliche."[69]

But the artifacts also aroused doubts. The odd mixture of symbols later led Judd to hypothesize that the objects might be traced to some "mentally incompetent individual with a flare for old Latin and the wars of antiquity."[70] The *New York Times* reported: "The combination of Christian cross, Moslem crescent, Hebraic seven-branched candlestick and Free-masonry emblems has imposed a heavy tax on the credulity of investigators, but their appearance of having been covered and embedded in stone by natural processes has puzzled skilled archaeologists. Some have arrived at the opinion that, whatever their origin, the objects lay for centuries in the earth where they were found."[71]

The *New York Times* also reported Fowler's observation that virtually all the Latin inscriptions on the Tucson artifacts were either quotations from Latin writers like Virgil and Cicero, or common Latin expressions easily found in Latin grammars and glossaries. Fowler also pointed out that the English word "Gaul," found on the artifacts, was not adopted from the Latin "Gallia" until around 1600. "What we have," explained Fowler, "is a collection of phrases and sentences strung together, sometimes with some slight connection,

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[68]"The Leaden Artifacts," *Arizona Republican,* February 19, 1926, 4. The newspaper's name changed to *Arizona Republic* in 1930.

[69]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 99, 161, 238.

[70]Ibid., 99.

[71]"Puzzling Relics Dug Up in Arizona Stir Scientists," *New York Times,* December 13, 1925, 1.

Byron Cummings at the excavation site. Excavation work at Silverbell Road Site, Tucson, Arizona, 1924–30. Courtesy Arizona Historical Society.

sometimes with none." Fowler concluded, however, that "if it was a hoax" it had been "committed several hundred years ago" and was therefore "almost as interesting as if it had been the work of the people whose history it purported to tell."[72] One unidentified "eastern scientist" commented to Bent, "My guess would be if they are old, that they represent the regalia of some peculiar cult that might have flourished for a time near Tucson. The serpent-cross would indicate something of a semireligious nature."[73]

As the debate between supporters and detractors heated up, it resulted in name-calling, innuendo, and accusations on all sides. Eastern scientists began to question the authenticity of the relics and even suggested that Bent and his colleagues were themselves the hoaxers. Bent called this conclusion a "trial by remote control," contending that the eastern scientists had jumped to conclusions without taking

[72]"Explode One Theory Concerning Relics," *New York Times,* December 16, 1925, 4.

[73]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 333.

the time to study the facts of the case.[74]

The local Mormons found themselves in the midst of this controversy. On December 16, 1925, the *Arizona Daily Star* reported, "It has been intimated from several sources that the find was only a colossal hoax which was planted by the Mormon followers."[75] Bent dismissed this suggestion out of hand: "Any probability or possibility of a 'hoax' or 'planting' by the members of the Mormon faith is not only ridiculous but a dastardly canard to either delude the public or besmirch the name and character of an exemplary religious order."[76]

One of the most interesting theories was that the Mormon Battalion had perpetrated the hoax when it passed through the area in 1846. Bent, seeking information about the Mormon Battalion from the University of Utah, received a reply from A. William Lund, Assistant LDS Church Historian:

> Your letter to the University of Utah has been given to me for answer. The Mormon Battalion left Tucson on Dec. 18, 1846, and continued its journey toward the Gila River. At the end of a 5 or 6 miles travel the battalion stopped to fill their canteens and water the animals. Henry G. Boyle in his journal states that "at nine a.m. the Battalion started and marched down Tucson Creek [Santa Cruz River] Six miles." This is the only mention of any stream of water being named. After watering the animals the Battalion continued its march until 9 p.m. when the camp was made without water. I have checked the names of the members of the Battalion but find no one whose initials are O.L. We would be pleased to have, for filing in our library, your story of the finding of the artifacts that were excavated on your property and of the characters, etc., contained on them.[77]

Fortunately for the Mormons, the press found a more intriguing theory to fill its columns. In 1926, the *Tucson Citizen* reported that Timotio Odohui, a talented sculptor, had once lived near the kilns. According to the *Citizen,* Odohui was a near-genius who had graduated from a Mexican university but had fled to the United States be-

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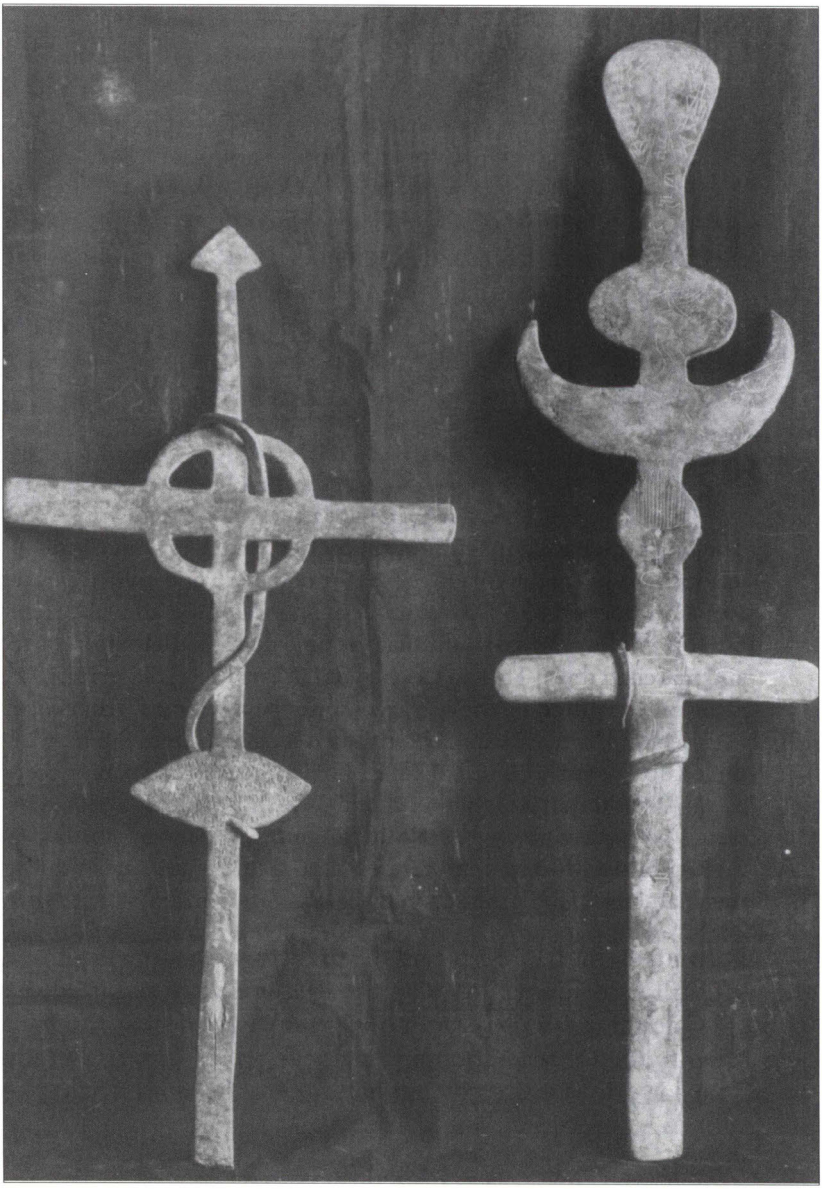
[74]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 136.

[75]"Tucson Artifacts Bear Out Mormon Tradition," 1. Mormons were also accused of planting the Los Lunas Decalogue Inscription in New Mexico. Deal, *Discovery of Ancient America,* 1, 10.

[76]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 191.

[77]Ibid., 195–96.



The serpent cross (left), discovered August 29, 1925, was similar to Celtic cross designs and had a snake slithering through it. The Latin engravings have been translated as: "We are born over the sea from Rome [to] Calalus, an unknown land. They came in the year of our Lord 775 and Theodore ruled the peoples." The crescent cross (right), discovered September 1, 1925, contained engravings similar to those found on the other Tucson artifacts: winged angels, a menorah, incense lambs, and a bishop's cap. However, the crescent design was unique, similar to that found in ancient Islamic art. Courtesy Arizona Historical Society.

cause of political difficulties. Odohui was said to be eccentric with a near-obsession about buried treasure. He owned a large library of books, including Roman classics and books in Greek and Hebrew. The paper also said its source, a man named Ruiz, had seen some of Odohui's art work.

Curious about the reports, Cummings located and interviewed Ruiz, who insisted that he had seen a stone cross intended to be a tombstone, a stone head, and a metal horse. Ruiz knew that Odohui had some books, but he did not know what kind or what language. The family spoke only Spanish, as far as he knew. Ruiz confessed that he could not point out the exact location of the Odohui home site.[78] Local newspapers argued over the meaning of this latest hypothesis:

> *Arizona Republican:* A sculptor hardly would devote himself to the manufacture of swords or crosses, the latter inscribed with Hebrew, Greek and Latin phrases of doubtful meaning. Besides, if he did desire to perpetrate a fake, he could not have piled upon the artifacts twenty centuries of caliche and other sediment, such as it is agreed overlaid the discoveries. Yet the cattleman's [Ruiz] story, in which a sculptor, dim and shadowy as he appears, figures, is just that much more evidence to be dispelled before the genuineness of the artifacts will be admitted by the unthinking public.[79]
>
> *Tucson Daily Independent:* The *Tucson Citizen* is going out of its way to stamp the artifacts found on the Silverbell road as fakes. It

[78]Ibid., 212–20.

[79]Quoted in "Clouding the Issue," *Arizona Daily Star,* January 24, 1926, Society sect., 6.

seems as if the *Citizen* is deliberate in attempting to "laugh the matter out of court." The reason for the *Citizen's* attitude on the matter is that it feels, evidently, that it did not get the right "news break" on the story, according to Messrs. Bent and Manier. If that is the case, the *Citizen* is going to some lengths to "take it out of the hides," of the discoverers of the relics.[80]

Arizona Daily Star: It is but natural that in the search for the truth concerning the Tucson artifacts, there will be a few who will try to cloud the issue by bringing forth evidence which after investigation, fades into thin air.[81]

Prescott Courier: One Tucson paper affirms the "artifacts," relics found near the Old Pueblo are real, while another contends they are not. What does a newspaper know about tablets with inscriptions on them anyway? If they were aspirin tablets, it would be different.[82]

Nothing more was ever ascertained about Timotio Odohui, but few accepted the story as an adequate explanation for the relics found on Silverbell Road. Of the many theories, Bent wrote: "Many people have been ready to condemn the artifacts without a complete investigation and a fair trial. The discovery had never really had 'its day in court.' The great bulk of the evidence contra to the authenticity of the artifacts has been hearsay and unsubstantiated. It is the type that would be summarily thrown out of court as being incompetent, irrelevant, and immaterial. Instead of having a solution to this problem, we find it more deeply steeped in mystery as the years have rolled by."[83]

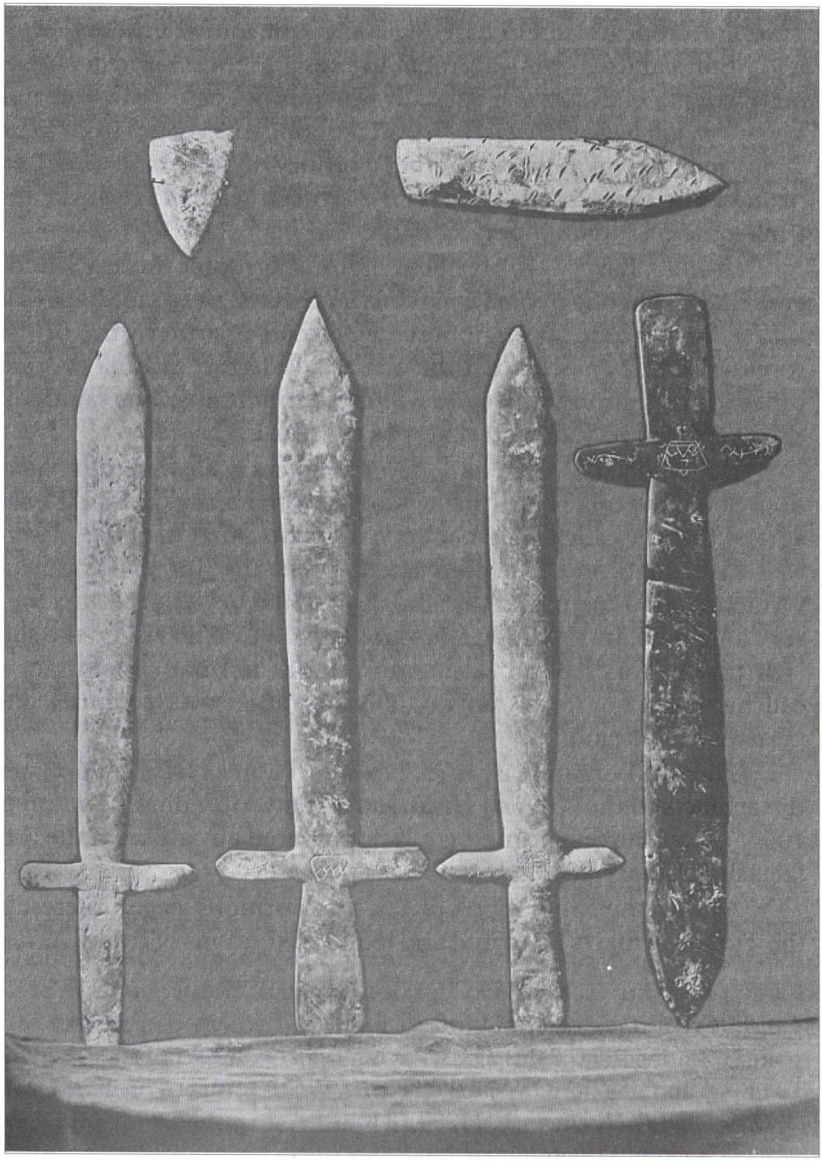
In the 1970s, Cyclone Covey, a history professor at Wake Forest University, came out in support of the authenticity of the Tucson artifacts. Covey put forward the theory that the artifacts are evidence, not of Romans, but of a massive expedition undertaken in secret by Charlemagne, king of the Franks. From A.D. 800 until his death fourteen years later, Charlemagne was also emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and a warlike expansionist. Latin was the official language of his realm, and Charlemagne showed great tolerance toward Europe's Jewish population. The year of Charlemagne's ascension to emperor, 800, is prominent among the dates on the artifacts. Covey pointed out that scribes had produced multiple copies of manuscripts written in Latin since the days of the Roman Empire and that a group of emi-

[80]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 220–21.

[81]"Clouding the Issue," 6.

[82]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 222.

[83]Ibid., vi.



A few of the various swords found at the Silverbell Road excavation site in 1925.

grating Europeans would have likely brought some of these literary and historical treasures with them to preserve their heritage. Covey believed that OL was a war survivor who was not entirely literate. OL knew enough to borrow familiar and descriptive passages from a surviving manuscript to piece together a history of his people, which explained why some inscriptions on the artifacts were in flawless Latin while others were in imperfect Latin.[84]

In 1990, Barry Fell, president of the Epigraphic Society, discovered that all but one of the sayings on the artifacts were mottos of British nobility who had been honored with coats of arms by the British sovereigns. Fell guessed that the artifacts were the "regalia of some order of Freemasons, with special interest in Hebrews," the same conclusion drawn by Judd and others in the 1920s.[85]

Detractors, however, have never adequately answered the questions about the caliche. All archaeologists who had worked on the site agreed that the caliche had not been disturbed, that the objects were well embedded and had even left impressions where the caliche formed around them, and that the objects had been in the area for a very long time. In 1990, geologist Phil Pearthree, who visited the site, "felt that in this type of setting and under normal circumstances caliche would not form over decades but rather over centuries and perhaps millennium."[86]

Thomas Bent died in 1972. His son, Thomas Bent Jr., donated the artifacts to the Arizona Historical Society Museum in Tucson in 1994.[87] Don Burgess, a guest curator, prepared an exhibit of the artifacts in February 2003.[88]

As with the Kinderhook plates, the Mormons' eager interest in the Tucson artifacts backfired and led to accusations of fraud. As late

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[84]Covey, *Calalus,* 33–34.

[85]"Dating the Calalus Texts: An Interview with Barry Fell, President, The Epigraphic Society, by Marshall Payne, Vice President," *Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications,* 19 (1990): 115.

[86]Stanton, *Visitors to America,* 190–91.

[87]Peter Gilstrap, "A Reputation in Ruins," *Phoenix New Times,* March 21, 1996, retrieved on December 13, 2002, from http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/issues/1996-03-21/columns.html.

[88]Kenneth LaFave, "European Objects or Hoax?" *Arizona Republic,* August 24, 2002, retrieved on December 13, 2002, from http://www.azcentral.com/ent/arts/articles/0824artifacts24.html.

as August 2002, an article about the artifacts in the *Arizona Republic* stated: "The idea of lost Hebrew tribes making their way to the New World suggested to some that Mormons may have had a hand, though the dates are not consistent with Mormon theories. One theory even has it that Brigham Young himself manufactured and planted the items but died before he could 'discover' them."[89]

Accusations of fraud failed to squelch Mormon curiosity in the artifacts. In 1929, the senior Bent moved to Phoenix, Arizona, where he found that the Mormons' interest in the artifacts "was most intense": "Requests were received by me from several of the Mormon churches in the valley for talks on and exhibitions of the relics." James W. LeSueur, an assistant to the Arizona Temple president, asked permission to take the artifacts to Salt Lake City, where they could be exhibited in the Church's museum on Temple Square and be examined by scientists in Utah. In his request, LeSueur wrote, "Our people are still talking of the wonderful privilege of viewing [the artifacts] at our Stake Mezona, for which we surely thank you."[90] However, Bent declined the invitation, adding: "The members and officials of the Mormon Church, in Arizona and Utah, were very interested in the relics. This interest, while somewhat diminished by the passage of time, continues to this day. A number of the members of the church believe that the artifacts are directly related to the history of their people and their religion. However, the stamp of approval has never been placed upon these conclusions by the hierarchy of the church."[91]

CONCLUSIONS

Believers in the Book of Mormon, when confronted with archaeological discoveries, responded with enthusiasm and zeal, seeing in them possible support of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. The evidence shows that such support becomes an intensely passionate experience steeped in inner desires rather than reasoned judgments. Such advocacy can perhaps best be explained as a psychological, emotional, and spiritual state based on the individual's desire or yearning for religious certitude, thus seeking to find in archaeological evidences the physical proof that would not only justify their faith but also convince the world of the truthfulness of their religion. John Tay-

[89]Ibid.

[90]Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts,* 191.

[91]Ibid., 189.

lor expressed this desire to convince the world through physical proof in 1843 when he compared the discovery of the Kinderhook plates to the discovery of the New World by Columbus: "Thus at variance with the opinions of the great, in opposition to science and religion, he set sail, and actually came to America; it was no dream, no fiction; but a solid reality; and however unphilosophical, and infidel the notion might be, men had to believe it; and it was soon found out, that it would agree both with religion and philosophy."[92]

This need for justification and validation causes otherwise rational individuals to leap to conclusions about archeological finds that are based on slender evidence. Charles A. Shook observed this phenomenon: "It is astonishing with what ease Mormonism swallows any story that smacks of mystery, no matter how preposterous the story may be or how much of scientific condemnation there may be against it."[93] Hugh Nibley observed:

> Not infrequently, Latter-day Saints tell me that they have translated a text or interpreted an artifact, or been led to an archaeological discovery as a direct answer to prayer, and that for me to question or test the results is to question the reality of revelation; and often I am asked to approve a theory or "discovery" that I find unconvincing, because it has been the means of bringing people to the Church—such practitioners are asking me to take their zeal as an adequate substitute for knowledge; but . . . they refuse to have their knowledge tested.[94]

This is not to say that there is no value in exploring the Book of Mormon through New World archaeology or that the research conducted by groups such as the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) is misguided. The FARMS webpage explains:

> The insights of studies such as those produced in the name of FARMS are of secondary importance when compared with the eternal truths that can be learned by a careful reading and study of these revealed texts, guided by the Spirit. Still, solid research and a faithful academic perspective on the scriptures can supply certain kinds of useful information and can answer questions, even if only tentatively, concerning

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[92]Taylor, "Ancient Records," 186.

[93]Charles A. Shook, *American Anthropology Disproving the Book of Mormon* (Cleveland, Ohio: Utah Gospel Mission, 1952), 20.

[94]Nibley, "Zeal without Knowledge," 73.

> many significant and interesting issues dealing with the ancient backgrounds, origins, composition, and meanings of scripture.[95]

Indeed, Mormon scholars involved in linking the scriptures to New World archeology have produced "many significant and interesting" findings.[96]

Yet the cases above illustrate that Mormon zeal to connect the Book of Mormon to New World archeology can be misguided and lead to unfounded presumptions and shaken religious faith. Joseph Smith cautioned the Nauvoo Relief Society sisters against being "subject to overmuch zeal, which must ever prove dangerous and cause

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[95]"About FARMS," The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, retrieved on May 14, 2004, from http://farms.byu.edu/aboutfarms.php. After years of studying New World archaeology and the Book of Mormon, Paul R. Cheesman, "External Evidences of the Book of Mormon," in *By Study and Also by Faith,* 2:86, concluded: "The Book of Mormon was not intended to be read as an archaeological document. Certain mundane activities were only mentioned to provide cohesion to the narrative. . . . The main purpose of the Book of Mormon is spiritual."

[96]See Noel B. Reynolds, *Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1982); John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985); Diane E. Wirth, *A Challenge to the Critics* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1986); Bruce W. Warren and Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *The Messiah in Ancient America* (Provo, Utah: Book of Mormon Research Foundation, 1987); F. Richard Hauck, *Deciphering the Geography of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988); John L. Sorenson and Melvin J. Thorne, *Rediscovering the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: FARMS/Deseret Book, 1991); John W. Welch, ed., *Reexploring the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: FARMS/Deseret Book, 1992); Noel B. Reynolds, *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997); John W. Welch and Melvin J. Thorne, *Pressing Forward with the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1999); Donald W. Perry, Daniel C. Peterson, and John W. Welch, eds., *Echoes and Evidences of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2002). The methods used in some of these studies have been questioned by anthropologist Deanne G. Matheny in "Does the Shoe Fit? A Critique of the Limited Tehuantepec Geography," in *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon,* edited by Brent Lee Metcalfe (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 269–328.

them to be rigid in a religious capacity."[97] When individuals seek with great zeal to validate their faith through physical proof, they can lose their faith when the proof fails to materialize. Such was the case with Thomas Stuart Ferguson.

Ferguson, founder of the New World Archeological Foundation (an organization devoted to proving that the Native American civilizations derived from ancient Israel), called this intensely passionate experience his "magnificent obsession." In a letter to Elder LeGrand Richards about Book of Mormon archeology, Ferguson admitted, "I burn with a desire to see the work expanded and pushed forward with zeal."[98] Stan Larson, Ferguson's biographer wrote: "Filled with confidence and fired with enthusiasm, Ferguson embarked on a real-life odyssey in search of the origins of the high civilizations of Mesoamerica, firmly believing that such investigations would bring forth incontrovertible evidence supporting the historical claims of the Book of Mormon."[99]

During the 1940s, Ferguson proclaimed: "For many years I have been actively interested in the Book of Mormon, and I believe I have an unusually strong testimony of its divinity."[100] Over the next two decades, Ferguson conducted numerous expeditions to Central America, some of them financed by the LDS Church. He also produced a number of publications on how archaeological evidence supported the Book of Mormon, one of them coauthored with a General Authority.[101] In January 1955, Ferguson wrote to the First Presidency, asking for additional support for his archaeological work:

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[97]Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902-12, Vol. 7 published 1932; 1949 printing), 5:19.

[98]Stan Larson, "The Odyssey of Thomas Stuart Ferguson," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 64, 67. The New World Archeological Foundation was founded in 1952 with the goal of "testing the theory that [the high civilizations of the Americas] as set forth in the Book of Mormon were derived from ancient Israel" (63). Ferguson was the foundation's president from 1952 to 1961.

[99]Ibid., 59.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Ferguson authored *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon* (Oakland, Calif.: Kolob Book Company, 1950) with Milton R. Hunter, a member of the First Council of Seventy.

> The Book of Mormon is the only revelation from God in the history of the world that can possibly be tested by scientific physical evidence. . . . To find the city of Jericho is merely to confirm a point of history. To find the city of Zarahemla is to confirm a point of history but it is also to confirm, through tangible physical evidence, divine revelations to the modern world through Joseph Smith, Moroni, and the Urim and Thummim. Thus, Book of Mormon history is revelation that can be tested by archeology.[102]

However, after spending decades trying to find "tangible, physical, enduring, unimpeachable evidence that Joseph Smith was a true prophet of God and that Jesus lives," Ferguson became disillusioned when the hoped-for evidence did not materialize. In 1976, Ferguson stated that the Book of Mormon was "fictional and will never meet the requirements of the dirt-archaeology. . . . What is in the ground will never conform to what is in the book."[103] Larson concluded: "Perhaps Ferguson's case shows the real danger—and futility—of trying to use archeological evidence to prove theological dogma, since religious faith ought to be based on an inner conviction not external evidence."[104] Referring to the Kinderhook plate incident, Stanley B. Kimball, wrote: "Many people . . . have an appetite for hearsay and a hope for 'easy evidence' to bolster or even substitute for personal spirituality and hard-won faith that comes from close familiarity with truth and the communion with God."[105]

Believers in the Book of Mormon will, no doubt, always have an interest in archaeology. After all, the faith of most Mormons "rests on the conviction that the Book of Mormon, the Bible, and other ancient scripture such as the Book of Abraham and the Book of Moses are all the word of God, written by prophets of God, and that they are authentic, historical texts."[106] Mormon interest in linking the Book of Mormon to archeology goes back to Joseph Smith himself. The Book of Mormon, the record of ancient inhabitants of the Americas, was originally written on gold plates deposited in a stone box in the side of a hill with other artifacts, including the Urim and Thummim (Joseph

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[102]Larson, "The Odyssey of Thomas Stuart Ferguson," 64.

[103]Ibid., 66, 79, 86.

[104]Ibid., 86.

[105]Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph," 74.

[106]"About FARMS," retrieved on May 14, 2002, from http://farms.byu.edu/aboutfarms.php.

Some Mormon archaeologists believed that the "Lehi Stone" in Chiapas, Mexico, represented Lehi's dream of the Tree of Life. Here, on June 16, 1960, Thomas S. Ferguson stands behind (left) Ernest L. Wilkinson (BYU president), an unidentified young native, General Authorities Mark E. Petersen and Marion G. Romney, and BYU administrator Joseph Bentley. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Smith–History 1:34–35). Within its pages we read of an expedition to "a land covered with dry bones," where a record "engraven on plates of ore is found" (Mosiah 21:26–27). Lucy Mack Smith spoke of Joseph's early anthropological interests, reporting that he "would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent, their dress, mode of

traveling, and the animals upon which they rode; their cities, their buildings, with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship."[107]

When in June 1834, members of Zion's Camp uncovered a skeleton on the top of an Indian mound along the Illinois River, Joseph identified the skeleton as a man named Zelph, a white Lamanite warrior who died in battle.[108] In July 1835, Joseph Smith authorized the purchase by the Church of four Egyptian mummies and two rolls of papyrus for $2,400.[109] In October 1842, while Joseph was acting as editor, an editorial appeared in the *Times and Seasons* that was basically a book review of *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* by John Lloyd Stephens. This work was the first accessible book in English containing detailed descriptions and drawings of ancient Mayan ruins. Excerpts from it were included in the *Times and Seasons,* along with the editorial comment: "It will not be a bad plan to compare Mr. Stephens' ruined cities with those in the Book of Mormon: light cleaves to light, and facts are supported by facts. The truth injures no one."[110]

For those Mormons who tried to link the Kinderhook plates and the Tucson artifacts to the Book of Mormon, the truth was, no doubt, painful. Archaeology can fascinate and enlighten, but it cannot sustain faith alone. Yet many find themselves caught under the spell of Mormon archeological zeal; they cannot seem to help it. Ferguson told a group of General Authorities that he "had prayed to [the] Lord and asked him to stop me if it weren't his will that we go forward." To this remark President David O. McKay replied with a smile, "Brother

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[107]Lucy Mack Smith, *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir,* edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 345.

[108]See Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1989): 31–56; Donald Q. Cannon, "Zelph Revisited," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Illinois,* edited by H. Dean Garrett (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1995), 97–111. Cannon's article reproduces the original journal entries used to compile the story in the *History of the Church.*

[109]Todd, *Saga of the Book of Abraham,* 161.

[110]"Extract from Stephens' Incidents of Travel in Central America," *Times and Seasons* 3 (October 1, 1842): 927–28.

Ferguson, you're a hard man to stop."[111]

Appendix
List of Tucson Artifacts Unearthed 1924–30

1. Cross (2 parts), September 13, 1924, by Charles E. Manier
2. Caliche, September 14, 1924, by Karl Ruppert
3. Cross (2 parts), November 28, 1924, by Thomas Bent
4. Cross, November 30, 1924, by Charles Manier
5. Cross (2 parts), December 5, 1924, by hired laborers
6. Cross (2 parts), January 24, 1925, by hired laborers
7. Cross (2 parts), January 24, 1925, by hired laborers
8. Sword, February 13, 1925, by Charles E. Manier
9. Javelin, March 4, 1925, by hired laborers
10. Spear, March 27, 1925, by John S. Bent
11. Sword, March 28, 1925, by hired laborers
12. Sword, April 5, 1925, by Charles E. Manier and John S. Bent
13. Monstrance, April 5, 1925, by Charles E. Manier and John S. Bent
14. Sword head, May 26, 1925, by Charles E. Manier
15. Sword blade, May 26, 1925, by Charles E. Manier
16. Sword grip, July 10, 1925, by Charles E. Manier
17. Sword tip (blade), August 27, 1925, by Antonio Corella
18. Cross (snake), August 29, 1925, by Antonio Corella
19. Spear, August 20, 1925, by hired laborers
20. Crescent cross, September 1, 1925, by hired laborers
21. Spear shaft, September 2, 1925, by L. A. Borquez
22. Spearhead, September 2, 1925, by hired laborers
23. Sword blade, September 18, 1925, by hired laborers
24. Sword, November 6, 1925, by Placido Ochoa
25. Spear tip (blade), November 6, 1925, by Ricardo Balancuela
26. Sword, November 7, 1925, by hired laborers
27. Spear tip, November 13, 1925, by John S. Bent
28. Spear fragment, mid-January 1928, by University of Arizona
29. Spear fragment, February 9, 1928, by University of Arizona
30. Spear shaft, February 11, 1928, by University of Arizona
31. Spear fragment, March 3, 1928, by University of Arizona
32. Spear shaft, March 15, 1930, by John S. Bent

[111]Larson, "The Odyssey of Thomas Stuart Ferguson," 63.